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Czechoslovakian 1990 Pre-Election Survey
QUESTIONNAIRE CZECHOSLOVAKIA - MAY 1990

(English translation)

Let me first ask for your view of the current political developments in this country, the forthcoming elections, and your attitude to political parties and movements.

1. EA-studynumber

2. ID-number

3. Country (recoded from v129: district in which the respondent's permanent place of residence is located)
   - Czech Lands 1
   - Slovakia 2
   - No answer 9

4. Region (recoded from v129: district in which the respondent's permanent place of residence is located)
   - Czech 1
   - Moravia 2
   - Slovakia 3
   - No answer 9

5. To what degree are you personally satisfied with the contemporary political development in Czechoslovakia?
   - I am greatly dissatisfied 1
   - I am dissatisfied rather than the opposite 2
   - I am satisfied rather than not 3
   - I am greatly satisfied 4
   - No answer 9

6. When you now think about the outcomes of the November revolution, do you feel they fit in with your idea of them? Choose only one from among the statements on Card A.

   Present Card A.
   - The development is essentially bad. 1
   - All the things are changing too fast recently. 2
   - All went well at the beginning but something has gone wrong 3
   - Much more should have been done 4
   - Things have been going well in principle, I am satisfied. 5
   - No answer 9
7. Which of the below statements best expresses your expectations as regards the future political development in Czechoslovakia? Choose only one.

Present Card B.

- Different people will be in power but little will change in other respects 1
- Before a stable democracy is established in this country, we shall have to pass through a very complicated and long stage of unrest and political reversals. 2
- Though we shall take a relatively long time to learn democratic practice, in principle we can expect a systematic and visible progress toward permanent democracy. 3
- A new democratic political system will be formed and stabilized in this country relatively quickly and without serious problems. 4
- No answer 9

8. Do you contemplate joining some political party, or are you a member already? I have in mind real political parties with regular membership, not movements with loose membership such as the Civic Forum.

- Yes, I contemplate joining a political party. 1
- I do not contemplate membership in a political party. 2
- I am a member already 3
- No answer 9

9. Do you intend to take part in the June elections, i.e. to go to the polls?

- I definitely shall go to the polls. 1
- I probably shall go to the polls. 2
- I probably shall not go to the polls. 3
- I definitely shall not go to the polls. 4
- I do not yet know. 5
- No answer 9

The following question is meant only for those who have chosen answers No. 3,4 or 5 to the preceding question, i.e. stated that they probably or definitely will not go to the polls or that they do not yet know. Present Card C for this answer.
10. You have stated that you probably will not go to the polls. Of the statements on Card C, choose the one which best expresses the reason for your decision. Give only one answer.

- Not applicable (Code 1 or 2 in question 9) 0
- I am not interested in politics. 1
- I cannot make head or tail of the present situation, I do not know whom I should vote for. 2
- I think that the election results does not really matter. 3
- My vote does not matter anyway. 4
- I am so disgusted by the whole situation that I do not feel like going to the polls. 5
- I cannot choose, none of the parties, movements or coalitions have convinced me that I should give it my vote. 6
- I shall not be in the country at the time of the elections. 7
- No answer 9

11. Which political party, movement of coalition do you expect to win the June elections to the Federal Assembly (Parliament)?

Present Card D. Tell those who will ask you what "winning the elections" means that to be considered the winner, a party, movement or coalition will have to secure at least 10% of votes more than the others. Make a clear circle round the number of the selected answer (on the left-hand side). If you choose answer No. 8 put numeral 8 in a circle and write your answer on the dotted line. Do not write anything in the windows on the right-hand side!

1 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
2 Christian and Democratic Union, Movement
3 Civic Forum and The Public Against Violence
4 Social Democrats
5 Greens
6 there will be no winner
8 Free Block
9 Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside
10 Czechoslovak Socialist Party
11 Czech Peoples Party
12 Democratic Party (Slovakia)
13 Movement for Civic Freedom
15 Czechoslovak Democratic Forum
16 Beer Friends Party
17 Slovak National Party
98 I do not know
99 No answer
12. Please look at the list of political parties, movements and coalitions which are running in the June elections to the Federal Assembly in the Czech Republic. To which would you give your vote if the elections were taking place this week? The list is arranged according to the numbers which the individual parties, movements and coalitions have drawn.

