German Longitudinal Election Study

GLES 2009
Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave
ZA5303, Version 5.0.0

Documentation of Questionnaire
GESIS–Study Materials 2011

GLES 2009
Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave
ZA5303, Version 5.0.0

Principal Investigator:
Prof. Dr. Hans Rattinger (University of Mannheim)
Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (University of Mannheim)
Prof. Dr. Sigrid Roßteutscher (University of Frankfurt)
PD Dr. Bernhard Weßels (Social Science Research Center Berlin)
The German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) is a DFG-funded project which made its debut just prior to the 
2009 federal election. GLES is the largest and most ambitious election study held so far in Germany.

The GLES is 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 Weßels (Social Science Research Center Berlin) in close cooperation with the Deutsche Gesell-
schaft für Wahlforschung (DGfW) and GESIS.

The following documentation of the questionnaire refers to the post-election Panel Wave of the Rolling Cross-
Section Campaign Survey of the GLES. On this page you will find some general information about the dataset.

**Bibliographic description of the data set**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study No.</th>
<th>ZA5303</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave (GLES)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Version</td>
<td>5.0.0, 09.11.2011 (Pre-Release)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doi</td>
<td>10.4232/1.10996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Methodology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic Coverage</th>
<th>Germany (DE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universe</td>
<td>The universe of samples was comprised of 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection Method</td>
<td>Disproportional stratified multistage random sampling based on the ADM-design (Gabler-Häder-model for telephone samples). Rolling Cross-Section (RCS) survey with about 100 daily interviews based on random sampling. The target person in the household was determined by last-birthday-method.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode of Data Collection</td>
<td>Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collector</td>
<td>Ipsos, Hamburg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Further Remarks**

A Rolling Cross-Section survey was also conducted in 2005: Study Number (ZA-No.) 4991 ‘Federal Parliament Election 2005 Campaign Dynamics - Pre- and Post-Election Study’. 

You will find more information about the study at [www.gesis.org/gles](http://www.gesis.org/gles) or [www.gles.eu](http://www.gles.eu).
Please note:
As a public service to our friends all over the world, we provide English translations of GLES data sets, 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 over 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

(29.07.-26.09.2009)
Interest in politics

In general terms: How interested in politics are you? Very interested, fairly interested, middling, not very interested or not interested at all.

(1) very interested
(2) fairly interested
(3) middling
(4) not very interested
(5) not interested at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

Interest, election campaign

And how interested are you in particular in the current campaign for the forthcoming federal election?

(1) very interested
(2) fairly interested
(3) middling
(4) not very interested
(5) not interested at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

Intention to vote

Many people vote at elections. Others don’t get around to voting or don’t take part in the election for other reasons. The next federal election will be held on 27 September. 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 27 September, a first vote and a second vote. First for a candidate from your constituency and second for a party. Which constituency candidate of which party will you give your first vote to in the federal election?

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

| The candidate for... |  
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) CDU/CSU          | (4) SPD               |
| (5) FDP              | (6) Die Grünen        |
| (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 political party will you give your second vote to in the federal election?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) CDU/CSU</th>
<th>(4) SPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5) FDP</td>
<td>(6) Die Grünen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Die Linke</td>
<td>(168) DVU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(206) NPD</td>
<td>(215) Piratenpartei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(225) Republikaner (REP)</td>
<td>(801) other political party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (993) will cast an invalid second vote | (994) will not cast a second vote | (998) don’t know | (999) no answer | (1000) not applicable |
First vote, postal voters

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

You were entitled to two postal votes in the Bundestag election. First for a candidate from your constituency and secondly for a party. Which constituency candidate did you give your first vote to?

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

The candidate for...

(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

Second vote, postal voters

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

And which political party did you give your second vote to?

[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)**

[FILTER: If pre003 (intention to vote) is "not likely to vote" (4), "certain not to vote" (5), "don’t know" (98) or "no answer" (99):]

And which political party would you vote for, assuming you voted at all?

[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*

And how important are the results of the forthcoming federal election to you personally? Very important, fairly important, neither/nor, fairly unimportant or completely unimportant?

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

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

**pre011**

*Scalometer, coalitions*

Now I would like to ask some questions about possible coalition options for 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 or not you think such a coalition might be. +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. You can use the numbers in between to 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 die Gruenen?
D And a “Jamaica coalition” of the CDU/CSU, FDP and die Gruenen?
E And a red-green coalition of the SPD and die Gruenen?
F And a “traffic-light” coalition of the SPD, FDP and die Gruenen?
G And a red-red-green coalition of the SPD, die Gruenen and die Linke?

