Polish National Election Survey
(PGSW)
2001
Hello, I'm .................. and I represent the Public Opinion Research Center. We conduct surveys regarding a variety of issues.
Our interviewees are selected from the national household directory. The responses to the questions are confidential and will be used in a form of a collective track record only.

In the case you have any problems with giving an answer to a question, for instance it will be difficult for you to choose any of the indicated answers, you will not know the answer, or for some reasons you would rather refrain from answering a particular question, please, tell me about it.

Please indicate the initiation time of the interview (hour.... minute....)
1. On the whole do you think that the things in our country go in the right or in the wrong direction?

   1 ‘right
   2 ‘wrong
   7 „don’t know, hard to say“

2. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

   1 ‘laws in our country favor the rich over the poor
   2 ‘laws in our country treat the rich and the poor equally
   3 ‘laws in our country favor the poor over the rich
   7 „don’t know, hard to say“

3. (INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 1)
Please choose among the following statements the one you agree with most:

   1 ‘our political system is sound and needs no changes
   2 ‘our political system is generally sound, although it needs minor changes
   3 ‘our political system is performing poorly and needs lots of changes
   4 ‘our political system is malfunctioning and needs crucial change
   7 „don’t know, hard to say“

4. How would you assess your interest in politics? Is your interest in politics:

   1 ‘extremely high -- you carefully follow almost everything going on in politics
   2 ‘high -- you follow most important political events
   3 ‘medium -- you follow only some of the main political events
   4 ‘marginal -- you hardly follow even the most important events
   5 ‘none -- practically you are not interested in politics at all
   7 „don’t know, hard to say“

5. Here is a list of things some people do during elections. Which if any, did you do during the most recent election:
...talked to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate?

   1. Yes
   2. No
   7 ‘hard to say ( ⇒ C. 7)

6. [IF YES] How often did you do this? Would you say...

   1 Frequently
   2 Occasionally
   3 Rarely
   7 ‘hard to say
C 7. ...showed your support for a party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way?

1. Yes
2. No
7 'hard to say (→ C. 7)

C 8. [IF YES] How often did you do this? Would you say...

1 Frequently
2 Occasionally
3 Rarely
7 'hard to say

C 9. During the last election campaign did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade you to vote for them?

1 'yes
2 'no

C 10. As it often happens during the parliamentary elections, many people - due to different considerations - did not participate in the elections of September 23, 2001. Please tell me, did you vote?

1 'yes, I did vote
2 "no, I didn’t vote”
3 ‘I am not eligible
8 ‘refusal to answer

C 11. (INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 2 and write down party or coalition number) Candidate of which party or coalition did you vote for in the Sejm elections?

..............................................................................................................

C 12. Simultaneously to the Sejm elections, Senate elections took place. Each of the Senate candidates was supported by a particular electoral committee. Which parties or coalitions were supporting the candidates for Senators you voted for?

ATTENTION: in some constituencies one could vote for two, three or four candidates to Senate. In the positions 1-4 please complete as many names of electoral committees as the respondent was supposed to vote for. For instance, if someone voted for four candidates coming from “Blok Senat 2001” in Warsaw then you need to complete “Blok Senat 2001” four times.

1 ‘.........................
2 ‘..........................
3 ‘.........................
4 ‘.........................

C 13. What do you think has been the most important issue facing Poland over the last 4 years?

......................................................... OPEN-ENDED QUESTION
C 14. And thinking about that issue, how good or bad a job do you think the government has done over the past 4 years. Has it done a……

1 ‘Very good job
2 ‘Good job
3 ‘Bad job
4 ‘Very bad job
7 „don’t know, hard to say”

C 15. Now thinking about the performance of the government in general, how good or bad a job do you think it done over the past 4 years? Has it done a...

1 ‘Very good job
2 ‘Good job
3 ‘Bad job
4 ‘Very bad job
7 „don’t know, hard to say”

C 16. On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Poland.

1 ‘Very satisfied
2 ‘Fairly satisfied
3 ‘Not very satisfied
4 ‘Not at all satisfied’
7 “don’t know, hard to say”

(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 3)

C 17. Some people say it makes a big difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn’t make any difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that it makes a big difference who is in power and FIVE means that is doesn’t make any difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?

1 ‘It makes a big difference who is in power
5 ‘It doesn’t make any difference who is in power.
7 „don’t know, hard to say”

(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 4)

C 18. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won’t make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a big difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that voting won’t make any difference to what happens and FIVE means that voting can make a big difference), where would you place yourself?

1 ‘Who people vote for won’t make any difference’
5 ‘Who people vote for can make a big difference’
7 „don’t know, hard to say”
C 19. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement. Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government. (Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with this statement?)

1 ‘agree strongly
2 ‘agree
3 ‘disagree
4 ‘disagree strongly
7 “don’t know, hard to say”

C 20. Did you vote in the parliamentary election in September 1997?

1 ‘yes, I did vote
2 “no, I didn’t vote”
3 ‘I was not eligible’
7 “I don’t remember”
8 ‘refusal to answer’

C 21. Candidate of which party or coalition did you vote for?

…………………………………………………………
97 “I don’t remember; hard to say; I don’t know”

C 22. How well did the party you voted for then perform over the past 4 years?
Has it done a...

1 ‘very good job
2 ‘good job
3 ‘bad job
4 ‘very bad job
7 ‘hard to say

C 23. Simultaneously to the Sejm elections in September 1997, Senate elections took place. Each of the Senate candidates was supported by a particular electoral committee. Which parties or coalitions were supporting the candidates for Senators you voted for?

ATTENTION: In Warsaw and Katowice respondent was eligible to vote for up to three candidates to the Senate; elsewhere -- only up to two)

1 ‘…………………………………………………………
2 ‘…………………………………………………………
3 ‘…………………………………………………………
9) Independent candidate
97) “I don’t remember; hard to say; I don’t know”
C 24. Thinking about how elections in Poland work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by MPs - very well, quite well, not very well, or not well at all?

1 'very well
2 'quite well
3 'not very well
4 'not well at all
7 'hard to say

C 25. Would you say that any of the parties in [country] represents your views reasonably well?

1 'yes
2 'no
7 „don’t know”

C 26. [If YES at C 25.] Which party represents your views best?

C 27. Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders represents your views reasonably well?

1 'yes
2 'no
7 „don’t know”

C 28. [If YES at C27] Which party leader represents your views best?

C 29. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

1 'yes’
2 'no’
7 „don't know”
C 30. Which PARTY is that? (RECORD ALL PARTIES, response categories range 0-96)

First PARTY mentioned: …………………………………………

IF ONLY ONE PARTY BLOCK IS MENTIONED [➔ C 31]
IF ONLY ONE PARTY (WITHIN BLOCK) IS MENTIONED [➔ C 35]

Second PARTY (if volunteered): ………………………………………

IF MORE THAN ONE PARTY IS MENTIONED [➔ C 32]

Third PARTY (if volunteered): ……………………………

IF MORE THAN TWO PARTIES MENTIONED [➔ C 32]

97 „don’t know, no party mentioned”

C 31. Which party in [NAME OF BLOCK] do you feel close to?

First PARTY IN BLOCK mentioned: …………………… ……….

