

German Longitudinal  
Election Study



## GLES 2009 Langfrist-Panel 2002-2005-2009 ZA5320, Version 2.0.0

*Documentation of Questionnaire  
(wave 2005, east pre-election)*



GESIS-Study Materials 2012

GLES 2009

Langfrist-Panel 2002-2005-2009

ZA5320, Version 2.0.0

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**Variable: F5 [d10b] Item: General economic situation old federal states, current****Question:**

How would you generally rate the current economic situation in the old federal states? Very good, good, partly good/partly bad, bad, or very bad?

- very good
- good
- partly good/partly bad
- bad
- very bad

**Coding:**

- (1) very good
- (2) good
- (3) partly good/partly bad
- (4) bad
- (5) very bad

**Variable: F6 [d20b] Item: General economic situation old federal states, one year ago****Question:**

How has the general economic situation in the old federal states developed in the last one to two years?  
The general economic situation has.....?

- improved a lot
- improved a bit
- stayed the same
- got a bit worse
- got a lot worse

**Coding:**

- (1) improved a lot
- (2) improved a bit
- (3) stayed the same
- (4) got a bit worse
- (5) got a lot worse

**Variable: F7 [d21b] Item: Responsibility economic situation old federal states****Question:**

In your opinion: How strongly have the policies of the federal government affected the way the general economic situation has changed?

- very strongly
- fairly strong
- moderately
- not very strongly
- not at all

**Coding:**

- (1) very strongly
- (2) fairly strongly
- (3) moderately
- (4) not very strongly
- (5) not at all

**Variable: F8 [d30b] Item: General economic situation old federal states in one year's time****Question:**

What do you think the general economic situation in the old federal states will be like in a year's time?

- much better
- somewhat better

- unchanged
- somewhat worse
- much worse

**Coding:**

- (1) much better
- (2) somewhat better
- (3) unchanged
- (4) somewhat worse
- (5) much worse

<b>Variable: F9 [d31]</b>	<b>Item: Importance first/second vote</b>
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**Question:**

You have two votes in the federal election, a first vote and a second vote.

Which one is more important, thus determining how strongly the party is represented in the Bundestag? Is it the first vote, the second vote or are both votes equally important?

- the first vote
- the second vote
- both votes are equally important

**Coding:**

- (1) the first vote
- (2) the second vote
- (3) both votes are equally important

<b>Variable: F10 [d40]</b>	<b>Item: Satisfaction with democracy</b>
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**Question:**

On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with democracy in Germany? Are you ... ?

- very satisfied
- fairly satisfied
- neither/nor
- fairly dissatisfied
- very dissatisfied

**Coding:**

- (1) very satisfied
- (2) fairly satisfied
- (3) neither/nor
- (4) fairly dissatisfied
- (5) very dissatisfied

<b>Variable: F11 [d50]</b>	<b>Item: Interest in politics</b>
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**Question:**

In general terms: How interested in politics are you?

- extremely interested
- very interested
- moderately interested
- slightly interested
- not interested at all

**Coding:**

- (1) extremely interested
- (2) very interested
- (3) moderately interested
- (4) slightly interested
- (5) not interested at all

**Variable: F12 [d69]****Item: First vote****Question:**

Now I would like to ask you some questions regarding the next federal election which will take place on September 18<sup>th</sup>: The first vote is for a candidate from your constituency and the second for a party.

Assuming you voted at all, the constituency candidate of which party would you give your first vote to?

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) SPD
- (3) FDP
- (4) Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- (5) Die Linkspartei.PDS
- (6) DVU
- (7) NPD
- (8) Republikaner
- (9) candidate of another party
- (97) refusing to vote

**Variable: F13 [d70]****Item: Second vote**

*INT: List Vw\_110 is still present.*

**Question:**

With the second vote you vote for a party. Assuming you voted at all, Assuming you voted at all, which party would you give your second vote to?

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) SPD
- (3) FDP
- (4) Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- (5) Die Linkspartei.PDS
- (6) DVU
- (7) NPD
- (8) Republikaner
- (9) other party
- (97) refusing to vote

**Variable: F15 [d80] Item: Certainty of voting decision****Question:**

How certain are you about the voting decision you just told me? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, fairly uncertain or absolutely uncertain?

- absolutely certain
- fairly certain
- fairly uncertain
- absolutely uncertain

**Coding:**

- (1) absolutely certain
- (2) fairly certain
- (3) fairly uncertain
- (4) absolutely uncertain
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

**Variable: F16 [d81] Item: Reasons for voting decision****Question:**

Why would you vote for this party? Please state your most important reasons.

1<sup>st</sup> answer: \_\_\_\_ [d81a]  
 2<sup>nd</sup> answer: \_\_\_\_ [d81b]  
 3<sup>rd</sup> answer: \_\_\_\_ [d81c]  
 4<sup>th</sup> answer: \_\_\_\_ [d81d]

*INT.: Note most important reasons.*

**Coding:**

Coding by institute

<b>Variable: F17 [d60]</b>	<b>Item: Intention to vote</b>
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**Question:**

Let's talk about the forthcoming federal election. Please say how likely it is that you will vote in this election: Will you certainly vote, probably vote, maybe vote, probably not vote or will you certainly not vote?

