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Leibniz-Institut
für Sozialwissenschaften

German Longitudinal
Election Study



*Durchgeführt von der
Deutschen Gesellschaft für Wahlforschung und GESIS*

GLES Rolling Cross-Section 2021

ZA7703

Documentation of Questionnaire

*Pre-Release of Questionnaire (Pre- and
Post-election Survey)*

Version 0.3, 2021-09-03

The German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) is the central infrastructure project in Germany for the continuous collection and provision of high-quality data for national and international election research. The methodologically diverse surveys of the GLES enable the research of political attitudes and behaviour of voters and candidates. Since its inception, the GLES has been conducted in close cooperation between the German Society for Electoral Research (DGfW) and GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences. More information are available here: www.gles.eu.

Please note:

This questionnaire documentation is a preliminary version and published before data collection and release on the website of the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES). Therefore, it might contain errors and adjustments might be necessary due to the data collection and processing. Citations of the datasets should always refer to the current release of the corresponding dataset.

You can access the data via the GLES homepage (<https://gles.eu/daten/>) or directly via the search function on the GESIS website (<https://search.gesis.org/>). News on data releases can also be obtained from the [GLES Website](#) or via the [GLES Newsletter](#).

Bibliographic description of the dataset

Study number.	ZA7703
Title	GLES Rolling Cross-Section 2021
Current Version	not yet published
doi	not yet published
Citation	not yet published

Basic Information

Funding Agency	GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences
Data Collector	Ipsos Public Affairs
Date of Collection	not yet collected

Data collection for the pre-election survey was originally planned for 2021-07-26 through 2021-09-25. Due to technical problems at the CATI studio the start of data collection had to be postponed to 2021-08-02. Consequently, adjustments to planned number of daily interviews were made (see below). Data collection for the post-election panel wave is planned for 2021-09-27 through 2021-10-24.

Number of Units	In the 55 survey days of the pre-election survey, 130 realized interviews are the goal per day, with a target of approx. 7,100 total interviews. The sample size of the post-election panel wave depends on the willingness of the respondents to take part in the panelwave. Based on the
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response rate of the post-election panel wave of 2017, we assume that approximately 55% percent of the respondents of the pre-election survey are willing to take part in the post-election panel wave. Therefore, approx. 3,900 respondents are expected in the post-election panel wave.

Questionnaire

Up to the field launch and also during the survey, questions that arise from current social and political developments can be added to the questionnaires published in advance. Individual questions are only released at a predefined time. The pre-election survey has an average duration of about 25 minutes, the post-election panel wave an average duration of about 15 minutes. Measurements of response latencies are carried out for individual questions.

Data release

The first pre-release of the data is scheduled for 2021-12-06. This pre-release will include the pre-election survey and the post-election panel wave. The data set will include both full and partial interviews.

Prior to the pre-release, the data will already be subjected to an initial quality check, data verification and data cleaning. This includes, but is not limited to, the comprehensibility and completeness of the labelling, correct coding of the values, adaptation to the GLES missing value scheme, the addition of further meta and paradata and the exclusion of sensitive variables. The data sets are published in German, but the correspondence between variable names is ensured so that the data can be used with the English questionnaires.

Methodology

Geographic Coverage

Germany (DE)

Universe

The population comprises all German-speaking people living in private households with a landline telephone connection or possessing a mobile number within the Federal Republic of Germany who are eligible to vote in the federal election 2021.

Selection Method

Dual Frame Telephone sample consisting of 60% landline numbers and 40% mobile phone numbers (gross sample).

The numbers of the landline and mobile sample are drawn from the current sampling frames of the ADM sampling system for the Federal Republic of Germany.

The drawing file for the landline sample with around 142 million landline telephone numbers in Germany contains registered telephone numbers (according to information from the Federal Network Agency) as well as unregistered numbers generated according to the Gabler/Häder model. In order to obtain a good spread over the area and different sized municipalities and types of municipality, the random sample is stratified according to federal states and regional structural

Survey design

characteristics (BIK7 region sizes). Within households, target persons to be interviewed are selected through the last-birthday method.

The drawing file for the mobile sample with around 343 million mobile telephone numbers in Germany also contains registered and generated numbers. Regional stratification is not possible here. Instead, it is stratified by network operator.

The basic idea of the RCS design is to distribute the implementation of a cross-sectional survey based on random sampling in a strictly controlled manner over a predefined period of time in such a way that the respondents of each individual day each constitute in themselves a random sample from the population. For this purpose, equally sized daily samples (replicates) as well as reserve samples are drawn from the gross sample of numbers drawn from the ADM selection frames (each with a ratio of 60% landline to 40% mobile numbers). In these draws, the fixed-network sample is sorted by province and BIK7, while the mobile sample is sorted by provider. The allocation of replicates to field days is random. For better field control, the previously shuffled replicates are divided into slices of 100 numbers each. The resulting slices are randomly shuffled with respect to their position in the replica. Due to the randomly cumulative slices, it is possible to react to fluctuating utilization rates on certain weekdays during field control by adding or omitting slices. The number of slices to be added on a survey day is determined by the study management on a daily basis in response to the current development of the field.

The individual replicas are processed on the day of their release and the following days according to a standardized contact scheme. Each phone number remains active for up to nine days with a maximum of 15 contact attempts. Numbers for which an appointment has been made are an exception. These can be active for more than nine days and can be contacted more than 15 times. Contacting takes place in four different time windows on the first day, from the second to the fourth day in two different time windows and from the fifth to the ninth day in a time window that changes daily. Busy numbers are redialed after 30 minutes.

According to the RCS design, the interviews realized on each field day come from replicates that have been in the field for different lengths of time and thus represent a mixture of easy and hard-to-reach individuals. It should be noted that, due to the design, a certain amount of time must pass before the desired mix of replicates of different lengths in the field emerges. In the GLES 2017 RCS study, the desired mix ratio emerged by the eighth field day. For each interview, the dataset contains information on both the day of release of the replicate to which the number belongs and the day of the interview.

At the end of the pre-election survey, all fully interviewed respondents are asked about their willingness to participate in a post-election survey. The post-election survey starts on the Monday after the general

election and runs for a period of 3-4 weeks. The numbers of all persons willing to be interviewed again are randomized before being fed into the system, so that there is no systematic relationship between the time of the pre-election survey and the time of the post-election survey.

Mode of Data Collection

Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI).

Data preparation and enrichment

Coding

The coding of the variables follows the characteristics given in the questionnaire. If information is summarized or not published for data protection reasons, this can be seen in Table 1 "Overview of data protection-sensitive variables".

Weights

The RCS study dataset contains three types of weights: Transformation weights, adjustment weights, and panel weights.

Transformation weights are calculated for the entire dataset (prefix) and the individual survey weeks and days (*w_trang*, *w_tranw*, *w_trant*). In each case, the weights for the individual weeks or days are combined into one variable. Dual-frame approaches assume additive selection probabilities, which add the selection probability within the fixed-network sample to the selection probability for the mobile sample for each respondent. For the fixed-network sample, the transformation weight accounts for different selection probabilities based on the number of eligible voters living in a household and the number of fixed-network telephone lines in the household. For the mobile sample, the weighting procedure takes into account the number of mobile numbers at which a person can be reached. In addition, the higher inclusion probability of those who have both a mobile and a landline is balanced. Subsequently, the weighting factors are normalized to a mean value of 1, so that the number of cases is kept constant despite weighting.

The second group of weights includes adjustment weights by socio-demographic and regional characteristics. The adjustment weights are calculated using an iterative procedure ("iterative proportional fitting", IPF). The basis for the adjustment weights are the distributions of gender, age (4 groups: 18-29, 30-44, 45-59, and 60 years and older), educational attainment (3 groups: low, medium, high), BIK regions (3 groups), and East-West (for the weighting, all Berliners were given East German weights). The weights are adjusted to the marginal distributions of the 2019 Microcensus and updated when more recent marginal distributions of the Microcensus are available.

To control for selective failure in the panel component of the RCS, longitudinal weights are calculated using propensity score weighting. This involves using logistic regression to estimate the lead probability of a case in the panel. The inverted individual lead probability subsequently serves as a weighting factor: respondents with a high probability of remaining in the panel receive a low weighting factor, respondents with a

low probability of remaining in the panel receive a high weighting factor.

The aim is to publish weighting factors with the pre-release of the data, but there may be delays.

Regional units

With the release of the dataset, users are additionally provided with some regional units that are not included in the questionnaire, but relate to the place of respondents' residence and are based on small-scale data. This includes the assignment to the constituencies of the 2021 federal election (constituency number and name), the federal state and the assignment to eastern and western Germany (persons residing in Berlin are assigned to eastern Germany).

Paradata

With the release of the dataset, users are provided with additional variables related to the interview process. This includes, but is not limited to: interview time (date, time, field day), total interview duration, time/latency measurements. In case of specific interest in (further) parainformation, their availability can be requested from the GLES team (gles@gesis.org).

Sensitive variables

Due to data protection regulations, some of the collected data can only be made available in recoded form or not in access category A. Subject to further data protection checks, this initially concerns the variables listed in table 1.

Data access

Usage regulations

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

Anonymized data

Due to data protection regulations, some variables can also only be made available after signing an off-site data use agreement or can only be used on-site at the Secure Data Center (SDC) at GESIS (Cologne, Mannheim). If you are interested, please contact us at gles@gesis.org.

Publication notification

To get an overview of the use of our data, we kindly request users of GLES-data to inform us about publications that utilize those data (biographic description, study no. of the dataset). In case of limited access to your publication (e.g. conference papers), we would highly appreciate if you could send us an electronic (PDF file) or a print copy of your publication.

Contact

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Access to data protection-sensitive variables

Some of the variables cannot be made available as a direct download due to data protection regulations. As a rule, a data use contract must be concluded for these data before they are made available (off-site use). In exceptional cases, data access is restricted to on-site use. Further details can be found here. An overview of the data for restricted use and the access possibilities to this data can be found in the following table. Data use is free of charge in both cases.

The data usage contract for off-site use is available in English and German. In order to gain access to the data, data recipients must fill in the data use contract properly and forward it to the GLES team. If you are interested in on-site use, please also contact the GLES team.

Table 1: Overview of data protection-sensitive variables

variable	variable name	data protection adjustment	access to original variable
pre063	Gender	The proficiency "diverse" is randomly assigned to the proficiencies "male" and "female".	Off-site contract
pre062	Date of birth: Year	If necessary, extreme values (e.g., persons over 90 years of age) are combined.	Off-site contract
pre014	Political problem: Most important	Variables will only be published after data protection checks of the open data and may therefore not yet be included in the first pre-release.	no access without data protection audit
pre016	Political problem: Second most important		
pos012	Political problem: Most important		
pre070	Household: Size	The maximum specified household size is summarized in category 6 "6 persons and more".	Off-site contract
pre071	Household: People aged 18+ and eligible to vote		
pre086	Willingness to participate in panel	Variables are collected for internal purposes only.	no access
pre087	Willingness to participate in panel: initials		
bik10	BIK regions	Information on the BIK region can be used off-site in recoded form with 7 expressions (summary of categories 1 to 3). All expressions can only be used on-site.	Off-site contract / On-site
pre080	Postal Code	Information on the respondent's place of residence (with the exception of the variables listed here, as well as the state and constituencies) can only be used on-site.	On-site
pre081	Municipality Code		
pre081	Category of Municipality Size		

Version history of the questionnaire

Changes between version 0.2 and its previous version

Variable(s)	Description
	Adjustment of the basic information about the study due to a delayed field start due to technical problems in the telephone studio.
	The overview of variables for the post-election survey was placed directly after the one for the pre-election survey.
all	Adapted sequence numbers
pre006, pre008, pre009, pre010, pre061, pre089	Adaptation of the variable names according to the GLES naming scheme
pre007, pre011, pre025, pre026, pre027, pre066, pre068, pre069, pre075, pre076, pre077	Questions deleted
pre003, pre004, pre008, pre009, pre012, pos003, pos040	Editorial adjustment of labels.
pre009, pre035, pre039, pre040, pre041, pre042, pre043, pre044, pre084, pre085, pre086	New interviewer instructions
pre024, pre029, pre030, pre031, pre032, pre033, pre080, pre081, pre084, pre085	Editorial adjustment of the question wording
pre006, pre007, pre008, pre009, pre015, pre017, pre078, pos004, pos009, pos013	The party „(224) RENTNER (Bündnis der Generationen – Rentner und Familie“ was removed from the party list, because it does not run for election. Instead, „(373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer – Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)“ was added to the list.
pre010	Item b changed; Items d and f deleted

pre014, pre016, pos012	The coded open mentions were deleted from the variable list because they won't be included in the early data release yet.
pre019, pre020, pre021, pre022, pre089	Included as new questions
pre023	The placeholders were replaced by statements.
pre024	Coding of response scale changed
pre030, pre031 pre032, pre033	New filters
pre035	"YouTube" has been removed from the examples in the question.
pre042, pre044	Editorial wording changes to the response categories.
pre061	The missing response category "I cast an invalid vote" has been added.
pre073	The missing response category "Short-time" has been added.
pre080, pre081	Position in questionnaire changed
pos040	A note on the psychological constructs measured has been included.

