

gesis

Leibniz-Institut
für Sozialwissenschaften

German Longitudinal
Election Study



GLES 2009 Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post- election Panel Wave

ZA5303, Version 6.0.2

Documentation of Questionnaire

The German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) is a long-term project funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) which started with the 2009 federal election. GLES is the largest and most ambitious election study held so far in Germany.

GLES 2009 was directed by four principal investigators: Prof. Dr. Hans Rattinger (University of Mannheim), Prof. Dr. Sigrid Roßteutscher (University of Frankfurt), Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (University of Mannheim) and PD Dr. Bernhard Weißels (Social Science Research Center Berlin), in close cooperation with the German Society for Electoral Studies (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Wahlforschung) and GESIS.

The following documentation refers to the Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with post-election panel wave (ZA5303) of GLES and will give you some general information about the dataset.

Bibliographic description of the dataset

Study No.	ZA5303
Title	Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave (GLES 2009)
Current Version	6.0.2, 06/02/2019
Doi	10.4232/1.13215
Citation	Rattinger, Hans; Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Weißels, Bernhard; Faas, Thorsten; Wolsing, Ansgar (2019): Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with post-election Panel Wave (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5303 Data file Version 6.0.2, doi: 10.4232/1.13215.

Basic information

Funding Agency	German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft)
Data Collector	Ipsos, Hamburg
Date of collection	07/29/2009-09/26/2009 (pre-election) 09/28/2009-10/26/2009 (post-election)
Content	The second component of GLES composes a Rolling Cross-Section campaign with a post-election panel wave. A total of 6,008 persons were interviewed. 4,027 of them participated in both waves, whereas 1,981 persons participated only in the pre-election wave.

Methodology

Geographic Coverage	Germany (DE)
Universe	The population comprises all German-speaking persons, whose residence is in the Federal Republic of Germany and who are eligible to vote in the federal election 2009 as well as living in private households with a landline.
Selection Method	Multistage random sampling based on the ADM-design (Gabler-Haeder-model for telephone samples). The pre-election wave is a Rolling Cross-Section (RCS) survey with the aim to realize 100 interviews per day based on random sampling. These daily interviews were conducted in such a way that not only the entire sample, but also the interviews collected on each day constitute random samples from the universe of German citizens aged 18 and above. Besides, the sample is regional stratified. Due to the complicated sampling design of RCS surveys interviews collected on the first days do not yet constitute proper random samples. The target person in the household was determined by last-birthday-method.
Mode of Data Collection	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI), with an average duration of approximately 29 minutes (pre-election) and 21 minutes (post-election).

Field Work	<p>A random sample of 6,008 voters was interviewed over a period of 60 days before the election, with an average of about 100 interviews conducted on each day of the period of observation. In order to get sufficient reserve for call numbers, 68 subsamples each with 800 call numbers were drawn. Initially the gross random sample contained 54,400 call numbers. 45,600 call numbers were additionally drawn to have enough numbers until the end of the field period. Finally 94,296 call numbers were used. Due to sample neutral losses (number did not exist; not a private household; no target person in household; communication was not possible due to language difficulties) the net sample contained 30,028 units.</p>
Response Rate	<p>6,008 persons were surveyed in the pre-election wave. Thus, the response rate concerning the pre-election wave is 20.0 percent. 4,027 or 67.0 percent of them also participated in the post-election wave.</p>
Weights	<p>This study comprises transformation weights and post-stratification weights (also known as population or calibration weights) which are calculated on the respondents of the RCS pre-election wave. Due to the RCS design there are total, weekly and where possible also daily weights.</p> <p>Transformation weights (<i>wei_tran</i>) are included in the dataset because the design of the study was based on landline numbers. They were calculated by dividing the number of all persons who are eligible to vote in the household with the number of telephone extensions in the household. Afterwards the weight factors were standardized resulting in a mean of 1. The transformation weight enables us to transform the data into a personal sample.</p> <p>The post-stratification weights namely “education weights”, “sociodemographic weights” and “sociodemographic and regional weights” with (and without) transformation weight create the second type of weights provided in the dataset. Those weights were calculated by the iterative proportional fitting (IPF) procedure. The iteration process ends when the difference between the weighted marginal distribution and the aimed distribution becomes smaller than 0.0001. To prevent large weights, the weights were trimmed (after each iteration) so that no weight is more than 5 times larger than the average weight. The weights are constructed on the basis of gender, age (four groups: 18 to 29, 30 to 44, 45 to 59 and 60 years and older), education (three groups: low, middle, high), BIK-regions (three groups) and East (incl. Berlin) / West German federal states. Missing cases are replaced with the mode.</p> <p>To adjust for drop-out in the post-election panel component of the RCS panel weights were added. These weights were calculated by employing propensity score weighting. Therefore, attrition was estimated using a logistic regression model. Based on the results of the regression, individual participation probabilities were predicted. The inverse of the participation probability was used as a weighting factor.</p> <p><i>Further weights</i></p> <p>Further weights are placed at the end of the dataset. Weights which are calculated on the basis of the RCS pre-election wave are labeled with the prefix “pre_”. Weighting variables of the post-election wave are marked with “pos_”. There are four weights: a standard weight ($\text{age} \times \text{gender} + \text{federal states} \times \text{size of town}$) and a transformation weight to correct for cases having unequal probabilities of selection (number of elective persons in household divided by number of telephone connections) – both generated by survey research institute IPSOS – an education weight based on ALLBUS 2008 data and an integrated education and transformation weight. Notice that 31 persons in the pre-election wave and 6 persons in the post-election wave did not answer pre103 “School leaving certificate”. Thus no education</p>

weights are available for these cases. This can entail an error message in some statistical packages (e.g. SPSS). The mentioned cases will be excluded from the analyses.

Weekly and daily weights were generated besides the total weights in the pre-election wave (with the exception of standard weight).

Data access

Usage regulations

Data and documents are released for academic research and teaching: access category A.

Anonymized data

According to German privacy, only anonymized data can be made accessible for public download. Based on this, some variables had to be deleted from the publicly available dataset. As a matter of course no information is lost: All variables can be used by interested researchers in a Safe Data Center (SDC) at GESIS (Cologne, Mannheim). Some variables are also available by signing a user contract. If you are interested in those variables please send an E-Mail to gles@gesis.org. An overview of those variables can be found on our homepage (www.gesis.org/gles).

Errata

- Two constructed variables (pos003c "Recall Federal Election 2009: first vote", pos004c "Recall Federal Election 2009: second vote") have been deleted from the dataset and were replaced by the original variables. These variables have some lacks of consistency which cannot be corrected in the course of the data processing.

The most recent errata list is provided by the GESIS Data Catalogue (www.gesis.org/dbk). There you can also find a list of all changes made between the different versions of the dataset.

Further Remarks

You can find more information about GLES at www.gesis.org/gles or www.gles.eu.

To get an overview of the use of our data, we kindly request users of GLES-data to inform us about publications that utilize those data. In case of limited access to your publication (e.g. conference papers), we would highly appreciate if you could send us an electronic (PDF file, gles@gesis.org) or a print copy of your publication (GESIS, GLES, Post Box 122155, 68072 Mannheim, Germany).

Please note:

As a public service to the international academic community, we provide English translations of GLES datasets, questionnaires, and related important documents. Due to specifics of the original documents in German and the fact that translations were not done by political scientists, the wording of established social and political science questions and constructs in these translations may occasionally deviate somewhat from the Standard English versions. If you have any questions concerning the translations, do not hesitate to contact the principal investigators or their collaborators. For an overview of the whole research team please have a look at the GLES website <http://www.gles.eu/team.htm>. You can also send an e-mail to gles@gesis.org.

Documentation of Questionnaire

Pre-election

(07/29/2009-09/26/2009)

pre001
Interest in politics

Quite generally, how interested are you in politics: very interested, somewhat interested, in between, not very interested, or, not at all interested?

- (1) Very interested
- (2) Somewhat interested
- (3) In between
- (4) Not very interested
- (5) Not at all interested

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre002
Interest, election campaign

And how interested are you in particular in this Federal Election campaign - very interested, somewhat interested, in between, not very interested, or not at all interested?

- (1) Very interested
- (2) Somewhat interested
- (3) In between
- (4) Not very interested
- (5) Not at all interested

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre003
Intention to vote

When elections are held a lot of people vote, others do not manage to vote or do not participate in elections for other reasons. The next Federal Election will be held on September 27th. What will you do? Are you certain to vote, likely to vote, might you vote, or are you not likely or certain not to vote?

- (1) Certain to vote
- (2) Likely to vote
- (3) Might vote
- (4) Not likely to vote
- (5) Certain not to vote

- (97) Have already made a postal vote
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre004
Intention to vote, first vote

[FILTER: If the respondent's intention to vote is at least "might" (1-3):]

You have two votes in the Federal Election on September 27th. The first vote is for a candidate in your local constituency, the second vote is for a party. How will you mark your ballot? Please just tell me the identification code for your first vote.

[INT: Do not read out the list of political parties!]

I will vote for the candidate of the...

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (993) Will cast an invalid first vote
- (994) Will not cast a first vote
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre005

Intention to vote, second vote

[FILTER: If the respondent's intention to vote is at least "might" (1-3):]

And which party will you vote for with your second vote in the Federal Election?

[INT: Do not read out the list of political parties!]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (993) Will cast an invalid second vote
- (994) Will not cast a second vote
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre006

First vote, absentee ballot

[FILTER: If pre003 (Intention to vote) = postal vote (97):]

You had two votes in the absentee ballot. The first vote was for a candidate in your local constituency, the second vote was for a party. How did you mark your ballot? Please just tell me the identification code for your first vote.

[INT: Do not read out the list of political parties!]

I voted for the candidate of the...

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei

- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (993) I cast an invalid first vote
- (994) I didn't cast my first vote for anyone
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre007

Second vote, absentee ballot

[FILTER: If pre003 (Intention to vote) = postal vote (97):]

And which party did you vote for with your second vote?

[INT: Do not read out the list of political parties!]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (993) I cast an invalid second vote
- (994) I didn't cast my second vote for anyone
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre008

Intention to vote (hypothetical)

If pre003 (intention to vote) is "not likely to vote" (4), "certain not to vote" (5), "Don't know" (98) or "No answer" (99)

Just assuming you were going to vote in the election, which party would you vote for?

[INT: If respondent asks for details:] We are talking about your second vote, the vote which decides on how strongly the political parties are represented in the Bundestag.

