

Cross-National Election Study Project (CNEP)

**West German and East German Surveys
- Study Design, Data Description, Field Report -**

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Preface

This document is intended to facilitate working with the survey data of the German CNEP project for the non-German colleagues taking part in the Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP). It contains a general description of the study design of the German CNEP project as far as the surveys are concerned, a technical description of the data sets, a translation of all 12 questionnaires of the German study that may be used as a codebook, and a brief field report. We hope that all information provided herein is self-explanatory. Nonetheless, all users of this book are strongly encouraged to contact us immediately, should there any problems arise.

In translating the questionnaires, we did our best to reproduce the original formats and technical information, such as filters. Nonetheless, to be on the safe side we strongly advice all those drawing on this document while analysing our data to refer to the original questionnaires as far as such technical aspects are concerned.

We greatly appreciate the support of Birgit Blum and Simone Neidlinger in translating questionnaires and technical papers and in the difficult task of reproducing the questionnaire formats.

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I. The design of the study: An overview

The objective of the German part of the international project group "Comparative National Election Project 1990" (CNEP) is to study political mediation processes between political system and electorate in the context of the first all-German general election of 2 December 1990. Two aspects are specific for this study as compared to the standard cross-section method in election surveys:

1. *The study includes the communicative contexts of voters:*

For this purpose, the project is based on an innovative study design with a number of different target persons belonging together as "sets" and being analysed in dependence to each other. The design distinguishes three types of respondents:

- the main respondents (MR);
- the spouses/partners (SP) that live in the same households as the main respondents;
- the most important political discussants (DC) apart from the spouses/partners.

2. *The study traces the process of opinion crystallization within of the electorate until the final election decision is taken:*

In order to be able to trace the crystallisation of voters' opinions, a longitudinal design was used:

- The main respondents were interviewed in detail before the election in two panel waves (MR1 and MR2). The first wave had been carried out about two months before the election took place. The second wave was carried out just before the election in order to measure the effect of the election campaign taking place between the two waves. As the third wave, a simulated ballot informed after the election about the main respondents final vote decision (MR3).
- Spouses/partners living in the same households as the main respondents were questioned in two panel waves before the election at the same time as the main respondents (SP1 and SP2).
- Political discussant interviewing took place parallel to the second wave of MR and SP interviews (DC).

Initially, the project had been planned to be carried out in the "old" Federal Republic of Germany, i.e. in the West-German states and West-Berlin (-W). Due to the unforeseen and quick process of the German reunification in the course of 1989 and 1990, it became necessary to duplicate the design of the study by realizing an independent 'Eastern' part of the study (-E). In doing so, the same study design was used. With regard to the different populations, it was inevitable to establish a separate part of the study instead of simply expanding the samples to include the voters in the East German new states.

Figure 1 gives an overview of the study design. The core of the study are the two separate surveys MR1W and MR1E, i.e. the main surveys of the first panel wave in West Germany and in East Germany. The population of the main respondents is defined as:

- *West German study:* Persons of German nationality who are entitled to vote and are residents of the 'former' Federal Republic of Germany, i.e. the 'old' states including West Berlin, living in private households. Target sample size: N = 1.400.
- *East German study:* Persons of German nationality who are entitled to vote and are residents of the former German Democratic Republic, i.e. the 'new' states including East Berlin, living in private households. Target sample size: N = 700.

First wave:

Main respondents were selected by random sampling (random route selection procedure in 544 sampling points). The main surveys of the first wave were carried out as face-to-face interviews (MR1W, MR1E). In case the main respondents lived together with a spouse or partner in the same household, it was planned to interview these at the same time. Self-administered questionnaires were used for that purpose (SP1W, SP1E).

During the first wave of the main surveys, the main respondents were asked to agree to take part in the second panel wave. Furthermore, the addresses of the most important political discussants of the main respondents were to be established. After the main surveys of the first wave, these discussants were to be contacted and to be asked if they would agree to take part in the survey. The survey itself (DCW, DCE) was carried out at the same time as the second panel wave. In order to find out the best method for address recruitment of discussants, a feasibility study had been carried out.

Second wave:

In the West German study, the interviews of the second wave with main respondents and spouses/partners as well as with the discussants were carried out by telephone (MR2W, SP2W, DCW). For those target persons who could not be reached by phone, a face-to-face interview was planned. Due to the fact that only about 29% of the households in the former German Democratic Republic had a telephone at the time of the survey, the possibility of telephone interviewing was ruled out. Instead face-to-face interviews with main respondents as well as with the most important political discussants were carried out in the second wave as well, while spouses/partners again were interviewed by means of self-administered questionnaires (MR2E, SP2E, DCE).

Third wave:

For the third wave self-administered questionnaires resembling ballots were used. The completed questionnaires were to be sent to the survey institute in stamped addressed envelopes. In the West German study the questionnaires were sent by mail to the main respondents before the election, in

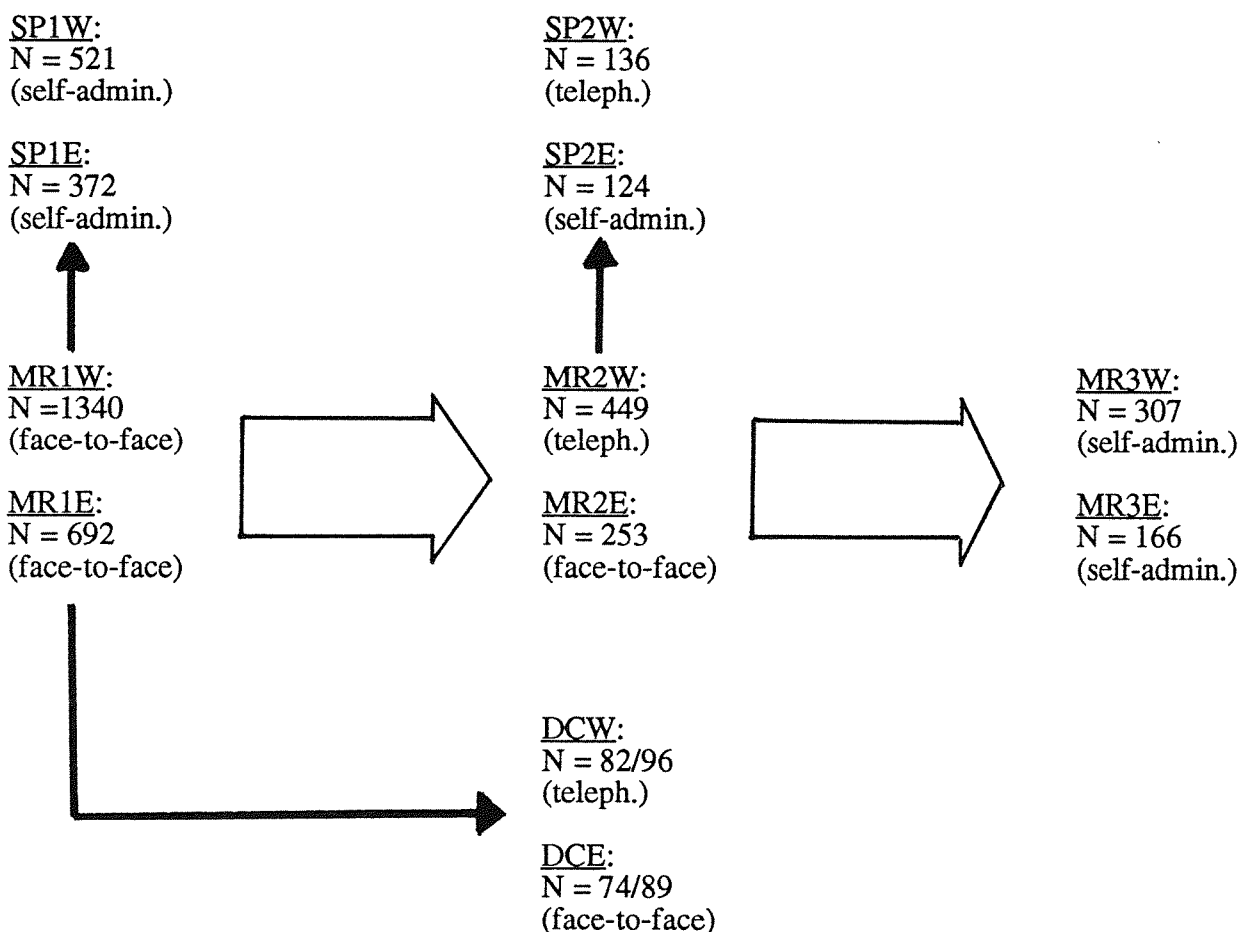
the East German study, they were handed to the respondents by the interviewers during interviewing of the second wave (MR3W, MR3E).

German CNEP Surveys: Study Design (with realized case numbers)

October 1990

2nd half in Nov. 1990

After the election



MR = Main respondents
SP = Spouses
DC = Discussants

1 = 1st panel wave
2 = 2nd panel wave
3 = 3rd panel wave

W = West German sample
E = East German sample

II. Technical description of data sets

In naming our data sets we have developed a specific convention in German language. The following correspondence list helps to relate the information given in this document to the data sets.

<i>Data set ...</i>	<i>contains...</i>
HB1W-M1.EXP	Main respondents, 1st wave, West Germany (MR1W)
HB1O-M1.EXP	Main respondents, 1st wave, East Germany (MR1E)
HB2W-M1.EXP	Main respondents, 2nd wave, West Germany (MR2W)
HB2O-M1.EXP	Main respondents, 2nd wave, East Germany (MR2E)
HB3W-M1.EXP	Main respondents, 3rd wave, West Germany (MR3W)
HB3O-M1.EXP	Main respondents, 3rd wave, East Germany (MR3E)
EP1W-M1.EXP	Spouses, 1st wave, West Germany (SP1W)
EP1O-M1.EXP	Spouses, 1st wave, East Germany (SP1E)
EP2W-M1.EXP	Spouses, 2nd wave, West Germany (SP2W)
EP2O-M1.EXP	Spouses, 2nd wave, East Germany (SP2E)
GPW-M1.EXP	Discussants, West Germany (DCW)
GPO-M1.EXP	Discussants, East Germany (DCE)

Obviously, all files are SPSS-Export-Files. The "M" signifies that these files can be matched either by cases (JOIN MATCH) or by variables (JOIN ADD). All 12 single files can thus be combined into one big file. Matching by variables may be useful in order to integrate West and East German respondents into one data set. It has to be taken into account, however, that the ID numbers of respondents are starting with number 0001 in both West and East German samples. Therefore, if West German and East German data are already integrated, ensuing JOIN MATCH steps must be executed by the two variables ID and REGION together.

In order to make combinations of data sets from different target persons and/or various panel waves (JOIN MATCH) as easy as possible we have avoided to assign identical names to variables in different data sets. We have developed a system of variable names which may be somewhat clumsy but has the advantage of unambiguity. Basically it is a system of prefixes and works as follows:

<i>Variable name ...</i>	<i>... meaning ...</i>	<i>... in data sets of ...</i>
E#	"Erste Welle"	Main respondents, 1st wave
Z#	"Zweite Welle"	Main respondents, 2nd wave
D#	"Dritte Welle"	Main respondents, 3rd wave
EE#	"Ehepartner/Erste Welle"	Spouses, 1st wave
EZ#	"Ehepartner/Zweite Welle"	Spouses, 2nd wave
G#	"Gesprächspartner"	Discussants

Thus E15 would be a variable in the data set from the first wave of West or East German main respondents interviews, whereas EZ28 would be a variable in the data set of the second wave of West or East German spouse interviews. There are also some, but few, technical variables at the beginning of each data set. These have proper names, such as REGION, which is, however, also supplemented by the prefix. The only exception from this rule is the variable ID which is needed for matching operations and needs therefore an identical name in all data sets.

There are quite a lot of variables that are not identical in West and East German data sets. A prominent example is vote intention, since the competing parties were in part different in both parts of the country (no CSU in East Germany, no DSU in West Germany, for instance). Another example are several demographic questions. Furthermore, there are also questions we used only in one part of the country, but not in the other. Party identification, for example, has only been asked for in the West German study, but not in East Germany. There, on the other hand, a substitute question was used in connection with the vote intention, which did not appear in the West German questionnaires. In order to alert users of the data sets to this situation, we added the letters W (standing for West) or O (standing for "Ost" = East) to the names of all variables that were not asked in an entirely identical fashion in both parts of the study. In order to allow for the possibility of JOIN ADD operations, however, we utilized a kind of 'zipper' principle: All data sets contain both -W and -O versions of these variables. But the -O versions are set to 0 and assigned missing in all West German files, and vice versa. Thus, for example, E123O would be an 'East German' variable with missing values in the West German data set and valid values only in the East German data set. On the other hand, E123W -- if existing -- would be valid only in West Germany.

An additional problem concerning West-East-matchings was posed by the fact that the ordering of some questions was not identical in West German and East German questionnaires. An example concerns the television channels. In West Germany the public channels were addressed first, followed by the private channels (which were not addressed in East Germany). In East Germany the East German channels were addressed first (but not at all in West Germany), followed by the West German public channels. In order to allow for matching we had to reorder variables. We did this only in the East German data sets and adapted the variable order in these cases to the order of the West German data sets.

To work with the data sets it is suggested to print dictionaries as a first step. All variables have variable labels, almost all have also value labels. These labels are in German. But the translations of the questionnaires that are provided in this document are supposed to rule out language problems that might otherwise arise. To link variables in the data sets to questionnaires, the variable labels have to be referred to. Except for the technical variables not referring to numbered questions, they contain consistently the question number, followed by a short reference to the question content. Thus, the variable E75 has the label 'F17A. 1.PROBLEM:RANG'. 'F17' means: question 17 ("Frage 17"), 'A' refers to the first part of this question, in this case the first item of the postmaterialism index ('1.PROBLEM:RANG' = first item: rank order).

As concerns the global structure of the data sets, they all begin consistently with a number of technical variables such as sampling points and (very important!) the REGION where the interviews were carried out (West or East Germany). PERSON refers to the target persons (main respondent, spouse, discussant) and is basically redundant. WEIGHT (only in HB1) is a weight provided by the institute that did the field work as a standard procedure in order to correct for deviations in a number of demographic variables. The German project group reached a consensus not to use this weight. The variables HB2 to GP in HB1 may be useful as filter variables. They inform for each main respondent about whether there are second and third wave interviews and whether there are spouse or discussant interviews. The variable GP is a special case, since it has several categories. Only one of them (code 1) signifies that in this case a valid discussant interview is existing. Categories 2 to 5 denote various variants of wrong persons interviewed as discussants. The variables HB2 to GP describe the data situation as it actually is. INTEP, INTGP and INTPANEL were generated by the field institute and were supposed to serve the same purpose, but are inaccurate, however. These technical variables are followed by the questions, and, in some data sets, by interviewers' assessments of the interview situation.

Finally, a remark concerning missing values. We defined consistently only NA (coded 0) as missing. Codes 9, 99 etc. also mean NA, but we have left these values valid where they occur. Codes 8, 98, 998 etc. mean DK, codes 7, 97, 997 etc. stand for explicit refusals. These are also defined as valid values.

III. Questionnaires

HB1W
(MRIW)

<Variable: STUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: PERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: REGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: NETZ + POINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: WEIGHT>

Sociodemographic representative weight

<Variable: INTEP>

Interview with spouse/partner was:

1 = conducted

2 = not conducted

3 = no spouse/partner

<Variable: INTGP>

Envelope to discussant was:

1 = posted by myself (interviewer)

2 = posted by respondent

3 = not filled in, refused

4 = no discussant

<Variable: INTPANEL>

Agreed to participate in 2nd wave interview

1 = yes

2 = no

<Variable: HB2>

2nd wave interview with main respondent:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset HB2

<Variable HB3>

3rd wave interview with main respondent:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset HB3

<Variable: EP1>

1st wave interview with spouse:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset EP1

2 = exists in dataset EP1, but not the same household

<Variable: EP2>

2nd wave interview with spouse:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset EP2

2 = exists in dataset EP2, but not the same household

<Variable: GP>

Interview with discussant:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = target person (most important discussant)

2 = incorrect target person (not most important discussant, but acquainted to main respondent)

3 = incorrect target person (person of unknown identity)

4 = main respondent himself

5 = incorrect target person (incorrect ID, cannot be corrected)

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the Federal Republic of Germany?

[INT.: Show list 1, read possible answers. In case of questions: The Federal Republic of Germany before reunification]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today?

[INT.: Show list 2]

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (4) Do you read a daily newspaper regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes 6

2 = no 5

- (5) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I read the "Bildzeitung" regularly/occasionally 8

2 = no, I don't 9

- (6) Which daily newspaper is it?

[INT.: Only one mentioning; only the daily newspaper that is read the most often]

..... 6a

If "Bildzeitung" 7

- (6a) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do

2 = no, I don't

- (7) Do you also read another daily newspaper?

yes, the following: -----

96 = no, I don't

- (7a) [INT.: Mark without asking]

Respondent has, including the "Bildzeitung", named:

1 = one or two daily newspapers 8

2 = three daily newspapers 7b

- (7b) Which two of these three newspapers do you read most often?

1 = -----

2 = -----

- (8) Name of 1st daily newspaper -----

Name of 2nd daily newspaper -----

- (8a) How many days per week do you read the?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1st newspaper: Read on: ----- day(s) per week

2nd newspaper: Read on: ----- day(s) per week

- (8b) How many days per week do you read the reports on political events in Germany and other countries in?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1st newspaper: Reports on political events read on: ----- day(s) per week

2nd newspaper: Reports on political events read on: ----- day(s) per week

- (8c) And how about political commentaries and editorials? How many days per week do you read the political commentaries and editorials in?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1st newspaper: Commentaries/editorials read on: ----- day(s) per week

2nd newspaper: Commentaries/editorials read on: ----- day(s) per week

- (8d) Regardless of how often you read your daily newspaper(s): How attentively do you normally read the reports on the political events in Germany and other countries in?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1 = very attentively

2 = attentively

3 = less attentively

4 = not attentively at all

1 = very attentively

2 = attentively

3 = less attentively

4 = not attentively at all

- (9) Please tell me if you read the "Spiegel" or "Die Zeit": regularly, occasionally, rarely or never.

"Spiegel" is read:

1 = regularly

2 = occasionally

3 = rarely

4 = never

"Die Zeit" is read:

1 = regularly

2 = occasionally

3 = rarely

4 = never

- (10) What do you think: How many books did you read in the last three months? Or didn't you read any books during this period?

[INT.: Note only one value]

Number of books: -----

96 = No books read

- (11) Can you receive the channels RTL plus and/or SAT1 on your TV at home?

Please tell me if you don't have a television at all.

- 1 = yes, RTL plus and SAT1 12
 2 = yes, RTL plus 12
 3 = yes, SAT1 12
 4 = no, none of the two 12b
 5 = no TV set in the household 17

- (12) Thinking about the first channel of ARD, the second channel of ZDF, the third channels of ARD, RTL plus and/or SAT1: Which of all these is your favourite channel?

[INT.: Show list 3]

Favourite channel:

- 01 = 1st channel ARD 12a
 02 = 2nd channel ZDF 12a
 03 = one of the 3rd channels of ARD 12a
 04 = SAT1 12a
 05 = RTL plus 12a
 None of these channels, but:
 ----- 12a
 96 = don't have any favourite channel 13

- (12a) Which channel do you like second best?

[INT.: Show list 3 again. Only channels that respondents can receive]

- 01 = 1st channel ARD 13
 02 = 2nd channel ZDF 13
 03 = one of the 3rd channels of ARD 13
 04 = SAT1 13
 05 = RTL plus 13
 None of these channels, but:
 ----- 13
 96 = there is no channel I like second best 13

- (12b) When you think about the first channel of ARD, the second channel of ZDF and the third channels of ARD: Which of these is your favourite channel?

Favourite channel:

01 = 1st channel ARD

02 = 2nd channel ZDF

03 = one of the 3rd channels of ARD

None of these channels, but:

96 = don't have any favourite channel

(12c) Which channel do you like second best?

[INT.: Show list 3 again]

01 = 1st channel ARD

02 = 2nd channel ZDF

03 = one of the 3rd channels of ARD

None of these channels, but:

96 = there is no channel I like second best

(13) I give you the titles of different news programmes on TV. Please tell me on how many days per week you normally watch these programmes.

[INT.: Show list 4. Note only one value.]

"Tagesschau", 1st channel ARD, at 20.00	----- days	96 = never
---	------------	------------

"Tagesthemen", 1st channel ARD, at 22.30	----- days	96 = never
--	------------	------------

"Heute", 2nd channel ZDF, at 19.00	----- days	96 = never
------------------------------------	------------	------------

"Heute-Journal", 2nd channel ZDF, at 21.45	----- days	96 = never
--	------------	------------

[INT.: Ask only if respondent can receive channels SAT1 and/or RTL plus (see question 11)]

"SAT1 Blick", at 18.45 or ca. 22.00	----- days	96 = never
-------------------------------------	------------	------------

"RTL-aktuell", at 18.45 or 21.35	----- days	96 = never
----------------------------------	------------	------------

(14) How attentively do you follow the news reports on political events in Germany and other countries?

Would you say: Very attentively, attentively, less attentively or not attentively at all?

1 = very attentively

2 = attentively

3 = less attentively

4 = not attentively at all

- (15) I give you the titles of different TV programmes. Please tell me for each programme if you watch it regularly, occasionally, rarely or never.

[INT.: Show list 5]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Derrick (ZDF)					
Wetten daß (ZDF)					
Lindenstraße (ARD)					
Der große Preis (ZDF)					
Tatort (ARD)					
Verstehen Sie Spaß? (ARD)					
Mit Leib und Seele (ZDF)					
ARD-Wunschkonzert (ARD)					

[INT.: Ask only if respondent can receive channels SAT1 and/or RTL plus (see question 11)]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Knight Rider (RTL plus)					
Das Glücksrad (SAT1)					

- (16) How about political programmes? Do you watch the following programmes regularly, occasionally, rarely or never?

[INT.: Show list 6]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Panorama (ARD)					
Monitor (ARD)					
Studio 1 (ZDF)					
Kennzeichen D (ZDF)					
Report (ARD)					
Im Brennpunkt (ARD)					
WISO (ZDF)					
Plusminus (ARD)					

[INT.: Ask only if respondent can receive channels SAT1 and/or RTL plus (see question 11)]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Explosiv (RTL plus)					
Stern TV (SAT1)					
Spiegel TV (SAT1 or RTL plus)					

(17) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

[INT.: Exact and detailed; up to four answers possible]

	Question 17a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

(17a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Fill in above question 17a: "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important]

(18) In politics as well as in all other fields one cannot get everything at the same time. On this list you see some goals to follow in politics. If you had to choose among the following things, which one would be the most important to you?

[INT.: Show list 7; only one answer possible; note "1" for the most important goal]

Which goal would you rank second?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "2"]

And which one would come third?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "3"; for the goal left note "4" without asking]

Maintaining order in the nation	8=don't know -----
Giving the people more say in important political decisions	8=don't know -----
Fighting rising prices	8=don't know -----
Protecting freedom of speech	8=don't know -----

- (19) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 20

2 = no 21

8 = don't know 21

- (20) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list 8]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote? Please give me the code letter.

First vote:

1 = CDU/CSU (A)

2 = SDP (B)

3 = FDP (C)

4 = The Greens (D)

5 = Republicans (E)

6 = Linke Liste/PDS (F)

7 = other party (G)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

Which party will you vote for with your second vote? Please give me again the code letter.

Second vote:

1 = CDU/CSU (H)

2 = SDP (J)

3 = FDP (K)

4 = The Greens (L)

5 = Republicans (M)

6 = Left List/PDS (P)

7 = other party (Q)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

(20a) Which of these two votes is decisive for the number of parliamentary seats the parties will win: the first vote or the second vote?

1 = first vote

2 = second vote

3 = both

8 = don't know

(21) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

(22) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

(22a) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

(23) The following two questions are about democracy. The first does not refer to existing democracies but to the idea of democracy. Mark in the scale how much you are, generally speaking, in favour or opposed to the idea of democracy.