Changes between version 0.3 and its previous version

Variable(n)	Beschreibung
pre023	Added new items e and f. Added variable labels.
pre090, pre091, pre092, pre093	New questions
from pre090 on	Adapted sequence numbers

Pre-election Survey

Overview of variables

Number	Title
pre080	Postal Code
pre081	Place of Residence
pre001	Political Interest
pre002	Election Campaign: Interest
pre003	Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021
pre004	Voting Decision: Time, before Election Date
pre005	Vote Participation: Vote Intention, FE 2021
pre006	Vote Intention: FE 2021, Second Vote
pre008	Voting Decision: before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote
pre009	Voting Decision: hypothetical, before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote
pre010	Coalitions: Scalometer
pre012	Coalition Partner: Expectations
pre013	Election Result: Estimate Percentage of Votes
pre014	Political Problems: most important
pre015	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve
pre016	Political Problems: second most important
pre017	Political Problems: second most important, Ability to Solve
pre018	Left-Right Assessment: Ego
pre019	Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Candidate for Chancellor
pre020	Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Ego
pre021	Position Issue: Climate Change, Candidate for Chancellor
pre022	Position Issue: Climate Change, Ego
pre023	Attitudes: Item Battery
pre024	Federal Government: Performance
pre028	Political Parties: Scalometer
pre029	Leading Politicians: Scalometer
pre030	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness
pre031	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength
pre032	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative
pre033	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive
pre034	Candidate for Chancellor: Preference
pre035	Social Media: Use, most common
pre036	Social Media: Use, political Content
pre037	Social Media: Use, political, Follower
pre038	Media Use for pol. Information: Source of Information
pre039	TV News Programmes: Use, most common
pre040	TV News Programmes: Use, most common, Frequency
pre041	Print: Use, most common, daily Newspaper
pre042	Print: Use, political, daily Newspaper
pre043	Internet: Use, News, Service
pre044	Internet: Use, News, Frequency
pre045	Opinion Polls: Perception
pre046	Personal Networks: Frequency Discussions about Politics, Family
pre047	Personal Networks: Party Preference, Family
pre048	Personal Networks: Frequency Discussions about Politics, Friends
pre049	Personal Networks: Party Preference, Friends
pre050	TV-Debate: Reception, RTL
pre051	TV-Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Laschet
pre052	TV-Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Baerbock
pre053	TV-Debate: Evaluation, RTL, O. Scholz
pre054	TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF
pre055	TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet
pre056	TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock
pre057	TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz
pre090	TV-Debate: Reception, ProSieben/Sat.1

pre091	TV-Debate: Evaluation, ProSieben/Sat.1, A. Laschet
pre092	TV-Debate: Evaluation, ProSieben/Sat.1, A. Baerbock
pre093	TV-Debate: Evaluation, ProSieben/Sat.1, O. Scholz
pre058	Party Contact: Media, general
pre059	Party Contact: direct Contact
pre060	Vote Participation: Recall, FE 2017
pre061	Voting Decision: Recall, FE 2017, Second Vote
pre062	Date of Birth: Year
pre063	Gender
pre064	Education: School
pre065	Gainful Employment: current
pre067	Gainful Employment: Lack of, Reason
pre070	Household: Size
pre071	Household: People aged 18+, eligible to Vote
pre072	Partner
pre073	Gainful Employment: current, Partner
pre074	Gainful Employment: Lack of, Reason, Partner
pre089	Vote Intention, Partner
pre078	Party Identification
pre079	Party Identification: Strength
pre082	Telephone: Landline Phone Numbers, Count, Landline Respondent
pre083	Telephone: Landline Phone Numbers, Count, Mobile Respondent
pre084	Telephone: Mobile Phone Use
pre085	Telephone: Mobile Phone Numbers, Number
pre086	Willingness to Participate in Panel
pre087	Willingness to Participate in Panel: Initials

Post-election Survey

Overview of variables

Number	Title
pos001	Election Campaign: Interestingness
pos002	Vote Participation: FE 2021
pos003	Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021
pos004	Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote
pos005	Voting Decision: Time
pos006	Voting Decision: Satisfaction
pos007	Voting Decision: Time, Non-voter
pos008	Voting Decision: Difficulty, Non-voter
pos009	Voting Decision: Consideration Set
pos010	Coalitions: Scalometer
pos011	Coalition Partner: Expectation
pos012	Political Problems: most important
pos013	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve
pos014	Attitudes: Item Battery 1
pos015	Economic Situation: prospective, personal
pos016	Economic Situation: current, general
pos017	Economic Situation: prospective, general
pos018	Political Parties: Scalometer
pos019	Leading Politicians: Scalometer
pos024	Party Contact: Rallies
pos025	Party Contact: direct Contact
pos026	Party Contact: Media, general
pos027	Party Contact: Online Advertisement
pos028	Party Contact: Information Material
pos029	Party Contact: Websites
pos030	TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF
pos031	TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet
pos032	TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock
pos033	TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz
pos034	TV Debate: Reception, RTL
pos035	TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Laschet
pos036	TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Baerbock
pos037	TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, O. Scholz
pos038	Media Use for pol. Information: most helpful Source of Information
pos039	Attitudes: Item Battery 2
pos040	Psychological Concepts

Pre-election Survey

Question: pre080	Title: Postal Code
Sequence No.: 1,000	Category: 14.04 Regional Specifications
Variable(s):	
pre080	Postal Code

At first, please tell me the postal code of your place of residence.

[INT: If respondent asks for more details: We need the place of residence for a later regional assignment of the interviews.]

[open answer]

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre081	Title: Place of Residence
Sequence No.: 2,000	Category: 14.04 Regional Specifications
Variable(s):	
pre081	Place of Residence

[INT: Place of residence is displayed, check or select (if a postal code includes several places).]

[INT: If more than one possible place of residence is shown:] Please tell me your place of residence.

[INT: If only one possible place of residence is shown:] So you live in [INT: Read out the name of the place]? Is that correct?

[INT: If respondent asks for more details: We need the place of residence for a later regional assignment of the interviews. The named cities and communities are derived from the postal codes.]

[Selection from displayed locations]

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre001 **Title:** Political Interest
Sequence No.: 3,000 **Category:** 07.01 Political Interest

Variable(s):
pre001 Political Interest

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

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre002 **Title:** Election Campaign: Interest
Sequence No.: 4,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):
pre002 Election Campaign: Interest

And how interested are you in particular in this federal election campaign – very interested, somewhat interested, in between, not very interested, or not at all interested?

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre003	Title: Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021
Sequence No.: 5,000	Category: 01.02 Vote Participation

Variable(s): pre003	Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021
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[PROG: active from 16.08.2021 onwards]

When elections are held a lot of people vote, others do not manage to vote or do not participate in elections for other reasons, many others cast their vote, either in advance via postal vote or on election day at the polling station. How about you? Did you already cast your vote for the upcoming federal election on 26th September?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre004	Title: Voting Decision: Time, before Election Date
Sequence No.: 6,000	Category: 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s): pre004	Voting Decision: Time, before Election Date
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[FILTER: If pre003 (Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021) = "Yes" (1):]

And when did you cast your vote? This week, last week, two weeks ago, three weeks ago, or even earlier?

- (1) This week
- (2) Last week
- (3) Two weeks ago
- (4) Three weeks ago
- (5) Even earlier
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre005 **Title:** Vote Participation: Vote Intention, FE 2021
Sequence No.: 7,000 **Category:** 01.02 Vote Participation

Variable(s):
pre005 Vote Participation : Vote Intention, FE 2021

[FILTER: If pre003 (Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021) NOT = "Yes" (1):]

At the upcoming federal election, 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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre006
Sequence No.: 8,000

Title: Vote Intention: FE 2021, Second Vote
Category: 01.03 Vote Intention

Variable(s):

pre006ba Vote Intention: FE 2021, Second Vote (Version A)
pre006bb Vote Intention: FE 2021, Second Vote (Version B)
pre006_rl Vote Intention: FE 2021, Response-latency-measurement
pre006_t Vote Intention: FE 2021, Validity, Time measurement

[FILTER: If pre005 (Vote Participation: Vote Intention, FE 2021) is at least "Might vote" (1-3):]

[PROG: Latency time measurement]

And which party will you vote for in the federal election?

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

[INT: If respondent is undecided and has no preference, please note Don't know (-98). If the respondent names several parties but has a preference, please note this party.]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (-83) I will cast an invalid vote
- (-84) I will not cast a vote

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre008	Title: Voting Decision: before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote
Sequence No.: 9,000	Category: 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):

pre008ba	Voting Decision: before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote (Version A)
pre008bb	Voting Decision: before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote (Version B)

[FILTER: If pre003 (Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021) = "Yes" (1):]

And which party did you vote for?

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

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (-83) I cast an invalid vote
- (-84) I didn't cast a vote

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre009	Title: Voting Decision: hypothetical, before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote
Sequence No.: 10,000	Category: 01.04 Voting Decision
Variable(s):	
pre009ba	Voting Decision: hypothetical, before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote (Version A)
pre009bb	Voting Decision: hypothetical, before Election Date, FE 2021, Second Vote (Version B)

[FILTER: If pre003 (Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021) = "Yes" (1):]

And if you were to cast your vote today, would you decide the way you did, or would you decide differently?

[INT: If differently:] Which party would you vote for instead?

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

(808) I would decide the same way

(1) CDU/CSU

(2) CDU

(3) CSU

(4) SPD

(322) AfD

(5) FDP

(7) DIE LINKE

(6) DIE GRÜNEN

(180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)

(151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)

(363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)

(215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)

(206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)

(237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)

(209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)

(126) BP (Bayernpartei)

(351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)

(349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)

(373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)

(134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)

(171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)

(372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)

(801) Other political party, namely _____

(-83) I would cast an invalid vote

(-84) I would not cast a vote

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-97) Not applicable

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre010 **Title:** Coalitions: Scalometer
Sequence No.: 11,000 **Category:** 02.04 Forming of Government, Government, Opposition

Variable(s):

Split_A	Split: Order, Coalition Partners
pre010a	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, SPD
pre010b	Coalitions: Scalometer CDU/CSU, FDP
pre010c	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, GRUENE
pre010e	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, GRUENE, FDP
pre010g	Coalitions: Scalometer, SPD, GRUENE, FDP
pre010g_rl	Coalitions: Scalometer, SPD, GRUENE, FDP, Response-latency-measurement
pre010g_t	Coalitions: Scalometer, SPD, GRUENE, FDP, Validity, Time measurement
pre010h	Coalitions: Scalometer, GRUENE, SPD, FDP
pre010h_rl	Coalitions: Scalometer, GRUENE, SPD, FDP, Response-latency-measurement
pre010h_t	Coalitions: Scalometer, GRUENE, SPD, FDP, Validity, Time measurement
pre010i	Coalitions: Scalometer, SPD, GRUENE, DIE LINKE
pre010j	Coalitions: Scalometer, GRUENE, SPD, DIE LINKE

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre010c/pre010d and pre010g/pre010h]

[PROG: Create variable Split_A with four values (1-4) and randomly assign respondents to one of the four values with uniform distribution.]

