



WISSENSCHAFTSZENTRUM BERLIN
FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG
Social Science Research Center Berlin

Research Area IV
Civil Society, Conflicts, and Democracy
Research Unit
Democracy: Structures, Performances, and Challenges

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Members of Parliament Survey 2003

- Study Report -

February 2004

1. English translation of the German questionnaire including marginal distributions of the answers
2. Return rate and representativeness of the survey

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Members of Parliament Survey 2003



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FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG

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We begin with a few questions about the 2002 election and the connected election campaign. With election campaign we mean the period August 1 to September 22, totally 53 days.

**1. How much time did you devote to campaign activities during an average week of the last election campaign?
(In percentages)**

No time	Up to 5 hours	5-14 hours	15-24 hours	25-34 hours	35-44 hours	More than 44 hours
0,5	0,5	4,5	7,0	14,4	22,4	50,7

**2. How many times did you participate in any of the following activities during the last campaign?
(In percentages)**

	Never	1-3 times	4-10 times	11-30 times	More than 30 times
Addresses or public debates at convened meetings	0,0	1,5	13,7	39,5	45,4
Brief addresses on streets, markets, etc.	2,0	10,4	30,3	28,4	28,9
Writing articles or letters to the editor	6,5	9,5	32,0	35,0	17,0
Press conferences/press releases	1,0	12,0	36,0	32,5	18,5
Visiting companies, workplaces, hospitals, schools, etc.	1,0	2,5	26,4	42,3	27,9
Door-to-door canvassing	47,5	12,9	10,4	8,4	20,8
Phone-in radio programs	24,4	40,3	27,9	6,5	1,0
Communicating with voters via Internet/ e-mails/chats	10,9	24,9	20,7	19,2	24,4
Calling voters on the phone	61,2	7,1	9,2	6,6	15,8

**3. How often were you interviewed by the press, radio, and television during the last election campaign?
(In percentages)**

	Never	1-3 times	4-10 times	11-30 times	More than 30 times
Local/regional newspapers	1,0	12,7	44,1	30,9	11,3
Local/regional radio	6,9	41,4	40,4	8,9	2,5
Local/regional TV	24,5	44,0	26,0	4,0	1,5
Major city newspapers	30,3	31,9	24,9	9,7	3,2
National radio	40,0	34,7	16,3	6,3	2,6
National TV	49,5	31,4	12,9	4,6	1,5
Foreign/international media	58,7	32,1	6,5	1,1	1,6

4. Which issue(s)/subject areas or which problem(s)/problem areas did you emphasize in your campaign work for the last election? Please give at most three.

Named issue(s)/subject areas	Frequency in per cent (multiple answers possible)
Welfare state	54,5
Labor – unemployment	50,9
Economy	40,7
Finances – financial crisis	21,0
Families – women – youth – children	19,8
Environment – energy	15,6
Education	15,6
Foreign policy – peace + war	15,0
Regional issues	14,4
Domestic policy – domestic security policy	11,4
Transport	8,4
Agriculture – consumer protection	7,2
New <i>Bundesländer</i> (East Germany)	6,0
Immigration	4,2
Flood	2,4
Europe	1,8
Future – fear for the future	1,8
Globalization	1,2
Bureaucracy	0,6

**5. To what extent did you focus on the following aspects in your election campaign?
(In percentages)**

	Very much	Fairly much	Rather little	Very little
Your personal qualifications	50,2	37,9	11,3	0,5
Local/regional points of view	42,4	43,9	12,7	1,0
Your party's election program	16,3	62,6	21,2	0,0
Personal emphasis on certain issues	51,5	40,0	8,0	0,5

**6. Did you use any of the following in the last election campaign?
(In percentages)**

	Yes	No
Personal brochures	96,6	3,4
Personal posters	96,1	3,9
Personal newspaper ads	74,6	25,4
Personal radio commercials	12,8	87,2
Personal website on the Internet	97,1	2,9