- I will certainly vote
- I will probably vote
- I will maybe vote
- I will probably not vote
- I will certainly not vote

**Coding:**

- (1) certainly vote
- (2) probably vote
- (3) maybe vote
- (4) probably not vote
- (5) certainly not vote
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: F18 [d83]</b>	<b>Item: Reasons for decision not to vote</b>
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**Question:**

Why would you probably not take part in the election? Please state your most important reasons.

1<sup>st</sup> answer: \_\_\_\_ [d83a]  
 2<sup>nd</sup> answer: \_\_\_\_ [d83b]

*INT.: Please note answers.*

**Coding:**

Coding by institute

<b>Variable: F19 [d230]</b>	<b>Item: Preferred chancellor</b>
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**Question:**

Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel are the candidates of the two major parties for the position of chancellor. Who would you prefer to see as chancellor after the federal election?

- Gerhard Schröder
- Angela Merkel

**Coding:**

- (1) Gerhard Schröder
- (2) Angela Merkel
- (3) neither of them (*INT: only if mentioned spontaneously*)

<b>Variable: F20 [d84]</b>	<b>Item: Certainty of entry into the Federal Parliament</b>
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**Question:**

Would you consider the entry of the following parties into the Federal Parliament as absolutely certain, rather certain, rather unlikely, unlikely?



- (A) FDP [c84a]  
 (B) Bündnis 90/Die Grünen [c84b]  
 (C) Die Linkspartei.PDS [c84c]

**Coding:**

- (1) absolutely certain  
 (2) rather certain  
 (3) rather unlikely  
 (4) unlikely  
 (8) don't know  
 (9) no answer

<b>Variable: F21 [d121a]</b>	<b>Item: Desirable coalition</b>
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*INT: Multiple answers possible*

**Question:**

Independent from the decision of the parties after the election: Which would be your favorite party/parties to govern Germany in the next 4 years?

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU  
 (2) SPD  
 (3) FDP  
 (4) Bündnis 90/Die Grünen  
 (5) Die Linkspartei.PDS  
 (8) don't know  
 (9) no answer

<b>Variable: F22 [d121b]</b>	<b>Item: Second desirable coalition</b>
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*INT: Multiple answers possible*

**Question:**

And which party/parties would be your second choice for the government in Berlin?

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU  
 (2) SPD  
 (3) FDP  
 (4) Bündnis 90/Die Grünen  
 (5) Die Linkspartei.PDS  
 (8) don't know  
 (9) no answer

<b>Variable: F23 [d90]</b>	<b>Item: Own economic situation</b>
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**Question:**

How would you currently rate your own economic situation? Is it very good, good, partly good/partly bad, bad or very bad?

- very good
- good
- partly good/partly bad
- bad
- very bad

**Coding:**

- (1) very good  
 (2) good  
 (3) partly good/partly bad  
 (4) bad  
 (5) very bad

**Variable: F24 [d100]****Item: Own economic situation, one year ago****Question:**

How has your own economic situation developed in the last one to two years? My economic situation has...

- improved a lot
- improved a bit
- stayed the same
- got a bit worse
- got a lot worse

**Coding:**

- (1) improved a lot
- (2) improved a bit
- (3) stayed the same
- (4) got a bit worse
- (5) got a lot worse

**Variable: F25 [d101]****Item: Responsibility own economic situation****Question:**

In your opinion: How strongly have the policies of the federal government affected the way your economic situation has changed? Very strongly, fairly strongly, moderately, not very strongly or not at all?

- very strongly
- fairly strongly
- moderately
- not very strongly
- not at all

**Coding:**

- (1) very strongly
- (2) strongly
- (3) moderately
- (4) not very strongly
- (5) not at all

**Variable: F26 [d110]****Item: Own economic situation in one year's time****Question:**

What do you think? How will your own economic situation be like in a year's time?

- much better
- somewhat better
- unchanged
- somewhat worse
- much worse

**Coding:**

- (1) much better
- (2) somewhat better
- (3) unchanged
- (4) somewhat worse
- (5) much worse

**Variable: F27 [dwprob1]****Item: Most important issues****Question:**

In your opinion, what is the most important political issue Germany is facing?

*INT.: Only one answer*

Entries by institute:

A \_\_\_\_\_ [d140a]

**Coding:**

Coding by institute

<b>Variable: F28 [dwiprob2]</b>	<b>Item: Second most important issue</b>
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**Question:**

In your opinion, what is the second most important political issue Germany is facing?

*INT.: Only one answer*

Entries by institute:

B \_\_\_\_\_ [d140b]

**Coding:**

Coding by institute

<b>Variable: F29 [d150]</b>	<b>Item: Ability to solve the most important issue</b>
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**Question:**

Which party do you think is best able to solve the most important problem?

- CDU/CSU
- SPD
- FDP
- Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- DVU, NPD, Republikaner
- Die Linkspartei.PDS
- other party
- all parties are equally good
- no party

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) SPD
- (3) FDP
- (4) Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- (5) DVU, NPD, Republikaner
- (6) Die Linkspartei.PDS
- (7) other party
- (8) all parties are equally good
- (9) no party

<b>Variable: F30 [d160]</b>	<b>Item: Ability to solve the second most important issue</b>
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**Question:**

Which party do you think is best able to solve this problem?

