# The Value of Learning History

Survey Questionnaire (English translation)

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# [Section 1: Pre-Screen Questionnaire and Consent Form]

## Welcome!

As part of the European research project "Society in the 21st Century" led by members of the CESifo research network and researchers at Bocconi University, we are conducting a representative population survey. For this we need your support!

It is an **anonymous**, **15-minute online survey** about your time in school and current issues. As a thank you, all participants will receive a 10€ gift card that can be redeemed at many online retailers (including Amazon.de). The gift card will be sent by e-mail within seven days after completion of the survey.

The study is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) within the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) TRR 190, by the Ludwig-Maximilian-University of Munich, by Bocconi University and by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for the Promotion of Science.

The collected data will be used for scientific purposes only.

We would welcome if you participated in this important survey and thank you very much in advance for your support.

Please answer a few short questions first to determine if you are eligible for the survey.

#### Notice:

- You can only participate in this survey once.
- For the quality of the study it is important that you answer all questions carefully.

[Q1: Above 18] Are you at least 18 years old?

- Yes
- o No

[Q2: High School Degree] Do you have a high school diploma?

- o Yes
- o No

[Q3: Graduation Year] In which year did you graduate from high school?

[Select year from dropdown list of years]

[Q4: State] In which state did you graduate from high school?

[Select German state from dropdown list of states]

[Q5: School Type] What kind of high school did you graduate from?

- o Gymnasium
- Comprehensive School
- Secondary technical school
- Other type of school

[Q6: Study Track] Please select from the subjects below all those in which you have taken (written or oral) Abitur examinations.

- o German
- o English
- o French
- o Spanish
- o Latin
- History
- Politics / Economy
- Geography
- Mathematics
- Biology
- o Chemistry
- Physics
- o Computer science

- o Art
- Sports
- Religion
- o Other

[Q7: Intense Study Track] Please indicate the subjects you had as an advanced course/major.

[Select subjects from list of subjects that were selected in previous question.]

[Q8: Years of Schooling] In which grade did you graduate from high school?

- o 12th grade
- o 13th grade

[If any of the following is **not** true, the participant is screened out of the survey: 1) is at least 18 years old, 2) has Abitur, 3) graduated high school between 2009-2014 inclusive, 4) graduated from a high school in Lower Saxony, 4) attended a high school that is a "Gymnasium" or a "Comprehensive School".]

[Q9: Consent Form]

[Participant is presented with consent form. Survey continues if respondent consents to participate, and terminates otherwise]

## [Section 2: Outcome Elicitation]

The survey starts off with a few general questions about your political views.

All your answers will be recorded anonymously.

[Q10: Political Leaning] Many people use the terms "left" and "right" when referring to different political attitudes. Below is a scale, running from left to right.

When you think of your own political views, where would you rank those views on this scale?

[Answer scale: 10-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 10, where 1 is Left and 10 is Right]

[Q11: Party Thermometer] Now we would like to determine your feelings toward various political parties in Germany with the help of the so-called feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you have a positive and warm attitude towards the party. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you have a negative and cool attitude toward the party. You would rate the party at 50 degrees if you are neither positive nor negative. Thinking back over the past year, what were your attitudes toward the following parties?

[One slider each for CDU, SPD, Green Party, AfD, FDP, Left Party]
[Answer scale: 101-point Likert scale slider from 0 to 100 where 0 is "cool" and 100 is "warm"]

[Q12: Voted] Did you vote in the last federal election in 2021?

- Yes
- o No

[If "yes":]

[Q13: Party Vote] Which party did you vote for in the last federal election?

- o CDU/CSU
- o SPD
- o AfD
- o FDP
- o Die Linke
- o Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- Sonstige

[If "no":]

[Q14: Party Vote (Hypothetical)] Even if you did NOT vote in the election: Which party would you have voted for most likely?

- o CDU/CSU
- o SPD
- o AfD
- o FDP
- o Die Linke
- o Bündnis90/Die Grünen
- Sonstige

#### [Political Attitudes Block]

[Q15: Political Attitudes (Long Statements)] We now ask you to read through seven statements about political issues. Please indicate in each case whether you tend to disagree or agree with the statement.

