

**The Democracy and Local Governance Study in Germany:
Technical Report**

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1996 Version

Basis for "Abteilungsinterne Reihe: Technische Berichte FS III/2 95-9-1"

Introduction^[1]

This report provides background information relating to the study of local political-administrative elites within Germany during 1995. This study was undertaken in conjunction with the Democracy and Local Governance International Research Program. The study has carried out a survey of large number of elected and administrative officials within both parts of Germany. The principal, though not only focus of this survey, is on the political culture of these elites. The contents of this report are focused mainly on describing the sampling procedures employed and the way in which the survey was conducted.

Near the end of 1994 the Department for the Study of Institutions and Social Change at the Science Center Berlin agreed to organize and run the German part of the Democracy and Local Governance International Research Program. Operating since the late 1980s, the International Program was keen to have a country team that could run parallel studies within both the New and Old Federal States of Germany. We were pleased to take on this responsibility because it provided us with unique opportunity to conduct a study of local political culture within Germany. At the same time, participation in this large international research network will provide access to a multi-country data set that will be useful in helping fulfil the Department's research program goal of examining the macro and micro level processes linking political institutions and social change.

In addition to the Germany study, during the period from 1994 through 1996, the Democracy and Local Governance International Research Program plans to carry out similar surveys within 22 other countries. The identity of these countries extends across a broad range of cultures, political traditions, and economic conditions. In addition to nine relatively well established democracies in advanced industrialized societies, the study includes seven former Soviet republics, four East European countries, and three Third World countries with rather mixed records on democratic performance.^[2]

The primary data for the project are being collected with the use of a extensive questionnaire dealing principally with local elites' political values and their characterizations of the political and economic problems and conflicts in the communities where they operate. Although sampling and instrumentation will vary somewhat across the countries, expectations based on earlier waves of this project suggest that approximately 450 to 500 respondents will be included in each national study. In addition, national groups are endeavouring to gather aggregate data dealing with the social, political, and economic characteristics of the 20 to 40 communities

included in their samples. The gathering of information needed to construct our samples and the actual execution of the steps required to produce these samples has been a major part of the efforts involved in the first phase of the German project and these activities and their results are described in this report.^[3]

A part of the activity within the first phase of the project was the adaptation of the international questionnaire to the German context.^[4] In order to retain membership within the international project (and thereby benefit later from the use of the multi-country data bank) national groups are constrained to employ as much of the international questionnaire as possible. Since this is a lengthy questionnaire, the requirement poses problems for us in two respects; one is the need to introduce more questions that touch on important German issues or issues of importance to our local collaborator, Prof. Helmut Wollmann of Humboldt University (cf., Wollmann, 1994), and the second is our desire to introduce questions related to our own theoretical interests. Ultimately, a series of compromises were found to deal with both these problems and the questionnaire was completed.

The next major phase of the project was launched in the middle of May. This involved informing individuals in our sample of our intent to send each of them a questionnaire and then the actual mailing of the questionnaire. The timing of this action was contingent on the acquisition of an endorsement of our study by the Deutsche Städtetag.^[5]

Succeeding stages involve processing the responses and constructing both individual level and community level data sets. The latter will also include a variety of aggregate data relating to political, social, and economic conditions within each of the communes. In addition, we hope to be able to gather information on social organizations within these communities in order to evaluate Putnam's (1993) argument about the role of social capital in shaping democratic performance.

Ultimately, the aim of the project is to conduct a series of related studies dealing with macro, micro, and macro-micro phenomena. Multi-country comparative studies at both the macro and micro level are also planned. In addition, the unique German situation and the design of our study will allow us to explore a variety of questions dealing with the transformation process within East Germany. Finally, an effort will be made to evaluate the bases for successful performance of local government within Germany. The plan here is to explore the way in which local elite political culture, partisan politics, and institutional settings, resources and constraints, act to shape governmental performance. Performance itself will be assessed with both

objective and evaluative indicators. In order to develop the latter we plan to conduct a follow-up survey of citizens evaluations of their local governments within subsamples of the sets of cities included in our elite study.

This report proceeds as follows. Sampling techniques recommended by the International Project and those actually employed by other national groupings involved in the Democracy and Local Governance Study are first described. Following that an overview of the German samples is given. The sample frames and actual samples of cities within the two German regions are then described. Next, the sample frames, sampling technique, and actual samples of local political elites are presented. Information on the samples having been presented, we then move on to describe the way in which the survey was undertaken. This is followed by a description of the response patterns to the survey. A small concluding section ends the paper.

Sampling Techniques Used in Previous Country Studies

The sampling guide-lines provided by the International Group include the following:

1. The local government units included within the sample frame should have population sizes ranging from 25 thousand to 250 thousand people;
2. The preferred sample construction technique is that of random selection;
3. Regional coverage should be as encompassing as possible.

Of course, nation-specific conditions need to be taken into account in constructing the sample of local governments. One problem often encountered is that a country has relatively few municipal governments that fit within the sample frame. National investigators are obviously free to adjust the size criteria in light of such a problem. More often than not, this has meant extending downward the lower limit of the range so as to include smaller cities.

According to the International Group's guide-lines, the elites that constitute the target populations in a national study are the following:

1. Local government elected officials (both executive and legislative);
2. Senior public administrators within local government units;
3. Leaders of local political party organizations.

No guidance has been given as to the proportions of the total sample that should be taken from each of these three major groupings. In terms of special characteristics within each of the different groups, preference has only been expressed with respect to the need to have samples of local legislative officials that are representative of the party composition of the individual municipal government councils.

In light of the conservative expectation that the response rates for a mail survey across the communities could average around 33 percent, the international group recommended that the minimum sample size for each community should be 30 individuals. This conservative assumption would imply that we can expect 10 individual elites to be respondents in any community. While not a very large number, this is considered to be a reasonable sample from which one might construct an image of some of the important features of a community's elite political culture. Of course, all of this is predicated on at least two conditions: first, that the response rates are relatively uniform across communities, and, second, that the individuals who do respond are not a particularly biased sub-sample of the local elites.

Ten individual country-studies were conducted during 1991 and 1992. In addition, a study was also carried out in Switzerland during 1994. Table 1 summarizes the sample frames and sampling techniques used in these different studies. As can be seen in the table, local conditions would appear to have dictated the use of some rules that are significantly different from those meant to serve as uniform international guide-lines. Often, however, the documentation available to us makes it difficult to say precisely just what sample selection procedures were used in some of the country studies.

One can observe that the sample frames for communities are often different. In many instances this has arisen because the specific national situation is such that very few local government units fit within the frame. A straightforward random sample, the preferred method of the international coordinating group, was rarely employed. Sometimes certain criteria (e.g., economic conditions) were used to categorize the local government units within the frame and then a random selection from within each category was undertaken. Still other country-studies relied on non-conventional sampling techniques in terms of the towns and cities included within the final samples.

Elite sample frames differed markedly -- in part because of real cross-national differences in the forms of local governance and in part for reasons not made clear in the documentation available. There was also very large variation in the ways in

which the samples of local political elites were drawn. At times, stratified random sampling was used -- a reasonable approach in such a situation. At other times, selection appears to have occurred in a fairly casual way.

The German Study Group has attempted to employ sample frame construction and sample creation procedures that are in conformity with the expressed international standards. Let us turn now to describe how the samples were constructed.

Table 1: Sample Selection Procedures in Previous Democracy and Local Governance Studies*

Country	Date of Study	Communities:		Respondents:		Totals for Communities & Respondents
		Sample Frame	Sampling Technique and Results	Sample Frame	Sampling Technique and Results	
Austria	1992	Since so few municipalities fit within the 25k to 250k pop. category, the frame extended downward to include municipalities with as few as 10k pop.	Municipalities were categorized "on the basis of a sociocultural standardization combined with a regional partition." From these 31 were chosen.	4 major categories of individuals included: 1. municipal administrative officials, 2. leaders of special interest groups, 3. municipal council members, 4. leading local party officials.	Members of certain categories were always included in sample. Municipal council members chosen to provide a representative sample of the party composition within the municipal council. Of the 899 local elites asked to participate, 42 percent did so.	31 / 440
Belarus	1991	No information provided on sample frame for communities.	Random selection of 30 communities.	Only description of sample frame of leaders is that it includes "officials at all levels of local legislative and executive power."	Apparently a random selection procedure used to generate 449 respondents.	30 / 449
Hungary	1992	Only 166 "towns" in Hungary, of which more than half have less than 20k pop.	Used a set of size categories for those towns with 20k or more pop. Matched relative frequency in sample to proportion in sample frame. Selection also took into account "regional considerations". A total of 28 towns for the sample from this procedure. Note that the two parts of the capital city were also included.	No detailed information on sample frame. Indicates that three groups were included: 1. "appointed leaders of the administration", 2. "representatives of local government," 3. other local influentials.	Sample of 15 of these leaders for each town. No information on sampling procedure.	30 / 450
Kazakhstan	1992	6 regions included within framework wherein all communes within the population size range of 50k to 250k were included.	Used random selection procedure in each of the 6 communes to select 5 communes therein. 30 communes in total.	Sample frame of local leaders included deputies of local Soviets, administrators, and "political activists."	Random selection procedure used to select between 10 and 15 leaders from the three groups. No details on stratification of other selection criteria. 448 leaders actually interviewed.	30 / 448
Lithuania	1991	Cities and regional authorities with populations between 25k and 200k.	Selection of units based on the criteria of size, urban/rural characteristics, and ethnic composition. In total 4 cities and 14 regions included in sample.	Local elites composed of administrators, deputies, and political, economic and social leaders.	No information given on selection, sampling criteria. 289 interviewed.	18 / 289

Table 1, continued

Country	Date of Study	Communities:		Respondents:		Totals for Communities & Respondents
		Sample Frame	Sampling Technique and Results	Sample Frame	Sampling Technique and Results	
Poland	1991	All local administrative units with a population between 25k and 200k.	Random selection of sample of 30 units.	Leaders in 3 categories: (1) administrators; (2) elected council members; (3) leaders of political parties and movements.	No information on sampling technique. A total of 440 leaders interviewed.	30 / 440
Russia	1992	No information on sample frame.	No information on sampling technique.	No information on sample frame.	No information on sampling technique.	36 / 548
Slovenia	1991	54 communes within sample frame.	A representative sample of 15 communes used (details on sampling procedure are apparently available in other documentation).	Sample frame included member of four different functional councils and the executive council made up of the leading members of the functional councils.	Sample included the top two executives in these 5 bodies and a sample (procedure not described) of the normal members of these councils. 300 planned interviews of which 275 actually took place.	19 / 275
Sweden	1991	4 groupings based on population size used. Only 3 used for basic study, the fourth is a control group with pop less than 25k. 3 basic groups consist of (1) those between 25k and 49k, (2) those between 50k and 99k, and (3) those between 100k and 250k.	Apparently selection criterion for the 5 communes in each group based upon level of economic development. No specifics provided.	Composed of leading administrative, executive and legislative officials within each commune.	No complete set of rules on sampling procedures used is provided although occupants of certain leading offices in both political and administrative spheres were apparently always included within sample. 470 political officials and 196 administrative officials included in basic and control samples.	30 / 440
Switzerland	1994	Given the paucity of communes (19) that fit within the international framework of 25k to 250k, frame was extended to bring in communes in the size category of 5k to 24k.	Used random selection procedure to create sample of 40 communes in the 5k to 24k frame, included all 19 in the 25k to 250k frame, and added in the larger city of Zurich.	Four local leadership target groups: member of the executive body, the legislative body, civil servants and chairpersons of political parties.	No specifics on sampling procedure. Using a "top to bottom" principle, selected four members of executive, four of the legislative, six administrators, and seven party chairpersons in each commune. Potential sample: 1281; response rate was 64%.	61/1281
Ukraine	1991	Local government districts.	30 local government districts located in 19 separate regions selected for purposes of balanced coverage. Apparently rejected preliminary samples based on random selection because of regional imbalances.	Sample frame is described as including "representatives of all structural levels of local legislative and executive power."	No description of sampling technique provided; an average of 15 local leaders drawn from each of the units.	30 / 450

* Based on Jacob, Ostowski, and Teune (1993) and Linder and Nabholz (1994)

Outline of the German Samples

The German project is actually conducting two parallel studies; one deals with the New Federal States and one with the Old Federal States. In each regional study the goal has been to gather information from 30 local political/administrative elites within each of 40 selected communities. The preliminary phase of the project included an effort to draw a random sample of these 80 communities, the collection of relevant information on local elites (i.e., names, functions, addresses, party affiliations of all political and administrative elites within the sample communities), the construction of a data bank with this sample frame information, and the construction of a complex stratified sample within each community of the individuals that constitute the local elites as conceived and defined by the International Project. In each community, the goal has been to draw a representative sample of individuals; five groups are included: *higher elected/public management officials* (oberbürgermeister = chief mayor, bürgermeister = mayor, stadtdirektor = city manager, beigeordneter = deputy mayors, dezerent = major administrative chief; maximum of 4 per commune: stratified, random subsample), *partei vorsitzender = party chairpersons* (maximum of 5 per commune: random subsample), *fraktion vorsitzender = party caucus chairpersons* (maximum of 5 per commune: random subsample), *normal ratsmitglieder = council members* (minimum of 10, stratification based on party strength, random selection within each party), and *amtsleiter = administrative department heads* (maximum of 6; stratified, based on 6 groupings of the 15 most important local government administrative departments, random within groupings).

Selection of City Samples

Sample Frame

In 1991, there were 79.75 million people resident in Germany. Of these, the overwhelming majority, around 65 million, lived in the Old Federal States and only 14.7 million lived in the New Federal States. According to the Deutsche Städtetag, there were 16121 gemeinden (towns and cities) of which 8505 were in the Old Federal States while 7616 were in the New Federal States. As might be expected, the typical population sizes of cities in the two regions of Germany are dramatically different with small communities being something of the norm in the New Federal

States. This is depicted graphically in Figure 1, which provides an overview of the numbers of towns in different size categories for both regions of Germany. Nearly half of all the towns in the East have fewer than 500 residents.

Figure 1

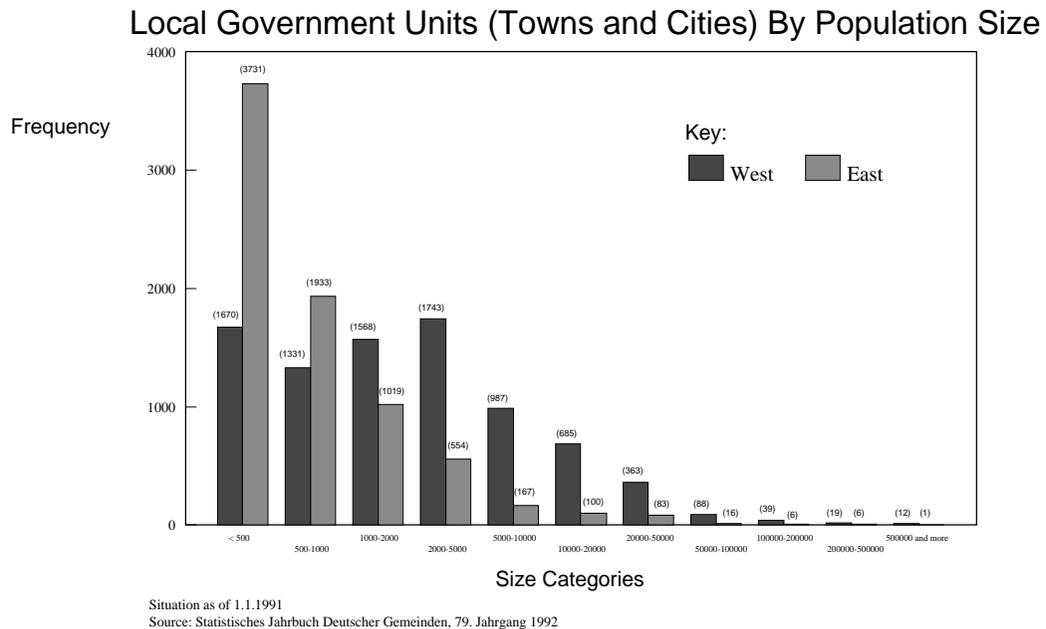


Figure 1 also highlights an important aspect of our study that needs to be kept in mind. Namely, adherence to the international sample frame guide-lines for the types of municipalities that are to be employed serves to restrict the scope of the study. This obviously entails limitations with regard to the kinds of inferences one might draw from results generated by the study. Thus, the sample frame for the Old Federal States incorporates towns that have only 31.2 percent of the population in this region. 24.5 percent live in cities with population sizes greater than the maximum in the study, while 44.3 percent live in towns with population sizes smaller than the minimum. The situation in the East is even more restrictive. Only 28.5 percent of the population in this region live in cities that fall within our sample frame. 12.8 percent live in towns larger than those that fall within the guide-lines, while 58.7 percent live in communities too small to fit within our framework.

