Collective Identities in Slovakia 2003

- English -
1. Please try to remember in what environment – rural or urban - you grew up until the age of 12 – 14.
1 rural environment
2 small town
3 medium size town
4 city
5 I lived in two or more of these environments
9 can’t decide

2. In what part of Slovakia did you grow up?
1 in Bratislava
2 southern Slovakia
3 western Slovakia
4 central Slovakia
5 eastern Slovakia
6 else, outside of Slovakia
7 I changed two or more of these regions
9 can’t decide

3. Did you grow up in a religious environment?
1 in a strongly religious environment
2 in a moderately religious environment
3 in a not religious environment
4 other answer [FILL IN!]:
9 can’t decide

4. Did you grow up in the same village/town as you live today or somewhere else?
1 I grew up in the same village/town I live in nowadays
2 it is not far from where I grew up
3 it was somewhere else
4 I have changed one or more since then
N don’t know

5. Could you remember the role of books in this period of life? [DOESN’T MEAN SCHOOLBOOKS!]
1 I have no recollection of books
2 I came across books but only from time to time
3 I came across books rather often
4 I came across books very often
5 other [FILL IN!]:
N don’t know

6. Did you or did you not use to talk at home about history (social events from the past either read, heard of or experienced etc by the adults)?
1 we never talked about history
2 we talked about history from time to time
3 we often talked about history
4 other [FILL IN!]:
N don’t know
7. Was your family environment at that time well-off or not?
For life then it was materially:
1 well-off
2 more well-off than bad-off
3 neither well-off nor bad-off
4 more bad-off than well-off
5 bad-off
6 other [FILL IN!]:
N don’t know

8. What is your mother tongue?
1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Czech
7 other [FILL IN!]:

9. Which language do you usually use in the following environments? IT IS POSSIBLE TO GIVE MORE ANSWERS!

A in the family
1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Czech
7 other [FILL IN!]:
8 can’t choose

B in the neighbourhood
1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Czech
7 other [FILL IN!]:
8 can’t choose

C in a village/town of my permanent residence
1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Czech
7 other [FILL IN!]:
8 can’t choose

D in workplace

1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Czech
7 other [FILL IN!]:
8 can’t choose

10. Do you use in your mother tongue dialect or standard (same as on TV or radio) form of language?
1 only dialect
2 dialect more frequently
3 standard more frequently
4 only standard
N don’t know

11. From your point of view, should the minority in Slovakia have good command of Slovak language?
1 yes and it should be rigidly required
2 yes, but it is entirely a matter of their decision
3 it is not necessary for everybody
4 other [FILL IN!]:
N don’t know

12. Do you think that the Slovaks should be encouraged to learn at least one minority language?
1 yes, it should be commonplace
2 yes, but only if they live in an ethnically mixed environment as far as language is concerned
3 they should rather not be encouraged, not even if they live in a mixed environment
4 they certainly should not be encouraged, not even if they live in a mixed environment
N don’t know

13. What languages do you have good command of and what only partial? INCLUDE THE MOTHER TONGUE INTO THE “GOOD COMMAND” CATEGORY! IT IS POSSIBLE TO GIVE MORE ANSWERS!

a) I have good command of:

1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Polish
7 German
8 Russian
10 English
11 French
12 other [FILL IN!]:
b) I have partial command of:

1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Polish
7 German
8 Russian
10 English
11 French
12 other [FILL IN!]:

14a. There are many groups in the society, which we are a part of and we consider some of them important. There are some groups mentioned on the card. Which group do you identify yourself most with? Please, give only one first! CARD  1!

1 the young
2 the middle aged
3 elderly
4 men
5 women
6 country people
7 small town people
8 city people
10 Slovaks
11 Hungarians
12 Romanies
13 upper middle class
14 middle class
15 lower middle class
16 low class
17 the rich
18 moderately wealthy
19 the poor
20 higher education
21 secondary education
22 lower education
23 farmers
24 labourers
25 craftsmen
26 technicians
27 skilled workers
28 employees
29 entrepreneurs
30 believers with confidence in church
31 believers without confidence in church
32 non-believers
33 Roman-Catholics
34 Greek-Catholics
35 Protestants (Lutherans)
36 Calvins
37 Orthodox
38 Christians as such
39 »the ruling class«
40 »the working class«
41 citizens of Bratislava
42 citizens other than of Bratislava
43 people from western Slovakia
44 people from southern Slovakia
45 people from central Slovakia
46 people from eastern Slovakia
47 left oriented
48 right oriented
49 other [FILL IN!]:
88 none of these
N can’t choose

