

08-25-2010

This codebook contains the original set of variables described in Robert Rohrschneider. Learning Democracy. Democratic Values in Unified Germany. Oxford: Oxford University Press. A few socio-demographic variables were dropped or recoded in order to guarantee the anonymity of respondents.

9-13-1992

DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL ELITES IN THE UNITED BERLIN

v1 case number range: 3 column 1-3

v2 study number range: 1 column 4

1. United Berlin parliament (elected December 1990)
2. East Berlin Stadtverordnetenversammlung only (elected May 1990)(East Berlin's parliament until December 1990)

V3 range 2 column 5-6 md: 98,99

Q. 1-1. I would like to start by asking you about some of the problems which are currently debated in Berlin. What are the two most important problems in Berlin today? (PROBE IF NEEDED): How would you rank the problems in order of importance?

Most important problem

Economy

11. General economic situation
12. Unemployment
13. Traffic system
14. Housing shortage
15. Differences in living standards/social conditions between East and West Berlin
16. Budget Deficit
17. Economic Development in East/West Berlin
18. Solving Property Issue in East Germany
19. Other

Society

21. General societal problems (without further specification)
22. Citizens' security; violence in public places
23. Abuse of children
24. Environmental problems
25. Imposition of western structures/values onto East Berlin;
"Colonization of East Berlin (code here if R clearly blames West Germans for social and political inequality between East and West)
26. Acquisition of democratic values of citizens in East Berlin
27. Political refugees ("Asylum seekers")
28. Maintaining political stability in Germany
29. Other

General social climate ("Zeitgeist")

31. General socio-psychological issues (without further specification)
32. Dealing with the past in East Berlin (e.g., Stasi).
33. Mental division between citizens across East and West Berlin
34. General loss of social or political values in East Berlin; loss of identity
35. Climate of intolerance
36. Establishing political equality between EB/WB (code here if R does not blame West Germans for inequality)
37. Relations of Berlin with surrounding country side/Berlin-Brandenburg
39. Other

Miscellaneous

41. Developing Berlin into the capitol of Germany
42. Merging the two parts of the city into one unit

Other

- 51.
98. Don't know
99. Not asked

V4 range 2 column 7-8 md: 98,99

Q. 1-1: Second most important problem

V5 range 2 column 9-10 md: 98,99

Q. 1-2: One problem in Germany these days concerns the question of what to do with refugees who try to obtain political asylum. What are, in your view, the main sources of tension between some German citizens and asylum seekers? {CODE UP TO FIVE MENTIONS}.

First Mention:

Characteristics of Germans

11. Arrogance of Germans
12. Germans tend to be xenophobic/racist
13. Need for harmony and conformity
14. Nationalism
19. Other

Characteristics of Refugees

21. Refugees abuse the system
22. Refugees don't assimilate
23. Refugees don't fit in (e.g., noisy; look different)
24. Different races don't mix well
25. Different cultures don't mix well/Ueberfremdung
26. Foreigners commit crimes
29. Other

General economic and social factors

31. "Scape goat" explanation (i.e., penalize others for own misery; severe economic problems; envy on welfare payments to refugees; fear of foreigners taking away jobs).
32. Broad loss of values; search for new values as "substitutes" (e.g., "Germany belongs to Germans"); psychological insecurity
33. Broad historical forces (unspecified)
34. Nazi past which continues to live
35. Biologically-based reasons: e.g., species need a certain amount of space (code here if biological motive is explicitly invoked)
39. Other

Political factors

41. Too many foreigners in Germany (code if R shares this assessment)
42. Style of contemporary public debate over refugees (e.g., conservative parties exacerbate conflicts between Germans and foreigners)
43. Large number of refugees (e.g., Germans feel threatened, but R disagrees)
44. Contemporary procedure of evaluating applications of refugees (too long; too costly)
45. Slow reaction of the state to violence of right-wing groups
46. Citizens are uninformed about refugees' situation
47. North-South conflict
49. Other

Special circumstances in former GDR (code here if emphasis is on GDR)

51. Severe economic problems/scapegoat
52. Broad loss of values; search for new values as substitutes
53. Xenophobia/racism
54. Need for harmony and conformity
55. GDR was closed society; no experience with foreigners
56. Envy of foreigners during GDR regime
57. Readiness to employ violence in GDR
58. Authoritarian culture of GDR
59. Other

Other

- 61.
98. Don't know
99. Not answered

v6 range 2 column 11-12 md:98,99

Q.1-2: Second mention

v7 range 2 column 13-14 md:98,99

Q.1-2: Third mention

v8 range 2 column 15-16 md:98,99

Q.1-2: Fourth mention

v9 range 2 column 17-18 md:98,99

Q.1-2: Fifth mention

v10 range: 1 column 19 md: 8,9

Q. 1-3: Would you support or oppose the direct involvement of citizens, for example through a referendum, in deciding between different policies concerning asylum seekers?

1. Support
2. Depends
3. Oppose

8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v11 range: 2 column 20-21 md: 98,99

Q.1-4: Would you give me the most important reason why you (SUPPORT/OPPOSE) it? (IF RESPONSE IS "It DEPENDS"): What does it depend upon? {CODE UP TO FOUR MENTIONS}.