[INT.: Show list 9]

1 = very much in favour of the idea of democracy

2 = rather in favour of the idea of democracy

3 = somewhat in favour of the idea of democracy

4 = somewhat against the idea of democracy

5 = rather against the idea of democracy

6 = very much against the idea of democracy

8 = don't know

(24) And how about the democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany? How satisfied or unsatisfied are you - all in all - with the democracy as it is existing in Germany?

[INT.: Show list 10]

1 = very satisfied

2 = rather satisfied

3 = somewhat satisfied

4 = somewhat unsatisfied

5 = rather unsatisfied

6 = very unsatisfied

8 = don't know

- (25) Many people use the terms LEFT and RIGHT when they want to characterize different political attitudes. Here is a scale ranging from left to right. Referring to your own political attitudes, where would you rank them on this scale?

[INT.: Show the respondents only the first Left-Right scale]

Left	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Right
------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-------

98 = don't know

- (26) We have noted down some statements in this list. Concerning each statement, tell me to what extent they apply or do not apply to you personally. 1 on the scale means it doesn't apply to you at all, 7 means it exactly applies to you. You can differentiate with the grades between.

[INT.: Show list 11]

doesn't apply at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	applies exactly
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------

It's easy for me to discuss political issues.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
I feel personally insecure trying to evaluate political facts.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
I don't have any difficulty grasping politics.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
Nobody is perfect. When it comes to politics, I just don't get it.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

- (27) Many people tend to one particular party over a long period of time, although they do vote for another party once in while. How about you: Do you - generally speaking - tend to a particular party and if yes, to which one?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

- 1 = SDP 27a
 2 = CDU 27a
 3 = CSU 27a
 4 = FDP 27a
 5 = The Greens 27a
 6 = Republicans 27a
 another, namely:
 27a
 96 = no 28
 98 = don't know 28
 97 = answer refused 28

- (27a) How strong is - all in all - your affiliation to this party: very strong, rather strong, moderate, rather weak, very weak?

- 1 = very strong
 2 = rather strong
 3 = moderate
 4 = rather weak
 5 = very weak
 8 = don't know
 9 = no answer

- (28) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 12]

0	-----
---	-------

- (29) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 12]

SDP	0	-----
CDU	0	-----
CSU	0	-----
FDP	0	-----
The Greens	0	-----
PDS	0	-----

- (30) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.

What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 13]

0	-----
---	-------

- (31) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 13]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (32) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 14]

0	-----
---	-------

- (33) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 14]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (34) Concerning nuclear energy, there are as well contradictory attitudes. Some say the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, others say all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 15]

0	-----
---	-------

- (35) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of nuclear energy? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 15]

SDP

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

- (36) [INT.: Important filter - mark without asking]

The interview is carried out in:

1 = the former Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) 37a

2 = West Berlin..... 37b

(37a) The last general election was on 25 January 1987. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

- 1 = CDU/CSU..... 38
- 2 = SDP 38
- 3 = FDP 38
- 4 = The Greens 38
- 5 = NDP..... 38
- other, namely:
----- 38
- 94 = no second vote casted..... 38
- 95 = not entitled to vote 38
- 96 = didn't vote because of other reasons 38
- 97 = answer refused 38
- 98 = can't remember 38

(37b) The last election of the House of Representatives in Berlin was on 29 January 1989. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

- 1 = CDU
- 2 = SDP
- 3 = FDP
- 4 = AL
- 5 = Republicans
- 6 = SEW
- 7 = ÖDP
- other, namely:

- 94 = no second vote casted
- 95 = not entitled to vote
- 96 = didn't vote because of other reasons
- 97 = answer refused
- 98 = can't remember

- (38) In this list you will find organizations that many citizens regard as their representatives. Regardless of whether you are member of one of these organizations: Tell me please for each organization whether it represents your interests or whether it opposes your interests.

[INT.: Show list 16; mark one number for each organization]

	represent my interests	oppose my interests	neither nor/ neutral	don't know	don't know the organization
Trade Unions	1	2	3	4	5
Business or Professional Associations	1	2	3	4	5
Women's Organizations	1	2	3	4	5
Groups for Elderly People	1	2	3	4	5
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	1	2	3	4	5
Associations of Expelled	1	2	3	4	5
Catholic Church	1	2	3	4	5
Protestant Church	1	2	3	4	5
Environmental Organizations	1	2	3	4	5
CDU/CSU	1	2	3	4	5
SDP	1	2	3	4	5
FDP	1	2	3	4	5
The Greens	1	2	3	4	5
The Republicans	1	2	3	4	5
PDS	1	2	3	4	5

(39) Which of these organizations is the most important to you?

[INT.: Show again list 17; only one answer possible]

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	P	Q

[Only for A, B, C, D, E, F, J:] Could you please give me the exact name of this organization

(40) From time to time, most people discuss important personal matters with other people. Looking back over the last six months - that would be back to last August - who are the people with whom you discussed an important personal matter? Please just tell me the first names or initials.

[INT.: Record names in the order listed by respondent and record total number of people named. If fewer than five names are given, probe: Anyone else?]

(41) Concerning these persons I'd like to ask you some more questions. First of all:

[INT.: Go on with text question 41a]

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person	additional 5th person
Note down first name					no additional person 996
(41a) How often do you, on average, get in touch with these persons - meetings as well as phone calls? Give me the information for each person with the corresponding code letter from the upper part A of the list	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)
(41b) When you talk with these persons, how often do you discuss political questions? Answer now with the middle part B of the list	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)

(41c) What kind of relationship do you have with these persons? Please answer with the lower part C of the list. If more than one thing from the list applies to one person, name everything.	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)
---	---	---	---	---	---

(41d)/Additional person

Are there, in addition to these persons, others with whom you talk about political questions? Please give me the first name of the additional person with whom you also discuss political matters frequently.

[INT.: Note first names and, if necessary, first letter of the surname in column "Additional person", then ask questions 41a-41c for this person as well using list 17 for answers]

Repeat names of question 40	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person	Additional 5th person no additional person 996
(42) Would you please tell me the person's age and sex ?	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f

(43) Please tell me for each person whether he/she is worker, employee, civil servant, self-employed, student or not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed
(44) Do you know if he/she is a member of a Trade Union?	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know
(45) Please tell me which religious denomination the persons belong to	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know
(46) Which party do you think would these persons vote for in the general election of 2 December this year?	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused

(47) How much do these persons, in your opinion, know about politics: much or very much, average, less much?	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much
---	--	--	--	--	--

Repeat names of question 40	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person	Additional 5th person
					No additional person 996
(48) When you discuss political matters with these persons, how often do you have different opinions: often, sometimes, seldom, never?	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never

<p>(49)</p> <p>We have already talked about different opinions concerning abortion. Using the same scale, could you tell me the opinion of the persons named by you? Let's start again with Where would you rank him/her on the scale?</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>
---	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

- (50) Apart from your spouse/partner - with whom of these persons have you most frequently discussed political matters lately?

1 = 1st person

2 = 2nd person

3 = 3rd person

4 = 4th person

5 = 5th person

- (51) We would also like to interview this person and would therefore ask you for your kind support. We have prepared a letter containing information on our study and asking the addressee to take part in an interview. There is a reply card enclosed so that the person can communicate us if she/he wants to participate or not. We would only get in touch with her/him if she/he agrees by sending back the reply card to take part in the interview.

The interview will take 20 minutes, that means it is a bit shorter than our interview. If the person has a telephone, we could do it in the form of a telephone-interview. As a thank you, there would also be the possibility to take part in our tombola. What I would ask you now is that we address the envelope now and I post it then.

1 = The envelope is addressed, I (interviewer) post it..... 52

2 = Respondent absolutely wants to forward the letter himself/herself 52

3 = Respondent refuses to write or get into touch with this person 54

- (52) On this reply card you can add some greetings and your name as co-sender. We would be very grateful because this would make the work with random sample surveys of our institute much easier.

1 = Respondent adds name

2 = Respondent refuses to add name

- (53) If the reply card is sent back to us and we arrange an interview date, would you prefer that we tell the person that you gave us the address or shouldn't we mention it?

1 = can tell the person 55

2 = rather not mention it 55

- (54) Reasons for refusing:

- (55) Many thanks. Now let's go back again to our interview with some final questions about statistics.

- (S1) Sex of respondent: 1 = Man
2 = Woman

- (S2) First of all I am going to ask questions concerning your education and your job.
Let's start with your education.
[INT.: Show list S1]

What educational level do you have?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; highest school-leaving examination should be registered]

1 = I am attending a school S8

2 = left school without examination S3

3 = elementary school (Volks-, Hauptschule)..... S3

4 = secondary school (Mittlere Reife) S3

5 = Fachabitur (restricted Abitur).....S3

6 = Abitur S3

7 = university degree.....S3

8 = different school-leaving examination that is:.....S3

(S3) Are you at the moment:

- 1 = working full-time S4
2 = working part-time S4
3 = working occasionally S8
4 = not working S8

(S4) Which professional category do you think you belong to according to these cards? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible; fill in corresponding number]

- A-1 = farmer
B-2 = academic self-employed professional
C-3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service
D-4 = civil servant/judge, professional soldier
E-5 = employee
F-6 = worker
G-7 = student, professional trainee
H-8 = helping member of the family

(S5) What is your main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]

(S6) What kind of workplace is it? Is something produced and if yes, what? Is it wholesale or retail trade? What kind of trade is it? What is the general term for your workplace?

(S7) Are you occupied in the civil service?

- 1 = yes S12
2 = no S12

- (S8) Please look at this list and tell me which of these things apply to you . Please give me the corresponding code letters.

[INT.: Show list S2, only one answer possible]

- A-1 = I am pupil/student S12
B-2 = I am retired S9
C-3 = I am unemployed at the moment S9
D-4 = I am housewife/househusband..... S9
E-5 = I am doing military service/community service S9
F-6 = I am not employed (full-time) for other reasons S9

- (S9) Until which year did you have a main occupation or have you never had one?

- until 19..... S10
96 = never had a main occupation..... S12

- (S10) Which professional category did you then belong to? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible; fill in the corresponding number]

- A-1 = farmer
B-2 = academic self-employed professional
C-3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service
D-4 = civil servant/judge, professional soldier
E-5 = employee
F-6 = worker
G-7 = student, professional trainee
H-8 = helping member of the family

- (S11) What was your last main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]

(S12) What is your marital status?

- 1 = married and living together with your spouse..... S15
- 2 = married and separated from your spouse S13
- 3 = widow(er) S13
- 4 = divorced..... S13
- 5 = not married S13

(S13) Do you have a steady partner, regardless of whether you share an apartment?

- 1 = yes S14
- 2 = no S15

(S14) Do you run one household together with your partner?

- 1 = yes
- 2 = no

(S15) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

[INT.: Show list S3; only one answer possible]

- A-1 = the Roman Catholic Church
- B-2 = the Protestant Church (without Free Churches)
- C-3 = a Protestant Free Church
- D-4 = another Christian Religious Community
- E-5 = another not Christian Religious Community
- F-6 = no Religious Community

(S16) How often do you normally go to church?

- 1 = more than once a week
- 2 = once a week
- 3 = one to three times a month
- 4 = several times a year
- 5 = less often
- 6 = never

(S17) Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

(S18) Were you born in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany including West-Berlin?

1 = yes S21

2 = no S19

(S19) Since when have you been living here in

[INT.: Fill in Federal Republic of Germany respectively West-Berlin]

month:

year:

(S20) What was your last place of residence before that?

[INT.: Show list S4; only one answer possible]

A-1 = GDR respectively East-Berlin/former Soviet Zone

B-2 = former German Eastern parts (Pomerania, Silesia, East Prussia)

C-3 = Eastern neighbour countries, South-Eastern Europe

D-4 = other European country

E-5 = non-European country

(S21) How do you mainly earn your living?

[INT.: Show list S5; only one answer possible]

A-1 = own employment

B-2 = own pension

C-3 = own unemployment benefits (Arbeitslosengeld)

D-4 = own unemployment benefit (Arbeitslosenhilfe)

E-5 = maintenance paid by parents

F-6 = maintenance paid by the partner

G-7 = own property, renting, interests ...

H-8 = income support or other kinds of support

(S22) The next question refers to the place where you respectively your family live. How do you live here?

[INT.: Show list S6; only one answer possible]

A-1 = in a rented room

B-2 = in a company flat

C-3 = in a rented state-subsidized flat

D-4 = in a rented flat (no state-subsidized flat), in a rented owner-occupied flat

E-5 = in a rented house

F-6 = in an owner-occupied flat (own or family property)

G-7 = in an own house (or in the family's house)

H-8 = other

(S23) How many persons including your children and yourself belong to your household?

Persons:

(S24) How many of these persons have the German nationality and completed his/her 18th year, so that they would be entitled to vote?

Persons entitled to vote:

(S25) Are there persons in your household not being older than 17?

Children from 0 to 5 years

Children from 6 to 9 years

Children from 10 to 13 years

Children from 14 to 17 years

No 0

(S26) Are there persons older than 18 in your household that do not have the German nationality?

1 = yes

2 = no

(S27) Do you have a telephone in your household?

1 = yes

2 = no

HB1O
(MR1E)

<Variable: STUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: PERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: REGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: NETZ + POINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: WEIGHT>

Sociodemographic representative weight

<Variable: INTEP>

Interview with spouse/partner was:

1 = conducted

2 = not conducted

3 = no spouse/partner

<Variable: INTGP>

Envelope to discussant was:

1 = posted by myself (interviewer)

2 = posted by respondent

3 = not filled in, refused

4 = no discussant

<Variable: INTPANEL>

Agreed to participate in 2nd wave interview

1 = yes

2 = no

<Variable: HB2>

2nd wave interview with main respondent:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset HB2

<Variable: HB3>

3rd wave interview with main respondent:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset HB3

<Variable: EP1>

1st wave interview with spouse:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset EP1

<Variable: EP2>

2nd wave interview with spouse:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = exists in dataset EP2

<Variable: GP>

Interview with discussant:

0 = does not exist in dataset

1 = target person (most important discussant)

2 = incorrect target person (not most important discussant, but acquainted to main respondent)

3 = incorrect target person (person of unknown identity)

4 = main respondent himself

5 = incorrect target person (incorrect ID, cannot be corrected)

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the GDR?

[INT.: Show list 1]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the GDR to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today?

[INT.: Show list 2]

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (4) Do you read a daily newspaper regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes 6

2 = no 5

- (5) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do 8

2 = no, I don't 9

- (6) Which daily newspaper is it?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; only the daily newspaper that is read the most often]

..... 6a

If "Bildzeitung" 7

(6a) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do

2 = no, I don't

(7) Do you also read another daily newspaper?

yes, the following: -----

96 = no, I don't

(7a) [INT.: Mark without asking]

Respondent has, including the "Bildzeitung", named:

1 = one or two daily newspapers 8

2 = three daily newspapers 7b

(7b) Which two of these three newspapers do you read most often?

1 = -----

2 = -----

(8) Name of 1st daily newspaper -----

Name of 2nd daily newspaper -----

(8a) How many days per week do you read the?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1st newspaper: Read on: ----- day(s) per week

2nd newspaper: Read on: ----- day(s) per week

(8b) How many days per week do you read the reports on political events in Germany and other countries in?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1st newspaper: Reports on political events read on: ----- day(s) per week

2nd newspaper: Reports on political events read on: ----- day(s) per week

(8c) And how about political commentaries and editorials? How many days per week do you read the political commentaries and editorials in?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1st newspaper: Commentaries/editorials read on: ----- day(s) per week

2nd newspaper: Commentaries/editorials read on: ----- day(s) per week

- (8d) Regardless of how often you read your daily newspaper(s): How attentively do you normally read the reports on the political events in Germany and other countries in?

[INT.: Name daily newspaper(s). Note only one value per newspaper.]

1 = very attentively

2 = attentively

3 = less attentively

4 = not attentively at all

1 = very attentively

2 = attentively

3 = less attentively

4 = not attentively at all

- (9) Please tell me if you read the "Spiegel" or "Die Zeit": regularly, occasionally, rarely or never.

"Spiegel" is read:

1 = regularly

2 = occasionally

3 = rarely

4 = never

"Die Zeit" is read:

1 = regularly

2 = occasionally

3 = rarely

4 = never

- (10) What do you think: How many books did you read in the last three months? Or didn't you read any books during this period?

[INT.: Note only one value]

Number of books: -----

96 = No books read

- (11) Can you receive the West German channels of ARD and/or ZDF on your TV at home?

Please tell me if you don't have a television at all.

1 = yes, ARD (first channel) and ZDF (second channel) 12

2 = yes, ARD 12

3 = yes, ZDF 12

4 = no, none of the two 13

5 = no TV set in the household 17

- (12) Thinking about the channels DFF 1, DFF 2 and also the West German channels of ARD and ZDF: Which of all these is your favourite channel?

[INT.: Show list 3]

Favourite channel:

01 = DFF 1 12a

02 = DFF 2 12a

03 = ARD 12a

04 = ZDF 12a

None of these channels, but:

----- 12a

96 = don't have any favourite channel 13

- (12a) Which channel do you like second best?

[INT.: Show list again. Only channels that respondents can receive]

01 = DFF 1

02 = DFF 2

03 = ARD

04 = ZDF

None of these channels, but:

96 = don't have any favourite channel

- (13) I give you the titles of different news programmes on TV. Please tell me on how many days per week you normally watch these programmes.

[INT.: Show list 4. Note only one value.]

"AK am Abend", DFF 1, at 19.30 ----- days 96 = never

"AK zwei Nachrichten", DFF 2, at 22.00 ----- days 96 = never

[INT.: Ask only if respondent can receive channels ARD and/or ZDF (see question 11)]

"Tagesschau", ARD, at 20.00 ----- days 96 = never

"Tagesthemen", ARD, at 22.30 ----- days 96 = never

"Heute", ZDF, at 19.00 ----- days 96 = never

"Heute-Journal", ZDF, at 21.45 ----- days 96 = never

- (14) How attentively do you follow the news reports on political events in Germany and other countries?

Would you say: Very attentively, attentively, less attentively or not attentively at all?

1 = very attentively

2 = attentively

3 = less attentively

4 = not attentively at all

- (15) I give you the titles of different TV programmes. Please tell me for each programme if you watch it regularly, occasionally, rarely or never.

[INT.: Show list 5]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Ein Kessel Bunes					
Glück muß man haben					
Klein aber Charlotte					
Zahn um Zahn					

[INT.: Ask only if respondent can receive channels ARD and/or ZDF (see question 11)]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Derrick (ZDF)					
Wetten daß (ZDF)					
Lindenstraße (ARD)					
Der große Preis (ZDF)					
Tatort (ARD)					
Verstehen Sie Spaß? (ARD)					
Mit Leib und Seele (ZDF)					
ARD-Wunschkonzert (ARD)					

- (16) How about political programmes? Do you watch the following programmes regularly, occasionally, rarely or never?

[INT.: Show list 6]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Controvers/Deutschlandmagazin					
Prisma					
Klartext					
Spiegel-TV (DFF)					
Stern-TV (DFF)					

[INT.: Ask only if respondent can receive channels ARD and/or ZDF (see question 11)]

	1=regularly	2=occasionally	3=rarely	4=never	6=don't know the programme
Panorama (ARD)					
Monitor (ARD)					
Studio 1 (ZDF)					
Kennzeichen D (ZDF)					
Report (ARD)					
Im Brennpunkt (ARD)					
WISO (ZDF)					
Plusminus (ARD)					

(17) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

[INT.: Exact and detailed; up to four answers possible]

	Question 17a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

(17a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Fill in above question 17a: "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important]

(18) In politics as well as in all other fields one cannot get everything at the same time. On this list you see some goals to follow in politics. If you had to choose among the following things, which one would be the most important to you?

[INT.: Show list 7; only one answer possible; note "1" for the most important goal]

Which goal would you rank second?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "2"]

And which one would come third?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "3"; for the goal left note "4" without asking]

Maintaining order in the nation	8=don't know -----
Giving the people more say in important political decisions	8=don't know -----
Fighting rising prices	8=don't know -----
Protecting freedom of speech	8=don't know -----

- (19) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 20
 2 = no 21
 8 = don't know 21

- (20) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote? Please give me the code letter.

First vote:

1 = CDU (A)
 2 = SDP (B)
 3 = PDS (C)
 4 = FDP (D)
 5 = DSU (E)
 6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (F)
 7 = The Republicans (G)
 8 = other party (H)

 98 = don't know
 97 = answer refused

Which party will you vote for with your second vote? Please give me again the code letter.

Second vote:

1 = CDU (H)

2 = SDP (J)

3 = PDS (K)

4 = FDP (L)

5 = DSU (M)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (P)

7 = The Republicans (Q)

8 = other party (R)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

(20a) Which of these two votes is decisive for the number of parliamentary seats the parties will win: the first vote or the second vote?

1 = first vote

2 = second vote

3 = both

8 = don't know

(20b) How strong is your affiliation - all in all - to the party you will probably give your second vote?

1 = very strong

2 = rather strong

3 = moderate

4 = rather weak

5 = very weak

8 = don't know

9 = no answer

(21) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (22) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

- (22a) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (23) The following two questions are about democracy. The first does not refer to existing democracies but to the idea of democracy. Mark in the scale how much you are, generally speaking, in favour or opposed to the idea of democracy.

[INT.: Show list 9]

1 = very much in favour of the idea of democracy

2 = rather in favour of the idea of democracy

3 = somewhat in favour of the idea of democracy

4 = somewhat against the idea of democracy

5 = rather against the idea of democracy

6 = very much against the idea of democracy

8 = don't know

- (24) And how about the democracy in the GDR since the beginning of the year? How satisfied or unsatisfied are you - all in all - with the democracy as it has been in the GDR since the beginning of the year?

[INT.: Show list 10]

1 = very satisfied

2 = rather satisfied

3 = somewhat satisfied

4 = somewhat unsatisfied

5 = rather unsatisfied

6 = very unsatisfied

8 = don't know

- (25) Many people use the terms LEFT and RIGHT when they want to characterize different political attitudes. Here is a scale ranging from left to right. Referring to your own political attitudes, where would you rank them on this scale?

[INT.: Respondent should mark with a cross in the Left-Right-scale on the page before; the scale below is only for the interviewer]

Left	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Right
------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-------

98 = don't know

- (26) We have noted down some statements in this list. Concerning each statement, tell me to what extent they apply or do not apply to you personally. 1 on the scale means it doesn't apply to you at all, 7 means it exactly applies to you. You can differentiate with the grades between.

[INT.: Show list 11]

doesn't apply at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	applies exactly
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------

It's easy for me to discuss political issues.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
I feel personally insecure trying to evaluate political facts.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
I don't have any difficulty grasping politics.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
Nobody is perfect. When it comes to politics, I just don't get it.	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

(27) Question (27) is left out

(28) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 12]

0	-----
---	-------

(29) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 12]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (30) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not. What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.
[INT.: Show list 13]

0	-----
---	-------

- (31) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.
[INT.: Show list 13]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (32) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 14]

0	-----
---	-------

- (33) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 14]

SDP

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

- (34) Concerning nuclear energy, there are as well contradictory attitudes. Some say the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, others say all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 15]

0	-----
---	-------

(35) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of nuclear energy?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 15]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

Attention: Questions (36) - (37b) are left out

(37c) The last election to the East German Parliament was on 18 March 1990. Which party did you vote for in this election?

[INT: Only one answer possible]

1 = CDU

2 = DA

3 = DSU

4 = SDP

5 = The Greens/Independent Women's Association

6 = Bündnis 90

7 = PDS

8 = Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany

9 = League of Free Democrats

other, namely: -----

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

97 = answer refused

98 = can't remember

(38) In this list you will find organizations that many citizens regard as their representatives. Regardless of whether you are member of one of these organizations: Tell me please for each organization whether it represents your interests or whether it opposes your interests.

[INT.: Show list 16]

	represent my interests	oppose my interests	neither nor/ neutral	don't know	don't know the organization
Trade Unions	1	2	3	4	5
Business or Professional Associations	1	2	3	4	5
Women's Organizations	1	2	3	4	5
Groups for Elderly People	1	2	3	4	5
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	1	2	3	4	5
Associations of Expelled	1	2	3	4	5
Catholic Church	1	2	3	4	5
Protestant Church	1	2	3	4	5
Environmental Organizations	1	2	3	4	5
CDU/CSU	1	2	3	4	5
DSU	1	2	3	4	5
SDP	1	2	3	4	5
FDP	1	2	3	4	5
PDS	1	2	3	4	5
The Greens	1	2	3	4	5
Bündnis 90	1	2	3	4	5
Republicans	1	2	3	4	5

(39) Which of these organizations is the most important to you?