Table 2 provides an overview of the sample frames in both the Old and the New Federal States. In the West there are 357 local government units (cities independent of county level governments and cities subordinate to county level governments) that fit within the frame; in the East there are only 80 such units. Given the objective

of securing a sample of 40 communities in each part of Germany, this means that 11 percent of the relevant communities in the West can be included within the sample while a much larger share, i.e., 50 percent, can be included in the Eastern sample.

In terms of the different size categories, the relative frequencies are rather similar across the two parts of Germany. Approximately 63 percent of the cities in the West fit within the category of small towns and cities (population between 25 and 50 thousand) while 70 percent in the East belong to this grouping. Most of the other size categories described are similar in their relative frequencies across the regions.

The distribution of local governments within the sample frame does differ dramatically across the states in the West. Berlin and Hamburg have been excluded because these two city-states have population sizes well beyond the maximum of the size range defining the frame. Only one of two cities in the Federal State of Bremen fits into the frame. At the other extreme is North Rhine-Westphalia which clearly dominates the distribution in the West. With more than a quarter of the total population in the region, it has about 40 percent of the Western communities that are encompassed by the sample frame. The distribution of communities across the five Federal States in the East is far more uniform.

Table 2: The Sample Frames of Communities in West and East

Western Federal States												
Sample Frame	State:	SH	NS	HB	NRW	HESS	RP	BW	BY	SL	Total	
Pop. Size											Frequency	(Percent)
25000-49999		8	39	0	84	19	9	37	22	6	224	(62.7)
50000-74999		1	7	0	27	6	2	8	9	1	61	(17.1)
75000-99999		2	2	0	14	1	3	5	0	0	27	(7.6)
100000-149999		0	5	1	9	2	1	5	5	0	28	(7.8)
150000-250000		2	1	0	9	1	2	1	0	1	17	(4.8)
Total											357	
Frequency		13	54	1	143	29	17	56	36	8		
(Percent)		(3.6)	(15.1)	(0.3)	(40.1)	(8.1)	(4.8)	(15.7)	(10.1)	(2.2)		

Key to state names: SH (Schleswig-Holstein), NS (Niedersachsen), HB (Bremen), NRW (Norrdrhein-Westfalen), HESS (Hessen), RP (Rheinland-Pfalz), BW (Baden-Württemberg), BY (Bayern), SL (Saarland).

Eastern Federal States								
Sample Frame	State:	BB	MV	SN	SA	TH	Total	
Pop. Size							Frequency	(Percent)
25000-49999		10	2	15	17	12	56	(70.0)
50000-74999		3	3	3	0	3	12	(15.0)
75000-99999		2	1	0	1	0	4	(5.0)
100000-149999		2	1	1	0	2	6	(7.5)
150000-250000		0	1	0	0	1	2	(2.5)
Total		17	8	19	18	18	80	
Frequency		(21.3)	(10.0)	(23.8)	(22.5)	(22.5)		
(Percent)								

Key to state names: BB (Brandenburg), MV (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), SN (Sachsen), SA (Sachsen-Anhalt), TH (Thüringen).

Samples Chosen

The two regional local government unit samples were constructed on the basis of a straightforward random selection process (cf. Kalton, 1983). The cities within each sample frame were assigned random numbers blindly and then each list of cities was ordered on the basis of the random numbers. The first 40 cities on each regional list were taken into the sample and the remaining cities in the frames were dropped from further consideration.

Comparisons of the sample frames and the drawn samples can be seen in Table 3. In the West there is some incongruence between the frame and the sample when seen from the perspective of the distributions across the states in the region. In particular, while North Rhine-Westphalia has a relatively large share of the sample (20 percent), this is only half the size of its relative presence in the frame. The other outlier is Baden-Württemberg, a state with a relatively large share of the frame (15 percent), which has nearly 30 percent of the cities in the sample selected. In terms of the size of cities, the distribution and sample frames match quite closely (note that details both at the state and regional levels on the frequency distribution on this dimension have been suppressed for purposes of privacy protection). In the East the match of distributions both in terms of geographical as well as size considerations is quite close. All in all, while there are a couple of misalignments between the frames and samples drawn, the results of the random selection process for the construction of the samples of local government units in both regions appear to be satisfactory.

Table 3: Information on The Sample Frames and Samples of Communities Selected

Western Federal States										
State:	SH	NS	HB	NRW	HESS	RP	BW	BY	SL	Total
Sample Frame										
Frequency	13	54	1	143	29	17	56	36	8	357
(Percent)	(3.6)	(15.1)	(0.3)	(40.1)	(8.1)	(4.8)	(15.7)	(10.1)	(2.2)	
Sample										
Frequency	2	5	0	8	5	1	12	7	0	40
(Percent)	(5.0)	(12.5)	(0.0)	(20.0)	(12.5)	(2.5)	(30.0)	(17.5)	(0.0)	
			Sample Frame by Size		Sample by Size					
			Frequency		Frequency					
			(Percent)		(Percent)					
		Pop. Size								
		25000-49999	224	25						
			(62.7)	(62.5)						
		50000-250000	133	15						
			(37.3)	(37.5)						
Eastern Federal States										
State:	BB	MV	SN	SA	TH	Tot				
Sample Frame										
Total	17	8	19	18	18	80				
Frequency	(21.3)	(10.0)	(23.8)	(22.5)	(22.5)					
(Percent)										
Sample										
Frequency	10	3	9	10	8	40				
(Percent)	(25.0)	(7.5)	(22.5)	(25.0)	(20.0)					
			Sample Frame by Size		Sample by Size					
			Frequency		Frequency					
			(Percent)		(Percent)					
		Pop. Size								
		25000-49999	56	27						
			(70.0)	(67.6)						
		50000-250000	24	13						
			(30.0)	(32.8)						

Selection of Local Elites

Building the Data Base and Problems Encountered

Having drawn the city samples for both regions of Germany, we were confronted with the task of obtaining detailed information on the identity of the project-relevant political elites within the sets of cities to be studied. Only very limited information regarding these people can be found in widely accessible documents. Efforts to ascertain whether one might obtain this information from state-level ministries charged with responsibility for local government political affairs within their states proved futile. The experience of other projects on German politics also suggested that approaches to political party organizations might not prove to be universally effective. In light of all of this, it was decided that the most feasible solution to the problem would be a direct approach to local government offices where requests could be made for the needed information.

Contacts were made by mail, phone, and in person with various governmental and political party offices in each of the 80 cities selected for this study. Requests were made for information on the identity (name, office held), address, and, where appropriate, political party affiliation for all of the relevant individuals within each city. Very positive and helpful responses came from a large number of these offices which led to the successful acquisition of much of the required information.

In some cases, however, there were difficulties and the requests met resistance. Often, though not always, the assurances that the information was needed for a legitimate social scientific research project and that any information obtained would be handled properly and in accordance with privacy protection regulations helped to overcome this resistance. In a few cities the authorities indicated that they would not provide names of administrative department heads. Although this information is publicly available, we took the course of not offending the sensibilities of these authorities. We did the following in this limited number of cases: the name of the department and its office address was entered into the data bank but a blank was left in the field that would normally contain the head's name.

Three cities in the New Federal States proved unwilling to cooperate. Numerous efforts to assure the officials in these cities of the seriousness of the project and the commitment to assuring anonymity of respondents failed to overcome their resistance. Rather than persist in a futile effort we chose to drop these three cities from the sample. Since the efforts at collecting the required data involve a significant

amount of time and because of the pressure to move on to the next phase of the project, it was not possible to substitute another three cities for those that needed to be dropped.

Data Base: Description of Sample Frame for Individuals

As Table 4 shows, there were 5085 individuals within the 77 cities in our samples that fit into the sample frame of political elites used in this study. This averages out to slightly more than 68 individuals per city. The range in terms of the numbers in these local elites extends across all of the cities from a low of 43 to a high of 115. Between East and West the city-level averages differ with the former region having 64.4 while the latter has 72.3. More than ten percent of the individuals in these elites hold multiple offices at the local level, with most of these having two roles, while a few have as many as three or four. In terms of sheer numbers men are clearly the dominant group within the local elites; in the West there is a 4:1 male/female ratio while in the East there is a slightly less imbalanced ratio of 3:1.

Somewhat more than 60 percent of the individuals within the sample frame of local elites are members of city councils. This averages out to about 41 per city although there is a wide range here with the smallest council containing 25 members and the largest having 70. Approximately ten percent of the council members head up a party or elector group caucus within their respective councils. As the figures on party membership of the councils indicate, the partisan landscape is rather diverse. In both regions the CDU/CSU and the SPD are the two leading partisan factions but the degree of dominance is far less in the New Federal States where the PDS, with 22.8 percent of the council members, stands out as a relatively strong third force. The Bündnis 90/Grünen and the FDP trail behind but the former clearly has a significant presence in the Western councils. The Republikaner have an extremely small presence, particularly in the East. One should note the not insignificant number of council members classified as belonging to "other" party and elector groupings. In some cities these parties/groupings constitute a very large portion of the council; with 11.4 percent in the West and 8.9 percent in the East, they represent an important cluster within the local political elites of the regions. Very few individuals could be identified as being strictly non-partisan (which in this context generally comes down to being a completely independent and single candidate for office) in either region.

Another important group within the local political elites is composed of individuals who chair local party organizations or act as their spokespersons. The sample frame is composed of 188 such individuals within the West and 197 in the East.

There is a wide range of offices that constitute important executive functions within the local governments. Data has been gathered on five such groups as well as a miscellaneous category of such office holders. Altogether there are 274 executives within the 40 cities of the West sample and 226 in the 37 cities of the East sample. Differences in local government structures account for the diverse distributions one sees in the regions. The two categories, Oberbürgermeister and Stadtdirektor, that have leading executive roles in city government together constitute a relatively small part of the sample frames. There are 42 such individuals in the West frame and 19 in the East (note the absence of the Stadtdirektor category in the region of the New Federal States).

The Bürgermeister category includes officers that may be either the leading executives within a city government or ones that are subordinate to officials at a higher level (e.g., an Oberbürgermeister). There are about 100 such individuals altogether with about two-thirds of these in the West. Beigeordinator are more common in the East sample frame (57) than in the West (16). Dezenten, officials generally responsible for overseeing the work of a wide range of city government departments, constitute the largest category of executives within the sample frame with approximately 100 in each of the two regions. A miscellaneous category of executives also contains 62 individuals with the great majority of these in the West.

The last general category of local political-administrative elites for which data has been collected contains heads of administrative departments. People carrying out this administrative function constitute the second largest grouping within both sample frames. There are 872 department heads in the Western sample of cities, i.e., approximately 30 percent of the sample frame of individuals. A similar figure exists in the Eastern sample of cities with approximately 29 percent of the sample frame composed of department heads.

Sampling Algorithm

In order to go about the selection of individuals for inclusion in the survey a procedure based on a set of sample selection principles needed to be settled upon. Four principles were employed; these included (1) giving priority to important categories of elites but not at the cost of distortion, (2) using a hierarchical or stratified design, (3) taking into account the importance of particular characteristics within categories, and (4) employing random procedures within categories and subcategories (cf., Kalton, 1983).

Obviously there are office-holders within the local political-administrative elite, as defined by the broad rules of the international project, whose importance in the shaping of decisions at the local level are greater than others. Rather than treat all of the individuals within a community's sample frame as equally important, we chose to give greater weight to these "important" categories but not at the cost of developing a sample with a distorted view of the local political culture. In the main this was not too difficult given the commitment to having a sample size of 30 individuals per city. Recall from Table 4 that across the two regions the average number of people within a local elite is only 68.5 with the range extending from 43 up to 115. This means that one can expect to include an average of nearly 44 percent of the elites within each community. In the smallest community, indeed, the sample of potential respondents is nearly 70 percent, while in the city with the largest elite the potential respondents would include approximately 26 percent of the sample frame. Such broad coverage should, with a reasonable response rate, assure a fairly accurate portrayal of the local elite political culture that we are seeking to identify through the means of the questionnaire sent to the potential respondents.

As noted previously, the target sample distribution of office holders by category is as follows: four members of the group of higher elected/public management officials, six department heads, five party chair-persons, five council party caucus chair-persons, and a minimum of ten council members (outside of those selected through the party caucus chair-person procedure or individuals from the other three categories who are also members of the city council). Given the numbers available within the sample frame and these specifications, one can be certain that most of the first, third, and fourth categories of elites would be included within the sample. At the same time, a relatively large number of the members of the department head category as well as city council members would also be included.

The relative importance of different types of elite members led us to using a stratified design. The "top-down" character of this design, along with the diversity in the size of local elites, required that where a particular category was exhausted without filling the quota for that category, then the residual slots would be allocated to the last category, i.e., council members, for which a sample would be constructed.

Where particular characteristics within a group were deemed to be significant, selection has been geared toward providing a sample that was representative of the distribution of these characteristics. Such a principle was used in three of the categories. First, within the group of leading executive/administrative elites, a rank ordering was made. Priority for inclusion is based on this ordering with the selection procedure working in a fashion to exhaust the first category and then moving on through the next categories until the designated number (4) of individuals was selected from the overall group (or, where less than four were available, including all of these individuals and adding the residual slot(s) to the council member sample contingent).

The second application of this principle is in the selection of administrative department heads. It was decided that the heads of only fifteen different types of city government administrative departments would be considered for selection within the sample. As the section on the characteristics of the different city administrative structures will describe, there is a bewildering variety of administrative functional units across the cities in these two regions (cf., Norton, 1994). Based on consultation with an expert in local public administration, only a subset of these were selected because of their greater significance and importance to the operation of local governments. The procedure here was to categorize heads of departments from these fifteen different functions into six broad categories and, where possible, to randomly select one individual from each grouping. Where there was no individual present within a broader category, an individual was selected by random from one of the other broad categories. Where the list was exhausted, the residual slots were allocated to the council sample contingent.

The third area where this principle has been applied is in the selection of city council members. Here account was taken of the distribution of seats by the different parties within the overall council. The aim of the selection procedure is to insure that the partisan characteristics of the sample drawn (through the direct application of the selection algorithm for normal council members as well as the consequences that

arose from including council members because of other roles that they play in local politics) is one that accords as closely as possible with the actual distribution of party membership within the council.

Finally to assure that no bias crept into the selection from within any category or subcategory, a random selection procedure was always employed.

The actual algorithm used in the sample selection is detailed in Figure 2. There is no need to describe it in any detail. The principles upon which it was constructed have been described and, as should become apparent, the results produced by its application appear to be in conformity with the goals set for the sample.