Now, let's look at a question concerning the possible composition of the federal government after the next federal election. Imagine a thermometer which only measures from +5 to -5 with a zero point in the middle. Now using the thermometer, tell me what you think about the following coalitions – regardless of how likely the respective coalition is in your opinion. +5 means that you would find the coalition a very desirable outcome; -5 means that you would not find this coalition a desirable outcome at all. Use the values in between to express 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 coalition of the CDU/CSU and the SPD?
- B And a coalition of CDU/CSU, SPD and FDP?
- C And a coalition of CDU/CSU and Die Grünen?
- E And a coalition of CDU/CSU, Die Grünen and FDP?
- G And a coalition of SPD, Die Grünen and FDP? [PROG: Only if Split_A = 1 OR 2]
- H And a coalition of Die Grünen, SPD and FDP? [PROG: Only if Split_A = 3 OR 4]
- I And a coalition of SPD, Die Grünen and Die Linke? [PROG: Only if Split_A = 1 OR 2]
- J And a coalition of Die Grünen, SPD and Die Linke? [PROG: Only if Split_A = 3 OR 4]

Scale:

- (1) -5 I would not find this coalition a desirable outcome at all
- (2) -4
- (3) -3
- (4) -2
- (5) -1
- (6) 0
- (7) +1
- (8) +2
- (9) +3
- (10) +4
- (11) +5 I would find this coalition a very desirable outcome

- (-71) I don't know enough about this coalition

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-96) Split
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre012	Title: Coalition Partner: Expectations
Sequence No.: 12,000	Category: 02.04 Forming of Government, Government, Opposition
Variable(s):	
pre012a	Coalition Partner : Expectations, CDU/CSU
pre012d	Coalition Partner: Expectations, SPD
pre012h	Coalition Partner: Expectations, AfD
pre012e	Coalition Partner: Expectations, FDP
pre012g	Coalition Partner: Expectations, DIE LINKE
pre012f	Coalition Partner: Expectations, GRUENE
pre012x	Coalition Partner: Expectations, other
pre012y	Coalition Partner: Expectations, don't know
pre012z	Coalition Partner: Expectations, no answer

Coalition formation depends on the election outcome as well as on the willingness of the parties to form a government.

Which parties do you think will actually form the government together after the federal election?

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

[INT: Do not read out response options]

- A CDU/CSU
- D SPD
- H AfD
- E FDP
- G DIE LINKE
- F DIE GRÜNEN
- X other Partei

- Y don't know
- Z no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned

- (-93) Not asked, terminated

[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 are meant]
- "Schwarz-grün" = CDU/CSU, Grüne
- "Jamaika" = CDU/CSU, FDP, Grüne
- "Schwampel" = CDU/CSU, FDP, Grüne
- "Schwarze Ampel" = CDU/CSU, FDP, Grüne
- „Deutschland-Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP
- „Kenia-Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, SPD, Grüne
- „Simbabwe-Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, SPD, Grüne, FDP
- „Rot-grün“ = SPD, Grüne
- „Sozial-liberale Koalition“ = SPD, FDP
- „Rot-gelb“ = SPD, FDP
- „Ampel“ = SPD, FDP, Grüne
- „Rot-rot-grün“ = SPD, Grüne, Die Linke
- "Linksbündnis/Linkskoalition" [INT: Ask if a) SPD, Grüne, Die Linke or b) SPD-Die Linke or c) SPD-Grüne are meant]
- "Rot-rot" = SPD, Die Linke
- "Schwarz-Blau" = CDU/CSU, AfD

Question: pre013

Sequence No.: 13,000

Title: Election Result: Estimate Percentage of Votes

Category: 02.04 Forming of Government, Government, Opposition

Variable(s):

- pre013f Election Result: Estimate Percentage of Votes, GRUENE
- pre013d Election Result: Estimate Percentage of Votes, SPD
- pre013a Election Result: Estimate Percentage of Votes, CDU/CSU

[INT: Please let respondents estimate a whole number.]

- F What do you think, how many percent of second votes will Die Grünen receive in the federal election on 26th September?
- D And how many percent will the SPD receive?
- A And how about the Union, i.e. CDU and CSU together?

Scale:

[open answer]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre014	Title: Political Problems: most important
Sequence No.: 14,000	Category: 04.02 Most important political problems
Variable(s):	
pre014	Political Problems: most important

You will now be asked about the two most important political problems in Germany. If you think about the current political situation – what is, in your opinion, the most important political problem facing Germany today? Please only name the most important problem for now.

[INT: Only record one problem. If the respondent names more than one problem, ask which of the problems mentioned is the most important problem; if necessary point out that more problems can be named in the following questions.]

[Open answer]

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre015	Title: Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve
Sequence No.: 15,000	Category: 04.02 Most important political problems

Variable(s):

pre015a	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve (Version A)
pre015b	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve (Version B)
pre015_rl	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve, Response-latency-measurement
pre015_t	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve, Validity, Time measurement

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

[PROG: Latency time measurement]

Which party is best able to handle this problem in your opinion?

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

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (808) No party
- (809) All parties equally good

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre016	Title: Political Problems: second most important
Sequence No.: 16,000	Category: 04.02 Most important political problems
Variable(s):	
pre016	Political Problems: second most important

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

In your opinion, what is the second most important political problem facing Germany today? Please only name one problem.

[INT: Only record one problem. If the respondent names more than one problem, ask which of the problems mentioned is the most important problem; if necessary point out that another problem can be named in a following question.]

[Open answer]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre017	Title: Political Problems: second most important, Ability to Solve
Sequence No.: 17,000	Category: 04.02 Most important political problems

Variable(s):

pre017a	Political Problems: second most important, Ability to Solve (Version A)
pre017b	Political Problems: second most important, Ability to Solve (Version B)

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

Which party is best able to handle this problem in your opinion?

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

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (808) No party
- (809) All parties equally good

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre018	Title: Left-Right Assessment: Ego
Sequence No.: 18,000	Category: 04.01 Attitudes towards Politics in general
Variable(s):	
pre018 Left-Right Assessment: Ego	

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

- (1) 1 left
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 right

- (-71) I don't know these terms
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre019	Title: Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Candidate for Chancellor
Sequence No.: 19,000	Category: 04.03 Social Policy

Variable(s):

pre019a	Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Cand. for Chancellor, A. Laschet
pre019b	Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Cand. for Chancellor, A. Baerbock
pre019c	Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Cand. for Chancellor, O. Scholz

Now, let us shift attention to several political issues.

Some people prefer lower taxes, even if this results in less social services. Others prefer more social services, even if this results in raising taxes. What do you think are the positions of Annalena Baerbock, Armin Laschet and Olaf Scholz on this issue? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the person advocates lower taxes, even if this results in less social services. 11 means that the person advocates more social services, even if this results in raising taxes. Use the values in between to express your opinion more precisely.

- A What is Armin Laschet's position on taxes and social services?
- B And how about Annalena Baerbock?
- C And how about Olaf Scholz?

Scale:

- (1) 1 lower taxes, even if this results in less social services
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 more social services, even if this results in raising taxes
- (-71) I don't have sufficient knowledge about this
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre020	Title: Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Ego
Sequence No.: 20,000	Category: 04.03 Social Policy
Variable(s):	
pre020 Position Issue: Taxes vs. Social Services, Ego	

What is your personal view on the issue of taxes and social services?

Scale:

- (1) 1 lower taxes, even if this results in less social services
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 more social services, even if this results in raising taxes

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre021	Title: Position Issue: Climate Change, Candidate for Chancellor
Sequence No.: 21,000	Category: 04.22 Society, Values, Culture

Variable(s):

pre021a	Position Issue: Climate Change, Cand. for Chancellor, A. Laschet
pre021b	Position Issue: Climate Change, Cand. for Chancellor, A. Baerbock
pre021c	Position Issue: Climate Change, Cand. for Chancellor, O. Scholz

And what about the following topic? Some think that much more needs to be done in politics to combat climate change. Others think that politics to combat climate change have already gone way too far. What do you think are the positions of the candidates for the chancellorship on this issue? Please tell me by using a scale from 1 to 11. 1 means that the person advocates that much more needs to be done in politics to combat climate change. 11 means that the person advocates that politics to combat climate change have already gone way too far. Use the values in between to express your opinion more precisely.

- A What do you think is Armin Laschet's position?
- B And how about Annalena Baerbock?
- C And how about Olaf Scholz?

Scale:

- (1) 1 Politics should do much more to combat climate change
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 Politics to combat climate change have already gone way too far
- (-71) I don't have sufficient knowledge about this
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre022	Title: Position Issue: Climate Change, Ego
Sequence No.: 22,000	Category: 04.22 Society, Values, Culture
Variable(s): pre022 Position Issue: Climate Change, Ego	

What is your personal view on the issue of fighting climate change?

Scale:

- (1) 1 Politics should do much more to combat climate change
- (2) 2
- (3) 3
- (4) 4
- (5) 5
- (6) 6
- (7) 7
- (8) 8
- (9) 9
- (10) 10
- (11) 11 Politics to combat climate change have already gone way too far

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre023	Title: Attitudes: Item Battery
Sequence No.: 23,000	Category: 04 Politics, Economy, Society and Institutions

Variable(s):

pre023a	Attitudes: Item Battery, FE correctly and fairly carried out
pre023b	Attitudes: Item Battery, Corona crisis handled well
pre023c	Attitudes: Item Battery, Measures against climate change go too far
pre023d	Attitudes: Item Battery, Economic situation very good
pre023e	Attitudes: Item Battery, Relax Debt Brake
pre023f	Attitudes: Item Battery, Afraid of increasing number of refugees

There are different opinions on different political issues. How about you: what is your opinion about the following statements? Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

[PROG: Randomization of the Item order]

- A The federal election is carried out correctly and fairly by the authorities.
- B All in all, the federal government handled the Corona crisis very well.
- C The measures adopted to combat climate change go too far.
- D The current economic situation in Germany is very good.
- E The Debt Brake should be relaxed. [from 18.08.2021 onwards]
- F I am afraid of an increasing number of refugees who now want to come to Germany. [from 18.08.2021 onwards]

Scale:

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre024	Title: Federal Government: Performance
Sequence No.: 24,000	Category: 02.04 Forming of Government, Government, Opposition
Variable(s):	
pre024 Federal Government: Performance	

As to the present federal government in Berlin – are you more satisfied or less satisfied with the performance of the government of CDU/CSU and SPD in the last four years? Please tell me by using the thermometer from +5 to -5 again. + 5 means that you are completely satisfied with the performance of the government so far, -5 means that you are not at all satisfied with the performance of the government. Use the values in between to express your opinion more precisely.

- (-5) -5 Not at all satisfied with the performance of the federal government
- (-4) -4
- (-3) -3
- (-2) -2
- (-1) -1
- (0) 0
- (+1) +1
- (+2) +2
- (+3) +3
- (+4) +4
- (+5) +5 Completely satisfied with the performance of the federal government

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre028	Title: Political Parties: Scalometer
Sequence No.: 25,000	Category: 02.03 Party; Scalometer

Variable(s):

pre028a	Political Parties: Scalometer, CDU
pre028b	Political Parties: Scalometer, CSU
pre028d	Political Parties: Scalometer, SPD
pre028h	Political Parties: Scalometer, AfD
pre028h_rl	Political Parties: Scalometer, AfD, Response-latency-measurement
pre028h_t	Political Parties: Scalometer, AfD, Validity, Time measurement
pre028e	Political Parties: Scalometer, FDP
pre028g	Political Parties: Scalometer, DIE LINKE
pre028f	Political Parties: Scalometer, GRUENE

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre028h]

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

- B Let's begin with the CDU. What do you think of the CDU?
- C And what do you think of the CSU?
- D And the SPD?
- H And the AfD?
- E And the FDP?
- G And Die Linken?
- F And Die Grünen?