Scale:

-5 I don’t think this coalition would be desirable at all
-4
-3
-2
-1
0
+1
+2
+3
+4
+5 I think this coalition would be very desirable

(97) I don’t know enough about this coalition
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Do you think it is very likely, fairly likely, fairly unlikely or very unlikely 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.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>And what about the CDU/CSU and FDP?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>And the CDU/CSU and die Gruenen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>And the CDU/CSU, FDP and die Gruenen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>And the SPD and die Gruenen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>And the SPD, FDP and die Gruenen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>And the SPD, die Gruenen and die Linke?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scale:**

1. very likely
2. fairly likely
3. fairly unlikely
4. very unlikely
5. don’t know
6. no answer
**pre013**

**Expected government**

The coalitions which can actually be formed also depends on the outcome of the election. Which parties do you think will actually form a 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)

1. Expected government: CDU/CSU
2. Expected government: SPD
3. Expected government: FDP
4. Expected government: GRÜENE
5. Expected government: DIE LINKE
6. Expected government: other political party
7. Expected government: don’t know
8. 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
- „Bürgerliche Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, FDP
- „Bürgerliche Regierung“ = [INT: Ask, if a) CDU/CSU government or b) CDU/CSU, FDP]
- „Jamaika“ = CDU/CSU, FDP, GRÜENE
- „Schwampel“ = CDU/CSU, FDP, GRÜENE
- „Schwarze Ampel“ = CDU/CSU, FDP, GRÜENE
- „Rot-grün“ = SPD, GRÜENE
- „Sozial-liberale Koalition“ = SPD, FDP
- „Rot-gelb“ = SPD, FDP
- „Ampel“ = SPD, FDP, GRÜENE
- „Rot-rot-grün“ = SPD, GRÜENE, DIE LINKE
- „Linksbündnis/Linkskoalition“ = [INT: Ask, if a) SPD, GRÜENE, DIE LINKE or b) SPD-DIE LINKE or c) SPD-GRÜENE]
- „Rot-rot“ = SPD, DIE LINKE

**pre014**

**Most important issue**

If you now consider the current political situation – in your opinion, what is the most important political issue facing Germany at the moment?

[Open answer]

Please refer to http://www.gesis.org/wahlen/gles/daten-und-dokumente/dokumente/ („GLES 2009: Codierschema Agendafragen_1“)

[9999] don’t know/no answer
pre015
Ability to solve the most important issue

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

And which political party do you think is best able 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 Grünen
(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 issue

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

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

[Open answer]

Please refer to http://www.gesis.org/wahlen/gles/daten-und-dokumente/dokumente/ („GLES 2009: Codierschema Agendafragen_1“)

[9999] don’t know/no answer
[10000] not applicable
**pre017**

Ability to solve the second most important issue

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

And which political party do you think is best able 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.
And now we come to several controversial political issues. Some people would like to see lower taxes even if that means some reduction in health, education and social benefits; others would like to see more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if it means some increases in taxes. In your view, using a scale from 1 to 11, what is the position of the political parties on this issue?

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 Bündnis ’90/Die Grünen?
F What do you think is die Linke policy?

Scale:

(1) 1 lower taxes, even if that means less government spending on health, education and social benefits
(2) 2
(3) 3
(4) 4
(5) 5
(6) 6
(7) 7
(8) 8
(9) 9
(10) 10
(11) 11 more government spending on health, education and social benefits, even if that means higher taxes
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(101) not applicable (Split)

How would you describe your own views on this issue?

(1) 1 lower taxes, even if that means less government spending on health, education and social benefits
(2) 2
(3) 3
(4) 4
(5) 5
(6) 6
(7) 7
(8) 8
(9) 9
(10) 10
(11) 11 more government spending on health, education and social benefits, even if that means higher taxes
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(101) not applicable (Split)
**pre020a**  
Own position, nuclear power (Split=1)

[PROG: Split 1/2]

How would you describe your views on the issue of nuclear energy? Should more nuclear power stations be built or should all nuclear power stations be closed down today? Please use the scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that more use should be made of nuclear energy. 11 means that all nuclear power stations should be closed down today. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely again.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1 more nuclear power stations should be built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>11 all nuclear power stations should be closed down today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(101)</td>
<td>not applicable (Split)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pre018b**  
Party positions, nuclear energy (Split=2)

[PROG: Split 2/2]

And now we come to several controversial political issues. Should more nuclear power stations be built or should all nuclear power stations be closed down today? In your view, what is the position of the political parties on this issue? Please use the scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the political party favours more use being made of nuclear energy. 11 means that the political party favours the immediate closing down of all nuclear power stations. You can use the numbers in between to state 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:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1 more nuclear power stations should be built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>11 all nuclear power stations should be closed down today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(101)</td>
<td>not applicable (Split)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[PROG: Split 2/2]

How would you describe your own views on this issue?

(1) 1 more nuclear power stations should be built
(2) 2
(3) 3
(4) 4
(5) 5
(6) 6
(7) 7
(8) 8
(9) 9
(10) 10
(11) 11 all nuclear power stations should be closed down today

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

[PROG: Split 2/2]

Some people would like to see lower taxes even if that means some reduction in health, education and social benefits; others would like to see more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if it means some increases in taxes. How would you describe your own views on this issue? Please use the scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that you are in favour of lower taxes even if that means less spending on health, education and social benefits. 11 means that you are in favour of more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if that means some increases in taxes. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely again.

(1) 1 lower taxes, even if that means less government spending on health, education and social benefits
(2) 2
(3) 3
(4) 4
(5) 5
(6) 6
(7) 7
(8) 8
(9) 9
(10) 10
(11) 11 more government spending on health, education and social benefits, even if that means higher taxes

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(101) not applicable (Split)
Work of the federal government

Now I would like to ask a few questions about the current federal government. On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the CDU/CSU and SPD federal government in Berlin is running the country? Please use the thermometer from +5 to -5 with a zero point in the middle. +5 means that you are very satisfied with the way the federal government is running the country; -5 means that you are very dissatisfied. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely.

