Democratization in Eastern Europe
(Core Questionnaire)

1. Some people do quite a lot in politics while others find they haven't the time or perhaps the interest to participate in political activities. I'll read to you briefly some of the things that people do and I would like you to tell me how often you do each of them. The first is: "How often do you read about politics in the newspaper?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often do you read about politics in the newspaper?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss politics with other people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try to convince friends to vote the same as you</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with other people in this community to try to solve some local problem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend a political meeting or rally</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact public officials or politicians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spend time working for a political party or candidate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. How many days in the past week did you watch the news on television?

(List number of days) __________

(If the answer is 1 to 7 days, then:)

3. How much attention did you pay to television news about politics?

1. Great deal
2. Quite a bit
3. Some
4. Very little
5. None
8. DK
9. NA

4. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

(List number of days)____________________

(If the answer is 1 to 7 days, then:)

5. How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about politics?

1. Great deal
2. Quite a bit
3. Some
4. Very little
5. None
8. DK
9. NA

6. There is considerable argument concerning the meaning of democracy. What is your opinion about this question? What is for you the meaning of democracy?
(Interviewer: Record exactly)

8- DK
9- NA

7. Many people think of political attitudes as being on the "left" or the "right".

This is a scale stretching from the "left" to the "right".

When you think of your own political attitudes, where would you put yourself?

Please mark the scale in the box "X".
left -------------------------- right

88 - DK
99 - NA

8. What do you mean by "left" in politics?

8 - DK
9 - NA

9. What do you mean by "right" in politics?

8 - DK
9 - NA

10. Are you a member of any organizations that appear on this list?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free time association, club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any local association</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political party (If yes, ask which party)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social (Political) movement (If yes, ask which movement)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional associations (of lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade union (If yes, ask which union)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student association</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish religious organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. People associate democracy with diverse meanings such as those on this card (show card #__). For each of them, please tell me whether, for you, democracy has
1. a lot, 2. something, 3. not much, or, 4. nothing to do with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. political liberties, e.g., freedom of speech, freedom of association</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. greater social equality</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c. that many political and administrative decisions can be made at local and regional levels</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. less corruption and less selling of influence</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e. freedom in moral and sexual matters</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. that judges provide equal justice before the law</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g. that the government control banks and large private enterprises</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>h. equal rights for women</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. more jobs, less unemployment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>j. that economic conditions improve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>k. multi-party system</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

12. Are you totally satisfied or totally dissatisfied with the way in which democracy is working in ______ today?
(We will use this scale #__)
Now I would like to ask you some questions about economic conditions.

13. Considering the situation of (country) during the period that the present government has been in power (since 198_), would you say that the economic situation of the country has improved, gotten worse, or remained the same?

1. Improved
2. The same
3. Gotten worse

8. DK
9. NA

14. And regarding the future, do you expect that in the next year the economic situation of the country will improve, get worse, or remain the same?

1. Will improve
2. The same
3. Get worse

8. DK
9. NA

15. In comparison with the last five years of the previous government, would you say that the economic situation of the country has improved, gotten worse, or remained the same?

1. Improved
2. The same
3. Gotten worse

8. DK
9. NA

16. Would you say that under the present government corruption and selling of influence have increased, have remained the same, or have declined?

1. Increased
2. Remained the same
3. Declined
17. During the time that the present government has been in power (since 198_), would you say, for example, that the condition of the working class (of the workers) has improved, gotten worse, or has continued being more or less the same as before? (show card ___)

And the peasantry?

And the middle classes?

And the entrepreneurs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Improved</th>
<th>More or less the same</th>
<th>Gotten worse</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The working class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The peasantry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The middle classes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The entrepreneurs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... And in comparison with the situation during the last five years of _____ (the previous regime), would you say, for example, that the condition of the working class today has improved, gotten worse, or has continued being more or less the same as it was then?

And the peasantry?

And the middle classes?

And the entrepreneurs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Improved</th>
<th>More or less the same</th>
<th>Gotten worse</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The working class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The peasantry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The middle classes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. Considering the money people earn from their work, do you think that . . . ? (Interviewer: read the alternatives)

1. There should be large differences
2. There should be some differences
3. There should be practically no differences
8. DK
9. NA

20. Compared with the life your parents lived at your age, do you think you are, financially speaking, doing better, the same, or worse?

1. Better
2. Same
3. Worse
8. DK
9. NA

21. Compared with most of the people in your neighborhood, do you think that you are, financially speaking, doing better, the same, or worse?