[INT.: Show again list 16; only one answer possible]

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	P	Q	R	S	T

[Only for A, B, C, D, E, F, J:] Could you please give me the exact name of this organization

(40) From time to time, most people discuss important personal matters with other people. Looking back over the last six months - that would be back to last August - who are the people with whom you discussed an important personal matter? Please just tell me the first names or initials.

[INT.: Record names in the order listed by respondent and record total number of people named. If fewer than five names are given, probe: Anyone else?]

(41) Concerning these persons I'd like to ask you some more questions. First of all:

[INT.: Go on with text question 41a]

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person	additional 5th person
Note down first name					no additional person 996
(41a) How often do you, on average, get in touch with these persons - meetings as well as phone calls? Give me the information for each person with the corresponding code letter from the upper part A of the list	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)	a - 1 (almost daily) a - 2 (at least once a week) a - 3 (at least once a month) a - 4 (less than once a month)
(41b) When you talk with these persons, how often do you discuss political questions? Answer now with the middle part B of the list	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)	b - 1 (almost always) b - 2 (sometimes) b - 3 (seldom) b - 4 (never)

(41c) What kind of relationship do you have with these persons? Please answer with the lower part C of the list. If more than one thing from the list applies to one person, name everything.	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)	c - 1 (spouse/partner) c - 2 (other relative) c - 3 (neighbour) c . 4 (in the same organization or association) c - 5 (colleague) c - 6 (friend) c - 7 (nothing of that, other connection)
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(41d)/Additional person

Are there, in addition to these persons, others with whom you talk about political questions? Please give me the first name of the additional person with whom you also discuss political matters frequently.

[INT.: Note first names and, if necessary, first letter of the surname in column "Additional person", then ask questions 41a-41c for this person as well using list 17 for answers]

Repeat names of question 40	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person	Additional 5th person
					no additional person 996
(42) Would you please tell me the person's age and sex ?	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f	----- years 1 = m 2 = f

(43) Please tell me for each person whether he/she is worker, employee, civil servant, self-employed, student or not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed	1 = worker 2 = employee 3 = civil servant 4 = self-employed 5 = student 6 = not employed
(44) Do you know if he/she is a member of a Trade Union?	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know	1 = member 2 = no member 8 = don't know
(45) Please tell me which religious denomination the persons belong to	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know	1 = catholic 2 = protestant 3 = other 4 = none 8 = don't know
(46) Which party do you think would these persons vote for in the general election of 2 December this year?	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused	01 = CDU/CSU 02 = SDP 03 = FDP 04 = The Greens 05 = Republicans 06 = Left List/PDS 07 = other party 96 = won't vote 98 = don't know 97 = answer refused

(47) How much do these persons, in your opinion, know about politics: much or very much, average, less much?	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much	1 = much/very much 2 = average 3 = less much
---	--	--	--	--	--

Repeat names of question 40	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person	Additional 5th person
					No additional person 996
(48) When you discuss political matters with these persons, how often do you have different opinions: often, sometimes, seldom, never?	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = seldom 4 = never

<p>(49)</p> <p>We have already talked about different opinions concerning abortion. Using the same scale, could you tell me the opinion of the persons named by you? Let's start again with Where would you rank him/her on the scale?</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>	<p>0 -----</p>
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- (50) Apart from your spouse/partner - with whom of these persons have you most frequently discussed political matters lately?

1 = 1st person

2 = 2nd person

3 = 3rd person

4 = 4th person

5 = 5th person

- (51) We would also like to interview this person and would therefore ask you for your kind support. We have prepared a letter containing information on our study and asking the addressee to take part in an interview. There is a reply card enclosed so that the person can communicate us if she/he wants to participate or not. We would only get in touch with her/him if she/he agrees by sending back the reply card to take part in the interview.

The interview will take 20 minutes, that means it is a bit shorter than our interview. If the person has a telephone, we could do it in the form of a telephone-interview. As a thank you, there would also be the possibility to take part in our tombola. What I would ask you now is that we address the envelope now and I post it then.

1 = The envelope is addressed, I (interviewer) post it..... 52

2 = Respondent absolutely wants to forward the letter himself/herself 52

3 = Respondent refuses to write or get into touch with this person 54

- (52) On this reply card you can add some greetings and your name as co-sender. We would be very grateful because this would make the work with random sample surveys of our institute much easier.

1 = Respondent adds name

2 = Respondent refuses to add name

- (53) If the reply card is sent back to us and we arrange an interview date, would you prefer that we tell the person that you gave us the address or shouldn't we mention it?

1 = can tell the person 55

2 = rather not mention it 55

- (54) Reasons for refusing:

- (55) Many thanks. Now let's go back again to our interview with some final questions about statistics.

- (S1) Sex of respondent: 1 = Man
2 = Woman

- (S2) First of all I am going to ask questions concerning your education and your job.

Let's start with your education.

[INT.: Show list S1]

What educational level do you have?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; highest school-leaving examination should be registered]

1 = I am attending a school S8

2 = left school without examination S3

3 = elementary school (Volksschule)..... S3

4 = polytechnic secondary school with examination in 8th class

(before 1965).....S3

5 = polytechnic secondary school with examination in 10th class

(after 1965) S3

6 = extended secondary school (EOS) without examination S3

7 = extended secondary school (EOS) with examination S3

8 = university degree..... S3

9 = different school-leaving examination that is:..... S3

(S3) Are you at the moment:

- 1 = working full-time S4
 2 = working part-time S4
 3 = working occasionally S8
 4 = not working S8

(S4) Which professional category do you think you belong to according to these cards? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible; fill in corresponding number]

A-1 = farmer or gardener

B-2 = academic self-employed professional

C-3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service, also self-employed professional and member of a co-operative

D-4 = employee in the services sector (including trade, traffic, health, education and so on)

E-5 = worker in production, industry, trade, building

F-6 = student, professional trainee

(S5) What is your main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]

(S6) What kind of workplace is it? Is something produced and if yes, what? Is it wholesale or retail trade? What kind of trade is it? What is the general term for your workplace?

----- S12

(S8) Please look at this list and tell me which of these things apply to you. Please give me the corresponding code letters.

[INT.: Show list S2; only one answer possible]

A-1 = I am pupil/student S12

B-2 = I am retired S9

C-3 = I am unemployed at the moment S9

D-4 = I am housewife/househusband S9

E-5 = I am doing military service/community service S9

F-6 = I am not employed (full-time) for other reasons S9

(S9) Until which year did you have a main occupation or have you never had one?

until 19..... S10

96 = never had a main occupation..... S12

(S10) Which professional category did you then belong to? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible; fill in the corresponding number]

A-1 = farmer or gardener

B-2 = academic self-employed professional

C-3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service, also self-employed professional and member of a co-operative

D-4 = employee in the services sector (including trade, traffic, health, education and so on)

E-5 = worker in production, industry, trade, building

F-6 = student, professional trainee

(S11) What was your last main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]

(S12) What is your marital status?

1 = married and living together with your spouse..... S15

2 = married and separated from your spouse S13

3 = widow(er) S13

4 = divorced..... S13

5 = not married S13

(S13) Do you have a steady partner, regardless of whether you share an apartment?

1 = yes S14

2 = no S15

(S14) Do you run one household together with your partner?

1 = yes

2 = no

(S15) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

[INT.: Show list S3; only one answer possible]

A-1 = the Roman Catholic Church

B-2 = the Protestant Church (without Free Churches)

C-3 = a Protestant Free Church

D-4 = another Christian Religious Community

E-5 = another not Christian Religious Community

F-6 = no Religious Community

(S16) How often do you normally go to church?

1 = more than once a week

2 = once a week

3 = one to three times a month

4 = several times a year

5 = less often

6 = never

(S17) Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

(S18) Were you born in the area of the GDR including East-Berlin?

1 = yes S21

2 = no S19

(S19) Since when have you been living here in

[INT.: Fill in GDR respectively East-Berlin]

month:

year:

(S20) What was your last place of residence before that?

[INT.: Show list S4; only one answer possible]

A-1 = Federal Republic of Germany respectively West-Berlin

B-2 = former German Eastern parts (Pomerania, Silesia, East Prussia)

C-3 = Eastern neighbour countries, South-Eastern Europe

D-4 = other European country

E-5 = non-European country

(S21) How do you mainly earn your living?

[INT.: Show list S5; only one answer possible]

A-1 = own employment

B-2 = own pension

C-3 = own unemployment benefits (Arbeitslosengeld)

D-4 = own unemployment benefit (Arbeitslosenhilfe)

E-5 = maintenance paid by parents

F-6 = maintenance paid by the partner

G-7 = own property, renting, interests ...

H-8 = income support or other kinds of support

(S22) The next question refers to the place where you respectively your family live. How do you live here?

[INT.: Show list S6; only one answer possible]

A-1 = in a rented room

B-2 = in a company flat

C-3 = in a rented state-subsidized flat

D-4 = in a rented flat (no state-subsidized flat), in a rented owner-occupied flat

E-5 = in a rented house

F-6 = in an owner-occupied flat (own or family property)

G-7 = in an own house (or in the family's house)

H-8 = other

(S23) How many persons including your children and yourself belong to your household?

Persons:

(S24) How many of these persons have the German nationality and completed his/her 18th year, so that they would be entitled to vote?

Persons entitled to vote:

(S25) Are there persons in your household not being older than 17?

Children from 0 to 5 years

Children from 6 to 9 years

Children from 10 to 13 years

Children from 14 to 17 years

No 0

(S26) Are there persons older than 18 in your household that do not have the German nationality?

1 = yes

2 = no

(S27) Do you have a telephone in your household?

1 = yes

2 = no

HB2W
(MR2W)

<Variable: ZSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: ZPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: ZREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: ZNETZ + ZPOINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: ZINTEP>

Interview with spouse/partner was:

1 = conducted

2 = not conducted

3 = no spouse/partner

<Variable: ZINTGP>

Interview with discussant was:

1 = conducted

2 = not conducted

<Variable: ZINTARTW>

Interview was conducted:

1 = by phone

2 = personally

<Variable: ZNACHFW>

Follow-up interview by phone

1 = regular panel interview (based on respondent's expressed agreement in 1st wave)

2 = "irregular" panel interview (respondent was motivated to participate by special motivational action launched by field institute)

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former Federal Republic of Germany?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today?

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) How do you in general evaluate the present economic situation in the former GDR?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (4) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today?

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (5) When you think about the future economic development of Germany: which government would you say is the right one to guarantee a successful economic development: a CDU-government or an SDP-government?

1 = CDU-government

2 = SDP-government

3 = no difference

4 = none

- (6) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (6a) On the accompanying piece of paper are:

[INT.: Mark without asking]

1 = one or two newspapers named..... 7

2 = no newspapers named 9

- (7) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 1st newspaper on the accompanying piece of paper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 1st newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU 7d

1 = CSU 7d

1 = SDP 7d

1 = FDP 7d

1 = The Greens 7d

1 = The Republicans 7d

1 = PDS 7d

1 = other party/parties 7d

95 = no party 7d

96 = don't read this newspaper 7a

- (7a) That seems to be a misunderstanding. How about in general: Do you regularly or occasionally read a daily newspaper ?

1 = yes 7b

2 = no 9

- (7b) Which newspaper is it?

----- 7c

- (7c) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the newspaper of 7b on the accompanying piece of paper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

1 = CDU	9
1 = CSU	9
1 = SDP	9
1 = FDP	9
1 = The Greens	9
1 = The Republicans	9
1 = PDS	9
1 = other party/parties	9
95 = no party.....	9

- (7d) On the accompanying piece of paper are:

[INT.: Mark without asking]

1 = a second newspaper named	8
2 = no second newspaper named	9

- (8) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 2nd newspaper on the accompanying piece of paper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 2nd newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU
1 = CSU
1 = SDP
1 = FDP
1 = The Greens
1 = The Republicans
1 = PDS
1 = other party/parties
95 = no party
96 = don't read this newspaper

- (9) Do you have a TV set in your household?

1 = yes	9a
2 = no	13

- (9a) When you think of the political reporting in the 1st channel, the ARD, during the election campaign : Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

1 = CDU

1 = CSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = The Greens

1 = The Republicans

1 = PDS

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (10) When you think of the political reporting in the 2nd channel, the ZDF, during the election campaign : Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

1 = CDU

1 = CSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = The Greens

1 = The Republicans

1 = PDS

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (11) Can you receive the channels RTL plus and/or SAT1 on your TV at home?

1 = yes, RTL plus and SAT1 11a

2 = yes, RTL plus 11a

3 = yes, SAT1 11a

4 = no, none of the two 13

- (11a) [INT.: If respondent can receive RTL plus; more than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

When you think of the political reporting in RTL during the election campaign : Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

1 = CDU

1 = CSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = The Greens

1 = The Republicans

1 = PDS

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (12) [INT.: If respondent can receive SAT1; more than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

When you think of the political reporting in SAT1 during the election campaign : Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

1 = CDU

1 = CSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = The Greens

1 = The Republicans

1 = PDS

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (13) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

[INT.: Exact and detailed; up to four answers possible]

	Question 14
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

- (14) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Fill in above question 14: "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important]

- (15) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 15a

2 = no 17

8 = don't know 17

- (15a) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party.

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote?

[INT.: Don't read the possible answers]

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = PDS

other party:

97 = answer refused

98 = don't know

(15b) Which party will you vote for with your second vote?

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = PDS

other party

97 = answer refused

98 = don't know

(16) Which of these two votes is decisive for the number of parliamentary seats the parties will win: the first vote or the second vote?

1 = first vote

2 = second vote

3 = both

8 = don't know

(17) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (18) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

- (18a) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (19) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (20) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR? The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (21) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.

What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (22) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (23) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (24) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

- (25) There are two possible alternatives to finance the reunification of Germany. Either only by increasing the National Debt or only by increasing taxes.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (26) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question how to finance the reunification of Germany?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale values]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

INT: Question (27) is left out.

- (28) Now we have some questions to various organizations in which many citizens are members.

[INT.: Ask one organization after the other. First ask about the membership and then, in case of a positive answer, about the exact name of the organization. Fill in the name in the chart below. If the respondent is member in several organizations of one category, e.g. in several religious organizations, please fill in only the name of the organization that is the most important to the respondent.]

A: First the Trade Unions. Are you member in Trade Union?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

B: Now the business or professional associations. Are you member of a business or professional association?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

and so on.

	No member	Member	Organization (exact name)
Trade Unions	2	1	
Business or Professional Associations	2	1	
Women's Organizations	2	1	
Youth Organizations	2	1	
Groups for Elderly People	2	1	
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	2	1	
Associations of Expelled	2	1	
Religious Organizations	2	1	
Environmental Organizations	2	1	
Citizens' Initiatives	2	1	

(28a) [INT.: Mark without aksing]

In question (28) are given:

1 = membership in 0-3 organizations 29

2 = membership in 4-10 organizations 28b

(28b) Which 3 of these organizations are the most important to you?

[INT.: Fill in name of organization]

1st organization	
2nd organization	
3rd organization	

(29) [INT.: First fill in the organizations given in questions (28b) or (28). Then read the questions and note down the answers for each organization. Ask question (29a) - (29c) separately for each organization.]

(29a) We would like to ask you about your contacts to the organization(s) in which you are member.

How often have you participated in meetings or other activities of the ... [INT.: Give name of the organization] lately?

1st organization	2nd organization	3rd organization
1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = rarely 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = rarely 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = rarely 4 = never

(29b) Have you read any publications of the ... [INT.: Fill in name of the organization] lately, e.g. members' journals or brochures?

1st organization	2nd organization	3rd organization
1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no

(29c) Please tell me if the ... [INT.: Give name of the organization] supports a party in the coming general elections.
Does it support the:

1st organization	2nd organization	3rd organization
01 = CDU 02 = CSU 03 = SDP 04 = FDP 05 = The Greens 06 = Republicans 07 = PDS 96 = no party	01 = CDU 02 = CSU 03 = SDP 04 = FDP 05 = The Greens 06 = Republicans 07 = PDS 96 = no party	01 = CDU 02 = CSU 03 = SDP 04 = FDP 05 = The Greens 06 = Republicans 07 = PDS 96 = no party

(29d) I am now reading some organizations to you. Which party do you think is supported by the ... [INT.: Give name of the organization] in the general election: the CDU, the CSU, the SDP, the FDP, the Greens, the Republicans, the PDS or no party at all?

[INT.: Ask one organization after the other; more than one answer possible]

	CDU	CSU	SDP	FDP	The G reens	Republicans	PDS	No party
Trade Unions	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Business or Professional Associations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Women's Organizations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Groups for Elderly People	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Associations of Expelled	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Catholic Church	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Protestant Church	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96
Environmental Organizations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	96

(30) Are you member of a political party? If yes, which one?

01 = CDU

02 = CSU

03 = SDP

04= FDP

05 = The Greens

06 = Republicans

07= PDS

09 = other party: -----

96 = refused to give the party's name

98 = no party member

- (31) Now we would like to ask you something about your contacts to political parties during the election campaign. Please tell me of which parties you have read any information material, e.g. leaflets and brochures.

[INT.: More than one answer possible]

01 = CDU

01 = CSU

01 = SDP

01 = FDP

01 = The Greens

01 = Republicans

01 = PDS

01 = other party

96 = no material read

- (31a) Did you participate in election meetings of parties? If yes, of which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible]

01 = CDU

01 = CSU

01 = SDP

01 = FDP

01 = The Greens

01 = Republicans

01 = PDS

01 = other party

96 = not participated

- (31b) Did you have contact with electoral assistants or candidates of political parties? If yes, of which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible]

01 = CDU

01 = CSU

01 = SDP

01 = FDP

01 = The Greens

01 = Republicans

01 = PDS

01 = other party

96 = no contact

(32) [INT.: Mark without asking]

According to instruction a partner interview shall be conducted in the household.

1 = yes 33

2 = no 34

(33) How often did you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner in the last three to four weeks?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = often 33a

2 = sometimes 33a

3 = rarely 33a

4 = never 34

(33a) Which political topics did you discuss?

[INT.: Please note down word for word]

98 = can't remember

(33b) How often would you say did you and your spouse/partner have different opinions in these discussions?

[INT.: Read the possible answers]

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

(34) [INT.: Mark without asking]

1 = reply card of respondent is there 34a

2 = reply card of respondent isn't there yet text extra card 34a

3 = discussant-interview shall not be conducted 35

(34a) In the first interview some weeks ago you gave

Mr/Mrs -----

[INT.: Give complete name of accompanying piece of paper/reply chart] as the person you most often discussed political matters with at that time.

Mr/Mrs ----- has also agreed to an interview.

How about the last 3-4 weeks? How often did you discuss political matters with Mr/Mrs -----
in this time?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = often 34b

2 = sometimes..... 34b

3 = rarely 34b

4 = never..... 35

(34b) Which political topics did you discuss?

[INT.: Note down the answer word by word]

98 = can't remember

(34c) And how often would you say did you have different opinions in these political discussions?

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

(35) Now some final questions about statistics. How many persons including your children and yourself belong to your household?

[INT.: Note down the answer]

Persons:

(36) How many of these persons have the German nationality and completed his/her 18th year, so that they would be entitled to vote?

[INT.: Note down the answer]

....

(37) [INT.: Mark without asking]

Sex of respondent:

1 = Man

2 = Woman

- (38) Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

- (39) Which religious denomination do you belong to?
[INT.: Read possible answers; only one answer possible]

A-1 = the Roman Catholic Church

B-2 = the Protestant Church

C-3 = a Protestant Free Church

D-4 = another Christian Religious Community

E-5 = another not Christian Religious Community

F-6 = no Religious Community

- (40) Do you have a telephone in your household?

1 = yes

2 = no

HB2O
(MR2E)

<Variable: ZSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: ZPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: ZREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: ZNETZ + ZPOINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: ZINTEP>

Interview with spouse/partner was:

1 = conducted

2 = not conducted

3 = no spouse/partner

<Variable: ZINTGP>

Interview with discussant was:

1 = conducted

2 = not conducted

<Variable: ZINTARTW>

Interview was conducted:

1 = by phone

2 = personally

<Variable: ZNACHFW>

Follow-up interview by phone

1 = regular panel interview (based on respondent's expressed agreement in 1st wave)

2 = "irregular" panel interview (respondent was motivated to participate by special motivational action
launched by field institute)

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former GDR?

[INT.: Show list 1, read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today?

[INT.: Show list 2]

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) How do you in general evaluate the present economic situation in the former Federal Republic of Germany?

[INT.: Show list 1, read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (4) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today?

[INT.: Show list 2]

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (5) When you think about the future economic development of Germany: which government would you say is the right one to guarantee a successful economic development: a CDU-government or an SDP-government?

1 = CDU-government

2 = SDP-government

3 = no difference

4 = none

- (6) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (6a) [INT.: Mark without asking]

On the accompanying piece of paper are:

1 = one or two newspapers named..... 7

2 = no newspapers named 9

- (7) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 1st newspaper on the accompanying piece of paper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 1st newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU 7d

1 = DSU..... 7d

1 = SDP 7d

1 = FDP 7d

1 = PDS 7d

1 = The Greens 7d

1 = Bündnis 90..... 7d

1 =The Republicans 7d

1 = other party/parties 7d

95 = no party..... 7d

96 = don't read this newspaper 7a

- (7a) That seems to be a misunderstanding. How about in general: Do you regularly or occasionally read a daily newspaper ?

1 = yes 7b

2 = no 9

- (7b) Which newspaper is it?

----- 7c

- (7c) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the newspaper of 7b on the accompanying piece of paper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

1 = CDU 9

1 = DSU 9

1 = SDP 9

1 = FDP 9

1 = PDS 9

1 = The Greens 9

1 = Bündnis 90 9

1 = The Republicans 9

1 = other party/parties 9

95 = no party 9

- (7d) [INT.: Mark without asking]

On the accompanying piece of paper are:

1 = a second newspaper named 8

2 = no second newspaper named 9

- (8) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 2nd newspaper on the accompanying piece of paper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 2nd newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU

1 = DSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = PDS

1 = The Greens

1 = Bündnis 90

1 = The Republicans

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

96 = don't read this newspaper

(9) Do you have a TV set in your household?

1 = yes 9a

2 = no 13

(9a) When you think of the political reporting of DFF 1 during the election campaign : Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

1 = CDU

1 = DSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = PDS

1 = The Greens

1 = Bündnis 90

1 = The Republicans

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

(10) When you think of the political reporting of DFF 2 during the election campaign : Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

- 1 = CDU
- 1 = DSU
- 1 = SDP
- 1 = FDP
- 1 = PDS
- 1 = The Greens
- 1 = Bündnis 90
- 1 = The Republicans
- 1 = other party/parties
- 95 = no party

(11) Can you receive the West German channels ARD and/or ZDF on your TV at home?

- 1 = yes, ARD and ZDF 11a
- 2 = yes, ARD 11a
- 3 = yes, ZDF 11a
- 4 = no, none of the two 13

(11a) [INT.: If respondent can receive ARD; more than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

When you think of the political reporting of the West German Channel ARD during the election campaign :
Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

- 1 = CDU
- 1 = DSU
- 1 = SDP
- 1 = FDP
- 1 = PDS
- 1 = The Greens
- 1 = Bündnis 90
- 1 = The Republicans
- 1 = other party/parties
- 95 = no party

(12) [INT.: If respondent can receive ZDF; more than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

When you think of the political reporting of the West German channel ZDF during the election campaign : Are
there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

1 = CDU

1 = DSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = PDS

1 = The Greens

1 = Bündnis 90

1 = The Republicans

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (13) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

[INT.: Exact and detailed; up to four answers possible]

	Question 14
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

- (14) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Fill in above question 14: "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important]

- (15) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 15a

2 = no 17

8 = don't know 17

- (15a) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list 3]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote? Please give me the code letter.

First vote:

1 = CDU (A)

2 = SDP (B)

3 = PDS (C)

4 = FDP (D)

5 = DSU (E)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (F)

7 = The Republicans (G)

8 = other party (H)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

Which party will you vote for with your second vote? Please give me again the code letter.