[INT: Do not read out the list of political parties!]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (995) I definitely wouldn't vote at all
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre009

Possible other party

[FILTER: If pre003 (intention to vote) is at least "might" (1-3) AND pre005 (intention to vote, second vote) political party referred to (1-10).

Are you considering possibly voting for a different political party than the [enter the party from pre005, if "other party", "this party"]?

[INT: If so:] Which party is it?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party
- (992) No other party / I'll definitely vote for the first party I Mentioned
- (995) I wouldn't vote
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre010

Interest in the outcome of the election

How important is the outcome of the upcoming Federal Election to you personally? Very important, somewhat important, in between, not very important, or not important at all?

- (1) Very important
- (2) Somewhat important
- (3) In between
- (4) Not very important
- (5) Not important at all
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre011

Scalometer, coalitions

Now I would like to ask some questions about the possible composition of the Federal Government. Imagine a thermometer which only measures from +5 to -5 with a zero point in the middle. Now using the thermometer, tell me what you think about the following coalitions – regardless of how likely the respective coalition is in your opinion. +5 means that you would find the coalition a very desirable outcome; -5 means that you would not find this coalition a desirable outcome at all. Using the values in between, you can state your opinion more precisely. If you are not sure about a coalition, you do not have to rate it of course.

[INT: If respondent asks for details. Read out the explanation of the thermometer again.]

- A How desirable would you find a grand coalition of the CDU/CDU and SPD?
- B And what about a black-yellow coalition of the CDU/CSU and FDP?
- C And a black-green coalition of the CDU/CSU and the Greens?
- D And a "Jamaica coalition" of the CDU/CSU, FDP and the Greens?
- E And a red-green coalition of the SPD and the Greens?
- F And a "traffic-light" coalition of the SPD, FDP and the Greens?
- G And a red-red-green coalition of the SPD, the Greens and The Left?

scale:

- (-5) -5 I would not find this coalition a desirable outcome at all
 (-4) -4
 (-3) -3
 (-2) -2
 (-1) -1
 (0) 0
 (+1) +1
 (+2) +2
 (+3) +3
 (+4) +4
 (+5) +5 I would find this coalition a very desirable outcome
- (97) I Don't know enough about this coalition
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre012

Perception of coalition signals

Coalitions can only be formed if the corresponding political parties are willing to form them. How likely do you think it is that the following political parties would be willing to join a coalition with each other?

- A Do you think it is absolutely certain, fairly certain, fairly uncertain or completely improbable that CDU/CSU and SPD would be willing to form a coalition together?
 [INT: If respondent asks for more details: This means completely independently of the actual majorities which might arise from the federal election.]
- B And what about the CDU/CSU and FDP?
 C And the CDU/CSU and the Greens?
 D And the CDU/CSU, FDP and the Greens?
 E And the SPD and the Greens?
 F And the SPD, FDP and the Greens?
 G And the SPD, the Greens and the The Left?

scale:

- (1) Absolutely certain
 (2) Fairly certain
 (3) Fairly uncertain
 (4) Completely improbable
- (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre013

Expected government

The coalitions which can actually be formed also depend on the outcome of the election. Which parties do you think will actually form the government together after the Federal Election?

[INT: Multiple response, check all the parties which belong to the coalition]

[INT: Do not read out response options]

- 2 Expected government: SPD
 1 Expected government: CDU/CSU
 3 Expected government: FDP
 4 Expected government: GRUENE
 5 Expected government: DIE LINKE
 6 Expected government: other political party

- 8 Expected government: don't know
9 Expected government: no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
(1) Mentioned

[INT: (if respondents use „Labels“ for coalitions)	
- „Große Koalition“	= CDU/CSU, SPD
- „Schwarz-gelb“	= CDU/CSU, FDP
- „Buergerliche Koalition“	= CDU/CSU, FDP
	„Buergerliche Regierung“ [INT: Ask, if a) CDU/CSU government or b) CDU/CSU, FDP]
- „Jamaika“	= CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene
- „Schwampel“	= CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene
- „Schwarze Ampel“	= CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene
- „Rot-gruen“	= SPD, Gruene
- „Sozial-liberale Koalition“	= SPD, FDP
- „Rot-gelb“	= SPD, FDP
- „Ampel“	= SPD, FDP, Gruene
- „Rot-rot-gruen“	= SPD, Gruene, Die Linke
-	„Linksbuendnis/Linkskoalition“ [INT: Ask, if a) SPD, Gruene, Die Linke or b) SPD-Die Linke or c) SPD-Gruene]
- „Rot-rot“	= SPD, Die Linke

pre014 Most important problem

When you think about the current political situation, in your opinion, what is currently the most important political problem in Germany?

[Open answer]

(9999) Don't know/No answer

pre015 Ability to solve the most important problem

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pre014 (most important problem):]

Which party, do you think, would be best suited to solve this problem?

[INT: Do not read out response options. Only one party]

- (1) CDU/CSU
(2) CDU
(3) CSU
(4) SPD
(5) FDP
(6) Die Gruenen
(7) Die Linke
(801) Other political party
(808) None of the parties
(809) All parties are as good as each other

(998) Don't know
(999) No answer
(1000) Not applicable

pre016

Second most important problem

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pre014 (most important problem):]

In your opinion, what is currently the second most important political problem in Germany?

[Open answer]

(9999) Don't know/No answer

(10000) Not applicable

pre017

Ability to solve the second most important problem

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pre016 (Second most important problem):]

Which party, do you think, would be best suited to solve this problem?

[INT: Do not read out response options. Only one party]

(1) CDU/CSU

(2) CDU

(3) CSU

(4) SPD

(5) FDP

(6) Die Gruenen

(7) Die Linke

(801) Other political party

(808) None of the party

(809) All parties are as good as each other

(998) Don't know

(999) No answer

(1000) Not applicable

Random split:**pre_split**

split identifier, position issues

Split=1: pre018a, pre019a und pre020a,

Split=2: pre018b, pre019b und pre020b.

pre018a

Party positions, socioeconomic dimension (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

Now, let us shift attention to several political issues. Some people prefer lower taxes, although this results in less social services. Others prefer more social services, although this results in raising taxes. What do you think are the views of the political parties? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the party prefers to cut taxes and spend less on social services, and 11 means that the party prefers to raise taxes and spend more. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

A What do you think is the CDU's policy?

B What do you think is the CSU's policy?

C What do you think is the SPD's policy?

- D What do you think is the FDP's policy?
 E What do you think is the policy of Alliance '90/The Greens?
 F What do you think is The Left's policy?

Scale:

- (1) 1 The party prefers to cut taxes and spend less on social services
 (2) 2
 (3) 3
 (4) 4
 (5) 5
 (6) 6
 (7) 7
 (8) 8
 (9) 9
 (10) 10
 (11) 11 The party prefers to raise taxes and spend more on social services

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (101) Not applicable (Split)

pre019a

Own position, socioeconomic dimension (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

And which point of view do you personally take on this issue?

- (1) 1 Lower taxes, although this results in less social services
 (2) 2
 (3) 3
 (4) 4
 (5) 5
 (6) 6
 (7) 7
 (8) 8
 (9) 9
 (10) 10
 (11) 11 More social services, although this results in raising taxes

 (98) don't know
 (99) no answer
 (101) not applicable (Split)

pre020a

Own position, nuclear power (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

And which point of view do you personally take on the issue of nuclear power? Should nuclear power continue to be developed or should all nuclear power plants be shut down immediately? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that nuclear power should continue to be developed. 11 means that all nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Nuclear power should be continued
 (2) 2
 (3) 3
 (4) 4
 (5) 5
 (6) 6
 (7) 7

- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (Split)

pre018b

Party positions, nuclear power (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

Now, let us shift attention to several political issues. Should nuclear power continue to be developed or should all nuclear power plants be shut down immediately? What do you think is the position of the political parties regarding this issue? Please answer by using a scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the party favours that nuclear power should continue to be developed. 11 means that the party prefers that all nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- A In your view, what is the position of the CDU?
- B And what is the position of the CSU?
- C And the SPD?
- D And the FDP?
- E And die Gruenen?
- F And die Linke?

Skala:

- (1) 1 Nuclear power should be continued
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (Split)

pre019b

Own position, nuclear power (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

And which point of view do you personally take on this issue?

- (1) 1 Nuclear power should be continued
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (Split)

pre020b

Own position, socioeconomic dimension (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

Some people prefer lower taxes, although this results in less social services. Others prefer more social services, although this results in raising taxes. Which point of view do you personally take on this issue? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that you prefer lower taxes, although this results in less social services. 11 means that you prefer more social services, although this results in raising taxes. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Lower taxes, although this results in less social services
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 More social services, although this results in raising taxes
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (Split)

pre021

Performance of the federal government

As to the present Federal Government - are you more satisfied or less satisfied with the performance of the government of CDU/CSU and SPD in Berlin so far? Please tell me by using this scale from +5 to -5 again. + 5 means that you are completely satisfied with the performance of the government so far, -5 means that you are not at all satisfied with the performance of the government. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (-5) -5 Not at all satisfied
- (-4) -4
- (-3) -3
- (-2) -2
- (-1) -1
- (0) 0
- (+1) +1
- (+2) +2
- (+3) +3
- (+4) +4
- (+5) +5 Completely satisfied
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre022

Performance of the governing parties

And when you consider each of the governing parties separately, could you please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with their performance? Please tell me by using the scale from +5 to -5 again.

- A How satisfied are you with the performance of the CDU?
 B And how satisfied are you with the performance of the SPD?
 C And how satisfied are you with the performance of the CSU?

Scale:

- (-5) -5 Not at all satisfied
 (-4) -4
 (-3) -3
 (-2) -2
 (-1) -1
 (0) 0
 (+1) +1
 (+2) +2
 (+3) +3
 (+4) +4
 (+5) +5 Completely satisfied
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre023

Own economic situation, current

Now, let us shift attention to the economic situation. How would you evaluate your own current economic situation: very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad?

- (1) Very good
 (2) Good
 (3) Neither good nor bad
 (4) Bad
 (5) Very bad
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre024

Own economic situation, retrospective

Has your own economic situation improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably in the last one to two years?

- (1) Improved considerably
 (2) Improved somewhat
 (3) Remained the same
 (4) Deteriorated somewhat
 (5) Deteriorated considerably
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre025

Responsibility for own economic situation

[FILTER: If pre024 (Own financial circumstances, retrospective) = 1-5:]

To what extent do you think that the government's policies affect this development – a great deal, a fair amount, moderately, not very much, or not at all?