- CDU/CSU
- SPD
- FDP
- Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- DVU, NPD, Republikaner
- Die Linkspartei.PDS
- other party
- all parties are equally good
- no party

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) SPD

- (3) FDP  
 (4) Bündnis90/Die Grünen  
 (5) DVU, NPD, Republikaner  
 (6) Die Linkspartei.PDS  
 (7) other party  
 (8) all parties are equally good  
 (9) no party

<b>Variable: F31 [d130]</b>	<b>Item: Responsivity</b>
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**Question:**

Let us now talk about opinions on parties in Germany. Please tell me, if you strongly agree, rather agree, neither agree nor disagree, rather disagree or strongly disagree to the following statements.

	strongly disagree -2	rather disagree -1	neither agree nor disagree 0	rather agree +1	strongly agree +2
A)	The political parties are only interested in people's votes, not in what voters think. [d130a]				
B)	The parties consider the state to be a self-service store. [d130b]				
C)	Most politicians are trustworthy and honest people. [d130c]				
D)	Today, citizens cannot influence politics without having good relationships to parties. [d130d]				
E)	Even ordinary party members are able to exert influence on their parties. [d130e]				
F)	The parties' only concern is their power. [d130f]				
G)	The parties differ considerably when it comes to their goals, thus providing the citizens with clear alternatives. [d130g]				
H)	The parties take too much influence in the society. [d130h]				
I)	Our country would be governed worse with parties having no professional politicians. [d130i]				
J)	Most parties and politicians are corrupt. [d130k]				

**Coding:**

- (1) strongly disagree  
 (2) rather disagree  
 (3) neither agree nor disagree  
 (4) rather agree  
 (5) strongly agree

<b>Variable: F32 [d171]</b>	<b>Item: The parties' position: Nuclear power</b>
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INT.: Show list Vw280.

**Question:**

We would now like to talk about contrary opinions on political tasks. What do you think are the positions of the political parties on these issues? If you are unable to answer a question, please let me know.

Let us first turn to the issue of nuclear power. "1" means that more nuclear power stations should be built, whereas "7" means that all nuclear power stations should be closed down immediately. Should more nuclear power stations be built or should all nuclear power stations be closed down immediately? You might use the numbers in between to express your opinion more precisely.

more nuclear power stations should be built						immediate shutdown of all nuclear power stations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

In your opinion, what are the positions of the political parties on this issue?

- A) CDU/CSU [d171a]  
 B) SPD? [d171b]  
 C) FDP? [d171c]  
 D) B90/Die Grünen? [d171d]  
 E) Linkspartei.PDS? [d171f]

**Coding:**

- (1) More nuclear power stations should be built  
 (2) 2  
 (3) 3  
 (4) 4  
 (5) 5  
 (6) 6  
 (7) Immediate shutdown of all nuclear power stations

**Variable: F33 [d173]****Item: The parties' position: European unification****Question:**

The second issue is the European unification. "1" means, that the European unification should be promoted in order to establish a joint government and "7" means, that European unification already goes much too far. You might use the numbers in between to express your opinion more precisely.

promote Euro- pean unifica- tion in order to establish a joint govern- ment							Euro- pean unifica- tion already goes much too far
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

In your opinion, what are the positions of the political parties on this issue?

- A) CDU/CSU [d173a]  
 B) SPD [d173b]  
 C) FDP [d173c]  
 D) B90/Die Grünen [d173d]  
 E) Linkspartei.PDS [d173e]

**Coding:**

- (1) promote European unification in order to establish a joint government  
 (2) 2  
 (3) 3  
 (4) 4  
 (5) 5  
 (6) 6  
 (7) European unification already goes much too far

**Variable: F34 [d174]****Item: Own position****Question:**

And what is your personal opinion on these issues?

- A) What is your personal opinion on the issue of nuclear power? [d174a]  
 more  
nuclear  
power  
stations  
should be  
built  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
immediate  
shutdown of  
all nuclear  
power stations
- C) What is your personal opinion on European unification? [d174c]  
 promote  
Euro-  
pean  
unifica-  
tion  
Euro-  
pean  
unifica-

unifica- tion in order to establish a joint govern- ment							tion already goes much too far
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

**Coding:**

(1) more nuclear power stations should be built/promote European unification in order to establish a joint government

(2) 2

(3) 3

(4) 4

(5) 5

(6) 6

(7) immediate shutdown of all nuclear power stations/ European unification already goes much too far

<b>Variable: F35 [d175]</b>	<b>Item: Problem solving, importance</b>
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**Question:**

How important is the solving of these issues to you personally? Please give your answers in accordance with this list ranging from "very important" to "completely unimportant".

very important	important	neither/nor	fairly unimportant	completely unimportant
1	2	3	4	5

A) nuclear power [d175a]

C) European unification [d175c]

**Coding:**

(1) very important

(2) fairly important

(3) neither/nor

(4) fairly unimportant

(5) completely unimportant

<b>Variable: F36 [d200]</b>	<b>Item: Scalometer parties</b>
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**Question:**

Now I would like to ask you about your opinions towards parties and candidates.

How do you feel about the political parties in general? Please give your answer in accordance with this scale. "+5" means that you have a very positive view of this party, "-5" means that you have a very negative view of this party. You might use the numbers in between to express your opinion more precisely.