Figure 2

SAMPLE CONSTRUCTION ALGORITHM

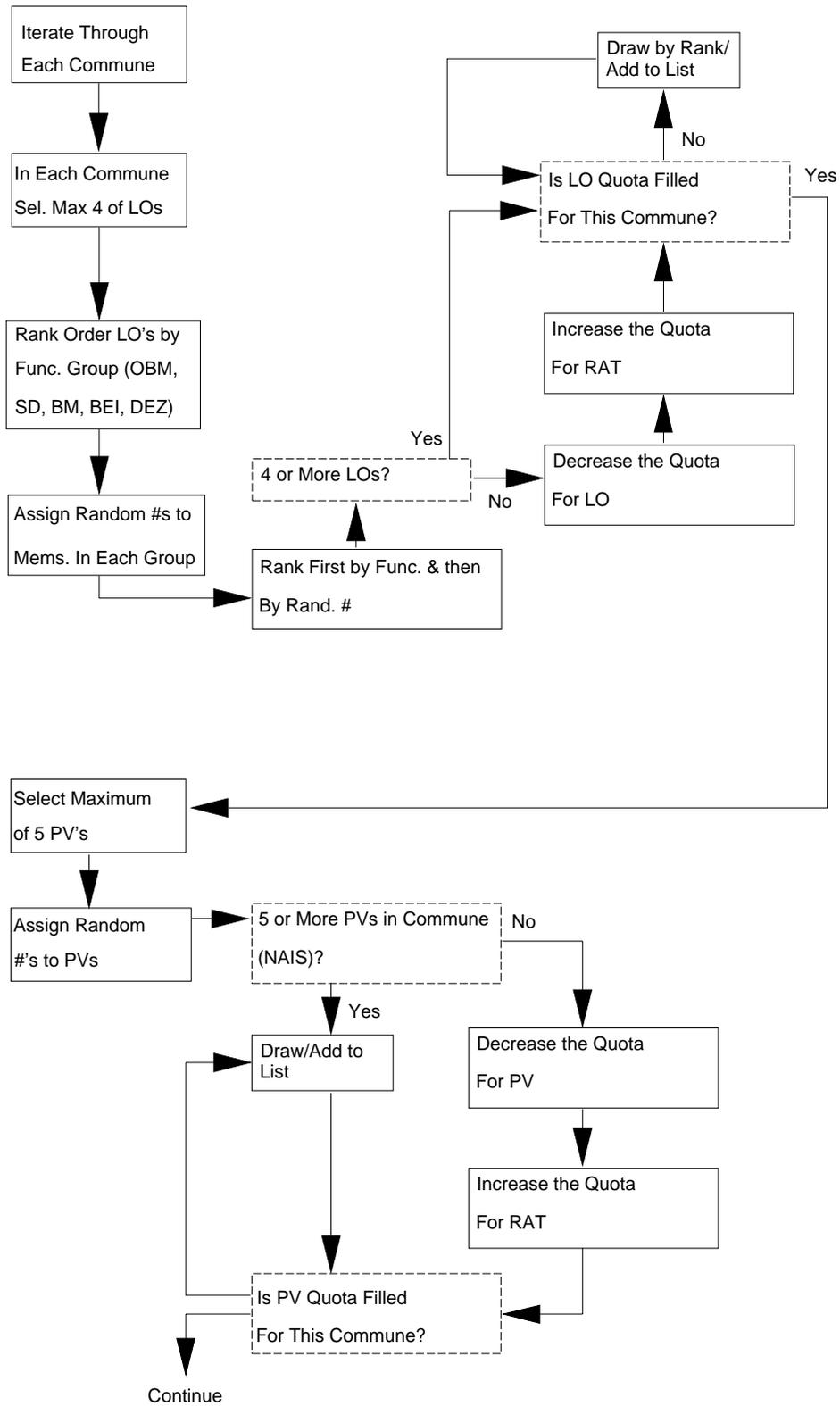


Figure 2, continued

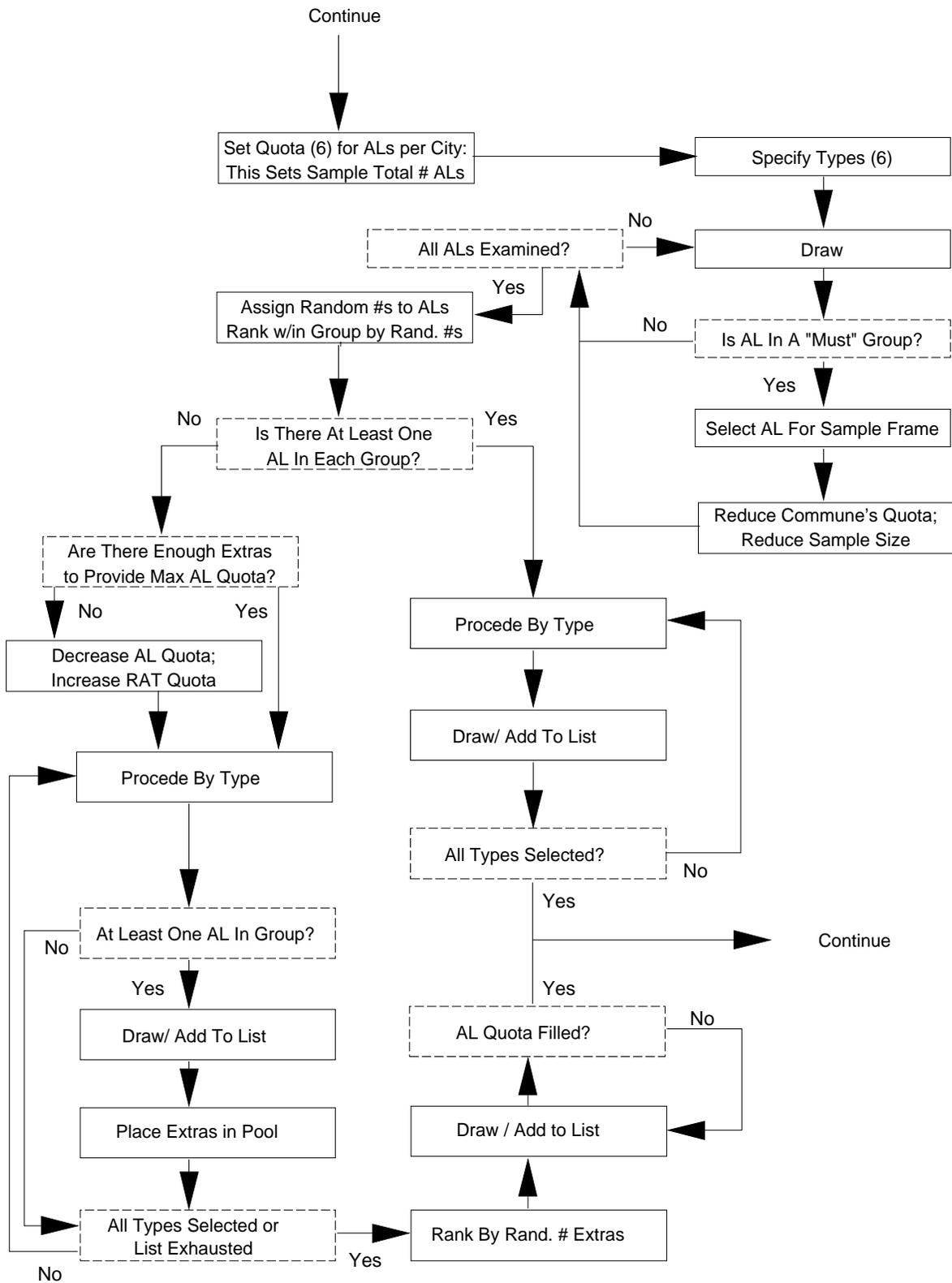
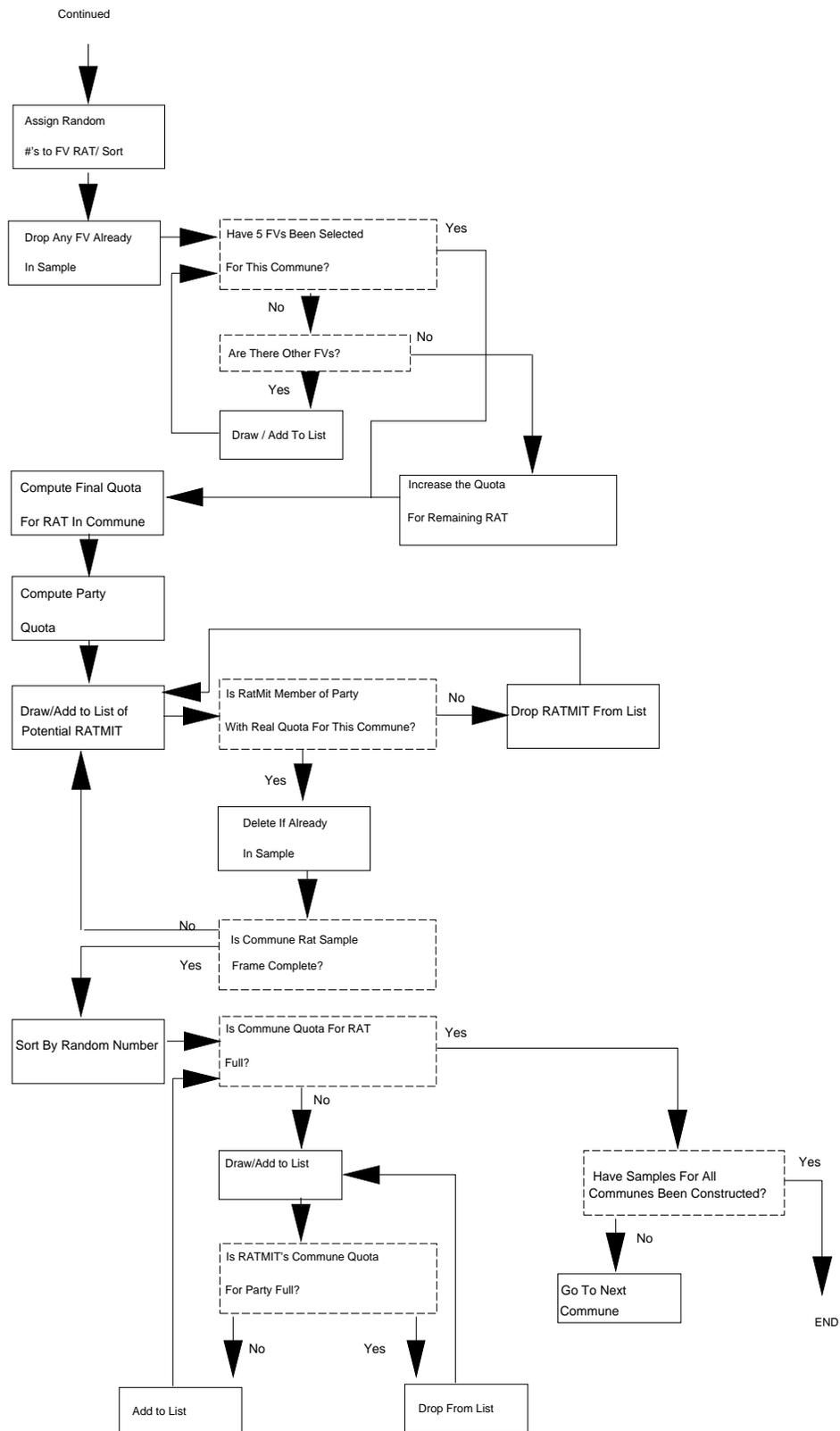


Figure 2, continued



Overview of the Sample

Table 5 provides an overview of the samples of potential respondents that arose through the application of the selection principles described above. Before describing the major groupings it should be pointed out that the samples have slightly smaller proportions of females than do the sample frames. This arises mainly from the fact that most of the females in the frames are city council members and the shares of council members in the samples are smaller than the shares within the frames. On the other hand, those individuals with more than one local office have an extraordinarily good chance of showing up in the samples. For example 44 of the 46 officials with three or more offices in the West are in the sample all of those with three offices in the East also have come into the sample.

Slightly less than half of the council members make it into the sample and about one-third of the administrative department heads have been selected for inclusion. Party chair-persons and council caucus chair-persons almost universally were brought into the sample. In the West, only 12 of 188 party chair-persons in the frame fail to show up in the sample while all of the caucus chair-persons are present. 171 of the 181 caucus chairs and 182 of the 197 party chairs in the East sample frame have been selected for the sample of potential respondents.

The picture is more mixed with respect to the leading executive/administrative grouping. Of course this follows from the rank-ordering procedure used and the great diversity across cities in the numbers within the sample frame for this grouping. At the highest level, Oberbürgermeister and Stadtdirektor, there are no individuals within the frames who fail to make it into the sample. Nearly all of the Bürgermeister enter as well (97 out of 103). Amongst the Beigeordneten, 10 of 16 in the West and a much large proportion, 48 out of 57, in the East come into the samples. Slightly more than half of the Dezernenten in the West make it into the sample and a even larger share of those in the East, 80 out of 98, have been selected. A much smaller percentage of those in the miscellaneous category, 24 out of 62, are included in the samples.

Table 5: Overview of Samples By Potential Respondents' Positions

BRD		Total=2310									
		Rat.	Frakv.	PV	OBM	BM	SD	Dez.	Beig.	Sonst.	Amtsl.
	Freq.	1449	336	358	46	97	15	135	58	24	445
	Pct. Sample	62.68	14.55	15.50	1.99	4.20	0.65	5.84	2.51	1.04	19.26
	Ave. Comm.	18.8	4.4	4.6	0.6	1.3	0.2	1.8	0.8	0.3	5.8
Females:		Multioffice:									
			Freq.	Pct. Samp.							
Freq.	477	1	1735	75.11							
Pct. Samp.	20.65	2	502	21.73							
		3	69	2.99							
		4	4	0.17							
WEST		Total=1200									
		Rat.	Frakv.	PV	OBM	BM	SD	Dez.	Beig.	Sonst.	Amtsl.
	Freq.	782	165	176	27	63	15	55	10	18	234
	Pct. Sample	65.17	13.75	14.67	2.25	5.25	1.25	4.58	0.83	1.50	19.50
	Ave. Comm.	19.6	4.1	4.4	0.7	1.6	0.4	1.4	0.3	0.5	5.9
Females:		Multioffice:									
			Freq.	Pct. Samp.							
Freq.	215	1	903	75.25							
Pct. Samp.	17.92	2	253	21.08							
		3	40	3.33							
		4	4	0.33							
EAST		Total=1110									
		Rat.	Frakv.	PV	OBM	BM	SD	Dez.	Beig.	Sonst.	Amtsl.
	Freq.	666	171	182	19	34	0	80	48	6	211
	Pct. Sample	60.00	15.41	16.40	1.71	3.06	0.00	7.21	4.32	0.54	19.01
	Ave. Comm.	18.0	4.6	4.9	0.5	0.9	0.0	2.2	1.3	0.2	5.7
Females:		Multioffice:									
			Freq.	Pct. Samp.							
Freq.	262	1	832	74.95							
Pct. Samp.	23.60	2	249	22.43							
		3	29	2.61							
		4	0	0.00							

Leading Political/Administrative Officials

Leading political/administrative officials constitute over 12 percent of the samples in both regions. Table 6 provides an overview of the characteristics of these individuals. Here one sees that, relative to the other parts of the samples, much smaller proportions of these groups are women. In addition, these groups clearly are very active in local political-administrative affairs. About 32 percent in the East and nearly 48 percent in the West have more one official function. A limited number of these also head up administrative departments. In the West, in particular, a very large percentage (34.2) of these officials are also members of the city council, while in the East a much smaller percentage (12.8) carry out such a function. While a small number of these officials are heads of council party caucuses, a not insignificant fraction, in both East (5.7) and West (4.1), also hold positions as chairs of local party organizations. It is interesting to note that a large percentage of both the East and West groups are not members of political parties. In the East 48.2 percent are non-partisan while 42.5 of the Western officials do not belong to parties. Where individuals in this general category do have partisan affiliations, they overwhelmingly tend to be with either the CDU/CSU or the SPD.

Table 6: Characteristics of Higher Political/Administrative Officials in Samples

	BRD: Frequency	Percent	East: Frequency	Percent	West: Frequency	Percent
Total of which:	287	100.0	141	100.0	146	100.0
Female	27	9.4	15	10.6	12	8.2
CDU/CSU	74	25.8	33	23.4	41	28.1
SPD	66	23.0	32	22.7	34	23.3
Other Parties	17	5.9	8	5.7	9	6.2
Non-Partisan	130	45.3	68	48.2	62	42.5
Oberbürgermeister (Chief-Mayor)	46	16.0	19	13.5	27	18.5
Bürgermeister (Mayor)	97	33.8	34	24.1	63	43.2
Stadtdirektor (City Director)	15	5.2	0	0.0	15	10.3
Beigeordneter (Deputy Mayor)	58	20.2	48	34.0	10	6.8
Dezernent (Major Administrative Chief)	135	47.0	80	56.7	55	37.7
Sonstige (Other Major Function)	24	8.4	6	4.3	18	12.3
Amtsleiter (Department Head)	8	2.8	6	4.3	2	1.4
Ratsmitglied (Council Member)	68	23.7	18	12.8	50	34.2
Fraktionvorsitz (Council Party Caucus Chair)	5	1.7	1	0.7	4	2.7
Parteivorsitz (Party Chair)	14	4.9	8	5.7	6	4.1
With More Than One Function	115	40.1	45	31.9	70	47.9

Department Heads

Prior to describing the samples of department heads drawn for this study it is useful to provide some background information on the administrative units within the cities of the two sample frames of this study. Figure 3 clearly shows that there is a tremendous range in the number of distinct functional activities carried out by city governments in both East and West.^[6] The average number of functions varies slightly across regions, with slightly more (close to 40) in the West than in the East (about 36 on average).^[7] In some towns less than 10 functions are covered while in others more than 60 are carried out. As Figure 4 suggests, the scope of functional coverage is linked to the size of a city with a fairly rapid increase at lower levels and then a tapering off as the size of the city approaches levels closer to the maximum used in the samples.