14b. Second and third in sequence? “I mostly identify myself with…:
on 2nd place:
on 3rd place:

15. Which group would you choose as the most important one 15- 20 years ago? CARD 1!

1 the same as now
2 other [FILL IN!]:
3 I was only a child then
N don’t know

16a. Which group do you have most objections to? CARD 1!

1 the young
2 the middle aged
3 the elderly
4 men
5 women
6 country people
7 small town people
8 city people
10 Slovaks
11 Hungarians
12 Romany
13 upper middle class
14 middle class
15 lower middle class
16 low class
17 the rich
18 moderately wealthy
19 the poor
20 higher education
21 secondary education
22 lower education
23 farmers
24 labourers
25 craftsmen
26 technicians
27 skilled workers
28 employees
29 entrepreneurs
30 believers with confidence in church
31 believers without confidence in church
32 non-believers
33 Roman-Catholics
34 Greek-Catholics
35 Lutherans
36 Calvins
37 Ortdhodox
38 Christians as such
39 »the ruling class«
40 »the working class«
41 citizens of Bratislava
42 citizens other than of Bratislava
43 people form western Slovakia
44 people from southern Slovakia
45 people from central Slovakia
46 people from eastern Slovakia
47 left oriented
48 right oriented
49 other [FILL IN!]:
88 none of these
99 can`t choose

16b. The second and third in sequence? “I have most objections to…”:
   on 2nd place:
   on 3rd place:

17. There is a lot of talk about the “right wing”, the “left wing” and political centre. How would you characterize yourself with your views?
   1 markedly left oriented
   2 left from the centre
   3 rather centre
   4 right from the centre
   5 markedly right oriented
   N don`t know

18. People have different political orientation. Which of these political orientations do you consider closest for you? Please, give two at most! CARD 2!

IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE TERMS, HE SHALL NOT BOTHER WITH THEM AND CHOOSE ONLY FROM THE ONES HE UNDERSTANDS!

1 conservative
2 liberal
3 social democrat
4 socialist
5 communist
6 Slovak patriot
7 Hungarian patriot
8 other [FILL IN!]:

6
19. And vice versa, which of these orientations is the most distant for you? Please, give only one! CARD 2!

IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE TERMS, HE SHALL NOT BOTHER WITH THEM AND CHOOSE ONLY FROM THE ONES HE UNDERSTANDS!

1 conservative
2 liberal
3 social democrat
4 socialist
5 communist
6 Slovak patriot
7 Hungarian patriot
8 other [FILL IN!]:
10 without orientation
99 can´t choose

20. Where do you belong by your inner inclination: into the country, small town or city environment??
1 country
2 small town
3 city
4 partly in one, partly in another
5 other [FILL IN!]:
N don’t know

21. Do you or do you not consider yourself to be a Slav?
1 I am Slav and it is very important to me
2 I am Slav and it is quite important to me
3 I am Slav, but I don’t think it is important
4 I am Slav only partly
5 I am not Slav at all
N don’t know

22. The following list consists of several publicly known personalities from distant or recent history or even from the present. Please, choose from the list no more than three personalities that you respect most! CARD 3!

1 Maria Theresa
2 Sandor Petofi
3 Lajos Kossuth
4 Ludovít Štúr
5 Andrej Hlinka
6 Tomas G.Masaryk
7 Milan R.Štefánik
8 Milan Hodža
9 Jozef Tiso
10 Edvard Beneš
11 bishop Vojtašák
12 bishop Gojdič
13 general Golián
14 Alexander Dubček
23. Please, choose from the list no more than three personalities that you have most objections to!
CARD 3!