IF ONLY BLOCK OR 1 PARTY IN BLOCK MENTIONED

Second PARTY IN BLOCK (if volunteered): ……………………

Third PARTY IN BLOCK (if volunteered): ………………………

97 „don’t know”

C 32. Which party do you feel closest to?

Party identified: ……………………………………………………..

97 ‘No party identified [➔ C 36]

C 33. Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?

1 ‘YES [➔ C 34]
2 ‘NO [➔ C 36]

7 „don’t know”

C 34. Which party is that?

Party identified: ……………………………………………………………

C 35. Do you feel very close to this (party/party block ‘, somewhat close, or not very close?

1 ‘very close
2 ‘somewhat close
3 ‘not very close

7 „don’t know”
C 36. *(INTERVIEWER: PLEASE SHOW RESPONDENT Card 6)*
I’d like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven’t heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. The first party is SLD:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly dislikes</th>
<th>Strongly likes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
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</table>

96 “Haven’t heard of it”
97 ‘Hard to say’

A) Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
B) Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność Prawicy (AWSP)
C) Unia Wolności (UW)
D) „Samoobrona” Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej (SRP)
E) Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
F) Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
G) Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
H) Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR)
**C 37. (PLEASE SHOW RESPONDENT Card 7)**
In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place particular parties on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

96 ‘Haven’t heard of it
97 ‘Hard to say’

A) Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
B) Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność Prawicy (AWSP)
C) Unia Wolności (UW)
D) „Samobrona” Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej (SRP)
E) Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
F) Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
G) Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
H) Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR)
C 38. Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?

a. contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing, or some other way?
   1 ‘Yes
   2 ‘No
   97 ‘Hard to say

b. taken part in a protest, march or demonstration?
   1 ‘Yes
   2 ‘No
   97 ‘Hard to say

c. worked together with people who shared the same concern
   1 ‘Yes
   2 ‘No
   97 ‘Hard to say

C 39. How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Poland? Do you feel there is:

   1 ‘A lot of respect for individual freedom
   2 ‘Some respect
   3 ‘Not much respect, or
   4 ‘No respect at all
   97 ‘Hard to say
C 40. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in Poland?

1 ‘Very widespread
2 ‘Quite widespread
3 ‘Not very widespread
4 ‘It hardly happens at all
97 ‘Hard to say

C 41. (PLEASE SHOW RESPONDENT Card 7)
In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

LEFT            RIGHT

|
0    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9    10

Let’s return to the last elections

INTERVIEWER: QUESTIONS P42 TO P46 SHOULD BE ASKED ONLY TO PEOPLE WHO CHOOSE ANSWER 1 IN QUESTION C10 THAT MEANS PARTICIPATED IN THE LAST ELECTIONS.

P 42. Why did you vote for the candidate of this particular party? (the most important reasons)

............................................................................................................................
99 ‘not applicable

P 43. When indicating on your ballot-paper the name of this particular candidate was it - mainly - because of his/her traits and personality or because of the party s/he represents?

1 ‘because of him/her personally
2 ‘because of the party s/he represents
7 ‘hard to say
9 ‘not applicable

R44. Was the candidate you voted for ranked first on the list?

1 ‘yes
2 ‘no
6 ‘don’t remember
7 ‘hard to say
9 ‘not applicable
P46. How did your closest social milieu -- family, collaborators, friends -- behave during the election. Did they vote for the candidates of the same party(ies) you voted for or different ones?

1 ‘all of them voted for the candidates I did
2 ‘most of them voted for the candidates I did
3 ‘most of them did not vote for candidates I voted for
4 ‘all of them did not vote for candidates I voted for
7 “don’t know”
9 ‘irrelevant question

INTERVIEWER: after the question P46 please continue with the question P49

INTERVIEWER: questions P47 to R48 should be asked only to the respondents who chose answer “2” in question C10, it means didn’t take part in the last elections.

P 47. Why did you refrain from voting? (the most important reasons)

...................................................................................................................................................................

R 48. In some democratic countries like Belgium or Australia there is a duty to take part in the parliamentary elections under the penalty of fine. If it was so in Poland, which party would you vote for?
(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 2)

...................................................................................................................................................................

92 ‘I wouldn’t vote irrespective of the penalty
93 ‘I would pass a spoilt ballot paper
97 ‘Hard to say

Question should be asked to all respondents.

R 49. Would you prefer SLD/UP run the government by themselves or create a coalition with some other party/parties.
(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 7A)

1 ‘I would prefer SLD/UP to rule by themselves
2 ‘I would prefer SLD/UP to create a coalition with other parties.

If answer 2 chosen, which parties?.................................
97 ‘Hard to say

R 50. And would you like the idea that the government was formed by all the other parties present in the Parliament – without SLD/UP.

1 ‘Yes
2 ‘No
97 ‘Hard to say
**P 51. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 8)**
Lately there’s been a lot of talk about goals which our country should pursue in the next few years. On the CARD you see some of these goals, considered by many to be the most important (priority ones). Please tell me, which one would you consider the most important? Please name only ONE:

1 ‘maintaining order in the nation
2 ‘giving people more say in the decisions of government
3 ‘fighting rising prices
4 ‘protecting freedom of speech
7 ‘Hard to say

**P 52. (INTERVIEWER: continue using CARD 8)**
And which of these goals seem to you to be second in importance?

1 ‘maintaining order in the nation
2 ‘giving people more say in the decisions of government
3 ‘fighting rising prices
4 ‘protecting freedom of speech
7 ‘Hard to say

**P 53. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 9)**
In all countries there exist unsolved problems and conflicting issues. What is the relative importance of solving each of the following issues as compared to the remaining ones?

0 -- indicates an issue to be definitely less important than the other issues;
5 -- indicates an issue to be equally important - just like any other;
10 -- indicates an issue of extreme importance as compared to other issues.

*(INTERVIEWER: Respondent should first read the whole list of issues and only then start evaluating each issues’ importance in relation to the other ones. Respondent should be encouraged to use the whole -- 11-point -- scale, when evaluating.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>an issue definitely less important than others</th>
<th>a priority one</th>
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<tr>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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A) crime [1x2]
B) privatization of state owned enterprises [1x2]
C) role of the Church and religion in public life [1x2]
A variety of solutions and policies aimed at solving the above mentioned issues are conceivable. On subsequent CARDS we present opposite solutions to each issue. Please read them carefully and tell me, where would you place your own opinions and stances. In doing so, please use the 11-point scale, where:

0 -- means full acceptance of the statement (solution) proposed on the left side of the CARD,
10 -- means full acceptance of the statement (solution) -- on the right side,
5 -- means that you favor solutions lying in between both opposite ones, and the remaining scale points indicate different levels of acceptance of each of those opposite statements.