Present Card E. Make a clear circle round the number of the selected answer on the left-hand side. Do not write anything in the windows on the right-hand side! Keep the card for the following two questions!

1 Freedom Party (S)
2 Democratic Party (S)
3 Czechoslovak Socialist Party (C,S)
4 Movement for Civic Freedom (C,S)
5 Public Against Violence (S)
6 Free Block (Party of Constitutional Democracy, Party of Free Democrats, Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality, Republican Union) (C,S)
7 Civic Forum (C)
8 Coalition of the All-People Democratic Party and the Association for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)
9 Election grouping of special-interest associations in the Czech Republic (C)
10 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)
12 Együttelés - Spoluzitie - Wspólnota - Souziti (Coexistence), Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (C,S)
13 Czechoslovak Democratic Forum (C)
14 Gipsies (Party of Democratic Union of Gipsies, Party of Integration of Gipsies in Slovakia) (S)
15 Organization of Independent Roumanians (C)
16 Slovak National Party (S)
17 Christian Democratic Movement (S)
18 Greens (C,S)
19 Movement of Czechoslovak Understanding (C,S)
20 Movement for Autonomous Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (C)
21 Social Democrats (C,S)
22 Party of Beer Fans (C)
23 Christian and Democratic Union (Czechoslovak People's Party, Christian Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Movement) (C)
I do not yet know
No answer

NOTE - "C" means that the party is on the list only in Czech republic, "S" means that the party is on the list only in Slovak republic, "C,S" means that it is on the list in both republics.

The following questions 13 and 14 are addressed only to those who have made a choice, i.e. have not answered "I do not yet know" (have not selected answer No.98).

13. Supposing the party, movement or coalition which you have just chosen strongly disappoint you still before the elections, which of the others would you vote for?

write the number of the answer ............

0 Not applicable (Code 98 in question 12)
1 Freedom Party (S)
2 Democratic Party (S)
3 Czechoslovak Socialist Party (C,S)
4 Movement for Civic Freedom (C,S)
5 Public Against Violence (S)
6 Free Block (Party of Constitutional Democracy, Party of Free Democrats, Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality, Republican Union) (C,S)
7 Civic Forum (C)
8 Coalition of the All-People Democratic Party and the Association for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)
9 Election grouping of special-interest associations in the Czech Republic (C)
10 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)
12 Együttelés - Spoložitie - Wspólnota - Souzití (Coexistence), Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (C,S)
13 Czechoslovak Democratic Forum (C)
14 Gipsies (Party of Democratic Union of Gipsies, Party of Integration of Gipsies in Slovakia) (S)
15 Organization of Independent Roumanians (C)
16 Slovak National Party (S)
17 Christian Democratic Movement (S)
18 Greens (C,S)
19 Movement of Czechoslovak Understanding (C,S)
20 Movement for Autonomous Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (C)
14. And which party would you definitely not vote for? Make only one choice - state the party, which you like least of all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Not applicable (Code 98 in question 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Freedom Party (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Democratic Party (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Czechoslovak Socialist Party (C,S)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Movement for Civic Freedom (C,S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Public Against Violence (S)</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Civic Forum (C)</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Coalition of the All-People Democratic Party and the Association for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Election grouping of special-interest associations in the Czech Republic (C)</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Égyüttelés - Spoluzitie - Wspólnota - Souzití (Coexistence), Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (C,S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Czechoslovak Democratic Forum (C)</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Gipsies (Party of Democratic Union of Gipsies, Party of Integration of Gipsies in Slovakia) (S)</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Organization of Independent Roumanians (C)</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Slovak National Party (S)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Movement (S)</td>
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<td>21</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Party of Beer Fans (C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23 Christian and Democratic Union (Czechoslovak People's Party, Christian Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Movement) (C)
90 I do not yet know
99 No answer

