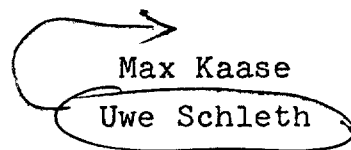


The 1967 German Election Study
(ZENTRALARCHIV No. 524 -- ICPR No. 7109)

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November 17 - December 15, 1967

Q.1. In general, how would you evaluate the economic situation in the Federal Republic today: very good, good, not so good, or bad?

- . Very good
- . Good
- . Not so good
- . Bad

Q.2. Would you say that the economic situation in the Federal Republic right now is better, worse or about the same as it was last year at this time?

- . Better
- . Worse
- . About the same
- . NA

Q.3. And how will it be in a year from now? Do you think that the economic situation of the Federal Republic then will be better, worse or about the same as now?

- . Better
- . Worse
- . About the same
- . NA

Q.4. (Interviewer check box: Code according to Q.1.)

- . Respondent mentioned very good or good
- . Respondent mentioned not so good or bad

Q.5. What do you think can be done in order to stimulate the economic growth in the Federal Republic?

- . More government control
- . Better morale at work, harder working
- . Government measures of economy
- . Measures of economy in general
- . (More) private initiative
- . Restriction of the power of labor unions
- . Limitation of business profits
- . Restriction of expenditure on armament
- . Employment policy, job creation
- . Better price policy, price freeze

- . Reduction of foreign aid, development aid (More) investments
- . Reducing the number of foreign workers (guest-workers)
- . Tax reduction, better fiscal policy
- . Better politics in general (e.g., give up Grand Coalition, foreign policy, policy toward the East)
- . Easing of credit, policy of easy money
- . Reducing the number of administrative personnel
- . Export promotion, increase of export
- . Rationalization, modernization
- . Reducing subsidies
- . Stabilizing wages
- . Stabilizing prices
- . Other
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.4

Q.6. Do you believe that the economy will recover by itself, or do you think that government action will be necessary?

- . Will recover by itself
- . Think that government action will be necessary
- . DK
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.4

Q.7. Are you prepared to contribute personally toward the economic upswing by, e.g., paying higher taxes?

- . Am prepared to pay higher taxes
- . Am not prepared to pay higher taxes
- . Higher taxes cannot produce an economic upswing
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.4

Q.8. And would you forgo temporarily an increase of your income if this would speed up the economic upswing?

- . Am prepared to forgo an increase of income
- . Am not prepared to forgo an increase of income
- . Forgoing an increase of income cannot produce an economic upswing
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.4

Q.9. In case of a deterioration in the economic situation, would you be prepared to contribute personally to the economic recovery, e.g., by paying higher taxes or by forgoing temporarily an increase of your income?

- . Would be prepared to pay higher taxes
- . Would not be prepared to pay higher taxes
- . Higher taxes cannot produce an economic recovery
- . Would be prepared to forgo an increase of my income
- . Would not be prepared to forgo an increase of my income
- . Forgoing an increase of income cannot produce an economic recovery
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.4

Q.10. Do you think that in the Federal Republic the opportunities for achievement in life are distributed justly/fairly, or that they are not distributed justly/fairly?

- . Distributed justly/fairly
- . Not distributed justly/fairly
- . NA

Q.11. If the government has to economize on expenditure more than until now, where should it economize? How would you decide?

Q.11A. Should the government economize on expenditure for children allowance or for the building of schools and universities?

- .. Children allowance
- . Schools and universities
- . Neither
- . Undecided, DK

Q.11B. Should it economize on pensions or on the building of homes for the aged and hospitals?

- . Pensions
- . Homes for the aged and hospitals
- . Neither
- . Undecided, DK

Q.11C. Should it economize on mileage allowance for employees who use their private cars for commuting between their place of residence and their place of work, or on roadbuilding?

- . Mileage allowance
- . Roadbuilding
- . Neither
- . Undecided, DK

Q.12. Could you please tell me who our Federal Chancellor is at this time?

- . Kiesinger
- . Brandt
- . Erhard
- . Other

Q.13. And who is, in your opinion, the second-most important man in the federal government?

- . Brandt
- . Minister of Foreign Affairs
- . Strauss
- . Federal Minister of Finance
- . Schiller
- . Federal Minister of Economics
- . Luecke
- . Federal Minister of the Interior
- . Schroeder
- . Wehner
- . Helmut Schmidt
- . Guttenberg
- . Luebke
- . President of the Federal Republic
- . Barzel
- . Gerstenmaier
- . Kiesinger
- . Other individual politician mentioned
- . Other political office mentioned
- . NA

Q.14. Which parties form the federal government in Bonn today?

- . CDU/CSU and SPD
- . Only CDU/CSU
- . Only SPD
- . CDU/CSU and FDP
- . SPD and FDP
- . CDU/CSU; SPD; FDP
- . Other
- . NA

Q.15. Do you still remember when this federal government of CDU/CSU and SPD, the "Grand Coalition" government, was formed?

- . Yes, September 1966
- . Yes, October 1966
- . Yes, November 1966
- . Yes, December 1966
- . Yes, 1966 - other month mentioned
- . Yes, 1966 - month NA
- . Yes, 1965
- . Yes, 1967
- . Yes, other year mentioned
- . End of 1966, last winter, last Christmas, New Year
- . No
- . NA

Q.16. The predecessor of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger was Ludwig Erhard. Were you, in all, more satisfied or more dissatisfied with what the Erhard government accomplished?

I will give you something like a thermometer.

(Interviewer: Hand scale to the respondent.)

The higher you go up on the white squares, the more satisfied you were; the further you go down on the black squares, the more dissatisfied you were with what the Erhard government accomplished.

- . Dissatisfied with Erhard government
- .
- .
- .
- .
- . Undecided
- .
- .
- .
- .
- . Satisfied with Erhard government
- . NA

Q.17. What, would you say, were the main reasons for the government crisis in Bonn which led to Erhard's resignation?