[Answer scale: 7-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 7, where 1 is "completely disagree" and 7 is "completely agree"]

[Q15.1: Placebo] Germany should have a world-class digital infrastructure as soon as possible, a fully and end-to-end digitized administration, and an education system in which people can learn for life in a digital world.

[Q15.2: Primacy of German Values (AfD)] The German Leitkultur describes our consensus of values, which is identity-forming for our people and distinguishes us from others. It ensures the cohesion of society and is a prerequisite for the functioning of our state. The community-forming effect of German culture is the foundation of our Basic Law.

[Q15.3: Need to Overcome Capitalism through Fight (The Left)] A crisis-free, social, ecological and peaceful capitalism is not possible. But as a result of social and political struggles and changed relations of forces, it is possible to enforce a different direction of development and thus also to create initial conditions for more far-reaching democratic-socialist transformations. It is in such struggles that the concepts, social forces and majorities for alternatives to capitalism are developed.

[Q15.4: Downplaying NS-History (AfD)] German history must be appreciated in its entirety. The official culture of remembrance must not only focus on the low points of our history, it must also keep the high points in mind. A people without national consciousness cannot exist in the long run.

[Q15.5: Capitalism as Exploitative Process (The Left)] We cannot resign ourselves to a world in which profit interests decide the life prospects of billions of people and in which exploitation, wars and imperialism cut off entire countries from hope and a future. Where profit rules above all, there is little room for democracy. The unbridled freedom of big corporations means unfreedom for the majority of people.

[Q15.6: Anti-Multiculturalism (AfD)] The ideology of multiculturalism equates imported cultural currents with native culture in a history-blind way and thus deeply relativizes the values of native culture. Multiculturalism is a serious threat to social peace and to the continued existence of the nation as a cultural entity. In the face of it, the state and civil society must confidently defend German cultural identity as a guiding culture.

[Q15.7: Call for Change of Economic Order (The Left)] The sustainable overcoming of the economic crisis, mass unemployment, and the social crisis requires a different economic order that is no longer dominated by the pursuit of maximum profit.

[Q16: Political Attitudes (Short Statements)] Next, we would like to ask for your opinion on some other opinions that you sometimes hear. Again, indicate in each case whether you tend to disagree or agree with the statement.

[Answer scale: 7-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 7, where 1 is "completely disagree" and 7 is "completely agree"]

[Chauvinism/Nationalism – note that the topic headers are not displayed to participants]

[Q16.1] We should finally have the courage to have a strong national feeling again.

[Q16.2] What our country needs today is a tough and energetic assertion of German interests vis-à-vis foreign countries.

[Q16.3] Germany should try to regain the power and prestige it once had.

# [Immigration]

[Q16.4:] Foreigners living in Germany should orient themselves to German culture. Of course, they can keep their own customs, language or religion, but in case of conflict, German culture should take precedence.

[Q16.5:] Germany has changed a lot due to immigration; there are quite a few neighborhoods where people no longer live a German life.

[Q16.6:] The presence of foreigners in Germany leads to the loss of social cohesion.

# [Working Class]

[Q16.7:] Workers are exploited in our economic system.

[Q16.8: ] Politicians only care about the interests of the rich.

[Q16.9:] Corporate profits are generated by workers. So the government should make sure that the profits also reach the workers and not the employers.

# [Capitalism]

[Q16.10:] Capitalism is based on inequality, exploitation, expansion and competition, and is thus incompatible with democracy, freedom, equality, justice, internationalism and solidarity.

[Q16.11:] Capitalism is fundamentally wrong and we should do everything in our power to replace it with a completely different system.

[Q16.12: ] It would be desirable for Germany to move towards a socialist/communist system.

#### [Economic Policy]

[Q16.13:] The government should control prices and wages in the economy.

[Q16.14:] The government should implement a job guarantee so that everyone has a stable job with a living wage.

[Q16.15:] A planned economy would successfully distribute the work to be done among all who are able to work and distribute goods to the people who need them most.

# [Donation Block]

The next step is to decide on donations to two political parties: First for the "Alternative for Germany" (AfD), and then for "The Left". For each party, we ask you the same question.