15. Vote intention first choice (question 12) recoded: all parties which got less than 5% in the elections are coded under "other"

1 Democratic Party
2 Czechoslovak Socialist Party
3 Public Against Violence
4 Civic Forum
5 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
6 Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside
7 Slovak National Party
8 Christian Democratic Movement
9 Greens
10 Social Democrats
11 Christian and Democratic Union
12 Undecided
13 Other Czech parties which got less than 5%
14 Other Slovak parties which got less than 5%
99 No answer

16. Party respondent would not vote for (Question 14) recoded: all parties which got less than 5% in the elections are coded under "other"

0 Not applicable (Code 98 in question 12)
1 Freedom Party (S)
2 Democratic Party (S)
3 Czechoslovak Socialist Party (C,S)
4 Movement for Civic Freedom (C,S)
5 Public Against Violence (S)
6 Free Block (Party of Constitutional Democracy, Party of Free Democrats, Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality, Republican Union) (C,S)
7 Civic Forum (C)
8 Coalition of the All-People Democratic Party and the Association for the Republic - Republic Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)
9 Election grouping of special-interest associations in the Czech Republic (C)
10 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (C,S)
12. Együttelés - Spoluzitie - Wspólnota - Souzití (Coexistence), Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (C,S)
13. Czechoslovak Democratic Forum (C)
14. Gipsies (Party of Democratic Union of Gipsies, Party of Integration of Gipsies in Slovakia) (S)
15. Organization of Independent Roumanians (C)
16. Slovak National Party (S)
17. Christian Democratic Movement (S)
18. Greens (C,S)
19. Movement of Czechoslovak Understanding (C,S)
20. Movement for Autonomous Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (C)
21. Social Democrats (C,S)
22. Party of Beer Fans (C)
25. Other
98. I do not yet know
99. No answer

The following question is only for those who have answered Question 12 by stating that they do not yet know for which party, movement of coalition they will cast their votes (chosen answer No. 98). Present Card F for the answer.

17. You have stated that you do not yet know to whom you will give your vote. Of the statements on Card F, please select the one which best describes the reason for your indecision. Make only one choice.

- Not applicable (Code 1-23 in question 12) 0
- All the programmes are more or less the same. 1
- I do not in fact believe anybody. 2
- I cannot find my bearings in the pre-election chaos. 3
- So far none of the parties satisfies me. 4
- I am putting off my decision till I see how they will present themselves in the election campaign. 5
- No answer 9

18. A party which will not receive at least 5% of votes in the elections will have no seat in Parliament. The votes cast for it will thus be wasted. If you believed before the elections that the party of your choice will not secure 5%, would you change your decision and vote for some other party, movement or coalition?

- I would not change my decision, I would still vote for it. 1
- I might not go to the polls at all. 2
- I would think it over and give my vote to some other, stronger party. 3
- No answer 9
19.-24. I shall now read to you examples of possible results of the June parliamentary elections. Tell me please for each case if you would regard such result as very good, rather good, rather bad or very bad.

1 a very bad result
2 rather a bad result
3 rather a good result
4 a very good result
9 No answer

19 The Civic Forum and The Public Against Violence will together win more than a half of the seats. 1 2 3 4 9
20 The Communist Party will lose power and will not have a single minister in the future Government. 1 2 3 4 9
21 The seats will be distributed among a multitude of parties, while no party, movement or coalition will in fact win. 1 2 3 4 9
22 More than a half of the seats will be secured by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence together with the Christian and Democratic Union, movement. 1 2 3 4 9
23 The Communist Party will secure a third of the seats. 1 2 3 4 9
24 The Christian and Democratic Union, movement will win over a half of the seats. 1 2 3 4 9

25.-31. I shall read to you some statements made about the Civic Forum. (The people in Slovakia were asked about The Public Against Violence.) For each of them please tell me whether you rather agree or rather disagree with it.