*INT.: Read items*

I have a very negat ive view of this party											I have a very positi ve view of this party
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	

A) What do you think of the CDU? [d200a]

B) CSU? [d200b]

- C) SPD? [d200c]  
 D) FDP? [d200d]  
 E) Bündnis90/Die Grünen? [d200e]  
 F) Linkspartei.PDS? [d200g]  
 G) NPD, DVU and Republikaner [d200k]

**Coding:**

- (1) +5 I have a very positive view of this party  
 (2) +4  
 (3) +3  
 (4) +2  
 (5) +1  
 (6) 0  
 (7) -1  
 (8) -2  
 (9) -3  
 (10) -4  
 (11) -5 I have a very negative view of this party

<b>Variable: F37 [d231]</b>	<b>Item: Scalometer chancellor candidates</b>
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**Question:**

Generally speaking, what do you think of Gerhard Schröder or Angela Merkel? Please use the following scale. "+5" means that you have a very positive view of this politician, whereas "-5" means that you have a very negative view of this politician. You might use the numbers in between to express your opinion more precisely.

I have a very negat ive view of this politi cian	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	I have a very positi ve view of this politi cian

- A) What do you think of Gerhard Schröder? [e231s]  
 B) And what do you think of Angela Merkel? [e231m]

**Coding**

- (1) +5 I have a very positive view of this politician  
 (2) +4  
 (3) +3  
 (4) +2  
 (5) +1  
 (6) 0  
 (7) -1  
 (8) -2  
 (9) -3  
 (10) -4  
 (11) -5 I have a very negative view of this politician

<b>Variable: F38 [d282]</b>	<b>Item: Satisfaction with performance of federal government/opposition</b>
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**Question:**

Please use the scale ranging from "+5" to "-5" to rate your satisfaction with the performance of the government and opposition in Berlin. "+5" means that you are completely satisfied with the performance of the government and the opposition in Berlin, "-5" means that you are completely dissatisfied with the performance of the government and the opposition in Berlin. You might use the numbers in between to express your opinion more precisely. How satisfied are you with the performance of...?

comp  
letely

comp  
letely

dissat											satisfi
isfied											ed
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4		+5

A) the federal government, SPD and B90/Grüne [d282a]

B) the opposition, CDU/CSU and FDP [d282b]

**Coding:**

(1) -5 completely dissatisfied

(2) -4

(3) -3

(4) -2

(5) -1

(6) 0

(7) +1

(8) +2

(9) +3

(10) +4

(11) +5 completely satisfied

**Variable: F39 [d284]****Item: Left-right assessment parties****Question:**

Parties are often assessed as being "left" or "right". Please tell me how you assess the following parties by using this scale. Let me now read the parties one by one.

left											right
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		11

A) CDU? [d284a]

B) CSU? [d284b]

C) SPD? [d284c]

D) FDP? [d284d]

E) Bündnis90/Die Grünen? [d284g]

F) Die Linkspartei.PDS [d284h]

G) are were would you assert yourself? [d250]

**Coding:**

(1) left

(2) 2

(3) 3

(4) 4

(5) 5

(6) 6

(7) 7

(8) 8

(9) 9

(10) 10

(11) right

**Variable: F40 [d220]****Item: Confidence in institutions****Question:**

Let's talk about the following public institutions. Please state if you trust these institutions or not by giving the corresponding scale value.

I do not trust	I rather do	neither trust	I rather trust	I fully trust
at all	not trust	nor distrust		
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

What about (the) ...

B) federal Constitutional Court? [d220b]

C) federal government? [d220c]



E) police? [d220e]  
H) parties? [d220h]

**Coding:**

- (1) I do not trust at all
- (2) I rather do not trust
- (3) neither trust nor distrust
- (4) I rather trust
- (5) I fully trust

Variable: F41 [d170]	Item: Efficacy
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**Question:**

Let's talk about opinions on politics and the society in Germany. Please tell me if you strongly agree, rather agree, neither agree nor disagree, rather disagree or strongly disagree to the following statements.

*INT.: Read statements.*

strongly agree	rather agree	neither agree nor disagree	rather disagree	strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

- A) People like me do not have any influence on the government. [d170b]
- B) Socialism is a good idea which has just been poorly implemented in the past. [d350p]
- C) The Members of the Bundestag try to get in close contact with the population. [d170f]
- D) Under certain circumstances a dictatorship is the better form of government. [d350f]
- E) Everybody should have the right to defend his own view even if the majority dissents on that aspect. [d170h]
- F) Politics is such a complex issue that people like me cannot understand what is going on. [d170d]
- G) A democracy will not work without a political opposition. [d170k]
- H) In a democracy it is the duty of all citizens to vote regularly in elections. [d170m]
- A) I am proud to be German. [d350a]

**Coding:**

- (1) strongly agree
- (2) rather agree
- (3) neither agree nor disagree
- (4) rather disagree
- (5) strongly disagree

Variable: F42 [d177]	Item: Responsibility of the state
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**Question:**

Here are some statements on social issues. Please let me know, if the state should be definitely responsible, responsible, not responsible or certainly not responsible for issues like that.

definitely responsible	responsible	not responsible	certainly not responsible
1	2	3	4

To what extent should the state be responsible for...

- A) offering a workplace to everyone willing to work? [d177a]
- B) securing the provision of healthcare for sick people? [d177d]
- C) securing a fair living standard for elderly people? [d177e]
- D) securing a fair living standard for the jobless? [d177f]
- E) reducing the disparity in income between poor and rich? [d177g]

**Coding:**

- (1) definitely responsible
- (2) responsible
- (3) not responsible
- (4) certainly not responsible

Variable: F43 [d240]	Item: Participation
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**Question:**

If you aimed to exercise political influence in an issue of importance to you and express your point of view, which of the following things would you do? Would you do them definitely, likely, possibly, likely not or definitely not?