- . Erhard's lack of leadership qualities (too good-natured, too weak, too indulgent)
- . Erhard's bad financial policy and budgetary practices
- . Erhard's bad economic policy, insufficient planning
- . Other political failures of Erhard (foreign policy, etc.)
- . Erhard's denomination (catholicism)
- . Bad economic situation, recession, etc.; bad financial situation, budget crisis
- . Too many group interests, i.e. too many demands on the government
- . Too little agreement, too many different interests within Erhard's government, cabinet, party
- . Personal rivalries, intrigues, jealousies
- . Unreliability of the FDP, their leaving
- . Other reasons
- . NA, DK

Q.18. And what do you think were the politicians' considerations which led to the formation of a "Grand Coalition" of CDU and SPD?

(Codes see page 7a)

Q.19. Do you still remember the most important aims and objectives of the new "Grand Coalition" government?

- . Set the economy going again
- . Stabilization of the economy
- . Settling public finance, budget balance, settling of financial crisis
- . Reunification of Germany, better relations with the GDR, more contacts with the people in the East Zone, better and new policy towards the East
- . Road building and housing construction
- . Job security, job creation
- . Stimulating foreign policy, policies toward Europe, toward the EEC
- . Stabilization of the German mark (DM), fighting inflation
- . Domestic policy, objectives like emergency powers legislation, reform of electoral law
- . Other general changes, e.g., make everything better, set things going again, etc.
- . No
- . NA

- . Overcoming of the economic crisis
- . Unity is strength, etc. (general political stabilization)
- . Eliminating, weakening of the opposition
- . SPD wanted to get into the government
- . Attaining of specific economic objectives (checking the power of the labor unions, crisis of the Ruhr District, etc.)
- . Attaining of specific political objectives (change to single member electoral districts, emergency powers legislation, etc.)
- . Budget balance, settling of debts
- . Temporary solution, there was no other way
- . Unreliability of the FDP, their leaving
- . Uniting of the best people of both parties
- . Other reasons
- . DK, NA

Q.20. In which of these problem areas do you think that the "Grand Coalition" has been successful so far?

- . In all fields, everywhere
- . Cannot be said yet, as yet little success, nowhere, not yet, other negative response
- . Set economy going again, stabilization and improvement of the economy
- . Stabilization of prices and currency
- . Stabilization of public finance, budget balance, increase of public revenue
- . Policy toward the East, trade with the East
- . Foreign policy, policy toward Europe
- . Social policy, pensions, housing construction
- . Improvement of traffic conditions, road building
- . Other
- . NA, DK
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.19

Q.21. And what do you think are the most important problems of the present federal government that have not yet been solved?

- . Further security, stabilization, reorganization of the economy
- . Job security
- . Preservation, security, stability of prices and currency
- . Policy toward the East (excluding the GDR), peace treaty
- . Better contacts with the GDR, reunification of Germany
- . Social policy (excluding pensions), rents, old age homes, hospitals
- . Improvement of pensions and of living conditions for pensioners and old people
- . Building of schools, educational system, cultural policy, educational policy
- . Financial policy, budget balance, financial reform, measures of economy
- . Housing construction
- . Improvement of traffic conditions, road building
- . Berlin
- . Crisis in coal mining, mining, energy policy
- . Foreign policy toward the West (France, Europe, England, USA)
- . Guarantee of peace
- . More sensible development aid

- . Defense policy, armed forces
- . Reform of civil service system
- . Emergency planning
- . Reform of electoral law, change to single member electoral districts
- . Other response
- . None, we have to wait and see
- . NA, DK

Q.22. Until last winter, there was always one big party in the government and the other big party in the opposition in Bonn. Therefore the coalition of the two big parties CDU and SPD is rather a novelty to us. Do you think that, at the present time, the "Grand Coalition" in the Federal Republic is absolutely necessary, desirable, superfluous, or rather detrimental?

- . At the present time absolutely necessary
- . At the present time desirable
- . At the present time superfluous
- . At the present time detrimental
- . DK
- . NA

Q.23. Why do you hold this view?

- . A joint effort yields better results: unity is strength, four eyes see more than two, a solution of economic problems becomes possible
- . The most competent politicians are enabled to do things
- . Unpopular but necessary measures can be introduced (no loss of votes to be feared)
- . Broad basis for government responsibility, strong majority necessary, greater opportunities for action and decision-making
- . Opposition does not cause disturbance any more, less quarrels
- . CDU needs breathing-space, was not able to go on alone
- . Encouragement, opportunity for the SPD, only thus participation in the government possible
- . A coalition with the FDP was no longer possible
- . There was no other way

- . Better opportunities to solve specific problems mentioned by the respondent
- . The success justifies the Grand Coalition
- . Lack of a strong opposition, lack of control, too little criticism
- . It was not absolutely necessary to form a Grand Coalition
- . Unfair ruling-out of the FDP
- . It would have been better if the CDU had governed alone
- . Other response
- . DK
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.22

Q.24. Which of the following possibilities of forming a federal government would you consider basically the best solution for Germany?

(Interviewer: Hand list A to the respondent.)

- . A CDU/CSU governs alone
- . B SPD governs alone
- . C Government of CDU (chancellor) and SPD (vice-chancellor)
- . D Government of SPD (chancellor) and CDU (vice-chancellor)
- . E CDU/FDP government
- . F SPD/FDP government
- . G CDU/SPD/FDP all-party government excluding NPD
- . H CDU/SPD/FDP/NPD all-party government including NPD
- . DK
- . NA

Q.25. And what would you consider the worst solution for Germany?

(Interviewer: Hand list A once again to the respondent.)

- . A CDU/CSU governs alone
- . B SPD governs alone
- . C Government of CDU (chancellor) and SPD (vice-chancellor)
- . D Government of SPD (chancellor) and CDU (vice-chancellor)
- . E CDU/FDP government
- . F SPD/FDP government
- . G CDU/SPD/FDP all-party government excluding NPD
- . H CDU/SPD/FDP/NPD all-party government including NPD
- . DK
- . NA

Q.26. What do you think, which of the two parties has more influence in the "Grand Coalition", the CDU or the SPD, or don't you see any difference?