1 I rather agree
2 I rather disagree
9 No answer

25 The Civic Forum is an elitist affair of Prague alone. 1 2 9
26 The Civic Forum asserts an excessively radical and rapid economic reform. 1 2 9
27 The Civic Forum does not have a clear political profile. 1 2 9
28 The Civic Forum operates badly at workplace, local or district level. 1 2 9
29 The Civic Forum is not a political party and no-one knows what will become of it, what it will develop into. 1 2 9
30 The Civic Forum strives for the establishment of a new totalitarian power. 1 2 9
31 The Civic Forum makes too many concessions to the Communists, it does not take a sufficiently energetic action against the Communist Party. 1 2 9
32.-35. A lot of discussion taking place today concerns the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. I shall read several statements made about it, and you will tell me for each of them whether you resolutely agree with it, rather agree, rather disagree or resolutely disagree.

1 I resolutely disagree
2 I rather disagree
3 I rather agree
4 I resolutely agree
9 No answer

32 The Communist Party still has great power. 1 2 3 4 9
33 The Communist Party should not be admitted at all to the forthcoming elections. 1 2 3 4 9
34 The Communist Party will democratically defend the interests and rights of the working people, it will defend social security. 1 2 3 4 9
35 If the Communist Party won the elections its behaviour would be just as totalitarian as it was in the past. 1 2 3 4 9

36.-40. People state various reasons for giving their votes to the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence. I shall read to you some characteristics which may win them sympathies. For each of them please tell me if you resolutely agree, if you are not sure or if you rather disagree that voting for the Civic Forum and The Public Against Violence means above all:

1 I rather disagree
2 I am not sure
3 I resolutely agree
9 No answer

36 Quick implementation of a profound economic reform 1 2 3 9
37 Best guarantee of future democracy in Czechoslovakia 1 2 3 9
38 Competent personalities in crucial government posts 1 2 3 9
39 Removal of the danger of excessive power held by political parties and of the assertion of narrow partisan interests 1 2 3 9
40 Safeguard against the Communists' return to power 1 2 3 9
41-46. I shall read to you several statements regarding President Václav Havel. For each of them please tell me whether you rather agree or disagree with it.

1 I rather disagree
2 I rather agree
9 No answer

41 In the present situation Václav Havel represents the only authority that can solve the crucial internal political problems.

42 Whatever the result of the elections, Václav Havel is a guarantor of democratic and free development in this country.

43 Václav Havel already made some serious mistakes in his function.

44 Václav Havel stands outside parties and political movements, that means also outside the Civic Forum and The Public Against Violence.

45 Václav Havel should stay President also for the next term.

46 The Civic Forum and The Public Against Violence stand and fall with Václav Havel.

47. Our republic will be faced with four principal tasks, inter alia, in the nearest future. Which of them do you regard as the most important, the one on which we should concentrate in the first place? Choose only one answer.

Present Card G.

- Development of freedom and democracy
- Opening ourselves to advanced countries and taking our place in Europe
- Radical improvement of the environment
- Implementation of essential economic reforms
- No answer

48. A number of political and economic changes will have to be made in our country in the future. Do you think that their maker, and consequently the one that shall be responsible for them, should be:

- the Federal Government
- each respective national Government (rather than)
- No answer

Now I would like to ask you for your views regarding our economy.
49. Do you believe that an essential economic reform can be carried out in this country at present without causing a temporary but tangible decline of the living standard and general worsening of the economic situation?

- It is possible. 1
- It is probably out of the question. 2
- No answer 9

50.-52. Let us assume that the economic development in Czechoslovakia can be represented by the below curve. It's lowest point means the worst economic situation, the highest means the best economic situation. Using numbers 1 to 7, as placed in the drawing, try to estimate:

Present Figure 1. The respondent may give the same number as the answer even to all three questions! Leave the windows on the right-hand side empty.

50. at about which point we were five years ago:
51. at about which point we are now:
52. at about which point we shall be in five years' time:

53. Let us assume that the economic reform will be implemented in the way that is beginning to take shape now, that means with all its implications, even the unpleasant ones. Do you think that in terms of living standard, in three to five years you and your family will be:

- better off than a year ago 1
- neither better nor worse off than a year ago 2
- rather worse off than a year ago 3
- No answer 9
54. Let us assume that a recovery of our economy will necessitate some austerity measures, and that we have two alternatives. Which of them would you prefer?