**7. Did you conduct any campaign to get personal votes in the last election campaign?
(In percentages)**

74,6 Yes

25,4 No → go to question 10

8.	How much did your personal campaign cost approximately? (In percentages)						
	Nothing at all	Up to 1,000 EUR	Between 1,000 and 2,500 EUR	Between 2,500 and 5,000 EUR	Between 5,000 and 15,000 EUR	Between 15,000 and 25,000 EUR	More than 25,000 EUR
	1,0	5,0	8,0	19,0	52,0	26,0	42,0
9.	Besides yourself, how many people helped in your personal election campaign? (In percentages)						
	0,6 Nobody besides myself						
	99,4 On average 16,0 persons						
10.	What is your view on the system of personal votes in connection with parliamentary elections in Germany? (In percentages)						
	1,0 There should be no personal votes, only votes for the parties.						
	1,5 There should be some personal votes, but less than in the last election.						
	67,0 The vote system is about right.						
	30,0 The personal vote system should be extended in future elections.						
	0,5 Other answers: "Only personal vote"						
The following questions concern our democracy and our political system.							
11.	How much confidence do you have in the way the following societal institutions and groups do their job? (In percentages)						
		A great deal of confidence	Quite a lot of confidence	Neither much nor little confidence	Not so much confidence	Very little confidence	
	Government	8,9	40,9	22,7	15,8	11,8	
	Police	15,8	70,0	11,8	2,5	0,0	
	Health care	1,0	36,1	36,6	23,3	3,0	
	Armed forces	19,6	57,4	19,6	3,4	0,0	
	Parliament	21,2	60,6	17,2	1,0	0,0	
	Banks	1,0	25,7	49,5	19,3	4,5	
	Press	11,4	0,0	35,6	33,7	19,3	
	Trade unions	1,5	16,3	27,7	29,2	25,2	
	Radio/TV	7,5	0,0	44,8	34,8	12,9	
	Elementary schools	7,5	48,3	39,3	5,0	0,0	
	Major companies	10,7	0,0	50,5	31,1	7,7	
	Churches	10,6	43,7	32,7	11,1	2,0	
	Courts	13,9	62,7	19,4	3,0	1,0	
	Federal President	37,1	35,6	20,8	5,4	1,0	
	Local governments/administration	3,0	42,8	47,3	6,5	0,5	
	Universities	3,5	40,7	47,7	8,0	0,0	
	Political parties	3,0	37,8	52,2	6,5	0,5	
	European Commission	1,0	22,4	51,2	21,9	3,5	
	European Parliament	2,0	41,5	40,5	14,0	2,0	
	United Nations	7,1	41,9	33,3	15,2	2,5	

12.	<p>Are you, on the whole, very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the way democracy works in the Federal Republic of Germany? (In percentages)</p>	<p>Very satisfied 5,9</p>	<p>Fairly satisfied 80,9</p>	<p>Not very satisfied 13,2</p>	<p>Not satisfied at all 0,0</p>
13.	<p>Are you, on the whole, very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the way democracy works in the European Union? (In percentages)</p>	<p>Very satisfied 0,0</p>	<p>Fairly satisfied 22,7</p>	<p>Not very satisfied 67,5</p>	<p>Not satisfied at all 9,9</p>
14.	<p>In the political debate it is sometimes argued that there is an increasing contempt for politicians and that the trust in politicians and parties has decreased in the last 15-20 years. How has, in your opinion, voters' trust in politicians and parties changed compared to 15-20 years ago? (In percentages)</p> <p>78,7 Less trust today than 15-20 years ago 20,8 Same trust today as 15-20 years ago 0,5 More trust today than 15-20 years ago</p>				
15.	<p>To what extent did the following factors have a <u>negative</u> effect on the voters' trust in politicians and parties in the last 15-20 years? (In percentages)</p>				
		<p>Very important</p>	<p>Fairly important</p>	<p>Not very important</p>	<p>Not important at all</p>
	Journalists' ways of covering politics	48,8	47,8	3,5	0,0
	Exaggerated promises by politicians	17,5	71,0	11,5	0,0
	More "professional politicians" without other working life experiences	14,8	40,4	37,4	7,4
	Various "affairs" and scandals with politicians involved	25,5	52,9	21,6	0,0
	Less belief in authority among the voters	7,4	48,0	39,6	5,0
	Worse economic situation	15,3	51,5	28,7	4,5
	Less able politicians today	4,5	23,1	54,8	17,6
16.	<p>How about the following five factors, to what extent did they have a <u>negative</u> effect on the voters' trust in politicians and parties in the last 15-20 years? (In percentages)</p>				
		<p>Very important</p>	<p>Fairly important</p>	<p>Not very important</p>	<p>Not important at all</p>
	Lack of issue agreement between voters and members of parliament	1,0	29,9	61,7	7,5
	More difficult for voters to see clear differences between parties	7,4	72,4	17,7	2,5
	Politicians' wages	5,5	35,8	50,2	8,5
	Lack of societal representativeness among politicians	2,0	23,5	66,0	8,5
	Problems of politicians to meet voters' demands	20,8	51,0	26,2	2,0

