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Continuity and Change in Slovakia 1992

- English -
A Questionnaire

Question 1. Parliamentary elections took place three months ago. From your point of view, how will the results manifest themselves in the Slovak republic? How favourable or unfavourable are they for:

1. very favourable
2. rather favourable
3. in some sense favourable, in another one not
4. rather unfavourable
5. very unfavourable
9. I don't know

for the:

1 2 3 4 5 9

A. economic development in the Slovak Republic (SR)
B. political freedoms of the citizens
C. law and order in society
D. relationships of the SR with the Czech Republic
E. confidence of foreign countries to the SR

Question 2. Some things have changed for the better in society during the last three years, some things have changed for the worse or others remained unchanged. Compare, please, how things looked like in society before November '89 and how they have changed until national elections June '92. Try to evaluate it!

1. things have changed for better
2. neither for better, nor for worse
3. things have changed for the worse
9. I don't know (I have not been thinking of it)

1 2 3 9

A. possibilities of the citizens to influence what is going on in society
B. the economic policy
C. political freedoms of the citizens (freedom of speech, the right of assembly, etc.)
D. personal security of the citizens
E. the people managing the enterprises
F. morality in everyday life
G. chances for the capable and
Question 3. Try to remember the situation and the economic perspectives in Slovakia in the years from 1988 to 1989. Do you think that the economy at that time:

1. required deep changes
2. required only small modification
3. didn’t require changes
9. I can’t judge it

Question 4. Try to remember and write, what kinds of expectations on the changes in society you have had after November 1989!

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Question 5. Who has gained and who has lost from the change since November ’89 in Czechoslovakia?

1. mostly gained
2. neither gained, nor lost – there is an equilibrium between gains and losses
3. mostly suffered a loss
9. I don’t know
till election
1992

A1. the believers
B1. rank and file communists
C1. people in power until the November 89
D1. people in power after the November 89
E1. young people
F1. middle-aged people
G1. old people
H1. dissidents
I1. farmers (peasants)
J1. Romanies (Gypsies)
K1. professionals (educated people)
L1. low-skilled people
M1. students
N1. lazy people
O1. hard-working people
P1. people with a spirit of entrepreneurship
Q1. those who have lost their property during communist regime
R1. Czechs
S1. Slovaks
T1. Hungarians living in Slovakia
U1. ordinary man

after election 1992

1  2  3  9

A2. the believers
B2. rank and file communists
C2. people in power until the November 89
D2. people in power after the November 89
E2. young people
F2. middle-aged people
G2. old people
H2. dissidents
I2. farmers (peasants)
J2. Roms (Gipsies)
K2. professionals (educated people)
L2. low-skilled people
M2. students
N2. lazy people
O2. hard-working people
P2. people with a spirit of entrepreneurship
Q2. those who have lost their property during communist regime
R2. Czechs
S2. Slovaks
T2. Hungarians living in Slovakia
U2. ordinary man

Question 6. Have the events and changes since November ’89 spoiled, with regard to different opinions, some of your relationships?

1 yes, they have
2 no, they haven’t
7 this doesn’t concern me
9 I don’t know

A. in the broader family circle
B. in the closest family circle
C. with your friends
D. with your colleagues
E. with acquaintances

Question 7. Compare, please, your current personal and family living standard with that one before November 1989!
1 we can afford much more
2 we can afford little more
3 we can afford approximately the same
4 we can afford little less
5 we can afford much less
9 I can't judge it

Question 8. Among the groups in Slovakia there exist better or worse relationships, sometimes with tensions and conflicts. Select from above list those couple of groups, where, according to your opinion you consider the relationships to be too tensed. Show the card!

1 selected
2 not selected

A. Greek Catholics and Orthodox
B. rich and poor
C. Romanies (Gypsies) and the rest of the population
D. generations at the age around 30 and 50 years old
E. Slovaks and Hungarians in Slovakia
F. inhabitants in Bratislava and other inhabitants
   In Slovakia
G. Catholics and Protestants
H. believers and non-believers
I. supporters of a common state and supporters
   of an independent Slovakia

Question 9. There is much of talks about restitutions. Have you, or has someone from your family suffered a wrong in connection with some property during the years 1948 – 1989?

1 yes, we suffered such a wrong
   in the period 1948 – 1989
2* we did not suffer such a wrong
9* I don't know

(Note: * skip to question 11!)

Question 10. How has this wrong been resolved?

1 we have got property back (some part at least,
   or some compensation at least)
2 we try to get back our property (some
   compensation), but we have not got
   anything so far
3 we have not applied for the restitution
   of our property which we lost years ago
4 another answer
9 I don't know

Question 11. Are you employed now?