[Q17: Donation AfD]

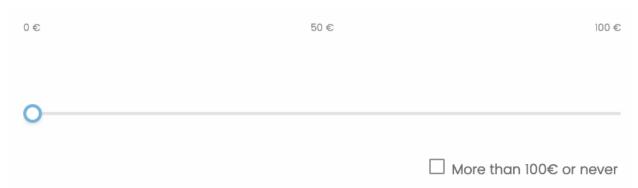
This question is about measuring how much money you would have to receive to be willing to authorize a 5€ donation to the party "Alternative for Germany" (AfD).

The donation to the AfD would be **paid and executed by us**, so your decision is completely **anonymous**. The money for you would be paid in the form of an additional gift card.

Some participants will be randomly selected, and their decisions implemented. Details are given below, in case you would like to read up on the procedure. In any case, it is in your best interest to simply indicate at what amount you would be willing to agree to the 5€ donation.

What is the minimum amount of money you would need to receive to authorize a 5€ donation to the AfD?

(Set the slider to the corresponding amount).



#### **Execution details:**

- A lottery will decide if you will be selected. The probability is 1/1000.
- If you are selected, the computer will choose a random prize (in the form of a gift card value) between 0€ and 100€ (evenly).
- If the prize is below the amount you specify, you will not receive an additional gift card and the donation will not be sent.
- If the price is equal to or above the amount you specify, you will receive an additional gift card equal to the price (it will be sent to you together with the gift card you receive as a thank you for participating in the survey) and the 5€ donation to AfD will be sent by us.
- If you choose the option "More than 100€ or never", the donation will not be authorized by you and you will not receive the extra gift card under any circumstances.
- If you are randomly selected, you will find out in the email with which you will be sent the gift card reward for your participation.

#### [Q18: Donation The Left]

We now ask you the same question again for the case of a 5€ donation to the party "Die Linke".

The same rules apply as in the previous question. Some participants will be randomly selected, and their decisions implemented. Again, it is in your best interest to simply indicate at what amount you would be willing to agree to the 5€ donation.

What is the minimum amount of money you would have to receive to authorize a 5€ donation to Die Linke?

0 €	50 €	100 €
0		
		☐ More than 100€ or never

#### **Execution details:**

- You first tell us the minimum amount for yourself at which you would be willing to authorize the 5€ donation to Die Linke.
- A lottery will decide if you will be selected. The probability is 1/1000.
- If you are selected, the computer will choose a random prize (in the form of a gift card value) between 0€ and 100€ (evenly).
- If the prize is below the amount you specify, you will not receive an additional gift card and the donation will not be sent.
- If the price is equal to or above the amount you specify, you will receive an additional gift card equal to the price (it will be sent to you together with the gift card you receive as a thank you for participating in the survey) and the 5€ donation to Die Linke will be sent by us.
- If you choose the option "More than 100€ or never", the donation will not be authorized by you and you will not receive the extra gift card under any circumstances.
- If you are randomly selected, you will find out in the email with which you will be sent the gift card reward for your participation.

If you are randomly selected for one (or both) of the last two questions, you will find out in the email that will be sent to you with the thank you voucher for your participation.

Please continue with the survey now.

[Q19: Petition] Now we would like to know if you would like to support the following petitions.

The first petition (you will see it in full on the next screen) demands that the AfD expel party member Joachim Paul from the party because of his former involvement with the NPD-affiliated magazine "Hier & Jetzt" (H&J).

The second petition (it will be displayed in full on the next screen) demands that Die Linke expel party member Thomas Nord because of his former work for the Stasi.

After the survey is completed, we will send the aggregated results of the petition to the party in question (AfD in the case of Joachim Paul and Die Linke in the case of Thomas Nord).

That is, the respective party will be informed how many of the respondents who participated in this survey supported the petition. Your decision therefore remains completely anonymous.

Please read the individual petitions on the next page carefully and decide whether you want to support them anonymously.

**Petition 1**: "Joachim Paul, member of the AfD and assessor in the AfD federal executive committee, has written for the NPD-affiliated magazine H&J. Such involvement with the NPD is contrary to the spirit of post-World War II German institutions; therefore, we demand his expulsion from the AfD."