First mention

Oppose

11. Principally against direct involvement of citizens in parliamentary and representative democracy (code here if mentioned explicitly)
12. Problem is too complex for citizens
13. Citizens react too emotional
14. R would disagree with anticipated outcome
15. Damage done to image in other countries, if the anticipated outcome materializes
16. MPs are more objective judges of complex problems
17. Referenda may be abused by a minority
18. Principally for plebiscitarian involvement, but not on this issue
19. Referenda may be abused by governments
20. Historical reasons (abuse of referenda in Weimar; Third Reich)
21. Referenda slow down decision making process
29. Other

Depends

31. How alternatives are phrased
32. Whether a thorough discussion takes place before the referendum

- 33. Upon the climate of opinions generally
- 34. Article 16/basic human rights should not be disposed of through a referenda; more "lower-level" questions could be decided through a referendum
- 35. Referenda should take place only if they are not "politicized"
- 36. Constitutional changes need public approval
- 49. Other

Support

- 51. Principally support direct involvement of citizens (code here if mentioned explicitly)
- 52. Citizens know best what is in their best interest
- 53. A real democracy requires the use of referenda
- 54. Issue is so important that citizens must participate in decision
- 55. Parties have no solution; therefore citizens ought to decide
- 56. Citizens should be held accountable
- 59. Other

Other

- 61.
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Not answered

v12 range: 2 column 22-23 md: 98,99

 Q.1-4: Second mention

v13 range: 2 column 24-25 md: 98,99

 Q.1-4: Third mention

v14 range: 2 column 26-27 md: 98,99

 Q.1-4: Fourth mention

v15 range: 1 column 28 md: 8,9

 Q.1-5: Would you please indicate your opinion on the plebiscitarian involvement of citizens by indicating whether you find each of these (SHOW CARD) procedures involving citizens directly meaningful or not meaningful?

- 1. Meaningful
- 2. Not Meaningful

- 8. Don't know
- 9. Not asked/Refused

A. A legally non-binding referendum initiated by the parliament

v16 range: 1 column 29 md: 8,9

B. A referendum initiated by a minority in parliament

v17 range: 1 column 30 md: 8,9

C. A referendum initiated by a majority in parliament

v18 range: 1 column 31 md: 8,9

D. A referendum initiated by the executive

v19 range: 1 column 32 md: 8,9

E. A referendum initiated by the people

{ITEM F: SEE V154}

v20 range: 2 column 33-34 md: 98,99

Q.1-6. Are there any gaps in the commitment of East and West Germans to play the proper role of a democratic public? (PROBE, IF NEEDED): What is the proper role of a public in politics? {CODE UP TO FOUR MENTIONS}.

First mention

Institutions constraint on participation (for Germany as a whole)

- 11. General institutional constraint on broad popular participation (Code here if no further information is given)
- 12. Elections involve citizens insufficiently in the political process
- 13. Parties are not open enough to citizens' participation/social movements

14. Insufficient number of plebiscitarian procedures; people should get involved directly
15. Parliamentarism is too little to represent people/no real democracy
19. Other

Code here if East/West Germany is treated as whole

21. General unwillingness of citizens to get involved
22. Alienation/detachment from political institutions
23. Low participation rates in elections
24. Little willingness among citizens to participate in politics generally
25. People are selfish; only become involved if personally concerned
26. General lack of interest in politics/lack of knowledge
27. Citizens are too obedient/too authoritarian ("Obrigkeitsstaat"); citizens expect governments to solve problems
28. Citizens don't get involved in organizations/parties; citizens don't contact MPs
29. Low levels of efficacy among citizens
30. Underdeveloped sense to argue out differences (lack of Streitkultur)
31. Too many people are involved already; overload of government
32. Citizens don't care about socially weak
39. Other

Code here if emphasis is on East Germany

41. Citizens are too obedient/authoritarian ("Obrigkeitsstaat"); no sense for Rechtstaatlichkeit; citizens expect government to solve problems too quickly without regards for democratic procedures
42. Citizens don't know the West German system
43. Citizens don't support new institutions
44. Citizens like to delegate responsibility to MPs
45. Economic problems prevent citizens from paying attention to politics
46. Previous regime experience (e.g., forced participation in elections and organizations) lowers readiness to participate
47. Citizens don't get involved in civic organizations (e.g., parties)
48. Alienation/detachment from political institutions (code here if alienation is mentioned explicitly)
49. Low levels of tolerance for minority groups
50. Citizens don't accept responsibility and duties
51. Underdeveloped sense to argue out differences (lack of Streitkultur)
52. East Germans overemphasize plebiscitarian procedures
53. Citizens don't care about socially weak
59. Other

No gaps

71.

Other

81.

98. Don't know

99. Not asked

Q.1-6: Second mention

v22 range: 2 column 37-38 md: 98,99

Q.1-6: Third mention

v23 range: 2 column 39-40 md: 98,99

Q.1-6: Fourth mention

v24 range: 1 column 41 md: 8,9

Q1-7: In order to get a comparable picture of the distribution of opinion with earlier studies, I am now using a standardized format to simplify matters a little bit. I am aware that these statements capture your views only incompletely. Nevertheless, would you tell me for each of the statements, whether you agree or disagree?