Scale:

- (1) -5 I do not think much of the party at all
- (2) -4
- (3) -3
- (4) -2
- (5) -1
- (6) 0
- (7) +1
- (8) +2
- (9) +3
- (10) +4
- (11) +5 I think a great deal of the party
- (-71) I don't have sufficient knowledge about this party
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre029	Title: Leading Politicians: Scalometer
Sequence No.: 26,000	Category: 02.07 Politicians; Scalometer
Variable(s):	
Split_B	Split: Dual leaderships
pre029a	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Laschet
pre029a_rl	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Laschet, Response-latency-measurement
pre029a_t	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Laschet, Validity, Time measurement
pre029b	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Baerbock
pre029b_rl	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Baerbock, Response-latency-measurement
pre029b_t	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Baerbock, Validity, Time measurement
pre029c	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, O. Scholz
pre029c_rl	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, O. Scholz, Response-latency-measurement
pre029c_t	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, O. Scholz, Validity, Time measurement
pre029d	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, T. Chrupalla
pre029e	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Weidel
pre029f	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, C. Lindner
pre029g	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, J. Wissler
pre029h	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, D. Bartsch
pre029i	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Merkel

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre029a, pre029b and pre029c]

[PROG: Create variable Split_B with two values (1-2) and randomly assign respondents to one of the two values with uniform distribution.]

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

- A I'll start with Armin Laschet an. What do you think of Armin Laschet?
- B And of Annalena Baerbock?
- C And of Olaf Scholz?
- D And of Tino Chrupalla? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 1]
- E And of Alice Weidel? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 2]
- F And what do you think of Christian Lindner?
- G And of Janine Wissler? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 1]
- H And of Dietmar Bartsch? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 2]
- I And of Angela Merkel?

Scale:

- (1) -5 I do not think much of the politician at all
- (2) -4
- (3) -3
- (4) -2
- (5) -1
- (6) 0
- (7) +1
- (8) +2
- (9) +3
- (10) +4
- (11) +5 I think a great deal of the politician
- (-71) I don't know enough about this politician
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-96) Split
- (-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre030	Title: Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness
Sequence No.: 27/28/29/30	Category: 02.06 Politicians; Performance, Attributes
Variable(s):	
Split_C	Split: Order, Attributes
pre030a	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, A. Laschet
pre030a_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, A. Laschet, Response-latency-measurement
pre030a_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, A. Laschet, Validity, Time measurement
pre030b	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, A. Baerbock
pre030b_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, A. Baerbock, Response-latency-measurement
pre030b_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, A. Baerbock, Validity, Time measurement
pre030c	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, O. Scholz
pre030c_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, O. Scholz, Response-latency-measurement
pre030c_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Weakness, O. Scholz, Validity, Time measurement

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre030a, pre030b and pre030c]

[PROG: Create variable Split_C with four values (1-4) and randomly assign respondents to one of the four values with uniform distribution. Assign the order of displaying the questions pre030 to pre033 based on the value of Split_C:

Split_C = 1: weakness, strength, negative feelings, positive feelings;

Split_C = 2: strength, weakness, positive feelings, negative feelings;

Split_C = 3: negative feelings, positive feelings, weakness, strength;

Split_C = 4: positive feelings, negative feelings, strength, weakness]

[PROG: If Split_C = 1]

Now, let us shift attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of weaknesses first? I am going to read out several statements to you. Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

[PROG: If Split_C = 3]

Now, let us shift attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of weaknesses first? How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

[PROG: If Split_C = 2 or Split_C = 4]

What if you think of weaknesses now?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

- A [FILTER: If pre029a NOT= -71:] Armin Laschet has great weaknesses as a politician.
 B [FILTER: If pre029b NOT= -71:] Annalena Baerbock has great weaknesses as a politician.
 C [FILTER: If pre029c NOT= -71:] Olaf Scholz has great weaknesses as a politician.

Scale:

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

- (-71) I don't know enough about this politician
 (-93) Not asked, terminated
 (-98) Don't know
 (-99) No answer

Question: pre031	Title: Candidate for Chancellor: Strength
Sequence No.: 27/28/29/30	Category: 02.06 Politicians; Performance, Attributes
Variable(s):	
pre031a	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, A. Laschet
pre031a_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, A. Laschet, Response-latency-measurement
pre031a_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, A. Laschet, Validity, Time measurement
pre031b	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, A. Baerbock
pre031b_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, A. Baerbock, Response-latency-measurement
pre031b_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, A. Baerbock, Validity, Time measurement
pre031c	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, O. Scholz
pre031c_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, O. Scholz, Response-latency-measurement
pre031c_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Strength, O. Scholz, Validity, Time measurement

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre031a, pre031b and pre031c]

[PROG: Assign the order of displaying the questions pre030 to pre033 based on the value of Split_C:

Split_C = 1: weakness, strength, negative feelings, positive feelings;

Split_C = 2: strength, weakness, positive feelings, negative feelings;

Split_C = 3: negative feelings, positive feelings, weakness, strength;

Split_C = 4: positive feelings, negative feelings, strength, weakness]

[PROG: If Split_C = 2]

Now, let us shift attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of strengths first? I am going to read out several statements to you. Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

[PROG: If Split_C = 4]

Now, let us shift attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of strengths first? How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

[PROG: If Split_C = 1 or Split_C = 3]

What if you think of strengths now?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

A [FILTER: If pre029a NOT= -71:] Armin Laschet has great strengths as a politician.

B [FILTER: If pre029b NOT= -71:] Annalena Baerbock has great strengths as a politician.

C [FILTER: If pre029c NOT= -71:] Olaf Scholz has great strengths as a politician.

Scale:

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

(-71) I don't know enough about this politician

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre032	Title: Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative
Sequence No.: 27/28/29/30	Category: 02.06 Politicians; Performance, Attributes

Variable(s):

pre032a	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, A. Laschet
pre032a_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, A. Laschet, Response-latency-measurement
pre032a_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, A. Laschet, Validity, Time measurement
pre032b	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, A. Baerbock
pre032b_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, A. Baerbock, Response-latency-measurement
pre032b_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, A. Baerbock, Validity, Time measurement
pre032c	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, O. Scholz
pre032c_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, O. Scholz, Response-latency-measurement
pre032c_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, negative, O. Scholz, Validity, Time measurement

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre032a, pre032b and pre032c]

[PROG: Assign the order of displaying the questions pre030 to pre033 based on the value of Split_C:

Split_C = 1: weakness, strength, negative feelings, positive feelings;

Split_C = 2: strength, weakness, positive feelings, negative feelings;

Split_C = 3: negative feelings, positive feelings, weakness, strength;

Split_C = 4: positive feelings, negative feelings, strength, weakness]

[PROG: If Split_C = 3]

Now, let us shift attention to your feelings towards the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of negative feelings first? I am going to read out several statements to you. Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

[PROG: If Split_C = 1]

Now, let us shift attention to your feelings towards the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of negative feelings first? How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

[PROG: If Split_C = 2 or Split_C = 4]

And how about negative feelings?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

A [FILTER: If pre029a NOT= -71:] Armin Laschet triggers negative feelings in me.

B [FILTER: If pre029b NOT= -71:] Annalena Baerbock triggers negative feelings in me.

C [FILTER: If pre029c NOT= -71:] Olaf Scholz triggers negative feelings in me.

Scale:

(1) Strongly agree

(2) Agree

(3) Neither agree nor disagree

(4) Disagree

(5) Strongly disagree

(-71) I don't know enough about this politician

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre033
Sequence No.: 27/28/29/30
Title: Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive
Category: 02.06 Politicians; Performance, Attributes

Variable(s):

pre033a	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, A. Laschet
pre033a_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, A. Laschet, Response-latency-measurement
pre033a_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, A. Laschet, Validity, Time measurement
pre033b	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, A. Baerbock
pre033b_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, A. Baerbock, Response-latency-measurement
pre033b_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, A. Baerbock, Validity, Time measurement
pre033c	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, O. Scholz
pre033c_rl	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, O. Scholz, Response-latency-measurement
pre033c_t	Candidate for Chancellor: Feelings, positive, O. Scholz, Validity, Time measurement

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pre033a, pre033b and pre033c]

[PROG: Assign the order of displaying the questions pre030 to pre033 based on the value of Split_C:

Split_C = 1: weakness, strength, negative feelings, positive feelings;

Split_C = 2: strength, weakness, positive feelings, negative feelings;

Split_C = 3: negative feelings, positive feelings, weakness, strength;

Split_C = 4: positive feelings, negative feelings, strength, weakness]

[PROG: If Split_C = 4]

Now, let us shift attention to your feelings towards the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of positive feelings first? I am going to read out several statements to you. Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

[PROG: If Split_C = 2]

Now, let us shift attention to your feelings towards the candidates for the chancellorship. What if you think of positive feelings first? How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

[PROG: If Split_C = 1 or Split_C = 3]

And how about positive feelings?

[INT: Only read out scale again if necessary.]

- A [FILTER: If pre029a NOT= -71:] Armin Laschet triggers positive feelings in me.
 B [FILTER: If pre029b NOT= -71:] Annalena Baerbock triggers positive feelings in me.
 C [FILTER: If pre029c NOT= -71:] Olaf Scholz triggers positive feelings in me.

Scale:

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

 (-71) I don't know enough about this politician
 (-93) Not asked, terminated
 (-98) Don't know
 (-99) No answer

Question: pre034 **Title:** Candidate for Chancellor: Preference
Sequence No.: 31,000 **Category:** 02.05 Politicians; general

Variable(s):
pre034 Candidate for Chancellor: Preference

Armin Laschet, Annalena Baerbock and Olaf Scholz are candidates for the chancellorship in the federal election. Who would you prefer as chancellor?

- (1) Armin Laschet
- (2) Annalena Baerbock
- (3) Olaf Scholz
- (4) None of them [INT: Only if mentioned spontaneously]
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre035 **Title:** Social Media: Use, most common
Sequence No.: 32,000 **Category:** 10.03 Internet

Variable(s):
pre035 Social Media: Use, most common
pre035s Social Media: Use, most common, other, open

Let's move on to another topic: Do you use any social media platform, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter or WhatsApp?

[INT: If yes:] Which social media platform do you use the most?

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1) WhatsApp
- (2) Facebook
- (3) Instagram
- (4) Youtube
- (5) Twitter
- (6) Snapchat
- (7) TikTok
- (8) Telegram
- (9) Signal
- (10) Threema
- (11) XING
- (12) LinkedIn
- (13) Discord
- (14) Sonstiges, welches: _____ [INT: If social network does not fall into the pre-coded categories, please enter here]
- (15) No, I do not use any social media platform.
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre036 **Title:** Social Media: Use, political Content
Sequence No.: 33,000 **Category:** 10.03 Internet

Variable(s):
pre036 Social Media: Use, political Content

[FILTER: If respondent uses at least one social media platform, i.e., pre035 (Social Media: Use, most common) = 1-14:]

If you think about all the posts you see, read, or hear there: How often do they relate to politicians, parties or political issues, never, rarely, sometimes, often or very often?

- (1) never
- (2) rarely
- (3) sometimes
- (4) often
- (5) very often

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre037 **Title:** Social Media: Use, political, Follower
Sequence No.: 34,000 **Category:** 10.03 Internet

Variable(s):
pre037 Social Media: Use, political, Follower

[FILTER: If respondent uses at least one social media platform, i.e., pre035 (Social Media: Use, most common) = 1-14:]

Do you follow certain offerings on this social media platform (e.g., groups, accounts, channels), specifically to gain information about political issues?

- (1) yes
- (2) no

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre038 **Title:** Media Use for pol. Information: Sources of Information
Sequence No.: 35,000 **Category:** 10.05 Media Use for political Information

Variable(s):

pre038a	Media Use for pol. Information: Sources of Information, TV
pre038b	Media Use for pol. Information: Sources of Information, Daily Newspaper
pre038c	Media Use for pol. Information: Sources of Information, Radio
pre038d	Media Use for pol. Information: Sources of Information, Internet/Apps

Which of the following sources of information do you usually use to find out about current political affairs in Germany?