**Petition 2**: "Thomas Nord, a member of the Left Party, has worked for the Stasi. Such activity for the Stasi contradicts the spirit of German institutions after reunification; therefore, we demand his expulsion from the Left."

Do you support any of the petitions, and if so, which one? (Note: You can support at most one of the two petitions).

- No: I do not support either petition.
- Yes: I support Petition 1 to expel Joachim Paul from the AfD for involvement with an NPDaffiliated magazine.
- Yes: I support Petition 2 to expel Thomas Nord from the Left Party because of his Stasi past.

[if selected "no" in previous question:]

[Q20: Petition Hypothetical] Hypothetically, if you had to support one of the two petitions, which one would it be?

Note: Your answer to this question is purely hypothetical and is not included in the calculation of the number of participants supporting the respective petitions.

- Petition 1 on the exclusion of Joachim Paul from the AfD because of involvement with an NPD-affiliated magazine.
- o Petition 2 on the exclusion of Thomas Nord from the Left Party because of his Stasi past.

#### [Section 3: Knowledge Questions]

In this part of the survey, we would like to ask you to answer some questions about the history of National Socialism and the GDR.

If you are unsure about a question, please select the answer you think is most likely.

[Q21: Quiz Q1] What was not part of the ideology of the National Socialists?

- Expropriation of farmers
- o Anti-Semitism
- Forced sterilization of the mentally ill
- Superiority of the Aryan race

[Q22: Quiz Q2] How many Jews were murdered during the time of National Socialism?

- About 6 million
- Less than one million
- About 3 million
- More than 12 million

[Q23: Quiz Q3] Which statement about the state's "racial struggle" during the Nazi era is incorrect?

- The so-called Nuremberg Laws of 1939 made political rights dependent on proof of "Aryan descent."
- Nazi racial ideology tied in with the idea of the "struggle for existence" of Social Darwinism.
- o The "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" was decided at the Wannsee Conference.
- As part of the program known as "euthanasia," the Nazis murdered thousands of people with disabilities.

[Q24: Quiz Q4] What does the term "Night of the Long Knives" refer to?

- A night in 1934 when members of the SA were executed by Hitler's regime because it was feared they were organizing a coup.
- o A night in 1939 when an assassination attempt was made on Hitler.
- A night in 1944 when the fighting in Stalingrad was particularly intense and is generally considered the night when it became clear that Germany would lose the war.
- o A night in 1944 when the Red Army captured Berlin.

[Q25: Quiz Q5] Which of the following best describes how Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933?

- Hindenburg appointed him chancellor after the NSDAP won the most votes in democratic elections a year earlier.
- Through a military coup.
- o His predecessor Kurt von Schleicher chose him as his successor.
- The Treaty of Versailles stipulated that he should become chancellor.

[Q26: Quiz Q6] What does the "Anschluss" mean in the context of World War II?

- The annexation of Austria.
- The invasion of Poland.
- The invasion of the Netherlands.
- The annexation of Czechoslovakia.

[Q27: Quiz Q7] Which statement about resistance to the Nazis is not true?

- The Catholic Church strongly denounced the anti-Semitic crimes of the regime.
- The "White Rose" was a resistance group.
- o In 1939, a bomb attempt on Hitler failed only because he left a meeting in the Bürgerbräukeller in Munich early.
- The most resolute resistance to the regime came from the communists. Thousands of them were imprisoned, tortured and murdered because of it.

## [Q28: Quiz Q8] What was the name of the ruling party of the GDR?

- o SED
- o SPD
- o KPD
- o The Left

## [Q29: Quiz Q9] Who had a leading role in the ruling party of the GDR?

- Walter Ulbricht
- Konrad Adenauer
- o Boris Yeltsin
- Helmut Kohl

## [Q30: Quiz Q10] In which year was the Berlin Wall built?

- 0 1961
- o **1949**
- o **1956**
- 0 1967

#### [Q31: Quiz Q11] What was not one of the initial focal points of GDR policy?

- Cult around the person of Gorbachev
- Foundation of the Ministry for State Security
- Introduction of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism as the only true worldview
- Expropriation of industry

# [Q32: Quiz Q12] Which statement about the Berlin Wall and escape from the GDR is not true?

- o Between 1949 and 1961, fewer than 10,000 people fled the GDR
- o The statement "Nobody wants to build a wall" was made by Walter Ulbricht
- o Forced collectivization of agriculture led to a sharp increase in GDR refugees.
- The GDR leadership called the Wall an "anti-fascist protective wall."