1. Disagree Completely
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Agree completely

8. Don't know
9. Not answered

A. Every democracy requires a political opposition

v25 range: 1 column 42 md: 8,9

B. It is the primary duty of the political opposition to support the government, and not to criticize it

v26 range: 1 column 43 md: 8,9

C. Every citizen has the right to demonstrate

v27 range: 1 column 44 md: 8,9

D. Freedom of opinion and discussion must be limited by moral and ethical consideration

v28 range: 1 column 45 md: 8,9

E. A citizen forfeits the right to demonstrate when s/he threatens the political order

v29 range: 1 column 46 md: 8,9

the state should carefully regulate its use

v30 range: 2 column 47-48 md: 8,9

Q.1-8. The term democracy is frequently used without further specifications these days. What seem to you personally the essentials of a democracy? {CODE UP TO FIVE MENTIONS}.

First mention

Government by the people

11. Government by the people; popular control; control by the people
12. Popular interest in and awareness of politics
13. Responsibility or answerability of the government to the people; government by consent; government based on electoral mandate
14. Popular participation; an active role of the people; popular involvement in decision making; direct democracy within the framework of parliamentary democracy
15. Direct democracy; referenda for important decisions; public should be able to recall ministers at any time;
19. Other

Equality and Social Democracy

21. Equality in general
22. Political equality; one man, one vote
23. Equality of opportunity; each person has the possibility of developing him/herself as far as possible; participation of citizens

- in all areas of society
24. Just standard of living; freedom from want; social and economic security for all
 25. Classless society; less social distance; fewer rich and poor; less social privilege
 26. Social ownership/control over the economy; industrial democracy
 27. Provide minimum social security/right to a job
 28. Gender Equality
 29. Other

Liberty

31. Liberty; freedom in general
32. Political or civic liberties in general
33. Freedom of expression (speech, free press)
34. Minority rights; consideration of the minority
35. Limited government; checks and balances; no arbitrary power
36. Laissez-faire, socially and economically. Freedom from government interference in socioeconomic affairs.
37. Religious liberty
39. Other

Institutions and procedures

41. Elections
42. Majority rule
43. Representative or parliamentary government in general
44. parliamentary or legislative control over the executive
45. Rule of law; legal due process (Rechtsstaat).
46. Defendable democracy
49. Other aspect

Political competition and choice

51. Possibility of government changes; minority can become majority
52. Party competition; more than one party
53. Strong, critical opposition
54. Elite competition; ruling oligarchy
59. Other

Societal conditions

61. Pluralism; variety of private associations and institutions
62. Consultation by the government with groups and organizations
63. Parties as centers of participation and agents of representation
64. Absence of party discipline
65. Decentralized institutions; federalism
66. Ecologically sound politics
69. Other

Characteristics of citizens

71. Mature, educated, intelligent citizens
72. Freedom to do what is right; individual self-control
73. Assumption of responsibility and duties
74. Action in the interest of collective, not only on individual
75. Reciprocal respect and tolerance
79. Other

Other

81.

98. Don't know

99. Not answered

v31 range: 2 column 49-50 md: 98,99

Q.1-8 Second mention

v32 range: 2 column 51-52 md: 98,99

Q.1-8 Third mention

v33 range: 2 column 53-54 md: 98,99

Q.1-8 Fourth mention

v34 range: 2 column 55-56 md: 98,99

Q.1-8 Fifth mention

v35 range: 2 column 57 md: 9

{Summary judgment on the preferred role of the public in politics. This judgment is based on questions 1-6 and 1-8. Code highest possible alternative}

1. R wants a passive public
2. Participation should be limited to voting and choosing leaders
3. Interest and attention to politics is desired
4. Complaining to leaders; making views known to leaders
5. R favors the active involvement of a small and qualified minority in organizations, citizens' groups, etc. beyond election
6. Broad Participation in parties, organizations, social movements, etc; but within the framework of intermediary institutions
7. Broad direct involvement of public in government and politics with important decisions
8. Farreaching direct involvement of citizens in politics with most

decisions; direct responsibility of officials to the electorate;
9. Unclassifiable (did not respond to questions 1-6 and 1-8)

v36

range: 2

column 58-59

md: 98,99

Q.2-1. You mentioned earlier _____(MIP) as an important problem in Berlin. There are a number of conflicts of interests involved in solving this problem since different groups and people have different conceptions of how to solve the problem. Do these conflicts of interests have a positive or negative effect on the governability of Berlin? (PROBE, IF NEEDED) Why? (OR) Why not? {CODE UP TO FOUR MENTIONS OF WHY OR WHY NOT PROBLEMS REDUCE GOVERNABILITY}.

First mention

Positive effect of conflicts of interest on governability

11. Conflicts of interest are essence of democracy (code here if R mentions this explicitly)
12. Suppressing conflicts of interest leads to dictatorship/prevents social progress
13. Conflicts of interest need to be articulated in order to find a policy compromise
14. Conflicts of interests make needs of citizens visible/add new perspective to MPs' viewpoints
15. Conflicts are positive, but conflicts must stay within peaceful means of conflict resolution; conflicts must be resolved undogmatically
29. Other positive

Negative effect on governability

31. Conflicts of interest often prevent governments from achieving the best policy (code here if this disadvantage is central to R's response)
32. conflicts of interest slow down the political process (code here if this disadvantage is central to R's response)
33. strong groups have an unfair advantage over weaker groups; (code here if rules of conflict resolution are still accepted by R; R still values conflict)
34. Not all relevant societal interests are properly organized (code here if rules of conflict resolution are still accepted by R)
35. Problems are too severe to be solved within existing rules of conflict resolution; parties have no solution
36. Conflicts are artificially magnified (e.g., unnecessary debate between parties; interest groups are too dogmatic).
38. Other negative

No effect on governability

41. No effect (not specified)
42. Problems are under control; not severe enough
43. Parliamentary majority is large enough to handle problems
44. Governments should act principally independent from interest groups
45. Owners of production/powerful economic groups dominate conflicts of interest (code here if existing rules of conflict resolution are viewed as largely inadequate)

46. Real conflicts of interests are not discussed (e.g., between rich and poor).

Other

51.

