

**Cross-National Election Study Project (CNEP)**

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

***SHORT VERSION***

”

February 1999

## Introduction

This document is a considerably shortened version of the documentation of the German CNEP survey data. It contains translations of the West German principal respondent questionnaires of the first and second panel waves. Not included are the third-wave questionnaires for principal respondents, as well as all spouse (2 waves) and discussant questionnaires (1 wave). Out of altogether 12 separate questionnaires, only 2 are thus documented in this codebook. Of all other questionnaires, English translations can be supplied upon request. East German questionnaires are basically identical to the West German questionnaires, with only minor deviations. These deviations concern mostly questions pertaining to political parties (voting intention, etc.). Since all data sets are labelled, value labels can be consulted for the meaning of response categories of East German party questions.

This codebook contains question numbers, but no variable names. However, references to question numbers are contained in all variable labels of the data sets. Thus, by printing variable lists, correspondence list of variable names and question numbers can be obtained easily.

## Study design

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*

SP1W:

N = 521

(self-admin.)

SP2W:

N = 136

(teleph.)

SP1E:

N = 372

(self-admin.)

SP2E:

N = 124

(self-admin.)

MR1W:

N = 1340

(face-to-face)

MR2W:

N = 449

(teleph.)

MR3W:

N = 307

(self-admin.)

MR1E:

N = 692

(face-to-face)

MR2E:

N = 253

(face-to-face)

MR3E:

N = 166

(self-admin.)

DCW:

N = 82/96

(teleph.)

DCE:

N = 74/89

(face-to-face)

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

## 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#	" <b>E</b> rste Welle"	Main respondents, 1st wave
Z#	" <b>Z</b> weite Welle"	Main respondents, 2nd wave
D#	" <b>D</b> ritte 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 where 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.

# West German main respondents (first panel wave)

## TECHNICAL VARIABLES:

<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)

## ECONOMY, POLITICAL INTEREST:

- (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

MEDIA VARIABLES (EXPOSURE):

(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

(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)					

POLITICAL AGENDA, POSTMATERIALISM:

(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 -----

~

VOTE INTENTION:

(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 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

**DEMOCRACY, LEFT-RIGHT, POLITICAL COMPETENCY, PARTY ID:**

(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

“

**VOTE RECALL:**

(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

**SECONDARY ASSOCIATIONS (PERCEPTIONS OF INTEREST REPRESENTATION):**

(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?]

## SOCIAL NETWORKS:

(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



- 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

(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

(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

## West German main respondents (second panel wave)

### TECHNICAL VARIABLES:

<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)

## ECONOMY, POLITICAL INTEREST:

- (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

## MEDIA VARIABLES (BIAS PERCEPTIONS):

- (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

**POLITICAL AGENDA:**

(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]

VOTE INTENTION:

- (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 = SPD  
 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 = SPD  
 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 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

SECONDARY ASSOCIATIONS (MEMBERSHIP, EXPOSURE, BIAS):

(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 asking]

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

### DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES:

- (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