#### [Q33: Quiz Q13] What happened on June 17, 1953?

- First major uprising against the communist regime in the GDR. Started as a workers' protest and general strike and was violently put down by the regime.
- Hungarian popular uprising against the communist regime. Began as a student protest in Budapest and was violently put down by Soviet troops.

- Protest for greater democracy, known as the "Prague Spring" and organized by the Czechoslovak Communist Party, was violently put down under the leadership of troops from the Soviet Union.
- The first of the "Monday Demonstrations," a series of peaceful protests by hundreds of thousands of GDR citizens for democracy, took place in Leipzig.

[Q34: Quiz Q14] How did the GDR dissolve?

- Through a peaceful revolution.
- Through a democratic referendum.
- Through a brutal civil war.
- Due to military intervention by the USA.

# [Section 4: Additional Outcome Elicitation]

[Q35: Narrative]

Now the task is to gather your perspective on the causes of social developments over the past 20 years. To do this, we ask you a single question.

Over the past two decades, **populist parties** have gained increasing support in Europe. Two different points are often cited as the main causes of this development.

One view says that rising support for populist parties is primarily a reaction to rising **economic inequality**.

Others believe that increasing support for populist parties is primarily a reaction to **increasing immigration**.

Which of these two often-mentioned points do you think is more crucial to the growth of populist movements and views, and how do you justify your choice?

[open text field]

This part of the survey is about your views on religion and marriage, and on the social acceptance of different opinions.

[If randomized to long list:]

[Q36: List Experiment (Long Version)] How many of the following statements do you agree with?

- You should get married first and then have children.
- Marriage is not important nowadays.

- I wouldn't mind if a member of my family married someone of Jewish descent.
- I think church weddings are outdated.
- Agree with 0 of the statements
- Agree with 1 of the statements
- Agree with 2 of the statements
- Agree with 3 of the statements
- Agree with 4 of the statements

## [If randomized to short list:]

[Q37: List Experiment (Short Version)] How many of the following statements do you agree with?

- You should get married first and then have children.
- Marriage is not important nowadays.
- I think church weddings are outdated.
- o Agree with 0 of the statements
- Agree with 1 of the statements
- Agree with 2 of the statements
- o Agree with 3 of the statements

[Q38: Social Acceptability - NS Regime] How socially unacceptable or acceptable is it to say in Germany that the National Socialist regime also had good sides?

[6-point Likert scale slider going from 1 (totally unacceptable) to 7 (completely acceptable)]

[Q39: Social Acceptability - GDR] How socially unacceptable or acceptable is it to say in Germany that the GDR also had good sides?

[6-point Likert scale slider going from 1 (totally unacceptable) to 7 (completely acceptable)]

## [If graduated high school in 13th grade:]

[Q40: Curriculum 13 years] Thinking back to history classes in your school years: please select all school years in which, to the best of your knowledge, you covered the following topics:

	In grade 5-7	In grade 8-11	In grade 12-13	In none of the grades listed
GDR	0	0	0	0
National Socialism	0	0	0	0
French Revolution	0	0	0	0
Roman Empire	0	0	0	0

[If graduated high school in 12th grade:]

[Q41: Curriculum 12 years] Thinking back to history classes in your school years: please select all school years in which, to the best of your knowledge, you covered the following topics:

	In grade 5-7	In grade 8-10	In grade 11-12	In none of the grades listed
GDR	0	0	0	0
National	0	0	0	0
Socialism				
French	0	0	0	0
Revolution				
Roman	0	0	0	0
Empire				

## [Q42: Religion]

Nun möchten wir Sie um Ihr Urteil zu einigen Meinungen, die man manchmal zum Thema Religion hört, bitten. Geben Sie jeweils an, ob Sie der Aussage eher widersprechen oder eher zustimmen.