- Moderate decline of the living standard which will however be prolonged and later improvement will be slower
- Appreciable lowering of the living standard, with the prospect of marked improvement in a few years
- No answer

55-59. Tell me please if you and your family would find the following things acceptable as long as you would know that they are vital for a recovery of our economy and integration of our country in Europe. Tell me for each case whether you would be ready to put up with it, or if you and your family would find it unacceptable.

1. I would find it unacceptable
2. I would be ready to put up with it
9. No answer

55. 50% increase in the prices of life essentials (food, clothing, hygiene products etc.)
56. Loss of your present job
57. Long-term loss of job
58. Introduction of economic rents, e.g. doubling of rents for state-owned flats
59. Postponement of environmental improvement till later time

60. What monthly amount do you regard as an existential minimum for your family in view of the present prices?

specify: ................. crowns

99999 No answer

61. How many people would be sharing this amount, i.e. how many people including yourself live in your household?

specify: ..................

9. No answer

62. How many of these are dependent children, i.e. have no income of their own?

specify: ..................

9. No answer
63. Do you believe that we shall be able to avoid unemployment in the future?

- Yes, we shall be able to avoid unemployment. 1
- We shall definitely not avoid unemployment. 2
- No answer 9

64-69. The future changes may generate certain problems some of which I shall now read to you. Tell me for each of them whether you fear it in the nearest future or not. The question is not whether you think the problem may emerge or not, but whether you personally are afraid of such thing.

1 I am afraid of it
2 I am not afraid of it
3 It does not concern me
9 No answer

64 You will lose your job and will have difficulty finding another. 1 2 3 9
65 The living standard of your family will markedly decline, you will face serious financial and material troubles. 1 2 3 9
66 There will not be enough new chances for competent people. 1 2 3 9
67 The prices of life essentials (food, clothing, housing) will markedly increase. 1 2 3 9
68 In the end our economic situation will be hardly any better than that of Poland. 1 2 3 9
69 There will be disorder, chaos and anarchy in our country. 1 2 3 9

70-73. Situation threatening with strikes may occur even in the future. At which of the following events would you personally organize or resolutely join a strike?

1 No, I would look for alternatives
2 Yes, I would go on strike
9 No answer

70 Substantial increase in the prices of life essentials 1 2 9
71 Danger of loss of job 1 2 9
72 Major curtailment of some social security 1 2 9
73 If you thought that the Government refuses to meet your legitimate demands 1 2 9
74. Do you think we should avoid potential unemployment even at the cost of a slow-down or even cessation of economic reform?

- Yes, we should certainly avoid it. 1
- No, we probably have to put up with it. 2
- No answer 9

75. If you think about the future of your present employer company (cooperative, office, institution), would you say that in the period of transition to market economy and after its accomplishment (choose only one answer):

   **Present Card I**

   - It has a very good chance to prosper and will certainly be successful. 1
   - It has some chance to prosper but probably will not be very successful. 2
   - It does not have a very good chance, but will "survive" somehow, and then we shall see. 3
   - It does not have a very good chance and probably will not "survive". 4
   - It has no chance and will be abolished or go bankrupt. 5
   - No answer 9

76.-79. Private enterprise and private ownership will gradually expand in our country. Would you agree with:

1 No
2 Yes
9 No answer

76 big enterprises (such as Skoda Works) being sold to our citizens if they are loss-making ventures? 1 2 9
77 big enterprises being sold to our citizens without any limitations? 1 2 9
78 smaller enterprises being sold even to foreign companies? 1 2 9
79 big enterprises being sold even to foreign companies? 1 2 9

80. And would you personally take a job with a private firm at the present time, or do you prefer being employed by the state, a state-controlled company?

- I prefer being employed by the state rather than a private firm. 1
- It is more or less the same to me. 2
- If possible I shall take a job with a private firm. 3
- I intend going private, becoming a private entrepreneur myself. 4
- No answer 9
81. Imagine that your employer company (cooperative, office, institution) is to pass to private hands. Would you approve?