[INT: Read out possible answers]

[INT: Daily newspaper does NOT mean the websites of daily newspapers (such as faz.net or sueddeutsche.de) or their channels in social media. Newspaper web pages are classified under Internet news pages.]

[INT: News services on the Internet do NOT mean social networks such as Facebook, Twitter or YouTube.]

- A TV including media libraries
- B Daily newspaper as print edition or ePaper
- C Radio including media libraries and web radio
- D News services on the internet or news apps on a smartphone

Scale:

- (0) Not used
- (1) Used

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre039	Title: TV News Programmes: Use, most common
Sequence No.: 36,000	Category: 10.02 Broadcast Media

Variable(s):

pre039	TV News Programmes: Use, most common
pre039s	TV News Programmes: Use, most common, other, open

[FILTER: If pre038a (Media Use for pol. Information: most important Source, TV) = "Used" (1):]

Which TV news programme do you watch most often?

[INT: This question also includes watching these programs via media libraries or online streaming.]

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1) Tagesschau or Tagesthemen
- (2) heute or heute-journal
- (3) RTL aktuell
- (4) SAT.1 Nachrichten
- (5) ProSieben Newstime
- (6) other news programme, namely _____
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre040	Title: TV News Programmes: Use, most common, Frequency
Sequence No.: 37,000	Category: 10.02 Broadcast Media

Variable(s):

pre040	TV News Programmes: Use, most common, Frequency
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[FILTER: If TV news programme is mentioned, i.e., pre039 (TV News Programmes: Use, most common) = 1-6:]

On how many days in the last week did you watch this TV news programme, whether in TV or via online streaming?

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1-7) On ___ days
- (8) Not in the last week
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre041	Title: Print: Use, most common, daily Newspaper
Sequence No.: 38,000	Category: 10.01 Print Media

Variable(s):
pre041 Print: Use, most common, daily Newspaper

[FILTER: If pre038b (Media Use for pol. Information: most important Source, Daily Newspaper) = "Used" (1):]

Which daily newspaper do you read?

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

[INT: This means the printed edition or as ePaper. This does not include other online news services of daily newspapers.]

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1) BILD-Zeitung
- (2) Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)
- (3) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)
- (4) Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)
- (5) Die tageszeitung (taz)
- (6) Die Welt
- (7) Local newspaper or other daily newspaper, namely _____

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre042	Title: Print: Use, political, daily Newspaper
Sequence No.: 39,000	Category: 10.01 Print Media

Variable(s):
pre042 Print: Use, political, daily Newspaper

[FILTER: If a daily newspaper is mentioned , i.e., pre041 (Print: Use, most common, Daily Newspaper) = 1-7:]

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

[INT: This means the printed edition or as ePaper. This does not include other online news services of daily newspapers.]

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1-7) On ___ days
- (8) Not in the last week
- (9) I don't read any political reports in this newspaper [INT: only when mentioned spontaneously]

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-97) Not applicable

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre043	Title: Internet: Use, News, Service
Sequence No.: 40,000	Category: 10.03 Internet

Variable(s):

pre043	Internet: Use, News, Service
pre043s	Internet: Use, News, Service, open

[FILTER: If pre038d (Media Use for pol. Information: most important Source, Internet/Apps) = "Used" (1):]

Which political news service on the Internet or news apps on a smartphone do you use the most?

[INT: Including all forms of online news services, such as web content of a traditional medium, e.g., bild.de, faz.net, 46piegel.de or tagesschau.de, web content of regional newspapers or pure online services, e.g., t-online.de or web.de.

Regardless of the type of device used: i.e. PC, laptop/notebook, tablet or smartphone, via browser or app. This does NOT include the use of newspapers or magazines as ePaper.

This does NOT include online political services that do NOT offer current news, e.g., websites of political parties, candidates, institutions or associations, special election campaign websites to support certain political parties or candidates or special information offerings such as Wahl-O-Mat etc]

[INT/PROG: Open answer with pre-codes; only make a note of the open answer if news service does not fall into the pre-coded categories.]

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1) Spiegel online
- (2) ARD news services (e.g. tagesschau.de)
- (3) t-online
- (4) Bild.de
- (5) Focus online
- (6) Web.de
- (7) Gmx.de
- (8) Regional news services
- (9) ZEIT online
- (10) n-tv.de
- (11) Sueddeutsche.de
- (12) Welt online
- (13) Stern.de
- (14) ZDF news services (e.g. heute.de)
- (15) FAZ.NET
- (16) Tichys Einblick
- (17) Junge Freiheit
- (18) Compact Online
- (19) PI News / Politically Incorrect
- (20) Epoch Times

- (21) a different news service or smartphone app, namely _____

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre044 **Title:** Internet: Use, News, Frequency
Sequence No.: 41,000 **Category:** 10.03 Internet

Variable(s):
pre044 Internet: Use, News, Frequency

[FILTER: If News service/app is mentioned, i.e., pre043 (Internet: Use, News, Service) = 1-21:]

On how many days in the last week did you use this news service on the internet or news app on a smartphone?

[INT: Do not read out response options.]

- (1-7) On __ days
- (8) Not in the last week

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre045 **Title:** Opinion Polls: Perception
Sequence No.: 42,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):
pre045 Opinion Polls: Perception

Did you read or see any results of current opinion polls on the federal election in the last week?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre050 **Title:** TV Debate: Reception, RTL
Sequence No.: 43,000 **Category:** 06.05 TV Debate; Use

Variable(s):
pre050 TV Debate: Reception, RTL

[PROG: active from 30.08.2021 until 12.09.2021]

Did you watch the RTL and ntv TV debate between Armin Laschet, Annalena Baerbock and Olaf Scholz on 29th August?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre051 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Laschet
Sequence No.: 44,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre051 TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Laschet

[PROG: active from 30.08.2021 until 12.09.2021]

[FILTER: If pre050 (TV Debate: Reception, RTL) = "Yes" (1):]

How well do you think Armin Laschet 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre052 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Baerbock
Sequence No.: 45,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre052 TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Baerbock

[PROG: active from 30.08.2021 until 12.09.2021]

[FILTER: If pre050 (TV Debate: Reception, RTL) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Annalena Baerbock 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre053 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, O. Scholz
Sequence No.: 46,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre053 TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, O. Scholz

[PROG: active from 30.08.2021 until 12.09.2021]

[FILTER: If pre050 (TV Debate: Reception, RTL) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Olaf Scholz 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre054 **Title:** TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF
Sequence No.: 47,000 **Category:** 06.05 TV Debate; Use

Variable(s):
pre054 TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF

[PROG: active from 13.09.2021 onwards]

Did you watch the ARD and ZDF TV debate of Armin Laschet, Annalena Baerbock and Olaf Scholz on 12th September?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre055 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet
Sequence No.: 48,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre055 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet

[PROG: active from 13.09.2021 onwards]

[FILTER: If pre054 (TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF) = "Yes" (1):]

How well do you think Armin Laschet 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre056 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock
Sequence No.: 49,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre056 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock

[PROG: active from 13.09.2021 onwards]

[FILTER: If pre054 (TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Annalena Baerbock 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre057 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz
Sequence No.: 50,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre057 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz

[PROG: active from 13.09.2021 onwards]

[FILTER: If pre054 (TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Olaf Scholz 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre090	Title: TV Debate: Reception, ProSieben/Sat.1
Sequence No.: 51,000	Category: 06.05 TV Debate; Use

Variable(s): pre090 TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF

[PROG: active from 20.09.2021 onwards]

Did you watch the ProSieben and Sat.1 TV debate of Armin Laschet, Annalena Baerbock and Olaf Scholz on 19th September?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre091	Title: TV Debate: Evaluation, ProSieben/Sat.1, A. Laschet
Sequence No.: 52,000	Category: 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s): pre091 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet
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[PROG: active from 20.09.2021 onwards]

[FILTER: If pre090 (TV Debate: Reception, ProSieben/Sat.1) = "Yes" (1):]
How well do you think Armin Laschet 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
- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre092 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ProSieben/Sat.1, A. Baerbock
Sequence No.: 53,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre092 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock

[PROG: active from 20.09.2021 onwards]

[FILTER: If pre090 (TV Debate: Reception, ProSieben/Sat.1) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Annalena Baerbock 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre093 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ProSieben/Sat.1, O. Scholz
Sequence No.: 54,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre093 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz

[PROG: active from 20.09.2021 onwards]

[FILTER: If pre090 (TV Debate: Reception, ProSieben/Sat.1) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Olaf Scholz 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

- (-71) I haven't heard

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre058
Sequence No.: 55,000
Title: Party Contact: Media, general
Category: 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pre058a Party Contact: Media, general, CDU/CSU
pre058b Party Contact: Media, general, CDU
pre058c Party Contact: Media, general, CSU
pre058d Party Contact: Media, general, SPD
pre058h Party Contact: Media, general, AfD
pre058e Party Contact: Media, general, FDP
pre058g Party Contact: Media, general, DIE LINKE
pre058f Party Contact: Media, general, GRUENE
pre058k Party Contact: Media, general, FREIE WAEHLER
pre058l Party Contact: Media, general, Die PARTEI
pre058x Party Contact: Media, general, other
pre058w Party Contact: Media, general, none
pre058y Party Contact: Media, general, don't know
pre058z Party Contact: Media, general, no answer

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

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT : Multiple response]

A CDU/CSU
B CDU
C CSU
D SPD
H AfD
E FDP
G DIE LINKE
F DIE GRÜNEN
K FREIE WÄHLER
L Die PARTEI
X other party/parties

W no party advertisements
Y don't know
Z no answer

(0) Not mentioned
(1) Mentioned

(-93) Not asked, terminated

Question: pre059 **Title:** Party Contact: direct Contact
Sequence No.: 56,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pre059a	Party Contact: direct Contact, CDU/CSU
pre059b	Party Contact: direct Contact, CDU
pre059c	Party Contact: direct Contact, CSU
pre059d	Party Contact: direct Contact, SPD
pre059e	Party Contact: direct Contact, FDP
pre059g	Party Contact: direct Contact, DIE LINKE
pre059f	Party Contact: direct Contact, GRUENE
pre059j	Party Contact: direct Contact, PIRATEN
pre059h	Party Contact: direct Contact, AfD
pre059i	Party Contact: direct Contact, NPJ
pre059x	Party Contact: direct Contact, other
pre059w	Party Contact: direct Contact, none
pre059y	Party Contact: direct Contact, don't know
pre059z	Party Contact: direct Contact, no answer

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

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT : Multiple response]

- | | |
|-------|--|
| A | CDU/CSU |
| B | CDU |
| C | CSU |
| D | SPD |
| H | AfD |
| E | FDP |
| G | DIE LINKE |
| F | DIE GRÜNEN |
| K | FREIE WÄHLER |
| L | Die PARTEI |
| X | other party/parties |
| W | didn't talk to anyone from any political party |
| Y | don't know |
| Z | no answer |
| (0) | Not mentioned |
| (1) | Mentioned |
| (-93) | Not asked, terminated |

Question: pre060 **Title:** Vote Participation: Recall, FE 2017
Sequence No.: 57,000 **Category:** 01.02 Vote Participation

Variable(s):
pre060 Vote Participation: Recall, FE 2017

In the last federal election on 24th September 2017 a lot of people did not manage to vote or did not participate in the election for other reasons. How about you? Did you vote, did you not vote, or were you not eligible to vote?

- (1) I did vote
- (2) I did not vote
- (3) I was not eligible to vote

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre061	Title: Voting Decision: Recall, FE 2017
Sequence No.: 58,000	Category: 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):

pre061ba	Voting Decision: Recall, FE 2017, Second Vote (Version A)
pre061bb	Voting Decision: Recall, FE 2017, Second Vote (Version B)

[FILTER: If pre084 (Vote Participation: Recall, FE 2017) = 1]

Which party did you vote for?