- . CDU has greater influence
- . SPD has greater influence
- . No difference
- . DK
- . NA

Q.27. Would you say that there are differences in opinion concerning important political questions between the CDU/CSU and the SPD although they jointly form the federal government?

- . Yes
- . No
- . DK

(If R sees differences in opinion between CDU/CSU and SPD:)

Q.28. Which questions are this?

- . Differences (almost) everywhere
- . Social policy, labor question, social question
- . Social security
- . Financial policy, budget
- . Economic policy
- . Policy toward the East, trade with the East
- . Foreign policy
- . Reunification of Germany
- . Defense policy
- . Emergency powers legislation
- . Denomination, religion, "Weltanschauung"
- . Improvement of traffic conditions
- . Cultural policy, educational questions
- . Death penalty
- . Energy policy, policies concerning the Ruhr District (coal mining)
- . Domestic policy
- . It depends
- . Other response
- . DK
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.27

Q.29. Are you more satisfied or more dissatisfied with what the new federal government has accomplished so far? Here is once again our thermometer.

(Interviewer: Hand scale to the respondent. Mark respective answer in the questionnaire.)

The higher you go up on the white squares, the more satisfied you are with the present federal government; the more you go down on the black squares, the more dissatisfied you are with the federal government.

- . Dissatisfied
- .
- .
- .
- .
- . Undecided
- .
- .
- .
- . Satisfied
- . NA

Q.30. Supposing the federal government Kiesinger/Brandt that means the "Grand Coalition" government, would in the near future declare its willingness to recognize the GDR as the second German state, what do you think would happen?

- . Resistance, rejection, unrest, dissatisfaction in the West German population
- . Overthrow or resignation of the government, loss of votes for the government parties, gain of votes for the NPD
- . Infiltration of communism, advantages only for the GDR, the East, the USSR, danger for the democratic order in the Federal Republic, increase of the danger of war
- . No advantages for us, we must not do this, we should not do this, etc., no good
- . Reunification of Germany would become impossible
- . Nothing, nothing important, no change
- . Population would welcome, agree to, support this step
- . Economic and political upswing
- . Better travel facilities, better contacts, removal of the Berlin Wall, world-wide appeasement, better relations with the East block
- . Other response
- . DK
- . NA

Q.31. One does not always think of everything on the spur of the moment. Here are some cards with possible consequences that might arise from a recognition of the GDR as the second German state. Please place each card on the field where you think it belongs.
(Interviewer: Hand blue deck of cards to the respondent and make him/her place the cards on chart I, and then mark the respective answers in the questionnaire.)

- Q.31(1). The peace in Europe would be better safeguarded than formerly
- . Highly probable
 - . Probable
 - . Not very probable
 - . Improbable
 - . DK
- Q.31(2). Nothing but new claims of the GDR government
- Q.31(3). Diplomatic relations of the Federal Republic with all East block states
- Q.31(4). More security and freedom for West Berlin
- Q.31(5). Formation of a "moderate" government in the GDR
- Q.31(6). New negotiations of the Soviet Union about the German question
- Q.31(7). Extension of the German export trade with the GDR and the East block states
- Q.31(8). Easing of restrictions imposed on traveling between both parts of Germany
- Q.31(9). Sizeable Soviet troop withdrawal from the GDR
- Q.31(10). Major gains of votes of the right-wing radicalist parties in the next federal elections

Q.32(1). And what do you think would the Western countries say? Would the USA agree to a recognition of the GDR by the Federal Republic or would it not agree?

- . USA would agree
- . USA would not agree
- . DK
- . NA

Q.32(2). And what about France? Would the De Gaulle government agree or not agree?

- . France would agree
- . France would not agree
- . DK
- . NA

Q.32(3). And England?

- . England would agree
- . England would not agree
- . DK
- . NA

Q.33. Here we have noted down some other groups. What do you think, is it highly probable, probable, not very probable, or rather improbable that the groups on this list would agree to a recognition of the GDR by the federal government?

(Interviewer: Hand list B to the respondent and make him point to the probability answers in chart I.)

Q.33(1). Catholic church

- . Highly probable
- . Probable
- . Not very probable
- . Improbable
- . DK
- . NA

Q.33(2). Labor unions

Q.33(3). FDP

Q.33(4). Protestant church

Q.33(5). Refugee and expellee organizations

Q.33(6). Industry

Q.33(7). Young generation in West Germany

Q.34. Some people say the recognition of the GDR as the second German state cannot be prevented anyhow. Would you agree to this, or do you hold a different view?

- . Agree
- . Hold different view
- . DK
- . NA

Q.35. Do you think that the great majority of the West German population shares your view regarding this question, or are you not so sure about this?

- . Population shares view
- . Population does not share view
- . DK
- . NA

Q.36. Now something quite different:
When you think about our politicians in Bonn, which names occur to you in the first place?
And could you please tell me at the same time to which party these politicians belong?

Q.36(1). Kiesinger, CDU
Kiesinger, other party
Kiesinger, no party mentioned

Q.36(2). Brandt, SPD
Brandt, other party
Brandt, no party mentioned

Q.36(3). Schiller, SPD

Q.36(4). Strauss, CSU (CDU)

Q.36(5). Wehner, SPD

Q.36(6). Leber, SPD

Q.36(7). Schroeder, CDU

Q.36(8). Erhard, CDU

Q.36(9). Gerstenmaier, CDU

Q.36(10). Helmut Schmidt, SPD

Q.36(11). Luebke, CDU (CSU)

Q.36(12). Carlo Schmid, SPD

Q.36(13). Other politician, party mentioned
Other politician, no party mentioned

Q.37. One does not always think of all the names on the spur of the moment. We have noted down a few names of politicians. Do you know to which party these politicians belong?

(Interviewer: Shuffle white deck of cards and hand it to the respondent.)

Q.37(1). Barzel
 . CDU
 . SPD
 . FDP
 . Other party
 . DK
 . NA

Q.37(2). Brandt

Q.37(3). Gerstenmaier

Q.37(4). Mende

Q.37(5). Scheel

Q.37(6). Schiller

Q.37(7). Carlo Schmid

Q.37(8). Helmut Schmidt

Q.37(9). Schroeder

Q.37(10). Strauss

Q.37(11). Wehner

Q.37(12). Weyer

Q.38. And now I would like to know this from you:
Whom would you like best as Federal Chancellor, Kiesinger or Brandt or someone else?