- (1) A great deal

- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Moderately
- (4) Not very much
- (5) Not at all
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre026

Own economic situation, future

What do you think your own economic situation will be a year from now?

- (1) Improved considerably
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre027

General economic situation, current

And how would you evaluate the current general economic situation in Germany: very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad?

- (1) Very good
- (2) Good
- (3) Neither good nor bad
- (4) Bad
- (5) Very bad
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre028

General economic situation, retrospective

Has the general economic situation in Germany improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably in the last one to two years?

- (1) Improved considerably
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre029

Responsibility for general economic situation

[FILTER: If pre028 (General economic situation, retrospective), then pre028 = 1-5:]

To what extent do you think that the government's policies affect this development - a great deal, a fair amount, moderately, not very much, or not at all?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Moderately
- (4) Not very much
- (5) Not at all

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre030

General economic situation, future

What do you think the general economic situation in Germany will be a year from now?

- (1) Improved considerably
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre031

Fear of economic crisis

How worried are you about the current economic crisis? Please tell me how worried you are using this scale from 1 to 7. 1 means that you don't worry at all, 7 means that you worry a lot. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Don't worry at all
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7 Worry a lot

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre032

Attributes of the candidate for the position of chancellor

Let's turn to the two major parties' candidates for the position of chancellor, Angela Merkel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier. I'm going to read out a few statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements about each candidate.

Let's start with Angela Merkel.

- A "She is an assertive and a strong leader" To what extent do these statements fit Angela Merkel?
- B "She is trustworthy."
- C "She is a likable person."
- D "She has sensible ideas about how to manage the economic crisis."

And now let's think about Frank-Walter Steinmeier.

- E "He is an assertive and a strong leader" To what extent do these statements fit Frank-Walter Steinmeier?
- F "He is trustworthy."

- G "He is a likable person."
 H "He has sensible ideas about how to manage the economic crisis."

scale:

- (1) Strongly agree
 (2) Agree
 (3) Neither agree nor disagree
 (4) Disagree
 (5) Strongly disagree

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre033**Scalometer, political parties**

Looking now at the political parties in detail, what do you think of the different parties in general? Please use the thermometer from +5 to -5 again. +5 means that you think a great deal of the party and -5 that you do not think much of the party at all. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- A Let's begin with the CDU. What do you think of the CDU?
 B And what do you think of the CSU?
 C And the SPD?
 D And the FDP?
 E And the Gruenen?
 F And the Linken?

Skala:

- (-5) -5 I do not think much of the party at all
 (-4) -4
 (-3) -3
 (-2) -2
 (-1) -1
 (0) 0
 (+1) +1
 (+2) +2
 (+3) +3
 (+4) +4
 (+5) +5 I think a great deal of the party

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre034**Scalometer, political leaders**

And what do you think of the political leaders? Please use the thermometer from +5 to -5 again. +5 means that you think a great deal of the politician and -5 that you do not think much of the politician at all. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely. If I come to a political leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

- A I'll start with Angela Merkel. What do you think of Angela Merkel?
 B And of Frank-Walter Steinmeier?
 C And of Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg?
 D And of Guido Westerwelle?
 E And of Renate Kuenast?
 F And of Oskar Lafontaine?

Skala:

- (-5) -5 I do not think much of the politician at all
 (-4) -4
 (-3) -3
 (-2) -2
 (-1) -1
 (0) 0
 (+1) +1
 (+2) +2
 (+3) +3
 (+4) +4
 (+5) +5 I think a great deal of the politician
 (97) I Don't know enough about this politician
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre035

Views on political parties and politics: Differences between political parties

During the current election campaign, would you say that there are major political differences between the parties, minor differences, or no differences at all?

- (1) Major differences
 (2) Minor differences
 (3) No differences at all
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre035a

Preferred chancellor

And who would you prefer as chancellor after the Federal Election: Angela Merkel or Frank-Walter Steinmeier?

- (1) Angela Merkel
 (2) Frank-Walter Steinmeier
 (3) None of them [INT: Only if Mentioned spontaneously]
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre035b

Trustworthiness of SPD-Left

Leading politicians from the SPD have said they would not be willing to form a government with Die Linke on the national level. How trustworthy do you think this statement is? Completely trustworthy, fairly trustworthy, not very trustworthy or not trustworthy at all?

- (1) Completely trustworthy
 (2) Fairly trustworthy
 (3) Not very trustworthy
 (4) Not trustworthy at all
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre091

Overhang seats, subjective knowledge

[PROG: Adhoc-Item, active as of 22. September 2009]

You sometimes hear about "overhang seats" during the election campaign. In your opinion: Is it completely obvious, quite obvious, not so obvious or not at all obvious what is meant?

- (1) Completely obvious
- (2) Quite obvious
- (3) Not so obvious
- (4) Not at all obvious
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre092

Overhang seats, legitimization of the majority

[PROG: Adhoc-Item, active as of 22. September 2009]

[FILTER: If pre091 (overhang seats, subjective knowledge) =1-3:]

In your opinion would it be alright if, after the forthcoming federal election, a coalition government was formed which only had a majority in the Bundestag thanks to overhang seats, or do you think this wouldn't be alright?

- (1) Alright
- (2) Not alright
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre089

Afghanistan, Position Ego

[PROG: Adhoc-Item, active as of 09. September 2009]

To what extent do you agree with the statement: "The German Armed Forces should be pulled out of Afghanistan immediately"?

Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Neither agree nor disagree
- (4) Disagree
- (5) Strongly disagree
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre090

Afghanistan, Political party closest to respondent's position

[PROG: Adhoc-Item, active as of 09. September 2009]

[FILTER: If pre089 (Afghanistan, Position Ego) = 1-5:]

And which political party best represents your views on this issue?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke

- (801) Other political party
 (808) None of the parties [INT: This response includes "all the same"]
 (998) Don't know
 (999) No answer
 (1000) Not applicable

pre036
 Use of BILD

There are different ways of following news about politics during the election campaign in Germany. Starting with daily newspapers, do you occasionally or regularly read the BILD newspaper?

[INT: If yes:] On how many days did you read political reports in the "BILD newspaper" last week?

- (1-7) On ___ days
 (8) I didn't read this newspaper last week
 (9) I don't read any political reports in the BILD newspaper
 (97) I never read the BILD newspaper
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer

pre037
 BILD use, previous day

[FILTER: If pre036 (Use of BILD) = 1-7:]

[PROG: If field day = Tuesday-Sunday]

[If BILD was read on up to 5 days in the previous week, pre036 = 1-5:]
 And what about yesterday? Did you read the "BILD newspaper"?

[If the newspaper was read on 6 or 7 days, then pre036 = 6-7:]
 Does that mean that you read the "BILD newspaper" yesterday as well?

[PROG: If field day = Monday]

[If BILD was read on up to 5 days in the previous week, then pre036 = 1-5:]
 And what about yesterday or the day before yesterday? Did you read the "BILD newspaper"?

[If the newspaper was read on 6 or 7 days, then pre036 = 6-7:]
 Does that mean that you read the "BILD newspaper" yesterday or the day before yesterday as well?

- (1) Yes
 (2) No
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable

pre038
 Party political bias, BILD

[FILTER: If BILD is read on at least one day (pre036 = 1-7):]

When you think in particular about the reports in "BILD" on political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others?

[INT.: If yes:] Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: Do not read out the parties]

[INT: Multiple response, record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned, but do not ask about any more parties if one is Mentioned]

- 1 Party political bias BILD: CDU/CSU
- 2 Party political bias BILD: SPD
- 3 Party political bias BILD: FDP
- 4 Party political bias BILD: GRUENE
- 5 Party political bias BILD: DIE LINKE
- 6 Party political bias BILD: other political party
- 7 Party political bias BILD: none of the parties

8 Party political bias BILD: don't know

9 Party political bias BILD: no answer

(0) Not mentioned

(1) Mentioned

(100) Not applicable

pre039

Use of daily newspapers

[FILTER: If respondent does not read BILD, doesn't know or No answer, then pre036 = 97, 98, 99:]

Do you occasionally or regularly read another daily newspaper? Which one?

[FILTER: If BILD was read on 1-7 days of the previous week, was not read in the previous week or no political articles were read at all, then pre036 = 1-9:]

Do you occasionally or regularly read another daily newspaper as well?

[INT: If so:] Which one?

[INT: Do not read out the list]

[INT: If several are Mentioned:] Which one is read most?

- (1) Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)
- (2) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)
- (3) Sueddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)
- (4) Die tageszeitung (taz)
- (5) Die Welt [INT: [INT: Including "Welt kompakt", if referred to spontaneously]
- (6) Local newspaper or other daily newspaper
- (7) Online-newspaper [INT: Only if referred to explicitly]
(e.g. Spiegel-online, Focus-online, Netzeitung, etc., as well as online editions of 1-6)]
- (97) No, none of the newspapers
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre040

Use of political reports in daily newspapers

[FILTER: If a daily newspaper is Mentioned (pre039 = 1-7):]

On how many days of the last week did you read political reports in this newspaper?

- (1-7) On __ days
- (8) I didn't read this newspaper last week
- (9) I don't read any political reports in this newspaper

- (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable

pre041

Use of daily newspaper, day before

[FILTER: If use of daily newspaper (pre040) = 1-7 AND daily newspaper Mentioned (pre039) = 1-5:]

[PROG: If field day = Tuesday-Sunday]

[If the daily newspaper was read on up to 5 days in the previous week, then pre040 = 1-5:]

And what about yesterday? Did you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of daily newspaper (rcs1_039)]?

[If the newspaper was read on 6 or 7 days, then pre040 = 6-7:]

Does that mean that you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of daily newspaper (rcs1_039)] yesterday or the day before yesterday as well?

[PROG: If field day = Monday]

[If the daily newspaper was read on up to 5 days in the previous week, pre040 = 1-5:]

Did you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of daily newspaper (rcs1_039)] yesterday or the day before yesterday?

[If the newspaper was read on 6 or 7 days, then pre040 = 6-7:]

Does that mean that you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of daily newspaper (rcs1_039)] yesterday as well?

- (1) Yes
 (2) No
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable

pre042

Party political bias of daily newspaper

[FILTER: If reports on political issues were read in a daily newspaper on at least one day (pre040=1-7):]

When you think in particular about the reports in this newspaper on the political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others?

[INT: If yes, which parties were they more favourable to?]