17.	Thinking about how German elections work in practice, how well do you think they ensure the views of the members of parliament accurately reflect the views of voters? (In percentages)	Very well 2,5	Quite well 76,7	Not very well 20,3	Not well at all 0,5	
18.	What do you think about these proposals to change the German electoral system? (In percentages)	I think this proposal is				
		very good	fairly good	neither good nor bad	fairly bad	very bad
	Lower the five percent threshold	1,5	3,9	9,3	25,5	59,8
	Introduce a majoritarian election system	10,0	8,5	9,0	29,9	42,8
	Abolish the common election Sunday	0,0	1,5	8,6	21,8	68,0
	Holding regional and national elections at the same day	9,9	20,8	14,9	29,2	25,2
	Lower the age limit for voting to 16 years	6,5	16,9	15,9	24,4	36,3
	Forbid the publishing of opinion polls during the last week of campaigns	16,7	26,5	33,8	13,7	9,3
	Reduce the number of parliamentarians	5,0	13,5	23,0	29,0	29,5
19.	Thinking about the future of the German political system, how much do you worry about the following? (In percentages)	Very much Fairly much Not very much Not at all				
	Weakened national independence	7,4	28,7	54,5	9,4	
	Growth of extreme political movements	20,8	31,7	44,6	3,0	
	Increased populism	39,9	45,8	13,3	1,0	
	Too strong/charismatic leaders	0,5	14,8	69,0	15,8	
	Weakened political parties	12,9	58,9	25,7	2,5	
	Growing influence of mass media	38,6	44,6	15,3	1,5	
	Apathy among citizens/political apathy	44,6	45,5	9,9	0,0	
	Increased influence of financial markets	22,3	36,6	37,6	3,5	
	Increased distrust of politicians	16,9	65,7	17,4	0,0	
	Decreasing electoral turnout	31,5	47,7	19,3	1,5	

The next questions deal with your ideological views and with your opinion about a number of topical issues. The questions are often phrased in a general way. If you wish to complete or clarify your answers, please use the space below the questions.

Some of the questions have also been posed in similar fashion to a sample of voters who were interviewed in an election study in 2002.

20. Which problems do you think to be the most important in Germany today? Please give at most three problems.

Named problems	Frequency in per cent (multiple answers possible)
Labor – unemployment	84,9
Welfare state	68,6
Economy	39,5
Finances – financial crisis	22,7
Demography	13,4
Education	12,8
Environment – energy	9,9
Bureaucracy	5,2
Immigration	3,5
Future – fear for the future	3,5
Federalism	2,9
Foreign policy – peace + war	2,9
Families – women – youth – children	2,3
Europe	1,7
Domestic policy – domestic security policy	1,7
New <i>Bundesländer</i> (East Germany)	0,6
Globalization	0,6
Regional issues	0,6

21. Political parties are often thought of as being ordered from the left to the right according to their political views. Using the scale below, please state where you think the political parties are located on the left-right scale.

left	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	right
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Please add value:

	Mean
SPD	3,4
CDU	6,4
CSU	7,5
FDP	6,3
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	3,6
PDS	1,6

22. Where on the left-right scale would you place yourself? Please tick the box.

left	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	right
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Mean:..... 4,5




23. Where on the left-right scale would you place most of your own party's voters? Please tick the box, where you allocate the average position.

left	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	right
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Mean: 4,9

24. This scale measures attitudes to the German membership in EMU. Where on the scale would you place yourself? Please tick the box on the scale, that suits your opinion.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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Very negative about the membership	Neither positive nor negative about the membership	Very positive about the membership

Mean: 8,2

25. Listed below, you find a number of proposals and political goals which have appeared in the political debate. What do you think about these proposals and goals?

(In percentages)

	I think this proposal is:				
	very good	fairly good	neither good nor bad	fairly bad	very bad
Reduce the public sector	20,9	46,3	25,9	6,0	1,0
Reduce the defence spending	4,0	11,9	23,8	39,1	21,3
Reduce income differences in society	7,0	33,0	31,0	19,0	10,0
Less stringent labor laws	27,0	42,0	16,0	12,0	3,0
More health care should be privately paid for	12,5	40,0	20,0	19,0	8,5
Introduce the thirty-hour week for all employed	1,0	9,0	7,5	26,1	56,3
Admit fewer refugees into Germany	10,0	20,0	29,0	29,0	12,0
Germany should give more support to the US-led war against terrorism.	4,5	23,0	37,0	19,0	16,5
Reduce taxes	26,5	40,8	24,0	7,7	1,0
Ban private driving in inner cities	3,5	26,0	32,0	29,5	9,0
Increase labor immigration into Germany	2,0	19,1	42,7	27,6	8,5
Introduce a language test before immigrants can become German citizens	37,0	49,5	7,5	4,5	1,5
More animal rights	3,5	34,0	45,0	13,5	4,0
Germany should abolish nuclear power in the long run.	29,1	22,6	15,1	20,6	12,6
Germany should do more to fight crime.	28,6	52,6	16,8	2,0	0,0
It's more important to fight against unemployment than to limit inflation.	9,5	31,7	40,7	13,6	4,5

What do you suppose your party's voters think about some of the proposals?