1 Maria Thereza
2 Sandor Petofi
3 Lajos Kossuth
4 Ludovít Štúr
5 Andrej Hlinka
6 Tomáš G.Masaryk
7 Milan R.Štefánik
8 Milan Hodža
9 Jozef Tiso
10 Edvard Beneš
11 bishop Vojtašák
12 bishop Gojdič
13 general Golian
14 Alexander Dubček
15 Gustáv Husák
16 Václav Havel
17 Vladimír Mečiar
18 cardinal Korec
19 Jozef Lettrich
66 I have no objections to any of the personalities
77 I know at least some of them, but can´t choose
88 don´t know any of them
99 refuse to answer

24. A foreigner might ask you about the »history of your nation«. From your point of view, do the following events and periods belong to such a history? CARD 4!

A pre-Hungarian period of old Slavs on this area

1 certainly belongs
2 rather belongs
3 rather doesn´t belong
4 certainly doesn´t belong
8 doesn´t know sufficiently
9 knows, but cannot decide

B the whole period of Hungary (before 1918)

1 certainly belongs
2 rather belongs
3 rather doesn’t belong
4 certainly doesn’t belong
8 I don’t know sufficiently
9 I know, but can’t choose

C circumstances in Czechoslovakia in the 20th century
1 certainly belongs
2 rather belongs
3 rather doesn’t belong
4 certainly doesn’t belong
8 I don’t know sufficiently
9 I know, but can’t choose

D circumstances concerning areas annexed to Hungary in 1938
1 certainly belongs
2 rather belongs
3 rather doesn’t belong
4 certainly doesn’t belong
8 I don’t know sufficiently
9 I know, but can’t choose

E circumstances in Hungary in the 20th century
1 certainly belongs
2 rather belongs
3 rather doesn’t belong
4 certainly doesn’t belong
8 I don’t know sufficiently
9 I know, but can’t choose

F situation of Slovak minorities in foreign countries
1 certainly belongs
2 rather belongs
3 rather doesn’t belong
4 certainly doesn’t belong
8 doesn’t know sufficiently
9 knows, but cannot decide

25. Many remarkable historical events took place from 1918. From the following incomplete list of such events, choose no more than three that you consider as the most positive! CARD 5!

1 the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian Empire after the World War I.
2 Treaty of Trianon, on the basis of which many parts of Hungary were given to newly established states
3 the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918
4 Slovak autonomy within Czechoslovakia (autumn 1938)
5 the forcing out of the Czechs from Slovakia in autumn 1938
6 Vienna arbitration, by which southern parts of Slovakia were given to Hungary
7 the declaration of an independent Slovak Republic in spring 1939
8 taking away of Jewish property during the wartime Slovak State
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10 transports of Jews from Slovakia to concentration camps
11 Slovak National Uprising in August 1944
12 the restoration of Czechoslovakia in 1945
13 the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia in 1945
14 sanctions against Hungarians from Slovakia after Second World War
15 nationalization after February 1948
16 political trials in the 50s
17 collectivization of agriculture in the 50s
18 industrialization of Slovakia in the 50s
19 political reforms in the first half of 1968
20 occupation of Czechoslovakia by the military forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in August 1968
21 federalization of Czechoslovakia in autumn 1968
22 process of the so called normalization after the year 1969 (in the 70s)
23 November 1989
24 treaty of withdrawal of soviet military forces from Czechoslovakia
25 split of Czecho-Slovakia after the elections in 1992
26 the establishment of independent Slovak Republic in January 1993
77 none of these
88 don’t know these events
99 know the events, but can’t choose

26. Now, please choose three events that you consider as the most negative! CARD 5!

1 the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian Empire after the World War I
2 Treaty of Trianon, on the basis of which many parts of Hungary were given to newly established states
3 the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918
4 Slovak autonomy within Czechoslovakia (autumn 1938)
5 the expulsion of the Czechs from Slovakia in autumn 1938
6 Vienna arbitration, by which southern parts of Slovakia were given to Hungary
7 the declaration of an independent Slovak Republic in spring 1939
8 taking away of Jewish property during the wartime Slovak State
10 transports of Jews from Slovakia to concentration camps
11 Slovak National Uprising in August 1944
12 the restoration of Czechoslovakia in 1945
13 the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia in 1945
14 sanctions against Hungarians from Slovakia after Second World War
15 nationalization after February 1948
16 political trials in the 50s
17 collectivization of agriculture in the 50s
18 industrialization of Slovakia in the 50s
19 political reforms in the first half of 1968
20 occupation of Czechoslovakia by the military forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in August 1968
21 federalization of Czechoslovakia in autumn 1968
22 process of the so called normalization after the year 1969 (in the 70s)
23 November 1989
24 treaty of withdrawal of soviet military forces from Czechoslovakia
25 split of Czecho-Slovakia after the elections in 1992
26 the establishment of independent Slovak Republic in January 1993
77 none of these
88 don’t know these events
99 know the events, but can’t choose