 . Kiesinger
 . Brandt
 . Someone else
 . NA

Q.39. (If R prefers other politician as chancellor)
Who is this?

- . Strauss
- . Schiller
- . Helmut Schmidt
- . Erhard
- . Gerstenmaier
- . Luebke
- . Leber
- . Carlo Schmid
- . Adenauer
- . Wehner
- . Other politician
- . NA
- . Inap., coded 1 or 2 in Q.38

Q.40. Now I would be interested to know what you think of some of the leading politicians in Germany. Here is the thermometer once again. The higher you go up on the white squares, the more you like the particular individual. The further you go down on the black squares, the more you reject him.

(Interviewer: Hand scale to the respondent. Read out politicians' names and change the order in which the politicians are named for each interview. Mark respective answers in the questionnaire.)

- Q.40(1). Wehner
- . Rejects politician
 - .
 - .
 - .
 - . Undecided
 - .
 - .
 - .
 - . Likes politician
 - . Does not know this politician
 - . NA

Q.40(2). Strauss

Q.40(3). Erhard

Q.40(4). Brandt

Q.40(5). Mende

Q.40(6). Schiller

Q.40(7). Kiesinger

Q.40(8). Schroeder

Q.40(9). Leber

Q.40(10). Luebke

Q.40(11). Scheel

Q.40(12). Helmut Schmidt

Q.41. When you think of questions and problems which are being talked about in the Federal Republic, which of them are especially important to you personally?

- . Price stability, monetary policy
- . Job security, strike problems
- . General economic situation, order situation of companies
- . Educational issues, curricula reform, cultural policy
- . Foreign policy, alliance with the West, peace guarantees
- . Policy towards Europe, England's joining the EEC
- . Traffic problems
- . Crisis of the Ruhr District (coal mining), problems of the infrastructure
- . Policy towards the East, the German question
- . Questions of social security, veterans' benefits
- . Financial aid to families with many children
- . Own health, health policy
- . Protection of small and middle-sized companies, problems of the middle class
- . Budget, fiscal policy
- . Tax problems, added value tax
- . Questions of armament, armed forces
- . Reform of the civil service system
- . Emergency powers legislation
- . Public safety measures, crime, legal system, death penalty
- . Public morals, declining authority, bad movies, bad mass media, etc.
- . Separation of church and state wanted, or not wanted
- . There are no specific problems that are especially important
- . Other response
- . NA

Q.42. We have compiled a number of political tasks and objectives, and we would be interested to know high importance they have for you personally. Would you please tell us, by using this list, whether you consider these questions as very important, important, not so important or completely unimportant.
(Interviewer: Hand list C to the respondent.)

- Q.42(1). Good relations with America
- . Very important
 - . Important
 - . Not so important
 - . Quite unimportant
 - . DK
 - . NA

- Q.42(2). Good relations with France
- Q.42(3). Job security
- Q.42(4). Preparation and passage of the emergency powers legislation
- Q.42(5). Improvement of the relations with the people in the GDR
- Q.42(6). England's joining the European Economic Community
- Q.42(7). Further efforts toward the economic unity of Europe
- Q.42(8). Stable prices
- Q.42(9). Improvement of road traffic conditions
- Q.42(10). Change to single member electoral districts (reform of electoral law)
- Q.42(11). The establishing of diplomatic relations with the East block countries
- Q.42(12). Improvement of our school and educational system
- Q.42(13). Settling of public finances (budget balance)
- Q.42(14). Efforts toward the political unification of Western Europe
- Q.42(15). Better relations with the Sovjet Union
- Q.42(16). Aid of the Federal Republic for the developing countries
- Q.42(17). Promotion of housing construction
- Q.42(18). Maintaining and safeguarding of full employment

Q.43. And do you think the Kiesinger/Brandt government has done too much, done enough, not yet done enough, or done definitely too little toward achieving these tasks and objectives?

(Interviewer: Hand list D to the respondent.)

- Q.43(1). Good relations with America
 - . Done too much
 - . Done enough
 - . Not yet done enough
 - . Definitely done too little
 - . DK
 - . NA

- Q.43(2). Good relations with France
- Q.43(3). Job security
- Q.43(4). Preparation and passage of the emergency powers legislation
- Q.43(5). Improvement of the relations with the people in the GDR
- Q.43(6). England's joining the European Economic Community
- Q.43(7). Further efforts toward the economic unity of Europe
- Q.43(8). Stable prices
- Q.43(9). Improvement of road traffic conditions
- Q.43(10). Change to single member electoral districts (reform of electoral law)
- Q.43(11). The establishing of diplomatic relations with the East block countries
- Q.43(12). Improvement of our school and educational system
- Q.43(13). Settling of public finances (budget balance)
- Q.43(14). Efforts toward the political unification of Western Europe
- Q.43(15). Better relations with the Sovjet Union
- Q.43(16). Aid of the Federal Republic for the developing countries
- Q.43(17). Promotion of housing construction
- Q.43(18). Maintaining and safeguarding of full employment

Q.44. In political life, like elsewhere, it is not possible to deal with all problems at a time. Political tasks and objectives should, however, be dealt with by the politicians according to their urgency. Please order these cards according to their urgency.

(Interviewer: Shuffle red deck of cards and hand it to the respondent.)

Let us start by making three piles: on the left those tasks and objectives which you think are especially important, in the middle the next-most important ones, and on the right the less important ones.

(Interviewer: Take the left pile with the most important objectives and hand it to the respondent.)

And would you now please order these cards and put on top the card with the task you think most important, put the second-most important next, etc.

(Interviewer: Take away the first pile and hand the middle pile to the respondent.)

And now please order these cards in the same way.

(Interviewer: Let the respondent make the ranking, take these cards away and put them underneath the first pile. Then hand the pile on the right to the respondent.)

And now please order these cards.