(In percentages)

	Most of own party's voters think the proposal is:	
	good	bad
Reduce the public sector	89,9	10,1
Less stringent labor laws	61,7	38,3
Introduce the thirty-hour week for all employed	28,1	71,9
Admit fewer refugees into Germany	76,4	23,6
Germany should give more support to the US-led war against terrorism.	38,7	61,3
Reduce taxes	96,4	3,6
Introduce a language test before immigrants can become German citizens	93,4	6,6
More animal rights	77,3	22,7
Germany should abolish nuclear power in the long run	69,5	30,5
Germany should do more to fight crime.	94,4	5,6
It's more important to fight against unemployment than to limit inflation.	83,9	16,1

The following questions concern the Bundestag and the way it works.

26. First some questions about the duties of the Bundestag. How important do you personally consider the following duties of the Bundestag? (In percentages)

	Very important	Fairly important	Neither important nor unimportant	Not very important	Not important at all
Making crucial decisions for the development of society at large	57,7	37,8	4,0	0,5	0,0
Scrutinizing the work of the government and its ministers	73,4	25,6	0,5	0,5	0,0
Being the central arena for political debate	51,7	36,9	9,4	2,0	0,0
Taking part in the legislation	76,4	22,7	0,5	0,5	0,0
Mirroring the distribution of opinion among the public	30,0	58,1	10,8	1,0	0,0
Taking initiatives in issues neglected by the government	41,7	52,3	4,5	1,5	0,0
Reviewing developments within the EU	25,1	57,8	12,1	5,0	0,0
Following up and evaluating what happens to decisions taken in the Bundestag	31,5	60,0	6,0	2,5	0,0
Mediation between different interests in society	24,9	58,4	12,7	3,6	0,5

27. How well or badly do you think the Bundestag and its members fulfill their duties? (In percentages)

	Very well	Fairly well	Neither well nor badly	Rather badly	Very badly
Making crucial decisions for the development of society at large	3,0	48,0	34,7	13,9	0,5
Scrutinizing the work of the government and its ministers	4,9	52,2	29,1	12,8	1,0
Being the central arena for political debate	5,4	40,4	31,5	21,7	1,0
Taking part in the legislation	22,8	58,4	14,9	4,0	0,0
Mirroring the distribution of opinion among the public	4,0	51,5	34,7	9,9	0,0
Taking initiatives in issues neglected by the government	5,0	46,5	36,1	12,4	0,0
Reviewing developments within the EU	1,0	26,5	42,0	28,5	2,0
Following up and evaluating what happens to decisions taken in the Bundestag	1,0	28,9	31,3	35,3	3,5
Mediation between different interests in society	1,5	34,2	46,7	16,1	1,5

28. How important are the following duties to you as a member of the Bundestag? (In percentages)

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all
Attending to problems brought forward by individual voters	56,0	38,5	5,5	0,0
Promote views you personally consider important	35,3	56,7	7,5	0,5
Promote the politics of your own party	19,8	73,8	6,4	0,0
Promote the interests/views of your own region	47,0	44,1	7,9	1,0
Promote the interests/views of your party voters	25,2	70,8	4,0	0,0
Promote the interests/views of the young	40,6	54,8	4,6	0,0
Promote the interests/views of pensioners	22,2	63,9	12,9	1,0
Promote the interests/views of employees	28,0	62,2	9,3	0,5
Promote the interests/views of business companies	14,1	59,9	22,9	3,1
Promote the interests/views of women	25,1	57,6	16,2	1,0
Promote the interests/views of farmers	13,6	38,7	37,2	10,5
Promote the interests/views of refugees/immigrants	6,8	46,6	43,5	3,1
Promote the interests/views of Christians	13,6	39,8	39,8	6,8
Promote the interests/views of gays/bisexuals	4,2	29,7	51,6	14,6

29. According to your own experience, how important are the following factors for your influence on decisions of your party's Bundestag faction? (In percentages)

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all
Strong support for my position within my own party	23,4	64,2	12,4	0,0
Strong support for my position in the electorate as a whole	16,8	65,8	16,3	1,0
Strong support for my position by faction experts	29,5	64,0	6,5	0,0
The expected reaction in the media	8,1	44,9	44,4	2,5
Personal contacts with the party leadership	17,1	39,7	40,7	2,5
To do well in debates at party faction meetings	8,6	41,4	45,5	4,5
Good relations to other parties	1,5	17,7	65,2	15,7
Strong support for my position in organizations/institutions that are affected by the decisions	8,1	55,8	35,0	1,0
Strong support for my position by experts/specialists	11,2	60,4	27,9	0,5
Strong support for my position in my constituency	14,6	39,9	37,9	7,6