27. How do you evaluate the individual historical periods from 1918? CARD 6!

A the period of the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938)
B the period of wartime Slovak State (1939-1945)
C 1938-1945 on southern parts, annexed at that time to Hungary
D initial decade of the communist regime (1948-1960)
E the period of so called normalization (the 70s)
F period since November 1989 till elections in 1992
G the era from the establishment of an independent Slovak Republic in January 1993 until the end of V. Mečiar government in the elections in 1998

Possible answers always:
1 very positive
2 rather positive
3 rather negative
4 very negative
N don’t know

28. What do you think about sanctions against Hungarians from Slovakia that took place after the Second World War? CARD 7!

1 it was unjust and it should be redressed as much as possible
2 it was unjust and it is necessary to apologize for it
3 it was probably not entirely just, but many deserved it and it could not be done otherwise
4 it was probably not entirely just, but should not return to it
5 it was just and we should not return to it
8 I have no knowledge of what happened at that time
9 I know what happened, but can’t choose

29. Which period from the distant past to the present do you consider as the best era of the nation - the nation that you feel strongest fellow feelings for? WRITE THE ANSWER IN YOUR OWN WORDS!

30. How do you judge the coexistence with the Czechs within Czechoslovakia? WRITE THE ANSWER IN YOUR OWN WORDS!

31. How do you judge the past era of socialism/communist regime? WRITE THE ANSWER IN YOUR OWN WORDS!

32. Imagine, someone in Slovakia would try to limit the political and civil freedoms (freedom of speech, right of assembly etc) and someone else the social securities. What would you personally regard as a threat or possibly a greater threat?

1 such threat would be the effort to limit the political and civil freedoms
2 such threat would be the effort to limit social securities
3 other [SPECIFY!]:
N don’t know

33. Which one of these is more probable nowadays?
1 more probable is the limitation of political and civil freedoms
2 more probable is the limitation of social securities
3 both are equally probable
34. What culture does Slovakia belong to, the eastern (Byzantium, Russia) or the western? There are different opinions, which of the following views are you inclined to?

Culturally and historically Slovakia belongs…

1 certainly to the western culture
2 rather to the western culture
3 equally close to western as well as to the eastern culture
4 rather to the eastern culture
5 certainly to the eastern culture
6 other [SPECIFY!]:
8 I don’t think about such matters at all
9 I have an idea, but can’t choose

35. What culture would you like to see Slovakia be part of in future?

1 certainly to the western culture
2 rather to the western culture
3 equally close to western as well as to the eastern culture
4 rather to the eastern culture
5 certainly to the eastern culture
6 other [SPECIFY!]:
8 I don’t think about such matters at all
9 I have an idea, but can’t choose

36. Recently, there has been a lot of discussion about abortion. We would like to know your view on the abortion law that has been in force in Slovakia since many years. This act is:

1 too stiff, abortion should be easier accessible for women
2 satisfactory, requires no changes
3 too mild, conditions for abortions should be made stricter
N can’t judge

37. From your point of view, the influence of Roman-Catholic Church on the school system in Slovakia should be:

1 stronger than nowadays
2 the same
3 weaker than nowadays
4 none
N don’t know

38. People express their life creeds by statements such as will follow. Please, consider one after another and express your approval or disapproval with them. CARD 8!