I would definitely do	I would likely do	I would possibly do	I would likely not do	I would definitely not do
1	2	3	4	5

- A) Contribute to a citizens' initiative. [d240a]  
 B) Participate in a legal demonstration. [d240b]  
 C) Participate in a violent demonstration. [d240c]  
 D) Block the traffic. [d240e]  
 E) Try to get support from a party/politician. [d240f]

**Coding:**

- (1) I would definitely do  
 (2) I would likely do  
 (3) I would possibly do  
 (4) I would likely not do  
 (5) I would definitely not do

<b>Variable: F44 [d232]</b>	<b>Item: Characteristics of chancellor candidates</b>
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**Question:**

Now let's turn to some more precise questions about the candidates for the position of chancellor. Please state to what extent the following characteristics in your opinion describe both candidates definitely true, rather true, neither true nor untrue, rather untrue or not true at all.

definitely true	rather true	neither true nor untrue	rather untrue	not true at all
1	2	3	4	5

- 1) Gerhard Schröder has sensible ideas about how to boost the economy. [d232as]  
 2) Angela Merkel has sensible ideas about how to boost the economy. [d232am]  
 3) Gerhard Schröder is a likable person. [d232bs]  
 4) Angela Merkel is a likeable person. [d232bm]  
 5) Gerhard Schröder is politically trustworthy. [d232cs]  
 6) Angela Merkel is politically trustworthy. [d232cm]  
 7) Gerhard Schröder is an energetic person. [d232ds]  
 8) Angela Merkel is an energetic person. [d232dm]

**Coding:**

- (1) definitely true  
 (2) rather true  
 (3) neither true nor untrue  
 (4) rather untrue  
 (5) not true at all

<b>Variable: F45 [d181]</b>	<b>Item: Number of federal states</b>
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**Question:**

How many federal states Germany has today, counting old and new federal states together?

**Coding:**

- Coding by Institute  
 (98) don't know  
 (99) no answer

<b>Variable: F46 [d310]</b>	<b>Item: Fairness social order</b>
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**Question:**

Please now think of the state of the society in Germany. How fair or unfair are the current conditions all in all?

- quite fair
- quite unfair

**Coding:**

- (1) quite fair
- (2) quite unfair

**Variable: F47 [d320]****Item: Fairness population group****Question:**

Regardless of how fair a society is, as a matter of fact there are always some people or population groups who are privileged and some who are disadvantaged. In your opinion, to which group do you belong?

I belong to a population group which is...

- ...rather disadvantaged.
- ...neither disadvantaged nor privileged.
- ...rather privileged.

**Coding:**

- (1) ...rather disadvantaged.
- (2) ...neither disadvantaged nor privileged.
- (3) ...rather privileged.

**Variable: F51 [d123]****Item: Attention to the election campaign****Question:**

Now we would like to come back to the federal election 2005: How closely do you follow the election campaign?

- very closely
- fairly close
- moderately
- not very closely
- not at all

**Coding:**

- (1) very closely
- (2) fairly close
- (3) moderately
- (4) not very closely
- (5) not at all

**Variable: F48 [d301]****Item: TV-debate****Question:**

Did you see the TV-debate between Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel at the 4<sup>th</sup> of September? Did you see the entire debate, see the debate partly or didn't you see the debate?

**Coding:**

- (1) yes, the entire debate
- (2) yes, seen the debate, but only partly
- (3) no

**Variable: F49 [d302a]**  
Performance**Item: Televised debate: Perception of Schröder's****Question:**

Your opinion: How did Gerhard Schröder perform during the debate? Very well, well, partly neither well nor poorly, poorly, very poorly?

**Coding:**

- (1) very well

- (2) well
- (3) neither well nor poorly
- (4) poorly
- (5) very poorly

**Variable:** F50 [d302b]

**Item:** Televised debate: Perception of Merkel's Performance

**Question:**

Your opinion: How did Angela Merkel perform during the debate? Very well, well, partly neither well nor poorly, poorly, very poorly?

**Coding:**

- (1) very well
- (2) well
- (3) neither well nor poorly
- (4) poorly
- (5) very poorly

**Variable:** F52 [d286a]

**Item:** Use of media: News casts on ARD or ZDF

**Question:**

How often do you watch news casts on the first or second channel? What is meant here are the news casts of ARD or ZDF, namely Tagesschau, Tagesthemen, Heute and Heute-Journal.

On how many days of the week on average do you watch these news casts?

**Coding:**

- (0) not at all
- (1) 1 time
- (2) 2 times
- (3) 3 times
- (4) 4 times
- (5) 5 times
- (6) 6 times
- (7) daily

**Variable:** F53 [d286b]

**Item:** Use of media: News casts of private news stations

**Question:**

And what about the news casts of the private news stations, e.g. SAT 1-Nachrichten or RTL-Aktuell?

On how many days of the week on average do you watch these news casts?

**Coding:**

- (0) not at all
- (1) 1 time
- (2) 2 times
- (3) 3 times
- (4) 4 times
- (5) 5 times
- (6) 6 times
- (7) daily

**Variable:** F54 [d285a]

**Item:** Use of media: political section of BILD

**Question:**

Here on this list you can see different newspapers.

On how many days of the week on average do you read reports on political events in Germany in BILD?