**30. Which political subject area or areas are you personally most interested in?
Please give at most three issues.**

Subject area(s)	Entries in per cent (multiple answers possible)
Economy	44,7
Welfare state	37,6
Foreign Policy – peace + war	29,4
Labor – unemployment	24,7
Domestic policy – domestic security policy	24,1
Environment – energy	21,2
Finances – financial crisis	20,0
Education	15,9
Families – women – youth – children	15,3
Europe	10,6
Agriculture – consumer protection	10,0
Transport	8,8
Immigration	2,9
Regional issues	2,9
Human rights	2,9
Demography	2,4
Bureaucracy	2,4
Future – fear for the future	2,4
New <i>Bundesländer</i> (East Germany)	1,8
Globalization	1,2
Federalism	0,6

**31. Generally speaking, what is your opinion about party cohesion and party discipline in your party?
(In percentages)**

Should be much stronger than today	26,4
Should be somewhat stronger than today	41,3
Good as it is today	28,9
Should be somewhat looser than today	3,5
Should be much looser than today	0,0

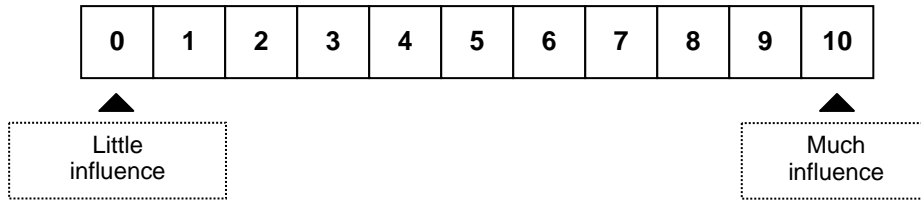
**32. What is your opinion about party cohesion and party discipline in your party when it comes to the following norms for the Bundestag work?
(In percentages)**

	Should be much stronger than today	Should be somewhat stronger than today	Good as it is today	Should be somewhat looser than today	Should be much looser than today
Maintaining silence on internal party discussions	31,8	45,3	19,9	2,0	1,0
Not taking political initiatives without party authorization	1,5	17,7	50,0	27,8	3,0
Sticking to party line in votes	4,1	11,7	61,2	20,4	2,6

33.	Thinking of roll-call votes, would you say that you belong to those who vote differently than the majority of your own party more frequently than others, about as often as others, or less often than others? (In percentages)				
	More often than others	About as often	Less often than others		
	10,1	64,1	25,8		
34.	How often do you speak at the meetings of your party faction? (In percentages)				
	Almost at every meeting	As a rule	Now and then	Seldom	Never
	7,4	23,3	42,1	25,7	1,5
35.	There are different reasons to argue for an equal distribution of men and women in the Bundestag. How important do you consider the following arguments? (In percentages)				
		Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all
	The composition of the Bundestag should reflect the most important groups in society.	35,8	48,8	13,9	1,5
	Women have different life experiences.	26,0	59,0	14,5	0,5
	Working procedures and climate of discussion would change.	13,4	32,8	47,8	6,0
	There would be consequences on policies.	16,6	38,7	38,2	6,5
36.	Given a choice, which Bundestag committee would you most like to be a member of?				
	Committee				Entries in per cent
	Committee on Economics and Labour				19,1
	Budget Committee				16,4
	Committee on Foreign Affairs				10,9
	Finance Committee				8,7
	Committee on Internal Affairs				7,7
	Defence Committee				4,4
	Committee on Transport, Building and Housing				4,4
	Committee on Education, Research and Technology Assessment				4,4
	Committee on Consumer Protection, Food and Agriculture				3,8
	Committee on Health and Social Security				3,8
	Committee on the Affairs of the European Union				3,8
	Committee on the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety				3,3
	Committee on Legal Affairs				2,2
	Committee on Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth				2,2
	Committee on Cultural and Media Affairs				1,6
	Sports Committee				1,1
	Committee for the Scrutiny of Elections, Immunity and the Rules of Procedure				0,5
	Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development				0,5
	Committee on Tourism				0,5
	Committee(s) that I am already member of				0,5