Second vote:

1 = CDU (H)

2 = SDP (J)

3 = PDS (K)

4 = FDP (L)

5 = DSU (M)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (P)

7 = The Republicans (Q)

8 = other party (R)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

- (16) Which of these two votes is decisive for the number of parliamentary seats the parties will win: the first vote or the second vote?

1 = first vote

2 = second vote

3 = both

8 = don't know

- (17) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SPD or a coalition government led by SPD?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SPD, respectively coalition led by SPD

8 = don't know

- (18) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

- (18a) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (19) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best. [INT.: Show list 4]

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (20) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR? [INT.: Show list 4]

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (21) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not. [INT.: Show list 5]
What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (22) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum? [INT.: Show list 5]

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (23) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion. [INT.: Show list 6]

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (24) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion? [Show list 6]

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (25) There are two possible alternatives to finance the reunification of Germany. Either only by increasing the National Debt or only by increasing taxes. [Show list 7]

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (26) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question how to finance the reunification of Germany? [INT.: Show list 7]

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale values]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (27) The regional elections of the new East German "Länder" of the Federal Republic of Germany were on 14 October 1990. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

1 = CDU

2 = DSU

3 = SDP

4 = FDP

5 = PDS

6 = The Greens

7 = Bündnis 90

8 = The Greens/New Forum

9 = New Forum

other party

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

97 = answer refused

98 = can't remember

(28) [INT.: Show list 8]

On this list you find various organizations in which many citizens are members. Please tell me for each organization if you yourself are a member and give me the exact name.

[INT.: If the respondent is member in several organizations of one category, e.g. in several religious organizations, please fill in only the name of the organization that is the most important to the respondent.]

	No member	Member	Organization (exact name)
Trade Unions	2	1	
Business or Professional Associations	2	1	
Women's Organizations	2	1	
Youth Organizations	2	1	
Groups for Elderly People	2	1	
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	2	1	
Associations of Expelled	2	1	
Religious Organizations	2	1	
Environmental Organizations	2	1	
Citizens' Initiatives	2	1	

(28a) [Mark without aksing]

In question (28) are given:

1 = membership in 0-3 organizations 29

2 = membership in 4-10 organizations 28b

(28b) Which 3 of these organizations are the most important to you?

[INT.: Fill in name of organization]

1st organization	
2nd organization	
3rd organization	

(29) [INT.: First fill in the organizations given in questions (28b) or (28). Then read the questions and note down the answers for each organization.]

(29a) We would like to ask you about your contacts to the organization(s) in which you are member.

How often have you participated in meetings or other activities of the ... [INT.: Give name of the organization] lately?

1st organization	2nd organization	3rd organization
1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = rarely 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = rarely 4 = never	1 = often 2 = sometimes 3 = rarely 4 = never

(29b) Have you read any publications of the ... [INT.: Fill in name of the organization] lately, e.g. members' journals or brochures?

1st organization	2nd organization	3rd organization
1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no

(29c) Please tell me if the ... [INT.: Give name of the organization] supports a party in the coming general elections.

Does it support the:

1st organization	2nd organization	3rd organization
01 = CDU	01 = CDU	01 = CDU
02 = DSU	02 = DSU	02 = DSU
03 = SDP	03 = SDP	03 = SDP
04 = FDP	04 = FDP	04 = FDP
05 = The Greens	05 = The Greens	05 = The Greens
06 = Republicans	06 = Republicans	06 = Republicans
07 = PDS	07 = PDS	07 = PDS
96 = no party	96 = no party	96 = no party

(29d) [INT.: Show list 9]

Here is another list with various organizations. Which party do you think is supported by the ... [INT.: Give name of the organization] in the general election: the CDU, the SDP, the PDS, the FDP, the DSU, the Greens, Bündnis 90, the Republicans, or no party at all?

[INT.:More than one answer possible]

	CDU	DSU	SDP	FDP	PDS	The Greens	Bündnis 90	Republicans	No party
Trade Unions	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Business or Professional Associations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Women's Organizations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Groups for Elderly People	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Associations of Expelled	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Catholic Church	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Protestant Church	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96
Environmental Organizations	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	96

(30) Are you member of a political party? If yes, which one?

01 = CDU

02 = DSU

03 = SDP

04= FDP

05 = PDS

06 = The Greens

07= Bündnis 90

08 = Republicans

09 = other party: -----

96 = refused to give the party's name

98 = no party member

(31) Now we would like to ask you something about your contacts to political parties during the election campaign.
Please tell me of which parties you have read any information material, e.g. leaflets and brochures.

[INT.: More than one answer possible]

01 = CDU

01 = DSU

01 = SDP

01= FDP

01 = PDS

01 = The Greens

01= Bündnis 90

01 = Republicans

01 = other party

96 = no material read

(31a) Did you participate in election meetings of parties? If yes, of which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible]

01 = CDU

01 = DSU

01 = SDP

01= FDP

01 = PDS

01 = The Greens

01= Bündnis 90

01 = Republicans

01 = other party

96 = not participated

(31b) Did you have contact with electoral assistants or candidates of political parties? If yes, of which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible]

01 = CDU

01 = DSU

01 = SDP

01 = FDP

01 = PDS

01 = The Greens

01 = Bündnis 90

01 = Republicans

01 = other party

96 = no contact

(32) [INT.: Mark without asking]

According to instruction a partner interview shall be conducted in the household.

1 = yes 33

2 = no 34

(33) How often did you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner in the last three to four weeks?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = often 33a

2 = sometimes 33a

3 = rarely 33a

4 = never 34

(33a) Which political topics did you discuss?

[INT.: Please note down word for word]

98 = can't remember

(33b) How often would you say did you and your spouse/partner have different opinions in these discussions?

[INT.: Read the possible answers]

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

- (34) Now some final questions about statistics. How many persons including your children and yourself belong to your household?

[INT.: Note down the answer]

Persons:

- (35) How many of these persons have the German nationality and completed his/her 18th year, so that they would be entitled to vote?

[INT.: Note down the answer]

....

- (36) [INT.: Mark without asking]

Sex of respondent:

1 = Man

2 = Woman

- (37) Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

- (38) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

[INT.: Show list 10; only one answer possible]

A-1 = the Roman Catholic Church

B-2 = the Protestant Church (without Free Churches)

C-3 = a Protestant Free Church

D-4 = another Christian Religious Community

E-5 = another not Christian Religious Community

F-6 = no Religious Community

- (39) Do you have a telephone in your household?

1 = yes

2 = no

HB3W
(MR3W)

<Variable: DSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: DPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: DREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

- (1) Please note the date of completing the questionnaire.

- (2) Did you go to the polls in the general elections of 2 December? What applies to you?

1 = voted at the polling station

2 = voted by post

didn't vote because:

- (3) If you did vote, please mark on the ballot paper (see back) what you voted with your first and your second vote.

First vote:

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SPD

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = The Republicans

6 = Linke Liste/PDS

7 = other party:

Second vote:

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SPD

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = The Republicans

6 = Linke Liste/PDS

7 = other party:

HB3O
(MR3E)

<Variable: DSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: DPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: DREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

- (1) Please note the date of completing the questionnaire.

- (2) Did you go to the polls in the general elections of 2 December? What applies to you?

1 = voted at the polling station

2 = voted by post

didn't vote because:

- (3) If you did vote, please mark on the ballot paper (see back) what you voted with your first and your second vote.

First vote:

1 = CDU

2 = SDP

3 = PDS

4 = FDP

5 = DSU

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90

7 = Republicans

8 = other party:

Second vote:

1 = CDU

2 = SDP

3 = PDS

4 = FDP

5 = DSU

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90

7 = Republicans

8 = other party:

EP1W
(SP1W)

<Variable: EESTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: EEPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: EEREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: EENETZ + EEPOINT>

Technical sampling information

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the Federal Republic of Germany?

Please mark the code number.

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today? Please mark the code number.

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (4) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

Please describe them in an exact and detailed way; up to four answers are possible.

	Question 4a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

- (4a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

Please fill in "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important.

- (5) In politics as well as in all other fields one cannot get everything at the same time. Here are some goals to follow in politics:

A = Maintaining order in the nation

B = Giving the people more say in important political decisions

C = Fighting rising prices

D = Protecting freedom of speech

If you had to choose among the following things, which one would be the most important to you?

Please fill in the code letter of the most important goal:

Which goal would you rank second?

Please fill in the code letter of the second most important goal:

And which one would come third?

Please fill in the code letter of the third most important goal:

- (6) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 7

2 = no 7a

3 = don't know 7a

- (7) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote, and the candidate of which party would you vote for with your second vote? Please mark the respective parties.

First vote:

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = Linke Liste/PDS

7 = other party

Second vote:

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = Linke Liste/PDS

7 = other party

- (7a) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (8) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from -5 to +5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate, +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

- (9) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

Please mark the code number.

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (10) Many people use the terms LEFT and RIGHT when they want to characterize different political attitudes. Here is a scale ranging from left to right. Referring to your own political attitudes, where would you rank them on this scale? Please mark with a cross.

Left

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Right

- (11) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (12) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (13) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.

What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (14) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (15) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (16) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (17) Concerning nuclear energy, there are as well contradictory attitudes. Some say the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, others say all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (18) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of nuclear energy? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

(19) [INT.: Important filter - mark without asking]

The interview is carried out in:

1 = the former Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) 19a

1 = West Berlin..... 19b

(19a) The last general election was on 25 January 1987. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = NDP

other, namely:

94 = no second vote casted

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

- (19b) The last election of the House of Representatives in Berlin was on 29 January 1989. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = AL

5 = Republicans

6 = SEW

7 = ÖDP

other, namely:

94 = no second vote casted

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

Finally we would like to ask you some questions about statistics. Please mark once again the corresponding code number or note down the answer.

- (S1) You are:

1 = male

2 = female

- (S2) In which month and year were you born?

month:

year:

- (S3) Now some questions concerning your education and your job.

Let's start with your education.

What educational level do you have? Please mark only one code number.

1 = I am attending a school

2 = left school without examination

3 = elementary school (Volks-, Hauptschule)

4 = secondary school (Mittlere Reife)

5 = Fachabitur (restricted Abitur)

6 = Abitur

7 = university degree

different school-leaving examination that is:

(S4) Are you at the moment:

- 1 = working full-time S5
- 2 = working part-time S5
- 3 = working occasionally S7
- 4 = not working..... S7

(S5) Which professional category do you think you belong to according to these cards? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

- 1 = farmer
- 2 = academic self-employed professional
- 3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service and others
- 4 = civil servant/judge, professional soldier
- 5 = employee
- 6 = worker
- 7 = student, professional trainee
- 8 = helping member of the family

(S6) What is your main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail or give the special name of this occupation.

----- S11

(S7) If you don't have a main occupation:

Which of these things apply to you? Please mark the corresponding code number.

- 1 = I am pupil/student
- 2 = I am retired
- 3 = I am unemployed at the moment
- 4 = I am housewife/househusband
- 5 = I am doing military service/community service
- 6 = I am not employed (full-time) for other reasons

(S8) Have you ever had a main occupation or have you never had one?

1 = had a main occupation once..... S9

2 = never had a main occupation..... S11

(S9) If you had a main occupation in former times:

Which professional category did you then belong to?

Please mark the corresponding code number.

1 = farmer

2 = academic self-employed professional

3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service and others

4 = civil servant/judge, professional soldier

5 = employee

6 = worker

7 = student, professional trainee

8 = helping member of the family

(S10) What was your last main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail or give the special name of the occupation.

(S11) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

Please mark the corresponding code number.

1 = the Roman Catholic Church

2 = the Protestant Church (without Free Churches)

3 = a Protestant Free Church

4 = another Christian Religious Community

5 = another not Christian Religious Community

6 = no Religious Community

(S12) How often do you normally go to church?

Please mark the corresponding code number.

- 1 = more than once a week
- 2 = once a week
- 3 = one to three times a month
- 4 = several times a year
- 5 = less often
- 6 = never

(S13) How often do you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner?

- 1 = often S13a
- 2 = sometimes..... S13a
- 3 = rarely S13a
- 4 = never.....end of interview

(S13a) When you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner, how often do you have different opinions?

- 1 = often
- 2 = sometimes
- 3 = rarely
- 4 = never

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

EP10
(SP1E)

<Variable: EESTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: EEPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: EEREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: EENETZ + EEPOINT>

Technical sampling information

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the GDR? Please mark the code number.

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be: much better than today, somewhat better than today, the same, somewhat worse or much worse than today? Please mark the code number.

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics? Please mark the code number.

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (4) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

Please describe them in an exact and detailed way; up to four answers are possible.

	Question 4a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

- (4a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

Please fill in "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important.

- (5) In politics as well as in all other fields one cannot get everything at the same time. Here are some goals to follow in politics:

A = Maintaining order in the nation

B = Giving the people more say in important political decisions

C = Fighting rising prices

D = Protecting freedom of speech

If you had to choose among the following things, which one would be the most important to you?

Please fill in the code letter of the most important goal:

Which goal would you rank second?

Please fill in the code letter of the second most important goal:

And which one would come third?

Please fill in the code letter of the third most important goal:

- (6) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 7

2 = no 7a

3 = don't know 7a

- (7) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote, and the candidate of which party would you vote for with your second vote? Please mark the respective parties.

First vote:

1 = CDU

2 = SDP

3 = PDS

4 = FDP

5 = DSU

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90

7 = Republicans

8 = other party

Second vote:

1 = CDU

2 = SDP

3 = PDS

4 = FDP

5 = DSU

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90

7 = Republicans

8 = other party

- (7a) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (8) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from -5 to +5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate, +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

- (9) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?
Please mark the code number.

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (10) Many people use the terms LEFT and RIGHT when they want to characterize different political attitudes. Here is a scale ranging from left to right. Referring to your own political attitudes, where would you rank them on this scale? Please mark with a cross.

Left											Right
------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-------

- (11) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (12) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (13) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.

What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (14) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (15) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (16) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (17) Concerning nuclear energy, there are as well contradictory attitudes. Some say the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, others say all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (18) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of nuclear energy? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the use of nuclear energy should be further extended, 7 means all nuclear power plants should be switched off immediately. You can differentiate with the values between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Now please note down the scale value

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (19) The last election to the East German Parliament was on 18 March 1990. Which party did you vote for in this election?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU

2 = DA

3 = DSU

4 = SDP

5 = The Greens/Independent Women's Association

6 = Bündnis 90

7 = PDS

8 = Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany

9 = League of Free Democrats

other, namely: -----

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

Finally we would like to ask you some questions about statistics. Please mark once again the corresponding code number or note down the answer.

(S1) You are:

1 = male

2 = female

(S2) In which month and year were you born?

month:

year:

(S3) Now some questions concerning your education and your job.

Let's start with your education.

What educational level do you have?

Please mark only one code number.

1 = I am attending a school

2 = left school without examination

3 = elementary school (Volksschule)

4 = polytechnic secondary school with examination in 8th class (before 1965)

5 = polytechnic secondary school with examination in 10th class (after 1965)

6 = extended secondary school (EOS) without examination

7 = extended secondary school (EOS) with examination

8 = university degree

different school-leaving examination that is:

(S4) Are you at the moment:

1 = working full-time S5

2 = working part-time S5

3 = working occasionally S7

4 = not working S7

(S5) Which professional category do you think you belong to according to these cards? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

1 = farmer

2 = academic self-employed professional

3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service, also self-employed professional and member of a co-operative

4 = employee in the services sector (including trade, traffic, health, education and so on)

5 = worker in production, industry, trade, building

6 = student, professional trainee

7 = helping member of the family

(S6) What is your main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail or give the special name of this occupation.

----- S11

(S7) If you don't have a main occupation:

Which of these things apply to you? Please mark the corresponding code number.

1 = I am pupil/student

2 = I am retired

3 = I am unemployed at the moment

4 = I am housewife/househusband

5 = I am doing military service/community service

6 = I am not employed (full-time) for other reasons

(S8) Have you ever had a main occupation or have you never had one?

1 = had a main occupation once..... S9

96 = never had a main occupation..... S11

(S9) If you had a main occupation in former times:

Which professional category did you then belong to?

Please mark the corresponding code number.

1 = farmer

2 = academic self-employed professional

3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service, also self-employed professional and member of a co-operative

4 = employee in the services sector (including trade, traffic, health, education and so on)

5 = worker in production, industry, trade, building

6 = student, professional trainee

7 = helping member of the family

(S10) What was your last main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail or give the special name of the occupation.

(S11) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

Please mark the corresponding code number.

1 = the Roman Catholic Church

2 = the Protestant Church (without Free Churches)

3 = a Protestant Free Church

4 = another Christian Religious Community

5 = another not Christian Religious Community

6 = no Religious Community

(S12) How often do you normally go to church?

Please mark the corresponding code number.

1 = more than once a week

2 = once a week

3 = one to three times a month

4 = several times a year

5 = less often

6 = never

(S13) How often do you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner?

1 = often S13a

2 = sometimes..... S13a

3 = rarely S13a

4 = never.....end of interview

(S13a) When you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner, how often do you have different opinions?

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

EP2W
(SP2W)

<Variable: EZSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: EZPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: EZREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: EZNETZ + EZPOINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: EZINTARW>

Interview was conducted:

1 = by phone

2 = personally

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the Federal Republic of Germany?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be:

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former GDR?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (4) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be:

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (5) When you think about the future economic development of Germany: which government would you say is the right one to guarantee a successful economic development: a CDU-government or an SDP-government?

1 = CDU-government

2 = SDP-government

3 = no difference

4 = none

- (6) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (7) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

	Question 7a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

- (7a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Please fill in "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important; up to 4 answers possible]

- (8) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 9a

2 = no 10

8 = don't know 10

- (9a) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party.

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote?

[INT.: Don't read the possible answers]

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 =The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = PDS

other party:

97 = answer refused

98 = don't know

- (9b) Which party will you vote for with your second vote?

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 =The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = PDS

other party

97 = answer refused

98 = don't know

- (10) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (11) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

- (12) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (13) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (14) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (15) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.

What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (16) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (17) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (18) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (19) There are two possible alternatives to finance the reunification of Germany. Either only by increasing the National Debt or only by increasing taxes.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (20) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question how to finance the reunification of Germany?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale values]

SDP	0	-----
CDU	0	-----
CSU	0	-----
FDP	0	-----
The Greens	0	-----
PDS	0	-----

INT.: Question (21) is left out

- (22) Now we have some questions to various organizations in which many citizens are members.

[INT.: Ask one organization after the other. First ask about the membership and then, in case of a positive answer, about the exact name of the organization. Fill in the name in the chart below. If the respondent is member in several organizations of one category, e.g. in several religious organizations, please fill in only the name of the organization that is the most important to the respondent.]

A: First the Trade Unions. Are you member in Trade Union?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

B: Now the business or professional associations. Are you member of a business or professional association?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

C: Now the Women's Associations: Are you member of a Women's Association?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

and so on.

	No member	Member	Organization (exact name)
Trade Unions	2	1	
Business or Professional Associations	2	1	
Women's Organizations	2	1	
Youth Organizations	2	1	
Groups for Elderly People	2	1	
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	2	1	
Associations of Expelled	2	1	
Religious Organizations	2	1	
Environmental Organizations	2	1	
Citizens' Initiatives	2	1	

(22a) [Mark without asking]

In question (22) are given:

1 = membership in 0-3 organizations 23

2 = membership in 4-10 organizations 22b

(22b) Which 3 of these organizations are the most important to you?

[INT.: Fill in name of organization]

1st organization	
2nd organization	
3rd organization	

(23) Are you member of a political party? If yes, which one?

01 = CDU

02 = CSU

03 = SDP

04 = FDP

05 = The Greens

06 = Republicans

07 = PDS

09 = other party:

96 = refused to give the party's name

98 = no party member

(24) How often did you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner in the last three to four weeks?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = often 25

2 = sometimes 25

3 = rarely 25

4 = never 27a

(25) Which political topics did you discuss?

[INT.: Please note down word for word]

.....

.....

98 = can't remember

- (26) How often would you say did you and your spouse/partner have different opinions in these discussions?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

- (27a) Finally we would like to ask you some questions about statistics.

[INT.: Mark without asking]

Sex of respondent:

1 = Man

2 = Woman

- (27b) Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

- (28) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

[INT.: Read possible answers; only one answer possible]

1 = the Roman Catholic Church

2 = the Protestant Church

3 = a Protestant Free Church

4 = another Christian Religious Community

5 = another not Christian Religious Community

6 = no Religious Community

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

EP20
(SP2E)

<Variable: EZSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: EZPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: EZREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: EZNETZ + EZPOINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: EZINTARW>

Interview was conducted:

1 = by phone

2 = personally

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former GDR?

Please mark the code number.

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be:

Please mark the code number.

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former Federal Republic of Germany?

Please mark the code number.

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (4) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Republic of Germany to be:

Please mark the code number.

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (5) When you think about the future economic development of Germany: which government would you say is the right one to guarantee a successful economic development: a CDU-government or an SDP-government?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU-government

2 = SDP-government

- (6) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

Please mark the code number.

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (7) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

Please describe them in an exact and detailed way; up to four answers possible.

	Question 7a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

- (7a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

Please fill in "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important.

- (8) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 9

2 = no 10

8 = don't know 10

- (9) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote, and the candidate of which party would you vote for with your second vote? Please mark the respective parties.

First vote:

1 = CDU (A)

2 = SDP (B)

3 = PDS (C)

4 = FDP (D)

5 = DSU (E)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (F)

7 = Republicans (G)

8 = other party (H)

Second vote:

1 = CDU (J)

2 = SDP (K)

3 = PDS (L)

4 = FDP (M)

5 = DSU (O)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (P)

7 = Republicans (Q)

8 = other party (R)

- (10) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (11) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from -5 to +5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate, +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

- (12) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?
Please mark the code number.

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (13) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (14) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please note down the scale value.

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (15) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.
- What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.
- Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (16) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?
- Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.
- Please mark the scale value.

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (17) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (18) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please note down the scale value.

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (19) There are two possible alternatives to finance the reunification of Germany. Either only by increasing the National Debt or only by increasing taxes.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please mark with a cross.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (20) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question how to finance the reunification of Germany?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

Please note down the scale value.

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (21) The regional elections of the new East German "Länder" of the Federal Republic of Germany were on 14 October 1990. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

Please mark the code number.

1 = CDU

2 = DSU

3 = SDP

4 = FDP

5 = PDS

6 = The Greens

7 = Bündnis 90

8 = The Greens/New Forum

9 = New Forum

10 = other party

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

- (22) On this list you find various organizations in which many citizens are members. Please tell me for each organization if you yourself are a member and give me the exact name.

[INT.: If the respondent is member in several organizations of one category, e.g. in several religious organizations, please tell him/her to fill in only the name of the organization that is the most important to the respondent.]

	No member	Member	Organization (exact name)
Trade Unions			
Business or Professional Associations			
Women's Organizations			
Youth Organizations			
Groups for Elderly People			
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations			
Associations of Expelled			
Religious Organizations			
Environmental Organizations			
Citizens' Initiatives			

(22a) To sum up, you are:

member in 1-3 organizations..... 23
 member in 4-10 organizations..... 22b
 no member of any organization..... 23

(22b) Which 3 of these organizations are the most important to you?

Please fill in the names or code letters of question (22).

1st organization	
2nd organization	
3rd organization	

(23) Are you member of a political party? If yes, which one?

Please mark the code number.

01 = CDU

02 = DSU

03 = SDP

04 = FDP

05 = PDS

06 = The Greens

07 = Bündnis 90

08 = Republicans

09 = other party:

98 = no party member

(24) How often did you discuss political matters with your spouse/partner in the last three to four weeks?

1 = often 25

2 = sometimes 25

3 = rarely 25

4 = never 27

(25) Which political topics did you discuss?

.....

.....

- (26) How often would you say did you and your spouse/partner have different opinions in these discussions?

Please mark the code number.

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

- (27a) Now some final questions about statistics.

You are:

1 = male

2 = female

- (27b) In which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

- (28) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

Please mark the code number.