[INT: Do not read out the parties]

[INT: Multiple response, record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned, but do not ask about any more parties if one is Mentioned]

- 1 Party political bias of daily newspaper: CDU/CSU
- 2 Party political bias of daily newspaper: SPD
- 3 Party political bias of daily newspaper: FDP
- 4 Party political bias of daily newspaper: GRUENE
- 5 Party political bias of daily newspaper: DIE LINKE
- 6 Party political bias of daily newspaper: other political party
- 7 Party political bias of daily newspaper: none of the parties

- 8 Party political bias of daily newspaper: don't know
 9 Party political bias of daily newspaper: no answer
- (0) Not mentioned
 (1) Mentioned
- (100) Not applicable

pre043

Use of other daily newspapers

[FILTER: Referred to as a daily newspaper (pre039 = 1-7):]

Do you occasionally or regularly read another daily newspaper?

[INT: If so: Which one?]

[INT: Do not read out the list]

[INT: If several are Mentioned: Which one is read most?]

- (1) Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)
 (2) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)
 (3) Sueddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)
 (4) Die tageszeitung (taz)
 (5) Die Welt [INT: Including "Welt kompakt", if referred to spontaneously]
 (6) Local newspaper or other daily newspaper
 (7) Online newspaper [INT: Only if referred to explicitly]
 (e.g. Spiegel-online, Focus-online, Netzeitung, etc., as well as online editions of 1-6)]
- (97) No, none of the newspapers
 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable

pre044

Use of political reports in other daily newspapers

[FILTER: If other daily newspaper is Mentioned (pre043 = 1-7):]

On how many days of the last week did you read political reports in this newspaper?

- (1-7) On __ days
 (8) I didn't read this newspaper last week
 (9) I don't read any political reports in this newspaper
- (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable

pre045

Use of daily newspaper, day before

[FILTER: If use of other daily newspaper (pre044) = 1-7 AND other daily newspaper referred to (pre043) = 1-5:]

[PROG: If field day = Tuesday-Sunday]

[If other daily newspaper was read on up to 5 days in the previous week, then pre044 = 1-5:]

And what about yesterday? Did you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (rcs1_043)]?

[If other daily newspaper was read on 6 or 7 days, then pre044 = 6-7:]

Does that mean that you read the [enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (rcs1_043)] yesterday as well?

[PROG: If field day = Monday]

[If other daily newspaper was read on up to 5 days in the previous week, then pre044 = 1-5:]

Did you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (rcs1_043)] yesterday or the day before yesterday?

[If other daily newspaper was read on 6 or 7 days, then pre044 = 6-7:]

Does that mean that you read [enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (rcs1_043)] yesterday or the day before yesterday as well?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre046

Party political bias of other daily newspapers

[FILTER: If reports on political issues were read in another daily newspaper on at least one day (pre044 = 1-7):]

When you think in particular about the reports in this newspaper on the political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others?

[INT: If yes:] Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: Multiple response (record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned).]

- 1 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: CDU/CSU
- 2 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: SPD
- 3 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: FDP
- 4 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: GRUENE
- 5 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: DIE LINKE
- 6 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: other political party
- 7 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: none of the parties
- 8 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: don't know
- 9 Party political bias of other daily newspaper: no answer
- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned
- (100) Not applicable

pre047

Attention to daily newspapers

[FILTER: If daily newspaper is mentioned (pre039 = 1-7):]

[FILTER: If 1 newspaper read during the previous week]

On the whole how much attention did you pay to the newspaper [PROG: ENTER NAME OF THE NEWSPAPER] reports on the parties and the election campaign – a great deal, quite a bit, a little, or none?

[FILTER: If 2 or 3 newspapers read during the previous week]

On the whole how much attention did you pay to reports in the newspapers you just mentioned to me on the parties and the election campaign – a great deal, quite a bit, a little, or none?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) Quite a bit

- (3) A little
- (4) None
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre048

Weekly press, previous week

And did you read "SPIEGEL", "Focus" or "DIE ZEIT" in the last week?

[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Weekly press, previous week SPIEGEL
- 2 Weekly press, previous week Focus
- 3 Weekly press, previous week ZEIT
- 4 Weekly press, previous week, none of them
- 5 Weekly press, previous week, don't know
- 6 Weekly press, previous week, no answer
- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned

pre049

Use of TV news programmes, ARD (public-service television network)

Now, let us shift attention to news programmes on television, beginning with the news programmes broadcast on ARD, namely "Tagesschau" and "Tagesthemen". On how many days of the last week did you watch "Tagesschau" or "Tagesthemen" on ARD?

[INT: Including on other channels (such as on regional public-service stations or on the public-service station Phoenix) or on the Internet.

- (1-7) On __ days
- (8) Not at all in the last week
- (9) I never watch the news on this channel
- (96) I never watch the news
- (97) I never watch television
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre050

Party political bias, TV news on ARD

[FILTER: If news was watched on the ARD channel on at least one day, then pre049 = 1-7:]

When you think in particular about the reports in these programmes on the political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others? Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: If so] Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: Multiple response (record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned).]

- 1 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: CDU/CSU
- 2 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: SPD
- 3 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: FDP
- 4 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: GRUENE
- 5 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: DIE LINKE
- 6 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: other political party
- 7 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: none of the parties

- 8 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: don't know
 9 Party political bias, TV news on ARD: no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
 (1) Mentioned

- (100) Not applicable

pre051

Use of TV news programmes, ZDF

[FILTER: If the respondent does NOT say that she/he never watches TV or never watches news on television, then pre049 NOT= 96-97:]

And on how many days of the last week did you watch "Heute" or "Heute Journal", the newscasts of "ZDF"?

[INT: Including on other channels (such as on 3sat or on the public-service station Phoenix) or on the Internet.]

- (1-7) On __ days
 (8) Not at all in the last week
 (9) I never watch the news on this channel

- (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable

pre052

Party political bias, TV news on ZDF

[FILTER: If news was watched on the ZDF channel on at least one day, then pre051 = 1-7:]

When you think in particular about the reports in this programme on the political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others? Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: If so:] Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: Multiple response (record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned).]

- 1 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: CDU/CSU
 2 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: SPD
 3 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: FDP
 4 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: GRUENE
 5 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: DIE LINKE
 6 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: other political party
 7 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: none of the parties

- 8 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: don't know
 9 Party political bias, TV news on ZDF: no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
 (1) Mentioned

- (100) Not applicable

pre053

Use of TV, RTL news

[FILTER: If the respondent does NOT say that she/he never watches television or never watches the news on television, then pre049 NOT= 96-97:]

And what about "RTL aktuell", the newscast of "RTL" - on how many days of the last week did you watch this newscast?

- (1-7) On __ days
- (8) Not at all in the previous week
- (9) I never watch the news on this channel
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre054

Party political bias, TV news on RTL

[FILTER: If news was watched on the RTL channel on at least one day, then pre053 = 1-7:]

When you think in particular about the reports in these programmes on the political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others?

[INT: If so:] Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: Multiple response (record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned).]

- 1 Party political bias RTL: CDU/CSU
- 2 Party political bias TV news on RTL: SPD
- 3 Party political bias TV news on RTL: FDP
- 4 Party political bias TV news on RTL: GRUENE
- 5 Party political bias TV news on RTL: DIE LINKE
- 6 Party political bias TV news on RTL: other political party
- 7 Party political bias TV news on RTL: none of the parties
- 8 Party political bias TV news on RTL: don't know
- 9 Party political bias TV news on RTL: no answer
- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned
- (100) Not applicable

pre055

Use of TV, Sat.1 news

[FILTER: If the respondent does NOT say that she/he never watches television or never watches the news on television, then pre049 NOT= 96-97:]

And what about "Sat.1 Nachrichten", the newscast of "Sat.1" - on how many days of the last week did you watch this newscast?

- (1-7) On __ days
- (8) Not at all in the last week
- (9) I never watch the news on this channel
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre056

Party political bias, TV news on Sat.1

[FILTER: If news was watched on the Sat.1 channel on at least one day, then pre055 = 1-7]

When you think in particular about the reports in these programmes on the political parties and the election campaign, what impression did you have? Were these reports more favourable to some parties than to others?

[INT: If so:] Which parties were they more favourable to?

[INT: Multiple response (record up to three political parties in the order they are Mentioned).]

- 1 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: CDU/CSU
- 2 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: SPD
- 3 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: FDP
- 4 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: GRUENE
- 5 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: DIE LINKE
- 6 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: other political party
- 7 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: none of the parties

- 8 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: don't know
- 9 Party political bias TV news on Sat.1: no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned

- (100) Not applicable

pre057

Attention to TV news programmes

[FILTER: If television news was watched on at least one day, then at least one from pre049, pre051, pre053, pre055 = 1-7:]

When you were watching the news on television, how much attention did you pay to reports on the political parties and the election campaign – a great deal of attention, quite a bit of attention, a little attention, no attention?

- (1) A great deal of attention
- (2) Quite a bit of attention
- (3) A little attention
- (4) No attention

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre058

TV news on the day before

[FILTER: If TV news watched on 1-7 days in the previous week, then at least one from pre049, pre051, pre053, pre055 = 1-7:]

Did you watch a TV news programme yesterday?

[INT: If so:] : On which TV channel was it?

[INT: MULTIPLE RESPONSE]

[INT: If only one channel is Mentioned: Did you watch another news programme yesterday?]

- 1 TV news on the day before: ARD
- 2 TV news on the day before: ZDF
- 3 TV news on the day before: RTL
- 4 TV news on the day before: SAT.1
- 5 TV news on the day before: other channel

- 7 TV news on the day before: didn't watch
- 8 TV news on the day before: don't know
- 9 TV news on the day before: no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned
- (100) Not applicable

pre059
Internet use, political information

And on how many days in the previous week did you use the internet to inform yourself about political parties and the Federal Election campaign?

- (1) I haven't got an internet connection
- (2) I don't inform myself about political parties and the election campaign on the internet
- (3) I haven't informed myself in the last week
- (11-17) I informed myself on ___ days (1-7)
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre060
Perception, opinion polls

Did you read or see any reports about current opinion polls on the Federal Election in the last week?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre061
Discussions about politics

On how many days during the last week did you talk with other persons, such as members of your family, friends or acquaintances, about political parties and the Federal Election?

- (0) Not at all
- (1-7) On ___ days
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre062
First discussion partner: relationship

[FILTER: If pre061 (Discussions about politics) = 1-7:]

If you now think of the person you talked most about political parties and the Federal Election with during the last week, what is your relationship to this person - is he/she your spouse/partner, a relative, a friend, a work colleague or a neighbour?