1. Better
2. Same
3. Worse
8. DK
9. NA

22. In general, do you think that in (country) things are changing too fast, at the right speed, or too slowly?

1. Too fast
2. Right speed
3. Too slowly
8. DK
9. NA

23. Taking everything into account, in general, are you satisfied, or not satisfied with the present government? (Interviewer: show card #)
24. Taking everything into account, in general, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the previous government (with the government before the regime-change)? (Interviewer: show card #___)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not satisfied</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10</td>
<td>88 99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. (For those who are working or retired) How much influence would you say that people like you have in decisions at your (former) workplace?

1. Decisive
2. Much
3. A little
4. None
5. DK
9. NA

26. (For those who are working or retired) In general, how satisfied are/were you with your work situation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10</td>
<td>88 99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. Are you single, married, widowed, separated, divorced, or living with a partner?

1. Married
2. Living with a partner
3. Single
4. Widowed
5. Separated
6. Divorced
9. NA

28. Does your husband/wife/companion work outside of the house?

1. Yes (to next question)
2. No (skip next question)
29. Is it full-time or part-time work?
1. Full-time
2. Part-time
8. DK
9. NA

30. How much influence would you say that you have in family decisions?
1. Decisive
2. Much
3. A little
4. None
8. DK
9. NA

31. In general, how satisfied are you with your family situation? (Show card)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 02 03 04 05 06 07</td>
<td>08 09 10 88 99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. Tell me if you are completely in agreement, partially in agreement, partially in disagreement, or completely in disagreement with the following statements:

1. Completely in agreement
2. Partially in agreement
3. Partially in disagreement
4. Completely in disagreement
8. DK
9. NA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The best thing for a woman to do is to take care of the house.</th>
<th>1 2 3 4 8 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuals are people who should be accepted like anybody else.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 8 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortions should be available to all women who want them.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 8 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
33. In order to get ahead, people need to have confidence and to feel that they can trust themselves and others. To what degree do you think that you trust the following totally, to a certain point, little, or not at all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Totally</th>
<th>Certain Pt.</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family and relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church and clergy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of your language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV, newspapers, radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oneself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Companions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The .......... (The leading party in the governing coalition, or the governing party)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The .......... (The biggest oppositional party)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Army</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

a/
1. Citizens should pay for their own medical care and medicine.
2. The government should cover the costs of citizens' medical care and medicine.
3. Can't choose.
8. DK
9. NA

b/ 1. There should be no limits on the amount of money one is able to earn.
2. It is necessary to place limits on the amount of money that one can earn.
3. Can't choose.
8. DK
9. NA

c/ 1. Instead of depending so much on the government, people should learn to take care of themselves.
2. The government doesn't do enough to protect people from economic difficulties.
3. Can't choose.
8. DK
9. NA

d/ 1. The environment has to be cleaned up even if it means some loss in manufacturing jobs.
2. Cleaning up the environment has to take second place to industrial growth and the protection of jobs.
3. Can't choose.
8. DK
9. NA

35. (Country) has many problems to solve. Of the conflicts listed on this card, tell me, please, which do you consider very important, somewhat important, of little importance, or not at all important.
(Show card #___)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**a. Between those with money and those without (or: between rich and poor).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**b. Between those citizens who obey the law and delinquents.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**c. Between those that speak (language) and those that don't.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**d. Between those on the left and those on the right.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**e. Between the young and the old.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**f. Between those who follow the moral teachings of the church and those who do not.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**g. Between nationalists and the rest of the people of the country.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

36. Now I'd like you to consider some kinds of action that the government and the authorities sometimes take. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you approve strongly, approve, disapprove, or disapprove strongly. (Show card #___)

1. approve strongly
2. approve
3. disapprove
4. disapprove strongly

**a. The police using force against demonstrators.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**b. The courts giving severe sentences to protestors who disregard police.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**c. The government passing a law to forbid all public protest demonstrations.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
d. The government using troops to break strikes. 1 2 3 4 8 9

37. Generally speaking, would you say that this country is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people.

1. All the people
2. A few big interests
8. DK
9. NA

38. How much do you trust the government in (country) to do what is right? Do you trust it just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or almost never?

1. Just about always
2. Most of the time
3. Only some of the time
4. Almost never
8. DK
9. NA

39. Do you think that elections are the best way to choose a government and the authorities of the country or do you not think so?

1. Yes, they are the best way.
2. They are not the best way.
8. DK
9. NA

40. Looking at things from the point of view of utility, do you think that in order for things to go well, we need a parliament? Or are you among those who think that we can do without it?