(INTERVIEWER: Subsequently show CARDS 10 A through 10 J; At each point in time the respondent should have only one card. Please code answers according to the scale)

```
full acceptance of the statement
on the left side

[ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ]

full acceptance of the statement
on the right side
```

A/
00 ‘Crime policies should be „tough” even if it restricts basic freedoms of average citizens

10 ‘Crime ought to be fought against, but the policies should not restrict basic freedoms of average citizens

97 ‘DK [1x2]

B/
00 ‘State owned enterprises should be privatized quickly; the inefficient ones should be liquidated

10 ‘Enterprises should remain state property and their modernization financed from the state budget

97 ‘DK [1x2]
C/
00 ‘Church should be completely separated from the state and should not interfere with politics

10 ‘Church should exert influence over politics and state policies
   97 ‘DK [1x2]

D/
00 ‘Individuals occupying high positions under communism (‘nomenclatura’) should now be forbidden to perform responsible state functions

10 ‘These individuals (‘nomenclatura’) should have the same rights as all others in competing for public offices and state positions
   97 ‘DK [1x2]

E/
00 ‘Fighting unemployment should be an absolute policy priority of the government, even if it leads to higher spending and inflation

10 ‘Many other - more important than unemployment -issues should be governmental priority, i.e balanced budget, fighting inflation, etc.
   97 ‘DK [1x2]

F/
00 ‘The higher one’s income the higher share of it should be taxed

10 ‘Everyone should be taxed the same percentage of his/her income, irrespectively of the income level
   97 ‘DK [1x2]

G/
00 ‘Our foreign policy should pursue joining NATO and EU as soon as possible

10 ‘Polish foreign policy should not pursue joining NATO and EU, instead should protect our political and economic sovereignty
   97 ‘DK [1x2]

H/
1. Agriculture should be subsided from the state budget to preserve many farms from bankruptcy

2. Agriculture shouldn’t be subsided from the state budget because no social group should live at the cost of the rest of the society
   97 ‘DK [1x2]
I/
00 ‘The state should grant its citizens widest possible social safety net, i.e. health care, social welfare, free education, etc.

10 ‘Citizens should take care and responsibility of their health, self-help, children’s education, etc on their own
   97 ‘DK [1x2]

I/
00 ‘It should not matter whether the capital is Polish or foreign, as long as it boosts investment, production and creates new employment opportunities

10 ‘Inflow of foreign capital should be deliberately limited as it makes Polish economy dependent upon aliens
   97 ‘DK [1x2]
P 55. (INTERVIEWER: respondent uses CARDS 10 -B, -C, -F, -G)
Let’s now go back to some of the issues mentioned in the previous part, this time relating them to particular political parties.
When answering, please use the „answer scale” used in the previous question.
In your opinion, does SLD’s programmatic stance concerning the issue of PRIVATIZATION come closest to the one expressed at point 0 or 10, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

INTERVIEWER:
(1) the answer concerning PRIVATIZATION please code in box „B”
(2) code-boxes B, C, F, G correspond respectively to the same issues as in question P 54
(3) after coding the answer to issue (B) - PRIVATIZATION, please continue asking the same question in relation to the remaining issues: (C) - ROLE OF THE CHURCH, (F) - TAXES, and (G) POLAND JOINING EU

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P 56. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the same CARDS 10 -B, C,F,G used in question P 55)
Now let’s talk about programmatic stances of PSL, concerning the same (as above) issues.
Lets start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is PSL’s position closer to the one expressed at point 0 or 10, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

(INTERVIEWER: remarks 1-3 of question P 55, applicable here as well)

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P 57. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)
Now let’s talk about programmatic stances of Platforma Obywatelska (PO), concerning the same (as above) issues. Lets start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is PO’s position closer to the one expressed at point 0 or 10, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

(INTERVIEWER: remarks 1-3 of question P 55, applicable here as well)

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</table>
P 58. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)
Now let’s talk about programmatic stances of Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS), concerning the same (as above) issues. Lets start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is PiS’s position closer to the one expressed at point 0 or 10, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

(INTERVIEWER: remarks 1-3 of question P 55, applicable here as well)

B | C | F | G
[1x2] | [1x2] | [1x2] | [1x2]

P 59. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)
Now let’s talk about programmatic stances of ‘SAMOBRONA’ concerning the same (as above) issues. Lets start - just as we did before - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is SAMOBRONA’s position closer to the one expressed at point 0 or 10, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

(INTERVIEWER: remarks 1-3 of question P 55, applicable here as well)

B | C | F | G
[1x2] | [1x2] | [1x2] | [1x2]

P 60. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)
Now let’s talk about programmatic stances of Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR) concerning the same (as above) issues. Lets start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is LPR’s position closer to the one expressed at point 0 or 10, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

(INTERVIEWER: remarks 1-3 question P 55, applicable here as well)

B | C | F | G
[1x2] | [1x2] | [1x2] | [1x2]

D 61. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 11)
Some people say that political parties in Poland care what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Poland don’t care what ordinary people think. Using the scale on this card, where ONE means that political parties care about what ordinary people think, and FIVE means that they don’t care what ordinary people think, where would you place your opinion?

1 ‘Political parties care about people’
5 “Political parties don’t care about people”
7 ‘hard to say”
D 62. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 12)*
Some people say that political parties are necessary to make political system work in Poland. Others think that political parties are not needed in Poland. Using the scale on this card, where ONE means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and FIVE means that political parties are not needed in Poland, where would you place your opinion?

1 ‘Political parties are necessary to make our political system work’

5 ‘Political parties are not needed in Poland’

7 ‘hard to say’

D 63. Have you contacted in any form with a Parliament member/ deputy or a senator in the last 12 months?

1. yes
2. no, I didn’t have any contact with a deputy or a senator

7. Don’t remember, Hard to say

J64. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 13)*
In your opinion, are there any significant programmatic differences among political parties? Using the scale on this card (where ONE means that there are significant programmatic differences among political parties and FIVE means that there are no significant programmatic differences among political parties), where would you place your point of view?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>there are significant programmatic differences among political parties</th>
<th>there are no significant programmatic differences among political parties</th>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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7 “don’t know”

J65. In your opinion, are the elections an effective way to evaluate political leaders and political parties for their actions, as well as rewarding some and rejecting others?

1 ‘Definitely yes’
2 ‘Yes’
3 ‘No’
4 ‘Definitely no’

7 “Don’t know”
J66. Now, when the results of the last election are known, do you think that the parties received more or less as much votes as they deserve? To put it differently, was the level of support for particular parties fair or not?

1 ‘Definitely fair’
2 ‘Rather fair’
3 ‘Rather not fair’
4 ‘Definitely not fair’
7 “Don’t know”
8 ‘Refused to answer’

INTERVIEWER: Please hand the respondent CHART 2.

J67. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 2) In your opinion, has any party or coalition received fewer votes that it deserves? If yes, which one was it?

94 ‘None’
97 “Don’t know”

(INTERVIEWER: Please let the respondent to continue to use CARD 2.)

J68. And, in your opinion, has any party received more votes that it deserves? If yes, which one was it?

…………………………

94 ‘None’
97 “Don’t know”

R69. Please tell me to which extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1 definitely agree
2 rather agree
3 rather disagree
4 definitely disagree
7 hard to say

A. Politician promise much more then they can give and they know about it very well

B. Generally speaking, people who are elected to the Parliament lose their contact with the public very soon

C. Politicians mind their own business mostly

D. election to the Parliament depends more on connections and having friends in politics rather than the candidate’s knowledge and skills

E. people like me don’t have any impact on the government’s activities
R 70. Is there any party you feel reluctant to or that makes you angry? If YES, please give its name

Party’s name........................................................................................................
  96 there is no such a party [go to the question Z72]
  97 hard to say [go to the question Z72]

INTERVIEWER: if respondent didn’t mention any party, please go to the question Z72

R71. Do you think that its activity should be forbidden by the law?