[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: Don't read out the parties.]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN
- (5) FDP
- (322) AfD (Alternative für Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD [auch DVU] (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands [Deutsche Volksunion])
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (225) REP (DIE REPUBLIKANER)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (224) RENTNER (Rentner Partei Deutschland)
- (214) PBC (Partei Bibeltreuer Christen)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (226) RRP (Rentnerinnen und Rentner Partei)
- (152) DIE VIOLETTEN
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (801) Other political party, namely: _____

- (-83) I cast an invalid vote

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre062	Title: Date of Birth: Year
Sequence No.: 59,000	Category: 12.02 Age
Variable(s):	
pre062	Date of Birth: Year
pre062_rl	Date of Birth: Year, Response-latency-measurement
pre062_t	Date of Birth: Year, Validity, Time measurement

[PROG: Latency time measurement]

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about you personally:

What year were you born in?

Year of birth: _____

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre063	Title: Gender
Sequence No.: 60,000	Category: 12.01 Gender
Variable(s):	
pre063	Gender

What is your gender, male, female or non-binary?

- (1) male
- (2) female
- (3) non-binary
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre064	Title: Education: School
Sequence No.: 61,000	Category: 12.04 Education

Variable(s): pre064 Education: School

What's your highest level of general education?

- (1) Finished school without school leaving certificate
- (2) Lowest formal qualification in Germany's tripartite secondary school system, after 8 or 9 years of schooling ("Hauptschulabschluss, Volksschulabschluss")
- (3) Intermediary secondary qualification, after 10 years of schooling ("Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluß bzw. Polytechnische Oberschule mit Abschluß 10. Klasse")
- (4) Certificate fulfilling entrance requirements to study at a polytechnical college ("Fachhochschulreife (Abschluß einer Fachoberschule etc.)")
- (5) Higher qualification, entitling holders to study at a university ("Abitur bzw. erweiterte Oberschule mit Abschluss 12. Klasse (Hochschulreife)")
- (6) Other school leaving certificate
- (7) Still at school

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre065	Title: Gainful Employment: current
Sequence No.: 62,000	Category: 12.08 Profession, Employment

Variable(s): pre065 Gainful Employment: current

[FILTER: If pre064 (school leaving certificate) NOT still at school (7):]

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

[INT: Full-time: more than 30 hours/week; part-time: up to 30 hours/week.]

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre067	Title: Gainful Employment: Lack of, Reason
Sequence No.: 63,000	Category: 12.08 Profession, Employment
Variable(s):	
pre067	Gainful Employment: Lack of, Reason

[FILTER: If pre065 (employment) = Unemployed (5):]

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

- (1) Retired, receiving a pension or in early retirement
- (2) Maternity/parental leave
- (3) Unemployed
- (4) Not employed for any other reasons

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre070	Title: Household: Size
Sequence No.: 64,000	Category: 12.12 Household
Variable(s):	
pre070	Household: Size

How many people live in your household permanently, including yourself and all children?

- (1-x) People in the household: _____
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre071	Title: Household: People aged 18+, eligible to Vote
Sequence No.: 65,000	Category: 12.12 Household
Variable(s):	
pre071	Household: People aged 18+, eligible to Vote

[FILTER: If pre070 (household size) > 1 AND NOT=-93, -98, -99:]

How many people in this household are eligible to vote in the federal election?

- (1-x) Eligible voters in the household: _____
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre072	Title: Partner
Sequence No.: 66,000	Category: 12.15 Information about Partner

Variable(s):

pre072	Partner
pre072_rl	Partner, Response-latency-measurement
pre072_t	Partner, Validity, Time measurement

[FILTER: If pre070 (household size) > 1 AND NOT=-93, -98, -99:]

[PROG: Latency Time measurement]

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

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre073	Title: Gainful Employment: current, Partner
Sequence No.: 67,000	Category: 12.15 Information about Partner

Variable(s):

pre073	Gainful Employment: current, Partner
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[FILTER: If partner exists, i.e. pre072 (Partner) = "Yes" (1):]

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

- (1) Full-time
- (2) Part-time
- (3) Short-time
- (4) In vocational training or studies
- (5) She/he does not work in a paid job at all
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre074	Title: Gainful Employment: Lack of, Reason, Partner
Sequence No.: 68,000	Category: 12.15 Information about Partner
Variable(s):	
pre074	Gainful Employment: Lack of, Reason, Partner

[FILTER: If pre073 (partner's employment) = Unemployed (5):]

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

- (1) Retired, receiving a pension or in early retirement
- (2) Maternity/parental leave
- (3) Unemployed
- (4) Not employed for any other reasons

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre089	Title: Vote Intention, Partner
Sequence No.: 69,000	Category: 12.15 Information about Partner
Variable(s):	
pre089ba	Vote Intention, Partner (Version A)
pre089bb	Vote Intention, Partner (Version B)

[FILTER: If partner exists, i.e. pre072 (Partner) = "Yes" (1):]

Which party do you think your partner will vote for in the federal election on 26th September, or do you think he or she is not going to vote?

[INT: Do not read out the parties!]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (808) Is not going to vote

- (-81) Hasn't decided yet
- (-86) Is not eligible to vote
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre078	Title: Party Identification
Sequence No.: 70,000	Category: 02.01 Party; General

Variable(s):

pre078ba	Party Identification (Version A)
pre078bb	Party Identification (Version B)

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

[INT: Do not read out the parties!]

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre079 **Title:** Party Identification: Strength
Sequence No.: 71,000 **Category:** 02.01 Party; General

Variable(s):
pre079 Party Identification: Strength

[FILTER: If pre078 (Party identification) = party mentioned, i.e., pre087 = 1-801:]

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

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre082 **Title:** Telephone: Landline Phone Numbers, Count, Landline Respondent
Sequence No.: 72,000 **Category:** 14.05 Accessibility

Variable(s):
pre082 Telephone: Landline Phone Numbers, Count, Landline Respondent

[FILTER: If respondent was called via landline:]

We are talking via landline phone at the moment. How many landline phone numbers do you or your household have?

[INT: If respondent asks for more details: landline means the normal phone which can be used after Telekom or another telephone company has installed a phone line. This also includes landline phone numbers for mobile phones, known as "home zones".]

[INT: If no answer is given, enter "1"]

- (1-x) Make a note: _____ landline numbers

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre083	Title: Telephone: Landline Phone Numbers, Count, Mobile Respondent
Sequence No.: 73,000	Category: 14.05 Accessibility
Variable(s):	
pre083 Telephone: Landline Phone Numbers, Count, Mobile Respondent	

[FILTER: If respondent was called via mobile phone:]

Via how many landline phone numbers (phone numbers with area codes) can you or your household be contacted at the moment?

[INT: This does not include fax and modem connections.]

(0-x) Make a note: _____ landline numbers

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-97) Not applicable

(-98) Don't know

(-99) No answer

Question: pre084 **Title:** Telephone: Mobile Phone Use
Sequence No.: 74,000 **Category:** 14.05 Accessibility

Variable(s):
pre084 Telephone: Mobile Phone Use

[FILTER: If respondent was called via landline:]

Do you use a mobile phone?

[INT: Using a mobile phone includes private as well as business mobile phones.]

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-99) No answer [INT: Do not read out]

Question: pre085 **Title:** Telephone: Mobile Phone Numbers, Number
Sequence No.: 75,000 **Category:** 14.05 Accessibility

Variable(s):
pre085 Telephone: Mobile Phone Numbers, Number

[FILTER: If respondent was called via mobile phone OR pre084 (Telephone: Mobile Phone Use) = "Yes"

(1):]

And via how many mobile phone numbers can you be contacted at the moment?

[INT: This includes being contacted via private or business mobile phone.]

- (1-x) Make a note: _____ mobile phone number

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre086	Title: Willingness to Participate in Panel
Sequence No.: 76,000	Category: 13.04 Willingness to Cooperate

Variable(s): pre086 Willingness to Participate in Panel

Our last interview question is also a request. This survey you have just participated in is being carried out under the scientific direction of the German Society for Electoral Studies (DGfW). The study will be continued after the federal election. We would like to do a further interview with you then. That survey is shorter than the one today. May we contact you again then? We would keep your telephone number until then.

[INT: If necessary, reference the following website with information for GLES respondents:
<https://www.deutschewahlstudie.de>]

- (1) Yes
- (2) No, definitely not
- (-93) Not asked, terminated

Question: pre087	Title: Willingness to Participate in Panel: Initials
Sequence No.: 77,000	Category: 14.08 Information about Respondent

Variable(s): pre087 Willingness to Participate in Panel: Initials

[FILTER: If willingness to take part again (pre086) = "Yes" (1):]

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

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

[open answer]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-99) No answer

Post-election Survey

Question: pos001	Title: Election Campaign: Interestingness
Sequence No.: 1,000	Category: 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest
Variable(s):	
pos001	Election Campaign: Interestingness

How interesting did you find the campaign for the federal election on 26th September - very interesting, rather interesting, not very interesting, or not at all interesting?

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos002	Title: Vote Participation: FE 2021
Sequence No.: 2,000	Category: 01.02 Vote Participation
Variable(s):	
pos002	Vote Participation: FE 2021

In the federal election on 26th September a lot of people did not manage to vote or did not participate in the election for other reasons. How about you? Did you vote or did you not vote?

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos003 **Title:** Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021
Sequence No.: 3,000 **Category:** 01.02 Vote Participation

Variable(s):
pos003 Vote Participation: before Election Date, FE 2021

[FILTER: If respondent doesn't negate turnout, i.e., if turnout pos002 (Vote Participation: FE 2021) = 1 OR -98 OR -99:]

Did you cast your vote at a polling station on election day or ahead of the election by postal vote or ahead of the election directly at your municipal authority?

[INT: Municipal authority = city hall/city administration/municipal administration]

- (1) At a polling station on election day
- (2) Ahead of the election by postal vote
- (3) Ahead of the election at the municipal authority/at the city hall

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos004 **Title:** Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote
Sequence No.: 4,000 **Category:** 01.03 Vote Intention

Variable(s):

pos004ba Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote (Version A)
pos004bb Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote (Version B)

[FILTER: If respondent doesn't negate turnout, i.e., if turnout pos002 (Vote Participation: FE 2021) = 1 OR -98 OR -99:]

And which party did you vote for in the federal election?

[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
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (-83) I cast an invalid vote
- (-84) I didn't cast a vote
- (-85) I didn't vote

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos005 **Title:** Voting Decision: Time
Sequence No.: 5,000 **Category:** 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):
pos005 Voting Decision: Time

[FILTER: If respondent doesn't negate turnout, i.e., if turnout pos002 (Vote Participation: FE 2021) = 1
OR -98 OR -99 AND pos004 (Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote) NOT = -85:]

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

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos006
Sequence No.: 6,000

Title: Voting Decision: Satisfaction
Category: 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):
pos006 Voting Decision: Satisfaction

[FILTER: If respondent doesn't negate turnout, i.e., if turnout pos002 (Vote Participation: FE 2021) = 1 OR -98 OR -99 AND pos004 (Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote) NOT = -85:]

From today's perspective, how satisfied are you with your decision to vote for [PROG: Insert PARTY MENTIONED IN pos004], very dissatisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, somewhat satisfied or very satisfied?

- (1) Very dissatisfied
- (2) Somewhat dissatisfied
- (3) Somewhat satisfied
- (4) Very satisfied

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos007 **Title:** Voting Decision: Time, Non-voter
Sequence No.: 7,000 **Category:** 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):
pos007 Voting Decision: Time, Non-voter

[FILTER: If respondent didn't vote, i.e., if pos002 = 2 OR pos004 = -85:]

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

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

- (6) I was unable to vote [INT: only if mentioned spontaneously by the non-voter]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos008
Sequence No.: 8,000

Title: Voting Decision: Difficulty, Non-voter
Category: 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):
pos008 Voting Decision: Difficulty, Non-voter

[FILTER: If respondent didn't vote, i.e., if pos002 = 2 OR pos004 = -85:]

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

- (1) Very difficult
- (2) Fairly difficult
- (3) Fairly easy
- (4) Very easy

- (5) I was unable to vote [INT: only if mentioned spontaneously by the non-voter]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos009	Title: Voting Decision: Consideration Set
Sequence No.: 9,000	Category: 01.04 Voting Decision

Variable(s):

pos009ba	Voting Decision: Consideration Set (Version A)
Pos009bb	Voting Decision: Consideration Set (Version B)

[FILTER: If a party is mentioned in Voting Decision: FE 2021, Second Vote, i.e., pos004 = 1-801]

Was there any time in the run-up to the federal election when you seriously thought you might vote for another party than [PROG: Insert PARTY MENTIONED IN pos004] with your 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: If so:] Which party was it?