1 I am entrepreneur
2 yes, and I am fully employed
3 yes, I am employed, but only partial
4* I am unemployed
5* I am housewife
6* I am old-aged pensioner
7* I am student
10 both variants 1 + 2
11 both variants 1 + 3

(Note: * skip to question 17!)

Question 12. Do you work in following organization(s)?

1 yes 2 no

A. state organization
B. share company
C. private enterprise
D. cooperative

Question 13. What is your situation as far as property is concerned?

1 I am 2 I am not

A. employee
B. a share-holder (except of vouchers, apart from coupon privatization)
C. a joint owner in cooperative
D. proprietor of enterprise, or co-owner
E. assistance member in the family business

Question 14. Did you work, or have you been working as a manager?

A. Before 1989:
   1 no, I did not
   2 yes, I had 10 or less subordinates
   3 yes, I had more than 10 workers

B. After 1989:
   1 no, I have not worked
   2 yes, I have 10 or less subordinates
   3 yes, I have more than 10 workers

Question 15. Was the managerial staff in your present job changed after 1989?

1 yes, my direct superior was replaced
2 yes, the top management was replaced or part of it
3* no exchange has taken place
4* I entered a job in a new organization, new firm
9* I don’t know

(Note: * skip to question 17!)

Question 16. Do you think that the carried out management exchange (exchanges) has made the organisation (company):

1 more capable
2 its capability is at the same level
Question 17. There are different opinions concerning historical events and periods of our history. We shall now mention some periods of our history. How do you evaluate the periods?

1. very positive
2. rather positive than negative
3. equally positive and negative
4. rather negative than positive
5. very negative
9. I can't judge it

A. the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918 – 1939)
B. the Slovak State (1939 – 45)
C. the period after the WW II. (1945 – 1948)
D. the fifties
E. the year 1968
F. the seventies
G. the eighties
H. the period since Nov. ’89 (till June 1992)
I. the period after June ‘92

Question 18. Try to evaluate impact of the following personalities in our history:

1. a highly positive personality
2. rather positive than negative personality
3. equally positive and negative personality
4. rather negative than positive personality
5. a highly negative personality
9. I can't judge it

A. Jozef Tiso
B. Gustáv Husák
C. Alexander Dubček
D. Václav Havel
E. Vladimír Mečiar

Question 19. In connection with the present development in Czechoslovakia several things are unclear. What can be preserved or achieved today in the relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic?

1. a common federative state, in a form which would suit the Slovak as well as the Czech partner
2. intensive relations in the form of a union between these two states - a confederation, after having acknowledged the independence of each of them
3. a decent economic cooperation between an independent Czech state and independent Slovak state
4. none of the former variants (not even as much as that)
9 I don't know

Question 20. How do you accept the steps which are carried out towards Slovakia as an independent state?

1 I have supported these steps from the very beginning because I consider them to be right
2 I am supporting them now because there is no other possibility already, except Slovakia as an independent state
3 I have not supported them before and I am not supporting them now
4 I supported them but I don’t support them any more
9 I don't know

Question 21. What are your feelings in connection with the present partition of Czechoslovakia? Do you feel at least one of the following?

0 not selected 1 selected

A. worry
B. satisfaction
C. feeling of acquiring freedom
D. feeling of losing freedom
E. sadness
F. joy
G. fear
H. a feeling of greater possibilities
I. pride
J. shame
K. I don’t know myself what to think about it
L. it’s all the same to me

(i.e. “feeling”; from q21A to q21J q21L)

0 without emotion
1 only positive emotions
2 only negative emotions
3 ambigious (mixed) emotions

Question 22. According to your opinion, the constitutional structure of Czechoslovakia should be decided, first of all, by:

1 the political forces which won the elections (Mečiar’s movement HZDS, Klaus’s party ODS)
2 the Federal Assembly
3 an agreement between the Slovak National Council and the Czech National Council
4 the Slovak National Council independently and the Czech National Council independently
5 the citizens in a referendum
Question 23. Imagine a referendum being held in which the citizens should decide the structure of the state which will exist here. The question in the referendum could be formulated in different ways. How would you answer the question of the referendum in the following two cases?

A. "Are you for the split of the CSFR into two independent states – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic?"

1 I am    
2 I am not

7 I shall not take part in such a referendum
9 I cannot make up my mind

B. “Do you agree with a sovereign Slovak Republic becoming a subject of international law?”

1 I am    
2 I am not

7 I shall not take part in such referendum
9 I cannot make up my mind

Question 24. If Czechoslovakia is divided into two independent states, what will be – according your opinion – the main cause of this split?