  1 yes
  2 no
  7 hard to say

Let’s go back to the Parliamentary Elections

Z72. In Poland in the last 10 years there were 4 parliamentary elections. Does it, generally speaking, make a difference for you, who wins the election?

  1 ‘an enormous difference
  2 ‘a great difference
  3 ‘a small difference
  4 ‘no difference
  7 ‘hard to say

Z73. Sometimes the election in the constituency is decided by single votes. In your opinion, what are the chances that your vote could have a decisive impact on the election results?

  1 ‘very high
  2 ‘somewhat high
  3 ‘somewhat low
  4 ‘very low
  5 ‘no chances
  7 ‘hard to say

Z74. For you personally, is it very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, very difficult to go to vote?

  1 ‘very easy
  2 ‘somewhat easy
  3 ‘somewhat difficult
  4 ‘very difficult
  7 ‘hard to say
Z75. Do you agree with the statement that voting is a duty of every citizen?
   1 Agree Strongly
   2 Agree Somewhat
   3 Disagree Somewhat
   4 Disagree Strongly
   7 „don’t know”

P 76. Lets focus now on our economy. In your opinion, does, and if yes to what extent, the condition of our economy depend on decisions and policies implemented by the government?
   1 ‘considerably
   2 ‘moderately
   3 ‘insignificantly
   4 ‘does not depend at all; governmental policies have no impact on economy
   7 ‘Hard to say

P 77. To what extent -- in your opinion -- does the financial situation of your household depend upon governmental policies of the recent period?
   1 ‘depends extremely highly
   2 ‘depends considerably
   3 ‘depends moderately
   4 ‘is totally independent
   7 ‘Hard to say

(INTEVIEWER: Show CARD 15)
E 78. Do you think that in the last year.......  

A. political situation in Poland
B. economic situation in Poland
C. financial situation in your household
   1 strongly improved
   2 rather improved
   3 not changed
   4 rather worsened
   5 strongly worsened
   7 hard to say
(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 16)

E 79. What do you think about current……… [read the item from the list]. Do you think it is:

A. political situation in Poland
B. economic situation in Poland
C. financial situation in your household

1 very good
2 good
3 neither good nor bad
4 bad
5 very bad
7 hard to say

(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 17)

E80. Do you think in the next 12 months........... [read the item from the list]

A. political situation in Poland
B. economic situation in Poland
C. financial situation in your household

1 will strongly improve
2 will rather improve
3 will not change
4 will rather worsen
5 will strongly worsen
7 hard to say

P 81. And now please compare the former regime - i.e. the one that existed before 1989 - with the current one. Would you say that the current is much better, slightly better, neither better nor worse, slightly worse, or much worse?

1 ‘current regime is much better than the previous one
2 ‘slightly better
3 ‘nor better, nor worse
4 ‘slightly worse
5 ‘current regime is much worse than the previous one
7 ‘hard to say

J82. Does Poland’s economy work now better or worse than in the times of the old regime, that is before 1989?

1 ‘Now Poland’s economy works much better then before 1989
2 ‘Somewhat better
3 ‘Neither better nor worse
4 ‘Somewhat worse
5 ‘Now Poland’s economy works much worse then before 1989
7 “don’t know”
J83. And looking at the standards of living of you and your family, are you better off or worse off than in the times before 1989?

1 ‘Now my family and I are much better off then before 1989
2 ‘Somewhat better
3 ‘Neither better nor worse
4 ‘Somewhat worse
5 ‘Now my family and I are much worse off then before 1989
 7 „don’t know”

P 84. (INTERWIEVER: Show CARD 18)
In contemporary Poland part of society is considered to occupy a high social position, the other part -- low. Think of your position, and please indicate where you would place yourself on the below presented four „ladders”, bearing in mind that the lowest rung indicates lowest social position, the highest rung -- highest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Wealth</th>
<th>B. Influence</th>
<th>C. Prestige</th>
<th>D. Prospects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wealthiest people</td>
<td>the most influential people</td>
<td>the most prestigious people</td>
<td>people with best prospects (for the future)</td>
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</table>

poorest people
least influential people
the least prestigious people
people with worst prospects (for the future)
P85. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 19)
Please think again about the four dimensions evaluated in the previous question and tell me whether you may say that in the last 8 years (since 1989) substantial changes occurred in your life in these domains, and were they for better or worse?

1 ‘definite improvement
2 ‘moderate improvement
3 ‘no change
4 ‘moderate worsening
5 ‘definite worsening
    7 ‘hard to say

A/ your wealth [1x1]
B/ your influence over your immediate milieu [1x1]
C/ prestige you enjoy [1x1]
D/ prospects for the future [1x1]

P86. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 20)
Is there, and if YES, how strong, a conflict between the following social groups in Poland:

1 ‘very strong
2 ‘rather strong
3 ‘moderate
4 ‘no conflict at all
    7 ‘DK

A/ between the poor and the rich [1x1]
B/ between the working and the middle classes [1x1]
C/ between the farmers and the urban population [1x1]
D/ between the believers and atheists [1x1]
E/ between those positively evaluating the socialist Poland and those critical of it [1x1]
F/ between educated and uneducated people [1x1]

S87. Thinking about the new government that has just been elected, on the whole, would you say that, generally speaking, you…

1 ‘support the new government and its policies
2 ‘oppose the new government and its policies
    8 ‘neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
    9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)
S88. And thinking back to the former government between 1997 and 2001, on the whole, would you say that you…

1 ‘supported that 1997-2001 government and its policies
2 ‘opposed that 1997-2001 government and its policies
8 ‘neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S89. Now please compare the politicians who formed the old 1997-2001 government with the politicians who are forming the new government. Which would you describe as:

1 ‘the old government
2 ‘the new government
8 ‘neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) more united?
B) more likely to keep their promises?
C) more able and willing to stand up for Poland abroad?
D) more able and willing to combat corruption amongst government officials?
E) better at bargaining with the European Union?

S90. In July this year the President of Polish Republic officially asked forgiveness for the mass execution of Jewish citizens in Jedwabne village during the World War II. What do you think of his act? Was the President’s act:

1. positive
2. negative
3. not very negative, but it was unnecessary and inappropriate

S91. Which do you think would generally be better for Poland?

1 ‘to have a government formed by one political party on its own
2 ‘to have a government formed by two or more political parties together, in coalition?
8 ‘neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S92. Taking account of the number of people in your family, how adequate is your family income? Is it…

1 ‘not really enough to survive on
2 ‘only just enough to survive on
3 ‘enough for a fair standard of living
4 ‘enough for a good standard of living
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)
S93. Which comes closer to your view? Poland should…

1 ‘join the European Union now
2 ‘join the European Union at some more favorable time in the future
3 ‘stay out of the European Union
   8 ‘mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
   9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S94. Please suppose that you were voting today in a referendum on whether Poland should join the EU. Would you vote…

1 ‘for joining the EU
2 ‘against joining the EU
   8 ‘would not vote (DO NOT READ OUT) [⇒ S96]
   9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT) ) [⇒ S96]

INTERVIEWER: ask the question only to the people who have chosen “1” or “2” in question S94.