97. Refused

98. Don't know

99. Not asked

v37 range: 2 column 60-61 md: 98,99

Q.2-1 Second Mention

v38 range: 2 column 62-63 md: 98,99

Q.2-1 Third Mention

v39 range: 2 column 64-65 md: 98,99

Q.2-1 Fourth mention

v40 range: 1 column 66 md: 8,9

Q.2-2 Would you please summarize your experience about the scope of conflicts of interests in East and West Berlin by selecting the statement which most accurately reflects your experience? Please separate your evaluation for East and West Berlin.

East Berlin

1. Consensus among social groups is the rule; serious conflicts rarely occur
 2. Consensus is more typical, although there are some serious conflicts
 3. Serious conflict of interest is far more typical, but there is some shared interest
 4. Serious conflict is the rule; there is hardly any shared interest among social groups
8. Don't know
9. Not asked

v41 range: 1 column 67 md: 8,9

West Berlin

v42 range: 2 column 68-69 md: 98,99

Q. 2-3 Considering your work as a politician and parliamentarian who should solve problems, do conflicts of interests among social groups hinder or help your work? (PROBE, IF NEEDED) In what ways? {CODE UP TO FOUR MENTION}.

Positive

11. Generally positive, without specifying
12. Citizens should have the right to express their interests
13. MPs obtain valuable suggestions
14. Acceptable policy compromises cannot be achieved without conflicts of interests
15. Conflicts sensitize MPs to need of citizens
16. A democratic society is unthinkable without conflicts
17. Politicians live off conflicts
19. Other

None/Depends

21. Conflicts of interest have no effect on R
22. MPs should decide independently from interest groups
23. If one disagrees with a group, it is difficult to evaluate conflict positively; if one agrees it is positive
24. A parliamentarian should balance different societal demands; work towards an equilibrium among different conflicts
29. Other

Negative

31. Conflicts of interest often prevent MPs from achieving best policy
32. Special interests often reduce the independence of MPs
33. Conflicts of interest slows down the speed with which an MP's works; conflicts of interest make it more difficult to govern
34. Conflict of interest place stress on R
35. R's constituency is underrepresented in political process
39. Other

98. Don't know
99. Not asked

v43 range: 2 column 70-71 md: 98,99

Q. 2-1 Second mention

v44 range: 2 column 72-73 md: 98,99

Q. 2-1 Third mention

v45 range: 2 column 74-75 md: 98,99

Q. 2-1 Fourth mention

v46 range: 1 column 76 md: 8,9

Q.2-4. For comparability, here is again a list with statements concerning the relations among social groups. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. (SHOW CARD)

1. Disagree Completely
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Agree completely

8. Don't know
9. Not answered

A. To compromise with political adversaries is dangerous because it frequently leads to the betrayal of ones own side

v47 range: 1 column 77 md: 8,9

B. The general welfare and interests of the Federal republic are seriously endangered by the continual clash of and demands posed by interest groups

v48 range: 1 column 78 md: 8,9

C. Even if one is right in a controversy, one should look for a compromise

v49 range: 1 column 79 md: 8,9

D. It will always be necessary to have a few strong, able individuals who know how to take charge

v50 range: 1 column 80 md: 8,9

E. A country's general welfare should always override the special interests of groups and organizations

v51 range: 1 column 81 md: 8,9

F. An intense discussion or controversy is often necessary in order to arrive at a workable policy compromise

v52 range: 1 column 82 md: 8,9

{Summary judgment of R's evaluation of conflicts of interests, based upon Q. 2-1 and Q. 2-3}.

1. R views conflicts of interests as being absolutely necessary and desirable for the democratic process
2. R discusses conflicts of interests as being necessary for the democratic process, but disadvantages also obtain some attention
3. R generally views conflicts positively, but argues that conflicts have no or should have no influence on governmental processes
4. R views conflicts of interests as irrelevant for the governmental decisions
5. R discusses positive and negative aspects of conflicts about evenly
6. R primarily emphasizes the negative aspects, but also sees advantages
7. R discusses almost only negative aspects of conflicts of interest
8. R emphasizes severity of existing problems/rejects existing rules of conflict resolution as useful instruments of solving societal problems
9. Not classified (R did not respond to Q.2-1 and Q.2-3).

v53 range: 2 column 83-84 md: 98,99

Q.3-1. I would like to ask you a few questions about social groups and movements which are viewed by some people as threatening to the political and social order in the united Germany. Would you please select from this list (SHOW CARD) the group or organization that you like the least?