Figure 5a provides an overview of the relative frequencies with which the different functions are covered within the cities of the two samples. It was found that there were 57 different classifiable functional activities for these administrative departments. However, many of these functions are carried out in only a few cities. There clearly are, nevertheless, some which appear to be nearly universal: amongst these are such things as public order (*ordnung*), main administration (*haupt*), and social welfare (*sozial*). As Figures 5b and 5c indicate, there are few major differences between East and West in terms of the kinds of functions that are more widespread than others. One major exception here would be economic promotion (*wirtschaftsforderung*) which is found in over 70 percent of the cities in the East and in less than 40 percent of the cities in the West. Given the massive economic restructuring going on in the New Federal States, such emphasis on this function is to be expected.

Figure 3

Relative Coverage of Amt Functions By Communes
(Combined Sample, Based on 74 Kommunes)
(Percent of Amt Coverage)

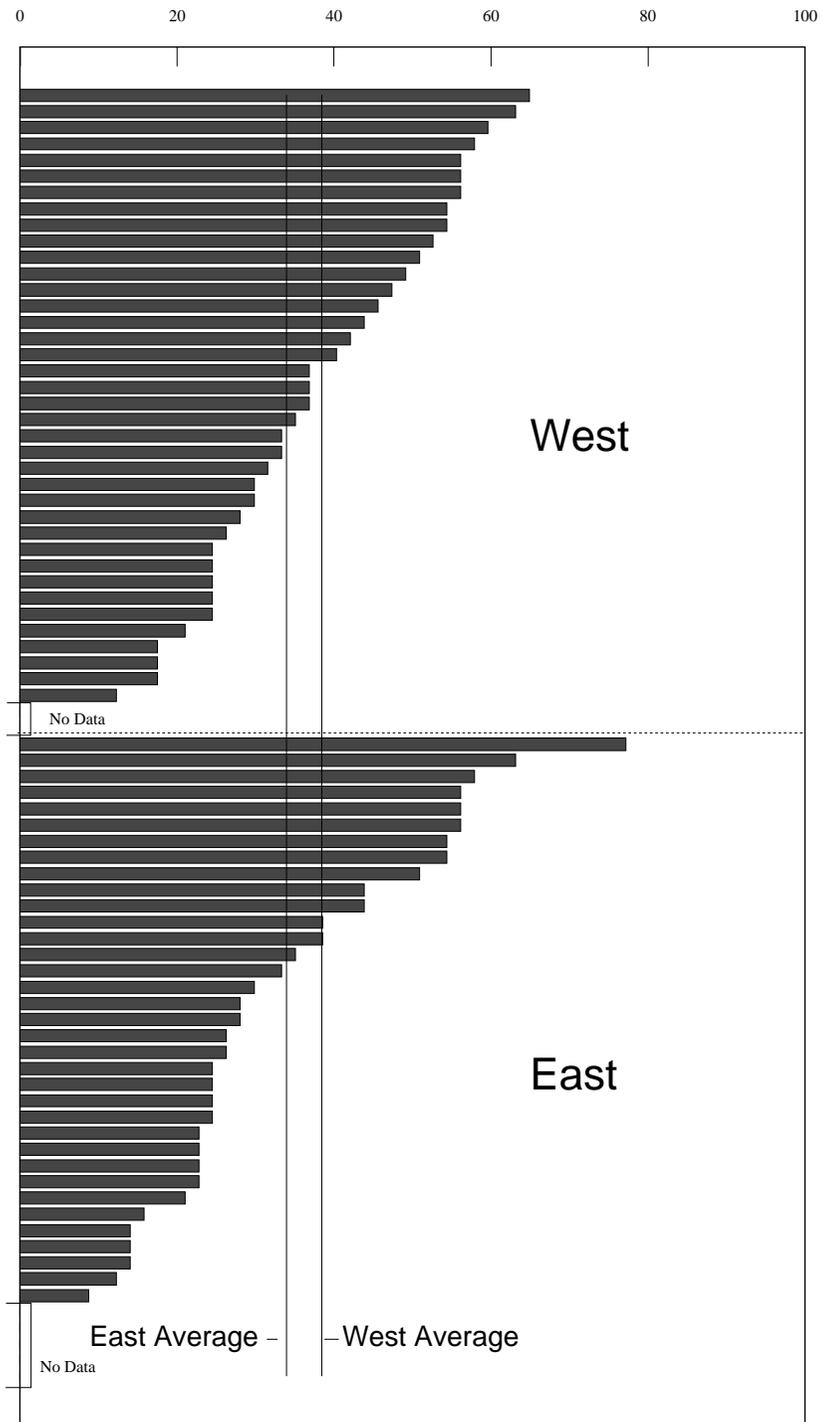


Figure 4

Number of Amt Functions And Population Size

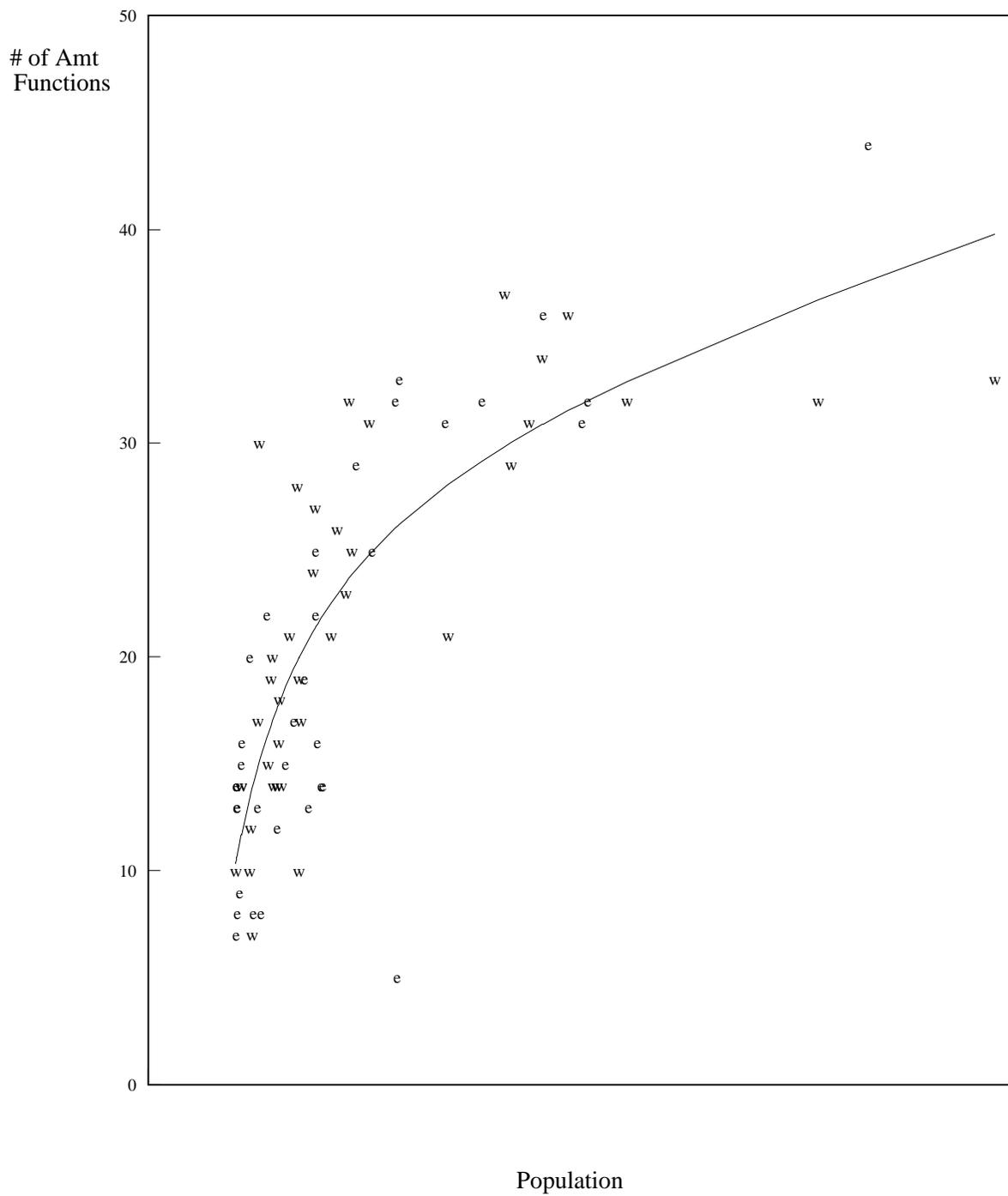


Figure 5a

**Relative Coverage of Amt Functions
(Combined Samples, Based on 74 Kommunes)**

(Percent of Sample with Amt Coverage)

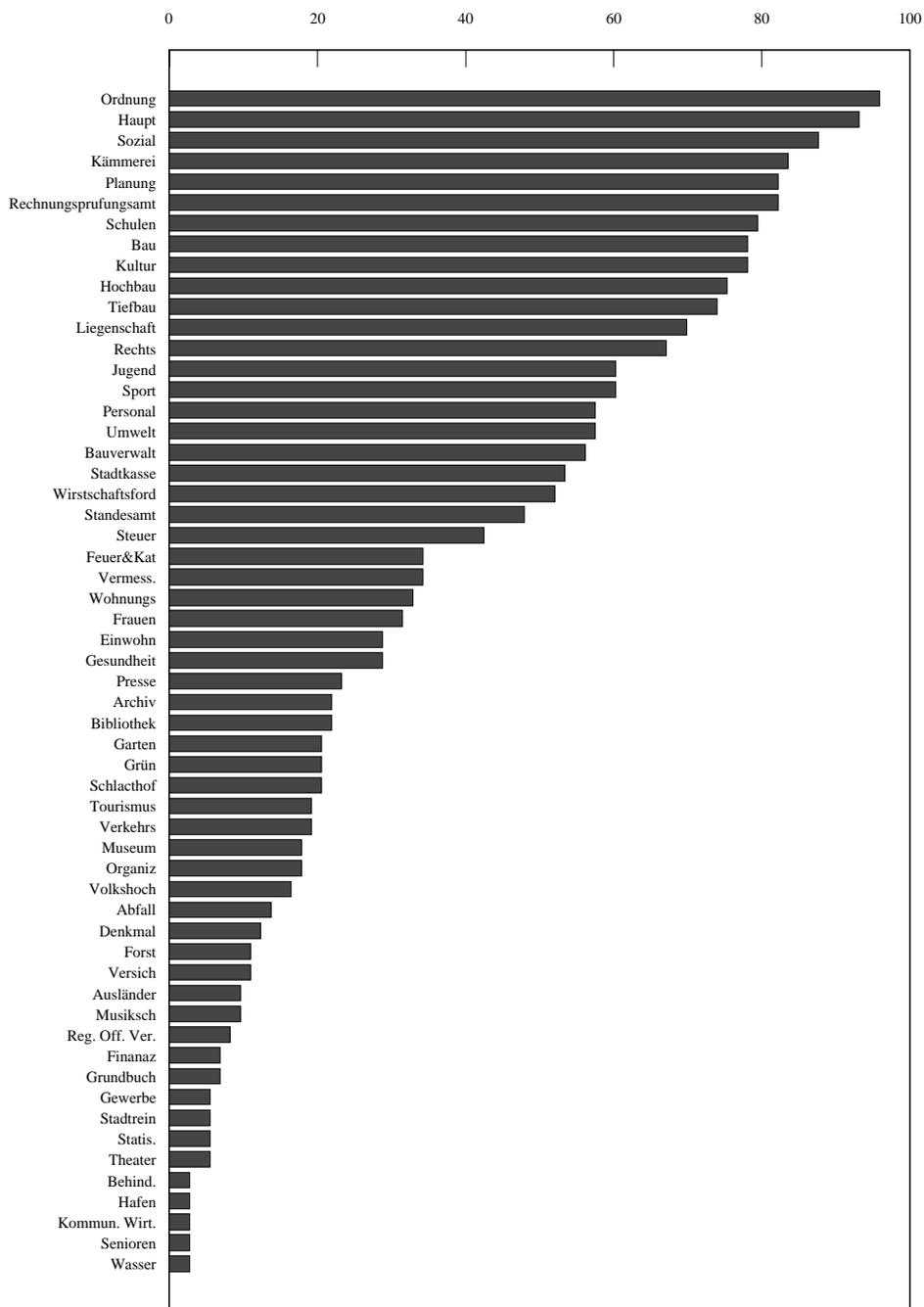


Figure 5b

**Relative Coverage of Amt Functions
(East Sample, Based on 35 Kommunes)**

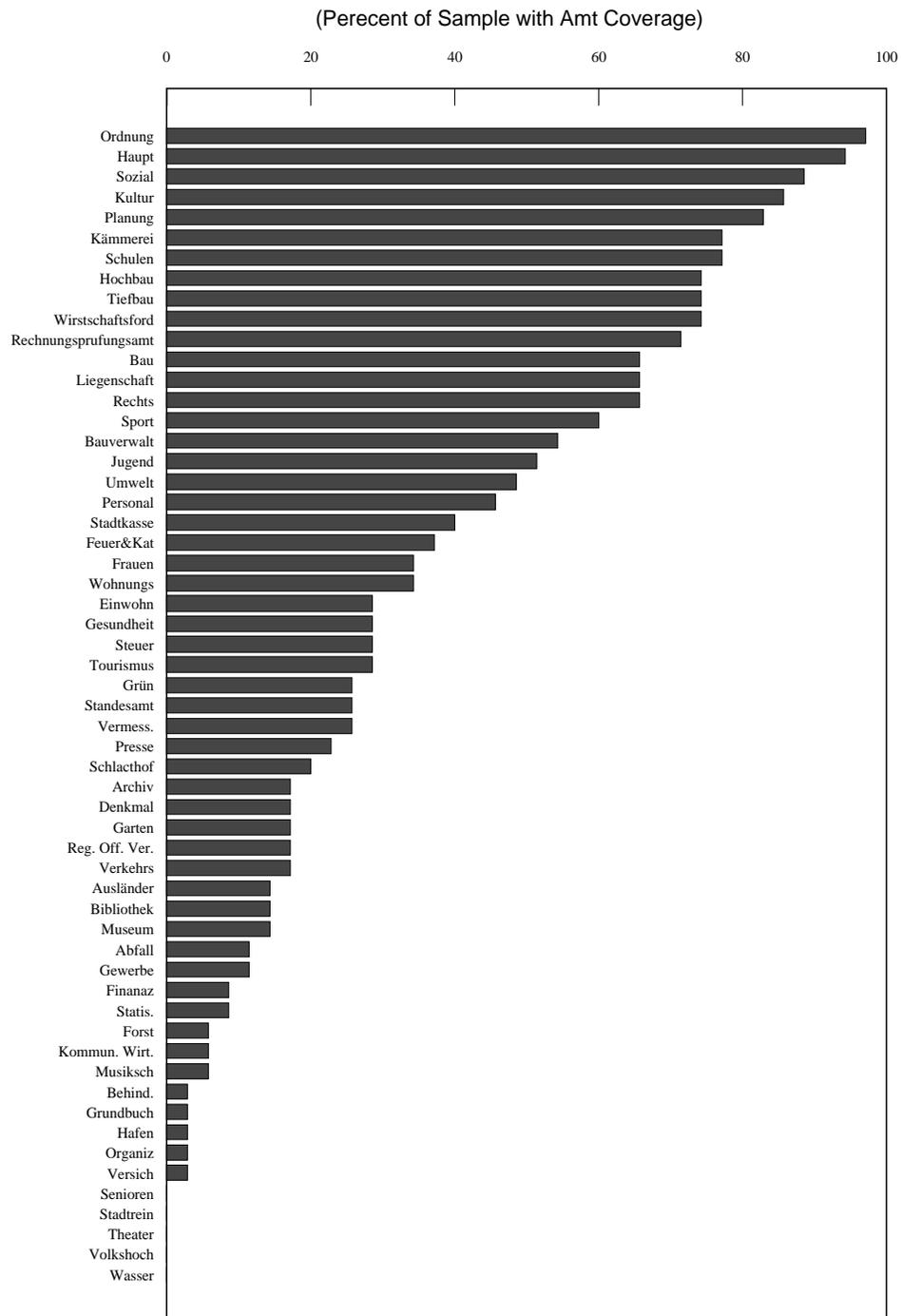
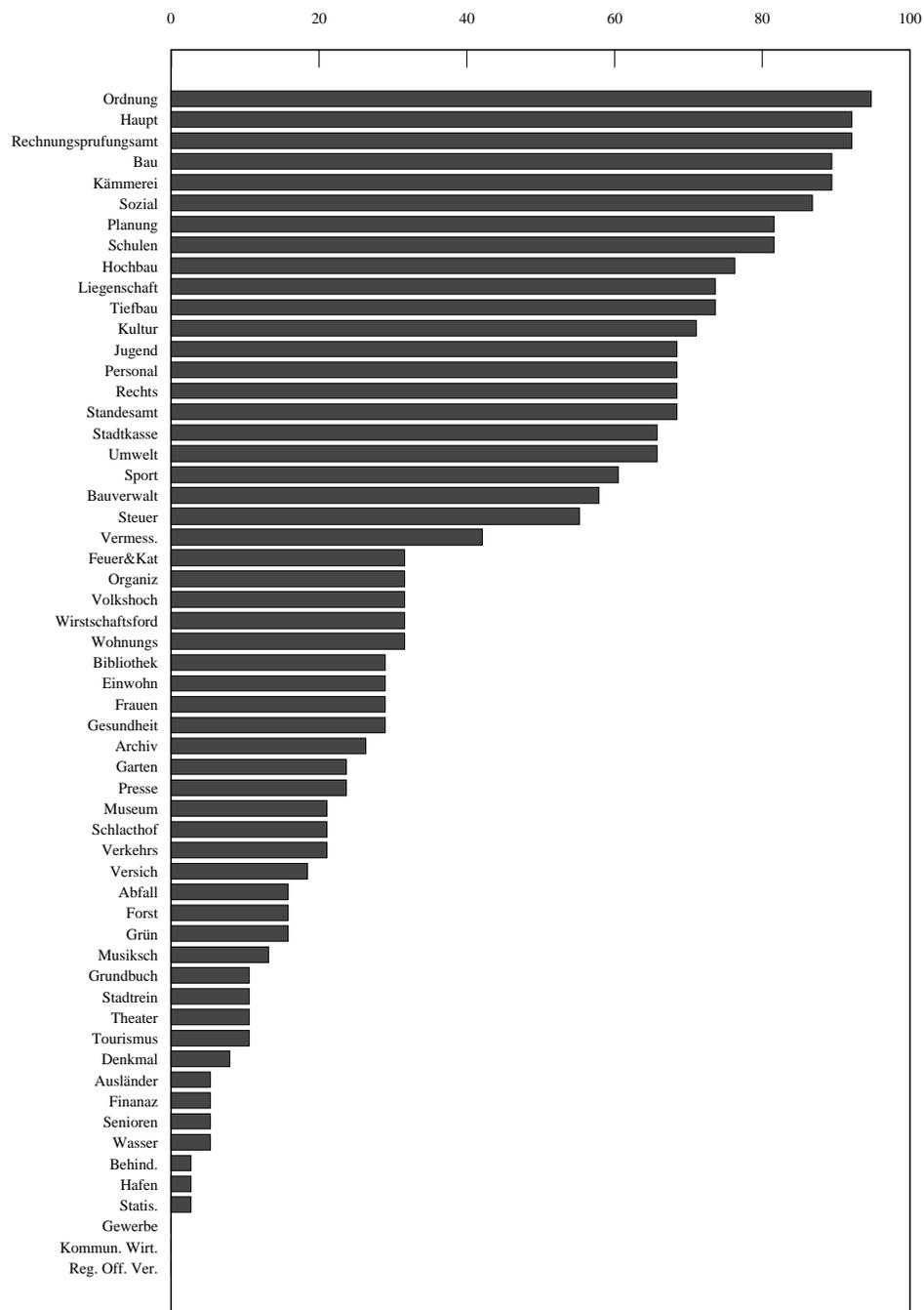