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Question 25. Do you expect the development of the relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in the next months to be:

1 relatively peaceful
2 with many tensions
3 full of conflicts

9 I don’t know

Question 26. Further we have formulated several couples of contrary statements. Where would you place your opinion upon the range between two given opinions? (Variant 3 represents a middle of the range) Show the card with 7 couples of statements!

1  2  3  4  5

A.
It is necessary to extend private State property in industry must
Property in industry as much as possible

B. Individuals should undertake more responsibility in order that they might be able to take care of themselves
The state should undertake more responsibility and secure that everybody should be cared for

C. The unemployed should be obliged to accept any kind of work, or to lose their unemployment benefits
The unemployed should have the right to refuse any job which they do not want to do

D. Competition is useful, it motivates people to work harder and create new ideas
Competition is harmful, it awakes the worst inclinations in human being

(Continuing)

1 2 3 4 5

E. Hard work usually brings about better life
Hard work itself does not result in success – it is rather result of good luck and acquaintances

F. People can get rich only at the expense of others
Richness can grow in such way that there might be enough for all

G. The state should have under its control resources in order to be able to redistribute as much as possible
The state should have limited resources and it should reduce its interventions to a minimum

Question 27. There are different opinions about what is right and what is wrong. Do you agree, or disagree with following statements?

1 I fully agree
2 I rather agree
3 equally I agree and disagree
4 I rather disagree
5 I fully disagree
6 I fully disagree
7 it is all the same to me, I am not concerned with it
9 I don’t know
A. “The politician who has good intentions for the citizens is not always obliged to observe the law”

B. “In the period between the elections the Parliament is, after all, something more than the public opinion of the citizens”

C. “The centrally planned economy is more just to people than the market economy”

D. “In a properly functioning economy there should not be any unemployment”

E. “If the wages and salaries of everybody would be significantly increased, it would help people and it would do no harm to the economy”

F. “The current unemployment in our country has been caused by a wrong course of the economic reform”

G. “It is the duty of the Government to provide an emergency program of production for those enterprises which are threatened by unemployment”

H. “The current unemployment is the result of a false economic policy under socialism”

Question 28. Among the enterprises in the Slovak Republic there are many which are in a very unfavorable situation. Who, and to what extent is, according to your opinion, responsible for this situation in the enterprises?

1 great responsibility
2 partial responsibility
3 without responsibility
9 I don't know

1 2 3 9

A. the former communist Government in Czechoslovakia
B. the communist system in Eastern Bloc
C. the enterprise managements up to 1989
D. the revolutionary movement Public against Violence in enterprises after November '89
E. the Government after 1990
F. the enterprise managements after 1990
G. false economic rules up to year 1989
H. false economic rules at present
I. the low discipline at work which has still prevailed
J. the disintegration of the East-Block market
K. me as well

Question 29. According to your opinion, what should be done with the economic reform in Slovakia after elections '92?

1 the present conception should be continued
2 important changes should be implemented
3 the economic reform should be stopped
9 I don't know

Question 30. And what is your opinion on the following forms or possibilities of the privatization?

1 it is useful, I have no objections
2 it is rather useful, but I have some objections
3 it is harmful
9 I don't know, I am not informed

1 2 3 9

A. restitution
B. small privatization
C. transformation of the farming cooperatives
D. voucher privatization
E. entry of foreign capital into big enterprises

Question 31. There is much talk nowadays about private enterprising. Have you also started to enterprise?

1 I am an entrepreneur and that is my main job
2 I am an entrepreneur and that is my second job
3 although I do not enterprise, there is someone in my household who does
4* no one of my household is an entrepreneur, but we are considering this possibility
5* neither me, nor anybody else from my household is an entrepreneur, nor do we consider this possibility
7* some other possibility

(Note: * skip to question 33!)

Question 32. Name the greatest obstacle you have been meeting as an entrepreneur
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Question 33. How do you evaluate the firms (shops, services) which are in the hands of private owners?

1 generally I have had better experience with them than with the state-owned shops and services
2 they are neither worse, nor better than the state-owned ones
3 in general I have had worse experience with them than with the state-owned ones
9 I can not judge it

Question 34. And now let us pay our attention for a while to the voucher privatization. What did you do?

1* I have given all my vouchers to funds
2 a part of vouchers I have given to funds and the rest I will invest myself
3 I will invest all vouchers myself
4* I don’t know, I have asked somebody else to decide it
5* I have not taken a part in the voucher privatization

(Note: * skip to question 36!)

Question 35. Did you invest in the enterprises in the Slovak Republic or in the Czech Republic?