1 = the Roman Catholic Church

2 = the Protestant Church

3 = a Protestant Free Church

4 = another Christian Religious Community

5 = another not Christian Religious Community

6 = no Religious Community

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

GPW
(DCW)

<Variable: GSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: GPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: GREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: GNETZ + GPOINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: GINTARTW>

Interview was conducted:

1 = by phone

2 = personally

<GREKRUT>

Way of recruiting

1 = reply card

2 = motivated to participate by special motivational action launched by field institute

<Variable: GP>

This filter variable is based on a data test and indicates whether the correct target person (= most important discussant) has been interviewed or not; only those with code = 1 are correct discussant interviews!

1 = target person (most important discussant)

2 = incorrect target person (not most important discussant, but acquainted to main respondent)

3 = incorrect target person (person of unknown identity)

4 = main respondent himself

5 = incorrect target person (incorrect ID, cannot be corrected)

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the Federal Republic of Germany?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be:

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former GDR?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (4) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be:

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (5) When you think about the future economic development of Germany: which government would you say is the right one to guarantee a successful economic development: a CDU-government or an SDP-government?

1 = CDU-government

2 = SDP-government

3 = no difference

4 = none

- (6) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (7) Do you read a daily newspaper regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes 9

2 = no 8

- (8) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do 12

2 = no, I don't 14

- (9) Which daily newspaper is it?

[INT.: Only one mentioning; only the daily newspaper that is read the most often]

- (10) Do you also read another daily newspaper?

yes, the following: 12

96 = no, I don't 10a

- (10a) [INT.: Mark without asking]

In question (9)

1 = "Bildzeitung" was named 12

2 = "Bildzeitung" wasn't named 11

- (11) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do

2 = no, I don't

- (12) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 1st newspaper, i.e. "Bildzeitung" in question (8) or a daily newspaper in question (9)] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 1st newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU

1 = CSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = The Greens

1 = The Republicans

1 = PDS

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (13) [INT.: Ask only if a second newspaper was named, i.e. a daily newspaper in question (10) or "Bildzeitung" in question (11)]

When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 2nd newspaper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 2nd newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU

1 = CSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = The Greens

1 = The Republicans

1 = PDS

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

(14) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

	Question 14a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

(14a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Please fill in "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important]

(15) In politics as well as in all other fields one cannot get everything at the same time. I'll read four goals to you to be followed in politics. If you had to choose among the following things, which one would be the most important to you?

[INT.: Read the goals and note down the code number]

1 = Maintaining order in the nation

2 = Giving the people more say in important political decisions

3 = Fighting rising prices

4 = Protecting freedom of speech

(15a) Which goal would you rank second?

[INT.: Note down the code number]

(15b) And which one would come third?

[INT.: Note down the code number]

(15c) [INT.: Note down the code number of the remaining goal without asking]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (21) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
---	-------

CDU

0	-----
---	-------

CSU

0	-----
---	-------

FDP

0	-----
---	-------

The Greens

0	-----
---	-------

PDS

0	-----
---	-------

- (22) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not.

What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (23) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (24) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (25) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (16) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 16a
2 = no 17
8 = don't know 17

- (16a) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party.

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote?

[INT.: Don't read the possible answers]

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = PDS

other party:

97 = answer refused

98 = don't know

- (16b) Which party will you vote for with your second vote?

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SDP

3 = FDP

4 = The Greens

5 = Republicans

6 = PDS

other party

97 = answer refused

98 = don't know

- (17) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (18) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

- (18a) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

- (19) Many people use the terms LEFT and RIGHT when they want to characterize different political attitudes. Here is a scale ranging from left to right. Referring to your own political attitudes, where would you rank them on this scale?

Left	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Right
------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-------

98 = don't know

- (20) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

- (26) There are two possible alternatives to finance the reunification of Germany. Either only by increasing the National Debt or only by increasing taxes.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Mark scale value]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- (27) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question how to finance the reunification of Germany?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Note scale values]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (28) [INT.: Important filter - without asking]

The interview is carried out in:

1 = the former Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) 29a

2 = West Berlin..... 29b

(29a) The last general election was on 25 January 1987. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

- 1 = CDU/CSU..... 30
- 2 = SDP 30
- 3 = FDP 30
- 4 = Greens 30
- 5 = NDP..... 30
- other, namely:
----- 30
- 94 = no second vote casted..... 30
- 95 = not entitled to vote 30
- 96 = didn't vote because of other reasons 30
- 97 = answer refused 30
- 98 = can't remember 30

(29b) The last election of the House of Representatives in Berlin was on 29 January 1989. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

- 1 = CDU
- 2 = SDP
- 3 = FDP
- 4 = AL
- 5 = Republicans
- 6 = SEW
- 7 = ÖDP
- other, namely:

- 94 = no second vote casted
- 95 = not entitled to vote
- 96 = didn't vote because of other reasons
- 97 = answer refused
- 98 = can't remember

(30) Now we have some questions to various organizations in which many citizens are members.

[INT.: Ask one organization after the other. First ask about the membership and then, in case of a positive answer, about the exact name of the organization. Fill in the name in the chart below. If the respondent is member in several organizations of one category, e.g. in several religious organizations, please fill in only the name of the organization that is the most important to the respondent.]

A: First the Trade Unions. Are you member in Trade Union?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

B: Now the business or professional associations. Are you member of a business or professional association?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

C: Now the Women's Organizations. Are you member of a Women's Organization?

If yes: What is the exact name of the organization?

and so on.

	No member	Member	Organization (exact name)
Trade Unions	2	1	
Business or Professional Associations	2	1	
Women's Organizations	2	1	
Youth Organizations	2	1	
Groups for Elderly People	2	1	
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	2	1	
Associations of Expelled	2	1	
Religious Organizations	2	1	
Environmental Organizations	2	1	
Citizens' Initiatives	2	1	

(30a) [Mark without asking]

In question (30) are given:

1 = membership in 0-3 organizations 31

2 = membership in 4-10 organizations 30b

(30b) Which 3 of these organizations are the most important to you?

[INT.: Fill in name of organization]

1st organization	
2nd organization	
3rd organization	

(31) Are you member of a political party? If yes, which one?

01 = CDU

02 = CSU

03 = SDP

04 = FDP

05 = The Greens

06 = Republicans

07 = PDS

other party:

96 = refused to give the party's name

98 = no party member

(S1) Sex of respondent:

1 = Man

2 = Woman

(S2) Now some final questions about statistics.

Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

(S3) What educational level do you have?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; highest school-leaving examination should be registered]

1 = elementary school (Volks-, Hauptschule)

2 = secondary school (Mittlere Reife)

3 = Fachabitur (restricted Abitur)

4 = Abitur

5 = university degree

6 = different school-leaving examination that is:

95 = left school without examination

96 = I am still attending school

(S4) Are you at the moment:

1 = working full-time..... S5

2 = working part-time S5

3 = working occasionally S7

4 = not working..... S7

(S5) Which professional category do you think you belong to according to these cards? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

1 = farmer

2 = academic self-employed professional

3 = otherwise self-employed

4 = civil servant

5 = employee

6 = worker

7 = student, professional trainee

8 = helping member of the family

(S6) What is your main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]..... S11

(S7) Please tell me which of these things apply to you.

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

A-1 = I am pupil/student

B-2 = I am retired

C-3 = I am unemployed at the moment

D-4 = I am housewife/househusband

E-5 = I am doing military service/community service

F-6 = I am not employed (full-time) for other reasons

(S8) Have you ever had a main occupation (full-time)?

1 = yes S9

2 = no S11

(S9) Which professional category did you then belong to?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; fill in the corresponding number]

1 = farmer

2 = academic self-employed professional

3 = otherwise self-employed

4 = civil servant

5 = employee

6 = worker

7 = student, professional trainee

8 = helping member of the family

(S10) What was your last main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]

.....
.....

(S11) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

[INT.: Read possible answers; only one answer possible]

1 = the Roman Catholic Church

2 = the Protestant Church

3 = a Protestant Free Church

4 = another Christian Religious Community

5 = another not Christian Religious Community

6 = no Religious Community

(S12) How often do you normally go to church?

1 = more than once a week

2 = once a week

3 = one to three times a month

4 = several times a year

5 = less often

6 = never

(S13) [INT.: Note without asking]

Name of main respondent

1 = can be given..... S13a

2 = should not be given.....end of interview

(S13a) You know that the contact to you was arranged by a related or acquainted person of yours, Mr/Mrs ...

[INT.: Give full name of main respondent]

How about the last three to four weeks? How often did you discuss political matters with Mr/Mrs ... during this period?

1 = often S13b

2 = sometimes..... S13b

3 = rarely S13b

4 = never.....end of interview

(S13b) Which political topics did you discuss?

[INT.: Please note down literally]

98 = don't know

(S13c) How often would you say did you and Mr/Mrs ... have different opinions in your political discussions?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = often

2 = sometimes

3 = rarely

4 = never

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

***GPO
(DCE)***

<Variable: GSTUDIE>

Panel wave, indicated by technical study number

3425 = 1st wave

3426 = 2nd wave

3427 = 3rd wave

<Variable: GPERSON>

Target person of interview

1 = main respondent

2 = spouse/partner

3 = discussant

<Variable: GREGION>

1 = West Germany including West Berlin

2 = East Germany including East Berlin

<Variable: ID>

Respondent-ID

<Variables: GNETZ + GPOINT>

Technical sampling information

<Variable: GINTARTW>

Interview was conducted:

1 = by phone

2 = personally

<GREKRUT>

Way of recruiting

1 = reply card

2 = motivated to participate by special motivational action launched by field institute

<Variable: GP>

This filter variable is based on a data test and indicates whether the correct target person (= most important discussant) has been interviewed or not; only those with code = 1 are correct discussant interviews!

1 = target person (most important discussant)

2 = incorrect target person (not most important discussant, but acquainted to main respondent)

3 = incorrect target person (person of unknown identity)

4 = main respondent himself

5 = incorrect target person (incorrect ID, cannot be corrected)

- (1) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the GDR?

[INT.: Read possible answers; show list 1]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (2) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former GDR to be:

[INT.: Show list 2]

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (3) How do you evaluate in general the present economic situation of the former Federal Republic of Germany?

[INT.: Read possible answers; show list 1]

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = partly good/partly bad

4 = bad

5 = very bad

- (4) And how will it be in one year? Do you expect the economic situation in the area of the former Federal Republic of Germany to be:

[INT.: Show list 2]

1 = much better

2 = somewhat better

3 = the same

4 = somewhat worse

5 = much worse

- (5) When you think about the future economic development of Germany: which government would you say is the right one to guarantee a successful economic development: a CDU-government or an SPD-government?

1 = CDU-government

2 = SPD-government

3 = no difference

4 = none

- (6) Generally speaking: How much are you interested in politics?

[INT.: Read possible answers]

1 = very much

2 = much

3 = so-so

4 = somewhat

5 = not at all

- (7) Do you read a daily newspaper regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes 9

2 = no 8

- (8) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do 12

2 = no, I don't 14

- (9) Which daily newspaper is it?

[INT.: only one mentioning; only the daily newspaper that is read the most often]

- (10) Do you also read another daily newspaper?

yes, the following: ----- 12

995 = no, I don't 10a

- (10a) [INT.: Mark without asking]

In question (9)

1 = "Bildzeitung" was named 12

2 = "Bildzeitung" wasn't named 11

- (11) And how about the "Bildzeitung"? Do you read the "Bildzeitung" regularly or occasionally?

1 = yes, I do

2 = no, I don't

- (12) When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 1st newspaper, i.e. "Bildzeitung" in question (8) or a daily newspaper in question (9)] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 1st newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU

1 = DSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = PDS

1 = The Greens

1 = Bündnis 90

1 = The Republicans

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

- (13) [INT.: Ask only if a second newspaper was named, i.e. a daily newspaper in question (10) or "Bildzeitung" in question (11)]

When you think of the political reporting in ... [INT.: read the name of the 2nd newspaper] during the election campaign: Are there any priorities given to one or several parties? If yes, to which parties?

[INT.: More than one answer possible; don't read the possible answers.]

[INT.: Write down the name of 2nd newspaper: -----]

1 = CDU

1 = DSU

1 = SDP

1 = FDP

1 = PDS

1 = The Greens

1 = Bündnis 90

1 = The Republicans

1 = other party/parties

95 = no party

(14) What are, in your opinion, at present the most important political problems in Germany?

	Question 14a
1st problem:	
2nd problem:	
3rd problem:	
4th problem:	

(14a) Which of these problems is for Germany the most important, the second most important and the third most important?

[INT.: Please fill in "1" for the most important problem, "2" for the second most important, "3" for the third most important]

(15) In politics as well as in all other fields one cannot get everything at the same time. On this list you see some goals to follow in politics. If you had to choose among the following things, which one would be the most important to you?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "1" for the most important goal]

Which goal would you rank second?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "2"]

And which one would come third?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; note "3"; for the goal left note "4" without asking]

Maintaining order in the nation	8=don't know -----
Giving the people more say in important political decisions	8=don't know -----
Fighting rising prices	8=don't know -----
Protecting freedom of speech	8=don't know -----

- (16) The next general election will take place on 2 December this year as an all-German election. Will you go to the polls?

1 = yes 16a

2 = no 17

8 = don't know 17

- (16a) At this general election you have two votes: the first vote for electing the constituency representative, the second vote for electing the "Länder" list of a party. Here is a ballot paper similar to the one you will get in the general election.

[Int.: Show list 4]

The candidate of which party would you vote for with your first vote? Please give me the code letter.

First vote:

1 = CDU (A)

2 = SDP (B)

3 = PDS (C)

4 = FDP (D)

5 = DSU (E)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (F)

7 = Republicans (G)

8 = other party (H)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

Which party will you vote for with your second vote? Please give me again the code letter.

Second vote:

1 = CDU (J)

2 = SDP (K)

3 = PDS (L)

4 = FDP (M)

5 = DSU (O)

6 = The Greens/Bündnis 90 (P)

7 = Republicans (Q)

8 = other party (R)

98 = don't know

97 = answer refused

- (17) From the present point of view: who would you say will win the next general election: The CDU/CSU or a coalition government led by CDU/CSU, or the SDP or a coalition government led by SDP?

1 = CDU/CSU, respectively coalition led by CDU/CSU

2 = SDP, respectively coalition led by SDP

8 = don't know

- (18) An important point of the coming general election is also if Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine is going to be chancellor.

Imagine a thermometer reaching only from +5 to -5. Using this thermometer, would you please rank the two candidates: +5 means you have a very good opinion of the candidate, -5 means you have a very bad opinion of the candidate. You can differentiate with the values between.

What do you think of Helmut Kohl?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

And what do you think of Oskar Lafontaine?

[INT.:Mark value in scale]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11

(18a) If you had to decide: Who would you prefer as chancellor: Helmut Kohl or Oskar Lafontaine?

1 = Helmut Kohl

2 = Oskar Lafontaine

3 = none of the two

8 = don't know

(19) Many people use the terms LEFT and RIGHT when they want to characterize different political attitudes. Here is a scale ranging from left to right. Referring to your own political attitudes, where would you rank them on this scale?

[INT.: Respondent should mark with a cross in the Left-Right-scale on the page before; the scale below is only for the interviewer]

Left	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Right
------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-------

98 = don't know

(20) The economic rehabilitation of the former GDR is regarded as the most urgent problem of the German reunification. There are different opinions regarding the best policies for this rehabilitation. Some argue that it would be best if the state interfered as little as possible. Others argue that a far-reaching state intervention would be best.

What is your opinion? Use 1-7 on the scale to indicate your own position. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 5; mark scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

(21) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the economic rehabilitation of the former GDR?

The parties of our interest are SDP, CDU, CSU, FDP, the Greens and the PDS.

Use the scale values 1-7 for your perception. 1 represents few state interventions, 7 far-reaching state interventions. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 5; note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (22) The German Constitution grants asylum to victims of political persecution from other countries. The discussion at the moment is if this right of political asylum should be restricted or not. What is your opinion? Mark from 1-7 on the scale. 1 means the right of political asylum shouldn't be restricted in any way, 7 means it should be restricted considerably. You can differentiate with the values between.
[INT.: Show list 6; mark scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (23) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of the right of political asylum? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means no restriction of the right of political asylum, 7 means considerable restriction of the right of political asylum. You can differentiate with the values between.
[INT.: Show list 6; note scale value]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (24) A frequent topic to be discussed is the state's position towards abortion. Here there are also quite different points of view. One group says the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, the other group says the woman herself should decide about a possible abortion.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 7; mark scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (25) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question of abortion?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the State should generally make abortion a punishable offence, 7 means the woman herself should decide about possible abortion. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 7; note scale value]

SDP

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

- (26) There are two possible alternatives to finance the reunification of Germany. Either only by increasing the National Debt or only by increasing taxes.

What is your opinion? Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 8; mark scale value]

0	-----
---	-------

- (27) What are in your opinion the political parties' views on the question how to finance the reunification of Germany?

Use again the scale values 1-7 for your estimation. 1 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing the National Debt, 7 means the state finances the reunification only by increasing taxes. You can differentiate with the values between.

[INT.: Show list 8; note scale values]

SDP

0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----
0	-----

CDU

CSU

FDP

The Greens

PDS

- (28) The last election to the East German Parliament was on 18 March 1990. Which party did you vote for in this election?

[INT: Only one answer possible]

1 = CDU

2 = DA

3 = DSU

4 = SDP

5 = The Greens/Independent Women's Association

6 = Bündnis 90

7 = PDS

8 = Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany

9 = League of Free Democrats

other, namely: -----

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

97 = answer refused

98 = can't remember

- (29) The regional elections of the new East German "Länder" of the Federal Republic of Germany were on 14 October 1990. Which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

1 = CDU

2 = DSU

3 = SDP

4 = FDP

5 = PDS

6 = The Greens

7 = Bündnis 90

8 = The Greens/New Forum

9 = New Forum

other party

95 = not entitled to vote

96 = didn't vote because of other reasons

97 = answer refused

98 = can't remember

- (30) On this list you find various organizations in which many citizens are members. Please tell me for each organization if you yourself are a member and give me the exact name.

[INT.: If the respondent is member in several organizations of one category, e.g. in several religious organizations, please fill in only the name of the organization that is the most important to the respondent.]

	No member	Member	Organization (exact name)
Trade Unions	2	1	
Business or Professional Associations	2	1	
Women's Organizations	2	1	
Youth Organizations	2	1	
Groups for Elderly People	2	1	
Farmers' and Agricultural Associations	2	1	
Associations of Expelled	2	1	
Religious Organizations	2	1	
Environmental Organizations	2	1	
Citizens' Initiatives	2	1	

(30a) [Mark without asking]

In question (30) are given:

1 = membership in 0-3 organizations 31

2 = membership in 4-10 organizations 30b

(30b) Which 3 of these organizations are the most important to you?

[INT.: Fill in name of organization]

1st organization	
2nd organization	
3rd organization	

(31) Are you member of a political party? If yes, which one?

01 = CDU

02 = DSU

03 = SDP

04 = FDP

05 = PDS

06 = The Greens

07 = Bündnis 90

08 = Republicans

09 = other party: -----

96 = refused to give the party's name

98 = no party member

(S1) Sex of respondent:

1 = Man

2 = Woman

(S2) Now some final questions about statistics.

Please tell me in which month and year you were born.

month:

year:

(S3) What educational level do you have?

[INT.: Only one answer possible; highest school-leaving examination should be registered]

1 = I am attending a school

2 = left school without examination before 8th class

3 = elementary school (Volksschule)

4 = polytechnic secondary school with examination in 8th class (before 1965)

5 = polytechnic secondary school with examination in 10th class (after 1965)

6 = extended secondary school (EOS) without examination

7 = extended secondary school (EOS) with examination

8 = university degree

different school-leaving examination that is:

(S4) Are you at the moment:

1 = working full-time S5

2 = working part-time S5

3 = working occasionally S7

4 = not working..... S7

(S5) Which professional category do you think you belong to according to these cards? Please choose the card with the relevant professional category and tell me the corresponding number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

A-1 = farmer

B-2 = academic self-employed professional

C-3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service, also self-employed professional and member of a co-operative

D-4 = employee in the services sector (including trade, traffic, health, education and so on)

E-5 = worker in production, industry, trade, building

F-6 = student, professional trainee

G-7 = helping member of the family

(S6) What is your main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]..... S11

(S7) Please tell me which of these things apply to you. Give me the corresponding code letter.

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

A-1 = I am pupil/student

B-2 = I am retired

C-3 = I am unemployed at the moment

D-4 = I am housewife/househusband

E-5 = I am doing military service/community service

F-6 = I am not employed (full-time) for other reasons

(S8) Have you ever had a main occupation (full-time)?

1 = yes S9

2 = no S11

(S9) Which professional category did you then belong to? Please give me the corresponding code number.

[INT.: Only one answer possible]

A-1 = farmer

B-2 = academic self-employed professional

C-3 = self-employed in trade, commerce, industry, service, also self-employed professional and member of a co-operative

D-4 = employee in the services sector (including trade, traffic, health, education and so on)

E-5 = worker in production, industry, trade, building

F-6 = student, professional trainee

G-7 = helping member of the family

(S10) What was your last main occupation? Please describe your occupation in detail.

[INT.: Please ask if this occupation has a special name]

(S11) Which religious denomination do you belong to?

[INT.: Show list S4; only one answer possible]

A-1 = the Roman Catholic Church

B-2 = the Protestant Church (without Free Churches)

C-3 = a Protestant Free Church

D-4 = another Christian Religious Community

E-5 = another not Christian Religious Community

F-6 = no Religious Community

(S12) How often do you normally go to church?

[INT.: Read the possible answers]

1 = more than once a week

2 = once a week

3 = one to three times a month

4 = several times a year

5 = less often

6 = never

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

IV. Category schemes of selected questions

This section documents detailed category schemes for a number of questions that were too detailed to include them into the data sets in the form of value labels.

Category scheme A:

Category scheme A concerns (a) the *general thematic agenda* and (b) the *interpersonal thematic agenda*.

<i>Data set:</i>	<i>questions (a):</i>	<i>questions (b):</i>
HB1W-M1.EXP	17	
HB1O-M1.EXP	17	
HB2W-M1.EXP	13	33a, 34b
HB2O-M1.EXP	13	33a
EP1W-M1.EXP	4	
EP1O-M1.EXP	4	
EP2W-M1.EXP	7	25
EP2O-M1.EXP	7	25
GPW-M1.EXP	14	S13b
GPO-M1.EXP	14	

(ad a) The general agenda questions were coded with the same code scheme that was used in the content analysis for coding the thematic structure of media reporting. Respondents could mention up to four problems they perceived as being important. We coded each of these problems with the category scheme documented below. In addition, for each mentioned problem an additional regional variable was created. It measures the regional reference of the problem and has four codes:

- 1 = West Germany
- 2 = East Germany
- 3 = both
- 9 = does not apply

Therefore, the agenda questions, such as e.g. question 17 in HB1, are represented by eight variables in each data set: four pairs of problems/themes plus region. For instance, in HB1 these are the variables E67 to E74.

(ad b) There is an additional code: 16000 = unspecific responses. The regional variables have not been used for the interpersonal agenda questions.

Several *general rules* apply in the category scheme:

- a) All codes have five digits.
- b) Within each thematic group the residual code ###99 for "other themes" can be used.
- c) NA = 0, defined as missing.

OVERVIEW OF THEMATIC AREAS

1000 = Politisches System: Institutionen, Parteien
2000 = Wahlkampf
3000 = Außenpolitik
4000 = Sicherheitspolitik
5000 = Dtsche Vereinigung/Dtsche Einheit (prozed. Themen)
6000 = Haushalts- und Finanzpolitik
7000 = Wirtschaft und Arbeit
8000 = Umwelt und Energie
9000 = Sozialpolitik, Frauen, Minderheiten
10000 = Infrastruktur
11000 = Inneres und Justiz
12000 = Bildung, Forschung und Technik
13000 = sonstige Themen

CODES IN DETAIL**1000 = Politisches System**

1100 = Politische Institutionen und Organisationen
1200 = Partizipation
1300 = Strukturveränderungen in der DDR
1400 = andere Aspekte der politischen Kultur
1900 = normative Themen

1100 = Politische Institutionen und Organisationen

Diese Kategorien werden verschlüsselt, wenn die Institutionen selbst, also ihre Struktur, Funktionsweise, ihre Aufgaben oder Personalfragen thematisiert werden, nicht wenn sie als Urheber oder Akteure Gegenstand des Textes sind.