37.	<p>How should, in your opinion, a member of parliament vote if the voters in his/her constituency have one opinion and his/her party takes a different position? (In percentages)</p> <p>Should vote according to his/her party's opinion 67,2 Should vote according to his/her voters' opinion 32,8</p>
38.	<p>How should, in your opinion, a member of parliament vote if his/her own opinion on an issue dose not correspond with the opinion of the voters in his/her constituency ? (In percentages)</p> <p>Should vote according to his/her own opinion 93,4 Should vote according to his/her voters' opinion 6,6</p>
39.	<p>How should, in your opinion, a member of parliament vote if his/her own opinion on an issue dose not correspond with his/her party's position? (In percentages)</p> <p>Should vote according to his/her own opinion 59,8 Should vote according to his/her party's position 40,2</p>
40.	<p>Some members of the Bundestag are very much involved in EU-issues regarding their own field of specialty, others are not involved in EU-issues at all. How much are you involved in European policy-making in the policy fields of your specialty? (In percentages)</p> <p>Not involved at all ← ● ——— ● ——— ● ——— ● ——— ● ——— ● → Very much involved 0,5 4,9 9,4 18,2 29,1 25,1 12,8</p>
41.	<p>Do you think the German Bundestag is exercising too much or to little supervision over the positions of the German government in the Council of Ministers of the European Union? (In percentages)</p> <p>Too little control ← ● ——— ● ——— ● ——— ● ——— ● → Too much control 5,8 22,8 25,9 22,2 14,3 4,2 4,8</p>

42. Using the scale below, could you say how much influence the listed organizations/groups do have and how much influence they ought to have in today's German society?



Please write the appropriate **number** for **each organization, group, or institution** in **both columns** for the **influence they have today** and the **influence they ought to have in your opinion**. Please use high numbers for much power, low numbers for little power.

	Mean	
	Has influence	Ought to have influence
DGB (German Trade Union Confederation)	6,5	4,2
BDA (Confederation of German Employers' Associations)	6,2	4,2
Private enterprises/business	4,8	3,8
Press/radio/TV	8,2	4,6
Voters (the electorate as a group)	6,3	7,7
The Bundestag	6,4	8,2
The Government	8,4	7,6
Officials in central and local governments (civil servants)	6,7	4,5
Political parties	6,7	6,6
Financial markets	6,9	4,4
The European Union	6,6	5,8
Courts	8,1	7,6
Universities	4,2	4,7

**43a. How often do you have contact with the following groups, persons, or institutions?
(In percentages)**

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	More seldom	No contact
Citizens	98,0	2,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Organized groups	67,8	28,7	3,0	0,5	0,0	0,0
Lobbyists	42,1	44,1	10,4	1,0	1,5	1,0
Journalists	63,4	30,7	5,4	0,0	0,5	0,0
Government ministers	24,9	48,3	22,4	1,5	3,0	0,0
Other central government authorities	39,3	44,3	13,4	1,5	1,5	0,0
Local authority in your constituency	37,2	43,7	17,6	0,5	0,5	0,5
European Commission	0,5	10,5	28,0	23,0	25,5	12,5
European Council	6,5	16,0	25,5	35,0	17,0	0,0
EU-Administration	1,0	9,0	22,1	21,1	33,7	13,1
German members of EU-Parliament	4,5	36,7	34,2	15,6	6,5	2,5
Members of Parliament from other EU-States	2,0	12,1	26,8	27,3	24,2	7,6
Party organizations in your constituency	68,5	28,5	2,5	0,5	0,0	0,0
Regional party	38,7	47,7	11,1	1,5	0,5	0,5
Heads of your party	57,5	35,5	5,5	1,0	0,5	0,0

**43b. How often do you have contact with the named lobbies or associations?
(In percentages)**

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	More Seldom	No contact
DGB/individual unions	5,9	38,9	30,5	15,3	8,9	0,5
DBV/other farmers' organizations	3,9	16,7	27,1	28,1	16,7	7,4
BDA/other employers' organizations	0,5	21,8	36,1	27,7	11,4	2,5
BDI/other business/branch organizations	0,5	27,4	34,8	27,9	7,0	2,5
Labor organizations	7,0	36,0	37,5	15,5	3,5	0,5
Environmental organizations	3,5	23,3	40,1	24,8	8,4	0,0
Organizations for disabled people	3,0	22,1	34,2	31,7	7,5	1,5
Pensioners' organizations	2,5	31,5	34,5	21,0	9,0	1,5
Religious organizations	5,5	30,0	39,0	16,0	7,0	2,5
Women's organizations	3,0	23,6	29,1	28,6	13,6	2,0
Refugee/immigrants' organizations	1,5	14,0	24,0	36,5	21,0	3,0
German organizations dealing with international issues	7,6	21,2	32,3	24,7	13,6	0,5
Animal rights organizations	1,0	4,0	19,0	36,0	33,0	7,0
Human rights organizations	3,0	16,0	31,5	32,5	15,5	1,5