[Answer scale: 7-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 7, where 1 is "completely disagree" and 7 is "completely agree"]

[Q41.1:] The Catholic Church has too much control over global affairs.

[Q41.2:] I would not mind if a member of my family married someone of Jewish origin.

[Q41.3:] I would not mind if a member of my family converted to Islam.

[Q41.4: ] Jewish people have too much power in the business world.

[Q41.5:] Jewish people care little about the suffering of non-Jewish people.

## [Section 5: Demographic Questions]

The last thing we ask you to do is to provide some demographic information about yourself and your personal environment.

[Q43: Year of Birth] In what year were you born?

[Select year from dropdown list.]

[Q44: Gender] I am ...

- o female
- o male

diverse

[Q45: Education Level] What is the highest educational qualification you have achieved?

- High School Degree
- o Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree
- German University Diploma
- o PhD

[Q46: Region] In which region is the school located where you graduated from high school?

[Select region from dropdown list.]

[Q47: GPA] What was your high school GPA?

- 0 1,0-1.3
- 0 1,4-1,7
- 0 1,8-2,0
- 0 2,1-2,3
- 0 2,4-2,7
- 0 2,8-3,0
- 0 3,1-3,3
- 0 3,4-4,0

[Q48: Income] What is your annual net income? Please state the amount in euros and without decimal point.

[numeric open response field]

[Q49: Employment] What is your current employment status?

- o Employed
- Unemployed and looking for a job
- Not in the labor force (e.g. in education, retired, ...)

[Q50: Partner's Education] In which year did your partner graduate from high school? (If you do not have a partner, or if your partner did not graduate from high school, select the appropriate answer choice).

- o Do not have a partner
- o Partner does not have a high school diploma
- o 2007 or earlier
- 0 2008
- o 2009
- 0 2010
- o 2011
- o 2012
- o 2013

- 0 2014
- 2015 or later

[Q51: Parents' Political Leaning] Thinking of your home environment growing up: when it comes to political issues, would you classify **your parents' political views** overall as more to the left or more to the right of the political spectrum?

(The question refers to the parental caregiver(s) in whose household you grew up. If it is more than one person, please indicate the average).

[Answer scale: 10-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 10, where 1 is Left and 10 is Right]

[Q52: Parent Soviet Experience] To your knowledge, which of the following statements is true about your parents? (Please select all options that apply.)

- At least one parent was born in the former GDR.
- o At least one parent was born in the former Soviet Union.
- Neither statement is true.

[Q53: Teacher Political Leaning] Thinking of your history teacher in high school, when it comes to political issues, would you classify their political views overall as more to the left or more to the right of the political spectrum?

[Answer scale: 10-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 10, where 1 is Left and 10 is Right]

[Q54: Researcher Political Leaning] Thinking of the researchers conducting this study, when it comes to political issues, would you classify their political views overall as more to the left or more to the right of the political spectrum?

[Answer scale: 7-point Likert scale slider from 1 to 7, where 1 is Left and 7 is Right]

Thank you for participating in this survey!

Next, you will be redirected to a separate survey module that collects your email address. It is necessary to send you the gift card as a thank you for your participation.

To do this, click on "Continue".

#### [Section 6: Feedback and Email]

You have now reached the end of the survey.

[Q55: E-Mail]

The gift card as a thank you for your participation will be sent to you by e-mail within the next 7 days.

Please enter your e-mail address:

[open response field]

Note: You can also choose to leave this field unanswered. In this case you will not receive a gift card. If you choose to provide your email address: it will be stored separately from the rest of your information, kept securely, deleted at the end of the study, and never shared with third parties.

[Q56: Feedback] Was there anything about the survey that you had difficulty with or did not understand? Your feedback helps us in improving this survey.
[open response field]

## Thank you for your participation!

Your answer has been registered. If you provided an email address, a reward in the form of a gift card will be emailed to you within the next 7 days.

More information about this study can be found at:

https://studie-gesellschaft-im-21jh.de .