11. Environmentalists
12. Fascists/Extreme right wing groups/Neo Nazis
13. Lesbians

14. Jews
 15. Feminists
 16. Sinti/Roma
 17. Peace Movement
 18. Anti-abortionists
 19. Communists/Extreme Left wing groups
 20. Displaced Peoples' Groups (Vertriebenenverbaende)
 21. Pro-choice
 22. Turks
 23. Vietnamese
 24. Homosexuals
 - Other (please explain)_____
 25. Stalinists
 26. Left-extreme revolutionaries
-
98. Not asked
 99. Not answered

v54 range: 2 column 85-86 md: 98,99

 Q.3-2. What is your second least-liked group?

v55 range: 2 column 87 md: 8,9

 Q.3-3. I would like to know your personal opinion on the following statements regarding the activities of each group. Let us begin with _____ (LEAST-LIKED GROUP). Independent of the existing legal framework, would you tell me, how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. Disagree Completely
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Agree completely

A. _____(MEMBERS OF ROUP) should be allowed to hold demonstrations

v56 range: 2 column 88 md: 8,9

 Q.3-3 B. Political parties primarily representing _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should be declared unconstitutional

v57 range: 2 column 89 md: 8,9

Q.3-3 C. _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should be allowed to teach in schools

v58 range: 2 column 90 md: 8,9

Q.3-3 D. _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should not be allowed to appear on television and state their views

v59 range: 2 column 91 md: 8,9

Q.3-4. Now about _____(2ND LEAST-LIKED GROUP). How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A. _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should be allowed to hold demonstrations

v60 range: 2 column 92 md: 8,9

Q.3-4 B. Political parties primarily representing _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should be declared unconstitutional

v61 range: 2 column 93 md: 8,9

Q.3-4 C. _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should be allowed to teach in schools

v62 range: 2 column 94 md: 8,9

Q.3-4 D. _____(MEMBERS OF GROUP) should not be allowed to appear on television and state their views

v63 range: 2 column 95 md: 8,9

34. Group produces international tension/instability

Reasons for tolerance

41. A true democrat must extend political rights to extremist groups
(code here if mentioned explicitly)
42. Group can be better controlled if it is out in the open; its true character can be revealed if it is out in the open
43. Democracy is firmly established; group is not dangerous politically at present
44. Ideas need to be argued out in the public realm/freedom of speech must be extended to extremist groups
45. Group does not intend to overthrow the constitution
46. Group does not deny human rights to others
47. Group pursues humanitarian goals
48. Group goals are legitimate (from R's viewpoint).
49. Other

Other

- 51.
98. Not asked
99. Not answered

v70 range: 2 column 103-104 md: 98,99

Second mention (first group)

v71 range: 2 column 105-106 md: 98,99

Third mention (first group)

v72 range: 2 column 107-108 md: 98,99

Fourth mention (First group)

v73 range: 2 column 109-110 md: 98,99

First mention (Second group)

Second mention (Second group)

Q.4-1. What do you personally feel are the major advantages and disadvantages of establishing a social market economy in East Germany? (PROBE, IF NEEDED). Some people argue that socialist economies, despite several limitations, offered certain advantages, such as social security, job security, or greater collegiality at the work place. How would you evaluate this argument?

First mention

Advantages

11. Social market economies are generally superior (without specifying)
12. Efficiency; productivity of market economies; emergence of competitive companies; achievement-based wages
13. Surplus profits/superior technology can be used to fix major societal problems (e.g., pollution)
14. Emphasis on individual capacity/freedom (e.g., responsibility, decision making; right to strike)
15. Free enterprise system with all its facets; self-regulating and self-sufficient economy
16. Social responsibility of entrepreneurs
17. Higher living standards
18. More jobs; higher social security
19. Other

Short-term disadvantages

21. Unemployment
22. Pressure for people to adjust to new economic and social system
23. "Social" aspects of market economies isn't established yet
24. Market economy doesn't function properly yet
25. Speculation with property, (land; houses, etc.)
26. Fast pace/procedure with which market economy was established
29. Other

Long-term disadvantages (coded here if characteristic is viewed as a serious disadvantage immanent to market economies i.e., these seem unfixable within systemic boundaries)

31. Alienation of workers from product
32. Collegiality among workers is lost
33. Exploitation of workers under capitalist/market system
34. Democracy in factories is lost since capitalist makes decisions
35. High pressure environment, competition
36. Humans are treated like products in market economy
37. Workers have more freedom under a socialist system
38. Market economy produces unfair results (living standards; income distribution, etc.)
39. Profit motive redefines social norms and values negatively (e.g.,

- how people treat each other)
- 40. Social security is lost; no job security
 - 41. Destruction of the environment in new economic system
 - 42. Destruction of GDR industry
 - 43. Large corporations control politics
 - 49. Other

Positive aspects of GDR economy (coded here if GDR advantage is explicitly mentioned)

- 51. General positive aspects (without specification)
- 52. Social security; social net
- 53. Freedom of individuals; no exploitation
- 54. Globally, GDR economy was competitive/provided decent standards of living
- 55. Many good ideas in GDR society; implementation was faulty
- 56. Gender equality
- 59. Other

Miscellaneous (coded here if market economies are principally accepted, but that fundamental reforms are needed)

- 61. Democratization of market economy is needed; anti-democratic character of large enterprises
- 62. Find new conceptualization of socialism within constraints of market economy
- 63. Market economy needs to be reformed in order to increase social security; social responsibility of industry must be increased
- 64. Ecological aspect needs to be incorporated in market economy
- 71. No disadvantages

Other

- 81.
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Not answered

v76 range: 2 column 115-116 md: 98,99

Second mention

v77 range: 2 column 117-118 md: 98,99

Third mention

v78 range: 2 column 119-120 md: 98,99

Fourth mention

v79 range: 2 column 121-122 md: 98,99

Fifth mention

v80 range: 2 column 123-124 md: 98,99

Sixth mention

v81 range: 1 column 125 md: 8,9

Q.4-2. Here is a list with characteristics (SHOW CARD) which some people find desirable for economic systems. Would you please rank them in order of importance to you.