- (1) Spouse/partner
- (2) A relative
- (3) [INT: In case of duplicate responses, friend has priority ahead of work colleague and neighbours] A friend
- (4) A work colleague
- (5) A neighbour
- (6) Other contact

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre064

First discussion partner: Knowledge of politics

[FILTER: If pre061 (Discussions about politics) = 1-7:]

How much do you think this person knows about politics? A great deal, a fair amount, not so much, or nothing at all?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Not so much
- (4) Nothing at all
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre065

First discussion partner: Differences of opinion

[FILTER: If pre061 (Discussion about politics) = 1-7:]

When you talk with this person about political questions, how often would you say you are of different opinion: often, sometimes, rarely or never?

- (1) Often
- (2) Sometimes
- (3) Rarely
- (4) Never
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre066

First discussion partner: Voting decision

[FILTER: If pre061 (Discussions about politics) = 1-7:]

Which party do you think this person will probably vote for in the Federal Election on September 27th, or do you think she/he will not go vote at all?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party
- (991) Has not decided yet [INT: Only if Mentioned spontaneously]
- (995) Will not vote
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre068

Other discussion partners

[FILTER: If pre061 (Discussions about politics) = 1-7:]

Is there another person or are there several other persons you have talked about political parties and the Federal Election with in the last week?

[INT: . If only "yes", ask whether only one or several people]

Was that one person or several?

- (1) Yes, one person
- (2) Yes, multiple persons
- (3) No, nobody
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre069

Second discussion partner: relationship

[FILTER: If pre068 (Other discussion partners) = yes, one person (1) OR yes, several people (2):]

[If pre068 (Other discussion partners) = yes, one person:]

What is your relationship to this person – is she/he your spouse or your partner, a relative, a friend, a work colleague or a neighbour?

[If pre068 (Other discussion partners) = yes, several people AND pre062 (discussion partner 1: relationship) = Spouse/Partner:]

If you now think of the person you talked most about political parties and the Federal Election with, what is your relationship to this person - is he/she a relative, a friend, a work colleague or a neighbour?

[If pre068 (Other discussion partner) = yes, several people AND pre062 (First discussion partner:

relationship) NOT = Spouse/Partner:]

If you now think of the person you talked most about political parties and the Federal Election with, what is your relationship to this person - is he/she your spouse/partner, a relative, a friend, a work colleague or a neighbour?

- (1) Spouse/partner
- (2) A relative
- (3) A friend [INT: In case of duplicate responses, friend has priority ahead of work colleague and neighbours]
- (4) A work colleague
- (5) A neighbour
- (6) Other contact
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre071

Second discussion partner: Knowledge of politics

[FILTER: If pre068 (Other discussion partners) = yes, one person (1) OR yes, several people (2):]

How much do you think this person knows about politics? A great deal, a fair amount, not so much, or nothing at all?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Not so much
- (4) Nothing at all

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre072

Second discussion partner: Differences of opinion

[FILTER: If pre068 (Other discussion partners) = yes, one person (1) OR yes, several people (2):]

When you talk with this person about political questions, how often would you say you are of different opinion: often, sometimes, rarely or never?

- (1) Often
- (2) Sometimes
- (3) Rarely
- (4) Never

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre073

Second discussion partner: Voting decision

[FILTER: If pre068 (Other discussion partners) = yes, one person (1) OR yes, several people (2):]

Which party do you think this person will probably vote for in the Federal Election on September 27th, or do you think she/he will not go vote at all?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party

- (991) Has not decided yet [INT: Only if Mentioned spontaneously]
- (995) Will not vote

- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable

pre075

Televised debate: Reception

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

Did you watch the TV debate of Angela Merkel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier on September 13th?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre076

Televised debate: Attention

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

[FILTER: If pre075 (Televised debate: Reception) = yes (1):]

How much attention did you pay to the debate? A great deal, quite a bit, a little, or none?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) Quite a bit
- (3) A little
- (4) None
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre077

Televised debate: Perceptions of Merkel's performance

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

[FILTER: If pre075 (Televised debate: Reception) = Yes (1):]

How well do you think Angela Merkel did in this debate – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre078

Televised debate: Perceptions of Steinmeier's performance

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

[FILTER: If pre075 (Televised debate: reception) = Yes (1)]

And how well do you think Frank-Walter Steinmeier did in this debate – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre079

Televised debate: Reception of media judgement

[PROG: ONLY 14.09.-20.09. (Week after the televised debate) ACTIVE]

Regardless of whether you watched the TV debate or not: Have you heard or read reports on the outcome of the TV debate in the media?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre080

Televised debate: Perceived media response, Merkel

[PROG: ONLY 14.09.-20.09. (Week after the televised debate) ACTIVE]

[FILTER: If pre079 (reception of media judgement) = „Yes“ (1):]

How well did the media think Angela Merkel came out of the debate – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre081

Televised debate: Perceived media response, Steinmeier

[PROG: ONLY 14.09.-20.09. (Week after the televised debate) ACTIVE]

[FILTER: If pre079 (reception of media judgement) = „Yes“ (1):]

And how well did the media think Frank-Walter Steinmeier came out of the debate – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre082

Televised debate: Reception of response of social environment

[PROG: ONLY 14.09.-20.09. (Week after the televised debate) ACTIVE]

Did you discuss the outcome of the debate with other people (for example relative, friends, work colleague)?

[INT: If so:] Did you discuss the outcome of the debate with other people in depth or just in passing?

- (1) Yes, in depth
- (2) Yes, but just in passing
- (3) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre083

Televised debate: Perceived response of social environment, Merkel

[PROG: ONLY 14.09.-20.09. (Week after the televised debate) ACTIVE]

[FILTER: If pre082 (Televised debate: reception of response of social environment) = "Yes" (1-2):]

How well did the people you talked to think Angela Merkel came out of the debate - very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre084

Televised debate: Perceived response of social environment, Steinmeier

[PROG: ONLY 14.09.-20.09. (Week after the televised debate) ACTIVE]

[FILTER: If pre082 (Televised debate: reception of response of social environment) = "Yes" (1-2):]

And how well did the people you talked to think Frank-Walter Steinmeier came out of the debate - very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre085

Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio

[PROG: Only active as of 31 August]

When you think about the election campaign of the political parties, did you see or hear party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio in the last week?

[INT: If so:] From which parties was that?

[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - CDU/CSU
 - 2 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - SPD
 - 3 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - FDP
 - 4 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - GRUENE
 - 5 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - DIE LINKE
 - 6 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - other political party
 - 7 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - no party advertisements
 - 8 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - don't know
 - 9 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - no answer
- (0) Not mentioned
(1) Mentioned
- (100) Not applicable

pre086

Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact

[PROG: Only active as of 31 August]

And has a candidate or anyone from one of the political parties called you up or come around and talked to you lately, e.g. at an election campaign booth, during rallies or canvassing?

[INT: If so:] Which party were they from?

[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - CDU/CSU
 - 2 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - SPD
 - 3 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - FDP
 - 4 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - GRUENE
 - 5 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - DIE LINKE
 - 6 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - other political party
 - 7 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - didn't talk to anyone from any political party
 - 8 Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - don't know
 - 9 Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - no answer
- (0) Not mentioned
(1) Mentioned
- (100) Not applicable

pre087

Recall BTW 2005

Looking now at the Federal Election in September 2005, which party did you vote for, or did you not vote, or were you ineligible to vote?

[INT: If respondent asks for more details:] We are talking about your second vote, the vote which decides on how strongly the political parties are represented in the Bundestag.

[INT: On no account read out the parties.]

- (1) CDU/CSU
(4) SPD
(5) FDP
(6) Die Gruenen
(7) Die Linke [INT: also PDS and WASG]
(206) NPD

- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party
- (995) No, I didn't vote
- (996) I wasn't eligible to vote
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer

pre088

Political knowledge: Unemployment

[PROG: Ad hoc item, between 21 August and 8 September, active]

Could you say how many people are unemployed in Germany at the moment?

[INT.: Please enter in millions with one decimal place, e.g. 4.7 millions, or round up or down; if the respondent mentions a percentage figure, ask for the number of unemployed]

___,___ million

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre101

Year of birth

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about you personally:
What year were you born in?

Year of birth: _____

- (9998) Don't know
- (9999) No answer

pre102

Gender

[INT: Do not read out, but select without respondent; only ask again if in doubt]

- (1) Male
- (2) Female

pre103

School leaving certificate

What's your highest level of general education?

- (1) Finished school without school leaving certificate
- (2) Lowest formal qualification in Germany's tripartite secondary school system, after 8 or 9 years of schooling ("Hauptschulabschluss, Volksschulabschluss")
- (3) Intermediary secondary qualification, after 10 years of schooling ("Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluß bzw. Polytechnische Oberschule mit Abschluß 10. Klasse")
- (4) Certificate fulfilling entrance requirements to study at a polytechnical college ("Fachhochschulreife (Abschluß einer Fachoberschule etc.)")
- (5) Higher qualification, entitling holders to study at a university ("Abitur bzw. erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse (Hochschulreife)")
- (6) Other school leaving certificate
- (7) Still at school
- (98) Don't know

(99) No answer

pre104
Gainful employment

[FILTER: If pre103 (school leaving certificate) NOT still at school (7):]

Do you currently work in a paid job? By this I mean any salaried occupation or one connected with an income time, regardless of the number of working hours. Do you currently work full-time or part-time, in vocational training or studies or do you not work in a paid job at all?

- (1) Full-time
- (2) Part-time
- (3) Mini job
- (4) In vocational training or studies
- (5) I do not work in a paid job at all

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre105
Profession

[FILTER: If pre104 (gainful employment) = Full-time (1) or part-time (2):]

Are you a manual worker, a salaried employee, a civil servant, a farmer or self-employed?

[INT: The main activity is decisive]

- (1) A manual worker
- (2) A salaried employee
- (3) A civil servant [Int: including judges and soldiers]
- (4) A farmer
- (5) Self-employed

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre106
Professional group in detail, manual worker

[FILTER: If pre105 (profession) = Manual worker (1):]

Are you a semi-skilled or unskilled worker, a farm worker, a skilled worker or head-workman or a master craftsman?

- (1) Semi-skilled, unskilled
or farm worker
- (2) A skilled worker
- (3) A head-workman or master craftsman

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre107
Professional group in detail, service/white-collar worker

[FILTER: If pre105 (profession) = Service/White-collar worker (2):]

Are you a salaried white collar employee in a lower level, a medium level or in a managerial position?