-5 very dissatisfied
-4
-3
-2
-1
0
+1
+2
+3
+4
+5 very satisfied

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

Work of the governing parties

And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the work of each of the political parties in the federal government? Please describe how you feel using the thermometer from -5 to +5.

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

scale:
-5 very dissatisfied
-4
-3
-2
-1
0
+1
+2
+3
+4
+5 very satisfied

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
And now let's turn to financial matters. How would you describe your own current financial circumstances? Is it very good, good, so so, bad or very bad?

1. very good
2. good
3. so so
4. bad
5. very bad

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

Have your financial circumstances improved a lot in the last one to two years, improved a bit, stayed the same, got a bit worse or got a lot worse?

1. improved a lot
2. improved a bit
3. stayed the same
4. got a bit worse
5. got a lot worse

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

In your opinion: How strongly have the policies of the federal government affected the way your financial circumstances have changed: Very strongly, fairly strongly, middling, not very strongly or not at all?

1. very strongly
2. fairly strongly
3. middling
4. not very strongly
5. not at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable

What do you think your financial circumstances will be like in a year's time? Do you expect your financial circumstances to improve a lot, improve a bit, stay the same, get a bit worse or get a lot worse?

1. improve a lot
2. improve a bit
3. stay the same
4. get a bit worse
5. get a lot worse

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
### pre027
**General economic situation, current**

How would you generally rate the current economic situation in Germany? Is it very good, good, partly good/partly bad, bad or very bad?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>partly good/partly bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>very bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pre028
**General economic situation, retrospective**

Has the general economic situation in Germany improved a lot in the last one to two years, improved a bit, stayed the same, got a bit worse or got a lot worse?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>improved a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>improved a bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>stayed the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>got a bit worse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>got a lot worse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pre029
**Responsibility for general economic situation**

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

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>very strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>fairly strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>middling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>not very strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**pre030**  
General economic situation, future

What do you think the general economic situation will be like in a year's time? Do you expect the general economic situation in Germany to improve a lot, improve a bit, stay the same, get a bit worse or get a lot worse?

(1) improve a lot  
(2) improve a bit  
(3) stay the same  
(4) got a bit worse  
(5) got a lot worse  

(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 you feel using this scale from 1 to 7. 1 means that you are not worried about the economic crisis at all, 7 means that you are very worried. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely

(1) 1 not worried at all  
(2) 2  
(3) 3  
(4) 4  
(5) 5  
(6) 6  
(7) 7 very worried  

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer
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, tend to agree, neither agree nor disagree, tend to 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) tend to agree
(3) neither agree nor disagree
(4) tend to disagree
(5) strongly disagree
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

And now some more precise questions about the political parties. What is your general opinion of each of the political parties? Please again use the thermometer from +5 to -5 with a zero point in the middle. +5 means that you have a very positive view of the political party; -5 means that you have a very negative view of the party. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely.

Let's begin with the CDU. What do you think of the CDU?
And what do you think of the CSU?
And the SPD?
And the FDP?
And the Gruenen?
And the Linken?

Skala:
(-5) -5 I have a very negative view of this political party
(-4) -4
(-3) -3
(-2) -2
(-1) -1
(0) 0
(+1) +1
(+2) +2
(+3) +3
(+4) +4
(+5) +5 I have a very positive view of this political party
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
**pre034**

Scalometer, politicians

Please tell me what you think about some leading politicians. Please again use the thermometer from +5
to -5. +5 means that you have a very positive opinion of the politician; -5 means that you have a very
negative opinion of the politician. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more
precisely. If you Don’t know enough about one of the politicians you don’t have to rate them of course.

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 have a very negative view of this politician
(-4) -4
(-3) -3
(-2) -2
(-1) -1
(0) 0
(+1) +1
(+2) +2
(+3) +3
(+4) +4
(+5) +5 I have a very positive view of this 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

What do you think of the political parties during the current election campaign? Can you identify big
political differences, smaller differences or no differences at all between the parties?

(1) big differences
(2) smaller differences
(3) no differences at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer

**pre035a**

Preferred chancellor

What I would like to know next is: who would you rather was chancellor after the federal election:
Angela Merkel or Frank-Walter Steinmeier?

(1) Angela Merkel
(2) Frank-Walter Steinmeier
(3) neither of them [INT: Only if mentioned spontaneously]

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
### pre035b
**Credibility of SPD-Linke**

How credible do you think is the statement by the SPD that it will on no account form a coalition at the national level with Die Linke? Completely credible, fairly credible, not very credible or not at all credible?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>completely credible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fairly credible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>not very credible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>not at all credible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>completely obvious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>quite obvious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>not so obvious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>not at all obvious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pre092
**Overhang seats, legitimation 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>alright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>not alright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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, tend to agree, neither agree nor disagree, tend to disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?  

(1) strongly agree  
(2) tend to agree  
(3) neither agree nor disagree  
(4) tend to 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  

During an election campaign there are different ways of informing yourself about current political developments in Germany. Let’s begin with the daily newspapers. Do you read the BILD newspapers sometimes or regularly?  

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

(1-7) on ___ days  
(8) I didn't read the newspaper last week  
(9) I don't read any reports on politics in the BILD newspapers  

(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:]
That means 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:]
That means that you read the BILD newspaper yesterday or the day before yesterday.