- I would definitely approve. 1
- I would approve rather than not. 2
- I would be more likely to disapprove. 3
- I would definitely disapprove. 4
- It is probably out of the question (a local government, the railways etc.). 5
- No answer 9

82.-68. There are many fields, like national defence, for which the state evidently has primary responsibility. Others may not be such a clear case. I shall now specify various areas, using Card J, tell me, to what extent the state should take care of and finance each of them.

Present Card J

1 the state should take care of and finance it to full extent
2 it will do if the state takes care of and finances it to some extent only
3 the state need not take care of and finance it, it is a civic affair
9 No answer

83 university education 1 2 3 9
84 finding a job, employment for every citizen 1 2 3 9
85 elementary health care 1 2 3 9
86 above-standard health care, such as treatment in sanatoria, non-vital surgeries etc. 1 2 3 9
87 provision of at least the simplest housing 1 2 3 9
88 securing a decent standard of living for every citizen 1 2 3 9
89 securing a decent pension for every citizen 1 2 3 9

89.-90. To what degree do you agree with the following two statements?

1 I resolutely disagree
2 I rather disagree
3 I quite agree
4 I definitely agree
9 No answer

89 I could work more and better (or I do so) but so far without much avail. 1 2 3 4 9
90 A person who works a lot and well should be getting a salary even four-times as high as that of a person who does the same job slowly and badly. 1 2 3 4 9
91. Do you think that in the nearest future your living standard will depend above all on (choose only one answer):

Present Card K

- your work competence and performance, work output 1
- your inventiveness and the skill with which you will be able to make use of new opportunities 2
- your political or public activity, on whether you will support the "right" (as opposed to "wrong", not "left") party 3
- your having the "right" contacts and friends 4
- your simply being lucky or not 5
- No answer

92.-106. What matters for you in life, what do you regard as important? I shall read out a list of different life values and goals, for you to rate the importance of each of them - if it is very important, quite important, rather unimportant or totally unimportant.

1 it is totally unimportant
2 it is rather unimportant
3 it is quite important
4 it is very important
9 No answer

92 obtaining the highest possible education and qualification 1 2 3 4 9
93 taking an active part in the development of society 1 2 3 4 9
94 having good knowledge in mathematics, physics, biology etc. 1 2 3 4 9
95 meeting top standards in one’s job (specialization) 1 2 3 4 9
96 being on good terms with everybody, having no conflicts with people 1 2 3 4 9
97 being able to cope with all household jobs and repairs 1 2 3 4 9
98 being able to adapt to all life situations 1 2 3 4 9
99 living in a society where all people are regarded as equal 1 2 3 4 9
100 living in a small way 1 2 3 4 9
101 being independent of people and society 1 2 3 4 9
102 having possibility of private enterprise 1 2 3 4 9
103 setting a good example to one’s children and fellow people 1 2 3 4 9
104 having possibility to influence public affairs 1 2 3 4 9
105 having a lot of money and living well 1 2 3 4 9
106 being resistant (to discomfort and physical strain) 1 2 3 4 9
107. For most people in our country there will probably be opportunities now for achieving some more, changing something about their lives. Would you please select from the answers on card L the one which best expresses your plans. Present card L.

- earning more money 1
- finding a better job which would bring you greater satisfaction 2
- starting private enterprise 3
- not worrying more than necessary and fully enjoying the new chances in culture, travelling abroad etc. 4
- at last starting to do something really useful 5
- becoming involved in civic affairs, to help solve problems at work and place of residence 6
- probably doing nothing of the kind 7
- No answer 9

108-112 Are you willing or do you intend to do some of the things I am now going to read out in order to improve your work and life prospects?