Figure 5c

**Relative Coverage of Amt Functions
(West Sample, Based on 39 Kommunes)**

(Percent of Sample with Amt Coverage)



The relative importance of the functions as well as the interests of our collaborator in the restructuring of local government public administration in the New Federal States led us to decide that our sample of administrative department heads would concentrate on only 15 of these functions. These fifteen have been allocated to six relatively homogeneous groups and include the following:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Group I: Law and Order | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Order (Ordnung) 2. Justice (Recht) 3. Building Regulation (Bauordnung) + Departments that combine 2 or more of these functions |
| Group II: Social I | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Culture (Kultur) 5. Sport (Sport) 6. Education (Schulen) + Departments that combine 2 or more of these functions |
| Group III: Administrative | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Central Administration (Haupt) 8. Personnel (Personal) + Departments that combine these 2 functions |
| Group IV: Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9. City Planning (Planung) 10. Environment (Umwelt) 11. Economic Promotion (Wirtschaftsforderung) + Departments that combine 2 or more of these functions |
| Group V: Public Finance | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Treasury (Kammerei) 13. Auditing (Rechnungsprüfung) + Departments that combine these 2 functions |
| Group VI: Social II | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14. Youth (Jugend) 15. Social Welfare (Sozial) + Departments that combine these 2 functions |

In addition, departments that combined two or more functions from across the six broader groups have been included in a miscellaneous general group.

The results of the sample selection for department heads are presented in Table 7. In the East 211 such individuals have been selected while in the West a slightly higher number, 234, could be drawn into the sample. Across the major groups there are relatively equal numbers of individuals in both samples. However, some specific categories appear more or less frequently than others. A good example of this is to be found in the second group where education (as the sole function of the department) is rarely represented -- indeed there are no cases for this unitary function in the East. However, department heads who deal with education are present in the mixed category for the larger group (Social II); indeed, the mixed category in this group is the largest of all the mixed categories.

Table 7: Frequencies of Different Types of Amtsleiteren (Department Heads) in Samples

Group	Breakdowns by Departments	East	West	Total
I	Total	35	39	74
	of which:			
	Order (Ordnung)	15	18	33
	Justice (Recht)	8	7	15
	Building Regulation (Bauordnung)	9	12	21
	Mixed	3	2	5
II	Total	34	34	68
	of which:			
	Culture (Kultur)	11	11	22
	Sport (Sport)	9	7	16
	Education (Schulen)	0	4	4
	Mixed	14	12	26
III	Total	33	38	71
	of which:			
	Central Administration (Haupt)	22	19	41
	Personnel (Personal)	9	11	20
	Mixed	2	8	10
IV	Total	35	36	71
	of which:			
	City Planning (Planung)	21	15	36
	Environment (Umwelt)	6	10	16
	Economic Promotion (Wirtschaftsforderung)	6	3	9
	Mixed	2	8	10
V	Total	37	43	80
	of which:			
	Treasury (Kammerei)	24	25	49
	Auditing (Rechnungsprüfung)	13	18	31
	Mixed	0	0	0
VI	Total	30	33	63
	of which:			
	Youth (Jugend)	4	7	11
	Social Welfare (Sozial)	22	22	44
	Mixed	4	4	8
Mixed		6	11	17
Total		211	234	445

Party Chair-persons, Caucus Chair-persons, Council Members

As noted previously, the relatively large sample sizes being used for the party and caucus chair-persons, when taken in conjunction with the size of these groups in the sample frames, assures that most individuals within these categories are selected for the two regional samples. Nevertheless, it is still useful to give some information on the partisan distributions that exist both in the frames and samples. As both Tables 8 and 9 show, the matchups between frames and samples are nearly perfect -- an unsurprising result. Interesting, though, are the relatively uniform distributions of representation here. Aside from the Republikaner in both regions and the PDS in the West, each of the party groupings constitute at least nine percent of the frames and samples for the two regions. Even the largest parties do not take up as much as 25 percent of the frames and samples. Assuming no bias in response rates for these two groups, we can expect to acquire a fairly broad range of opinions given the diversity built into the samples.

With far smaller sampling rates for city council members we might expect that the lumpiness that can arise when fitting distributions with a large number of categories might produce some significant distortions in the partisan compositions of the samples. This rarely occurred. One way to measure this distortion is to sum across all party categories the absolute value of the difference between the actual percentage of each party in the council and that in the sample. By this conservative measure, the average distortion rate was only 9 percent across all the cities in the two samples -- a very low rate of built-in bias. Because of the need to assure anonymity, no tables with individual city council comparisons can be presented. Regional and national comparisons can be shown and they are provided in Table 10. As one sees there, the fits between frames and samples on the partisan distributions of council members are extremely close. Again, in the absence of biased return rates, the results promise to be reflective of the opinions in the councils of the samples of cities included in this study.

Table 8: Sample Frames and Samples for Party Chairpersons

BRD							
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	Other
Sample Frame	15.3	20.0	13.8	9.6	3.1	19.7	18.4
Sample	15.6	20.4	14.0	9.2	3.1	19.8	17.9
West							
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	Other
Sample Frame	18.6	20.8	14.4	0	5.9	20.7	19.7
Sample	18.8	21.6	14.8	0	5.7	20.4	18.8
East							
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	Other
Sample Frame	12.2	19.3	13.2	18.8	0.5	18.8	17.3
Sample	12.6	19.2	13.2	18.1	0.6	19.2	17.3

Table 9: Sample Frames and Samples for Council Party Caucus Chairpersons

BRD							
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	Other
Sample Frame	14.7	21.9	9.9	10.4	1.4	22.3	19.4
Sample	14.9	22.3	9.8	9.8	1.5	22.3	19.3
West							
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	Other
Sample Frame	18.2	24.2	9.1	0.0	3.0	24.2	21.2
Sample	18.2	24.2	9.1	0.0	3.0	24.2	21.2
East							
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	Other
Sample Frame	11.6	19.9	10.5	19.9	0.0	20.4	17.7
Sample	11.7	20.4	10.5	19.3	0.0	20.5	17.5

Table 10: Local Council Members' Sample Frames and Sample Distributions By Party Affiliation

BRD								
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	No Party	Oth
Sample Frame	7.8	33.4	4.2	10.2	0.9	32.1	1.1	10.3
Sample	7.9	32.9	4.4	10.3	0.8	32.1	1.2	10.5
West								
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	No Party	Oth
Sample Frame	9.4	38.3	3.5	0.0	1.5	35.4	0.5	11.4
Sample	9.3	38.2	3.7	0.0	1.4	35.5	0.3	11.5
East								
	B90/ GRN	CDU/ CSU	FDP	PDS	REP	SPD	No Party	Oth
Sample Frame	5.8	27.4	5.1	22.8	0.1	28.4	1.9	8.9
Sample	6.3	26.8	5.0	21.8	0.1	28.4	2.2	9.4

Conduct of the Survey

Three actions were involved in contacting the members of the sample. First, a letter announcing the project (along with a statement to the effect that we hoped the sample members would participate in the study) was sent out on May 17th.^[8] As announced in this letter, the questionnaire, along with another letter, materials documenting the "datenschutz" procedures and guarantees, as well as an envelope (where WZB's address and the postal mark indicating that the project would cover the mailing costs of returning the questionnaire) were sent to the sample members on May 26th. On the 14th of June, a follow-up letter was sent to those members of the sample who had not responded to the questionnaire by that time (and had not also communicated with us that they could not or would not participate).

Figure 6a gives an overview of the time profile of the daily number of responses from the first day through to the 19th of July. The postal delivery data on the horizontal axis represents those days where mail could be delivered to the WZB by the Bundespost. Neither weekend deliveries nor deliveries on official holidays during this period occurred. The pattern outlined in the figure is typical of the usual response in mail surveys. Shortly after the questionnaire had been sent to the potential respondents the number of returns peaked -- on the 6th mail delivery date. It stayed rather high and peaked again near the date that we had asked the respondents to return the questionnaires. This request had been made in the letter accompanying the questionnaire. The days following shortly after the reminder letter saw some upward movement in the number of responses; the flow then trickled off after the first week of July. As of July 19th, the last date for which information is presented here (postal delivery day #37), the number of valid responses had reached 1214 (out of the 2310 sample members), a response rate of 52.55 percent (see Figure 6.b). The information that is presented below is based on these responses. As of the date of writing this report, a few more valid returns have come in (viz., 14) and they have been processed but information relating to them is not included here.

Of course during this period some problems arose. A number of unanswered questionnaires were returned or communications (mail or phone) from some sample members in which the individuals refused to participate. Of this number, 19, many indicated that excessive work-schedules, illness, or absence would prevent them from completing the questionnaire. In a few cases there were outright expressions of unwillingness to participate. In one case a completed questionnaire was returned which had been filled out by the assistant to the respondent. This questionnaire had to be declared invalid and the data were not entered.

One significant problem arose. Despite the Project's explicit and strong commitment to assuring the privacy of the respondents, 191 of the 1214 respondents sent the completed questionnaire back after first having removed the cover page with the questionnaire identification number. In 54 of these cases, however, the respondents either placed their names and addresses on the return envelope or on a letter they sent accompanying the returned questionnaire. Of the remaining 137 cases, it was possible to at least identify which of the sample cities the respondent was from in 85 cases. Some of the information that is provided below the sample respondents then is based on an incomplete picture of who is involved. For the purposes of the project, however, this should not prove to be a major problem.

The length of the questionnaire certainly was not an positive inducement to potential respondents. The target sample is composed of individuals with significant responsibilities and tight time-schedules, both of which diminish the possibility of a response. In addition, the natural hesitation of politicians and administrators to answer such a wide range of questions must be taken into account. All of these factors clearly should have worked to lower the number of responses one might expect (Heberlein and Baumgartner, 1978). Despite all of this, however, a final response rate of 53 percent indicates that by conventional standards of mail surveys, this one met with a relatively positive reception.

Figure 6a

Daily Number of Responses

(Based on 1214 Responses: Situation as of 19.7.95)

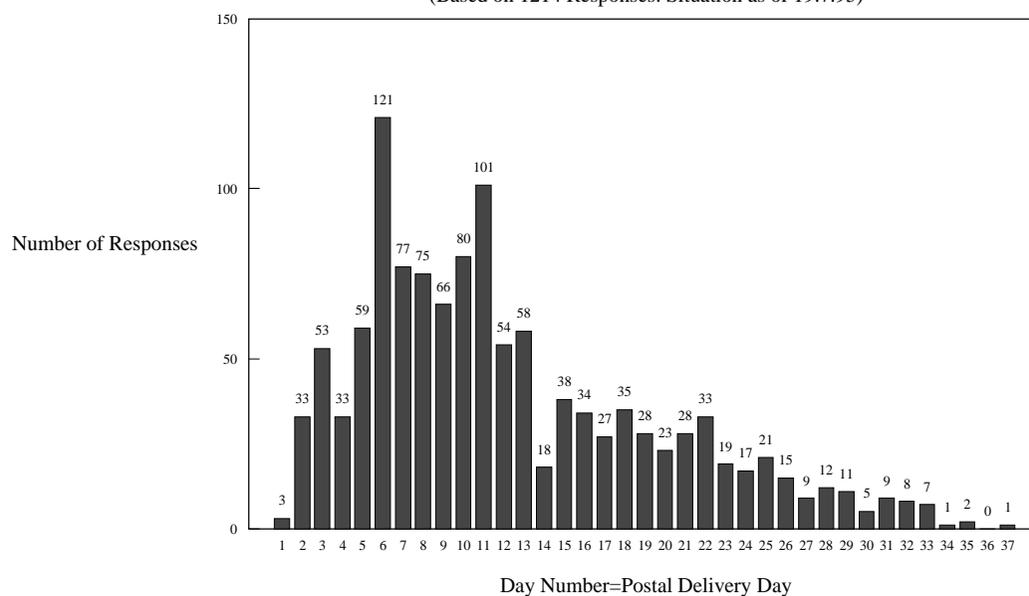
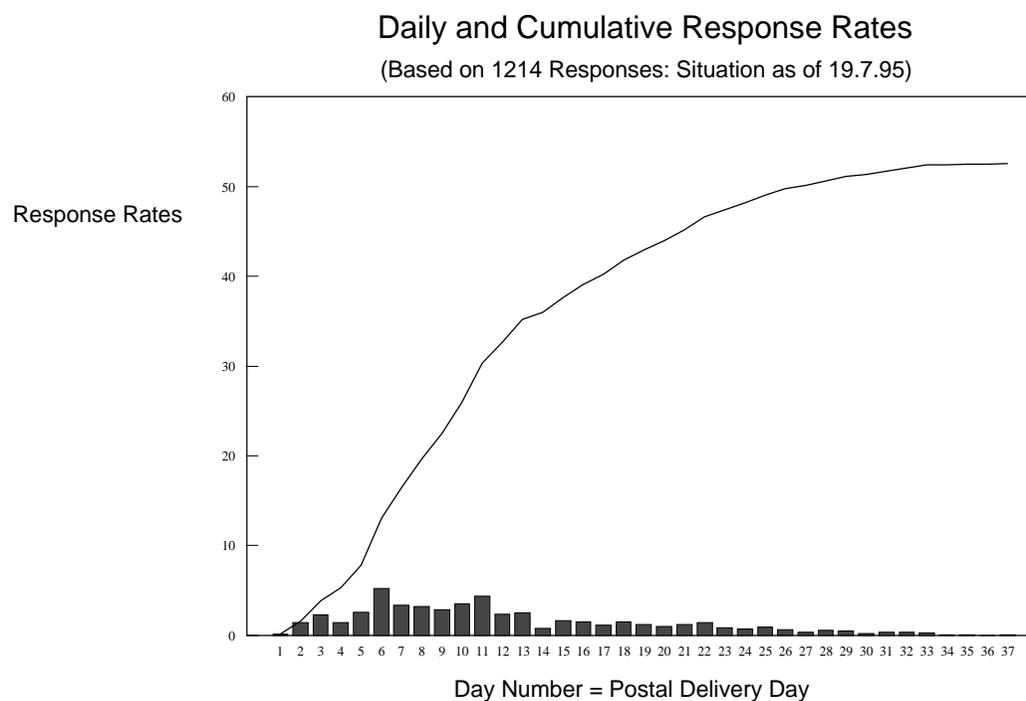


Figure 6b



An Overview of the Response Patterns

In what follows, major patterns in the responses from the targeted samples are described. Because of the difficulty of identifying some of the respondents, not all of the response rates reported below are based on the preliminary set of 1214 cases, but rather on those responses that either partially or fully were identifiable.