- (1) In a lower level
- (2) In a medium level
- (3) In a managerial position
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre108

Professional group in detail, civil servant

[FILTER: If pre105 (profession) = Civil servant (3):]

Are you a low, medium, high or highest level civil servant?

- (1) A low level civil servant
- (2) A medium level civil servant
- (3) A high level civil servant
- (4) A highest level civil servant
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre109

Reason for lack of gainful employment

[FILTER: If pre104 (employment) = Unemployed (5):]

Are you retired, receiving a pension or in early retirement, housewife/househusband, unemployed or not employed for any other reasons?

- (1) Retired, receiving a pension or in early retirement
- (2) Housewife/househusband
- (3) Unemployed
- (4) Not employed for any other reasons
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre110

Previous gainful employment

[FILTER: If pre104 (employment) = "in low-paid employment" (3)/"unemployed" (5):]

Have you worked in a full-time or part-time job in the past?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre111

Former profession

[FILTER: If pre110 (previous gainful employment) = Yes:]

Were you a manual worker, a salaried employee, a civil servant, a farmer or self-employed?

[INT: The main previous activity is decisive]

- (1) A manual worker
- (2) A salaried employee
- (3) A civil servant
- (4) A farmer
- (5) Self-employed

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre112

Professional group in detail, manual worker

[FILTER: If pre111 (former profession) = Manual worker (1):]

Were you a semi-skilled or unskilled worker, a farm worker, a skilled worker or head-workman or a master craftsman?

- (1) Semi-skilled, unskilled or farm worker
- (2) A skilled worker
- (3) A head-workman or master craftsman

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre113

Previous professional group in detail, service/white-collar worker

[FILTER: If pre111 (former profession) = Service/wWhite-collar worker (2):]

Were you a salaried white collar employee in a lower level, a medium level or in a managerial position?

- (1) In a lower level
- (2) In a medium level
- (3) In a managerial position

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre114

Previous professional group in detail, civil servant

[FILTER: If pre111 (former profession) = Civil servant (3):]

Were you a low, medium, high or highest level civil servant?

- (1) A low level civil servant
- (2) A medium level civil servant
- (3) A high level civil servant
- (4) A highest level civil servant

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre115

Fear of redundancy

[FILTER: If pre104 (Gainful employment) = Full-time employment (1), Part-time employment (2) OR Vocational training (4) AND pre105 (Profession) = Manual worker (1), Service/White-collar worker (2), Don't know (98) OR No answer (99)]

Are you worried that you might lose your job or have to change your job in the next two years?

- (1) No
- (2) Yes, I am worried about becoming unemployed
- (3) Yes, I am worried about having to change my job
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre116

Fear of loss of professional career

[FILTER: If pre104 (Gainful employment) = Full-time employment (1) OR Part-time employment (2) AND pre105 (Profession) = Farmer (4) OR Freelance professional/Self-employed (5):]

Are you worried that you might lose your present professional career in the next two years or have to change your profession?

- (1) No
- (2) Yes, I am worried that my livelihood will be threatened
- (3) Yes, I am worried that I will have to change my occupation
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre117

Household size

How many persons live in your household permanently, including yourself? Please also consider all children living in your household.

- (1-x) People in the household: _____
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre118

People aged 18+ who are eligible to vote

[FILTER: If pre117 (household size) > 1 AND NOT=98, 99:]

How many persons in this household are eligible to vote in the Federal Election?

- (1-x) Eligible voters in the household: _____
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre119
Husband/wife/partner

[FILTER: If pre117 (household size) > 1 AND NOT=98, 99:]

In your household, are you living with your husband/wife or partner?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre120
Partner's gainful employment

[FILTER: If partner exists, then pre119 = 1:]

Does your partner currently work full-time or part-time, in a mini job, in vocational training or studies or does she/he not work in a paid job at all?

- (1) Full-time
- (2) Part-time
- (3) Mini job
- (4) In vocational training or studies
- (5) She/he does not work in a paid job at all
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre121
Reason for partner's lack of gainful employment

[FILTER: If pre120 (partner's employment) = Unemployed (5):]

Is your partner retired, receiving a pension or in early retirement, housewife/househusband, unemployed or not employed for any other reasons?

- (1) Retired, receiving a pension or in early retirement
- (2) Housewife/househusband
- (3) Unemployed
- (4) Not employed for any other reasons
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre122
Respondent's fear of partner's redundancy

[FILTER: If pre120 (Partner's employment) = Full-time (1), Part-time (2) OR in vocational training (4):]

Are you worried that your partner might lose her/his job or have to change her/his job in the next two years?

- (1) No
- (2) Yes, I am worried that she/he might become unemployed
- (3) Yes, I am worried that she/he might have to change her/his job

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre123
Religious denomination

What is your religious denomination?

- (1) Roman Catholic
- (2) Protestant
- (3) Other
- (4) None
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre124
Church attendance

[FILTER: If pre123 (Religious denomination) = roman catholic (1) OR protestant (2):]

Generally, how frequently do you attend church - never, only once a year, more than once a year, at least once a month, two to three times a month, at least once a week, more than once a week?

- (1) Never
- (2) Once a year
- (3) Several times a year
- (4) Once a month
- (5) Two to three times a month
- (6) Once a week
- (7) More often
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre125
Labor union membership

Are you or is someone else in your household a member of a labor union?

- 1) Yes, I am
- (2) Yes, only others
- (3) Yes, I am and others
- (4) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre126
Party identification

In Germany, many people lean toward a particular political party for a long time, although occasionally, they vote for another party. How about you, do you lean toward a particular political party? If yes, which party is that?

[INT: Do not read out the parties!]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party

- (808) No, do not lean toward any party

- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer

pre127
Strength of party identification

[FILTER: If pre126 (Party identification) = 1-8:]

All in all, how strongly or weakly do you lean toward this party: very strongly, fairly strongly, moderately, fairly weakly or very weakly?

- (1) Very strongly
- (2) Fairly strongly
- (3) Moderately
- (4) Fairly weakly
- (5) Very weakly

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable

pre128
Landline phone

How many landline telephone numbers are there in your household which are used privately by you or another member of your household? This means telephone numbers with area code which are used to take calls. Answerphones, fax or telephone numbers which exist but which are not connected up to a terminal device do not count.

[INT.: If respondent asks for details: A landline phone is a normal telephone for which Telekom or another telephone company lays a cable to your home. Landline numbers for mobile phones in "home zones" may also be given.]

- (1-x) Number: ____

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer

pre129
Willingness to take part again

Our last interview question is also a request. This survey you have just participated in is being carried out under the scientific direction of the University of Mannheim. The study will be continued after the Federal Election. We would like to do a further interview with you then and keep your telephone number for this purpose. May we contact you again then?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No, definitely not

Record of identifying details

[FILTER: If Willingness to take part again (pre129) = Yes (1)]

Would you please tell me your first name or the first letter of your first name and the first letter of your last name?

[INT: If respondent wants to know details:] We need this information to be sure that we are actually talking to you when we contact you again.

Documentation of Questionnaire

Post-election

(09/28/2009-10/26/2009)

pos001

Interest, election campaign

How interesting did you find the campaign for the Federal Election on September 27th - very interesting, rather interesting, not very interesting, or not at all interesting?

- (1) Very interesting
- (2) Rather interesting
- (3) Not very interesting
- (4) Not at all interesting

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos002

Recall BTW 2009: Turnout

In the Federal Election on September 27th a lot of people did not manage to vote or did not participate in the election for other reasons. How about you? Did you vote or did you not vote?

- (1) I did vote
- (2) I did not vote

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos003

Recall BTW 2009: first vote

[FILTER: If turnout (pos002) = 1 OR 98-99:]

In the Federal Election you had two votes: the first vote was for a candidate in your local constituency, the second vote was for a party. Which party did the candidate you cast your first vote for belong to?

[INT.: On no account read out the parties.]

The candidate of the...

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPJ
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (993) I cast an invalid first vote
- (994) I didn't cast a first vote
- (995) I didn't vote [INT: in case of inconsistent statement in pos002]
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1002) Not participated

pos004

Recall BTW 2009: second vote

[FILTER: If (pos002) = 1 OR 98-99 AND pos003 NOT equal 995]

And which party did you vote for with your second vote in the Federal Election on September 27th?

[INT.: On no account read out the parties.]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (993) I cast an invalid second vote
- (994) I didn't cast a second vote
- (995) I didn't vote [INT: in case of inconsistent statement in pos002]
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1002) Not participated

pos005

Recall BTW 2009: Time of voter's decision (voter)

[FILTER: If pos002= 1 OR 98-99 AND pos003 NOT equal 995 AND pos004 NOT equal 995]

When did you decide how to vote in this Federal Election? A long time ago, a few months ago, a few weeks or days before the election or on election day?

- (1) A long time ago
- (2) A few months ago
- (3) A few weeks before the election
- (4) A few days before the election
- (5) On election day

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos006

Recall BTW 2009: Time of voter's decision (non-voter)

[FILTER: If the respondent did not vote, then pos002=2 OR pos003=995 OR pos004=995:]

When did you decide not to vote in this Federal Election? A long time ago, a few months ago, a few weeks or days before the election or on election day?

- (1) A long time ago
- (2) A few months ago
- (3) A few weeks before the election
- (4) A few days before the election
- (5) On election day
- (6) I was unable to vote [INT: only if Mentioned spontaneously by the non-voter]

- (98) Don't know

- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos007

Recall BTW 2009: Difficulty deciding how to vote (voter)

[FILTER: If pos002 = 1 OR 98-99 AND pos003 NOT equal 995 AND pos004 NOT equal 995]

Was it very difficult, fairly difficult, fairly easy or very easy for you to decide whom to vote for in this Federal Election?

- (1) Very difficult
- (2) Fairly difficult
- (3) Fairly easy
- (4) Very easy
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos008

Recall BTW 2009: Difficulty deciding how to vote (non-voter)

[FILTER: If the respondent did not vote, then pos002=2 OR pos003=995 OR pos004=995:]

Was it very difficult, fairly difficult, fairly easy or very easy for you to decide not to vote in this Federal Election?

- (1) Very difficult
- (2) Fairly difficult
- (3) Fairly easy
- (4) Very easy
- (5) I was unable to vote [INT: only if Mentioned spontaneously by the non-voter]
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos009

Recall BTW 2009: Possible other party

[FILTER: If pos004 (Recall BTW 2009: second vote) = 1-801]

Was there any time in the run-up to the Federal Election when you seriously thought you might vote for another party than [insert party] with your second vote?