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):]

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

[INT.: If yes:] To which parties?
[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 sometimes or regularly read another newspaper?

[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 sometimes or regularly read another newspaper as well?

[INT: If so:] What newspaper is that?  
[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. Süddeutsche 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

**pre040**  
Use of the reports on politics in daily newspapers

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

On how many days during the previous week did you read reports on politics in this newspaper?

1.7 on ___ days
8. I didn’t read the newspaper last week
9. I don’t read any reports on politics in this newspaper

98. don’t know
99. no answer
100. not applicable
**pre041**

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 (pre039)]?

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

Does that mean that you also read [enter codes 1-5 for use of daily newspaper (pre039)]?

[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 (pre039)] 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 also read the [PROG: Enter codes 1-5 from use of daily newspaper (pre039)] yesterday or the day before yesterday?

(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):]

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

[INT: If yes, what political parties were they about?]  
[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 sometimes or regularly read another newspaper as well?

[INT: If so: What newspaper is that?]  
[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. Süddeutsche 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 the reports on politics in other daily newspapers

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

On how many days during the previous week did you read reports on politics in this newspaper?

1-7) on __ days  
8) not in the previous week  
9) I don’t read any reports on politics in this newspaper

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer  
(100) not applicable
**pre045**

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 [PROG: Enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (pre043)] yesterday?

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

Does that mean that you also read the [PROG: Enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (pre043)] yesterday?

[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 [PROG: Enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (pre043)] 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 also read the [PROG: Enter codes 1-5 for use of other daily newspaper (pre043)] yesterday?

(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):]

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

[INT: If yes:] About which parties?  
[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 carefully did you read the newspaper [PROG: ENTER NAME OF THE NEWSPAPER] reports on the parties and the election campaign – very carefully, carefully, not so carefully or not carefully at all?

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

On the whole how carefully did you read reports in the newspapers you just mentioned to me on the parties and the election campaign – very carefully, carefully, not so carefully or not carefully at all?

1. very carefully
2. carefully
3. not so carefully
4. not carefully at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable

**pre048**
Weekly press, previous week

And did you read the 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’s turn to news programmes on television. Let’s begin with the news programmes broadcast on ARD, such as Tagesschau and Tagesthemen: On how many days of the week did you watch Tagesschau or Tagesthemen on ARD in the last week?

[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:]

If you think in particular about coverage in these programmes of 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] What parties were that?  
[INT: Multiple response (record up to three political parties in the order they are mentioned).]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: CDU/CSU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: SPD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: FDP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: GRUENE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: DIE LINKE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: other political party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: none of the parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Party political bias, TV news on ARD: no answer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>not mentioned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>mentioned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 average, on how many days of the last week did you watch Heute or Heute-Journal, in other words the news programmes broadcast by ZDF?

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1-7)</td>
<td>on __ days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>not at all in the last week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>I never watch the news on this channel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:]

If you think in particular about the coverage in these programmes of 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:] What parties were that?
[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 RTL news programme: On how many days in the last week did you watch this news programme?

(1-7) on ___ days
(8) not in the previous week
(9) I never watch the news on this channel

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable
If you think in particular about the coverage in these programmes of 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:] What parties were that?
[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

And what about Sat.1 Nachrichten, the Sat.1 news programme: On how many days during the previous week did you watch this news programme?

(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]

If you think in particular about the coverage in these programmes of 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:] What parties were that?
[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 carefully on the whole did you watch the reports on the political parties and the election campaign – very carefully, carefully, not so carefully or not carefully at all?

(1) very carefully
(2) carefully
(3) not so carefully
(4) not carefully at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable
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:]

What about yesterday, did you watch a news programme on television?

[INT: If so:] On what channel?
[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

Internet use, political information

On how many days of 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 the 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

Perception, opinion polls

Did you read or see any up-to-date 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 about politics and the political parties with other people, such as members of your family, friends or acquaintances?

(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 about the person who you talked about political parties and the federal election most with during the election campaign for the federal election on 27 September, what relationship did you have with this person – is she or he your spouse or your partner, a relative, friend, work colleague or neighbour?

(1) spouse/partner
(2) relative
(3) friend [INT: In case of duplicate responses, friend has priority ahead of work colleague and neighbours]
(4) work colleague
(5) 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:]

In your opinion, how much does this person know about politics? A great deal, a fair amount, not so much, 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 about politics with this person, how often would you say you have different opinions: 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 27 September, or do you think she/he will not vote at all?

(1) CDU/CSU
(4) SPD
(5) FDP
(6) Die Gruenen
(7) Die Linke
(801) other political party
(991) haven’t 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 anyone else or any other people who you 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, several people
(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 about the person amongst all these people who you talked to most about political parties and the federal election: What is your relationship to this person – is she/he 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 about the person amongst all these people who you talked to most about political parties and the federal election: What is your relationship with this person – is she/he your spouse or your partner, a relative, a friend, a work colleague or a neighbour?

(1) spouse/partner
(2) relative
(3) friend [INT: In case of duplicate responses, friend has priority ahead of work colleague and neighbours]
(4) work colleague
(5) 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):]

In your opinion, how much does this person know about politics? A great deal, a fair amount, not so much, 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 about politics with this person, how often would you say you have different opinions: 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 27 September, or do you think she/he will not vote at all?