1 only in Slovakia
2 partly in Slovakia and partly in Czech Republic
3 only in Czech Republic
9 I can not remember

Question 36. According to your opinion, how the situation in Slovakia will develop during the next 12 months? (Variant 3 represents the middle of the range)

A. economy in Slovakia will be:
better worse

B. rate of currency will be:
much more increasing much more decreasing
C. unemployment will be:

much more decreasing      much more increasing

D. the overall situation will be:

much more quiet       much more unquiet

E. TV and radio will inform:

more objectively       less objectively

F. the relationships to neighboring countries will be:

more quiet       more conflicting

G. as citizens we will be:

more free       less free

H. the living standard of the population will be:

significantly improved       significantly impaired

Question 37. Which daily newspaper do you prefer?

Q 37A: on the 1. place
Q 37B: on the 2. place

selected on the 1. place
or on the 2. place

1 Práca
2 Národná obroda
3 Pravda
4 Smena
5 Nový čas
6 Koridor
7 Slovenský denník
8 Telegraf
9 Hlas ľudu
10 Smer
11 Slovenský východ
12 other dailies
13 I don’t read any daily paper

Question 38. Whom you voted to the Slovak National Council in the recent elections?

1. Movement for Democratic Slovakia
2. Party of Democratic Left
3. Christian Democratic Movement
4. Slovak National Party
5. Hungarian (Magyar) Christian Democratic Movement + Coexistence
6. Civic Democratic Union
7. Slovak Social Democratic Party
8. Democratic Party + Civic Democratic Party
9. Slovak Christian Democratic Movement
10. Slovak Green Party
11. Green Party
12. others
13. I don’t remember
14. I didn’t vote

Question 39. Imagine that the elections will be held just now once more, whom you would vote?
1. Movement for Democratic Slovakia
2. Party of Democratic Left
3. Christian Democratic Movement
4. Slovak National Party
5. Hungarian (Magyar) Christian Democratic Movement + Coexistence
6. Civic Democratic Union
7. Slovak Social Democratic Party
8. Democratic Party + Civic Democratic Party
9. Slovak Christian Democratic Movement
10. Slovak Green Party
11. Green Party
12. others
13. I don’t know
14. I would not vote

Question 40. Sex

1 male
2 female

VEK (Age): How old are you?

VEK1 (Age1): 1 18 – 29
2 30 – 44
3 45 – 59
4 60 –

VEK2 (Age2): 1 18 – 24
2 25 – 34
3 35 – 44
4 45 – 54
5 55 – 59
6 60 –

Question 42. Size of settlement (village, city):
1 settlement with less than 1 000 inhabitants
2 from 1000 to 2 000 inhabitants
3 from 2 000 to 10 000 inhabitants
4 from 10 000 to 50 000 inhabitants
5 from 50 000 to 100 000 inhabitants
6 Bratislava, Košice (over 100 000 inhabitants)

Question 43. In which district is the place of your permanent residence?

(38 districts in Slovakia)

KRAJ (region): 1 Bratislava
2 western Slovakia
3 central Slovakia
4 eastern Slovakia

Question 44. Which is your nationality?

1 Slovak
2 Hungarian
3 Czech
4 other nationality

Question 45. Are you able to speak any western language (English, German or other one)?

1 no, I am not able
2 yes, I am able to speak one western language
3 yes, I am able to speak more western languages

Question 46. What is your attitude towards religion?

1 I am believer
2 I am not believer
3 I did not make my mind

Question 47. What is a level of education you have obtained?

1 primary education, without vocational education
2 vocational, secondary education without graduating from high school
3 graduation from high school
4 university education

Question 48. What is a level of education of your father?

1 primary education, without vocational education
2 vocational, secondary education without graduating from high school
3 graduation from high school
4 university education

Question 49. How would you classify your occupation?

1 industrial worker
2 agricultural worker
3 manual employee in service
4 nonmanual employee in service
5 technician
6 administrative employee
7 intelligentsia
8 cooperative farmer
Question 50. Marital status:

1 single, unmarried
2 married
3 divorced
4 widow, widower
5 else

Question 51. How many children are dependant in your household?

1 none
2 one
3 two
4 three
5 four or more

(A note for the fieldwork interviewer: Ask the following question only those respondents who have been concerned more with the questions and problems and who were capable to formulate their opinions!)

“In the next year the researchers intend to ask a certain number of the population of Slovakia to tell their life stories. We would like to ask you, therefore, whether you would be willing to participate in it. Its confidential character (no name will be published) will be provided. If you agree to this, send us, please, this small slip of paper, duly filled in, to our address (Slovak Radio Broadcasting, Bratislava). If you send us this slip of paper with your name and address, we shall be able to contact you for the above-mentioned talk and, at the same time, we ensure that your name will not be connected with our present dialogue and this questionnaire.”