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

(-82) No other party

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos010	Title: Coalitions: Scalometer
Sequence No.: 10,000	Category: 02.04 Forming of Government, Government, Opposition
Variable(s):	
pos010a	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, SPD
pos010a_rl	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, SPD, Response-latency-measurement
pos010a_t	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, SPD, Validity, Time measurement
pos010b	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, FDP
pos010b_rl	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, FDP, Response-latency-measurement
pos010b_t	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, FDP, Validity, Time measurement
pos010c	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, GRUENE
pos010d	Coalitions: Scalometer, CDU/CSU, GRUENE, FDP
pos010e	Coalitions: Scalometer, SPD, GRUENE, FDP
pos010f	Coalitions: Scalometer, SPD, GRUENE, DIE LINKE

[PROG: Latency time measurement at pos010a and pos010b]

[PROG: Will be narrowed down to possible constellations that have a power option after the election result is known. Party order will be adjusted to the election result.]

Now, let's look at a question concerning the possible composition of the federal government after the federal election. Imagine a thermometer which only measures from +5 to -5 with a zero point in the middle. Now using the thermometer, tell me what you think about the following coalitions – regardless of how likely the respective coalition is in your opinion. +5 means that you would find the coalition a very desirable outcome; -5 means that you would not find this coalition a desirable outcome at all. Use the values in between to express 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 coalition of the CDU/CSU and the SPD?
- B And a coalition of CDU/CSU and FDP?
- C And a coalition of CDU/CSU and Die Grünen?
- D And a coalition of CDU/CSU, Die Grünen and FDP?
- E And a coalition of SPD, Die Grünen and FDP?
- F And a coalition of SPD, Die Grünen and Die Linken?

Scale:

- (1) -5 I would not find this coalition a desirable outcome at all
- (2) -4
- (3) -3
- (4) -2
- (5) -1
- (6) 0
- (7) +1
- (8) +2
- (9) +3
- (10) +4
- (11) +5 I would find this coalition a very desirable outcome
- (-71) I don't know enough about this coalition
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos011	Title: Coalitions: Expectation
Sequence No.: 11,000	Category: 02.04 Forming of Government, Government, Opposition

Variable(s):

pos014a	Coalitions: Expectation, CDU/CSU
pos014d	Coalitions: Expectation, SPD
pos014e	Coalitions: Expectation, FDP
pos014g	Coalitions: Expectation, DIE LINKE
pos014f	Coalitions: Expectation, GRUENE
pos014h	Coalitions: Expectation, AfD
pos014x	Coalitions: Expectation, other
pos014y	Coalitions: Expectation, don't know
pos014z	Coalitions: Expectation, no answer

And what do you expect, which parties will actually form the next government now that the federal election is over?

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

[INT: Don't read out options.]

A	CDU/CSU
D	SPD
E	FDP
G	DIE LINKE
F	DIE GRÜNEN
H	AfD (Alternative für Deutschland)
X	andere Partei
Y	don't know
Z	no answer
(0)	Not mentioned
(1)	Mentioned
(-93)	Not asked, terminated
(-95)	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 are meant]
- "Schwarz-grün" = CDU/CSU, Grüne
- "Jamaika" = CDU/CSU, FDP, Grüne
- "Schwampel" = CDU/CSU, FDP, Grüne
- "Schwarze Ampel" = CDU/CSU, FDP, Grüne
- „Deutschland-Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP
- „Kenia-Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, SPD, Grüne
- „Simbabwe-Koalition“ = CDU/CSU, SPD, Grüne, FDP
- „Rot-grün“ = SPD, Grüne
- „Sozial-liberale Koalition“ = SPD, FDP
- „Rot-gelb“ = SPD, FDP
- „Ampel“ = SPD, FDP, Grüne
- „Rot-rot-grün“ = SPD, Grüne, Die Linke
- "Linksbündnis/Linkskoalition" [INT: Ask if a) SPD, Grüne, Die Linke or b) SPD-Die Linke or c) SPD-Grüne are meant]
- "Rot-rot" = SPD, Die Linke
- "Schwarz-Blau" = CDU/CSU, AfD

Question: pos012	Title: Political Problems: most important
Sequence No.: 12,000	Category: 04.02 Most important political Problems
Variable(s):	
pos012	Political Problems: most important

In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Germany today?

[open]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos013	Title: Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve
Sequence No.: 13,000	Category: 04.02 Most important political Problems
Variable(s):	
pos013a	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve (Version A)
pos013b	Political Problems: most important, Ability to Solve (Version B)

[FILTER: Only ask the question if problem referred to in pos013 (Political Problems: most important):]

Which party is best able to handle this problem?

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

- (1) CDU/CSU
- (2) CDU
- (3) CSU
- (4) SPD
- (322) AfD
- (5) FDP
- (7) DIE LINKE
- (6) DIE GRÜNEN

- (180) FREIE WÄHLER (Freie Wähler Deutschland)
- (151) Die PARTEI (Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative)
- (363) Volt (Volt Deutschland)
- (215) PIRATEN (Piratenpartei Deutschland)
- (206) NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
- (237) Tierschutzpartei (PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ)
- (209) ödp (Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei)
- (126) BP (Bayernpartei)
- (351) Bündnis C (Christen für Deutschland)
- (349) DiB (DEMOKRATIE IN BEWEGUNG)
- (373) Team Todenhöfer (Team Todenhöfer - Die Gerechtigkeitspartei)
- (134) BüSo (Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität)
- (171) FAMILIE (Familien-Partei Deutschlands)
- (372) dieBasis (Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland)
- (801) Other political party, namely _____

- (808) No party
- (809) All parties equally good

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos014 **Title:** Attitudes: Item Battery 1
Sequence No.: 14,000 **Category:** 04 Politics, Economy, Society and Institutions

Variable(s):

pos014a Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 1]
pos014b Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 2]
pos014c Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 3]
pos014d Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 4]
pos014e Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 5]
pos014f Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 6]
pos014g Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 7]
pos014h Attitudes: Item Battery 1, [Item 8]

And what is your opinion about the following statements? Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

A [Item 1]
B [Item 2]
C [Item 3]

D [Item 4]
E [Item 5]
F [Item 6]
G [Item 7]
H [Item 8]

Scale:

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

(-93) Not asked, terminated
(-95) Not participated
(-98) Don't know
(-99) No answer

Question: pos015 **Title:** Economic Situation: prospective, personal
Sequence No.: 15,000 **Category:** 05.02 Economic Situation; future

Variable(s):
pos015 Economic Situation: prospective, personal

What do you think your own economic situation will be a year from now? Do you expect your own economic situation will have improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably?

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos016	Title: Economic Situation: current, general
Sequence No.: 16,000	Category: 05.01 Economic Situation; current

Variable(s): pos016 Economic Situation: current, general
--

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

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos017 **Title:** Economic Situation: prospective, general
Sequence No.: 17,000 **Category:** 05.02 Economic Situation; future

Variable(s):
pos017 Economic Situation: prospective, general

And how will it be in a year? Do you expect that the general economic situation in Germany will have improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably?

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

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos018 **Title:** Political Parties: Scalometer
Sequence No.: 18,000 **Category:** 02.03 Party; Scalometer

Variable(s):

pos018b Political Parties: Scalometer, CDU
pos018c Political Parties: Scalometer, CSU
pos018d Political Parties: Scalometer, SPD
pos018h Political Parties: Scalometer, AfD
pos018e Political Parties: Scalometer, FDP
pos018g Political Parties: Scalometer, DIE LINKE
pos018f Political Parties: Scalometer, GRUENE

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

- B Let's begin with the CDU. What do you think of the CDU?
C And what do you think of the CSU?
D And the SPD?
H And the AfD?
E And the FDP?
G And Die Linken?
F And Die Grünen?

Scale:

- (1) -5 I do not think much of the party at all
(2) -4
(3) -3
(4) -2
(5) -1
(6) 0
(7) +1
(8) +2
(9) +3
(10) +4
(11) +5 I think a great deal of the party
- (-71) I don't have sufficient knowledge about this party
(-93) Not asked, terminated
(-95) Not participated
(-98) Don't know
(-99) No answer

Question: pos019	Title: Leading Politicians: Scalometer
Sequence No.: 19,000	Category: 02.07 Politicians; Scalometer
Variable(s):	
pos019a	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Laschet
pos019a_rl	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Laschet, Response-latency-measurement
pos019a_t	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Laschet, Validity, Time measurement
pos019b	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Baerbock
pos019b_rl	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Baerbock, Response-latency-measurement
pos019_t	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Baerbock, Validity, Time measurement
pos019c	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, O. Scholz
pos019c_rl	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, O. Scholz, Response-latency-measurement
pos019_t	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, O. Scholz, Validity, Time measurement
pos019d	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, T. Chrupalla
pos019e	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, A. Weidel
pos019f	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, C. Lindner
pos019g	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, J. Wissler
pos019h	Leading Politicians: Scalometer, D. Bartsch

[PROG: Latency time measurement]

[PROG: Use split variable Split_B from the identical question in the pre-election questionnaire]

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

- A I'll start with Armin Laschet an. What do you think of Armin Laschet?
- B And of Annalena Baerbock?
- C And of Olaf Scholz?
- D And of Tino Chrupalla? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 1]
- E And what do you think of Alice Weidel? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 2]
- F And of Christian Lindner?
- G And of Janine Wissler? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 1]
- H And of Dietmar Bartsch? [PROG: Only if Split_B = 2]

Scale:

- (1) -5 I do not think much of the politician at all
- (2) -4
- (3) -3
- (4) -2
- (5) -1
- (6) 0
- (7) +1
- (8) +2
- (9) +3
- (10) +4
- (11) +5 I think a great deal of the politician
- (-71) I don't know enough about this politician
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos024 **Title:** Party Contact: Rallies
Sequence No.: 20,000 **Category:** 02.03 Party; Scalometer

Variable(s):

pos024a	Party Contact: Rallies, CDU/CSU
pos024b	Party Contact: Rallies, CDU
pos024c	Party Contact: Rallies, CSU
pos024d	Party Contact: Rallies, SPD
pos024h	Party Contact: Rallies, AfD
pos024e	Party Contact: Rallies, FDP
pos024g	Party Contact: Rallies, DIE LINKE
pos024f	Party Contact: Rallies, GRUENE
pos024k	Party Contact: Rallies, FREIE WAEHLER
pos024l	Party Contact: Rallies, Die PARTEI
pos024x	Party Contact: Rallies, other
pos024w	Party Contact: Rallies, none
pos024y	Party Contact: Rallies, don't know
pos024z	Party Contact: Rallies, no answer

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

[INT: This includes online events.]