S95. Would you vote that way mainly because of…

1 ‘the effect of EU entry on our economy
2 ‘the effect of EU entry on our political and cultural development
   8 ‘neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
   9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S96. And if there really was a referendum on joining the EU would you really be…

1 ‘certain to go out and vote
2 ‘very likely to vote
3 ‘not very likely to vote
4 ‘certain not to vote
   9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S97. Which comes closer to your view? Poland …

1 ‘should be a member of NATO
2 ‘should not have joined NATO but it is too difficult to withdraw now
3 ‘should leave NATO
   8 ‘mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
   9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)
S98. Here are three statements about the future of the zloty if we join the EU. Which one comes closest to your view? Poland should…

1. give up the zloty and use only the Euro (the EU currency)
2. use both the zloty and the Euro currency
3. keep the zloty as the only currency in Poland
   8. mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
   9. DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S99. If we join the European Union - do you think that …

1. will benefit
2. will be damaged
   8. neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
   9. DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) Polish agriculture…
B) state industries in Poland…
C) Polish-owned private industries…
D) that foreign-owned industries in Poland…
E) Your family – the standard of living

S100. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 21)
Do you agree or disagree with each of the following, and how strongly? If we join the European Union…

1. strongly agree
2. agree
3. disagree
4. strongly disagree
   8. neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
   9. DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) Poles should have a right to take jobs in other EU countries? …………………
B) foreigners from the EU should have a right to take jobs in Poland? ……………
C) foreigners from the EU should have a right to own land in Poland? ……………
S101. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 22)*
How much do you think ….

A) … joining NATO is affecting Poland’s independence and distinctive culture? …………………………………………………

B) How much do you think Poland joining NATO is affecting the thinking and behavior of NATO? ……………………………………………………

C) How much do you think joining the EU would affect Poland’s independence and distinctive culture? …………………………………………..

D) How much do you think Poland joining the EU would affect the thinking and behavior of peoples in the rest of the EU? ……………………………

1 ‘ a great deal
2 ‘quite a lot
3 ‘only a little
4 ‘not much at all
8 ‘mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S102. Joining the EU requires new laws on immigration, visas and border control – which will make it easier for Poles and for foreigners to cross our western borders. But harder for them to cross our eastern borders. On balance, do you think that is…

1 ‘good for Poland
2 ‘bad for Poland
8 ‘neither / mixed /depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)
**S103. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 21)**
Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, and how strongly?

1 ‘strongly agree
2 ‘agree
3 ‘disagree
4 ‘strongly disagree
8 ‘neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) Whenever there is a really difficult decision to take, the EU will always pay more attention to the interests of west European countries than to the interests of Poland?

B) In a real crisis, NATO would never take risks to defend Poland?

**S104. On the whole, would you say the European Union…**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)</th>
<th>DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is good for Poland</td>
<td>2. is bad for Poland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. the EU treats East and West European countries equally</td>
<td>2. the EU treats West European countries better</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. the EU will increase Poland’s economic growth</td>
<td>2. the EU will reduce Poland’s economic growth</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. the EU defends freedom in central Europe</td>
<td>2. the EU threatens freedom in central Europe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. the EU protects Poland’s independence and culture</td>
<td>2. the EU threatens Poland’s independence and culture</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. EU politicians and officials in Brussels are corrupt and wasteful</td>
<td>2. EU politicians and officials in Brussels are honest and efficient</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. EU politicians and officials in Brussels understand ordinary people</td>
<td>2. EU politicians and officials in Brussels do not understand ordinary people</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S105. On the whole, would you say NATO…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)</th>
<th>DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is good for Poland</td>
<td>2. is bad for Poland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NATO is aggressive</td>
<td>2. NATO is defensive</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NATO defends freedom in central Europe</td>
<td>2. NATO threatens freedom in central Europe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NATO protects Poland’s independence</td>
<td>2. NATO restricts Poland’s independence</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S106. Taking everything into account, which do you feel will be the greater threat to Poland’s sovereignty and independence in the future?

1. Russia
2. EU
3. NATO
4. I do not see such a threat (DO NOT READ OUT)
5. both Russia and EU/NATO equally (DO NOT READ OUT)
6. neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
7. DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S107. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 21)
Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, and how strongly?

1. strongly agree
2. agree
3. disagree
4. strongly disagree
5. neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
6. DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) Poland has a lot to learn from other countries in running its affairs?

B) I would rather be a citizen of Poland today than of any other country in the world?

C) There are some things about Poland today that make me ashamed to be Polish?

D) People in Poland are too ready to criticize their country?

E) Poland should co-operate with other countries, even if it means giving up some independence?
S108. If you had a choice, where would you prefer to work?
   1 ‘only in Poland
   2 ‘in another EU country, at least for a few years
       6 ‘somewhere else – including the USA (DO NOT READ OUT)
       7 ‘do not wish to work (DO NOT READ OUT)
       8 ‘mixed /depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
       9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S109. Assume that Poland is the EU member and as a result of that the number of people
from other countries and cultures who come to live and work in a region where you live has
extremely increased. Generally speaking, do you think that your place of living because of
that will be:

   1. a better place to live
   2. a worse place to live
      8. (don’t read) it depends, neither better nor worse, hard to say
      9. (don’t read) don’t know, missing data

S110. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 23)
Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

   1 ‘only Polish, not at all European
   2 ‘very much more Polish than European
   3 ‘more Polish than European
   4 ‘equally European and Polish
   5 ‘more European than Polish
       6 ‘other description (DO NOT READ OUT)
       8 ‘mixed /depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
       9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)
**S111. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 24)**

How strong a sense of sympathy and belonging do you feel towards each of the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very strong</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Weak</th>
<th>Very weak / none</th>
<th>mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)</th>
<th>DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>your family…</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>a political party of any kind…</td>
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<td>a religion of any kind…</td>
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<td>a class of any kind…</td>
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<td>Poland…</td>
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**S112. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 25)**

Do you generally trust or distrust each of the following, and how much?

1 ‘trust a lot
2 ‘trust a little
3 ‘distrust a little
4 ‘distrust a lot
8 ‘mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) Most ordinary people you meet in everyday life
B) The Church
C) Judges and courts
D) Officials in state and local government offices
E) The kinds of people that have been elected to Polish parliaments since 1989
F) Elected members of local councils – those elected to gmina, powiat
G) President Kwasniewski
H) The new government that is being formed
I) The former government from 1997-2001
J) Police
K) Military
L) National Bank of Poland (sprawdzone i taka jest poprawna nazwa)
M) Public TV
N) Trade Unions
O) the European Union
P) NATO

INTERVIEWER: RESPONDENT STILL USES CARD 25.

S113. Now we’d like to ask about your opinion on politics carried out by the countries mentioned below.

Do you generally trust or distrust each of the following, and how much?

1. trust a lot
2. trust a little
3. distrust a little
4. distrust a lot
8. mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9. DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) the USA .................................................................
B) Britain .................................................................
C) Russia .................................................................
D) Ukraine ...............................................................
E) Germany ..............................................................