A »The complex of the Christian values offers the best guide for our life path «
B »Christian values should be explained more modern than they were explained a few generations ago.«
C »Only a chosen group of people fully devoted to God and repenting will live to see salvation on the Judgment Day.«
D »It is necessary to act severely against all who pose a threat to the white race and only want to sponge off.«
E »Political and civil freedoms are the most important for the society. «
F »The less the direct state interventions influence the market, the more is the society successful. «
The only limit of our freedom should be not to harm others with our actions. «
Social justice requires that as much resources from the rich as possible should be redistributed in favour of the socially weaker ones. «
System that helps the rich to get richer must be eliminated and best with force. «
People should live freely and therefore all state authorities should be eliminated – they only suppress liberty of people. «
The most important thing in life is to be fine and enjoy life. «
The most important thing in life is to have enough money and enjoy the many things that money can buy you. «
The main problem is not money anymore, but moreover ways of self-realization «
Communist regime did crimes and these crimes have to be punished. «
It is necessary to find a trustworthy and fair politician and then do not interfere into his governance anymore. «
Harmful moral of people who emphasize only freedom all the time should be faced with time-proven traditional Christian values. «
Economic growth that would threaten the environment should be refused. «
Women should have more significant representation in politics and public life than they have nowadays. «

Possible answers:
1 strongly agree
2 rather agree
3 rather disagree
4 strongly disagree
8 don’t understand the statement
9 I understand the statement, but can’t choose

39. There are five bank holidays in Slovakia. Which of these appeal to you personally most of all? Choose two that you consider the most important and you mostly approve of! CARD 9!

1 Day of the Establishment of the Slovak Republic (1. January)
2 Holiday of St. Cyril and Methodius (5. July)
3 Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising (29. August)
4 Day of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic (1. September)
5 Day of the Fight for Liberty and Democracy (17. November)
8 none of them
9 can’t choose

40. There are also other accepted commemorative days. Which of the following appeal to you most of all? Choose no more that three you consider as the most important and you approve of mostly. CARD 10!

1 Labour Day
2 Day of Victory over Fascism
3 Our Lady of Sorrows
4 All Saints Day
5 Anniversary of the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Slovak Republic
6 Matica Slovenská Day
7 Day of the Holocaust Victims and Racial Violence
8 Day of the Černov Tragedy
10 Day of the Establishment of an Independent Czechoslovak State
11 Anniversary of L. Štúr’s Birth
12 Reformation Day
88 none of them
99 can’t choose

41. Everything around us can represent a certain symbol as well. Please, choose from the following list no more than three options that you mostly appreciate as the strongest and the most valuable symbols! CARD 11!
1 Devin
2 Slavin
3 Gabcikovo
4 Krivan
5 The Vah river
6 Slovak National Uprising Monument in Banskej Bystrici
7 Matica slovenská
8 Csemadok
10 Maria Valery Bridge in Štúrovo
11 memorials of St. Cyril and Methodius
12 middle of the Europe on Krahule
13 Tatras
14 sovereignty balefires
15 Tiso plague in Banovce
16 so called candle demonstration
17 Janosik Room in Terchova
18 Danube
19 Lion Statue with Czechoslovak emblem in Bratislava
20 Turul
21 S.Petofy monuments
22 memorials for the killed in August 1968
23 former monument of Maria Thereza
24 hammer and sickle
25 Christian cross
26 Štefánik Memorial in Bradlo
27 Slovak double cross
88 none of them
99 can’t choose

42a. How do you personally judge Germans, Ukrainians, Poles, Austrians, Czechs, Hungarians and Slovaks?

Are you or are you not familiar with them? CARD 12!

A Germans
B Ukrainians
C Poles
D Austrians
E Czechs
F Hungarians
G Slovaks

Possible answers:
1 very familiar
2 rather familiar
3 half and half
4 rather unfamiliar
5 very unfamiliar
N cannot judge

42b. Do you consider them interesting or uninteresting? CARD 13!
A Germans
B Ukrainians
C Poles
D Austrians
E Czechs
F Hungarians
G Slovaks

Possible answers:
1 very interesting
2 rather interesting
3 half and half
4 rather uninteresting
5 very uninteresting
N can’t judge

42c. Do you consider them trustworthy or untrustworthy? CARD 14!
A Germans
B Ukrainians
C Poles
D Austrians
E Czechs
F Hungarians
G Slovaks

Possible answers:
1 very trustworthy
2 rather trustworthy
3 equally trustworthy and untrustworthy
4 rather untrustworthy
5 very untrustworthy
N can’t judge