1. First rank
2. Second rank
3. Third rank
4. Fourth rank

8. Don't know
9. Not answered

A. An ideal economic system should make efficient use of human and material resources

v82 range: 1 column 126 md: 8,9

B. An ideal economic system should minimize differences in living standards as much as possible

v83 range: 1 column 127 md: 8,9

C. In an ideal economic system, all spheres of economic activities should be democratized

v84 range: 1 column 128 md: 8,9

D. An ideal economic system should be undisturbed from government regulations as much as possible

v85 range: 1 column 129 md: 8,9

3. On Q.4-3 On this card is a list with statements regarding the economic system. Would you please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (SHOW CARD).

1. Disagree completely
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Agree completely

A. Social market economies generally lead to acceptable differences in income distribution

v86 range: 1 column 130 md: 8,9

B. The profit motive often brings out the worst in human nature

v87 range: 1 column 131 md: 8,9

C. Democracy is only possible if individuals not only participate in general elections, but can also participate in important management decisions at their workplace

v88 range: 1 column 132 md: 8,9

D. The poor are poor because they often don't make use of available opportunities which the economic system provides

v89 range: 1 column 133 md: 8,9

E. The national government should play a greater role in the management of the economy

{See v80 for complete information}

v90 range: 1 column 134 md: 8,9

F. There are limits to growth beyond which our society cannot expand

v91 range: 1 column 135 md: 8,9

G. Unions should have more power in our society

v92 range: 1 column 136 md: 8,9

H. When private industry is allowed to make as much money as it can, everyone profits in the long run

v93 range: 1 column 137 md: 8,9

Q. 5-1 How often do you meet with MPs from other parties to work out political agreements outside of regular sessions?

1. Very often 2. Often 3. Occasionally 4. Rarely 5. Never
8. Not answered 9. Not applicable

1. CDU

v94 range: 1 column 138 md: 8,9

2. SPD

v95 range: 1 column 139 md: 8,9

3. PDS

v96 range: 1 column 140 md: 8,9

4. Buendnis '90/Grüne (AL)/UFV

v97 range: 1 column 141 md: 8,9

5. FDP

v98 range: 1 column 142 md: 8,9

6. Gruppe Neues Forum/Bürgerbewegung

v99 range: 2 column 143-144 md: 98,99

Q.5-2. There has been some discussion about the different political cultures in East and West Germany. Considering your contacts with other MPs, how is the different experience with political systems reflected in the behavior of MPs from East and West Berlin?

First mention

Characteristics of East Berlin MPs

11. Less aggressive; friendlier; avoid personalized attacks; more honest
12. MPs feel common bond across parties; solidarity of East MPs
13. MPs think they need to act on behalf of entire city; not just on behalf of their constituency
14. MPs are more willing than West MPs to accept arguments from other parties; reluctant to accept party discipline ("Fraktionszwang")
15. Lack of knowledge; don't know the system works
16. Little tolerance for minorities
17. MPs are arrogant toward their constituency
18. MPs are detached from their constituency; they don't keep in touch
19. MPs are considerably more interested in improving their financial situation than West MPs
20. Little willingness to contradict and argue out controversial issues; the culture to argue ("Streitkultur") is underdeveloped
21. MPs take parliamentary rules more serious than West MPs; less ritualized and formalized in their behavior
22. MPs are authoritarian/obedient/hierarchical/favor strong state
23. Os are more sensitive to social issues
24. Os favor direct democracy; emphasize plebiscitarian involvement of citizens
25. Os feel inferior to Ws

- 26. Os are more conservative than Ws
- 39. Other

Characteristics of West Berlin MPs

- 41. Define their role as representative of specific societal interests
- 42. MPs base behavior on party discipline; little willingness to search for a policy compromise across parties
- 43. MPs dominate parliamentary procedures
- 44. MPs evidence little sensitivity toward problems of East MPs
- 45. Little tolerance for minorities in society
- 46. Harsh treatment of the political opponent; personalized attacks; ritualized style
- 47. Better image management in public; more emphasis on image management
- 48. Ws favor parliamentary democracy
- 49. Ws are detached from their constituency
- 59. Other

- 71. No differences

- 97. Don't know
- 98. Not answered
- 99. Not asked

v100 range: 2 column 145-146 md: 98,99

Q.5-2 Second mention

v101 range: 2 column 147-148 md: 98,99

Q.5-2 Third mention

v102 range: 2 column 149-150 md: 98,99

Q.5-2 Fourth mention

v103 range: 2 column 151-152 md: 98,99

Q.5-2 Fifth mention

v104 range: 2 column 153-154 md: 98,99

Q.5-2 Sixth mention

v105 range: 2 column 155 md: 8,9

Q.5-3 Here is another card with statements about political problems, but also about your personal situation. Would you tell much how much you agree or disagree with each statement?