(Interviewer: Place ordered cards underneath the others. Enter the letters on the cards into the adjoining chart. You have now an order ranking from 1 to 10. Put aside the cards ranked 6 to 10.)

Q.44. Preference rank which respondent gives to task

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.   First rank
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.   Tenth rank
.   NA

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Proposal for coding questions 44/45:

Q.44(1). Task which respondent designated as first most important

- . ha: Better social security, building of hospitals, old-age security
- . cb: Improvement of human relations between East Germany and West Germany
- . ce: Peaceful cooperation
- . :
- . :
- . cg: Strong American troops

Q.44(2). Task which respondent designated as second most important

- . ha: Better social security

and so on until Q.44(10).

Q.45(1A). Does R think measure (1) is very favorable, favorable, without influence, damaging or very damaging for the accomplishing of the task designated as first most important in Q.44?

- . Very favorable
- . Favorable
- . Without influence
- . Damaging
- . Very damaging

Q.45(1B). Does R think measure (2) is very favorable, ..
and so on until measure (10).

Q.45(2A). Does R think measure (1) is very favorable, favorable, without influence, damaging or very damaging for the accomplishing of the task designated as second most important in Q.44?

- . Very favorable

and so on until fifth most important; each for measures (1) - (10)

Tasks ha - cg (red deck of cards)

Better social security, building of hospitals, old-age security (ha)

Improvement of human relations between East Germany and West Germany (cb)

Peaceful cooperation of Western und Communist countries (ce)

Reestablishment of a unified all-German state (cd)

Improvement of the school and educational system, promotion of science and research (cf)

Strengthening the rôle of the Federal Republic as a nation in the world (hl)

Political unification of Western Europe including England and France (hk)

Stable economic growth and increase of incomes (hi)

Eliminating hunger in the world, aid in establishing a sound economy in developing countries (hm)

Strong American troops in West Germany and West Berlin (cg)

Q.45. And would you now please tell me if the measures named on these yellow cards are very favorable, favorable, without influence, damaging or very damaging for the accomplishing of the objective?

(Interviewer: Place chart II before the respondent. Read the red card ranked No. 1 to the respondent and place it on the top field of chart II. Shuffle yellow deck of cards and hand it to the respondent. The respondent has to place the yellow cards on fields A to E of chart II according to whether he thinks the measures named on the cards are very favorable, favorable, without influence, damaging or very damaging for the accomplishing of the first objective.

If the respondent has difficulties in understanding his task, read the question text again.

When all yellow cards pertaining to the red card ranked No. 1 are placed on fields A to E, enter the letters (A - E) in the adjoining chart.

Then hand all yellow cards to the respondent again and repeat the procedure for the second red card, and so on, until the first five red cards have been dealt with and the results have been entered in the questionnaire.)

Tasks ha - cg

Measures 1 - 10

- . A Very favorable
- . B Favorable
- . C Without influence
- . D Damaging
- . E Very damaging

Measures 1 - 10 (yellow deck of cards)

- (1) Talks between representatives of the West German government and the government of the GDR
- (2) Talks between Kiesinger and Ulbricht
- (3) Government formed by the CDU/CSU only in Bonn after 1969
- (4) Government formed by the SPD only in Bonn after 1969
- (5) Recognition of the GDR as the second German state
- (6) The continuation of the Grand Coalition of CDU/CSU and SPD after the next federal elections
- (7) Reduction of the German armed forces
- (8) Postponement of all negotiations with the GDR until free elections will be held there
- (9) The recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the German-Polish border
- (10) Expansion of the West German armed forces until they can defend Germany without help from others

Q.46. Now quite another matter.

There is a number of domains of one's life which are of different importance to different people. Here is a ladder. The further you go up on the ladder, the more important the domain is for you personally, the further you go down, the more unimportant it is for you personally (Interviewer: Hand list E to the respondent.)

Q.46(1). Now then, how important is your family for you?

- . Unimportant
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- .
- . Very important
- . NA

Q.46(2). Sport

Q.46(3). Politics

Q.46(4). Your job

Q.46(5). Leisure

Q.46(6). Religion

Q.47. Would you please tell me which daily newspaper you read regularly?

- . Bild
- . Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
- . Die Welt
- . Süddeutsche Zeitung
- . Major regional daily newspapers
- . Small local daily newspapers
- . Mass circulation daily newspapers
- . ~~Other~~
- . None
- . NA

Q.48. And how often do you read this newspaper/these newspapers?

(Interviewer: Hand list F to the respondent.)

- . Every day for at least 1 hour
- . Every day, but for less than 1 hour
- . Several times a week
- . At least once a week
- . Several times a month
- . At least once a month
- . Less frequently (than once a month)
- . Never
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.47

Q.49. Do you have the feeling that you personally are well informed or not so well informed about current events in politics? On this list there are some statements relevant to that. Which statement most nearly applies to you?

(Interviewer: Hand list G to the respondent.)

- . I am fairly accurately informed about politics
- . I am somewhat informed about politics
- . I barely know about the most important things in politics
- . I know only very little about politics
- . I am not at all interested in politics
- . NA

Q.50(1). There are many ways in which one can obtain information about politics.

Do you personally learn very much, a lot, something, little or nothing from daily newspapers?

(Interviewer: Hand list H to the respondent.)

- . Very much
- . A lot
- . Something
- . Little
- . Nothing
- . NA

Q.50(2). (Feature) magazines

Q.50(3). News magazines and weekly newspapers

Q.50(4). Talks with spouse, with relatives

Q.50(5). Talks with friends and acquaintances

Q.50(6). Talks with people you work with

Q.50(7). Discussions with people who are interested in politics

Q.50(8). Party meetings and political rallies

Q.50(9). Television

Q.50(10). The radio

Q.50(11). Talks in your club

Q.51. What do you think, has the position of the Federal Republic in the world become stronger in the past years, has it remained the same, or has it become weaker?

- . Has become stronger
- . Remained the same
- . Has become weaker
- . ~~DK~~
- 1. NA

Q.52. Which are, in your opinion, the most aggravating defects and shortcomings of our political institutions --which are the things you do not like about them?