(1) CDU/CSU
(4) SPD
(5) FDP
(6) Die Gruenen
(7) Die Linke
(801) other political party
(991) haven’t 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 televised debate between Angela Merkel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier on 13 September?

(1) yes
(2) no
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable
**pre076**
Television debate: Attention

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

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

How carefully did you follow the debate? Very carefully, carefully, not so carefully, not carefully at all?

(1) very carefully
(2) carefully
(3) not so carefully
(4) not carefully at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable

**pre077**
Television debate: Perceptions of Merkel's performance

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

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

How well do you 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

**pre078**
Television debate: Perceptions of Steinmeier's performance

[PROG: Only active as of 14 September]

[FILTER: If pre075 (Television 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 televised debate or not: Have you heard or read reports on the outcome of the televised 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 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
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 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
Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about the election campaigns of the parties. What about advertising by the political parties in newspapers or on TV or radio – did you see or hear any during the election campaign?

**[INT: If so:] With which political parties?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - CDU/CSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - SPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - FDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - GRUENE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - DIE LINKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - other political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - no political advertising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Party advertising in the press and on TV and radio - no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>not mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And have you recently talked with a candidate or anyone else from a political party at, for example, a campaign stand, at an electoral event or on your own doorstep?

**[INT: If so:] With which political parties?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - CDU/CSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - SPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - FDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - GRUENE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - DIE LINKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - other political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - didn't talk to anyone from any political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact - no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>not mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recall BTW 2005
The last federal election was in September 2005. Which political party did you vote for? Or didn’t you vote or weren’t you eligible 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 Grünen
(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

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

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

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 is the highest general school leaving certificate that you have?

(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 ("Fachhochulreife (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):]

Are you currently in gainful employment? By this I mean paid full-time or part-time work. Are you currently in full-time paid work, part-time paid work, in low-paid employment, in vocational training or are you unemployed?

(1) in full-time employment
(2) in part-time employment
(3) in low-paid employment
(4) in vocational training
(5) unemployed
(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 service/white-collar worker, civil servant, farmer or self-employed?

[INT: The main activity is decisive]

(1) manual worker
(2) service/white-collar worker
(3) civil servant [Int: including judges and soldiers]
(4) farmer
(5) freelance professional/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):]

Were you an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, an agricultural labourer, skilled worker or foreman or master craftsman?

(1) unskilled or semi-skilled manual worker/agricultural labourer
(2) skilled worker
(3) foreman/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):]

Do you carry out simple tasks, skilled professional work or managerial work?

(1) simple tasks
(2) skilled professional work
(3) managerial work
(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 grade 1, grade 2, grade 3 or senior civil servant?

(1) grade 1 civil servant
(2) grade 2 civil servant
(3) grade 3 civil servant
(4) senior 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 on a pension, retired, in early retirement, housewife/househusband, unemployed or not gainfully employed for any other reasons?

- (1) on a pension, retired, in early retirement
- (2) housewife/househusband
- (3) unemployed (incl. "one euro jobs")
- (4) not gainfully employed for 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 been in full-time or part-time employment 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:]

Have you been a manual worker, a service/white-collar worker, civil servant, farmer or self employed?
[INT: The main previous activity is decisive]

- (1) manual worker
- (2) service/white-collar worker
- (3) civil servant (including judges and soldiers)
- (4) farmer
- (5) freelance professional/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 an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, an agricultural labourer, skilled worker or foreman or master craftsman?

1. unskilled or semi-skilled manual worker/agricultural labourer
2. skilled worker
3. foreman/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/white-collar worker (2):]

Did you carry out simple tasks, skilled professional work or managerial work?

1. simple tasks
2. skilled professional work
3. managerial work

(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 grade 1, grade 2, grade 3 or senior civil servant?

1. grade 1
2. grade 2
3. grade 3
4. senior 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 about becoming unemployed or of having to change jobs 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 livelihood**

[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 your present livelihood will be threatened in the next two years or that you will have to change your occupation?

(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 people live permanently in the same household with you, including yourself? Please don’t forget all the 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:]

And how many of all the people living in your household are eligible to vote in the federal election?

(1-x) adults in the household: ______
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable
**pre119**
Life partner

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

Do you share a household with a spouse or life 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:]

Is your spouse/life partner currently in full-time paid employment, part-time employment, in low-paid employment or is she/he in vocational training or unemployed?

(1) in full-time employment
(2) in part-time employment
(3) in low-paid employment
(4) in vocational training
(5) unemployed
(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 on a pension, retired, in early retirement, housewife/househusband, unemployed or not gainfully employed for any other reasons?

(1) on a pension, retired, in early retirement
(2) housewife/househusband
(3) unemployed (including "one euro jobs")
(4) not gainfully employed for 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 about your partner becoming unemployed or having to change her/his job in the next two years?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>yes, I am worried that she/he may become unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>yes, I am worried that she/he may have to change her/his job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pre123**
Religious denomination

What is your religion or denomination?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>roman catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pre124**
Church attendance

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

How often do you usually go to church – never, once a year, several times a year, once a month, two to three times a month, once a week or more often?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>once a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>several times a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>once a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>two to three times a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>once a week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>more often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pre125**
Trade union membership

Are you or is anyone else living in your household a member of a trade union?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>yes, I am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>yes, only others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>yes, I am and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### pre126  
**Party identification**

Many people in Germany are inclined to support a particular political party for a longer period of time even if they occasionally vote for another party. What about you? In general terms, are you inclined to support a particular political party? And if so, which one?