1 yes
2 no
3 I have done, am doing it
4 it does not concern me
9 No answer

108 to change your job or profession 1 2 3 4 9
109 to start working real hard 1 2 3 4 9
110 to strive for attaining the top standards in your job, specialization 1 2 3 4 9
111 to start private enterprise 1 2 3 4 9
112 you contemplate working in the West 1 2 3 4 9

113-123. Do you own:

1 no
2 yes
9 No answer

113 passenger car 1 2 9
114 holiday bungalow, cottage, second house 1 2 9
115 B&W TV set 1 2 9
116 colour TV set 1 2 9
117 automatic washing machine 1 2 9
118 refrigerator 1 2 9
119 deep freezer 1 2 9
120 video equipment 1 2 9
121 microwave oven 1 2 9
122 satellite TV equipment 1 2 9
123 personal computer (XT or AT) 1 2 9
Finally I would like to record some facts which will be used solely for bulk processing of the data obtained from this survey.

124. Are you member of the Civic Forum?

- Yes, I am a member. 1
- I support it and am ready to do something for it. 2
- I do not know. 3
- I am not. 4
- No answer 9

125. How old are you?

Express by figure: ............... 

99 No answer

126. Age (question 125) recoded to age cohorts

1 16-24 years
2 25-34 years
3 35-44 years
4 45-54 years
5 55-64 years
6 65 years and older
9 No answer

127. Respondent’s sex:

- male 1
- female 2
- No answer 9

128. Size of the respondent’s permanent place of residence:

- village with less than a thousand inhabitants 1
- village with 1-1.9 thousand inhabitants 2
- village with 2-4.9 thousand inhabitants 3
- town with 5-19.9 thousand inhabitants 4
- city with 20-99.9 thousand inhabitants 5
- big city with more than 100 thousand inhabitants 6
- No answer 9

129. District in which the respondent’s permanent place of residence is situated:

Write out: ........................................ 

999 No answer
130. What is your present housing?
- your own family house, farmhouse 1
- an apartment which is your personal property 2
- a state-owned flat or one which belongs to your employer or some other organization 3
- a cooperative flat 4
- lodgings (subtenancy), hotel-type house, boarding house, house of flatlets for unmarried people (hostel), students' dormitory 5
- No answer 9

131. Do you regard yourself as a believer (in the religious sense, irrespective of registration in a church)?
- No 1
- Yes 2
- No answer 9

132. What is the highest education you have achieved?
- elementary education 1
- non-certified vocational training or secondary education 2
- certified secondary education or certified vocational training 3
- university education 4
- No answer 9

133. What is or was the highest education of your father?
- elementary education 1
- non-certified vocational training or secondary education 2
- certified secondary education or certified vocational training 3
- university education 4
- No answer 9

134. What is your present employment? Please specify in great detail: If you are not employed, specify if you are a student, retired or other.

............................................. ISCO code

99999 No answer
135. Employment status of respondent (recoded from question 134)
1 Employed
2 Student
3 Unemployed
4 Homewife
5 Pensioner
9 No answer

136. Respondents EGP Class (recoded from question 134)
0 Not applicable (Codes 2-5 in question 135)
1 Farm Worker
2 Unskilled Worker
3 Skilled Worker
4 Routine Nonmanuels
5 Foremen
6 Lower Professionals
7 Higher Professionals
9 No answer

137. Respondents Occupational Class according to sector-details (recoded from question 134)
0 Not applicable (Codes 2-5 in question 135)
1 Agriculture
2 Heavy Industry, Chemical Industry
3 Machine Industry, Electronic Industry
4 Other Industry
5 Construction, Building
6 Transport, Communication
7 Services
8 Management, Director
9 Administration
10 Science, Health, culture
11 Army
99 No answer

138. What was the employment of your father when you were about 14 years old? Again specify in great detail please.

If the respondent's father was never employed do not fill in

.................................................. ISCO code

999999 No answer
139. Father's detailed occupational classification (recoded from question 138)

0 Farmers
1 Farm Worker
2 Unskilled Worker
3 Skilled Worker
4 Foremen
5 Selfemployed
6 Army
7 Routine Nonmanuels
8 Lower Professionals
9 Higher Professionals
10 Students
11 Unemployed
12 Houswives
13 Pensioneers
99 No answer