- . Opposition too weak
- . Too much opposition, too much democracy, no agreement
- . Party quarrels, too many parties
- . Too many interest groups and party interests
- . Not enough opportunities given to the younger generation, not enough prospects for talented people
- . Bad policy towards the East
- . Bad foreign policy
- . Bad economic policy
- . Bad social policy
- . Too high expenditure on armaments
- . Grievances in the armed forces (including bad equipment)
- . Wasting public money
- . The little man, the individual has no say in anything
- . Too much spending on development aid
- . Bloated bureaucratic apparatus and other defects of the bureaucracy
- . Jurisdiction, legal system
- . No effective fight against crime
- . Too many taxes (policy of taxation)
- . Cultural policy, school and educational system
- . Federalism, confusion of responsibilities
- . Too much influence of the labor unions

- . Incompetent politicians
- . Weak government, unstable politics, no clear politics
- . Too much emergency powers legislation
- . Too little emergency powers legislation
- . Too little political information provided to the people
- . Other defects and shortcomings
- . Like everything, no substantial defects or shortcomings
- . DK
- . NA

Q.53. What would you generally say about democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany, that is, about our political parties and our entire political system? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied with it?

- . Very satisfied
- . Somewhat satisfied
- . Not satisfied
- . DK
- . NA

Q.54. Do you think that it is necessary to found a completely new party to better represent your interests, or do you think this is not necessary?

- . Completely new party necessary
- . Completely new party not necessary
- . DK
- . NA

Q.55. Are you personally in favor of or against these measures?
(Interviewer: Hand yellow deck of cards to the respondent again and make him arrange it according to "personally in favor of" and "personally against".)

(See list of yellow deck of cards, Q.45)

- . In favor
- . Against
- . DK
- . NA

Q.56. Now I would like to ask you some more questions regarding our political parties. Generally speaking--do you think of yourself as a supporter of the CDU, a supporter of the SPD, a supporter of the FDP, a supporter of the NPD, a supporter of another party, or don't you feel particularly close to any party?

- . Supporter of the CDU
- . Supporter of the SPD
- . Supporter of the FDP
- . Supporter of the NPD
- . Supporter of another party
- . Do not feel particularly close to any party
- . NA

Q.57. (If R is a party supporter) Are you a convinced supporter of the (party mentioned in Q.56), or are you not particularly convinced?

- . Am a convinced supporter
- . Am not particularly convinced
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.56

Q.58. Do you regard a strong opposition party as absolutely necessary, as quite useful, as rather superfluous for or as detrimental to the functioning of our democracy?

- . Absolutely necessary
- . Quite useful
- . Rather superfluous
- . Detrimental
- . DK
- . NA

Q.59. Would you say that there is still a working opposition party in the Bundestag after the formation of the "Grand Coalition"?

- . Yes
- . Part yes/part no
- . No
- . DK
- . NA

Q.60. Would there be major changes, on the long run, for you personally if we had a dictatorship in the Federal Republic?

- . Yes
- . No
- . DK
- . NA

Q.61. Here are, once again, three opinions. With which of them do you agree?

(Interviewer: Hand list J to the respondent.)

(Text to be supplied later)

Study 524, Question 61:

View A: The labor unions and the employers should settle all disputes among themselves, the government should not intervene.

View B: The government should in any case settle all disputes between labor unions and employers.

View C: The government should intervene only if the labor unions and the employers do not arrive at an agreement in their negotiations.

Q.62. And what do you think of the different German parties today? Let us take this thermometer again. Now tell me, please, quite generally: what do you think of the SPD?

(Interviewer: Hand scale to the respondent and leave it with him until Q.65.)

. (Do not think much of the party at all)

.

.

.

.

. (Undecided)

.

.

.

.

. (Think a great deal of the party)

Q.63. And what do you think of the CDU?

. (Do not think much of the party at all)

.

.

.

.

. (Undecided)

.

.

.

.

. (Think a great deal of the party)

Q.64. And what do you think of the FDP?

. (Do not think much of the party at all)

.

.

.

.

. (Undecided)

.

.

.

. (Think a great deal of the party)

Q.65. And what do you think of the NPD?

- . (Do not think much of the party at all)
- .
- .
- .
- . (Undecided)
- .
- .
- .
- . (Think a great deal of the party)

Q.66. After the last Landtag elections, the NPD moved into several state parliaments. Would you wish that the NPD will become still stronger, or are you against this?

- . NPD should become stronger
- . NPD should not become stronger
- . DK
- . NA

Q.67(1). (If respondent does not want the NPD to become stronger) Why do you hold this opinion?

- . May become dangerous, damaging effects on politics
- . Right-wing radicalism, rightist, reactionist
- . Too radical
- . Is successor to the NSDAP
- . Is said to be successor to the NSDAP
- . Deterioration of relations with foreign countries
- . Political objectives unclear
- . We have enough parties
- . Other negative reasons
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.66

Q.67(2). (If respondent wants the NPD to become stronger) Why do you hold this opinion?

- . New stimulus, it strikes a new cord in parliament
- . Represents national interest
- . So as to have a real opposition
- . It is for law and order
- . Has a good program
- . Other positive reasons
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.66

Q.68. Which party did you vote for in the last federal election of 1965?

- . CDU
- . SPD
- . FDP
- . NPD
- . Other
- . Not yet eligible to vote
- . DK K DID NOT VOTE
- . Refused
- . NA

Q.69. And which of the parties CDU, SPD, FDP, NPD and DFU would you never vote for?

- . CDU
- . SPD
- . FDP
- . NPD
- . DFU
- . Would vote for all of these
- . Would not vote at all
- . NA

Q.70. If there were federal elections next Sunday, which party would you vote for?

- . CDU
- . SPD
- . FDP
- . NPD
- . Other
- . Would not vote
- . DK
- . Refused
- . NA

Q.71. (If respondent would vote for the FDP) It may be assumed that if the single member electoral districts will be introduced, the FDP will hardly have a chance to get its candidates into the Bundestag. Which party would you vote for in this case?