1. We need a parliament.
2. We could do without it.
8. DK
9. NA

41. Did you vote in the last election?

1. Yes Which party (or: the candidate of which party) did you vote for?
(could be precoded)
5. No As you recall, why was it that you did not vote in the last election?

1. Too young
2. Sick, "couldn't get out"
7. Other (specify)
8. DK
9. NA

7. Refuse to answer
8. DK
9. NA

42. If we had elections next weekend would you vote for the same party?

1. Yes
2. No
8. DK
9. NA

43. (if no) Which party would you vote for?

(could be precoded)
8. DK
9. NA

44. On the whole do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...

1. Definitely should be
2. Probably should be
3. Probably should not be
4. Definitely should not be
8. DK
9. NA

1. Provide a job for everyone who wants one. 1 2 3 4 8 9

2. Provide health care for the sick. 1 2 3 4 8 9

3. Provide a decent standard of living for the old. 1 2 3 4 8 9

4. Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed. 1 2 3 4 8 9
5. Reduce income differences between the rich and poor.

45. If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation or keeping down unemployment to which do you think it should give highest priority?

1. keeping inflation down
2. keeping unemployment down

46/a. If the government made a decision which violated people's interests,

1. could you do something about it,
2. couldn't you do something about it
3. other

8. DK
9. NA

46/b. (If yes) Please tell me, what would you do?

--------
8. DK
9. NA

47/a. If your local council made a decision which violated people's interests,

1. could you do something about it
2. couldn't you do something about it
3. other

8. DK
9. NA

47/b. (If yes) Please tell me, what would you do?

--------
8. DK
9. NA
48. Do you think that if you had lived in a western country

1. you would have got on better
2. it would have been the same
3. it would have been worse

8. DK
9. NA

49. Please tell me whether you agree with the following statements or not.

1. agree
2. disagree

8. DK
9. NA

1. Our country needs a kind of development typical of the western countries.
2. Democracy will never be consolidated in our country.
3. We have got the same kind of democracy here as in Western-European countries.
4. Democracy in (country) will be consolidated in a difficult process.
5. You can't say that democracy has already been accomplished in (country).

8. DK
9. NA

50. Do you think that in democracy the problems of our country

1. will be solved.
2. will be getting more and more serious.
3. will remain the same.

8. DK
9. NA

51. How do you judge the political situation of the country?

1. Very good.
2. Quite good.
3. So-so.
4. Rather bad.
5. Very bad.
52. How do you think the political situation of (country) will change next year?

1. It will improve.
2. It will remain the same.
3. It will get worse.

53. Taking everything into account, how contented are you with the present state of democracy in (country)?

1. Totally.
2. To a certain point.
3. Little.
4. Not at all.

54. Please tell me whether you agree with the following statements or not:

1. agree
2. disagree

a/ We need political parties if we want democratic development. 1 2 8 9
b/ I can't see any difference between the existing parties. 1 2 8 9
c/ Parties provide opportunity to participate in political activities. 1 2 8 9
d/ Parties only serve their leaders' interests. 1 2 8 9

55. If you had a chance to choose which country you could live in, would you choose (country)?
1. Definitely.
2. Probably yes.
3. Probably no.
4. By no means/absolutely not.
8. DK
9. NA

56. Taking everything into account, since the end of the .......... era (Kadar, or Zsivkov, or Ceaucescu, etc.; the last regime) things have been getting on
1. better than I expected.
2. worse than I expected.
3. as I expected.
4. some things better, some things worse.
8. DK
9. NA

57. There is considerable argument concerning the ownership of companies. What do you think the right solution would be?
1. Companies should be given back to the original owners.
2. They should be sold to those who offer most, even if the buyers are foreigners.
3. The companies should go into the workers' proprietorship.
4. They should remain state property.
8. DK
9. NA

58. According to your opinion, what should we do in (country) with the ownership of agricultural lands?
1. The land should be returned to those who owned it before collectivization.
2. The land should be sold to the highest bidder.
3. It should be kept in its present form in the hand of the collective farms.
4. The collective farms should retain ownership and they should be allowed to either sell or lease the land.
5. The lands should be owned by the local communities/villages.
8. DK
9. NA

59. Please tell me which of the words in this list describe best what you think
a/ of the capitalist free enterprise economy?

b/ and of the socialist economy without private firms?
(Show cards!)

1. chosen
2. not chosen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Capitalist Economy</th>
<th>Socialist Economy</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Strike</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Freedom</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Inequality</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Technical Progress</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Wealth</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Selfishness</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Power</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Profit</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Justice</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Scarcity</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Humane</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Progress</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Planning</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Efficacy</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Repression</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Corruption</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60. Please tell me whether you agree with the following statements.