[INT: If so:] Which political party was that?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (168) DVU
- (206) NPD
- (215) Piratenpartei
- (225) Republikaner (REP)
- (801) Other political party

- (992) No other party
 (998) Don't know
 (999) No answer
 (1000) Not applicable
 (1002) Not participated

pos010

Coalition preference (post election)

Regardless of the outcome of the Federal Election, which parties do you personally think should govern Germany over the next four years?

[INT: Multiple response, check all the parties which belong to the coalition]

- 1 Coalition preference (post-election) - CDU/CSU
 2 Coalition preference (post-election) - SPD
 3 Coalition preference (post-election) - FDP
 4 Coalition preference (post-election) - GRUENE
 5 Coalition preference (post-election) - DIE LINKE
 6 Coalition preference (post-election) - Other political party

 8 Coalition preference (post-election) - don't know
 9 Coalition preference (post-election) - no answer

 (0) Not mentioned / Not applicable
 (1) Mentioned

 (102) Not participated

[INT:

(if respondents use „Labels“ for coalitions)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| - „Große Koalition“ | = CDU/CSU, SPD | |
| - „Schwarz-gelb“ | = CDU/CSU, FDP | |
| - „Buergerliche Koalition“ | = CDU/CSU, FDP | |
| | „Buergerliche Regierung“ | [INT: Ask, if a) CDU/CSU government
or b) CDU/CSU, FDP] |
| - „Jamaika“ | = CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene | |
| - „Schwampel“ | = CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene | |
| - „Schwarze Ampel“ | = CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene | |
| - „Rot-gruen“ | = SPD, Gruene | |
| - „Sozial-liberale Koalition“ | = SPD, FDP | |
| - „Rot-gelb“ | = SPD, FDP | |
| - „Ampel“ | = SPD, FDP, Gruene | |
| - „Rot-rot-gruen“ | = SPD, Gruene, Die Linke | |
| | „Linksbuendnis/Linkskoalition“ | [INT: Ask, if a) SPD, Gruene, Die Linke
or b) SPD-Die Linke or c) SPD-Gruene] |
| - „Rot-rot“ | = SPD, Die Linke | |

pos012

Most important problem

In your opinion, what is currently the most important political problem in Germany?

[open answer]

- (9999) Don't know/ No answer
 (10002) Not participated

pos013

Ability to solve the most important problem

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pos012:]

Which party, do you think, would be best suited to solve this problem?

[INT: Do not read out response option. One response only]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party
- (808) None of the parties
- (809) All parties are as good as each other

- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable
- (1002) Not participated

pos014

Second most important problem

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pos012:]

In your opinion, what is currently the second most important political problem in Germany?

[open answer]

- (9999) Don't know/ No answer
- (10000) Not applicable
- (10002) Not participated

pos015

Ability to solve the second most important problem

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pos014:]

Which party, do you think, would be best suited to solve this problem?

[INT: Do not read out response option. One response only]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party
- (808) None of the parties
- (809) All parties are as good as each other

- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer

- (1000) Not applicable
 (1002) Not participated

**Same splits and variables like in pre-election study
 pos_split (split identifier, post-election)**

Split=1: pre016a, pre017a, pre018a
 Split=2: pre016b, pre017b, pre018b

pos016a

Party positions, socioeconomic dimension (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

Now, let us shift attention to several political issues. Some people prefer lower taxes, although this results in less social services. Others prefer more social services, although this results in raising taxes. What do you think are the views of the political parties? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the party prefers to cut taxes and spend less on social services, and 11 means that the party prefers to raise taxes and spend more. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

- A In your view, what is the position of the CDU?
 B And what is the position of the CSU?
 C And the SPD?
 D And the FDP?
 E And die Gruenen?
 F And die Linke?

Scale:

- (1) 1 The party prefers to cut taxes and spend less on social services
 (2) 2
 (3) 3
 (4) 4
 (5) 5
 (6) 6
 (7) 7
 (8) 8
 (9) 9
 (10) 10
 (11) 11 the party prefers to raise taxes and spend more on social services

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (101) Not applicable (split)
 (102) Not participated

pos017a

Own position, socioeconomic dimension (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

And which point of view do you personally take on this issue?

- (1) 1 Lower taxes, although this results in less social services
 (2) 2
 (3) 3
 (4) 4
 (5) 5
 (6) 6
 (7) 7
 (8) 8
 (9) 9
 (10) 10

- (11) 11 More social services, although this results in raising taxes
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (split)
- (102) Not participated

pos018a

Own position, nuclear power (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

And which point of view do you personally take on the issue of nuclear power? Should nuclear power continue to be developed or should all nuclear power plants be shut down immediately? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that nuclear power should continue to be developed. 11 means that all nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Nuclear power should be continued
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (split)
- (102) Not participated

pos016b

Party positions, nuclear power (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

Now, let us shift attention to several political issues. Should nuclear power continue to be developed or should all nuclear power plants be shut down immediately? What do you think is the position of the political parties regarding this issue? Please answer by using a scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the party favours that nuclear power should continue to be developed. 11 means that the party prefers that all nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- A In you view, what is the position of the CDU?
- B And what is the position of the CSU?
- C And the SPD?
- D And the FDP?
- E And die Gruenen?
- F And die Linke?

Scale:

- (1) 1 Nuclear power should be continued
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7

- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (split)
- (102) Not participated

pos017b

Own position, nuclear power (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

And which point of view do you personally take on this issue?

- (1) 1 Nuclear power should be continued
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (split)
- (102) Not participated

pos018b

Own position, socioeconomic dimension (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

Some people prefer lower taxes, although this results in less social services. Others prefer more social services, although this results in raising taxes. Which point of view do you personally take on this issue? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that you prefer lower taxes, although this results in less social services. 11 means that you prefer more social services, although this results in raising taxes. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Lower taxes, although this results in less social services
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 More social services, although this results in raising taxes

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (101) Not applicable (split)
- (102) Not participated

pos019

Left-right self assessment

In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 11 where 1 means the left and 11 means the right? Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Left
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 Right
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos020

Own economic situation, current

Now, let us shift attention to the economic situation. How would you evaluate your own current economic situation: very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad?

- (1) Very good
- (2) Good
- (3) Neither good nor bad
- (4) Bad
- (5) Very bad
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos021

Own economic situation, retrospective

Has your own economic situation improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably in the last one to two years?

- (1) Improved considerably
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos022

Responsibility for own economic situation

[FILTER: Only if answer to question pos021 (Own financial circumstances, retrospective) from 1 to 5]

To what extent do you think that the last government's policies have affected this development - a great deal, a fair amount, moderately, not very much, or not at all?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Moderately
- (4) Not very much
- (5) Not at all

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos023

Own economic situation, future

What do you think your own economic situation will be a year from now?

- (1) Improved considerably
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos024

General economic situation, current

And how would you evaluate the current general economic situation in Germany: very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad?

- (1) Very good
- (2) Good
- (3) Neither good nor bad
- (4) Bad
- (5) Very bad

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos025

General economic situation, retrospective

Has the general economic situation in Germany improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably in the last one to two years?

- (1) Improved considerably,
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos026

Responsibility for general economic situation

[FILTER: Only ask if a valid response was given to pos025 (General economic situation, retrospective), then pos025=1-5:]

To what extent do you think that the last government's policies have affected this development - a great deal, a fair amount, moderately, not very much, or not at all?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Moderately
- (4) Not very much
- (5) Not at all

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos027

General economic situation, future

What do you think the general economic situation in Germany will be a year from now?

- (1) Improved considerably
- (2) Improved somewhat
- (3) Remained the same
- (4) Deteriorated somewhat
- (5) Deteriorated considerably

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos028

Fear of economic crisis

How worried are you about the current economic crisis? Please tell me how worried you are using this scale from 1 to 7. 1 means that you don't worry at all, 7 means that you worry a lot. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

- (1) 1 Don't worry at all
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7 Worry a lot

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos089

Afghanistan, Position Ego

To what extent do you agree with the statement: "The German Armed Forces should be pulled out of Afghanistan immediately"? Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) Neither agree nor disagree
- (4) Disagree
- (5) Strongly disagree

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos090

Afghanistan, Political closest to respondent's position

[FILTER: If pos089 (Afghanistan, Position Ego) = 1-5:]

And which political party best represents your views on this issue?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party
- (808) None of the parties [INT: This response includes "all the same"]

- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable
- (1002) Not participated

pos029

Attributes of the candidates for the position of chancellor

Now let's turn to the two major parties' candidates for the position of chancellor, Angela Merkel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier. I'm going to read out a few statements. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements about each candidate.

Let's start with Angela Merkel.

A "She is an assertive and a strong leader" To what extent do these statements fit Angela Merkel?

B "She is trustworthy."

C "She is a likable person."

D "She has sensible ideas about how to manage the economic crisis."

And now let's think about Frank-Walter Steinmeier.

E "He is an assertive and a strong leader" To what extent do these statements fit Angela Merkel?

F "He is trustworthy."

G "He is a likable person."

H "He has sensible ideas about how to manage the economic crisis."

Scale:

- (1) Strongly agree
- (2) Agree
- (3) neither agree nor disagree
- (4) Disagree
- (5) Strongly disagree

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos030

Scalometer, political parties

Looking now at the political parties in detail, what do you think of the different parties in general? Please use the thermometer from +5 to -5 again. +5 means that you think a great deal of the party and -5 that you do not think much of the party at all. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

- A Let's begin with the CDU. What do you think of the CDU?
- B And what do you think of the CSU?
- C And the SPD?
- D And the FDP?
- E And den Gruenen?
- F And der Linken?

Scale:

- (-5) -5 I do not think much of the party at all
- (-4) -4
- (-3) -3
- (-2) -2
- (-1) -1
- (0) 0
- (+1) +1
- (+2) +2
- (+3) +3
- (+4) +4
- (+5) +5 I think a great deal of the party
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participate

pos031

Scalometer, political leaders

And what do you think of the political leaders? Please use the thermometer from +5 to -5 again. +5 means that you think a great deal of the politician and -5 that you do not think much of the politician at all. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely. If I come to a political leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

- A I'll start with Angela Merkel. What do you think of Angela Merkel?
- B And of Frank-Walter Steinmeier?
- C And of Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg?
- D And of Guido Westerwelle?
- E And of Renate Kuenast?
- F And of Oskar Lafontaine?