43. What is your relationship to Slovaks (in Hungarian questionnaire “to Hungarians”) living permanently abroad? CARD 15!
A to Slovaks (to Hungarians) in Czech Republic
B to Slovaks (to Hungarians) in Hungary
C to Slovaks (to Hungarians) in Rumania
D to Slovaks (to Hungarians) in USA

Possible answers:
1 I feel a very strong bond
2 I feel a certain bond
3 I don’t feel any bond
N don’t know

44. What do you think; is the share of good and decent people among the poor the same or different as
among the rich?

1 this share is same in both groups
2 this share is bigger among the rich
3 this share is bigger among the poor
N don`t know

45. Which of the following possibilities that would happen in Slovakia, would make you angry most of all? Please, choose the most serious reason for your anger, then second and third most serious! CARD 16!

1 the strengthening of the influence of the Catholic Church on the state
2 to keep the existing abortion decision-making without its toughening
3 further development of differencies between the rich and the poor
4 higher taxation of people with a high income than of those with a lower income
5 persisting of barriers that the current society places on women
6 increase of the minority language use as an official language in a greater number of villages/towns
7 the introduction of university education paid in full
8 the limitation of competencies of the Slovak Republic and other smaller EU countries as a result of EU centralization
10 annulment of the so called Benes decrees
11 not annulment of the so called Benes decrees
12 leave your region without the help from the state or from the European Union
13 substantial help of the state to the Romanies
14 refusal of the state to help the Romanies
88 none of these
99 can`t choose

46. In the following year, Slovakia will become a member of the European Union. How do you evaluate the following statements? CARD 17!

A »In general, the EU entry will be economically beneficial for the citizens of Slovakia «
B »The EU entry will mostly be a menace to Slovak companies «
C »The EU entry will be beneficial for the Slovak nation«
D »The EU entry will be beneficial for the position of the Hungarian minority «
E »The EU entry will be rational – local intelligentsia and clergy has been traditionally focused mostly on the West «
F »The EU entry will strengthen local democratic relations under the influence of European establishments «
G » The EU entry will weaken local democratic relations, because many issues will be decided elsewhere«
H » The EU entry will weaken existing social aspects exercized in our society «

Possible answers:

1 strongly agree
2 rather agree
3 rather disagree
4 strongly disagree
N don`t know

47. How will you personally feel as a citizen of the European Union in comparison to the citizens of those countries that already have been members of the EU for a longer period of time?
1 equal
2 equal, although a bit poorer
3 as a citizen of an inferior category
4 other [FILL IN!]
N don´t know

48. What do you think will be the reaction of citizens of the current EU member countries to the enlargement on new countries and their citizens?

1 the majority will welcome it
2 the majority will be indifferent to it
3 the majority will be disquieted
N don´t know

49. In the following decades, more and more foreigners will come to Slovakia to search for work and a new home. Do you think it will be more positive or negative for Slovakia? What will predominate?

1 noticeably positive
2 slightly positive
3 slightly negative
4 noticeably negative
N don´t know

50. Do you often travel abroad (apart from shopping trips)?

1 yes, often (more times a year)
2 yes, sometimes (1-2 times a year)
3 yes, but only sporadically
4 never
N don´t know

51. We have formulated several couples of opinions. Which of the two mentioned statements appeal more to you? CARD 18!

First pair:
A »A man should live in a country where he finds the best conditions. «
B »A man should live in a country where he was born and it is his homeland. «

Second pair:
A »I truly feel at home only in this country. «
B »I feel at home also anywhere in the world. «

Third pair:
A »State should by means of high tariffs on foreign products protect the producers of its own country.«
B »Foreign products should be received by our consumers with as little obstacles as possible.«

Fourth pair:
A »Slovak Republic is a state of the Slovak nation and therefore Slovaks should have the decisive status.«
B »Slovak Republic is a state of all citizens who live here and therefore has to guarantee the same rights to all people without reference to their nationality. «
Fifth pair:
A »We shall not forget the darker sides of the communist period. «
B »There is a lot of pointless discussion about the negative aspects of the communist period. «

Possible answers:
1 strongly agree with the statement »A«
2 partially agree with the statement »A«
3 centre
4 partially agree with the statement »B«
5 strongly agree with the statement »B«
N don’t know

52. How old are you?

53. What is a level of education you have obtained?
1 elementary
2 vocational or secondary without graduating
3 secondary with graduating
4 university education