1. agree
2. disagree

a/The capitalist economy, based on free private initiative, is the best economic system for our country.

b/The capitalist economy, based on free private initiative, will enable us to resolve the problems that we ........... (e.g. Hungarians) face. 1 2

61. There is a lot of debate about the way of management of industrial enterprises. Which of the following four opinions most resembles yours? Please select only one.

1. The owners of the enterprise should manage the enterprise or name the director of the enterprise.

2. The owners and the employees should participate together in the naming of the management.
3. The property should be state-owned and the state should name the managers.

4. The property should be owned by the employees and the employees should name the managers.

Now I would like to ask you some questions about political parties and movements in (country).

62. Among the political parties and political movements in (country) is there any that you usually feel closer to?

1. Yes
2. No
3. DK
4. NA

63a. (If yes) Which political party, or political movement, do you usually feel closest to? (Record exactly; do not prompt)

(should be pre-coded)

97. Refused
98. DK
99. NA

63b. Would you say you feel very close, fairly close, or not very close to that party?

1. Very close.
2. Fairly close.
3. Not very close.

7. Refused
8. DK
9. NA

64. There may occur different situations in which people decide to go on strike in the future. Please tell me in which case you would organize or join a strike:

I WOULD    I WOULDN'T    DK

1. If a party I have a strong dislike for won the elections.  1  2  8
2. If the governing party abuses its power and it is feared that democracy may be restricted.  

3. If the government's economic measures lead to much lower living standards.  

4. If unemployment increases and masses of people are made redundant.  

5. If social benefits/allocations, provided equally for all people, are reduced.  

65. Do you approve of a community using the following ways to protest or do you think that they are unacceptable? 

1. Approve strongly  
2. Approve  
3. Disapprove  
4. Disapprove strongly  

8. DK  
9. NA  

1. Petition (collecting signatures)  
2. Boycotts  
3. Lawful demonstration  
4. Threatening to go on strike  
5. Wildcat strike  
6. Occupying buildings/factories  

66. Which do you think would be better for our country?  

1. One-party system  
2. Multi-party system  
8. DK  
9. NA  

67. Please tell me whether you agree with the following statements or not:  

AGREE DISAGREE DK NA
1. As long as things are getting on well I'm not really interested in who is in power. 1 2 8 9

2. Politicians are glad if people don't interfere in their matters. 1 2 8 9

3. Now in (country) everybody can have a say in the matters of the country. 1 2 8 9

4. It's always better not to get involved in politics because sooner or later you'll get your fingers burned. 1 2 8 9

5. You'd better not trust politicians. 1 2 8 9

6. Politicians do their best to seek the views of the people. 1 2 8 9

7. Ordinary people are always excluded from power. 1 2 8 9

8. These days only those who want to make their fortune get involved in politics. 1 2 8 9

9. Only when there's trouble are politicians interested in the views of the people. 1 2 8 9

10. It's a patriotic duty to participate in political activities. 1 2 8 9

68. I'm interested in which of the following personalities you trust and to what degree you accept their statements.
(To the interviewer: Shuffle the cards with the names under the respondent's nose and see that he/she cannot have a look at the questionnaire).

1. totally
2. to a certain point
3. little
4. not at all

8. DK
9. NA

1. George Bush 1 2 3 4 8 9
69. There are divergent views of who will take advantage of the regime-change and who will be dissatisfied with the changes. Do you think that the following people will be rather more satisfied with the changes, or will they be dissatisfied?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DK NA</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Workers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Engineers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Artist, Writers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Scientists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clerks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agricultural Workers/Peasants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Private Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Politicians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Army officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. Policemen  
12. Former Leaders of the Communist Party

70. Now I would like to ask you to rank the following countries according to the following three criteria: 1. Where do people live better; 2. Where is political and legal equality greater; and 3. Where do people have greater influence in shaping public policy?

(Interviewer: Rankings are from 1 (best) to 7 (worst). If necessary, use cards as well.)

- Where do people live better?
- Where is equality greater?
- Where do people have greater influence in shaping public policy?

Bulgaria
Romania
Hungary
Austria
Soviet Union
Poland
Czechoslovakia

71. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The activities of the Communist party should be prohibited in this country.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The situation is so bad that one cannot even allow the children to go out and play in the playground.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. If someone defames your honor you must always seek revenge.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. A few strong-handed leaders would be more useful to the state than the many democrats who are constantly holding meetings and consultations.