**Coding:**

- (0) not at all
- (1) 1 time

- (2) 2 times
- (3) 3 times
- (4) 4 times
- (5) 5 times
- (6) 6 times
- (7) daily

<b>Variable: F55 [d285c]</b>	<b>Item: Use of media: political section of local or regional newspaper</b>
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**Question:**

On how many days of the week on average do you read reports on political events in Germany in a local or regional newspaper?

**Coding:**

- (0) not at all
- (1) 1 time
- (2) 2 times
- (3) 3 times
- (4) 4 times
- (5) 5 times
- (6) 6 times
- (7) daily

<b>Variable: F56 [d285b]</b>	<b>Item: Use of media: political section of national press</b>
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**Question:**

On how many days of the week on average do you read reports on political events in Germany in a national newspaper?

**Coding:**

- (0) not at all
- (1) 1 time
- (2) 2 times
- (3) 3 times
- (4) 4 times
- (5) 5 times
- (6) 6 times

<b>Variable: F57 [d285bb]</b>	<b>Item: Use of media: national press – which newspaper?</b>
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**Question:**

If you are reader of one of the following newspapers: In which of the following newspapers do you often read reports on political events?

- FAZ
- Die Welt
- Süddeutsche Zeitung
- Frankfurter Rundschau
- taz

**Coding:**

- (1) FAZ
- (2) Die Welt
- (3) Süddeutsche Zeitung
- (4) Frankfurter Rundschau
- (5) taz
- (6) others

<b>Variable: F58 [d330]</b>	<b>Item: Recall federal election 2002</b>
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**Question:**

Please think back to the last federal election in September 2002: Which party did you vote for then?

INT: In case of follow-up questions: We are talking about the second vote. Only read list, when participant does not answer spontaneously.

- CDU/CSU
- SPD
- FDP
- Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- PDS
- Republikaner
- DVU
- NPD
- other party

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) SPD
- (3) FDP
- (4) Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- (5) PDS
- (6) Republikaner
- (7) DVU
- (8) NPD
- (9) other party
- (10) I was not eligible to vote
- (11) I did not vote

Variable: S1 [dsex]	Item: Sex
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**Question:**

Respondent is

- male
- female

**Coding:**

- (1) male
- (2) female

Variable: S2 [dmonat, djahr]	Item: Date of birth
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**Question:**

Please tell me your date of birth.

Month:    /\_/\_/    Year: 19/\_/\_/

Variable: S3 [drelig]	Item: Religious denomination
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**Question:**

Which religious denomination or religious community do you belong to or did you belong to? Please answer with the help of this list.

- the Protestant Church
- the Catholic Church
- other religious community
- left the Protestant Church
- left the Catholic Church
- I never belonged to a religious denomination/religious community

**Coding:**

- (1) the Protestant Church
- (2) the Catholic Church
- (3) other religious community
- (4) left the Protestant Church
- (5) left the Catholic Church

(6) never belonged to a religious denomination/religious community

<b>Variable: S4 [dkirchg]</b>	<b>Item: Church attendance</b>
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**Question:**

How often do you usually go to church? Please answer with the help of this list.

- several times a week
- once a week
- not less than once a month
- several times a year
- once a year
- almost never
- never

**Coding:**

- (1) several times a week
- (2) once a week
- (3) not less than once a month
- (4) several times a year
- (5) once a year
- (6) almost never
- (7) never

<b>Variable: S5 [dbildga]</b>	<b>Item: School leaving certificate</b>
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**Question:**

What general school leaving certificate do you have? Please give your answer with the help of this list.

- I am still a school student
- finished school without school leaving certificate
- lowest formal qualification of Germany's tripartite secondary school system, after 8 or 9 years of schooling ("Volks-/Hauptschulabschluss")
- intermediary secondary qualification, after 10 years of schooling ("Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluss, Polytechnische Oberschule mit Abschluss 10. Klasse")
- higher qualification, entitling holders to study at a university or polytechnical college ("Abitur, Erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse, Fachhochschulreife")
- degree from a university, academy, polytechnical college ("abgeschlossenes Studium an Hoch- oder Fachhochschule, Universität, Akademie, Polytechnikum")

**Coding:**

- (1) I am still a student
- (2) finished school without school leaving certificate
- (3) lowest formal qualification, after 8 or 9 years of schooling ("Volks-/Hauptschulabschluss")
- (4) intermediary secondary qualification, after 10 years of schooling ("Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluss, Polytechnische Oberschule mit Abschluss 10. Klasse")
- (5) higher qualification, entitling holders to study at a university or polytechnical college ("Abitur, Erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse, Fachhochschulreife")
- (6) degree from a university, academy, polytechnical college ("Abgeschlossenes Studium an Hoch- oder Fachhochschule, Universität, Akademie, Polytechnikum")
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S6 [dbildgb]</b>	<b>Item: Envisaged school leaving certificate</b>
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**Question:**

What general school leaving certificate are you aiming for?