H114. How much are you proud to be a citizen of Poland? Are you:

1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Somewhat not proud
4. Not proud at all
   7. Hard to say
H 115 (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 26)
People associate democracy with different phenomena. Please, respond whether and to what extend you associate the word “democracy” with the following issues:

1. I associate it at a great extent
2. I associate it a little
3. I little associate it
4. I don’t associate it at all
   7. hard to say

A. political freedom, eg. the freedom of speech and association
B. more extended social equality
C. less corruption and political earnings abuse
D. equality towards the law
E. equal rights for women and men
F. more job opportunities, less unemployment
G. improvement of the financial life conditions
H. multi-party system
I. civil right to participate in the social and political life

J116. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

A. In certain situations, an undemocratic government can be preferable to a democratic one.

B. For people like me it doesn’t really matter if the government is democratic or undemocratic.

   1. ‘Strongly agree
   2. ‘Agree
   3. ‘Disagree
   4. ‘Strongly disagree
      7 “Don’t know”
J117. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 27)*

In your opinion, is ….. *(INTERVIEWER: read consecutive items of the question)* currently working better or worse than before the reforms?

A. Health care

B. Local government (commune, county)

C. Education

D. Social security (pensions) system

1 ‘much better
2 ‘somewhat better
3 ‘neither better nor worse
4 ‘somewhat worse
5 ‘much worse

7 “Don’t know”

K118. On a different subject, would you say that you are very aware, somewhat aware, not very aware, or haven’t you heard of the Constitutional Court?

1 ‘Very aware
2 ‘Somewhat aware
3 ‘Not very aware
4 ‘Have never heard

7 „don’t know”

K119. How well do you think the Constitutional Court does its main job in government? Would you say it does a...

1 ‘Great job
2 ‘Pretty good job
3 ‘Not very good job
4 ‘A poor job

7 “Don’t know”
**K120.** *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 28)*

Would you say that you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

1 ‘Agree Strongly
2 ‘Agree Somewhat
3 ‘Neither Agree Nor Disagree
4 ‘Disagree Somewhat
5 ‘Disagree Strongly
7 „don’t know”

A) If the Constitutional Court started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the Constitutional Court altogether.

B) The decisions of the Constitutional Court favor some groups more than others.

C) The Constitutional Court gets too mixed up in politics.

D) People should obey the Constitutional Court even when they disagree with its decisions.

E) The Constitution is just like any other law; if the majority wants to change it, it should be changed.

**S121.** 79. There’s a lot of talk in Poland about the role of religion in public life. Please tell me, do you feel displeased or not with the following situations and phenomena:

1 ‘I feel displeased
2 “I don’t feel displeased”
7 ‘Hard to say

A. Crosses on the walls of public buildings, i.e. schools, public offices [1x1]
B. Religious instruction at schools [1x1]
C. Church taking official stands on legislation passed by the parliament [1x1]

**S122.** Suppose there were some problems you had to take to a government office – for example, a problem about tax or housing. Do you think you would be treated fairly by the officials in that office?

1 ‘Yes
2 ‘No
7 ‘only by using connections or bribes *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
8 ‘mixed / depends – but no mention of using connections or bribes *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
9 ‘DK/NA *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
S123. Governments in many European countries say they want to combat corruption. Do you think that the old 1997-2001 government in Poland really made a strong and sincere effort to combat corruption...

1 ‘Yes
2 ‘No
8 ‘neither/mixed/depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A. Amongst politicians and top government officials…
B. Amongst officials who deal with ordinary people…

S124. Do you feel officials in government offices in Poland are:

1 more corrupt than officials in most European Union (EU) countries
2 ‘less corrupt than officials in most European Union (EU) countries?
8 ‘neither/mixed/depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

S125. Would you say that your feelings about the behavior of officials in Poland are based more on…

1 ‘What you have read in newspapers and heard on television or radio
2 ‘What people generally say about officials
3 ‘Your personal experiences
8 mixed/depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

Now I want you to think about your own or your family’s personal experiences of dealing with officials. I mean officials like those you meet in tax, housing, or social security offices; in the health and education services – including doctors and teachers; officials in passport offices, customs, the police including traffic police, courts or the army; and other similar officials.

S126. On the whole, were these personal experiences of dealing with officials in the last few years…

1 ‘satisfactory
2 ‘unsatisfactory
8 ‘neither/mixed/depends (DO NOT READ OUT)
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)
S127. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 29)*
How often did these officials...

1 ‘Usually
2 ‘Sometimes
3 ‘Rarely
4 ‘Never
8 ‘mixed / depends *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
9 ‘DK/NA *(DO NOT READ OUT)*

A. Give you or your family fair treatment

B. Make unnecessary problems for you or your family, in order to get money or a present for solving them

S128. In these last few years, did an official ever:

1 ‘Ask you or your family directly for money or a present
2 ‘Seem to expect something, even though they did not ask directly?
6 ‘Neither *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
8 ‘mixed / depends *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
9 ‘DK/NA *(DO NOT READ OUT)*

S129. Which comes closest to your view about the use of money, presents, favors or contacts to influence officials?

1 ‘it is bad for Poland and for those involved
2 ‘it is bad for Poland, but unavoidable for people who have to live here
3 ‘I prefer it that way because, when you need a favor from an official, you can get it
7 ‘it never happens in Poland *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
8 ‘mixed / depends *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
9 ‘DK/NA *(DO NOT READ OUT)*

S130. If you had an important problem, and an official asked you directly for money to solve it, would you…

1 ‘Pay, if you could afford it
2 ‘Refuse to pay, even if you could afford it
8 ‘neither / mixed / depends *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
9 ‘DK/NA *(DO NOT READ OUT)*
S131. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 29)*  
Thinking over these personal experiences of dealing with officials in the last few years, did you or your family usually, sometimes, rarely, or never have to.....

1 'Usually  
2 'Sometimes  
3 'Rarely  
4 'Never  
8 'mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)  
9 ‘DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

A) Approach an official through a contact…  
B) Offer a small present…  
C) Offer money or an expensive present...

S132. Which comes closer to your view? If an international organization refused to provide aid or investment for Poland unless our government took strong action against corruption, would that be:

1 ‘unacceptable interference in Poland’s internal affairs  
2 ‘a good way to reduce corruption in Poland  
8 'neither / mixed /depends (DO NOT READ OUT)  
7 DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)

P133. Did you participate in the parliamentary election of September 1993?

1 ‘Yes  
2 ‘No [* P135]  
3 ‘At that time I was less than 18 years old [* P135]  
7 „don’t remember”  
8 ‘refusal’

P134. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 30)*  
Which party list did you vote for then?

........................................................................................................................................

*(INTERVIEWER: code party or coalition number; if respondent says: „DK”, code -- ‘97’)*

P135. Did you participate in the last presidential election of October 2000?

1 ‘Yes’  
2 ‘No’  
3 ‘At that time I was less than 18 years old’  
7 „don’t remember”  
8 ‘refusal’
P136. *(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 31)*
Whom did you vote?

.................................................................