[INT: Do not read out the parties!]

(1) CDU/CSU  
(2) CDU  
(3) CSU  
(4) SPD  
(5) FDP  
(6) Die Grünen  
(7) Die Linke  
(801) other political party  
(808) no, not inclined to support 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 are you inclined to support 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 for private purposes? This means telephone numbers with area code which are used to take calls. Answer phone, 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
Our last interview question is also a request. The survey you have just taken part is scientifically supervised by the University of Mannheim. The aim is to continue the study after the federal election. We would like to ask you some more questions then. We would keep your telephone number in order to contact you again. Would you be willing for us to do that?

(1) yes
(2) no, definitely not

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

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

[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

(28.09.–26.10.2009)
**pos001**

**Interest, election campaign**

How interesting did you find the campaign for the federal election on 27 September: very interesting, fairly interesting, fairly uninteresting or very uninteresting?

1. very interesting
2. fairly interesting
3. fairly uninteresting
4. very uninteresting

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(102) not participated

**pos002**

**Recall BTW 2009: Turnout**

Many voters didn’t get around to voting or did not participate in the federal election on 27 September for other reasons. What about you? Did you vote or not?

1. yes, I voted
2. no, I didn’t 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:]

You were entitled to vote twice in the federal election. First for a candidate from your constituency and second for a party. Which constituency candidate of which party did you give your first vote to?

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

The candidate for…

1. CDU/CSU
2. SPD
3. FDP
4. Gruenen
5. Die Linke
6. DVU
7. NPD
8. Piratenpartei
9. Republikaner (REP)
10. other political party

(993) I casted an invalid first vote
(994) I didn’t cast my first vote for anyone
(995) I didn’t vote [INT: in case of inconsistent statement in pos002]
(998) don’t know
(999) no answer
(1002) not participated
Recall BTW 2009: second vote

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

And which political party did you give your second vote to in the federal election on 27 September?

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

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

(993) I casted an invalid second vote
(994) I didn’t cast my second vote for anyone
(995) I didn’t vote ” (INT: in case of inconsistent statement in pos002]
(998) don’t know
(999) no answer
(1002) not participated

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 you were going to vote in the federal election? Did you decide a long time previously, a few months previously, a weeks previously or in the last few days before the election or only on election day itself?

(1) a long time before the election
(2) a few months before the election
(3) in the last few weeks before the election
(4) in the last few days before the election
(5) only on election day itself

(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 the federal election? Did you decide a long time previously, a few months previously, a few weeks previously or in the last few days before the election or only on election day itself?

(1) a long time before the election
(2) a few months before the election
(3) in the last few weeks before the election
(4) in the last few days before the election
(5) only on election day itself
(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 how to vote 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 at this Bundestag 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]

During the election campaign did you consider perhaps voting for a political party other than [ENTER NAME OF PARTY]?

[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
Coalition preference (post election)

Regardless of the outcome of the federal election, which parties would you personally prefer to 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
- „Bürgerliche Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, FDP
- „Bürgerliche Regierung“ 
  [INT: Ask, if a) CDU/CSU government or b) CDU/CSU, FDP]
- „Jamaika“ = CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene
- „Schwampe“ = CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene
- „Schwarze Ampel“ = CDU/CSU, FDP, Gruene
- „Rot-grün“ = SPD, Gruene
- „Sozial-liberale Koalition“ = SPD, FDP
- „Rot-gelb“ = SPD, FDP
- „Ampel“ = SPD, FDP, Gruene
- „Rot-rot-grün“ = SPD, Gruene, Die Linke
- „Linksbündnis/Linkskoalition“ 
  [INT: Ask, if a) SPD, Gruene, Die Linke or b) SPD-Die Linke or c) SPD-Gruene]
- „Rot-rot“ = SPD, Die Linke

Most important issue

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

[open answer]

pos013
Ability to solve most important problem

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

And which political party do you think is best able 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 issue

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

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

[open answer]


[9999] don’t know/ no answer
[10000] not applicable
[10002] not participated
Ability to solve the second most important problem

And which political party do you think is best able to solve this problem??

(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
And now we come to several controversial political issues. Some people would like to see lower taxes even if that means some reduction in health, education and social benefits; others would like to see more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if it means some increases in taxes. In your view, what is the position of the political parties on this issue? Please use the scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the political party is in favour of lower taxes even if that means less government spending on health, education and social benefits. 11 means that the political party is in favour of more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if that means some increases in taxes. You can use the numbers in between to state 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 Grünen?
F  And die Linke?

Scale:
(1) 1 lower taxes/less government spending on health, education and social benefits
(2) 2
(3) 3
(4) 4
(5) 5
(6) 6
(7) 7
(8) 8
(9) 9
(10) 10
(11) 11 more government spending on health, education and social benefits/higher taxes

(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]

How would you describe your own views on this issue?

1. 1 lower taxes / less government spending on health, education and social benefits
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10
11. 11 more government spending on health, education and social benefits/higher 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]

How would you describe your views on the issue of nuclear energy? Should more nuclear power stations be built or should all nuclear power stations be closed down today? Please use the scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that more nuclear power stations should be built. 11 means that all nuclear power stations should be closed down today. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely again.