- lowest format qualification in Germany's tripartite school system ("Hauptschulabschluss")
- intermediary secondary qualification after 10 years of schooling ("Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluss, Polytechnische Oberschule mit Abschluss 10. Klasse")
- certificate fulfilling entrance requirements to study at a polytechnical college/higher qualification entitling holders to study at a university ("Erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse, Fachhochschulreife, Abitur")
- other school leaving certificate

**Coding:**

- (3) lowest formal qualification in Germany's tripartite school system ("Volks-/Hauptschulabschluss")
- (4) intermediary secondary qualification after 10 years of schooling ("Mittlere Reife")
- (5) certificate fulfilling entrance requirements to study at a polytechnical college/higher qualification entitling holders to study at a university ("Erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse, Fachhochschulreife, Abitur")
- (7) other school leaving certificate
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S7 [dberuftg]</b>	<b>Item: Gainful employment</b>
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**Question:**

Are you currently gainfully employed on a full-time or part-time basis? Which of the categories from this list applies to you?

- in full-time employment
- in part-time employment
- in a traineeship or apprenticeship
- working on an hourly basis
- currently unemployed
- currently on short-time working, zero work
- currently on a retraining course, i.e. a course financed by the employment office
- on maternity leave, parental leave
- housewife/househusband (not in full or part-time employment)
- in early retirement, retirement, on a pension
- doing military/alternative community service
- school student
- studying at a polytechnic or university

**Coding:**

- (1) in full-time employment
- (2) in part-time employment
- (3) in a traineeship or apprenticeship
- (4) working on an hourly basis
- (5) currently unemployed
- (6) currently on short-time working, zero work
- (7) currently on a retraining course, i.e. a course financed by the employment office
- (8) on maternity leave, parental leave
- (9) housewife/househusband (not in full or part-time employment)
- (10) in early retirement, retirement, on a pension
- (11) doing military/alternative community service
- (12) school student
- (13) studying at a polytechnic or university
- (99) no answer

<b>Variable: S8 [dwechs1]</b>	<b>Item: Changes in professional life since 2002</b>
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*INT: Multiple answers possible.*

**Question:**

Did you had to change your job involuntarily, did you become (temporarily) unemployed or did you retire from work since 2002?

**Coding:**

- (1) changed job involuntarily
- (2) became unemployed
- (3) retired from work
- (4) nothing of it
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S9 [dberuf]</b>	<b>Item: Profession</b>
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**Question:**

Now please have a look at this list. Which of the categories from this list applies to you or – unless you are not working any more, applied to you?

Self-employed person

- self-employed person running small business (e.g. retailer or craftsman with small shop)
- self-employed person running medium-sized business (e.g. retailer or craftsman with medium-sized to bigger shops)
- self-employed person running large business (e.g. factory owner)

Employee (also in agricultural production communities and producer's cooperatives)

- employee carrying out simple administrative duties (e.g. carrier)
- employee carrying out medium level administrative duties (e.g. secretary)
- skilled employee (e.g. accountant)
- chief executive (e.g. head of department, authorized officer, director)

Civil servant

- lower grade of the civil service (up to assistant)
- middle grade of the civil service (up to principal secretary ("Hauptsekretär"))
- upper grade of the civil service (up to senior administrative officer ("Amtsrat"))
- higher grade of the civil service (as of senior civil servant ("Regierungsrat"))

Worker (also farm worker / worker in agricultural production communities and producer's cooperatives)

- unskilled worker
- semi-skilled worker
- skilled worker
- highly qualified worker

Independent farmer

- small farm (less than 5 hectares / 20 acres)
- medium-sized farm (5 ha/20 acres to less than 20 hectares/80 acres)
- large farm (20 hectares/80 acres and more)

Other

- freelancer, also freelance artists
- in vocational training, studying

**Coding:**

- (1) self-employed person running small business (e.g. retailer or craftsman with small shop)
- (2) self-employed person running medium-sized business (e.g. retailer or craftsman with medium-sized to bigger shops)
- (3) self-employed person running large business (e.g. factory owner)
- (4) employee carrying out simple administrative duties (e.g. carrier)
- (5) employee carrying out medium level administrative duties (e.g. secretary)
- (6) skilled employee (e.g. accountant)
- (7) chief executive (e.g. head of department, authorized officer, director)
- (8) lower grade of the civil service (up to assistant)
- (9) middle grade of the civil service (up to principal secretary ("Hauptsekretär"))
- (10) upper grade of the civil service (up to senior administrative officer ("Amtsrat"))
- (11) higher grade of the civil service (as of senior civil servant ("Regierungsrat"))
- (12) unskilled worker
- (13) semi-skilled worker
- (14) skilled worker
- (15) highly qualified worker
- (16) small farm (less than 5 hectares / 20 acres)
- (17) medium-sized farm (5 ha/20 Morgen to less than 20 hectares/80 acres)
- (18) large farm (20 hectares/80 acres and more)
- (19) freelancer, also freelance artists
- (20) in vocational training, studying

**Variable: S10 [dfamstdn]****Item: Marital status****Question:**

Would you please state your marital status? Please name the corresponding number only.

- married
- married but living separated
- divorced
- widowed
- single

**Coding:**

- (1) married
- (2) married but living separated
- (3) divorced
- (4) widowed
- (5) single

<b>Variable: S11 [dpartner]</b>	<b>Item: Partner</b>
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**Question:**

Do you live with a partner?

- yes
- no

**Coding:**

- (1) yes
- (2) no
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S12 [dpwechs1]</b>	<b>Item: Changes in professional life of partner since 2002</b>
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*INT: Multiple answers possible*

**Question:**

If you have a husband or wife: Did your partner had to change his/her job involuntarily, did he/she become (temporarily) unemployed or did he/she retire from work since 2002?