1. Disagree completely
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Agree completely

A. It should be legal to have an abortion within the first three months of a pregnancy

v106 range: 1 column 156 md: 8,9

B. Everything is changing so fast these days so that it is difficult to find firm reference points

v107 range: 1 column 157 md: 8,9

C. If we don't defend ourselves against chaots and troublemakers, our political order will be replaced by disorder and chaos

v108 range: 1 column 158 md: 8,9

D. In order to meet Germany's growing need for energy, one should also use nuclear energy

v109 range: 1 column 159 md: 8,9

E. Stronger measures should be taken to ensure the equality of men and women

v110 range: 1 column 160 md: 8,9

F. Discipline and obedience are essential in educating children into responsible citizenship

v111 range: 1 column 161 md: 8,9

G. In earlier days, people were better off because they knew what their duties were

v112 range: 1 column 162 md: 8,9

H. Every foreigner who would like to live in Germany should be welcome

v113 range: 1 column 163 md: 8,9

I. Everything is so uncertain these days that one has to be ready for anything

v114 range: 1 column 164 md: 8,9

W.5-4 Here is a list with important political institutions in our society. Would you tell me how much trust you have in each of the institutions?

1. Trust very much
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Don't trust at all
8. Don't know
9. Not answered

A. Courts

v115 range: 1 column 165 md: 8,9

B. Constitution

v116 range: 1 column 167 md: 8,9

C. Federal parliament

v117 range: 1 column 168 md: 8,9

D. Bureaucracy

v118 range: 1 column 168 md: 8,9

E. Executive

v119 range: 1 column 169 md: 8,9

Q. 5-5 There has been a discussion recently on how to treat former employees of the state security police (MfS). Would you please indicate for each statement listed on this card whether you support or oppose it?

1. Support 2. Oppose 8. Don't know 9. Not answered

1. All former employees should be granted a general amnesty

v120 range: 1 column 170 md: 8,9

2. Only employees at middle and lower levels should be granted an amnesty

v121 range: 1 column 171 md: 8,9

4. Each case should be investigated individually

v122 range: 1 column 172 md: 8,9

5. The leadership of the MfS should be penalized through an international tribunal

v123 range: 2 column 173 md: 0

Q.5-6 In a number of studies, people have been asked to place themselves on a Left-Right scale indicating their overall political position (SHOW CARD). For purposes of comparison, would you please tell me where you would place your views on this scale?

1. Left
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.
 - 6.
 - 7.
 - 8.
 - 9.
 10. Right (doesn't occur--therefore only one column is allocated)
0. DK, No answer

v124 range: 1 column 174 md: 8,9

Q.5-7 And in terms of the general political orientations of your political party in Berlin where would you locate it on this same Left/Right scale?

v125 range: 1 column 175 md: 8,9

8. There is a lot of talk these days about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card (SHOW CARD) are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which of these you, yourself, would consider the most important, and which would be your second choice?

1. First choice
2. Second choice
7. Not chosen

- 8. Don't know
- 9. Not answered

A. Maintaining order in the nation

v126 range: 1 column 176 md: 8,9

B. Giving people more say in important government decisions

v127 range: 1 column 177 md: 8,9

C. Fighting rising prices

v128 range: 1 column 178 md: 8,9

D. Protecting freedom of speech

v129 range: 1 column 179 md: 8,9

Materialism-Postmaterialism index, based on v125 to v129

- 1. Materialist (R chooses A and C as the two most important items)
- 2. Mixed-materialist (Material item first, then postmaterial item)
- 3. Mixed-postmaterialist (Postmaterial item first, then material item)
- 4. Postmaterialist (B and D)

v130 range: 1 column 180 md: 8,9

Q.5-9 On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Germany?

- 1. Very 2. Fairly 3. Not Very 4. Not at all 8. Don't know
- 9. Not answered

v131 range: 1 column 181 md: 8,9

Q. 5-10 If you compare your financial situation today with that one year ago, are you better off, about the same, or worse off?

1. Better off
2. About the same
3. Worse off
8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v132 range: 1 column 182 md: 8,9

Q.5-11 In a few years, do you think that you will be better off, about the same, or worse off?

1. Better off
2. About the same
3. Worse off
8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v133 range: 1 column 183 md: 8,9

Q. 5-12 Which denomination do you belong to?

1. Protestant
2. Catholic
3. None
4. "Freimaurer"
5. Jewish
8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v134 range: 1 column 184 md: 8,9

Q. 5-13 How often do you attend church? Would you say

1. At least every Sunday
2. Almost every Sunday
3. Sometimes
4. Once a year
5. Less than once a year
6. Never
8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v135 range: 1 column 185 md: 8,9

Q.5-14. Between 1949 and 1989, did you live anywhere else than in (WEST/EAST) Germany?

1. No
2. Yes (a year or more)

[Released version: dropped]

v136 range: 4 column 186-189 md: 8888,9999

If yes to Q.5-14: Code last two digits of the years which define time period of R's stay abroad.

9999. Not applicable (answered no to Q. 5-14).

v137 range: 1 column 190 md: 8,9

Q.5-15. Would you please tell me in which category best reflects your monthly income?

1. Above 10000 DM
2. 8000-9999 DM
3. 6000-7999 DM
4. 4000-5999 DM
5. below 4000DM

8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v138 range: 1 column 191 md: 8,9

Q.5-16. What was your father's and mother's education?