- . Nevertheless FDP
- . CDU/CSU
- . SPD
- . NPD
- . Other
- . Would not vote
- . DK
- . Refused
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.70

Q.72. There are people who say that in the Federal Republic certain forces and groups have too much influence on politics. Which of the groups on this list do you think have too much influence?

(Interviewer: Hand list K to the respondent.)

- . Farmers' associations
- . Labor unions
- . Employers' associations and trade organizations
- . The Catholic church
- . The Protestant church
- . Jews
- . Refugee and expellee organizations
- . The armed forces
- . The Springer newspapers
- . The leftist intellectuals
- . The civil servants' organizations
- . The students
- . The CDU/CSU
- . The SPD
- . Television
- . (The weekly magazine) "Der Spiegel"
- . NA

Q.73. But there are also people who say that certain groups and forces should have more influence on German politics. To which groups do you think this applies?

(Interviewer: Hand list K once more to the respondent.)

- . Farmers' associations
- . Labor unions
- . Employers' associations and trade organizations
- . The Catholic church

- . The Protestant church
- . Jews
- . Refugee and expellee organizations
- . The armed forces
- . The Springer newspapers
- . The leftist intellectuals
- . The civil servants' organizations
- . The students
- . The CDU/CSU
- . The SPD
- . Television
- . (The weekly magazine) "Der Spiegel"
- . NA

Q.74. Do you happen to know what are the tasks of the
Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht)?

- . Yes
- . No
- . NA

Q.75. (If respondent knows about tasks) Which tasks
are that?

- . To watch over the constitution, protect or enforce the constitutional law
- . Supreme court, court of last instance
- . To control legislation, parliament, the government and the administration (police)
- . To care for democratic order
- . To clarify controversial constitutional questions, decide constitutional complaints
- . Supreme court of appeal, court of last instance in law suits, supreme court of justice
- . Highest instance of legislation, executes laws, draws up laws and carries them out
- . Criminal prosecution of espionage, high treason, crimes against the safety of the FRG
- . Other response
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.74

Q.76. And do you happen to know what are the tasks of the
Federal Reserve Bank (Bundesbank) at Francfort?

- . Yes
- . No
- . NA

Q.77. (If respondent knows about tasks) Which tasks are that?

- . Watching over the currency, protection, control of the currency, keeping currency stable, guaranteeing the German mark (DM)
- . Control and regulation of the monetary circulation of the money economy
- . Issuing of bank notes, emission of bank notes, production of money
- . Lending money to the government, providing the government with money
- . Protection, stabilization, safeguarding of the economy (if no reference to monetary or currency policy)
- . Strengthening of the national sovereignty
- . Other response
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.76

Q.St.1. Respondent's sex is:

- . Male
- . Female

Q.St.2. Respondent's marital status is:

- . Married
- . Single
- . Widowed
- . Divorced, separated
- . NA

Q.St.3. Respondent's age is:

(Actual age coded)

Q.St.4. Are you employed? Which of the categories on this list is appropriate?

(Interviewer: Hand list Z2 to the respondent.)

- . Full-time employment (including family dependents who help in a family-owned business)
- . Part-time employment
- . Temporarily unemployed
- . Retired, receiving pension, other income without employment
- . Housewife, but with own income
- . Housewife, without own income, retirement income or pension, or without occupation
- . In vocational training (including specialized industrial schools)
- . In school (including university, college, etc.)

Q.St.5. (If R is or was employed) What is your present occupation or which occupation did you last have?

(Code R's occupation)

Q.St.6. Respondent's occupational position (according to the present--or, if retired, the prior--position held)

(Code to be discussed later)

Q.St.7. (If R is or was employed) How large is the firm in which you work (worked), I mean how many employees are (were) there?

(Number of employees coded)

- . DK
- . NA
- . Inap.

Q.St.8. (If R is or was employed) Have you changed your occupation within the last five years?

- . Yes
- . No
- . NA
- . Inap.

Q.St.9. Have you changed your firm or your job within the last five years?

- . Yes
- . No
- . NA
- . Inap.

Q.St.10. (If R has changed firm or job) How often have you changed your job?

(Number of changes coded)

- . NA
- . Inap.

Q.St.11. (If R is or was employed) Are you presently a member of any organization or club?
(Interviewer: Hand list L to the respondent.)

Q.St.12. (If R is a member of (organization or club mentioned in Q.11)) Do you participate in the meetings of your (organization or club mentioned in Q.11) regularly, often, rarely or never?

- (1) Sports or athletic club
 - . Regularly
 - . Often
 - . Rarely
 - . Never
 - . Not a member of this organization
 - . NA
- (2) Professional organization
- (3) Employers' organization
- (4) Farmers' association
- (5) Refugee association
- (6) Political party or citizens' association
- (7) Cooperative
- (8) Veterans or (former) POW organization
- (9) Charitable organization
- (10) Youth organization
- (11) School club
- (12) (University student) fraternity
- (13) Social club
- (14) Labor union

Q.St.13. (If R is employed) Is your place of work in the town where you live, or do you commute daily to another town for work?

- . Place of work is in the same town where R lives
- . R commutes to another town for work
- . R is not employed
- . NA

Q.St.14. (If R commutes to another town) And which means of transportation do you mainly use?

- . Bicycle
- . Motorcycle/scooter/moped
- . Car
- . Tram
- . Bus
- . Train
- . Do not use any means of transportation, walk
- . NA
- . Inap.

Q.St.15. What occupation does or did your father have?

(Same occupation code as Q.St.6)

Q.St.16. Respondent's relation to the head of household

- . R is head of household
- . R is the wife of head of household
- . R is a child or married to a child of head of household
- . R is a parent or parent-in-law of head of household
- . Other
- . NA

Q.St.17. Is the head of the household employed? Which of the categories on this list is appropriate?
(Interviewer: Hand list Z2 to the respondent. If HOH is not employed anymore, ask for former occupation, if widow, etc., ask for occupation of deceased husband.)

- . Full-time employment (including family dependents who help in a family-owned business)
- . Part-time employment
- . Temporarily unemployed
- . Retired, receiving pension, other income without employment
- . Housewife, but with own income
- . Housewife, without own income, retirement income or pension, or without occupation
- . In vocational training (including specialized industrial schools)
- . In school (including university, college, etc.)