Figure 7 provides an overview of the response rates across the two parts of Germany, the New and the Old Federal States. For those groups of respondents that were completely identifiable, the response rates relative to the total samples were 46.13 percent in the New Federal States and 47.08 percent in the Old Federal States. Taking into account as well those responses where the identification had been removed from the completed questionnaire but where the city of origin could be determined, the overall response rate rises to 50.30, with 48.20 percent in the New Federal States and 52.25 percent in the Old Federal States.

Recall that the target minimum of responses in this study is 10 per city. There was indeed wide variation in the numbers of responses per city, but in only two cases was the target not realized, with both of these being cities in the New Federal States. The distributions across both regions can be seen in Figure 8. The values there are

based on those responses where, at a minimum, it was possible to identify the city from which the questionnaire was returned. In the New Federal States the range in the number of responses per city goes from a low of 7 to a high of 20. 35 of the 37 cities had a least ten respondents and 18 had 15 or more respondents. In the Old Federal States, the lowest number of responses was 10 from one city and the highest was a city with 22. 26 cities in this region had 15 more respondents.

It might be noted that the size of the city played different roles across the two regions in terms of response rates. When both regions are combined it would appear that there was a slightly greater chance of a response if the sample member were in a larger city, i.e., a city with of population of 50000 or more. In this category of cities the average response rate was 52.53 percent. In the other category of cities, i.e., smaller ones with population between 25000 and 50000 people, the response rate average was 49.03 percent. However, this difference due to size was concentrated in the region of the New Federal States. Here response rates in larger cities averaged 53.39 percent and only 45.40 percent in smaller cities. In the Old Federal States there was barely any difference in city size category response rates -- indeed there the average response rate was 52.55 percent for smaller cities, slightly higher than it was in the larger cities, viz., 51.11 percent.

Figure 7

Response Rates By Area

(Based on 1214 Responses; Situation as of 19.7.95)

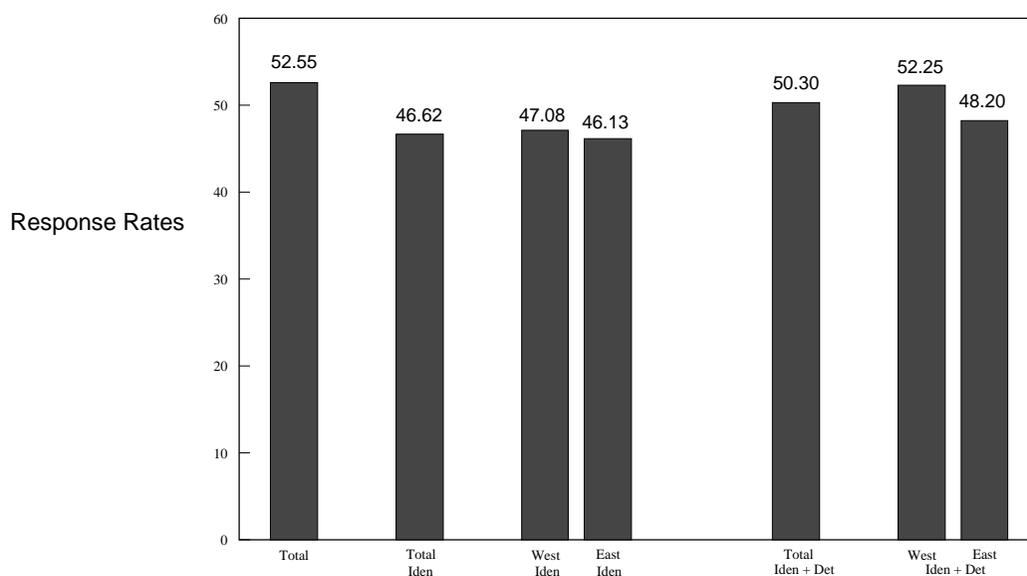
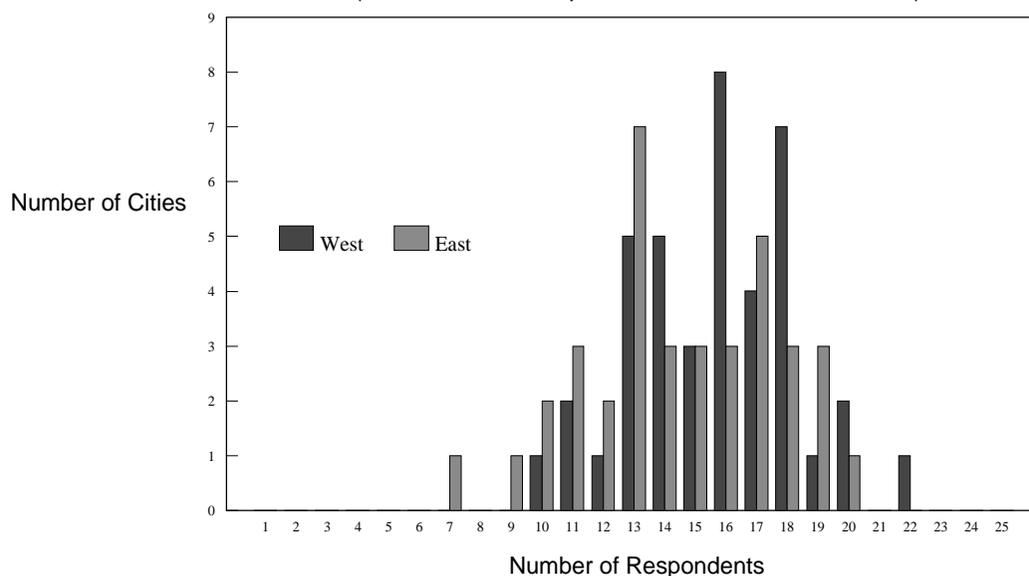


Figure 8

Responses By Cities

(Based on 1214 Respondents; Situation as of 19.7.95)



In terms of the functions of the respondents, or the offices they hold, there was variation in the response rates. Figure 9a provides an overview of these response rates for both regions combined, while 9b and 9c provide information on these rates for the New and Old Federal States, respectively. In addition, information on the response rates for females and males is also provided. Note that this response rate information is based only on those responses which are completely identifiable.

On the legislative side, 48.34 percent of all members of city councils within both samples responded. A higher response rate was found for those council members who are also council party caucus chairpersons, with 52.08 percent responding. Local party chairpersons responded at a lower rate, 42.74 percent.

At the higher levels of political and administrative responsibility, the range in response rates was quite large. The lowest came from the two top positions, chief mayors (32.61 percent) and city directors (40.00 percent). Mayoral response rates were higher (43.30 percent). Deputies such as "Beigeordneten" and "Dezernenten" had even higher response rates, 56.90 and 47.41 percent, respectively. Finally, in the miscellaneous category of this large group, the response rate was 58.33 percent.

One other functional or office category remains. This is that for the department heads. Here the response rate was 46.07 percent.

It should also be pointed out that there is a not insignificant difference between the response rate of males and that of females. Males tended to be more likely to respond than females; the former had a response rate of 48.01 percent while the latter had one of only 41.30 percent.

Between the two regions there were some major differences in the response patterns for these groupings. The response rate for local party chairpersons was five percent higher in the New Federal States. In addition, mayors, "Dezernenten" and the "miscellaneous" category had noticeably higher response rates in the New Federal states than they did in the Old. In two other categories there were noticeably higher rates in the Old Federal States; these were for department heads and "Beigeordneten."

Figure 9a

Response Rates By Categories, Combined

(Based on CI Responses; Situation as of 19.7.95)

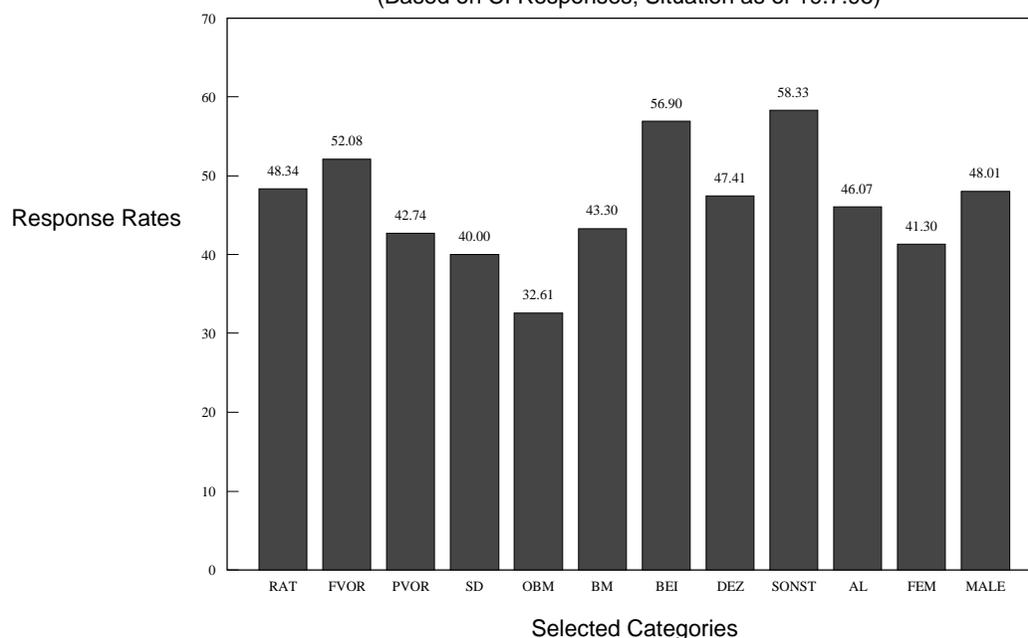


Figure 9b

Response Rates By Categories, East

(Based on CI Responses; Situation as of 19.7.95)

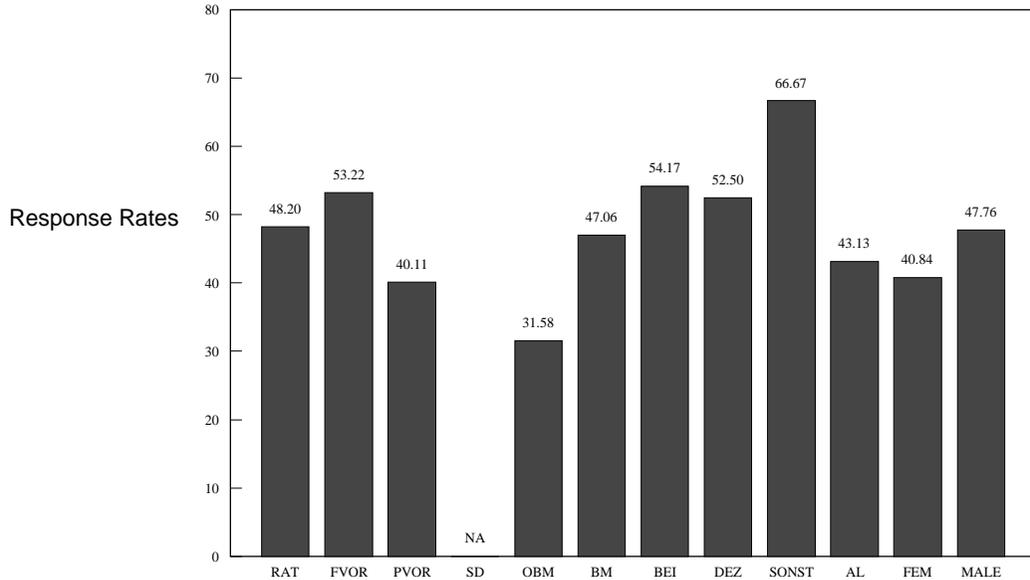
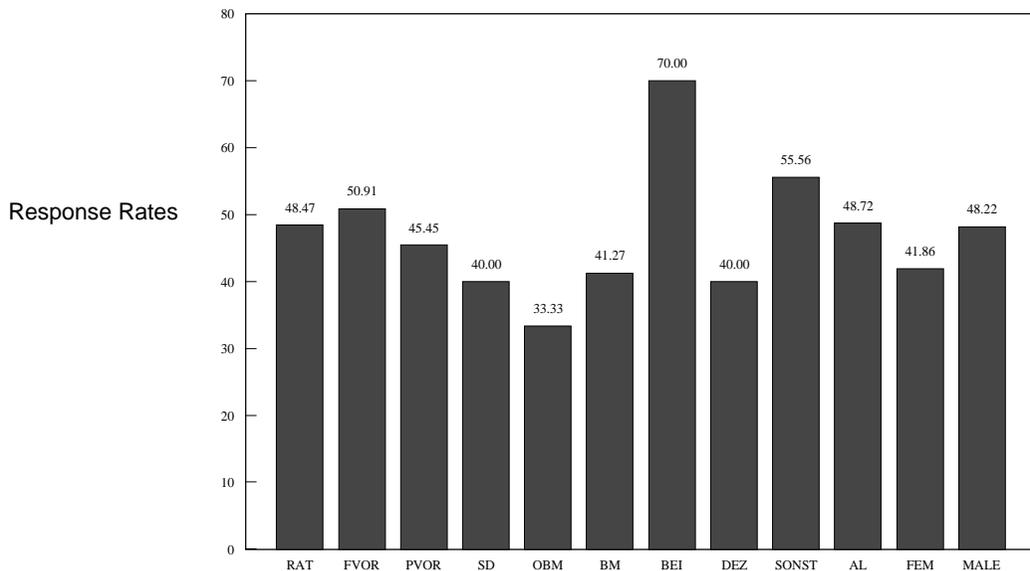


Figure 9c

Response Rates By Categories, West

(Based on CI Responses; Situation as of 19.7.95)



Are the respondents among the city council members a biased group in the sense that the party membership pattern among the respondents is markedly different from that within the target sample? Figures 10a, 10b and 10c provide information useful

for answering this question. The first figures combines data from both regions and matches the relative sizes of a parties' respondents against the relative sizes of the parties' memberships within the sample. Figures 10b and 10c break these comparisons down by region. In general, while there are some differences between the relative sizes of the responses and the target samples, they do not appear to be so large as to warrant the conclusion that response rates (based on party affiliation) are biased. Nevertheless, the specifics are as follows. CDU/CSU members responded at a rate lower than would be expected. For the CDU/CSU, this meant that while Union's membership constituted 32.9 percent of the combined samples, its members represented only 29.6 percent of the respondents. The PDS and the Bundis 90/Die Grünen both had slightly higher response rates than would be expected. The SPD's response rate was about ten percent greater than one would have expected given the average response rate across regions. Generally the differences observed in party response rates is consistent across regions with only the FDP and Republikaner members responding differently in the East than in the West.