Father

1. Volksschule/8. Klasse
2. Mittlere Reife/10. Klasse (Mittel Schule)
3. Abitur/EOS
4. Fachschule
5. Universitaet
6. None
8. Don't know

9. Not answered

v139 range: 1 column 192 md: 8,9

Mother

{See v for complete information}

v140 range: 2 column 193-194 md: 98,99

Q. 5-17. What was your fathers occupation?

East Berlin:

Self-employed:

11. Small size self-employed (merchant, craftsman)
12. Medium size self-employed (Merchant; craftsman)
13. self-employed, lawyer; self-employed academic other self-employed
19. Other

White collar employees:

21. lower-levels (salespeople; bank teller)
22. medium-level (e.g., accountant)
23. Academics
24. Higher level white collar (Director)

Working class

31. unskilled worker
32. skilled worker

Farmer

41. Farmer on nationalized farms
- 42.
43. Small, independent farm (up to five people)
44. Medium-sized farmer (six and more employees).
51. Priest
96. Housewife

97. Not applicable (R is from West Berlin)
98. Don't know
99. Not answered

v141 range: 2 column 195-196 md: 98,99

Occupation, East Berlin : mother
{See v for complete information}

v142 range: 2 column 197-198 md: 98,99

Occupation, West Berlin: father

Self-employed:

- 11. Small size self-employed (merchant, craftsman)
- 12. Medium size self-employed (Merchant; craftsman)
- 13. self-employed, lawyer; self-employed academic, other self-employed
- 19. Other

White collar employees:

- 21. lower-levels (salespeople; bank teller)
- 22. medium-level (e.g., accountant)
- 23. Academics; university-employed (in academic position)
- 24. Higher level white collar (Director)

Working class

- 31. unskilled worker
- 32. skilled worker

Farmer

- 41. Farmer on small farm
- 42. Farmer on medium sized farm
- 43. Farmer on large farm

Civil Servants

- 51. Lower levels ("Einfacher Dienst")
- 52. Medium level ("Mittlerer Dienst")
- 53. Medium-high levels ("Gehobener Dienst")
- 54. Higher levels ("Höherer Dienst")
- 55. Not specified
- 61. Priest

- 96. Housewife
- 97. Not applicable (R is from East Berlin)
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Not answered

v143 range: 2 column 199-200 md: 8,9

Occupation, West Berlin: mother
{See v for complete information}

v144 range: 2 column 201 md: 98,99

Q.5-18. Respondent's education

1. Volksschule/8. Klasse
2. Mittlere Reife/10. Klasse (Mittel Schule)
3. Abitur/EOS
4. Fachschule/Fachhochschule
5. Universitaet

8. Don't know
9. Not answered

v145 range: 2 column 202-203 md: 98,99

Q. 5-18. Respondent's occupation: East Berlin

Self-employed:

11. Small size self-employed (merchant, craftsman)
12. Medium size self-employed (Merchant; craftsman)
13. self-employed, lawyer; self-employed academic; other self-employed
14. Private Sector (director, selfemployed) ???CHECK THIS CATEGORY
19. Other

White collar employees:

21. lower-levels (salespeople; bank teller)
22. medium-level (e.g., accountant)
23. Academic; university teacher
24. Higher level white collar (Director)

Working class

31. unskilled worker
32. skilled worker

Farmer

41. Farmer on nationalized farms
42. Small, independent farm (up to five people)
43. Medium-sized farmer (six and more employees).

51. Priest
52. Religious teacher (e.g., in school)

97. Not applicable (R is from West Berlin)
98. Don't know
99. Not answered

v146 range: 2 column 204-205 md: 98,99

Respondent's occupation: West Berlin

Self-employed:

11. Small size self-employed (merchant, craftsman)
12. Medium size self-employed (Merchant; craftsman)
13. Lawyer; self-employed academic
19. Other

White collar employees:

21. lower-levels (salespeople; bank teller)
22. medium-level (e.g., accountant)
23. Academics
24. Higher level white collar (e.g., Director; journalist)

Working class

31. unskilled worker
32. skilled worker

Farmer

41. Farmer on small farm
42. Farmer on medium sized farm
43. Farmer on large farm

Civil Servants

51. Lower levels ("Einfacher Dienst")
52. Medium level ("Mittlerer Dienst")
53. Medium-high levels ("Gehobener Dienst")
54. Higher levels ("Höherer Dienst")
96. Student
97. Not applicable (R is from East Berlin)
98. Don't know
99. Not answered

v147 range: 2 column 206-207 (dropped to maintain anonymity)

Q.5-19. Year of Birth (code last two digits)

[Released version: 0=born 1944 and earlier; 1=born 1945 and later]

v148 range: 2 column 208

Q.5-20. Respondent's party membership :

1. CDU
2. SPD
3. PDS
4. FDP
5. Bündnis 90/Gruene/UFV

6. Bürgerbewegung

v149 range: 1 column 209 md: 8,9

Q.5-21. Respondent from East or West Germany?
1. East 2. West

v150 range: 1 column 210 md: 8,9

Q.5-22. Sex of respondent:
1: Female
2. Male

v151 range: 1 column 211 md: 8,9

Q. 5-23. R member in 1990 East Berlin parliament:

1. Yes
2. No
9. Not applicable; respondent from West Berlin

[Released version: dropped]

v152 range: 1 column 212 md: 8,9

Q.5-24: Marital status

1. Married
2. Single
3. Divorced
4. Widow/Widower

5. NA

[Released version: dropped]

v153 range: 2 column 213-214

Q. 5-25. Approximate length of interview (in minutes)

v154 range: 1 column 215 md: 8,9

Q. 1-5 Item B: A legally non-binding referendum initiated by the
 executive

v155 range: 1 column 216-217 md: 8,9

First representation in parliament (code last two digit of year). If MP was
not represented during certain time periods, add the missing years to first year
of representation.

99. Not applicable; R from SVV 1990 (see V2)