1. 1 more nuclear power stations should be built
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10
11. 11 all nuclear power stations should be closed down today

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(101) not applicable (split)
(102) not participated
**pos016b**

**Party positions, nuclear energy (Split=2)**

[PROG: Split 2/2]

And now we come to several controversial political issues. Should more nuclear power stations be built or should all nuclear power stations be closed down today? In your view, what is the position of the political parties on this issue? Please use the scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that the political party favours more nuclear power stations should be built. 11 means that the political party favours the immediate closing down of all nuclear power stations. You can use the numbers in between to state 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 more nuclear power stations should be built
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10
11. 11 all nuclear power stations should be closed down today

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]

How would you describe your own views on this issue?

| (1)  | 1 more nuclear power stations should be built |
| (2)  | 2 |
| (3)  | 3 |
| (4)  | 4 |
| (5)  | 5 |
| (6)  | 6 |
| (7)  | 7 |
| (8)  | 8 |
| (9)  | 9 |
| (10) | 10 |
| (11) | 11 all nuclear power stations should be closed down today |

98. don’t know
99. no answer
101. not applicable (split)
102. not participated
**Own position, socioeconomic dimension (Split=2)**

[PROG: Split 2/2]

Some people would like to see lower taxes even if that means some reduction in health, education and social benefits; others would like to see more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if it means some increases in taxes. How would you describe your own views on this issue? Please use the scale from 1 to 11 again. 1 means that you are in favour of lower taxes even if that means less spending on health, education and social benefits. 11 means that you are in favour of more government spending on health, education and social benefits even if that means some increases in taxes. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely again.

1. 1 lower taxes / less government spending on health, education and social benefits
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10
11. 11 more government spending on health, education and social benefits/higher taxes

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(101) not applicable (split)
(102) not participated

**Left-right self assessment**

People often describe political views as being "left wing" or "right wing". We would like to know whether you regard your own political views as tending to be "right wing" or "left wing". Please use the scale from 1 to 11 again. If 1 is "left " and 11 is "right", how would you describe your own views? You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely again.

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
And now let's turn to financial matters. How would you describe your own current financial circumstances? Is it very good, good, so so, bad or very bad?

(1) very good  
(2) good  
(3) so so  
(4) bad  
(5) very bad  

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer  
(102) not participated

Have your financial circumstances improved a lot in the last one to two years, improved a bit, stayed the same, got a bit worse or got a lot worse?

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

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer  
(102) not participated

In your opinion: To what extent are the policies pursued by the federal government over the last four years responsible for this development: very responsible, somewhat responsible, moderately responsible, not very responsible, not responsible at all?

(1) very much responsible  
(2) somewhat responsible  
(3) moderately responsible  
(4) not very responsible  
(5) not responsible at all  

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer  
(100) not applicable  
(102) not participated
**pos023**
Own financial circumstances, future

What do you think your financial circumstances will be like in a year’s time? Do you expect your financial circumstances to improve a lot, improve a bit, stay the same, get worse or get much worse?

(1) improve a lot  
(2) improve a bit  
(3) stay the same  
(4) get a bit worse  
(5) get a lot worse

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer  
(102) not participated

**pos024**
General economic situation, current

How would you generally rate the current economic situation in Germany? Is it very good, good, partly good/partly bad, bad or very bad?

(1) very good  
(2) good  
(3) partly good/partly 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 a lot in the last one to two years, improved a bit, stayed the same, got a bit worse or got a lot worse?

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

(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]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>very strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>fairly strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>middling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>not very strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(102)</td>
<td>not participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pos027  
**General economic situation, future**

What do you think the general economic situation will be like in a year’s time? Do you expect the general economic situation in Germany to improve a lot, improve a bit, stay the same, get worse or get much worse?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>improve a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>improve a bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>stay the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>get a bit worse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>get a lot worse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(102)</td>
<td>not participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pos028  
**Fear of economic crisis**

How worried are you about the current economic crisis?  
Please tell me how you feel using this scale from 1 to 7. 1 means that you are not worried about the economic crisis at all, 7 means that you are very worried. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1 not worried at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>7 very worried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(102)</td>
<td>not participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, tend to agree, neither agree nor disagree, tend to disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

(1) strongly agree
(2) tend to agree
(3) neither agree nor disagree
(4) tend to 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
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) tend to agree
(3) neither agree nor disagree
(4) tend to disagree
(5) strongly disagree
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(102) not participated
And now some more precise questions about the political parties. What is your general opinion of each of the political parties? Please again use the scale from +5 to -5 with a zero point in the middle. +5 means that you have a very positive view of the political party; -5 means that you have a very negative view of the party. You can use the numbers in between to state 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 Grueen?
F And der Linken?

Scale:
(-5) -5 I have a very negative view of this political party
(-4) -4
(-3) -3
(-2) -2
(-1) -1
(0) 0
(+1) +1
(+2) +2
(+3) +3
(+4) +4
(+5) +5 I have a very positive view of this political party

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(102) not participated

Please tell me what you think about some leading politicians. Please again use the thermometer from +5 to -5. +5 means that you have a very positive opinion of the politician; -5 means that you have a very negative opinion of the politician. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely. If you Don’t know enough about one of the politicians you don’t have to rate them of course.