Some questions about your occupational and personal background.			
44. To which of the following occupational groups did you belong when you were first elected to the Bundestag? (In percentages)			
Salaried employee			22,4
Salaried employee with supervising duties			9,2
Salaried employee at executive level			13,3
Civil servant in the lower, middle, or upper service			5,6
Civil servant in the higher service			20,4
Unskilled worker			
Skilled worker			1,5
Worker with supervising duties			
Self-employed: no employees			16,8
Self-employed craftsman			
Self-employed: 1-9 people employed			3,6
Self-employed: more than 10 people employed			2,6
Independent farmer: no employees			0,5
Independent farmer: one or more employees			1,5
Not gainfully employed			2,6
45. When first elected to the Bundestag, were you employed in civil service or were you privately employed? (In percentages)			
4,0	Civil service in central government		
14,9	Civil service in local government		
29,9	Civil service in regional government		
51,1	Privately employed		
46. Where have you, your father, and your mother grown up? (In percentages)			
		You	Your father
			Your mother
German countryside		34,3	39,6
Small German town		31,3	26,9
German city with up to 500,000 inhabitants		17,7	20,3
Large German city with more than 500,000 inhabitants		15,2	10,2
Other European country		1,0	2,0
Non-European country		0,5	1,0
			0,5
47. How often do you attend church service in a catholic, protestant, or another church? (In percentages)			
At least once a month	A few times a year	Less often	Never
24,3	38,6	20,8	16,3

48. In the past 12 months, how often have you done the following? (In percentages)							
	Never	Once a year	Once every six months	Once every three months	Once a month	Once a week	Several times a week
Go to the cinema	13,5	19,5	35,5	22,0	9,0	0,5	0,0
Go to the theatre	11,5	27,0	30,0	22,0	9,0	0,5	0,0
Read a book	0,5	4,0	8,5	20,6	26,1	18,6	21,6
Outdoors activities	1,0	2,5	2,0	4,5	20,1	41,7	28,1
Gamble on football pools, lottery, or horse races	75,8	7,6	4,5	1,5	5,1	3,5	2,0
Surf the Internet	8,6	3,0	1,0	4,6	10,2	13,7	58,9
Send SMS via cell phone	15,3	2,0	2,6	2,6	7,7	12,2	57,7
Read weekly/monthly magazines	0,0	1,0	0,0	0,5	5,6	27,0	65,8
Write a diary	82,5	2,1	1,5	2,6	3,6	2,1	5,7
Paint, write poetry	82,1	4,6	3,6	4,6	2,1	2,1	1,0
49. Can you read a simple text in the following languages? (In percentages)							
		Yes, without problems	Yes, with some difficulty	No			
English		72,9	26,1	1,0			
French		20,4	37,0	42,5			
Spanish		2,5	21,1	76,4			
Other foreign language		19,2	22,2	58,6			
50. Do you read foreign newspapers or periodicals? (In percentages)							
		Very often	Fairly often	Fairly seldom	Very seldom		
European paper/periodical		10,1	23,4	23,9	42,6		
Paper/periodical from the USA		5,9	21,9	26,7	45,5		
Other non-European paper/periodical		0,6	7,6	19,7	72,0		
51. How do you personally feel about your work as a member of the Bundestag? (In percentages)							
	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not too satisfied	Not satisfied at all			
	28,9	65,0	5,1	1,0			

At last some questions about the future.

**52. Looking forward to the next 10-15 years, how do you think conditions in Germany will change in the following areas?
(In percentages)**

	Improve	Remain about the same	Get worse
Environment	69,8	19,6	10,6
Average economic standard of living	23,0	46,4	30,6
Relations between Germans and refugees/immigrants	36,5	45,5	18,0
	Increase	Remain about the same	Decrease
Equality in income and life conditions	12,8	44,9	42,3
Individual freedom	21,6	65,3	13,1
Voters' trust in politicians and parties	9,6	62,9	27,4

**53. Granted re-election, would you like to remain a member of the Bundestag for the next 10-15 years or would you rather do something else?
(In percentages)**

Remain a member of the Bundestag	71,9
Do something else	28,1

Members of Parliament Survey 2003



WISSENSCHAFTSZENTRUM BERLIN
FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG

WZB · Reichpietschufer 50 · D-10785 Berlin

Return Rate and Representativeness

1. Return Rate

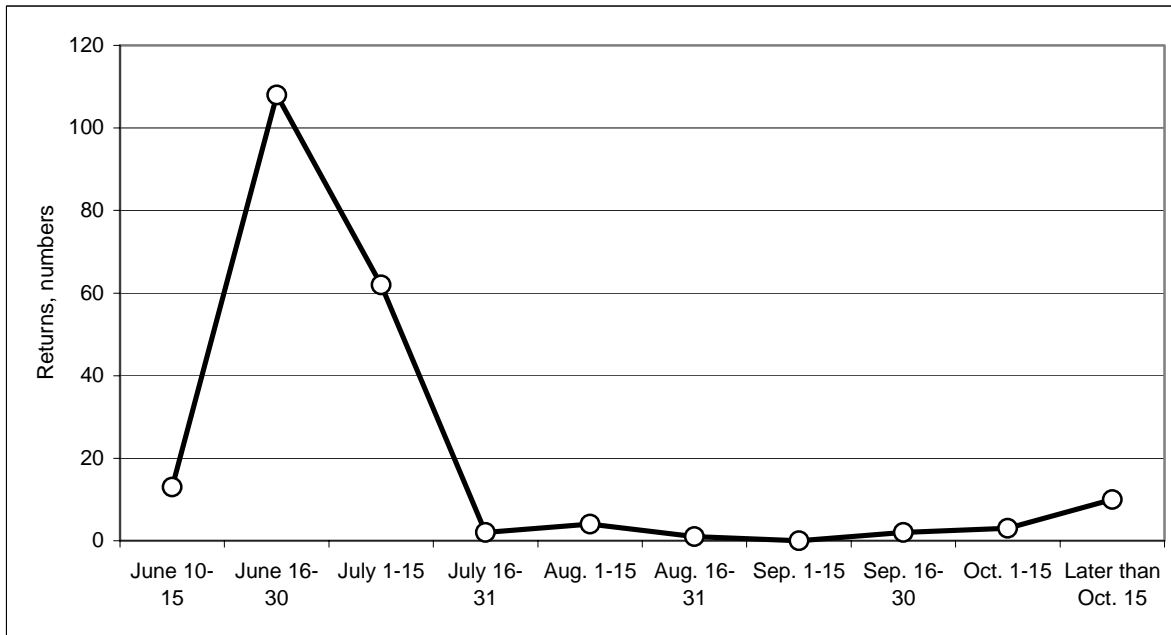
1.1 Statistics of the Return Rate

	Number	Per cent	Valid percentages	Cumulative percentages
Answered	205	34,0	34,1	34,1
Explicitly declined to answer	173	28,7	28,8	62,9
Announced to answer	13	2,2	2,2	65,1
Reminder	88	14,6	14,6	79,7
Not specified	122	20,2	20,3	100,0
Neutral failures:				
– retired/died	2	0,3		
	603	100,0	100,0	

1.2 Return Rate over Time

Period	Number	Per cent	Cumulative percentages
June 10-15	13	6,3	6,3
June 16-30	108	52,7	59,0
July 1-15	62	30,2	89,3
July 16-31	2	1,0	90,2
August 1-15	4	2,0	92,2
August 16-31	1	0,5	92,7
September 1-15	0	0,0	92,7
September 16-30	2	1,0	93,7
October 1-15	3	1,5	95,1
Later than October 15	10	4,9	100,0
Total	205	100,0	

1.3 Figure: Return Rate over Time



2. Representativeness

2.1 According to parties

Party	Percentage in Survey	Percentage of members of the Bundestag
SPD (Social Democrats)	43,4	41,6
CDU (Christian Democratic Union)	28,3	31,3
CSU (Christian Social Union)	8,3	9,6
B90/Greens	10,7	9,1
FDP (Liberals)	8,3	7,8
Non-affiliated	1,0	0,5
	100,0	100,0
Duncan's Index of Dissimilarity		4,4

2.2 According to Gender

Gender	Percentage in Survey	Percentage of members of the Bundestag
Men	66,8	67,2
Women	33,2	32,8
	100,0	100,0
Duncan's Index of Dissimilarity		0,3

2.3 According to Party and Gender in Combination

Men	Percentage in Survey	Percentage of members of the Bundestag
SPD (Social Democrats)	42,3	45,6
CDU/CSU (Christian Democrats)	40,1	29,4
B90/Greens	8,0	16,2
FDP (Liberals)	9,5	5,9
Non-affiliated	0,0	2,9
	100,0	100,0
Duncan's Index of Dissimilarity		7,0

Women	Percentage in Survey	Percentage of members of the Bundestag
SPD (Social Democrats)	45,6	38,5
CDU/CSU (Christian Democrats)	29,4	46,9
B90/Greens	16,2	5,7
FDP (Liberals)	5,9	8,6
Non-affiliated	2,9	0,2
	100,0	100,0
Duncan's Index of Dissimilarity		2,6

Weighted Duncan's Index of Dissimilarity for differences within factions	3,8
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