Q.St.18. Which occupation does the HOH have, or which occupation did the HOH last have?

(Code HOH's occupation)

Q.St.19. HOH's occupational position (according to the present--or, if retired, the prior--position held)

(Codes see Q.6)

Q.St.20. Is the HOH's place of work in the town where you live, or does he commute daily to another town for work?

- . Place of work is in the same town where R lives
- . HOH commutes to another town for work
- . NA

Q.St.21. And which means of transportation does he mainly use?

- . Bicycle
- . Motorcycle/scooter/moped
- . Car
- . Tram
- . Bus
- . Train
- . Does not use any means of transportation, walks

Q.St.22. Have you attended any other school after elementary school? (Do you have a completed apprenticeship or vocational training?)

- . Elementary school without completed apprenticeship or without completed vocational training
- . Elementary school with completed apprenticeship or vocational training
- . Secondary school, without 13th grade diploma (Abitur), specialized or technical school
- . Secondary school, with 13th grade diploma (Abitur)
- . College or university, without degree
- . College or university, with degree

Q.St.23. How many persons live permanently in your household, including yourself?

- . One person
- persons altogether

Q.St.24. (If R's household consists of more than one person) Of how many persons does your household consist? I mean all persons who are officially registered in your household as their main residence, even if they are temporarily absent, but excluding renters or servants.

- . Number of persons under two years of age
- . Number of persons between two and seven years of age
- . Number of persons between seven and fourteen years of age
- . Number of persons between fourteen and sixteen years of age
- . Number of persons between sixteen and eighteen years of age
- . Number of persons between eighteen and twenty-one years of age
- . Number of persons twenty-one years old and above

(The above categories are coded separately for males and females)

Q.St.25. (If R's household consists of more than one person) How many persons in your household have their own income, I mean how many persons earn their own income, or receive income from retirement income, pensions, rents, interest, etc.?

(Number of persons in the household with own income coded)

Q.St.26. (If R's household consists of more than 1 person) Would you please indicate by referring to this list what the monthly net income of the head of this household is? By net income I mean the amount that you have left after taxes, social security and health insurance premiums are deducted. Please tell me the group which fits the head of this household.
(Interviewer: Hand list of incomes to the respondent.)

- . A up to 299 German marks (DM)
- . B 300 to 399 DM
- . C 400 to 499 DM
- . D 500 to 599 DM
- . E 600 to 699 DM
- . F 700 to 799 DM
- . G 800 to 899 DM
- . H 900 to 999 DM
- . J 1000 to 1199 DM
- . K 1200 to 1499 DM
- . L 1500 to 1799 DM
- . M 1800 to 1999 DM
- . N 2000 DM and above

Q.St.27. Now when you add the incomes of the persons in your household together, that is, wages, salaries or other income minus taxes and so on: what approximately is the monthly net income of the entire household? Just give me the alphabetic letter for the group which is appropriate or use an estimate please.
(Interviewer: Hand list with income groups to the respondent.)

- . A up to 299 German marks (DM)
- . B 300 to 399 DM
- . C 400 to 499 DM
- . D 500 to 599 DM
- . E 600 to 699 DM
- . F 700 to 799 DM
- . G 800 to 899 DM
- . H 900 to 999 DM
- . J 1000 to 1199 DM
- . K 1200 to 1499 DM
- . L 1500 to 1799 DM
- . M 1800 to 1999 DM
- . N 2000 DM and above

Q.St.28. Do you personally have children who go to school or who will soon go to school?

- . Children who go to school
- . Children who will soon go to school
- . No children
- . NA

Q.St.29. Respondent's religious preference.

- . Catholic
- . Protestant/Lutheran
- . Other
- . None
- . NA

Q.St.30. (If R has a religious preference) Generally, how frequently do you attend church?

- . More than once a week
- . Once a week
- . At least once a month
- . More than once a year
- . Only once a year
- . Less frequently
- . Never
- . NA
- . Inap., coded .. in Q.St.29

Q.St.31. Are you or another member of the household the owner of the house (apartment) where you live, have you rented it or are you a subtenant?

- . Owner of the house
- . Owner of the apartment
- . Tenant
- . Subtenant
- . NA

Q.St.32. Do you have land property? If yes, about how much?

- . up to 500 square meters
- . 500 to 999 square meters
- . 1000 to 1999 square meters
- . 2000 to 2999 square meters
- . 3000 to 3999 square meters
- . 4000 to 4999 square meters
- . 5000 to 9999 square meters
- . 10000 to 14999 square meters
- . 15000 to 19999 square meters
- . 20000 square meters and above
- . NA

Q.St.33. Type of town.

- . Village
- . Small rural town
- . Suburb with predominately rural character
- . Suburb with predominately industrial character
- . Small industrial town
- . Large city
- . NA

Q.St.34. How long have you lived in this town (village)?

- . Always, since birth
- . For more than 20 years
- . For 16 to 20 years
- . For 11 to 15 years
- . For 5 to 10 years
- . For 4 years
- . For 3 years
- . For 2 years
- . Moved here within the last 12 months
- . NA

Q.St.35. Would you like to change your place of residence, or are you satisfied here?

- . Would like to change
- . Am satisfied
- . NA

Q.St.36. Which of the following things are there in your household?

- . Television set
- . Car
- . Telephone
- . Nothing of these
- . NA

Q.St.37. (Determined by interviewer:)
Interest of the respondent for the subject matter of
the interview (difficulties during the interview)

- . The respondent followed the interview with interest, interviewing was not difficult
- . The respondent was partly interested in the interview, interviewing was somewhat difficult
- . Interviewing was very difficult, the respondent wanted to discontinue the interview
- . NA

Q.St.38. (Determined by interviewer:)
Willingness of the respondent to be interviewed
(difficulties in making contact)

- . The respondent was immediately willing to be interviewed
- . The respondent's first reaction to being interviewed was negative
- . The respondent's first reaction to being interviewed was completely negative, and initially he wanted to refuse the interview
- . NA