**Coding:**

- (1) changed job involuntarily
- (2) became unemployed
- (3) retired from work
- (4) nothing of it
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S13 [dinitmg, dpartmg, dberufmg, dgewermg]</b>	<b>Item: Memberships</b>
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**Question:**

Are you personally a member of a citizen's initiative, a party, a professional association or a trade union? If so, do you hold an office in the organisation?

*INT.: Read items*

no, I am not a member	I am a member but I don't hold an office	I am a member and hold an office	no answer
1	2	3	9

- A) citizen's initiative [dinitmg]
- B) party [dpartmg]
- C) professional association [dberufmg]
- D) trade union [dgewermg]

**Coding:**

- (1) no, I am not a member
- (2) I am a member but I don't hold an office
- (3) I am a member and hold an office
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S14 [dpid]</b>	<b>Item: Party identification</b>
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**Question:**

Many people in Germany feel close to a particular political party for a longer period of time even if they occa-

sionally vote for another party. What about you? In general terms, do you feel attached to a particular political party? And if so, which one?

- CDU
- CSU
- SPD
- FDP
- Bündnis90 / Die Grünen
- Die Linke
- other party
- no, I am not attached to a particular party

**Coding:**

- (1) CDU
- (2) CSU
- (3) SPD
- (4) FDP
- (5) Bündnis90 / Die Grünen
- (6) Die Linkspartei.PDS
- (7) DVU
- (8) NPD
- (9) Republikaner
- (10) other party
- (96) no, I am not attached to a particular party

<b>Variable: S15 [dpidstrk]</b>	<b>Item: Party identification, strength</b>
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**Question:**

All in all, how strongly or weakly attached are you to this party?

- very strongly
- strongly
- moderately
- weakly
- very weakly

**Coding:**

- (1) very strongly
- (2) strongly
- (3) moderately
- (4) weakly
- (5) very weakly

<b>Variable: S16 [dpidzeit]</b>	<b>Item: Party identification, persistence</b>
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**Question:**

How long have you been attached to this party?

- for as long as you can remember
- for many years
- for a few years
- for a few months
- for a few weeks

**Coding:**

- (1) for as long as I can remember
- (2) for many years
- (3) for a few years
- (4) for a few months
- (5) for a few weeks

<b>Variable: S17 [dpid]</b>	<b>Item: Party identification, importance</b>
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**Question:**

As part of our study we would like to find out what people mean when they say they are attached to a particular political party or identify more closely with one party rather than with others. Would you please tell me how accurately the following views reflect yours? "-2" means that you strongly disagree, "+2" means that you strongly agree. You may use the numbers in between to state your view more precisely.

*INT.: Read items.*

strongly disagree	rather disagree	neither agree nor disagree	rather agree	strongly agree	don't know	no answer
-2	-1	0	+1	+2	8	9

- A) This party is very important to me. What happens to it is not a matter of indifference to me. [epida]  
 B) The party does not mean that much to me, but its politicians are currently better than those of other parties. [epidb]  
 C) I don't feel particularly attached to this party, but in the past I did vote for it frequently. [epidc]  
 D) The party is not all important to me, but it currently pursues better policies than other parties. [epidd]

**Coding:**

- (1) strongly disagree
- (2) rather disagree
- (3) neither agree nor disagree
- (4) rather agree
- (5) strongly agree

<b>Variable: S18 [dhhpeink]</b>	<b>Item: Contribution to household income</b>
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*INT.: All respondents.*

**Question:**

How many people contribute to your household's total income?

- 1 person
- 2 persons
- 3 persons
- 4 persons
- 5 persons and more

**Coding:**

- (1) 1 person
- (2) 2 persons
- (3) 3 persons
- (4) 4 persons
- (5) 5 persons and more

<b>Variable: S19 [dhheinko]</b>	<b>Item: Net household income</b>
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**Question:**

How high is your household's total net monthly income i.e. the total amount remaining after tax and other deductions? Please state the corresponding letter only.

*INT.: In case of follow-up questions:*

If you are a self-employed person, we are talking about your net monthly income on average after deduction of the operating costs.

- B
- E
- F
- H
- K
- L
- M
- N
- P

- R
- S
- T

**Coding:**

- (1) B up to less than 500 €
- (2) E 500 € up to less than 750 €
- (3) F 750 € up to less than 1000 €
- (4) H 1000 € up to less than 1250 €
- (5) K 1250 € up to less than 1500 €
- (6) L 1500 € up to less than 1750 €
- (7) M 1750€ up to less than 2000 €
- (8) N 2000 € up to less than 2500 €
- (9) P 2500 € up to less than 3000 €
- (10) R 3000 € up to less than 3500 €
- (11) S 3500 € up to less than 5000 €
- (12) T 5000 € and more
- (98) don't know
- (99) no answer

<b>Variable: S20 [dschicht]</b>	<b>Item: Class affiliation</b>
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**Question:**

People talk a lot about social classes these days. To which social class do you think you belong to?  
Do you belong to the working class, the middle class or to the upper class?

To the...

- working class
- middle class
- upper class?

**Coding:**

- (1) working class
- (2) middle class
- (3) upper class
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer

<b>Variable: S21 [dwoschi]</b>	<b>Item: Class affiliation – which part?</b>
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**Question:**

Do you feel you rather belong to the lower part, the average or to the upper part of this class?

To the...

- lower part
- average
- upper part?

**Coding:**

- (1) lower part
- (2) average
- (3) upper part
- (8) don't know
- (9) no answer