G137. Do you, and if yes, how often, watch TV:

A/ TV News (Wiadomosci, Panorama)

B/ TV political programmes, debates on salient public issues (i.e. Sprawa dla Reportera, Politycne Graffiti, Linia Specjalna etc)

1 ‘everyday
2 ‘several times a week
3 ‘several times a month
4 ‘more seldom
5 ‘never
7 ‘hard to say (DK)

G138. Please name one daily title you read most frequently:

............................................................................................................................................................
99 “I don’t read dailies”

G139. Please name one title of a weekly or journal you read most frequently:

...................................................................................................................................................................
999 “I don’t read weeklies or journals”

G140. Recently our TV was broadcasting election programmes produced by particular electoral committees. Did you see them?

1 ‘Yes, all of them
2 ‘Yes, most of them
3 ‘Yes, only some of them
4 ‘No
7 ‘hard to say (DK)

P141. In your opinion, is it good or not for Poland that such parties as Unia Wolnosci and Solidarity Election Action are absent from the Parliament and such parties as Samoobrona (Self-defense) and Liga Polskich Rodzin (The League of Polish Families) are present?

1. it is good for Poland
2. It doesn’t matter for Poland
3. it is bad for Poland
7. hard to say
P142. Assuming that the Parliamentary Elections are repeated. Would you now, when you know the results, take part in the elections?

1. yes
2. no [➔ C144]
   7. hard to say [➔ C144]
   8 answer refusal [➔ C144]

INTERVIEWER: show CARD 2. Write in the number of selected party or coalition.

P143. For a candidate of which election committee (party) would you vote in the Sejm election?

..........................................................

Now, we’d like to ask about some facts from political life. Though, many people are not interested in politics. So, if some of the facts we ask about are not known to you, please just tell us about that.

C144. Who is the head/leader of Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)?

INTERVIEWER: Right answer: Leszek Miller. Treat as a correct answer if surname was only given.

   1. (don’t read) correct answer
   2. (don’t read) incorrect answer
   7. (don’t read) hard to say

C145. Who is the President of Russia?

INTERVIEWER: Right answer: Vladimir Putin. Treat as a correct answer if surname was only given.

   1. (don’t read) correct answer
   2. (don’t read) incorrect answer
   7. (don’t read) hard to say

C146. Which military alliance is Poland a member of?

INTERVIEWER: Right answer: “NATO” or “North Atlantic Treaty Organization”.

   1. (don’t read) correct answer
   2. (don’t read) incorrect answer
   7. (don’t read) hard to say
P147. Please return to the afternoon when TV ceased its usual transmission and showed the tragedy in N.Y. Many people felt shocked at the moment. Were you at that time terrified that something very bad was coming - something which could affect you personally?

1. I was really terrified
2. I wasn’t terrified but I was very afraid
3. I felt explicit anxiety
4. I didn’t feel any direct fears
7. hard to say

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC, BACKGROUND VARIABLES

M1. Your year of birth: .....................................................

M2. Sex:

1 ‘male
2 ‘female

M3. Your educational attainment:

01 ‘no formal education
02 ‘elementary uncompleted
03 ‘elementary
04 ‘vocational
05 ‘secondary uncompleted
06 ‘secondary – technical
07 ‘secondary - gymnasium
08 ‘post-secondary
09 ‘university uncompleted (6 semesters or more)
10 ‘licentiate or three year vocational college
11 ‘university

M4. What is (was) your father’s education? (or father substitute’s if there was no father)

01 ‘no formal education
02 ‘elementary uncompleted
03 ‘elementary
04 ‘vocational
05 ‘secondary uncompleted
06 ‘secondary – technical
07 ‘secondary - gymnasium
08 ‘post-secondary
09 ‘university uncompleted (6 semesters or more)
10 ‘licentiate or three year vocational college
11 ‘university
M5. Do you currently:

1 ‘have only one job; work for only one employer/institution
2 ‘apart from the main job, perform another work regularly contributing to additional income
3 ‘have no permanent job, work only on an incidental (temporary) basis
4 ‘have no job, out of labor market

M6. From the list please choose everything which concerns you personally.

INTERVIEWER: Read the list and mark all mentioned categories.

Are you currently:

1 ‘employed -- full time (32 hours a week or more)
2 ‘employed -- part time (15-32 hours a week)
3 ‘employed -- less than 15 hours a week
4 ‘helping family member (in small business, agriculture)
5 ‘unemployed
6 ‘university student or high school student
7 ‘retired
8 ‘person performing home duties
9 ‘disability pensioner (1-st or 2-nd group of formally qualified disability)
10 ‘disabled, with limited ability to work, currently not working
11 ‘others

(INTERVIEWER: If the respondent is currently not in the labor force, ask about last employment/occupation. If the respondent never was in the labor force, move to M21)

Please consequently use present or past tense.

IF FOR A QUESTION M6 ANSWER 2 OR 3 WAS GIVEN, MARK THAT IT CONCERNS THE MAIN JOB – IT MEANS THAT ONE WHICH ABSORBS THE MOST OF TIME.

M7. Where are (were) you currently (last time) employed? What is the name of this profession/job?

...................................................................................................... ..........................................................

(INTERVIEWER: In case of farmers, go to M 12)

M8. What do (did) you do in this work? What are (were) your main duties and responsibilities?

...................................................................................................... ..........................................................

M9. What is (was) the name/title of your position/job function?

..........................................................................................................................................................................

M10. What institution do (did) you work for? Please indicate the name of this institution:

.............................................................................................................................................................................
M11. What is (was) the ownership status of the institution/firm you work(ed) for?

1. state office or institution financed by the state budget
2. state owned company/enterprise
3. company/enterprise partly owned by the state treasury
4. self-employment
5. private company/enterprise, but not self-employment
6. communal (local) owned company/enterprise
7. cooperative
8. individual (private) farm
97. hard to say, DK

M12. Are you (were you) the owner of this company (enterprise, farm) or hired employee?

1. owner or co-owner
2. hired employee
3. other status (describe ..........................................................)

M13. What year was this firm (institution) established?

1. before the Second World War
2. right after the Second World War or in the 50’s
3. between 1960-1979
4. between 1980-1988
5. in 1989 or later
   (which year exactly? in......... year )
   7. don’t know, don’t remember

M14. And which year did you start to work in that firm (institution)? Please give the year and month.

1. year when started to work..............
   9997 don’t remember
2. month when started to work...........
   CODE: 01-January, 02-February, 97 don’t remember

M15. How many people happened to be employed in this company (enterprise, farm), save yourself? If the enterprise consisted of many independent units, please name the number of people employed in the unit/section you (used to) work?

(INTERVIEWER: write down the number of people: )

..............................................................
99997. hard to say, don’t know
**M16.** *(INTERVIEWER: In case of individual (private) farmers ask about the specializational profile and its size (in ha))*

What is (was) the profile of the company/enterprise you work(ed) for? What does (did) it produce, creates?

..................................................................................................................................................................

**M17.** Does (did) your professional duties include supervision of others’ work or commissioning/ordering work to others?

1 'yes
2 'no [➔ M21]

**M18.** Does (did) any of your subordinates has his/her own subordinates?

1 'yes
2 'no

**M19.** How many individuals could be considered your subordinates, taking into account all levels below your own?

*(INTERVIEWER: write down the number of people: )*  

..................................................................................................................................................................

**M20. CODE:**

SKZ: ...............  

ISCO: ...............  