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

[INT: Multiple response]

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|
| A | CDU/CSU |
| B | CDU |
| C | CSU |
| D | SPD |
| H | AfD |
| E | FDP |
| G | DIE LINKE |
| F | DIE GRÜNEN |
| K | FREIE WÄHLER |
| L | Die PARTEI |
| X | other party/parties |
| W | didn't go to any political meetings |
| Y | don't know |
| Z | no answer |
| (0) | Not mentioned |
| (1) | Mentioned |
| (-93) | Not asked, terminated |
| (-95) | Not participated |

Question: pos025
Sequence No.: 21,000
Title: Party Contact: direct Contact
Category: 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pos025a Party Contact: direct Contact, CDU/CSU
 pos025b Party Contact: direct Contact, CDU
 pos025c Party Contact: direct Contact, CSU
 pos025d Party Contact: direct Contact, SPD
 pos025h Party Contact: direct Contact, AfD
 pos025e Party Contact: direct Contact, FDP
 pos025g Party Contact: direct Contact, DIE LINKE
 pos025f Party Contact: direct Contact, GRUENE
 pos025k Party Contact: direct Contact, FREIE WAEHLER
 pos025l Party Contact: direct Contact, Die PARTEI
 pos025x Party Contact: direct Contact, other
 pos025w Party Contact: direct Contact, none
 pos025y Party Contact: direct Contact, don't know
 pos025z Party Contact: direct Contact, no answer

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

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT: Multiple response]

A CDU/CSU

B CDU

C CSU

D SPD

H AfD

E FDP

G DIE LINKE

F DIE GRÜNEN

K FREIE WÄHLER

L Die PARTEI

X other party/parties

W didn't talk to anyone from any political party

Y don't know

Z no answer

(0) Not mentioned

(1) Mentioned

(-93) Not asked, terminated

(-97) Not applicable

Question: pos026 **Title:** Party Contact: Media, general
Sequence No.: 22,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pos026a	Party Contact: Media, general, CDU/CSU
pos026b	Party Contact: Media, general, CDU
pos026c	Party Contact: Media, general, CSU
pos026d	Party Contact: Media, general, SPD
pos026h	Party Contact: Media, general, AfD
pos026e	Party Contact: Media, general, FDP
pos026g	Party Contact: Media, general, DIE LINKE
pos026f	Party Contact: Media, general, GRUENE
pos026k	Party Contact: Media, general, FREIE WAEHLER
pos026l	Party Contact: Media, general, Die PARTEI
pos026x	Party Contact: Media, general, other
pos026w	Party Contact: Media, general, none
pos026y	Party Contact: Media, general, don't know
pos026z	Party Contact: Media, general, no answer

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

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT: Multiple response]

- | | |
|-------|---|
| A | CDU/CSU |
| B | CDU |
| C | CSU |
| D | SPD |
| H | AfD |
| E | FDP |
| G | DIE LINKE |
| F | DIE GRÜNEN |
| K | FREIE WÄHLER |
| L | Die PARTEI |
| X | other party/parties |
| W | didn't see or hear any party advertisements |
| Y | don't know |
| Z | no answer |
| (0) | Not mentioned |
| (1) | Mentioned |
| (-93) | Not asked, terminated |
| (-97) | Not applicable |

Question: pos027 **Title:** Party Contact: Online Advertisement
Sequence No.: 23,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pos027a	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, CDU/CSU
pos027b	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, CDU
pos027c	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, CSU
pos027d	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, SPD
pos027h	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, AfD
pos027e	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, FDP
pos027g	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, DIE LINKE
pos027f	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, GRUENE
pos027k	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, FREIE WAEHLER
pos027l	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, Die PARTEI
pos027x	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, other
pos027w	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, none
pos027y	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, don't know
pos027z	Party Contact: Online Advertisement, no answer

During the election campaign, did you see any advertisement from parties or candidates online, e.g., on Facebook or YouTube?

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT: Multiple response]

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|
| A | CDU/CSU |
| B | CDU |
| C | CSU |
| D | SPD |
| H | AfD |
| E | FDP |
| G | DIE LINKE |
| F | DIE GRÜNEN |
| K | FREIE WÄHLER |
| L | Die PARTEI |
| X | other party/parties |
| W | didn't see any party advertisements |
| Y | don't know |
| Z | no answer |
| (0) | Not mentioned |
| (1) | Mentioned |
| (-93) | Not asked, terminated |
| (-97) | Not applicable |

Question: pos028 **Title:** Party Contact: Information Material
Sequence No.: 24,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pos028a	Party Contact: Information Material, CDU/CSU
pos028b	Party Contact: Information Material, CDU
pos028c	Party Contact: Information Material, CSU
pos028d	Party Contact: Information Material, SPD
pos028h	Party Contact: Information Material, AfD
pos028e	Party Contact: Information Material, FDP
pos028g	Party Contact: Information Material, DIE LINKE
pos028f	Party Contact: Information Material, GRUENE
pos028k	Party Contact: Information Material, FREIE WAEHLER
pos028l	Party Contact: Information Material, Die PARTEI
pos028x	Party Contact: Information Material, other
pos028w	Party Contact: Information Material, none
pos028y	Party Contact: Information Material, don't know
pos028z	Party Contact: Information Material, no answer

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

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT: Multiple response]

- | | |
|-------|------------------------------|
| A | CDU/CSU |
| B | CDU |
| C | CSU |
| D | SPD |
| H | AfD |
| E | FDP |
| G | DIE LINKE |
| F | DIE GRÜNEN |
| K | FREIE WÄHLER |
| L | Die PARTEI |
| X | other party/parties |
| W | no information material read |
| Y | don't know |
| Z | no answer |
| (0) | Not mentioned |
| (1) | Mentioned |
| (-93) | Not asked, terminated |
| (-97) | Not applicable |

Question: pos029 **Title:** Party Contact: Websites
Sequence No.: 25,000 **Category:** 06.01 Election Campaign; Perception and Interest

Variable(s):

pos029a Party Contact: Websites, CDU/CSU
pos029b Party Contact: Websites, CDU
pos029c Party Contact: Websites, CSU
pos029d Party Contact: Websites, SPD
pos029h Party Contact: Websites, AfD
pos029e Party Contact: Websites, FDP
pos029g Party Contact: Websites, DIE LINKE
pos029f Party Contact: Websites, GRUENE
pos029k Party Contact: Websites, FREIE WAEHLER
pos029l Party Contact: Websites, Die PARTEI
pos029x Party Contact: Websites, other
pos029w Party Contact: Websites, none
pos029y Party Contact: Websites, don't know
pos029z Party Contact: Websites, no answer

What about websites of political parties and candidates? Did you actively use these websites during the election campaign?

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

[INT: Don't read out parties.]

[INT: Multiple response; if respondent mentions candidate, note the party he/she belongs to, if necessary check with respondent]

- A CDU/CSU
- B CDU
- C CSU
- D SPD
- H AfD
- E FDP
- G DIE LINKE
- F DIE GRÜNEN
- K FREIE WÄHLER
- L Die PARTEI

- X other party/parties

- W didn't use any websites of parties or candidates
- Y don't know
- Z no answer

- (0) Not mentioned
- (1) Mentioned

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable

Question: pos030	Title: TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF
Sequence No.: 26,000	Category: 06.05 TV Debate; Use

Variable(s): pos030 TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF

Did you watch the ARD and ZDF TV debate between Armin Laschet, Annalena Baerbock and Olaf Scholz on 12th September?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos031 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet
Sequence No.: 27,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pos031 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Laschet

[FILTER: If pos030 (TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF) = "Yes" (1):]

How well do you think Armin Laschet 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

- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos032 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock
Sequence No.: 28,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pos032 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, A. Baerbock

[FILTER: If pos030 (TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Annalena Baerbock 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

- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos033	Title: TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz
Sequence No.: 29,000	Category: 06.06 TV Debate; Response
Variable(s):	
pos033 TV Debate: Evaluation, ARD/ZDF, O. Scholz	

[FILTER: If pos030 (TV Debate: Reception, ARD/ZDF) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Olaf Scholz 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

- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos034 **Title:** TV Debate: Reception, RTL
Sequence No.: 30,000 **Category:** 06.05 TV Debate; Use

Variable(s):
pos034 TV Debate: Reception, RTL

Did you watch the RTL and ntv TV debate between Armin Laschet, Annalena Baerbock and Olaf Scholz on 29th August?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos035 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Laschet
Sequence No.: 31,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pos035 TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Laschet

[FILTER: If pos034 (TV Debate: Reception, RTL) = "Yes" (1):]

How well do you think Armin Laschet 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

- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos036 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Baerbock
Sequence No.: 32,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pos036 TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, A. Baerbock

[FILTER: If pre050 (TV Debate: Reception, RTL) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Annalena Baerbock 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

- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pre037 **Title:** TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, O. Scholz
Sequence No.: 33,000 **Category:** 06.06 TV Debate; Response

Variable(s):
pre037 TV Debate: Evaluation, RTL, O. Scholz

[FILTER: If pre050 (TV Debate: Reception, RTL) = "Yes" (1):]

And how well do you think Olaf Scholz 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

- (-71) I haven't heard
- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-97) Not applicable
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos038	Title: Media Use for pol. Information: most helpful Source of Information
Sequence No.: 34,000	Category: 10.05 Media Use for political Information
Variable(s):	
pos038	Media Use for pol. Information: most helpful Source of Information

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

[INT: Only ONE response allowed.]

- (1) The campaign advertising of the political parties
- (2) News programmes on television
- (3) Articles in newspapers and magazines
- (4) Information provided on the Internet
- (5) Statements issued by groups and associations
- (6) Conversations with relatives, friends and acquaintances

- (7) Several or all the same helpful [INT: ONLY if respondent can't decide at all]
- (8) Other information source was most helpful [INT: ONLY if mentioned spontaneously]
- (9) No information source was helpful [INT: ONLY if mentioned spontaneously]

- (-93) Not asked, terminated
- (-95) Not participated
- (-98) Don't know
- (-99) No answer

Question: pos039	Title: Attitudes: Item Battery 2
Sequence No.: 35,000	Category: 04 Politics, Economy, Society and Institutions

Variable(s):

pos039a	Attitudes: Item Battery 2, [Item 1]
pos039b	Attitudes: Item Battery 2, [Item 2]
pos039c	Attitudes: Item Battery 2, [Item 3]
pos039d	Attitudes: Item Battery 2, [Item 4]
pos039e	Attitudes: Item Battery 2, [Item 5]
pos039f	Attitudes: Item Battery 2, [Item 6]

And what is your opinion about the following statements? Please tell me for each of the statements whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

[PROG: Randomization within A-C as well as D-F]

A	[Item 1]
B	[Item 2]
C	[Item 3]
D	[Item 4]
E	[Item 5]
F	[Item 6]

Scale:

(1)	Strongly agree
(2)	Agree
(3)	Neither agree nor disagree
(4)	Disagree
(5)	Strongly disagree
(-93)	Not asked, terminated
(-95)	Not participated
(-98)	Don't know
(-99)	No answer

Question: pos040
Sequence No.: 36,000

Title: Psychological Concepts
Category: 11 Psychological Concepts

Variable(s):

pos040a Psychological Concepts: unpredictable Situations
 pos040b Psychological Concepts: Questions with many Answers
 pos040c Psychological Concepts: make up own mind
 pos040d Psychological Concepts: think deeply
 pos040e Psychological Concepts: political Discussions
 pos040f Psychological Concepts: the whole vs. details
 pos040g Psychological Concepts: lying
 pos040h Psychological Concepts: express what I stand for
 pos040i Psychological Concepts: influence on who becomes Chancellor

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

[PROG: Randomization]

- A I don't like unpredictable situations.
 B I don't like questions that can be answered in many ways.
 C I have an opinion about everything.
 D I don't find it satisfying to think deeply about things for hours.
 E I do not feel comfortable getting involved in political discussions.
 F To fully understand something, I focus on the whole and less on particular details.
 G In a pinch, I sometimes lie.
 H I want my voting decision to express what I stand for, regardless of who is in power after the elections.
 I I want to vote mainly to have an influence on who becomes Chancellor.

Scale:

- (1) Strongly agree
 (2) Agree
 (3) Neither agree nor disagree
 (4) Disagree
 (5) Strongly disagree
 (-93) Not asked, terminated
 (-95) Not participated
 (-98) Don't know
 (-99) No answer

Note: The statements can be assigned to the following constructs:

- A: Need for Closure
 B: Need for Closure
 C: Need to Evaluate
 D: Need for Cognition
 E: Conflict Avoidance
 F: Level of Mental Construal
 G: Social Desirability
 H: Expressive Voting
 I: Instrumental Voting