Figure 10a

Council Member Party Affiliation; Respondents vs. Sample, Both Regions

(Based on CI Respondents; Situation as of 19.7.95)

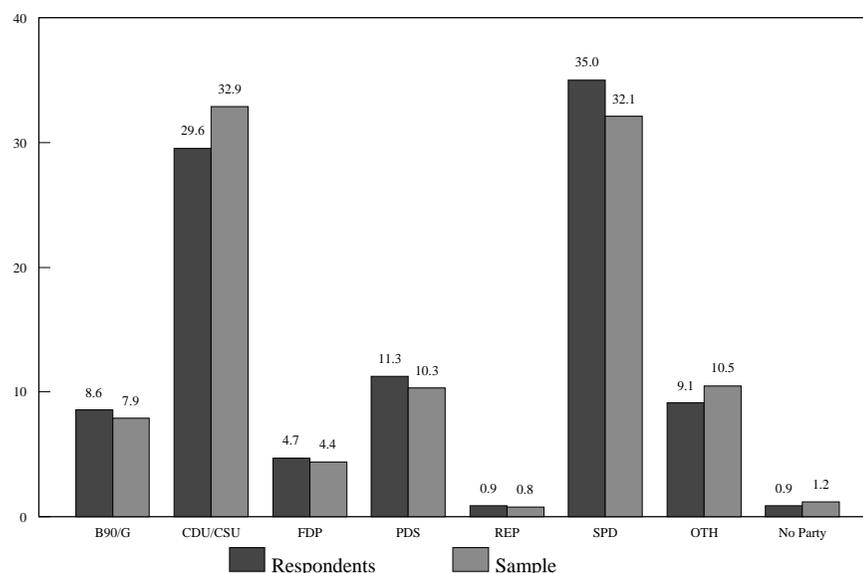


Figure 10b

Council Member Party Affiliation; Respondents vs. Sample, East

(Based on CI Respondents; Situation as of 19.7.95)

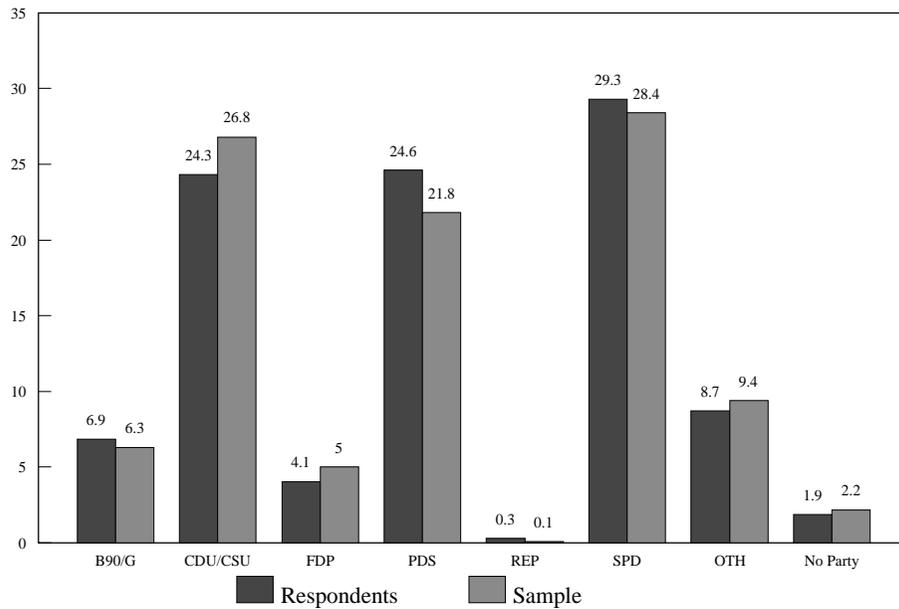
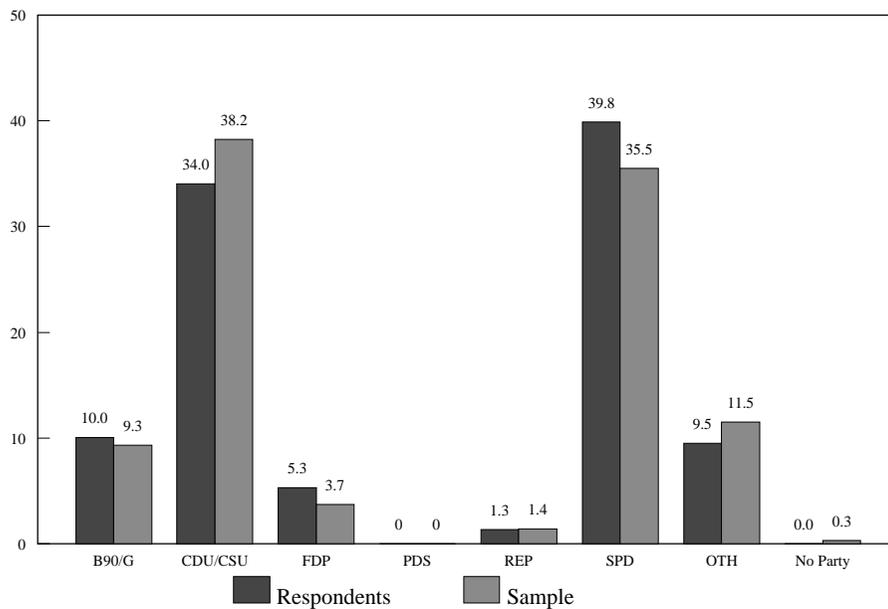


Figure 10c

Council Member Party Affiliation: Respondents vs. Sample, West

(Based on CI Respondents; Situation as of 19.7.95)



Conclusion

This paper has described the technical aspects related to carrying out a large-scale survey project dealing with local government political and administrative elites within Germany. In collaboration with an extensive network of international scholars conducting similar studies in nearly a score of countries, this project has executed two parallel studies, one in the New Federal States and one in the Old Federal States. The instrument used in implementing these studies is an extensive questionnaire focusing on local elite political culture and these elites' characterizations of the problems and conflicts within their cities.

Focused on medium size cities (with populations in the range between 25000 and 250000), 30 scientifically sampled elites in each of 40 cities in the West and 37 cities in the East were contacted and asked to complete and return the Project's questionnaire. The overall response rate was a fairly high 53 percent. Analysis of the patterns of completed and returned questionnaires indicates that there are no significant biases in the response rates for different groups and that the rates of response fairly closely resemble the quotas in the carefully designed targeted samples.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank a number of individuals who have contributed to the successful operation of this project. In particular, the efforts of Bernard Weßels, Susanne Fuchs, Britta Heinrich, and Christoph Klose have been generous, tireless, and indispensable. My appreciation also goes to Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Prinzessin zu Löwenstein for assuring that the resources required to carry out the project were there when needed. In addition, my thanks go to Jan Flickshau, Ute Yu, Katrin Mattusch, and Hellmut Wollmann for the help that they have provided. The financial resources needed to cover the costs of the project were generously supplied by the Department for the Study of Institutions and Social Change at the WZB. In addition, Prof. Wollmann of the Humboldt University provided support to help defray some of the costs of the part of this study dealing with the New Federal States.
2. Among the well established democracies in advanced industrialized societies are Austria, Germany, Japan, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The seven former Soviet republics include Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgsyzstan, Lithuania, Russia, Turkmanistan, and the Ukraine. The East European countries are the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia, and the Third World countries are Korea, Taiwan, and Turkey.
3. The main part of the work in acquiring the basic information on the identity of local elites in our study was carried out under contract with the WZB by the FORSA survey research firm. We appreciate their excellent work and cooperation. In addition, the cooperative responses to be found in nearly all of the cities contacted, both by FORSA and our research team, are gratefully acknowledged. In the end, however, three cities had to be dropped from our New Federal States sample because of unwillingness on the part of some local authorities to cooperate in the collection of information on local political and administrative officials.
4. Assistance in this effort by a member of the Swiss national study group, Ruth Nabholz at the University of Bern, is gratefully acknowledged.
5. Profs. Wollmann and Klingemann as well as Dr. Bernhard Weßels were instrumental in this effort. We are grateful to the Städtetag for its support of our project.
6. Note that the data described here are based on 74 and not 77 cities. The reason why the complete samples of cities are not covered is that the analysis had to be completed prior to the receipt of data on the last three cities. An examination of the information acquired later on these three indicated that the patterns there were typical of those found in the data analyzed and presented here.
7. Here the unit of analysis is function and not amt or department. Often a department has a number of distinct and different functions for which it is responsible. In the counts provided here, the frequencies refer to these functions.
8. Note that all printed materials referred to in this paragraph can be found in the Appendix to this paper. In addition to the Germany questionnaire, a preliminary version of its English translation is also provided.

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Appendix

English Translation of German Version

Democracy and Local Governance, 1995

Questionnaire

* Note that figures in brackets [] provide the question numbers in the February version of the International Project's Questionnaire. A "G" indicates that this question was developed for the German Project.

1. [1] What do you think are the most important problems facing this community now? (please provide key words)

2. [2] For each of the following areas please check off whether they now represent for your community a very serious problem, a somewhat serious problem, or no problem.

	Very serious problem	Somewhat serious problem	No problem
Quality of education	___	___	___
Unemployment	___	___	___
Poverty	___	___	___
Health services	___	___	___
Housing	___	___	___
Improvements in public infrastructure	___	___	___
Recreation and culture	___	___	___
Public safety	___	___	___
Environmental pollution	___	___	___
Social services and welfare	___	___	___
Relations between Germans and foreigners	___	___	___
Economic development	___	___	___
Costs of local government	___	___	___
Immigration by foreigners / asylum seekers	___	___	___
Efficiency of local government administration	___	___	___
Local government finance capacity	___	___	___
Control of local government administration	___	___	___
Other (please specify) _____	___	___	___

3. [3] Please check the areas where in the last two or three years effective action, some action but with no success, or no action was taken within your community.

	Effective action taken	Some action taken but with no success	No action taken
Quality of education	___	___	___
Unemployment	___	___	___
Poverty	___	___	___
Health services	___	___	___
Housing	___	___	___
Improvements in public infrastructure	___	___	___
Recreation and culture	___	___	___
Public safety	___	___	___
Environmental pollution	___	___	___
Social services and welfare	___	___	___
Relations between Germans and foreigners	___	___	___
Economic development	___	___	___
Costs of local government	___	___	___
Immigration by foreigners / asylum seekers	___	___	___
Efficiency of local government administration	___	___	___
Local government finance capacity	___	___	___
Control of local government administration	___	___	___
Other (please specify) _____	___	___	___

4. [4] In which of the following areas does your local government have enough power and autonomy to act effectively?
(please check the appropriate answers)

	The power and autonomy are:	
	sufficient	insufficient
Quality of education	___	___
Employment	___	___
Poverty	___	___
Health services	___	___
Housing problems	___	___
Improvements in public infrastructure	___	___
Recreation and culture	___	___
Crime	___	___
Environmental pollution	___	___
Social services and welfare	___	___
Relations between Germans and foreigners	___	___
Economic development	___	___
Costs of local government	___	___
Immigration by foreigners / asylum seekers	___	___
Efficiency of local government administration	___	___
Local government finance capacity	___	___
Control of local government administration	___	___

5. [5] Regardless of how things are being done now, who in your opinion should have primary responsibility in the following areas? (please check the appropriate answers)

	Federal	State	County	Local gov't.	Non-gov't. organiza-tions	Leave to the people
Quality of education	___	___	___	___	___	___
Employment	___	___	___	___	___	___
Fighting poverty	___	___	___	___	___	___
Health services	___	___	___	___	___	___
Housing problems	___	___	___	___	___	___
Infrastructure	___	___	___	___	___	___
Recreation and culture	___	___	___	___	___	___
Protection from crime	___	___	___	___	___	___
Environmental protection	___	___	___	___	___	___
Social services and welfare	___	___	___	___	___	___
Relations between Germans and foreigners	___	___	___	___	___	___
Economic development	___	___	___	___	___	___
Controlling the costs of local government	___	___	___	___	___	___
Immigration by foreigners / asylum seekers	___	___	___	___	___	___
Efficiency of local government administration	___	___	___	___	___	___
Local government finance (?)	___	___	___	___	___	___
Control of local government administration	___	___	___	___	___	___

6 [6] How much influence do you have on the following areas within your community; Do you have a great influence, some influence, or no influence?

	I have		
	Great influence	Some influence	No influence
Economic development	___	___	___
Agriculture	___	___	___
Housing	___	___	___
Environmental pollution	___	___	___
Improvements in public infrastructure, services, and social care (?)	___	___	___
Health services	___	___	___
Recreation, culture and sport	___	___	___
Public safety	___	___	___
Educational system	___	___	___
Activities of political organizations	___	___	___
Collection and distribution of public resources (taxation and expenditure)	___	___	___
Public order and safety	___	___	___
Social services and welfare	___	___	___
Employment	___	___	___
Immigration by foreigners / asylum seekers	___	___	___

7a. [7] In your political or administrative function you surely sometimes come to situations in which you seek the support of others. To whom you normally turn?

-- You can check off more than one of the possible answers --

Local party leaders	___
Elected members of the town/city council	___
The mayor / chief mayor	___
Local newspapers	___
Party politicians at higher levels (county, state, federal)	___
Leading administrative officials of the town/city	___
Local representatives of political movements	___
Local civic and professional groups concerned with town/city politics.	___
Groups in local party organizations	___
Colleagues in your own administration	___
Administrative officials at higher levels	___
Regional economic groups, chamber of commerce and industry, chamber of crafts and trade, etc.	___
Unions	___
The public or population in general	___
Local ethnic groups	___
Local church groups	___
Neighborhood groups	___
Lower income or lower social status people	___
Wealthy people	___
Close friends and sympathizers	___
Colleagues in neighboring towns/cities	___
Colleagues in West German partner-towns/cities*	___

7b. [G] Which of the following groups often come with proposals for solving local economic problems?
 -- You can check off more than one of the possible answers --

- Party organizations _____
- Local community citizens' initiatives _____
- Regional professional organizations _____
- Regional economic groups, chamber of commerce and industry, chamber of crafts and trades, etc. _____
- Local business people and entrepreneurs _____
- The town/city government bureaucracy _____
- Colleagues in neighboring towns/cities _____
- Colleagues in West German partner-towns/cities* _____
- A governmental bureaucracy at a higher level _____
- The town/city council _____
- Local newspapers _____
- Unions _____
- The public or population in general _____
- Local church groups _____

7c. [G] Which of the following groups have leading influence on the town/city economic policy?
 -- You can check off more than one of the possible answers --

- Party organizations _____
- Local community citizens' initiatives _____
- Regional professional organizations _____
- Regional economic groups, chamber of commerce and industry, chamber of crafts and trades, etc. _____
- Local business people and entrepreneurs _____
- The town/city government bureaucracy _____
- Colleagues in neighboring towns/cities _____
- A governmental bureaucracy at a higher level _____
- The town/city council _____
- Local newspapers _____
- Unions _____

7d. [G] How important are the following establishments and organizations in dealing with local economic and infrastructure tasks; Are they important, somewhat important, or unimportant?