1100 = Politische Institutionen allgemein

1110 = Bundestag und Abgeordnete allgemein (z.B. Aufgaben des Parlaments, Bezüge der Abgeordneten, Personalentscheidungen wie z.B. Bundestagspräsident/in)

1120 = Volkskammer und Abgeordnete allgemein (z.B. Funktionsweise, Selbstverständnis)

1121 = Geschäftsordnungsfragen

1122 = Stasi-Vergangenheit von Abgeordneten, Überprüfung

1123 = Opposition: Rolle der PDS (z.B. Angriffe auf die PDS, Abgrenzung der anderen Parteien)

1124 = Bezüge der Abgeordneten

1130 = Bundesregierung und Ministerien allgemein (Funktionsweise, Zusammensetzung, Ressortverteilung, Kabinett)

1131 = Regierungskoalition (Konflikte)

1140 = Ministerrat der DDR allgemein (Ressortverteilung, Selbstverständnis z.B. als Übergangsregierung)

1141 = Regierungskoalition (Bildung, Auflösung)

1150 = Föderative Institutionen allgemein

1151 = Bundesrat (Aufgaben, Zusammensetzung, Vertretung der neuen Länder im Bundesrat)

1152 = Länder (Wahlen, Regierung)

1153 = Kommunen (Selbstverwaltung, Haushalte)

1160 = Parteien allgemein (Struktur, Aufgaben) (nur Parteien allgemein; einzelne Parteien unter 2400ff)

1161 = Parteiengesetz

1162 = Parteienfinanzierung

1163 = Fusionsprozesse/DA (Demokratischer Aufbruch)

1164 = Fusionsprozesse/DBD (Dem. Bauernpartei)

1165 = Bündnis der Bürgerbewegungen (Bündnis '90)

1166 = Parteivereinigungen DDR/BRD

1170 = Behörden, Verwaltung allgemein (z.B. Vereinfachung der Verwaltung, Bürger und Verwaltung, Bürokratisierung, Berufsbeamtentum)

1180 = Gerichte

1190 = Hauptstadtfrage

1191 = Sitz des Bundespräsidenten

1192 = Sitz von Bundestag, Bundesrat und/oder Bundesregierung

1200 = Partizipation

1200 = Beteiligung des Bürgers am politischen Prozeß allgemein

1210 = Ausweitung der Beteiligungsmöglichkeiten

1211 = Inkraftsetzen der Verfassung durch Volksabstimmung

1212 = Einführung von Volksbegehren und Volksentscheid

1220 = Individuelle Handlungsanleitung für politisches Handeln des Bürgers

1221 = Wahlentscheidung

1222 = Parteibeitritt

1300 = Strukturveränderungen in der DDR allgemein

1310 = Aufbau demokratischer Strukturen in der DDR

1311 = Bildung von Bundesländern

1320 = Reorganisation der Verwaltung allgemein (Demokratisierung, Dezentralisierung)

1321 = Reorganisation der Justiz

1322 = Reorganisation der Polizei

1323 = Reorganisation von Hochschulwesen und Wissenschaft?

1330 = Abbau undemokratischer, stalinistischer Strukturen in der DDR allgemein

1331 = Strafvollzug, politische Gefangene, Amnestie, ...

1340 = Schicksal der Vermögen der Parteien des ehem. Demokratischen Blocks

1341 = Vermögen der PDS

1342 = Vermögen der CDU (inkl. Vermögen der DBD)

1343 = Vermögen der F.D.P. (ex-LDPD, inkl. Vermögen der NDPD)

1350 = Auflösung des Ministeriums für Staatsicherheit/Amts für Nationale Sicherheit

1351 = Arbeit der Bürgerkomitees

1352 = Auflösung der offiziellen Strukturen (Vermögen, Gebäude etc.)

1353 = Weitere Verwendung der Stasi-Akten

1354 = Weiterbestehen alter Stasi-Seilschaften

1355 = Entdeckung von inoffiziellen Mitarbeitern (IM) und Offizieren im besonderen Einsatz (OibE) des MfS

1356 = Entdeckung von Agenten des MfS in der BRD

1357 = Renten für Mitarbeiter des MfS

1360 = Rote Armee in der DDR (nicht: Verhandlungen über Rückzug)

1400 = andere Aspekte der politischen Kultur

1410 = Filz, Korruption, Skandale (Personenaffären,
Verschwendung öffentlicher Gelder)

1420 = neuer Nationalstolz/Nationalismus

1430 = Identitätsfragen

1431 = (gesamt)deutsche Identität

1432 = DDR-Identität

1433 = BRD-Identität

1440 = Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit allgemein

1441 = mit Schuldzuweisungen (Mitläufer/Täter)

1442 = mit der NS-Vergangenheit

1443 = mit der Nachkriegszeit/Vorgeschichte der dt. Staaten

1444 = mit 17. Juni 1953 (Vor- und Nachgeschichte)

1445 = mit dem Mauerbau (Vor- und Nachgeschichte)

1446 = mit dem Einmarsch in die CSSR und ihren Auswirkungen
auf die DDR

1447 = mit der Ausbürgerung Wolf Biermanns und der folgenden
Auswanderung von DDR-Kunstschaffenden

1448 = mit Zielen und Werten der "friedlichen Revolution"

1900 = Normative Themen

1910 = Verhältnis Staat/Gesellschaft

1920 = Demokratie

1930 = Freiheit

1940 = Kommunismus, Sozialismus, Stalinismus

1950 = Gleichsetzung Sozialismus/Stalinismus und Faschismus

1960 = Demokratie vs. Sozialismus

1970 = Dritter Weg

1980 = Föderalismus

1990 = Politische Kultur

2000 = Wahlkampf allgemein

Unter der Rubrik "Wahlkampf" wird die Berichterstattung über die Wahlkampfaktivitäten und über wahlkampfspezifische Themen, Gewinnchancen/Siegechancen der Parteien, Koalitionsfragen, Partei- und Wahlprogramme, sowie die Berichterstattung über Vor- und Nachteile oder Eigenschaften von Kandidaten und Parteien verschlüsselt.

2100 = Koalitionen

2200 = Listenverbindungen

2300 = Parteiprogramme

2400 = Kandidaten und Parteien

2600 = Wahlkampfaktivitäten

2700 = Wahlkampfstrategien

2900 = Normative Themen

2100 = Koalitionen

- 2100 = Koalitionen allgemein**
- 2110 = Regierungskoalition**
- 2120 = Große Koalition**
- 2130 = Sozial-liberale Koalition**
- 2140 = Rot-Grüne Koalition**
- 2150 = "Ampel-Koalition" aus SPD, F.D.P. und Grünen**
- 2160 = "Rechts-Liberale Koalition" aus F.D.P., CDU/CSU und
REPs**
- 2170 = "Rechts-Koalition" aus CDU/CSU und REPs**
- 2180 = "Links-Koalition" aus SPD, Grünen und PDS**

2200 = Listenverbindungen

- 2210 = PDS/Linke Liste
- 2220 = Grüne/Bündnis 90
- 2230 = CSU/DSU ("Huckepack")

2300 = Parteiprogramme**2300 = Parteiprogramme allgemein****Parteiprogramme von**

- 2310 = CDU
- 2311 = CSU
- 2312 = CDU/CSU
- 2313 = DSU
- 2314 = SPD
- 2315 = F.D.P.
- 2316 = Grünen/Bündnis 90
- 2317 = PDS/Linker Liste
- 2318 = Republikanern
- 2319 = sonstigen Parteien
- 2390 = Regierungsprogramm

2400 = Kandidaten und Parteien

Hier wird die Berichterstattung über die Eigenschaften, Vor- und Nachteile von Kandidaten und Parteien, die Geschlossenheit und den inneren Zustand der Parteien sowie allgemein über deren Politik etc. verschlüsselt. Weiterhin werden hier Darstellung der Wahl- und Siegeschancen der Parteien codiert.

2400 = Kandidaten und Parteien allgemein

- 2410 = Helmut Kohl allgemein**
- 2411 = allgemeine politische Aspekte
- 2412 = Verhältnis zur Partei
- 2413 = Gesundheit
- 2414 = Privatleben
- 2420 = Wolfgang Schäuble allgemein**
- 2421 = allgemeine politische Aspekte
- 2422 = Verhältnis zur Partei
- 2423 = Gesundheit (Attentat und Folgen)
- 2424 = Privatleben
- 2430 = CDU/CSU allgemein**
- 2432 = Alfred Dregger, CDU/CSU-Fraktionsvorsitzender
- 2433 = Volker Rühe, CDU-Generalsekretär
- 2434 = VIPs der CDU/CSU (Fraktion und Vorstand)
- 2435 = CDU/CSU Fraktion und Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)

- 2436 = sonst. Mitglieder der CDU/CSU
- 2437 = Landesvorsitzende der CDU
- 2438 = Theo Waigel, CSU-Vorsitzender
- 2439 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)

zu 2435 VIPs der CDU/CSU:

Heiner Geißler, Kurt Biedenkopf, Edmund Stoiber

- 2440 = Oskar Lafontaine allgemein**
- 2441 = allgemeine politische Aspekte
- 2442 = Verhältnis zur Partei
- 2443 = Kanzlerkandidatur
- 2444 = Gesundheit (Attentat und Folgen)
- 2445 = Privatleben
- 2450 = SPD allgemein**
- 2452 = Willy Brandt, Ehrenvorsitzender
- 2453 = Hans-Jochen Vogel, Partei- und Fraktionsvorsitzender
- 2454 = Anke Fuchs, Bundesgeschäftsführerin
- 2455 = VIPs der SPD (Fraktion und Vorstand)
- 2456 = SPD Fraktion und Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)
- 2457 = sonst. Mitglieder der SPD
- 2458 = Landesvorsitzende der SPD
- 2459 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)

zu 2455 VIPs der SPD:

Helmut Schmidt, Ingrid Matthäus-Maier, Annemarie Renger, Volker Hauff, Gerhard Schröder, Egon Bahr, Klaus von Dohnanyi, Herta Däubler-Gmelin, Horst Ehmke, (Wolfgang Thierse, Markus Meckel ab 27.9.)

- 2460 = Hans-Dietrich Genscher**
- 2461 = allgemeine politische Aspekte
- 2462 = Verhältnis zur Partei
- 2463 = Gesundheit
- 2464 = Privatleben
- 2470 = F.D.P. allgemein**
- 2471 = Otto Graf Lambsdorff, Vorsitzender
- 2473 = Wolfgang Mischnik, Fraktionsvorsitzender
- 2474 = Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, Generalsekretärin
- 2475 = VIPs der F.D.P.
- 2476 = F.D.P. Fraktion und Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)
- 2477 = sonst. Mitglieder der F.D.P.
- 2478 = Landesvorsitzende der F.D.P.
- 2479 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)

zu 2475 VIPs der F.D.P.:

Irmgard Adam-Schwätzer, Gerhart Baum, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, Burkhard Hirsch, Walter Scheel, Rainer Ortleb, Hans Engelhardt

- 2480 = Grüne/Bündnis 90 allgemein**
- 2481 = Heidi Rühle, Renate Damus, Christian Ströbele, Sprecher des Grünen-Bundesvorstandes

- 2483 = Antje Vollmer, Waltraut Schoppe, Willi Hoss, Sprecher-Innen der Grünen-Fraktion
- 2485 = VIPs der Grünen/Bündnis 90
- 2486 = Grüne-Fraktion und Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)
- 2487 = sonst. Mitglieder der Grünen/Bündnis 90
- 2488 = Landespolitiker der Grünen/Bündnis 90
- 2489 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)

zu 2485 VIPs der Grünen/Bündnis 90:

Petra Kelly, Joschka Fischer, Jutta Ditzfurth, Verena Krieger, Gerd Bastian, Bärbel Bohley, Freya Klier, Konrad Weiß, Jens Reich, Wolfgang Ullmann

- 2490 = PDS/Linke Liste: allgemein**
- 2491 = Hans Modrow, Ehrenvorsitzender
- 2492 = Gregor Gysi, Vorsitzender
- 2493 = N.N., Generalsekretär
- 2494 = PDS Fraktion oder Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)
- 2495 = sonst. Mitglieder der PDS/Linke Liste
- 2496 = Landesvorsitzende der PDS
- 2499 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)
- 2500 = Republikaner allgemein**
- 2501 = Franz Schönhuber, Vorsitzender
- 2506 = REP-Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)
- 2507 = sonst. Mitglieder der Republikaner
- 2508 = Landespolitiker der REPs
- 2509 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)
- 2510 = DSU allgemein**
- 2511 = Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, DSU-Vorsitzender (1)
- 2513 = Hansjoachim Walther, Fraktionsvorsitzender und DSU-Vorsitzender (2)
- 2514 = Jürgen Schwarz, stellv. Vorsitzender
- 2515 = DSU-Fraktion und Vorstand (auch einzelne Mitglieder)
- 2516 = sonstige Mitglieder der DSU
- 2518 = sonstige regionale und lokale Verbände (auch Fraktionen, Vorstände, Einzelmitglieder, Funktionäre)

2600 = Wahlkampfaktivitäten

Hier wird nur codiert, wenn die Aktivität (d.h. die Frage Wer, Was, Wann, Wo), nicht jedoch das inhaltliche Thema im Mittelpunkt der Darstellung steht.

2600 = Wahlkampfaktivitäten allgemein

Wahlkampfaktivitäten von

- 2611 = CDU
- 2612 = CSU
- 2613 = CDU/CSU
- 2614 = DSU
- 2615 = SPD
- 2616 = F.D.P.
- 2617 = Grüne/Bündnis 90
- 2618 = PDS/Linke Liste
- 2619 = Republikaner

2620 = sonst. Parteien
2690 = der Regierung

2700 = Wahlkampfstrategien allgemein

Wahlkampfstrategien von

2711 = CDU
2712 = CSU
2713 = CDU/CSU
2714 = DSU
2715 = SPD
2716 = F.D.P.
2717 = Grüne/Bündnis 90
2718 = PDS/Linke Liste
2719 = Republikaner
2720 = sonst. Parteien
2790 = der Regierung

2900 = Normative Themen

2910 = Fairness
2920 = Ehrlichkeit
2930 = Chancengleichheit (z.B. ausgefallene Diskussion der Spitzenpolitiker)

3000 = Außenpolitik

3100 = Außenpolitik allgemein
3200 = Außenpolitische Probleme der deutschen Einheit
3300 = Europäische Gemeinschaft
3900 = Normative Themen

3100 = Außenpolitik allgemein (auch außenpolitische Rolle des vereinigten Deutschland)

3110 = Beziehungen zu westlichen Staaten

3111 = Deutschland/USA
3112 = Deutschland/Frankreich
3113 = Deutschland/Großbritannien
3114 = Deutschland/Israel
3115 = Deutschland/sonst. westl. Länder

3120 = Beziehungen zu östlichen Staaten

3121 = Deutschland/UdSSR (inkl. "Rußlandhilfe")
3122 = Deutschland/Polen
3123 = Deutschland/sonst. östl. Länder

3130 = Beziehungen zu den Entwicklungsländern

3131 = Entwicklungshilfe (Höhe, Empfänger, Verteilung)

3140 = Beziehungen zu sonstigen Ländern

3150 = aktuelle außenpolitische Probleme allgemein

3160 = Golfkrise allgemein

3161 = Deutscher Beitrag zur internationalen Streitmacht
3162 = Haltung der dt. Botschaft in Kuwait
3163 = Geiselfrage (Verhandlungen, Befreiung)

3200 = Außenpolitische Probleme der deutschen Vereinigung allg.

3210 = Zwei plus Vier-Verhandlungen
3220 = Polnische Westgrenze

- 3230 = Deutsche Bündniszugehörigkeit
- 3240 = Verhandlungen mit einzelnen Alliierten
- 3250 = Verhandlungen mit Nicht-Alliierten

3300 = Europäische Gemeinschaft

- 3300 = EG allgemein
- 3310 = Strukturen der EG, Institutionen
- 3320 = EG-spezifische Probleme (z.B. Landwirtschaft, Interessendivergenz der Mitgliedsstaaten)
- 3340 = Europäischer Integrationsprozess
- 3341 = Integration der DDR in die EG
- 3342 = Schaffung des EG-Binnenmarktes (1993)
- 3343 = Schaffung einer europäischen Währung
- 3344 = Soziale Sicherung in der EG (Sozialcharta, Arbeitnehmerrechte)
- 3345 = Weitergehende europäische Integration (polit. Union)
- 3346 = Europäische Verteidigungspolitik

3900 = Normative Themen

- 3910 = Menschenrechte und Außenpolitik
- 3920 = Boykotts (Südafrika, Irak)
- 3930 = Nord-Süd-Konflikt
- 3931 = Solidarität mit der 3. Welt

4000 = Sicherheitspolitik

- 4100 = Verteidigungspolitik
- 4200 = Bündnispolitik allgemein
- 4300 = Frieden und Abrüstung allgemein
- 4900 = Normative Themen

4100 = Verteidigungspolitik

- 4100 = Verteidigungspolitik allgemein
- 4101 = Verteidigungsetat
- 4110 = Bundeswehr allgemein (Struktur, Ausstattung, Truppenstärke etc.)
- 4111 = Integration der Nationalen Volksarmee in die Bundeswehr
- 4112 = Wehrdienst
- 4113 = Einsatz der Bundeswehr außerhalb der NATO
- 4120 = Nationale Volksarmee allgemein
- 4130 = Kriegsdienstverweigerung, ziviler Ersatzdienst
- 4140 = alternative Verteidigungskonzepte (zivile Verteidigung etc)

4200 = Bündnispolitik allgemein

- 4210 = NATO allgemein (Struktur, Ausstattung etc.)
- 4211 = Strategie- und Aufgabendiskussion (Verteidigungskonzepte)
- 4220 = Bündniszugehörigkeit Gesamtdeutschlands

4221 = Konzessionen an sowjetische Interessen

4230 = Warschauer Pakt allgemein

4231 = Bündnisverpflichtungen der DDR gegenüber dem Warschauer Pakt

4240 = Auflösung der alten Bündnisstrukturen in Europa

4300 = Frieden und Abrüstung allgemein

4310 = Frieden und Entspannung allgemein

4311 = Entspannungsprozeß USA/UdSSR

4312 = KSZE-Prozeß/Friedensordnung in Europa

4320 = Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle allgemein

4321 = Abrüstung auf konventionellem Gebiet

4322 = Abrüstung von Atomwaffen

4323 = Abrüstung von biologischen und chemischen Waffen

4330 = Waffenexporte (Kontrollbestimmungen und Affären)

4900 = Normative Themen

4910 = Ost-West-Konflikt, Bedrohungspotential

4920 = NATO als Wertegemeinschaft

5000 = Deutsche Vereinigung/Einheit allgemein

Hier werden nur die prozeduralen Aspekte der deutschen Vereinigung sowie allgemeine Aspekte der deutschen Einheit verschlüsselt. Die inhaltlichen Aspekte werden den einzelnen Sachthemen zugeordnet.

5100 = Gesamtdeutsche Wahlen allgemein

5110 = Wahltermin

5120 = Wahlmodus

5200 = Beitrittstermin

5300 = 1. Staatsvertrag (Währungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialunion)

5310 = Wechselkurs (1:1, 1:2)

5320 = Kontenhöhe

5330 = Spekulationen (Verhinderung, Aufdeckung)

5400 = 2. Staatsvertrag (Einigungsvertrag)

5500 = Feier des Nationalfeiertags am 3. Oktober

5900 = Normative Themen

6000 = Haushalts- und Finanzpolitik allgemein

6100 = Haushaltspolitik allgemein

6110 = Haushaltsentwurf

6111 = Staatsverschuldung, Kreditaufnahme

6112 = Erweiterter Finanzbedarf, Nachtragshaushalt

6113 = Kürzungen im Haushalt

6200 = Kosten und Finanzierung der Einheit allgemein

6210 = Schätzungen der Kosten

6220 = Steuererhöhungen (bei umweltbezogenen Diskussionen von "Umwelt-Steuern", d.h. wenn nicht der steuerrechtliche Aspekt im Vordergrund steht, wird 8130ff codiert)

6230 = Erhebung von Sonderabgaben

6240 = Finanzierung der deutschen Einheit durch private Investitionen

6250 = Kreditaufnahme

6260 = Subventionsabbau

6270 = Einsparungen und Umschichtungen

6280 = Privatisierung von öffentlichem Vermögen

6290 = Beiträge der Länder

6300 = Geldpolitik allgemein, Bundesbank

6900 = Normative Themen

7000 = Wirtschaft und Arbeit

7100 = Wirtschaftspolitik

7200 = Preisentwicklung

7300 = Wirtschaftliche Lage der Betriebe

7400 = Sektorale und regionale Wirtschaftsförderung

7500 = Aktien- und Kapitalmarkt

7600 = Außenhandel

7700 = Wirtschaftsrecht

7800 = Arbeitspolitik, Beschäftigungsstruktur

7900 = Normative Themen

7100 = Wirtschaftspolitik allgemein

7110 = Konjunkturelle Entwicklung allgemein

7111 = Aufschwung, Wirtschaftswachstum (Binnen- und Außenhandel)

7112 = Wirtschaftskrise, Wachstumsrückgang

7120 = Umstellung auf die Marktwirtschaft in der DDR

7121 = Dezentralisierung und Entflechtung alter Strukturen (z.B. Auflösung der HO)

7122 = Volkseigene Betriebe, Treuhand (Übernahme durch die Treuhandgesellschaft, Verkauf von Firmen)

7124 = Warenangebot

7125 = Kaufverhalten der Konsumenten (bestimmte Artikel, Ost-/West-Waren)

7200 = Preisentwicklung allgemein

7210 = Preisstabilität

7220 = Inflation

7230 = Liberalisierung des Preissystems (Subventionsabbau bei Mieten, Tarifen etc.)