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 have a very negative view of this politician
(-4) -4
(-3) -3
(-2) -2
(-1) -1
(0) 0
(+1) +1
(+2) +2
(+3) +3
(+4) +4
(+5) +5 I have a very positive view of this 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

What did you think of the parties' election campaigns? Could you identify big political differences, smaller differences or no differences at all between the parties?

(1) big differences
(2) smaller differences
(3) no differences at all

(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(102) not participated

pos033
Attention to election campaign

How closely did you follow the federal election? Very closely, fairly closely, not very closely, or didn't you follow the election campaign at all?

(1) very closely
(2) fairly closely
(3) not very closely
(4) not at all

(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 of the election meetings or rallies organised by the political parties?

[INT: If so:] Which political parties organised the events?
[INT: Multiple response]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - CDU/CSU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - SPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - FDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - GRUENE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - DIE LINKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - other political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - didn't go to any electoral events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Election campaign contacts: Electoral events - no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(0) not mentioned
(1) mentioned
(102) not participated

pos036
Election campaign contacts: Direct election campaign contact

And did you talk with a candidate or anyone else from a political party during the election campaign at, for example, a campaign stand, at an electoral event or on your own doorstep?

[INT: If so:] With which political parties?
[INT: Multiple response]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - CDU/CSU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - SPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - FDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - GRUENE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - DIE LINKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - other political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - didn't talk to anyone from any political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Contact with political parties during the election campaign - no answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(0) not mentioned
(1) mentioned
(102) not participated
**pos037**

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

What about advertising by the political parties in newspapers or on TV or radio – did you see or hear any during the election campaign?

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

[INT: Multiple response]

1. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - CDU/CSU
2. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - SPD
3. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - FDP
4. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - GRUENE
5. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - DIE LINKE
6. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - other political party
7. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - no political advertising
8. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - don't know
9. Election campaign contacts: Party advertising - 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 look at the websites of any of the political parties during the election campaign?

[Int: If so:] From which political parties?
[Int: Multiple response]

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

(0) not mentioned
(1) mentioned
(102) not participated

**pos040**
_Televised debate: Reception_

Did you watch the televised debate between Angela Merkel and Frank-Walter Steinmeier on 13 September?

(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 carefully did you follow the debate? Very carefully, carefully, not so carefully, not carefully at all?

(1) very carefully
(2) carefully
(3) not so carefully
(4) not carefully at all
(98) don’t know
(99) no answer
(100) not applicable
(102) not participated
Televised debate: Perceptions of Merkel’s performance

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

How well do you 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
(102) not participated

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

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
(102) not participated

55 respondents are coded (100) „not applicable (question not received)”. The reason is that this question was activated only during the first day of the Post-election Panel Wave and not asked at the start.
**pos044**

**Discussions about politics**

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

- (0) not at all
- (1-7) on ___ days
- (98) don’t know
- (99) no answer
- (102) not participated

**pos045**

**First discussion partner: relationship**

If you now think about the person who you talked about political parties and the federal election most with during the election campaign for the federal election on 27 September, what relationship did you have with this person – is she or he your spouse or your partner, a relative, friend, work colleague or neighbour?

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

In your opinion, how much does this person know about politics? A great deal, a fair amount, not so much, 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 the political parties and the federal election during the election campaign how often would you say did you have different opinions: 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 did probably vote for in the federal election on 27 September, or do you think she/he did not vote at all?

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

(995) didn’t vote
(998) don’t know
(999) no answer
(1000) not applicable
(1002) not participated
Media reliance

During the election campaign there are different ways of finding about the political parties and their policies. 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 programmes on television, articles in newspapers and magazines, information provided on the internet, statements issued by groups and associations or discussions with relatives, friends and acquaintances?

[INT: Only ONE response allowed.]

(1) the political parties' campaign advertising
(2) news programmes on television
(3) articles in newspapers or magazines
(4) information provided on the Internet
(5) statements issued by groups and associations
(6) discussions 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

Need to Evaluate, for Cognition and for Cognitive Closure

Please now tell me to what extent the following statements are true of you. 1 means that the statement is not true of you at all. 5 means that the statement is definitely true of you. 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**

Many people in Germany are inclined to support a particular political party for a longer period of time even if they occasionally vote for another party. What about you? In general terms, are you inclined to support a particular political party? And if so, which one?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CDU/CSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CDU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>CSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>FDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Die Gruenen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Die Linke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801</td>
<td>other political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>808</td>
<td>no, not inclined to support any party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>998</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>999</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1002</td>
<td>not participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pos052
**Strength of party identification**

All in all, how strongly or weakly are you inclined to support this party: very strongly, fairly strongly, moderately, fairly weakly or very weakly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>very strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fairly strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>moderately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fairly weakly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>very weakly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>not participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pos053
**Unemployment**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes, I am unemployed [continue with pos054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yes, some close to me is unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes, I am unemployed and some close to me is also unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>no, I am not unemployed nor is anyone close to me unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>no answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>not participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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 some close to me is in danger [PROG: only possible if pos053=4]  
(3) yes, own job and job of some close to me is in danger  [PROG: only possible if pos053=4]  
(4) no, neither my job nor the job of some close to me is in danger.

(98) don’t know  
(99) no answer  
(100) not applicable  
(102) not participated