	Important	Somewhat important	Unimportant
Regional economic associations	_____	_____	_____
Chamber of commerce and industry	_____	_____	_____
Chamber of crafts and trades	_____	_____	_____
The local savings bank, the local cooperative bank	_____	_____	_____
Private banks	_____	_____	_____
Unions	_____	_____	_____
The city government bureaucracy	_____	_____	_____
The state and county bureaucracies	_____	_____	_____

Below is a list of statement relating to a set of questions which those with political responsibilities at the local government level must deal with. Please cross off for each of these statements whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8.1 [8.1] The economic development of the nation should take precedence over immediate consumer gratification.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.2 [8.4] The rights of the minorities are so important that the majority should be limited in what it can do.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.3 [8.5] National goals should not be obtained at great costs to local communities.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.4 [8.6] Rich people should pay more for the support of community projects than poor people.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.5 [8.8] Every individual and group should have the right to sue the authorities.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.6 [8.9] The most important thing for the leader is to follow his convictions even if this is different from what the constituency expects.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.7 [8.10] Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.8 [8.11] Any individual or an organization has the right to organize opposition or resistance to any governmental initiative.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.9 [8.12] Widespread participation in decision-making often leads to undesirable conflicts.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.10 [8.13] All decisions should be subject to appeal to an independent authority for review.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.11 [8.14] Although national affairs are important, people here should first worry about their own community's problems.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.12 [8.15] Leaders should present the truth no matter what the consequences are.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.13 [8.16] Government intervention in the economy does more harm than good.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.14 [8.17] The government has the responsibility to see to it that everybody can find a job.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.15 [8.18] Community progress is not possible if national goals always have priority.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.16 [8.19] Most decisions should be left to the judgement of experts.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.17 [8.20] There should be an upper limit on income so that no one earns very much more than others.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.18 [8.21] Competition is often wasteful and destructive.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.19 [8.22] Only those who are fully informed on the issues should be able to vote.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.20 [8.23] When important problems are discussed, a politician should speak his/her mind, even when the majority of citizens within the community are of a different opinion.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.21 [8.24] We should not worry so much about national problems when we have so many in our own community.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.22 [8.25] The government has the responsibility to see that nobody lives well when others are poor.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.23 [8.26] Economic development should not be pursued if it means hardships for the people.	_____	_____	_____	_____

-- continuation of question 8 --

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8.24 [8.27] Few people really know what is in their best interests in the long run.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.25 [8.28] After obtaining a certain standard of living further concern with economic growth is not required.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.26 [8.30] Leaders who are overly concerned about resolving conflicts can never carry out community programs successfully.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.27 [8.31] Participation by the people is not necessary if decision-making is left in the hands of a few trusted and competent leaders.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.28 [8.32] There are no circumstances where provisions of the constitution can be ignored by the authorities.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.29 [8.33] It will always be necessary to have a few strong, able people actually running everything.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.30 [8.35] Preserving harmony in the community should be considered more important than the successfully carrying out community programs.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.31 [8.36] Only economic development will ultimately provide for the welfare and happiness of the people.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.32 [8.37] It is appropriate for local leaders to disobey the law if such an action is in the interest of the community.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.33 [8.40] A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divided the people even if these proposals are important for the community.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.34 [8.41] In order to achieve community goals, it is permissible for leaders to present facts in a one-sided way.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.35 [8.42] The minority has a right to oppose but no right to resist decisions taken by the majority.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.36 [8.43] The private enterprise system is generally a fair and efficient system.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.37 [8.44] Certain people are better qualified to run this country due to their traditions and family background.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.38 [8.45] In order to avoid misunderstanding by the people, a leader should not disclose certain facts.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.39 [8.48] The government has the responsibility to see to it that rights of all minorities are protected.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.40 [8.49] Local leaders should always publicly and truthfully speak the facts about their failures in performing social affairs.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.41 [8.50] Discrepancies in salaries should be continually reduced.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.42 [8.52] A leader is obligated to follow the wishes of the community even if he thinks the citizens are mistaken.	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.43 [8.53] In this complicated world the only way we can know what is going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. [9] In various countries, there is a lot of discussion about how business and industry should be managed. Which of these statements is the best in your opinion? **[note four options, not 5 as in international version]**

-- please check off only one of the options --

- The owners should run their own business or appoint the management. ___
- The owners and the employees should cooperate in the selection of the management. ___
- The state should be the owner and should appoint the management. ___
- The employees should be the owner and should appoint the management. ___

10. [13] Conflicts between different groups of people exist in every community. We have listed a series of two potentially opposed groups. Please check off those combinations where there are major conflicts, minor conflicts, or no conflicts.

	Major conflict	Minor conflict	No conflict
Between the young and the old	___	___	___
Between those with a lot of money and those with little money	___	___	___
Between different religious groups	___	___	___
Between the left and the right	___	___	___
Between business and employees	___	___	___
Between different social classes	___	___	___
Between Germans and foreigners	___	___	___
Between manual and non-manual workers	___	___	___
Between "Ossis" and "Wessis"	___	___	___
Between the "alten Kadern" and the people*	___	___	___
Between the unemployed and the employed	___	___	___
Between those who give priority to environmental protection and those who give priority to economic growth	___	___	___

11. [10] In many communities there are conflicts which interfere with effective action to meet community problems. Are there some major conflicts in your community that interfere with solving problems?

Yes

No

If no, please go to question 14

12. [11] If yes (to question 11), would you please name one or two of these conflicts?

13. [12] To what extent do these conflicts disturb the development of your community?

Strongly

Somewhat

Not at all

14a. [14] In which of the following ways can the citizenry best influence political decisions?

-- You can check off more than one of the possible answers --

Referendum

Participation in citizen meetings, public debate

Participating in working groups to find solutions to problems

Working in movements, groups, or associations with general goals

Working in political parties

Working in citizens' councils

Working in unions

Establishing a citizens' initiative

Organizing or participating in a demonstration

Participation in a spontaneous action, such as a traffic blockade

-- question 14a continued --

- Federal elections _____
- State elections _____
- Local Elections _____
- Personal contact with politicians _____
- Through the media _____
- Other (please specify) _____ _____

14b. [G] Local communities confront a variety of problems and the responses to these problems may differ across communities. How would you characterize the situation in your community?

-- please check off one of the possible descriptions --

A majority of the citizenry is highly engaged in joint efforts to solve local and other problems. _____

The extent of citizenry engagement in joint efforts to solve local and other problems is at best mixed, with a small part of the population engaged and the rest unengaged. _____

There is very little if any citizenry engagement in efforts to solve local and other problems. _____

15a [15] Compared to four years ago, i.e., 1991, is the participation of citizens in local affairs today greater, about the same, or less?

Greater _____

About the same _____

Less _____

15b. [G] When problems arise within your community is it generally the case that citizens come to common or opposed solutions as to how these problems can be solved, or does this depend on the nature of the problem?

-- please check off one of the possible descriptions --

Generally the community's citizens come to a common position on how a problem is to be solved. _____

Generally the community's citizens come to opposed positions on how a problem is to be solved. _____

It depends on the nature of the problem as to whether the citizenry is united or divided on how the problem is to be solved. _____

15c. [G] When problems arise in your local community, what is your approach to solving them?

-- please check off one of the possible descriptions --

I almost always try to help solve these problems in a cooperative fashion. _____

I try to solve problems even when this means that a conflict will ensue. _____

It depends on the nature of the problem as to whether the I pursue a consensual or conflict-oriented strategy. _____

16a. [G] The amount of trust that one finds across communities differs significantly. Which of the following would be the most appropriate characterization of your local community?

-- please check off one of the possible descriptions --

The people in my community are generally mistrustful of one another. _____

The degree of trust and mistrust in my community is relatively equal. _____

The people in my community have a high degree of trust toward one another. _____

16b. [G] To what extent would the following statement fit your community?

"I'll do this for you now, knowing that somewhere down the road you'll do something for me."

-- please check off one of the possible descriptions --

This is an appropriate characterization of nearly all of the citizens in my community. _____

This applies to a majority of the citizens in my community. _____

This applies to a minority of the citizens in my community. _____

This applies to very few citizens in my community. _____

16c. How far would this statement (see 16b) characterize your own way of dealing people in your community?

Almost always _____

Most of the time _____

Some of the time _____

Never or hardly ever _____

17. [17] Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that one can not be too careful dealing with people?

Most people can be trusted. _____
 One can not be too careful. _____
 Don't know. _____

18a [18] In your community is there a way to challenge the decisions of the local government?

Yes _____
 No _____ *If no, please go to question 19*

18b. [18] If yes (*to question 18a*), in what way[s]?

19. [19] How important are the motives listed below for people joining political parties?

	Important	Less Important	Unimportant
To gain political influence	_____	_____	_____
To help others	_____	_____	_____
To work for personal convictions	_____	_____	_____
To contribute to the development of their community	_____	_____	_____
To gain political experience	_____	_____	_____
To meet their obligations as citizens	_____	_____	_____
To conform to pressures from others	_____	_____	_____
To promote their own interests	_____	_____	_____
To support democracy	_____	_____	_____
To keep a family tradition	_____	_____	_____
To meet other people	_____	_____	_____
To make a career	_____	_____	_____

20. [20] Of what importance are political parties in the Federal Republic?

	Great Importance	Less Important	Unimportant
In our country	_____	_____	_____
In our community	_____	_____	_____

21. [21] Of what importance are the roles of political parties in the following areas?

	Great Importance	Less Important	Unimportant
Selecting candidates for public office	_____	_____	_____
Formulating political programs	_____	_____	_____
Creating governing majorities	_____	_____	_____
Involving people in politics	_____	_____	_____
Conducting electoral campaigns	_____	_____	_____
Representing the interests of their voters	_____	_____	_____
Filling positions in the public administration	_____	_____	_____

22 [22] Should non-European Union foreigners living in our country have the following rights?

	Yes	No
Their own church	_____	_____
Their own schools	_____	_____
Their own press	_____	_____
"Candidacy for political office"	_____	_____
"Voting in elections"	_____	_____
Recognition of their language for official purposes	_____	_____
Their own cultural organizations	_____	_____
Their own political parties	_____	_____

23. [25] There are different way in which citizens can participate in politics in order to protest against something or to attract attention to some problem or cause. Please indicate whether you have or would participate in any of the following types of political actions.

	Have participated	Would participate	Would not participate
Sing a petition	_____	_____	_____
Join a boycott	_____	_____	_____
Participated in a lawful demonstration	_____	_____	_____

24. [26] With which of the following geographical entities do identify?

-- please check off only your first and second choices --

	First choice	Second choice
The town or city in which you live	_____	_____
The region in which you live	_____	_____
The federal state in which you live	_____	_____
East Germany	_____	_____
West Germany	_____	_____
The Federal Republic of Germany in its entirety	_____	_____
Europe	_____	_____
The world as a whole	_____	_____

25. [27] Which of the following areas would you describe as very serious, somewhat serious, or not serious?

25a. [27] For your community:

	Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious
Air pollution	_____	_____	_____
Quality of drinking water	_____	_____	_____
Pollution of lakes and rivers	_____	_____	_____
Waste disposal	_____	_____	_____
Disposal of nuclear and chemical waste	_____	_____	_____
Extinction of wild life	_____	_____	_____

25b. [27] For the world:

	Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious
Air pollution	_____	_____	_____
Quality of drinking water	_____	_____	_____
Pollution of lakes and rivers	_____	_____	_____
Waste disposal	_____	_____	_____
Disposal of nuclear and chemical waste	_____	_____	_____
Extinction of wild life	_____	_____	_____

26. [28] Please indicate in which of the following problem areas your town/city council should be supportive of local initiatives.

	Yes	No
Global warming	_____	_____
Help for victims of civil wars	_____	_____
Population growth in the Third World	_____	_____
Hunger in some parts of the world	_____	_____
Effects of the Chernobyl disaster	_____	_____
World economic development	_____	_____
Other global or international issues	_____	_____

27 [30] How would you characterize the following in terms of the strength of their effects on the development of your community?

	Strong	Some	None
Foreign investment	_____	_____	_____
Exports	_____	_____	_____
Imports	_____	_____	_____
Foreign workers	_____	_____	_____
Environmental pollution from other countries	_____	_____	_____
Foreign language television and radio	_____	_____	_____
Foreign tourists	_____	_____	_____

28. [32] Which countries are the most important to the development of your community?

29. [33] What should be the most important two goals in Germany for the next ten years?

-- please check off only one answer in each column --

	Most important	Second most important
Maintaining quiet and order in the country	_____	_____
Giving people more say in important government decisions	_____	_____
Fighting rising prices	_____	_____
Protecting freedom of speech	_____	_____

30a [G] People associate democracy with many different things. Please indicate for each of the following the degree to which you associate it with democracy.

	A great deal	Somewhat	Not so much	Not at all
Political freedom, e.g., freedom of opinion and freedom of association	_____	_____	_____	_____
More social equality	_____	_____	_____	_____
Many political and administrative decisions should be made at the local and regional level	_____	_____	_____	_____
Less corruption and less	_____	_____	_____	_____
Freedom in moral and sexual matters	_____	_____	_____	_____
Judges should place equality before justice	_____	_____	_____	_____
Government control of banks and large private firms	_____	_____	_____	_____
Equal rights for women	_____	_____	_____	_____
More workplaces and fewer unemployed	_____	_____	_____	_____
Improvement in the economy	_____	_____	_____	_____
Multi-party system	_____	_____	_____	_____

30b. [G] How satisfied are you with the way democracy functions in the Federal Republic of Germany?

- Very satisfied _____
- Somewhat satisfied _____
- Somewhat dissatisfied _____
- Completely dissatisfied _____

30c. [G] How satisfied are you with the way democracy functions in your town/city?

- Very satisfied _____
- Somewhat satisfied _____
- Somewhat dissatisfied _____
- Completely dissatisfied _____

31. [G] The following statements are related to people's orientations toward life. Where would you place yourself on the scales placed below?

One must be careful about major changes in life.

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

If one is unwilling to change things, then little can be achieved.

Ideas that have demonstrated their value over a long time are in general the best.

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

New ideas are in general better than old ones.

32. [G] A previous study of town and city government officials discovered that there were significant differences in how these officials saw themselves. How strongly do each of the following characterizations fit your conception of the role you have?

Strongly

Not at all

Expert with the knowledge needed to solve problems

□ □ □ □ □

Spokesperson for broad social groups and general societal interests

□ □ □ □ □

Representative for organized interests

□ □ □ □ □

Intermediary between conflicting interests

□ □ □ □ □

Implementor of political orders

□ □ □ □ □

Partisan politician carrying out a specific program

□ □ □ □ □

Representative of the town/city

□ □ □ □ □

Legal technician

□ □ □ □ □

Citizen advocate who takes care of problems and people

□ □ □ □ □

Initiator of new projects and problem-solver

□ □ □ □ □

33a. [G] It is often assumed that top-level administrators operate in an intermediate zone - where matters not purely administrative but also political are dealt with. To what extent does this idea apply to the leading administrators in your town/city government?

- Always _____
- Often _____
- Don't know _____
- Hardly ever _____
- Never _____

33b. [G] How do you evaluate this political side of leading administrators' work?

- Very good _____
- Good _____
- Sometimes good, sometimes bad _____
- Bad _____
- Very bad _____

34. [G] In your opinion what criteria should public administrators use in their decision making?

-- you can check off up to three answers to this question --

- Strict accordance with the written rules** _____
- Instructions from superiors** _____
- Citizen-friendly decisions** _____
- Seek responsibility and use latitude available** _____
- Results orientation (Cost/Benefit???)** _____
- Traditional orientation in accordance with mood of the community** _____

Information on Respondent's Background

35. [35] At present what is your most important political or official position?

36. [36] How many years have you been in this position?

37. [G] On average how many hours a week do you spend on your political or official job?

38. [37] How many years have you been in political or official positions?

39. [38] Have your father or mother held governmental or political positions?

- | | yes | no |
|--------|-------|-------|
| Father | _____ | _____ |
| Mother | _____ | _____ |

40a. [39] Are you a member or a supporter of a political party?

- Member _____
- Supporter _____
- Neither member or supporter _____

If no, please go to question 40d.

40b. [39] To which party do you belong or support?

- Bundis 90/Grüne _____
- CDU _____
- CSU _____
- FDP _____
- PDS _____
- SPD _____
- No party _____

Another party or voter organization _____

40c. [39] If you are a member of a political party, how long have you belonged?
_____ years

40d. [G] In which of the following categories of organizations or groups are you a member?
Professional associations

- Unions _____
- Educational organizations or associations _____
- Cultural organizations or associations _____
- Sports organizations or associations _____
- Church or religious organizations _____
- Environmental organizations or associations _____
- Economic associations _____
- Welfare organizations or associations _____
- Other (please specify) _____

41.[45] Education?

- Volks/hauptschule ohne Abschluß _____
- Volks/hauptschule mit Abschluß bzw. 8 Klassen _____
- Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluß bzw. 10 Klassen _____
- Fachhochschulreife _____
- Fachhochschule _____
- Abitur _____
- Hochschul-, Universitätsabschluß _____

42a. [40] For what profession or trade were you trained for?

42b. [40] At this time what is your main job?

42c. [G] Is this job [42b] in the public sector?

- Yes _____
- No _____

42d. [G] Were you in this job prior to 1989?

- Yes _____
- No _____

If no, What was your main occupation before 1989?

43. [41] What are (or were the last) main occupations of your parents?

Father: _____

Mother: _____

44. [42] For how long have you lived in this town/city?

_____ years

45a. [43] Where were you born?
 In the same town or city where you hold your position _____
 In the same region _____
 In the same federal state _____
 Elsewhere in East Germany _____
 Elsewhere in West Germany _____
 In the former areas of Germany located in the east _____
 Outside of Germany _____

45b. [G] After the "Wende" did you move from West to East Germany, or vice versa?
 Yes, from West to East Germany _____
 Yes, from East to West Germany _____
 No _____

46. [44] How old are you?
 _____ years

47. [46] Gender?
 Male _____
 Female _____

48. [47] Marital status?
 Married _____
 Cohabiting, not married _____
 Single _____
 Divorce, separated _____
 Widowed _____

49. [48] Religious affiliation?
 Catholic _____
 Protestant/Lutheran _____
 Other (please specify) _____
 No religious affiliation _____

50. [49] How frequently do you attend church?
 More than once a week _____
 Once a week _____
 One to three times a month _____
 Often during the year _____
 Seldom or never _____

51. [50] What is your nationality?
 German _____
 Other (please specify) _____

52. [51] Many people use the term "Left" and "Right" when trying to describe political orientations. Where, on the scale below, would you place yourself?

Left

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

 Right

53. [34] One last question: There is considerable argument concerning the meaning of democracy. What does democracy mean to you?