7231 = Teuerung nach der Währungsunion

7300 = Wirtschaftliche Lage der Betriebe allgemein (auch

landwirtschaftliche Betriebe

- 7310 = Strukturwandel, Rationalisierung**
- 7320 = Kapitalbildung, Investitionen, Gewinne**
- 7330 = Firmenzusammenschlüsse, Wirtschaftskonzentration**
- 7340 = Betriebsgründungen**
- 7350 = Betriebszusammenbrüche**
- 7360 = Finanzierungsprobleme und Absatzprobleme von Betrieben**
- 7370 = Aktivitäten westlicher Betriebe in der DDR (Joint-Ventures, Zusammenarbeit, Übernahme)**

7400 = Sektorale und regionale Wirtschaftsförderung allgemein

- 7410 = Sektorale Förderung**
- 7411 = Landwirtschaft
- 7412 = Energiewirtschaft
- 7413 = Alte Industrien (Stahl, Bergbau, Kohle)
- 7414 = Mittelstand (Starthilfen)
- 7420 = Regionale Förderung**
- 7421 = Zonenrandgebiet
- 7422 = Berlin
- 7423 = DDR bzw ehemalige DDR (auch: Niedrigsteuergbiet)

7500 = Aktien- und Kapitalmarkt allgemein

- 7510 = Entwicklung am Aktienmarkt**
- 7520 = Zinsentwicklung**

7600 = Außenhandel

- 7610 = Handelsbilanz**
- 7620 = Zollbestimmungen, GATT**
- 7630 = Weltwährungssystem**

7700 = Wirtschaftsrecht allgemein

- 7710 = Kartellrecht und Verstöße**
- 7720 = Wirtschaftskriminalität**

7800 = Arbeitspolitik, Beschäftigungsstruktur allgemein

- 7810 = Arbeitslosigkeit (Entlassungen, (Null-Stunden-) Kurzarbeit)**
- 7811 = Furcht vor Arbeitslosigkeit und ihre Folgen
- 7820 = Arbeitskräftemangel (Facharbeiter)**
- 7830 = Arbeitsmarktpolitik allgemein**
- 7831 = Beschäftigungsprogramme, Umschulungen
- 7832 = Arbeitslosenversicherung
- 7833 = Lehrstellen
- 7840 = Arbeitsrecht allgemein**
- 7841 = Betriebsverfassungsgesetz
- 7842 = Mitbestimmung
- 7843 = Kündigungsschutz
- 7850 = Tarifpolitik allgemein**
- 7851 = Tarifverhandlungen, Streiks
- 7852 = Anpassung des Einkommensniveaus
- 7853 = Arbeitszeitverkürzung (35/40-Stunden-Woche)
- 7854 = Flexibilisierung, Sonntagsarbeit, Ladenschluß
- 7855 = Leistungen für Arbeitnehmer (Humanisierung der Arbeitswelt, Arbeitsschutz, 624 DM-Gesetz)

**7860 = Gewerkschaften (Organisation, Personalentscheidungen,
Skandale: Neue Heimat)**

7900 = Normative Themen

7910 = Verhältnis Staat/Wirtschaft
7920 = Privatisierung
7930 = Wettbewerb, Marktwirtschaft
7940 = Planwirtschaft
7950 = Alternative Wirtschaftsmodelle
7960 = Verhältnis Kapital/Arbeit
7970 = Korporatismus, Verhältnis der Sozialpartner

8000 = Umwelt und Energie allgemein

8100 = Umwelt allgemein

8110 = Umweltprobleme, Umweltverschmutzung allgemein

8111 = Gewässerverschmutzung
8112 = Luftverschmutzung, Smog
8113 = Bodenbelastung
8114 = Lärmbelästigung
8115 = Lebensmittelbelastung, Trinkwasserqualität
8116 = Abfall, Sondermüll
8117 = Klimaveränderungen, Treibhauseffekt, Ozonloch
8118 = Landschaftszerstörung (Waldsterben, Erosion,
steigender Baulandverbrauch)
8119 = umweltbedingte Krankheiten (Allergien, Asthma,
Hautkrebs)

8120 = aktuelle Umweltskandale:

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8130 = Umweltschutzmaßnahmen allgemein

8131 = Förderung umweltfreundlichen Verhaltens/umweltfreund-
licher Produkte (z.B. Absetzbarkeit von der Steuer)
8132 = Bestrafung umweltschädigenden Verhaltens (z.B.
Besteuerung)
8133 = umweltbewußtes Handeln des Einzelnen
8134 = Bürgerinitiativen für Umweltschutz

**8140 = Umweltrecht allgemein (Verbote, Durchsetzung,
Umweltkriminalität)**

8141 = Erweiterung der rechtlichen Grundlagen
(Verursacherprinzip, Vorsorgeprinzip, Verbandsklage,
Umweltschutz als Staatsziel im GG)

8200 = Energie allgemein

8200 = Energiepolitik allgemein (Sicherung und Vorsorge)

8210 = Energiewirtschaft
8220 = konventionelle Energieträger (Kohle, Öl)
8230 = alternative Energieträger (Sonne, Wind, erneuerbare
Energie)
8240 = Energiesparen

8250 = Kernenergie allgemein

- 8251 = Risikopotential der Kernenergie, Störfälle, radioaktive Verseuchung
- 8252 = technische Sicherheit (Standards, Überprüfungen)
- 8253 = Entsorgung, Wiederaufbereitung
- 8254 = Rechtsverfahren (Genehmigungen, Klagen)
- 8255 = Ausstieg aus der Kernenergie
- 8256 = Bürgerinitiativen gegen Kernenergie (Aktionen, Stellungnahmen, Demonstrationen)

8900 = Normative Themen

- 8910 = Verhältnis Mensch/Natur

9000 = Sozialpolitik, Frauen, Minderheiten

- 9100 = Sozialpolitik
- 9200 = Rentenpolitik
- 9300 = Gesundheitspolitik
- 9400 = Familienpolitik
- 9500 = Sonstige Gruppen, spez. soziale Probleme
- 9600 = Frauen- und Gleichberechtigungspolitik
- 9700 = Ausländerpolitik
- 9900 = Normative Themen

9100 = Sozialpolitik

- 9100 = Sozialpolitik allgemein
- 9110 = Versicherungssystem, verschiedene spezielle Leistungen (Sozialhilfe etc.)
- 9120 = Anpassung der sozialen Standards in der DDR
- 9120 = Selbsthilfeinitiativen (Einrichtung, Förderung)

9200 = Rentenpolitik

- 9200 = Rentenpolitik allgemein
- 9210 = Rentenversicherungssystem (Finanzierung, Generationenvertrag, Sicherung der Renten)
- 9220 = Leistungen für Rentner (Anpassungen, Erziehungsrente, Rentenhöhe, Berechtigungsgrundlagen etc.)

9300 = Gesundheitspolitik

- 9300 = Gesundheitspolitik allgemein
- 9310 = Krankenversicherungssystem (Träger, spez. Leistungen, z.B. Pflegeversicherung; Kostenexplosion)
- 9320 = Gesundheitsreform und soziale Folgen
- 9330 = Krankenhausnotstand (Personal, Bettenkapazitäten), Pflegenotstand
- 9340 = Arzneimittel (Preise, Pharmaindustrie)
- 9350 = Alternative Medizin
- 9360 = Drogen
- 9370 = AIDS

9400 = Familienpolitik

- 9400 = Familienpolitik allgemein
- 9410 = Familienförderung
- 9420 = Kinder und Erziehung (Familienprobleme, z.B.

Kindesmißhandlung), Kinderschutz

9430 = Vereinbarkeit Familie und Arbeit (Elternurlaub)

9440 = Familienrecht

9450 = Jugendpolitik

9500 = Sonstige Gruppen, spez. soziale Probleme

9500 = Sonstige Gruppen

9510 = Neue Armut

9520 = Alte Menschen

9530 = Obdachlose

9540 = Landwirte (soziale Leistungen für)

9560 = Behinderte

9570 = soziale Folgen der Arbeitslosigkeit

9600 = Frauen- und Gleichberechtigungspolitik

9600 = Frauenpolitik allgemein

9610 = Rechtliche Gleichstellung (Verweis auf GG,
Gleichstellungsgesetz)

9620 = Gleichberechtigung in der Arbeitswelt (Quoten-
Diskussion, Förderprogramme)

9630 = Frauenbewegung (Aktionen, Initiativen,
Demonstrationen)

9640 = Einrichtungen für Frauen

9650 = Familienplanung, Schwangerschaftsabbruch (§ 218,
Beratungsgesetz)

9700 = Ausländerpolitik

9700 = Ausländerpolitik allgemein

9710 = Zusammenleben, Integration

9720 = soziale Einrichtungen und Leistungen für Ausländer

9730 = Ausländerrecht (Familienzuzug, Rückkehr)

9740 = Wahlrecht

9750 = Asylanten allgemein

9751 = Asylantenzahlen

9752 = Unterbringung

9753 = Asylrecht

9754 = Mißbrauch

9755 = Asylanerkennungsverfahren

9760 = Aussiedler allgemein

9761 = Aussiedlerzahl

9762 = Unterbringung

9763 = Integration

9764 = Abschaffung des Aussiedlerstatus

9770 = Asylanten, Ausländer, Aussiedler undifferenziert

9800 = Übersiedler

9800 = Übersiedler allgemein

9810 = Zahl der Übersiedler

9820 = Unterbringung

9830 = soziale Integration

9840 = wirtschaftliche Integration

9850 = soziale Folgen in der DDR

9899 = Übersiedler, Aussiedler undifferenziert

9900 = Normative Themen**9910 = Sozialstaatlichkeit allgemein**

9911 = Eigenverantwortung, Subsidiarität

9912 = Soziale Gerechtigkeit

9913 = Solidarität, Mitmenschlichkeit

9914 = Anonymität der Versorgungseinrichtungen

9920 = spezifische gesellschaftliche Gruppen/Institutionen

9921 = Zerfall der Familie

9922 = Gleichberechtigung

9923 = Toleranz, Ausländerfeindlichkeit,

9924 = multikulturelle Gesellschaft

10000 = Infrastruktur allgemein**10100 = Wohnungs- und Städtebau****10110 = Wohnungen allgemein**

10111 = Wohnungsversorgung (Quantität, Mangel, Qualität)

10112 = Mieten (Miethöhe, Weißer Kreis, Mietpreisbindung;
Mieterschutz; Wohngeld)**10120 = Städtebau allgemein**

10121 = Altstadtsanierung

10122 = Parks und Grünanlagen, Naherholung,

10123 = Kleingärten

10124 = Bürgerbeteiligung bei der Stadtplanung

10200 = Verkehr**10200 = Verkehrspolitik allgemein****10210 = Straßenbau**10211 = Eindämmung des Straßenverkehrs (Verkehrsberuhigung,
autofreie Stadt; Radwege)

10212 = "Verkehrskollaps", Zunahme des Autoverkehrs

10220 = öffentliches Verkehrsnetz allgemein

10221 = Ausbau des öffentlichen Nahverkehrs

10222 = Tarife

10230 = Bundesbahn/Reichsbahn (Unternehmen, Finanzen)

10231 = Ausbau des Schienennetzes

10232 = Tarife

10233 = Verlagerung des Gütertransports auf die Schiene

10240 = Flugverkehr (Streckennetz, Flughäfen, Flugsicherheit)**10300 = Sonstige öffentliche Dienstleistungen****10300 = öffentliche Dienstleistungen allgemein**

10310 = Müllabfuhr, Straßenreinigung

10320 = Post, Telekommunikation

10330 = Kindergärten, Spielplätze

10340 = Freizeiteinrichtungen (Sport etc.)

10900 = Normative Themen

11000 = Inneres und Justiz**11100 = Innere Sicherheit, Justiz****11110 = Innere Sicherheit allgemein**

11111 = Bundesverfassungsschutz, Bundesnachrichtendienst

11112 = Spionagefälle (außer DDR-Spione vgl. 1355)

11120 = Polizei (Struktur, Befugnisse, Personal)

11130 = Demonstrationsrecht

11131 = allg. Kriminalität, Strafvollzug

Protesthandlungen und politische Kriminalität

11132 = Terrorismus und terroristische Attentate

11133 = Terroristen in der DDR

11134 = sonstige Attentate

11135 = Demonstrationen, Hausbesetzungen u.ä.

11136 = Krawalle

11137 = Rechtsradikalismus

11138 = Linksradikalismus, Autonome

11139 = Radikalismus allgemein

11200 = Rechtsordnung, Rechtsprechung**11210 = Grundgesetz, Grundrechte**

11211 = Abschaffung des Grundrechts auf politisches Asyl

11212 = Abschaffung des Aussiedlerstatus

11220 = Rechtliche Grundsatzfragen allgemein (Vereinfachung von Verfahren etc.)

11221 = Datenschutz

11230 = Fragen des Eigentumsrechtes (allgemein)

11231 = Rückgabe verstaatlichter Betriebe

11232 = Rückgabe sonst. verstaatlichter Eigentumswerte
(Immobilien, Grundstücke)

11233 = Rückgabe des von der SU beschlagnahmten Eigentums

11900 = Normative Themen

11910 = Rechtstaatlichkeit

11920 = Gewalt

11930 = ziviler Ungehorsam

11940 = Opfer und Täter in der DDR

12000 = Bildung, Forschung und Technik**12100 = Bildungspolitik****12100 = Bildungspolitik allgemein**

12110 = Ausbildungsförderung (Bafög)

12120 = Anerkennung von DDR-Schulabschlüssen

12130 = Schulpolitik allgemein

12131 = Schulwesen (Schulsystem, Abschlüsse)

12132 = Schulprobleme (Lehrermangel, Klassenstärke)

12133 = Neue Schulpädagogik (Schulbücher, Konzepte)

12140 = Hochschulpolitik allgemein

- 12141 = Hochschulsystem (Hochschulreform, Privatuniversitäten)
- 12142 = Hochschulprobleme (Hochschulnotstand, Überfüllung)
- 12143 = Begabtenförderung, Elitediskussion
- 12144 = Anpassung und Umstrukturierung der DDR-Hochschulen
- 12150 = Berufliche Bildung
- 12160 = Qualifikation, Weiterbildung
- 12170 = Erwachsenenbildung

12200 = Forschung und Technik

- 12200 = Forschung und Technik allgemein
- 12210 = spezielle Forschungsprogramme (z.B. Raumfahrtprogramme)
- 12220 = Gentechnologie

12300 = Kulturpolitik

- 12300 = Kulturpolitik allgemein
- 12301 = Kulturförderung
- 12302 = Situation von Kulturinstituten
- 12303 = Situation von Künstlern
- 12304 = Auswärtige Kulturpolitik
- 12310 = Massenmedien
- 12311 = Rundfunk und Fernsehordnung
- 12312 = Zeitungswesen
- 12320 = Kirchen und Religion
- 12321 = Einführung der Kirchensteuer in der DDR
- 12322 = Sekten

12900 = Normative Themen

- 12910 = Chancengleichheit
- 12920 = Meinungsfreiheit und -vielfalt
- 12930 = Schädlichkeit der Technik
- 12940 = Atheismus
- 12950 = Ideologiefreiheit

13000 = sonstige innen- und außenpolitische Themen

14000 = Themen der internationalen Politik

15000 = Unpolitische Themen

- 15010 = Unglücke, Krisen, (Natur)Katastrophen
- 15020 = Human Interest-Stories (Prominente, außergewöhnliche, sensationelle Ereignisse, Kurioses; für Helmut Kohl, Wolfgang Schäuble, Oskar Lafontaine und Hans-Dietrich Genscher vgl. auch 2410 ff))
- 15030 = Sport
- 15040 = Wetter
- 15050 = Kultur
- 15999 = andere unpolitische Themen

Category scheme B:

Category scheme B contains the names of *daily newspapers* read by the respondents. There is a West German and a East German version of this category scheme.

<i>Data set:</i>	<i>questions:</i>
HB1W-M1.EXP	6, 7, 7b, 8.1, 8.2
HB1O-M1.EXP	6, 7, 7b, 8.1, 8.2
HB2W-M1.EXP	7, 7b, 8
GPW-M1.EXP	9, 12, 13
GPO-M1.EXP	9, 12, 13

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SPEZIAL SCHLUSSEL ZU FRAGE

- A 001 - Achimser Kreiszeitung
 002 - AZ
 003 - Allgäuer Zeitung
 004 - Abendzeitung
 005 - Aalener Volkszeitung
 006 - Aalener Rundschau
 007 - Amberger Zeitung
 008 - Allgemeine Zeitung
 009 - Ärzte-Zeitung
 010 - Ahlener Volkszeitung
 261 - Augsburgener Allgemeine
 262 - Allertisser Zeitung
- B 011 - Bild
 012 - Berliner Zeitung
 013 - Badische Zeitung
 014 - Bayern Kurier
 015 - Buergische Zeitung
 016 - Braunschweiger Zeitung
 017 - Berliner Morgenpost
 018 - Bietigheimer Zeitung
 019 - Berliner Zeitung
 020 - BZ
 221 - Bremer Nachrichten
 222 - Bergische Morgenpost
 223 - Bersebrücker Kreisblatt
 224 - Badischer Kurier
 225 - Badische Neue Nachrichten
 226 - Böblinger Bote
 227 - Böblinger Kreiszeitung
 228 - Böblinger Zeitung
 229 - Bamberger Tageszeitung
 230 - Badisches Tagesblatt
- C 021 - Celler Zeitung
 022 - Clausthaler Zeitung
 023 - Camberger Anzeiger
 024 - Coburger Tageblatt
 025 - Canustadter Zeitung
 026
 027
 028
 029
 030

West
Germany

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SPEZIAL - SCHLÜSSEL ZU FRAGE

- D 031 - Der neue Tag (4)
 032 - Dithmarscher Landeszeitung (2)
 033 - Die Welt (7)
 034 - Diepholzer Kreisblatt
 035 - Dümener Zeitung
 036 - Darmstädter Tageszeitung
 037 - Darmstädter Blatt
 038 - Darmstädter Zeitung
 039 - Darmstädter Volkszeitung
 040 - Die Zeit
 280 - Düsseldorfer Nachrichten
 281 - Dachauer
 282 - Donau-Kurier
 283 - Darmstädter Ecke
 284 - Dortmunder Rundschau

- E 041 - Express (14)
 042 - Ebernberger Zeitung
 043 - Eckernförder Zeitung
 044 - Emshorner Nachrichten
 045 - Effektspiegel
 046 - Elbe-Jeetzol-Zeitung
 047 - Eckernförder Nachrichten
 048 -
 049 -
 050 -

- F 051 - Frankfurter Allg. Zeitung FAZ
 052 - Frankfurter Neue Presse
 053 - Frankfurter Rundschau (10)
 054 - Fränkischer Tag
 055 - Frankfurter
 056 - Fuldaer Zeitung
 057 - Fildauer Zeitung ?
 058 - Fuldaer Tageblatt
 059 -
 060 -

- G 061 - Geseker Zeitung
 062 - Gießener Allgemeine
 063 - Göttinger Tageblatt
 064 - Generalanzeiger
 065 - Coollaische Zeitung
 066 - Glocke
 067 - Günzburger Zeitung
 068 -
 069 -
 070 -

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SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

H 071 - Handelsblatt
072 - HAZ
073 - Hamburger Abendblatt
074 - Hamburger Morgenpost
075 - Harburger Anzeigen und Nachrichten
076 - Hannoversche Neue Presse
077 - Husumer Nachrichten
078 - Hanauer Anzeiger
079 - Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung
080 - Hochster Kreisblatt
231 - Hemorsche Zeitung
232 - Herter Allgemeine
233 - Holsteiner Kurier
234 - Hersfelder Zeitung
235 - Heilbronner Stimme
236 - Haller-Tageblatt
237 - Hildesheimer Allgemeine
238 - Heidenheimer Zeitung
239 - Hellweger Allgemeine

I/J 081 - IVZ (Ibenbüsener Volkszeitung)
082 - Iserlohner Kreisanzeiger
083 - Illertisser Zeitung
084 -
085 -
086 -
087 -
088 -
089 -
090 -
260 - Jagdstaller Paperzeit

K 091 - Kieler Nachrichten
092 - Kölner Stadtanzeiger
093 - Kölnische Rundschau
094 - Kölner Generalanzeiger
095 -
096 -
097 -
098 -
099 -
100 -

U - NR.: BRD

SPEZIAL - SCHLUSSEL ZU FRAGE

- L 101 - Lahrer Zeitung (LZ)
102 - Landsberger Tageblatt
103 - Leverkusener Anzeiger
104 - Leverkusener Stadtanzeiger
105 - Leonberger Zeitung
106 - Lübecker Nachrichten
107 - Landsberger Tageszeitung
108 - Landsberger
109 - Landshuter
110 - Landshuter Tageszeitung
320 - Lippische Rundschau
321 - Lippische Landeszeitung
322 - Lüneburger Landeszeitung
- M 111 - Main Post
112 - Morgenpost (ohne Stadtbezeichnung, allgemein)
113 - Munsterländische
114 - Mittelayerische Zeitung
115 - Münstersche Zeitung
116 - Maintaler Tagesanzeiger
117 - Maintal Zeitung
118 - Münchener Merkur
119 - Munstersche Zeitung
120 - Mannheimer Morgen
300 - Moorsburger Zeitung
301 - Mindener Tageblatt
302 - Munsterländer Volkszeitung
303 - Münstersche Volkszeitung
304 - Meppener Tagespost
305 - Main-Ecko
- N 121 - Neue Ruhr Zeitung
122 - Neues Deutschland ND
123 - Nord-West-Zeitung NWZ
124 - NRZ
125 - Neue Presse
126 - Neuss-Grevenbroicher Zeitung
127 - Neuwüstenberger Zeitung
128 - Norddeutsche Rundschau
129 - Neue Westfälische (NW)
130 - Nürnberger Nachrichten
310 - Neue Züricher Zeit
311 - Naussauer Presse
312 - Neustädter Zeit
313 - Nemelskirchener Morgenpost
314 - Nordfriesisches Tageblatt
316 - Neumünster Kurier

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SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

- O 131 - Offenbacher Post
132 - Offenburger Tageblatt
133 - Ostholsteiner Anzeiger
134 - Osterhofener Zeitung
135 - OVZ
136 - Oberbayerisches Volksblatt
137 - Osnabrücker Tageszeitung
138 - Osnabrücker Zeitung
139 -
140 -

- P/Q 141 - Pforzheimer Zeitung
142 - Pinneberger Tageblatt
143 - Peiner Allgemeine Zeitung
144 -
145 -
146 -
147 -
148 -
149 -
150 -

- R 151 - Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung
152 - Rheinische Post
153 - Rheinpfalz
154 - Rhein-Sieg-Rundschau
155 - Ruhr-Nachrichten
156 - Rundschau
157 - RP
158 - Rhein-Zeitung
159 - Remscheider Generalanzeiger
160 - Recklinghauser Zeitung

- S 161 - Saarbrücker Zeitung
162 - Siegkreis Rundschau
163 - Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)
164 - Schwarzwälder Bote
165 - Stuttgarter Nachrichten
166 - Stuttgarter Zeitung
167 - Schwäbische Zeitung
168 - Südkurier
169 - Solinger Tagesblatt
170 - Schwäbische Post
290 - Siegener Zeitung
291 - Süd-West-Presse
292 - Schongauer Zeitung
293 - Stadtanzeiger
294 - Siegener Tageszeitung
295 - Saarburger Zeitung
296 - Soester Anzeiger
297 - Sieger Kreisblatt

14.12.80 14:33

14.12.80 14:33

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T	171 - Tagesspiegel	
	172 - TAZ (Die Tageszeitung)	
	173 - TZ	
	174 - Trierischer Volksfreund	
	175 - Traunkreuter Anzeiger	
	176 - Trifels Kurier	
	177 - Tageblatt	
	178 - Täglicher Anzeiger	
	179 -	
	180 -	
U	181	
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V	191 - <u>Velberter</u> Zeitung	
	192 - <u>Verdener</u> Aller Zeitung	
	193 - <u>Verdener</u> Nachrichten	
	194 - Volksblatt	
	195 - Volkszeitung	
	196 -	
	197	
	198	
	199	
	200	
W	201 - WAZ	
	202 - <u>Weilburger</u> Tageblatt	
	203 - Weser Kurier	
	204 - Westdeutsche Allgemeine	
	205 - Westdeutsche Zeitung	
	206 - Westfalenblatt	
	207 - Westfalenpost	
	208 - Westfälische Nachrichten	
	209 - Westfälisches Volksblatt	
	210 - <u>Wilhelmshavener</u> Zeitung	
	211 - Wiesbadener Kurier	
	212 - Wasserburger Zeitung	
	213 - Westfälische Rundschau	
	214 - Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung	
	215 - Wetzlarer Neue Zeitung	
	216 - Westfälischer Anzeiger	
	217 - Werner Anzeiger	
	218 - WZ-Generalanzeiger	
	219 - Wermelskirchener General Anzeiger	
	220 - Wermelskirchener Morgenpost	

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SPEZIAL - SCHLUSSEL ZU FRAGE

- 241 - Weser Report
- 242 - Wob-Zeitung
- 243 - Wob-Nachrichten
- 244 - Wolfsburger Nachrichten
- 245 - Wolfsburger Zeitung
- 246 - Walsroder Zeitung
- 247 - WZ
- 248 - Würzburger Zeitung

Z 251 - Zöllen-Alpkurier

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SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

A 01 - Altmarkzeitung
02
03
04
05
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B 11 - Bild Zeitung
12 - Berliner Zeitung
13 - BZ am Abend
14 - BZ
15 - BNN
16 - Berliner Morgenpost
17 - Braunschweiger Zeitung
18 - Brandenburgische Neueste Nachrichten
19 -
20 -

C 21 - Chemnitzer Blatt
22 - Chemnitzer Morgenpost
23
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D 31 - Die Union
32 - Die Welt
33 - Dresdner Morgenpost
34 - Der Morgen
35 - DAZ
36 - Das Volk
37
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39
40

E 41 - Elbe-Jetzel-Zeitung
42 - Erfurter Tagespost
43 - Express
44 - Elmser Volkszeitung
45 - Eichsfelder Tageblatt
46 - Eisenacher Presse
47 - Eisenacher Tagespost
48 - Eisenacher Stadtanzeiger
49 - Eisenacher Tageblatt
50 - Eichsfelder Allgemeine