5. It is frequently better if people seek retributions themselves, rather than having to turn to the police.

6. I never ever hit another human being and I am not going to do that in the future either.

7. The practice of democracy also includes the possibility for the Communist party to run in the elections and if it receives the required number of votes it should be represented in the Parliament.

72. Please grade the following states according to the considerations listed below (1 is worst, 5 is best).

A. To what extent do you regard the citizens of these states as uncultured or cultured?

B. To what extent do you regard their citizens as enemies or friends?

C. To what extent do you think that the country is moving toward democracy?

D. To what extent do you think that its citizens are lazy or hard-working?

E. To what extent do you think that its citizens are untrustworthy or trustworthy?

(Interviewer: Please, mark each box according to the scale of 1-5, with 1 being the worst and 5 the best.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Romania

Hungary

Austria

Soviet Union

Poland

Turkey

Czechoslovakia

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Sex of Interviewee

1. male
2. female

2. Year of Birth: ___

3. What was your religion at birth:

1. Roman Catholic
2. Orthodox
3. Calvinist
4. Lutheran
5. Jewish
6. other smaller sect
7. Was not baptized or had no religious affiliation

8. DK
9. NA

4. Of the following statements which do you think applies to you most closely:

1. I am religious and follow the teachings of the church.
2. I am religious in my own way.
3. I cannot say if I am religious or not.
4. I am not religious and am not interested in such things.
5. I am not religious because the teachings of the churches are wrong.
6. other (write it out)

8. DK
9. NA

5. Please list the type of schools you attended.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Grade Completed</th>
<th>Degree (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6. What is your place of residence?

7. Were you born in this province?

8. Since which year have you lived in this neighborhood/village?

   19

9. How would you say your relations with your neighbors are?
   (Interviewer: Read)

   1. Very close (tight)
   2. I feel close to them.
   3. I have little to do with them.
   4. I have nothing at all to do with them.
   8. DK
   9. NA

10. Are you getting paid for your work currently?

    1. Yes (including family members helping out)
    NO, because
    2. on child-care leave
    3. in retirement
    4. invalid on widows' pension
    5. other inactive earner (lives from rental income or social contract)
    6. works only at home on domestic chores
    7. student
    8. other support (social assistance, supported only by children, first-time job seeker, etc.)

    88. DK
    99. NA

11. Currently
16. How much of your monthly income are you able to save each month?

1. Below 5%
2. 5-10%
3. 10-25%
4. 25-50%
5. Above 50%
8. DK
9. NA

17. To which social class would you say that you belong?

1. upper
2. upper-middle
3. lower-middle
4. working class
8. DK
9. NA

18. And to which social class would you say your parents belong or belonged?

1. upper
2. upper-middle
3. lower-middle
4. working class
8. DK
9. NA

19. Is there anybody in your family who owns or is a part-owner of a private enterprise or business?

1. YES; if yes, what is that person's relationship to you?
2. NO
8. DK
9. NA

20. Do you or does someone in your family produce agricultural goods outside of your own job?

1. only to feed the family
2. sometimes sold for money
3. regularly sold for extra income
1. working full time
2. working part time
3. does not work at all
8. DK
9. NA

12. Are (if in pension: were) you

1. an employee of the state or a state enterprise
2. a member of a cooperative or collective farm
3. independently employed
4. working as a family member helping out the major income earner

8. DK
9. NA

13. What is (if in pension: was) your occupation?

88. DK
99. NA

Interviewer: Write down exactly what the interviewee's job is (was), what is (was) his rank (position) and what work does (did) he actually do?

88. DK
99. NA

14. Based on your own estimation, your monthly income is:

1. more than the average
2. average
3. below average

8. DK
9. NA

15. Based on your own estimation, where would you place yourself on the following monthly income scale:
21. If for some reason you lost your job how easy would it be to find another suitable replacement?

1. very easy  
2. easy  
3. a little difficult  
4. very difficult  
5. I don't think that I could find a suitable replacement

8. DK  
9. NA

22. Do you work overtime, or outside of your regular job to supplement your income?

1. yes  
2. no  
8. DK  
9. NA

23. (if yes) How often?

1. several times a week  
2. once or twice per week  
3. several times a month  
4. once or twice per month

8. DK  
9. NA

24. What is the maximum possible amount you could earn in one month from all of your extra work?

1. less than half of my regular salary from my official workplace  
2. about a half of my salary  
3. more than half of my salary  
4. about the same as my monthly salary  
5. more than my monthly salary

8. DK  
9. NA

25. On the average how many hours per week do you work overtime?

__________ hours per week