*Spouse work. If the respondent doesn’t have a spouse, please go to M25*

**M21.** Please tell me what category best describes the economic status of your husband/wife:

1 ‘employed -- full time (32 hours a week or more)
2 ‘employed -- part time (15-32 hours a week)
3 ‘employed -- less than 15 hours a week
4 ‘helping family member (in small business, agriculture)
5 ‘unemployed
6 ‘university student or high school student
7 ‘retired
8 ‘person performing home duties
9 ‘disability pensioner (1-st or 2-nd group of formally qualified disability)
10 ‘disabled, with limited ability to work, currently not working
11 ‘others
M22. What was the ownership status of your spouse company/enterprise/farm?

1 ‘institution financed from the state budget or governmental office
2 ‘state owned company/enterprise
3 ‘company/enterprise partly owned by the state treasury
4 ‘self-employment
5 ‘private company/enterprise, but not self-employment
6 ‘municipal company/enterprise
7 ‘cooperative
8 ‘individual (private) farm
97 ‘DK

*INTERVIEWER: In case of individual (private) farmers ask about the specialization profile and its size [in ha]*

M23. What is (was) the profile of the company/enterprise he/she work(ed) for? What does (did) it produce, creates?

........................................................................................................................................

M24. What does (did) your spouse do in his/her work? What are (were) is the name of his/her profession or speciality? Please tell us, if your spouse was a self-employed person or was employed by someone else?

*INTERVIEWER: If the spouse of the respondent lately is out of labor force, ask about her/his last job. If the spouse never was in the labor force, write : „non-working”)*

........................................................................................................................................

**CODE:**

SKZ: ............... 

ISCO: ..............

M25. Please try to think about the time when you were 14 years old.

What was your father (custodian) do as his work when you were aged 14? Please name his profession or job speciality and his position/job function ?
Please tell us, if he was a self-employed person or was he employed by someone else?

*INTERVIEWER: If the father or custodian of the respondent did not work at the time, ask about his last job. If the father never was in the labor force, write : „non-working”)*

........................................................................................................................................
We are interested as well in the changes in your professional situation that occurred in the last years. Please recall now June 1989.

M26. What type of work were you performing then? Please name your 1989 profession or job speciality:

........................................................................................................................................................................

94 ‘irrelevant, nothing has changed [--> M30]
99 ‘irrelevant, in 1989 did not work [--> M30]

M27. What was the ownership status of the company/enterprise/farm you worked for then?

1 ‘institution financed from the state budget or governmental office
2 ‘state owned company/enterprise
3 ‘company/enterprise partly owned by the state treasury
4 ‘self-employment
5 ‘private company/enterprise, but not self-employment
6 ‘municipal company/enterprise
7 ‘cooperative
8 ‘individual (private) farm
97 ‘hard to say, DK

M28. What is (was) the profile of the company/enterprise he/she work(ed) for? What does (did) it produce, creates?

(INTERVIEWER: In case of individual (private) farmers ask about the specializational profile and its size [in ha])

........................................................................................................................................................................

M29. CODE:

SKZ: ..............

ISCO: ..............

(INTERVIEWER: question answered only by respondents receiving regular salaries in their workplaces or pensioners and retirees as well as regular welfare benefits (i.e. unemployment) respondents running their own (private) companies and self-employed)

M30. What was your income last month, including your main job/employment wages as well as additional job incomes?

........................................................ new Polish zloty
M31. *(INTERVIEWER: question answered only by respondents who own or lease farms)*
What was your average monthly income last year?

....................................................... new Polish zloty

M32. What is the common monthly income of your household?

....................................................... new Polish zloty

M33. What is your marital status?

1 ‘married or remaining in permanent relationship, cohabitation
2 ‘widow (er)
3 ‘divorced, separated
4 ‘single

M34. How many members, including yourself, your household is comprised of ?

....................................................... persons

M35. How many adults, that is individuals over 18, live permanently in this flat/house? We mean adults that live here, independently of whether they run one household or not. Please include yourself as well.

....................................................... persons

M36. How many members of your household are aged 18 and below?

....................................................... persons

M37. Please assess the ratio of sq. meters per household member in your household?

....................................................... sq. meters

M38. Do you live in:

01 ‘own house
02 ‘own flat
03 ‘cooperative flat
04 ‘municipal
05 ‘house/flat of my family
06 ‘rented flat
07 ‘other (what?).................................
M39. Is the locality you live in permanently a:

1 ‘village
2 ‘town below 20 thousand inhabitants
3 ‘town between 20 and 50 thousand
4 ‘town between 50 and 100 thousand
5 ‘city between 100 and 500 thousand
6 ‘city over 500 thousand

M40. For how long does your family live in this locality/area

1 ‘my grandparents already lived here
2 ‘my parents already lived here
3 ‘I moved here when I was ........................................

(INTEVERVIEWER: Please code the number of years in the box)

M41. Did you ever happen to be a member of PZPR, ZSL or SD?

1 ‘yes
2 ‘no

M42. Are you currently a member of any political party, political club or political association?

1 ‘yes (name it please: ........................................................................................................
2 ‘no

M43. Did you happen to be a member of a trade union in 1980-81?

1 ‘yes, ”Solidarity” trade union
2 ‘yes, branch trade unions
3 ‘yes, ZNP (Union of Polish Teachers)
4 ‘yes, other trade unions
5 ‘no, at the time I did not happen to be a member of any of above organizations
   9 ‘irrelevant

M44. Are you currently a member of a trade union?

1 ‘yes, ”Solidarity” trade union
2 ‘yes, OPZZ trade unions
3 ‘yes, other trade unions
4 ‘no, I am not a member of any trade union
M45. Is anybody from your household a member of a trade union?

1. yes
2. no
3. „don’t know

M46. Are you currently a member?

1. yes
2. no
7. hard to say

A. a business organization, employers’ association
B. farmers’ organization
C. professional association

M47. How would you describe your attitude towards religion? Are you a:

1. atheist
2. agnostic
3. believer
4. devout believer
7. DK

M48. Are you:

1. Roman-Catholic
2. Orthodox
3. Lutheran
4. Calvinist
5. other (.............)
6. ‘atheist
7. ‘no answer

M49. How frequently do you attend church

01. never
02. less frequently than once a year
03. more or less once a year
04. several times a year
05. once a month
06. two to three times a month
07. once a week
08. several times a week
97. DK
98. refusal

Please indicate the time of interview conclusion: hour.............. minute .................
ANNEX FOR THE INTERVIEWER

A1) Please code the region respondent lives in:

1 'Former Russian partition - territory of the Congress Kingdom
2 'Former Austrian partition - territory of Galicia
3 'Former Prussian partition
4 'Territories regained after World War II
5 'DK
6 'No data

A2) (INTERVIEWER: Please write down the electoral district).

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

A3) Interviewers sex:

1 'male
2 'female

A4) Exact data of the interview (day, month)
(Please code as follows: in the first two boxes -- month (i.e. 05) in the next two boxes -- day (i.e. 01)

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

A5) Respondents attitude towards the interview:

1 'definitely well-disposed
2 'rather well-disposed
3 'indifferent
4 'rather ill-disposed
5 'definitely ill-disposed

questionnaire # [1x5] code # [1x2]

Gmina, Locality .................................................................

First and family name of the interviewer ...........................................

Hereby I declare that the interview was conducted -- under the indicated address -- by me personally

........................................
signature