54. What is your nationality?
1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Ruthenian
4 Ukrainian
5 Romany
6 Czech
7 other

55. What is your current socio-economic situation? Are you: CARD 19!
1 assisting manual worker
2 qualified manual worker
3 executive skilled worker
4 creative skilled worker
5 director, deputy, politician…
6 economically active freelancer
7 pensioner without work
8 student
10 at home or on maternity leave
11 unemployed
12 other [FILL IN!]:

56. What is your relationship to religion, faith?
1 I am a deeply religious person
2 I am believer
3 undecided
4 I am not believer
5 I am atheist
N don’t know

57. Which church do you belong to?
1 Roman-Catholic
2 Greek-Catholic
3 Orthodox
4 Lutherans.
5 Calvinistic
6 other
7 none
N don´t know

ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO BELONG TO SOME CHURCH (ANSWER 1 TO 6 OF THE PREVIOUS QUESTION)!

58. Do you or do you not trust your church?
1 certainly trust
2 rather trust
3 rather do not trust
4 certainly do not trust
N don´t know

ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT BELONG TO ANY CHURCH (ANSWER 7 OR »N« OF QUESTION NO. 56)

59. Do you or do you not trust the church?
1 certainly trust
2 rather trust
3 rather do not trust
4 certainly do not trust
N don´t know

60. Our society comprises different groups or social classes. What social class would you rank yourself and your family to?
1 upper class
2 upper middle class
3 middle class
4 lower middle class
5 lower class
N don´t know

61. If the parliamentary elections were held this weekend, which party would you vote? CARD 20!
1 Alliance of the New Citizen
2 Democratic Party
3 Democratic Movement
4 Communist Party of Slovakia
5 Christian Democratic Movement
6 Left Bloc
7 People´s Party – Movement for a Democratic Slovakia
8 People´s Union
10 Slovak Democratic Christian Union
11 Slovak National Party
12 Smer -Direction
13 Social Democratic Alternative
14 Party of the Democratic Left
15 Party of the Hungarian Coalition
16 Slovak Green Party
17 other [Which]?:
   N I don`t know, I am undecided
   0 I would not vote

62. Do you at least sometimes use the following technical instruments? CARD 21!

A mobile phone
B personal computer (PC)
C internet
D bank card

Possible answers:
1 yes, routinely
2 yes, sometimes
3 yes, but very rarely
4 no, I don`t use them
N don`t know

63. Imagine that from all television channels that you watch, you could keep the reception solely of one of them. Which one would you choose? ONLY ONE ANSWER IS POSSIBLE!

1 STV 1
2 STV 2
3 TV Markíza
4 TV Joj
5 TA3
6 Hungarian TV
7 TV Nova
8 ČT 1
10 ČT 2
11 polish TV
12 other [FILL IN!]:
88 I don`t watch TV at all
99 can`t decide

64. District:

1 Bratislava
2 Trnava
3 Trenčín
4 Nitria
5 Žilina
6 Banská Bystrica
7 Prešov
8 Košice

65. Population of village/town:

1 up to 2 000 inhabitants
2 from 2 to 5 000 inhabitants
3 from 5 to 10 000 inhabitants
4 from 10 to 20 000 inhabitants
5 from 20 to 50 000 inhabitants
6 from 50 to 100 000 inhabitants
7 Bratislava, Košice

66. What is the distance between your village/town and the district town?

1 0 km – we live in the district town
2 from 1 to 5 km
3 from 6 to 10 km
4 from 11 to 20 km
5 from 21 to 30 km
6 more than 30 km
N don’t know

67. How many direct connections of public transport (bus, train) are there from your village/town to the district town on workdays?

0 unsuitable question – I live in the district town
1 none
2 1 to 2 connections of public transport
3 3 to 5 connections of public transport
4 6 to 8 connections of public transport
5 9 to 12 connections of public transport
6 more than 12 connections of public transport
N don’t know

68. Does your district lie on the border? IT IS POSSIBLE TO GIVE TWO ANSWERS!
1 borders on Poland
2 borders on Ukraine
3 borders on Hungary
4 borders on Austria
5 borders on Czech Republic
6 doesn’t border on any country

69. Sex:
1 male
2 female