East
Germany

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DOR

SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

- F 51 - Freie Presse
52 - Frankenpost
53 - Frankfurter Allgemeine
54 - Freie Welt
55 - Freies Wort
56 - FAZ
57 - Frankenhäuser
58 - Frankfurter Rundschau
59 -
60 -
- G 61 -
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
10
- H 71 - Hamburger Morgenpost
72 - Hallisches Tageblatt
73 - Hessische Allgemeine Nachrichten
74
75
76
77
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79
80
- I/J 81 - Junge Welt
82
83
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- K 91 - Kreiszeitung
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DDR

SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

- L 101 - Lauritzer Rundschau
102 - Leipziger Volkszeitung
103 - Lausitzer Rundschau
104 - Lausitzer Zeitung
105 - Leipziger Volksblatt
106 - LDZ
107 - LVZ
108 - Langers Tagespost
109 -
110 -

- M 111 - Märkische Allgemeine
112 - Märkische Oderzeitung
113 - Morgenpost Mecklenburg
114 - MOZ
115 - Mitteldeutsche Zeitung
116 - MZ
117 - Morgenpost
118 - Mitteldeutsche Tageszeitung
119 - Meininger Tagespost
120 - Mecklenburger Morgenpost
221 - Märkische Volksstimme
222 - Magdeburger Allgemeine Zeitung
223 - Märkische Zeitung

- N 121 - Naumburger Tageblatt
122 - Neues Deutschland
123 - Neue Presse
124 - Nordkurier
125 - Norddeutsche Zeitung
126 - Norddeutsche Neueste Nachrichten
127 - Nowa Doba
128 - Neue Zeit
129 - Norddeutsche
130 - Neue Zeit
131 - ND

- O 131 - Oderzeitung
132 - Ostsee-Zeitung
133 - Ostthüringer Heimatzeitung
134 - Ostthüringer Nachrichten
135 - Ostthüringer Landeszeitung
136 - Ostthüringer Tageszeitung
137 - Ostthüringer Zeitung
138 - OZ
139 - OTZ
140

- P/Q 141 - Quedlinburger Tageblatt
142 - Quedlinburger Tageszeitung
143 - Quedlinburger Zeitung
144
145
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149
150

U - NR.: 3425
DOR

SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

R 151 -
152
153
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S 161 - Sachsenzeitung
162 - Sächsische Zeitung
163 - Sachsenkurier
164 - Sachsenspiegel
165 - Schweriner Volkszeitung
166 - Süddeutsche Zeitung
167 - Sachsenpost
168 - Sächsische
169 - Sächsische Tageszeitung
170 - Schmalholder Tageszeitung
211 - Schmalholder Tagespost
212 - Südthüringer Zeitung
213 - Schweriner Zeitung
214 - Suhler Tagespost
215 - Sächsisches Tageblatt
216 - SDZ

T 171 - Thüringer Volksblatt
172 - Thüringer Landeszeitung
173 - Thüringer Allgemeine
174 - Thüringer Nachrichten
175 - Torgauer Tageszeitung
176 - Thüringer Zeitung
177 - Thüringer Tageszeitung
178 - Tageblatt
179 - Thüringer Post
180 - TAZ
251 - Thüringer Tageblatt
252 - Tribüne

U 181 - Union
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U - NR.: 3425
DOR

SPEZIAL - SCHLOSSEL ZU FRAGE

- V 191 - Velberter Zeitung
102 - Verdener Aller Zeitung
193 - Verdener Nachrichten
194 - Volkszeitung
195 - Volksblatt
196
197
198
199
200
181 - Volksstimme
- W 201 - WAZ
202 - Weilburger Tageblatt
203 - Weser Kurier
204 - Westdeutsche Allgemeine
205 - Westdeutsche Zeitung
206 - Westfalenblatt
207 - Westfalenpost
208 - Westfälische Nachrichten
209 - Westfälisches Volksblatt
210 - Wilhelmshavener Zeitung
231 - Wernigeroder Allgemeine
232 - Wir in Leipzig

keine Tageszeitungen sind z.B.:

Wochenpost
Tribüne
Neue Berliner Illustrierte
Eulenspiegel
Auto-Bild
Hör zu

V. Field report

1. Main respondents

1.1. First Panel Wave

Sample: The target persons were identified by a random route procedure on the basis of the ADM-Master Sample in the West German sample. In the East Germany an analogue procedure was applied on the basis of district data from the local administrations of the German Democratic Republic.

Response: The response rates of the main interviews of the first panel wave amount to 67.6% for the West German study and 71.4% for the East German study.

Field work: The field work of the first panel wave lasted from 3 October to 16 November 1990 for the West German study and from 5 October to 12 November 1990 for the East German study.

1.2. Second Panel Wave

Sample: After the main interviews of the first wave, 41.1% of those taking part in the West German study (N = 551) agreed to participate in a second wave of interviewing. As far as the East German study is concerned, the percentage was much higher, i.e. 78.2% (N = 541). Those, who were prepared to cooperate in a second wave panel formed the initial sample of the second wave. In the West German study, however, this initial sample was enlarged by a special motivational action carried out by the field institute.

Response: Altogether N = 454 interviews (West German study) respectively N = 257 interviews (East German study) were carried out in the second wave. Only 348 or 76.6% of all interviews carried out in the second wave of the West German study were really achieved on the basis of those respondents who had already agreed during the first wave to participate in the second wave. 106 additional interviews were realized by the aforementioned special motivational action which was carried out by phone.

Due to consistence checks, 5 cases in the West German study and 4 cases in the East German study had to be deleted. Thus the case numbers of valid interviews were reduced to N = 449 in the West German study and N = 253 in the East German study.

Referring only to those main respondents who were recruited "regularly" for the second wave, i.e. by declaring their willingness for further participation already during first-wave interviews, it turns out that only 62.8% (West German study) respectively 46.8% (East German study) of these respondents could be interviewed again in the second wave. A reciprocal effect can thus be recognized: In the West German study, there was little willingness expressed after the first wave to take part in the second wave; but a relatively high percentage of those who had agreed prepared to take part in the second wave actually did so. In the East German study, on the other hand, there was much more expressed willingness to take part in the second wave. Of these respondents a considerably higher percentage could, however, not be interviewed again. In comparison to the expected values, both

two samples in the end showed a relatively high panel mortality. Not counting the respondents recruited through the special motivational action it would amount to 74.2% in the West German study. If the respondents recruited by the special motivational action are taken into consideration, rather similar values of panel mortality are achieved in both studies: 66.5% (West German study) respectively 63.4% (East German study).

Field work: The field work of the second wave lasted from 10 November (West German study) respectively 17 November (East German study) to 1 December 1990, which was the day before the general election.

1.3. Third Panel Wave

Sample: The third wave has been realized by means of self-administered "leave-behind" questionnaires in the form of a ballot that was to be sent back to the field institute in a stamped addressed envelope. As far as the West German study is concerned, the questionnaires were delivered by post, in the East German study they were left behind by the interviewers after the second wave.

Response: In the West German study, $N = 312$ ballot papers were sent back to the institute, compared to $N = 168$ ballot papers in the East German study. Some cases got lost due to inconsistencies so that the final case numbers amount to $N = 307$ in the West German study and $N = 166$ in the East German study.

293 of the 449 respondents of the second wave (West German study) also participated in the third wave (65.2%). 14 ballot papers were sent in by persons who had not been interviewed in the second wave. In the East German study, interviews of the third wave were realized with 164 of the 253 respondents of the second wave (64.8%). In two cases there are interviews of the third wave, but none of the second wave.

2. Spouses/partners

2.1. First Panel Wave

Sample: 58.0 % of the main respondents in the West German study were married and lived in the same household as their spouses ($N = 777$). 11.1 % of all main respondents said they had a steady relationship ($N = 149$); 45.6 % of these people shared their households with their partners. The initial sample of those spouses or partners thus amounted to $N = 845$. This is equivalent to 63.1 % of the main respondents of the West German study.

As far as the East German study is concerned, 68.4 % of the main respondents lived together with their wives or husbands ($N = 473$). 10.5 % had a steady relationship ($N = 73$); 65.7 % of these partners lived together with the respective main respondent ($N = 48$). Therefore, the initial sample of the East German study for spouses or partners amounted to $N = 521$, i.e. 75.3 % of the main respondents.

Response: In the West German study, $N = 523$ and in the East German study, $N = 374$ partner interviews of the first wave were realized. After consistency checks two cases had to be erased in each study. Therefore, $N = 521$ valid partner interviews remain in the West German study, corresponding to a response rate of the initial sample of 61.6 %. In the East German study, the case number was reduced to $N = 372$. This number corresponds to a response rate of 71.4 %.

2.2. Second Panel Wave

Sample: Since the study design implied that it was not useful to realize partner interviews of the second wave without corresponding main interviews of the second wave, the chance of getting a main interview was considered to be a central definition criterion of the initial sample for the second wave of the partner interviews.

Therefore, it was the spouses or partners of those 551 main respondents who had agreed to participate in the second wave of the partner interviews that form the initial sample. Their number amounted to $N = 360$ in the West German study. Thus, 65.3 % of those main respondents who were prepared to further participate lived together with a partner. Concerning the East German study, the analogous number amounted to $N = 431$, corresponding to a proportion of 79.7 %.

In the West German study, the initial sample has been enlarged in a second step by the spouses or partners of those main respondents, who, despite their initial refusal in the first wave, finally agreed after the special motivational action to participate in a second wave panel. 64 of those 106 additional main respondents lived together with their partners: this corresponds to a proportion of 60.4 %. Therefore, the total number of the enlarged initial sample of the West German study amounted to $N = 424$.

Response: In the West German study, $N = 144$ partner interviews of the second wave were carried out; in the East German study it was $N = 127$. Consistency checks reduced the number of valid cases to $N = 136$ in the West German study and to $N = 124$ in the East German study.

Since a participation in the first wave was not a precondition to be included into the second wave of spouse interviews, there are also spouse interviews of the second wave without corresponding spouse interviews of the first wave. In fact, the proportion of those interviews especially in the West German study is relatively high; it amounts to 13.2 % ($N = 18$). As far as the East German study is concerned, the proportion is significantly smaller: 5.6 % ($N = 7$). In the West German study there were 12 cases of a partner interview of the second wave without corresponding main interview. In the East German study there was only one such case.

The sample response rate amounts to 32.1 % for the West German study, and to 28.8 % for the East German study. Since the initial sample of the second wave of the partner interviews does not coincide with the realized first panel wave of spouses and partners, the panel mortality cannot be considered to be a good standard for the quality of the realized sample. In the West German study it amounts to 77.3 % and to 68.5 % in the East German study.

3. Political Discussants

3.1. The Feasibility Study

One goal of the study was to investigate main respondents' interpersonal communication networks and their effect on the cristallization of political attitudes and the formation of political decisions. For this purpose an extensive question sequence about the egocentric networks of the respondents (with up to 5 possible network persons) was included in the main questionnaires of the first wave. At least one member of the egocentric network of the respective main respondent who should not be identical with the spouse or partner should also be interviewed. This required that the main respondents supply the name, address and/or phone number of the discussant(s) to be interviewed. A feasibility study was planned to find out which method of address recruiting was the most promising. In doing so, four different methods of address recruiting were tested which were defined by the combination of two dimensions with two options:

1) *Target persons to be contacted:*

The member of the egocentric network with whom the respondent most often discusses political matters.

VS.

All persons of the egocentric network with whom the main respondent at least "rarely" discusses political matters.

2) *Method of address recruiting and getting in contact with the discussant:*

The main respondent writes the discussant's address on an envelope which is either posted by the interviewer or by the main respondent himself/herself. The envelope contains a letter of the field institute asking for participation in the study as well as a stamped addressed reply card for the discussant in order to advise the field institute of his/her willingness to take part in the study. The main respondent can write a personal greeting to the discussant on the reply card (postcard-method).

VS.

The discussant's address is noted on an address list which is sent to the field institute by the interviewer. The field institute then contacts the discussant. If the main respondent has his doubts about the proceeding, it is suggested to phone the discussant together at once in order to win him/her over to participate in the interview. If an immediate contact by phone fails, the interviewer proposes to come back again in two days and asks the main respondent to get in touch with the discussant (address-list-method).

The combination "Only most frequent political discussant + postcard-method" proved to be the best method for address recruiting. It was used with slight modifications in the main study.

3.2. Realization of the discussant interview

Sample: In the network sequence of the main questionnaires of the first wave, the main respondents were asked about up to four of their discussants; an additional person that was explicitly named as important political discussant could be added. One of these up to five discussants per main respondent was to be included in the initial sample for the discussant interview. It should be that person of the network with whom the main respondent, in his own estimation, most often discussed political matters, without taking into consideration the spouse or partner. This discussant was identified with a question forwarded to the main respondents after passing the network sequence in the questionnaire. In the network part of the West German study, 74.8% of the main respondents named one or several discussants who were not identical with the spouse or partner (N = 1002), compared to 73.0% of the main respondents (N = 505) in the East German study.

There was altogether more willingness to pass on an address in the East German study than in the West German study, but in both studies it was often impossible to get addresses from the respondents when the interviewer wanted to hand out himself/herself the documents to the discussant. As far as the West German study is concerned, 210 discussants were definitely contacted, compared to 191 discussants in the East German study. If all respondents really posted the envelopes - what has to be doubted - the maximum number of the contacted discussants amounts to 452 in the West German study and to 336 in the East German study. The returns of the reply cards were unexpectedly low in both studies. In the West German study, the survey institute received altogether 128 cards, in the East German study 63 cards. 14 of these 63 cards arrived so late - partly due to the long time mail took in the former GDR - that they could not be taken into consideration for the survey. Thus, 49 cards were available in the East German study at the beginning of the field work. In the West German study, 12 of the available cards could not be used because of different reasons (e.g. missing sender's address), in the East German study 24 cards were unusable. 116 usable reply cards were thus available in the West German study at the beginning of the field work, 25 cards in the East German study. Response rates referring thereto can only approximately be calculated. They are between 55.2% and 25.7% in the West German study respectively between 13.1% and 7.4% in the East German study.

Response: The number of discussant interviews which were actually realized due to contacts made possible by the reply cards amounts to 31 in the West German study and to 12 in the East German study, i.e. the response of "regularly" realized interviews is between 14.8% and 6.8% in the West German study and between 6.3% and 3.6% in the East German study. The originally designed method of recruiting discussants for interviews which was selected due to the feasibility study has thus led to an extremely disappointing result.

This unsatisfactory situation was the reason why the field institute started a special motivational action at short notice. As far as the West German study is concerned, all main respondents were included who had, in the first wave, given at least one network partner not identical with the spouse/partner and who had not sent back a reply card. I.e. the special motivational action also included those main respondents who had refused to pass on addresses during the first wave. During

the main interviews of the second wave, all these persons were asked again to pass on names and addresses or phone numbers of their most frequent political discussants so that they could be contacted. In doing so, the interviewers had first of all to make sure whether the main respondents remembered the name they had given as most frequent political discussant in the first wave some weeks ago. For this purpose they were informed about the abbreviations (first name or abbreviation of the name) used in the first wave for the specification of these persons as well as about age and sex and were asked if they remembered who that was. This information had first to be taken from the main questionnaires of the first wave. In case of a positive answer - i.e. the main respondent was able to identify the person in question - it was tried to obtain the information necessary for contacting the person and to win this person over for an interview. With this method 126 additional addresses of discussants to be contacted could be obtained. The number of the interviews additionally achieved by the special motivational action amounts to 80. The total number of available discussant interviews is thus $N = 111$ in the West German study. There was a limited special motivational action in the East German study as well resulting in 85 additional interviews. The total number of discussant interviews in the East German study thus amounts to $N = 97$.

An intensive consistency check showed that only 73.9% of the available discussant interviews in the West German study ($N = 82$) and 76.3% in the East German study ($N = 74$) were definitely carried out with the correct target person, i.e. with the most frequent political discussant of the respective main respondent named in the first wave of main interviews. In several cases persons were interviewed who are related to the main respondent in any way but who are not identical with the target person. The sample response for valid discussant interviews amounts to 8.2% in the West German study and to 14.7% in the East German study.

Field work: The field work of the valid discussant interviews lasted from 14 November to 1 December 1990 in the West German study and from 17 November to 30 November 1990 in the East German study.

Initial samples, realized case numbers and response rates

	West German Study	East German Study
I. <i>Realized interviews MR1</i>	1340	692
II. <i>Initial sample MR2 and MR3</i>		
Willingness expressed in MR1	551	541
II/I (%)	41.1	78.2

<i>III. Realized interviews MR2</i>			
Willingness expressed in MR1	348	257	
minus wrong target persons	-2	-4	
Sum	346	253	
III/II (%)	62.8	46.8	
Special motivational action by phone	106		
minus wrong target persons	-3		
Sum	103		
Total	449	254	
III/I (%)	33.5	36.6	
<i>IV. Realized interviews MR3</i>			
Willingness expressed in MR1	269	168	
minus wrong target persons	-2	-2	
Sum	267	166	
IV/II (%)	48.4	30.7	
(MR2 also realized)	(253)	(164)	
(IV/III (%))	(73.1)	(64.8)	
Special motivational action by phone	43		
minus wrong target persons	-3		
Sum	40		
(IV/III (%))	(38.8)		
Total	307	166	
IV/I (%)	22.9	24.0	
<i>V. Initial sample SP1</i>			
Married	777	473	
Sharing household with partner	68	48	
Sum	845	521	
V/I (%)	63.1	75.3	
<i>VI. Realized interviews SP1</i>			
	523	374	
minus wrong target person	-2	-2	
Sum	521	372	
VI/V (%)	61.6	71.4	
(plus interview of person not sharing household with main resp.)	(+1)		
(Sum)	(522)		

VII. Initial sample SP2			
Willingness expressed in MR1	360	431	
VII/II (%)	65.3	79.7	
Special motivational action by phone in MR2	64		
VII/II (%)	60.4		
Sum	424	431	
VIII. Realized interviews SP2			
Willingness expressed in MR1	115	127	
minus wrong target persons	-2	-3	
Sum	113	124	
VIII/VII (%)	31.4	28.8	
(SP1 also realized)	(104)	(117)	
(VIII/VI (%))	(20.0)	(31.5)	
Special motivational action by phone in MR2	29		
minus wrong target person	-6		
Sum	23		
VIII/VII (%)	35.9		
(SP1 also realized)	(14)		
(VIII/VI (%))	(2.7)		
Total	136	124	
VIII/VII (%)	32.1	28.8	
(plus interview of person not sharing household with main resp.)	(+1)		
(Sum)	(137)		
IX. Initial sample DC			
Network partner named	1002	505	
IX/I (%)	74.8	73.0	

X.	<i>Realized interviews DC</i>		
	Reply card method	31	12
	minus wrong target persons	-6	
	Sum	25	12
	X/IX (%)	2.5	2.4
	Special motivational action	80	85
	minus wrong target persons	-23	-23
	Sum	57	62
	X/IX (%)	5.7	12.3
	Total	82	74
	X/IX (%)	8.2	14.7
	(plus other persons related to MR but not identical with target person)	(+14)	(+15)
	(Sum)	(96)	(89)

4. Realization of the global study design

To what extent have we succeeded in realizing the ambitious aim of achieving sets of surveys ranging over up to three points in time and over up to three target persons? The tables presented below show case numbers and response rates referring to the different combinations of single surveys interesting for analyses. In the West German study, 33.5 % of the main respondents took part in the first two panel waves (N = 449) and 36.6 % in the East German study (N = 253). If furthermore the third panel wave, informing about the electoral decision of the main respondents, is added, response rates drop to 21.9 % in the West German study (N = 293) respectively to 23.7 % in the East German study (N = 164).

In cross-sectional perspective, the spouses can at best be assigned to the main respondents in two panel waves and the most important political discussants in one wave. Let us first have a look at the spouses. The calculation of response rates only makes sense by referring to those main respondents who in fact live together with a spouse or partner. In addition to the main interview of the first wave, it was possible to realize a valid partner interview of the first wave with 61.6 % of these persons in the West German study (N = 521) and with 71.4 % in the East German study (N = 372).

If, furthermore, a second wave main interview is to be added, the response rates drop dramatically: to 23.3. % in the West German study respectively to 25.7 % in the East German study. Should, in addition to that, the second wave of the partner interviews be added, i.e. for each main respondent four interviews have to be available altogether, response rates do not surpass 12.7 % (West German study) respectively 22.4 % (East German study).

Thus, the response rates generally drop dramatically in the transition from the first to the second wave. Especially in the West German study, another substantial decline can also be observed, when the partner interview of the second wave is to be added to the main interview of the second wave and the main and spouse interview of the first wave. In contrast to that, the corresponding difference in the East German study is less important. This is due to the relatively high proportion of partner interviews of the second wave without corresponding partner interviews of the first wave in the West German study.

In addition to the four single surveys already mentioned, there is also a third wave of main interviews with 8.6 % of those main respondents living together with a spouse or partner in the West German study and with 15.9 % in the East German study. With such low response rates the case numbers severely limit the range of feasible analyses: On this complexity level not more than $N = 73$ cases in the West German study and $N = 78$ cases in the East German study are available. These rates have to be considered as disappointing. But it has to be pointed out that the East German study is significantly closer to the envisaged aim of an utmost response rate for the combined single surveys compared with the West German study.

This regularity is also valid for the discussant interviews. The basis for the calculation of the combined response rate for the discussants are those main respondents who have quoted at least one partner as a member of their egocentric network, who is not identical with their spouses. A main interview of the first wave plus a valid discussant interview is available in 8.2 % of these cases (West German study) respectively in 14.7 % (East German study). If in addition to that a main interview of the second wave is to be added, the response drop to 7.1 % respectively 14.4 %. An additional main interview of the third wave is available with 4.3 % (West German study) and with 9.3 % (East German study) of the main respondents from the relevant initial sample.

The highest complexity level, joint analyses of all main interviews, spouse and discussant interviews, can only be achieved in the subgroup of those main respondents who, on the one hand, live together with a spouse and who, at the same time, have also quoted another discussant to be part of their egocentric network. This precondition characterizes 46.3 % of the main respondents in the West German study ($N = 620$) and 55.3 % of the main respondents in the East German study ($N = 383$). Due to the altogether very low case number of the discussant interviews, the response rates that could be realized are extremely low from the beginning. Main and spouse interviews of the first wave plus a discussant interview could be realized for 6.4 % (West German study) respectively 12.5 % (East German study) of the members of the subgroup in interest. An additional main interview of the second wave is available for 5.8 % and 12.3 % and a partner interview of the second wave is in addition to that available for 3.7 % and for 11.7 %.

The aim of a full set of all six single surveys has been achieved in 15 cases in the West German study and in 30 cases in the East German study. The response rates for the overall design thus amount to 2.4 % in the West German study and to 7.8 % in the East German study.

Response rates of combined surveys - West German study

Data set combination	Response rate MR	Cond. response rate SP	Cond. response rate DC	Cond. response rate SP+DC
N	1340	845	1002	620
MR1+MR2	449 (33.5%)			
MR3 in addition	293 (21.9%)			
MR1+SP1		521 (61.6%)		
MR2 in addition		197 (23.3%)		
SP2 in addition		107 (12.7%)		
MR3 in addition		73 (8.6%)		
MR1+DC			82 (8.2%)	
MR2 in addition			71 (7.1%)	
MR3 in addition			43 (4.3%)	
MR1+SP1+DC				40 (6.4%)
MR2 in addition				36 (5.8%)
SP2 in addition				23 (3.7%)
MR3 in addition				15 (2.4%)

Response rates combined surveys - East German study

Data set combination	Response rate MR	Cond. response rate SP	Cond. response rate DC	Cond. response rate SP+DC
N	692	521	505	383
MR1+MR2	253 (36.6%)			
MR3 in addition	164 (23.7%)			
MR1+SP1		372 (71.4%)		
MR2 in addition		134 (25.7%)		
SP2 in addition		117 (22.4%)		
MR3 in addition		78 (15.0%)		
MR1+DC			74 (14.7%)	
MR2 in addition			73 (14.4%)	
MR3 in addition			47 (9.3%)	
MR1+SP1+DC				48 (12.5%)
MR2 in addition				47 (12.3%)
SP2 in addition				45 (11.7%)
MR3 in addition				30 (27.8%)