Scale:

- (-5) -5 I do not think much of the politician at all
- (-4) -4
- (-3) -3
- (-2) -2
- (-1) -1
- (0) 0
- (+1) +1
- (+2) +2
- (+3) +3
- (+4) +4
- (+5) +5 I think a great deal of the politician
- (97) I Don't know enough about this politician
- (98) Don't know

- (99) No answer
 (102) Not participated

pos032

Views on political parties and politics: Differences between political parties

During the election campaign, would you say that there were major political differences between the parties, minor differences, or no differences at all?

- (1) Major differences
 (2) Minor differences
 (3) No differences at all

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (102) Not participated

pos033

Attention to election campaign

How much attention did you pay to the Federal Election campaign? A great deal, quite a bit, a little, or none?

- (1) A great deal
 (2) Quite a bit
 (3) A little
 (4) None

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable
 (102) Not participated

pos034

Helpfulness of election campaign

[FILTER: If pos033 (Attention to election campaign)=1-3:]

To what extent did the election campaign help you to reach your voting decision: Was the election campaign very helpful, fairly helpful, not so helpful or not helpful at all in helping you decide who to vote for?

- (1) Very helpful
 (2) Fairly helpful
 (3) Not so helpful
 (4) Not helpful at all

 (98) Don't know
 (99) No answer
 (100) Not applicable
 (102) Not participated

pos035

Election campaign contacts: Electoral events

Did you go to any political meetings, rallies or speeches organised by the political parties?

[INT: If so:] From which party exactly?
 [INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign: Political meetings - CDU/CSU

- 2 Election campaign: Political meetings - SPD
- 3 Election campaign: Political meetings - FDP
- 4 Election campaign: Political meetings - GRUENE
- 5 Election campaign: Political meetings - DIE LINKE
- 6 Election campaign: Political meetings - other political party

- 7 Election campaign: Political meetings - didn't go to any political meetings
- 8 Election campaign: Political meetings - don't know
- 9 Election campaign: Political meetings - no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned

- (102) Not participated

pos036**Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact**

And did a candidate or anyone from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you during the election campaign, e.g. at an election campaign booth, during rallies or canvassing? Which party were they from?

[INT: If so:] Which party were they from?
[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - CDU/CSU
- 2 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - SPD
- 3 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - FDP
- 4 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - GRUENE
- 5 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - DIE LINKE
- 6 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - other political party
- 7 Election campaign: Direct election campaign contact - didn't talk to anyone from any political party

- 8 Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - don't know
- 9 Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned

- (102) Not participated

pos037**Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio**

When you think about the election campaign of the political parties, did you see or hear party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio?

[INT: If so:] From which parties was that?
[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - CDU/CSU
- 2 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - SPD
- 3 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - FDP
- 4 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - GRUENE
- 5 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - DIE LINKE
- 6 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - other political party
- 7 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - no party advertisements

- 8 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - don't know
- 9 Election campaign: Party advertisements in newspapers, TV or radio - no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
 (1) Mentioned
 (102) Not participated

pos038
 Election campaign contacts: Information material

Did you read any information material produced by political parties, such as campaign flyers, handbills, leaflets or posted material?

[INT: If so:] From which political party?

[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign contacts: Information material - CDU/CSU
 2 Election campaign contacts: Information material - SPD
 3 Election campaign contacts: Information material - FDP
 4 Election campaign contacts: Information material - GRUENE
 5 Election campaign contacts: Information material - DIE LINKE
 6 Election campaign contacts: Information material - other political party
 7 Election campaign contacts: Information material - no information material
 8 Election campaign contacts: Information material - don't know
 9 Election campaign contacts: Information material - no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
 (1) Mentioned
 (102) Not participated

pos039
 Election campaign contacts: Party websites

Did you visit websites of the political parties during the election campaign?

[INT: If so:] From which parties?

[INT: Multiple response]

- 1 Election campaign: Party websites - CDU/CSU
 2 Election campaign: Party websites - SPD
 3 Election campaign: Party websites - FDP
 4 Election campaign: Party websites - GRUENE
 5 Election campaign: Party websites - DIE LINKE
 6 Election campaign: Party websites - other political party
 7 Election campaign: Party websites - no websites
 8 Election campaign: Party websites - don't know
 9 Election campaign: Party websites - no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
 (1) Mentioned
 (102) Not participated

pos040
 Televised debate: Reception

Did you watch the TV debate of Angela Merkel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier on September 13th?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos041

Televised debate: Attention

[FILTER: If pos040 (Televised debate: Reception) = yes (1):]

How much attention did you pay to the debate? A great deal, quite a bit, a little, or none?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) Quite a bit
- (3) A little
- (4) None
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos042

Televised debate: Perceptions of Merkel's performance

[FILTER: If pos040 (Televised debate: Reception) = 1 (yes):]

How well do you think Angela Merkel did in this debate – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos043

Televised debate: Perceptions of Steinmeier's performance

[FILTER: If pos040 (Televised debate: Reception) = 1 (yes):]

And how well do you think Frank-Walter Steinmeier did in this debate – very well, well, neither well nor badly, badly or very badly?

- (1) Very well
- (2) Well
- (3) Neither well nor badly
- (4) Badly
- (5) Very badly
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos091

Reception TV Total, 2009 Election Campaign

Did you watch the Stefan Raab programme "TV total 2009 Election Campaign" on the evening before the election?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable (question not received)
- (102) Not participated

pos044

Discussions about politics

On how many days during the last week did you talk with other persons, such as members of your family, friends or acquaintances, about political parties and the Federal Election?

- (0) Not at all
- (1-8) On ___ days
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos045

First discussion partner: relationship

If you now think of the person you talked most about political parties and the Federal Election with during the election campaign for the Federal Election on September 27th, what is your relationship to this person - is he/she your spouse/partner, a relative, a friend, a work colleague or a neighbour?

- (1) Spouse/partner
- (2) A relative
- (3) A friend [INT: In case of duplicate responses, friend has priority ahead of work colleague and neighbours]
- (4) A work colleague
- (5) A neighbour
- (6) Other contact
- (7) I didn't talk with anyone
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos046

First discussion partner: Knowledge of politics

[FILTER: If pos045 (First discussion partner: relationship) =1-6:]

How much do you think this person knows about politics? A great deal, a fair amount, not so much, or nothing at all?

- (1) A great deal
- (2) A fair amount
- (3) Not so much
- (4) Nothing at all

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos047

First discussion partner: Differences of opinion

[FILTER: If pos045 (First discussion partner: relationship) =1-6:]

When you talked with this person about political questions during the election campaign, how often would you say you were of different opinion: often, sometimes, rarely or never?

- (1) Often
- (2) Sometimes
- (3) Rarely
- (4) Never
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos048

First discussion partner: Voting decision

[FILTER: If pos045 (First discussion partner: relationship) =1-6:]

Which party do you think this person voted for in the Federal Election on September 27th? Or did he/she not vote at all?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party
- (995) Did not vote
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1000) Not applicable
- (1002) Not participated

pos049

Media reliance

Of all the ways that you can follow the parties and their policies during the election campaign, what would you say: which of the following sources of information did you find really helpful in making up your mind about how to vote - the campaign advertising of the political parties, news programs on television, articles in newspapers and magazines, information provided on the internet, statements issued by groups and associations or conversations with relatives, friends and acquaintances?

[INT: Only ONE response allowed.]

- (1) The campaign advertising of the political parties
- (2) News programs on television
- (3) Articles in newspapers and magazines
- (4) Information provided on the internet
- (5) Statements issued by groups and associations

- (6) Conversations with relatives, friends and acquaintances
- (7) Several or all the same helpful [INT: ONLY if respondent can't decide at all]
- (8) Other information source was most helpful [INT: ONLY if Mentioned spontaneously]
- (9) No information source was helpful [INT: ONLY if Mentioned spontaneously]
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos050

Need to Evaluate, for Cognition and for Cognitive Closure

Please tell me for each of the following statements to what extent they apply to you. 1 means that you strongly disagree with the statement. 5 means that you strongly agree with the statement. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely.

- A The first statement is: "I make up my own mind about everything."
- B "I don't find it satisfying to think deeply about things for hours on end."
- C "I usually make important decisions quickly and confidently."
- D "I don't feel comfortable about getting involved in arguments about politics."
- E "I often keep my views to myself because I fear the negative consequences of saying what I think."
- F "I'd like to know as much as possible about the political parties and their manifestos."

Scale:

- (1) 1 Strongly disagree
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5 Strongly agree
- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (102) Not participated

pos051

Party identification

In Germany, many people lean toward a particular political party for a long time, although occasionally, they vote for another party. How about you, do you lean toward a particular political party? If yes, which party is that?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (5) FDP
- (6) Die Gruenen
- (7) Die Linke
- (801) Other political party
- (808) No, do not lean toward any party
- (998) Don't know
- (999) No answer
- (1002) Not participated

pos052

Strength of party identification

[FILTER: If pos051 (party identification) = 1-801:]

All in all, how strongly or weakly do you lean toward this party: very strongly, fairly strongly, moderately, fairly weakly or very weakly?

- (1) Very strongly
- (2) Fairly strongly
- (3) Moderately
- (4) Fairly weakly
- (5) Very weakly

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos053

Unemployment

Are you or is anyone close to you unemployed at the moment?

- (1) Yes, I am unemployed [continue with pos054]
- (2) Yes, someone close to me is unemployed
- (3) Yes, I am unemployed and someone close to me is also unemployed
- (4) No, I am not unemployed nor is anyone close to me unemployed

- (98) Don't know
- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated

pos054

Length of time unemployed

[FILTER: If the respondent is unemployed, then pos053 = 1 OR 3:]

How long have you been unemployed?

_____ [PROG/INT: four-digit (JJJJ)]

- (9998) Don't know
- (9999) No answer
- (10000) Not applicable
- (10002) Not participated

pos055

Threat of redundancy

[FILTER: If pos053 = 2]

Is your job in danger?

[FILTER: If pos053 = 4]

Is your job or the job of a person who is close to you in danger?

- (1) Yes, own job is in danger
- (2) Yes, job of someone close to me is in danger [PROG: only possible if pos053=4]
- (3) Yes, own job and job of someone close to me is in danger [PROG: only possible if pos053=4]
- (4) No, neither my job nor the job of someone close to me is in danger.

- (98) Don't know

- (99) No answer
- (100) Not applicable
- (102) Not participated