140. Father's EGP Class (recoded from question 139)

0 Not applicable (Codes 10-13 in question 139)
1 Farm Worker
2 Unskilled Worker
3 Skilled Worker
4 Routine Nonmanuels
5 Foremen
6 Lower Professionals
7 Higher Professionals
9 No answer

141. Father's Occupational Class according to sector-details (recoded from question 138 u. 139)

0 Not applicable (Codes 10-13 in question 139)
1 Agriculture
2 Heavy Industry, Chemical Industry
3 Machine Industry, Electronic Industry
4 Other Industry
5 Construction, Building
6 Transport, Communication
7 Services
8 Management, Director
9 Administration
10 Science, Health, culture
11 Army
99 No answer
142. Please assign your present employer company (office, institution, organization) to one of the categories specified on the following card.

Present Card N.

0 Not applicable (Codes 2-5 in question 135)
1 Farming cooperatives
2 State farms, forestry, fishing, horticulture etc.
3 Mines, quarries etc.
4 Metallurgical works, steel works, rolling mills, Krupp-Renn plants etc.
5 Major industrial production and assembly plants (with more than 2000 workers)
6 Medium-size industrial and assembly plants (200-2000 workers)
7 Small industrial production and assembly plants (below 200 workers)
8 Major construction plants
9 Minor construction plants
10 Producer and building cooperatives
11 Major transport companies (state railways, state airlines, municipal transport companies etc.)
12 Posts and telecommunications, telephone and telegraph companies etc.
13 Community services, repair shops, laundries, transport and housing management etc.
14 Catering and lodging facilities, restaurants, hotels etc.
15 Consumer cooperatives
16 Departmental stores
17 Shops
18 Educational, cultural, scientific and health-care institutions
19 Offices, ministries, local government authorities etc.
20 Other (specify): ...........
21 Store, Stock
22 Private Company
23 Stock Company, Joint Venture
24 Foreign Trade Company
25 Other Trade Company
26 Company Centers
27 Army, Police
99 No answer
143. What is your present managerial status, do you have any subordinates?

- Not applicable (Codes 2-5 in question 135) 0
- I have no subordinates 1
- I have fewer than 6 subordinates 2
- I have from 7 to 15 subordinates, I control a separate organizational unit 3
- I have more than 15 subordinates, I control several organizational units 4
- No answer 9

144. What is the sum total of all the net monthly incomes of all members of your household, including pensions, family allowances, side and extra incomes?

about ............. Cz. crowns

99999 No answer

145. Net income per capita (question 144 divided by number of household members as indicated in question 61)

99999 No answer

146. To conclude with, please state if you have ever been a member of some political party?

- No 1
- Yes 2
- No answer 9

147.-148. If you were a member of a party, and are not any more state till when you were a member?

Do not insist on an answer. Emphasize the words "are not any more" to avoid having the "till when (year)" recorded in case the membership still continues!

147. from when (year) ............

0 Not applicable (Code 1 in question 146)

99999 No answer

148. till when (year) ............

0 Not applicable (Code 1 in question 146)

99999 No answer
149. And can you please tell me of which party you were or are a member?

specify: ............

0 Not applicable (Code 1 in question 146)
1 Communist Party
2 Czech Socialist Party
3 Czech Peoples Party
4 Greens
5 Social Democrats
6 Christian Democratic Movement
7 Civic Forum or Public Against Violence
8 Other
9 No answer

150. Electorate district (recoded from question 129)

1 Prague
2 Middle-Czech
3 South-Czech
4 West-Czech
5 North-Czech
6 East-Czech
7 South-Moravia
8 North-Moravia
9 Bratislava
10 West-Slovakia
11 Middle-Slovakia
12 East-Slovakia
99 No answer

151. Date of interview ............ 1990

1 April 25
2 April 26
3 April 27
4 April 28
5 April 29
6 April 30
7 May 1
8 May 2
9 May 3
10 May 4
11 May 5
12 May 6
13 May 7
14 May 8
15 May 9
16 May 10
17 May 11
18 May 12
19 May 13
20 May 14
21 May 15
99 No answer

Thank you for this interview