

PGSW - Polski Generalny Sondaz Wyborczy
Polish National Election Survey
[English language translation]

voievodshop	[1x2]
address	[1x3]
respondent	[1x1]

Please indicate the initiation time of the interview (hour.... minute....) [2x2]

Hallo, my name is I represent the Public Opinion Research Center, which conducts opinion research surveys covering various topics. Our respondents are chosen from an all-Polish catalogue of addresses. We guarantee the confidentiality of all responses. The data will be utilized only in an aggregated form.

Should you have, during the interview, any problems with answering the questions, for instance problems with choosing any of the submitted answers, with finding an answer to a question, or if you should prefer not to answer particular questions, please tell me right away that such problems occur.

1. Would you say that during last seven years, since the 1989 transformation has started, visible changes have occurred in your place of residence?

- 1) yes, it changed for the better
- 2) yes, it changed for the worse
- 3) no visible change took place
- 7) hard to say (DK)

[1x1]

2. For several years, a debate on administrative reform has been going on in our country, on introducing *powiaty* and self-governing *voivodships*. If there were a referendum on this issue, would you be in favor or against introducing *powiaty*?

- 1) in favor of powiaty
- 2) against powiaty
- 7) I am undecided (DK)
- 9) I am not interested in this issue

[1x1]

3. Also, for several years there has been a debate on the Concordat with the Vatican, that has been signed by the government, but still not ratified by the parliament. Are you of the opinion that:

- 1) the concordat should be ratified in its current form
- 2) its provision should be renegotiated anew
- 3) it should not be ratified
- 7) I am undecided (DK)
- 9) I am not interested in this issue

[1x1]

4. As it often happens during the parliamentary elections, many people - due to different considerations - did not participate in the elections of September 21, 1997. Please tell me, did you vote?

- 1) yes, I did vote
- 2) no, I didn't vote [--> q.10]
- 3) I am not eligible [--> q.11]
- 8) refusal to answer [--> q.11]

[1x1]

5. (INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 1 and write down party or coalition number)

Candidate of which party or coalition did you vote for in the Sejm elections?

.....

[1x2]

6. Why did you vote for the candidate of this particular party?

(please enumerate no more than THREE reasons)

- 1).....
- 2).....
- 3).....

[3x2]

7. 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 (DK)

[1x1]

8. (INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 1 and write down party or coalition numbers;

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

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?

- 1).....
- 2).....
- 3).....

[3x2]

9. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 2)

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

- A/ family members..... [1x1]
- B/ immediate collaborators..... [1x1]
- C/ closest friends..... [1x1]
- D/ neighbours..... [1x1]

(INTERVIEWER: After completeing question # 9, ask question # 11)

10. Why did you refrain from voting?

(INTERVIEWER: question to be answered only by those indicating answer [2] in question 4)

- [1x2]
- [1x2]
- [1x2]

11. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 3)

On this CARD you find parties and coalitions which constitute the new Sejm. Please indicate those which you would favor as part of the governmental coalition?

- 1)..... [1x1]
- 2)..... [1x1]
- 3)..... [1x1]
- 4)..... [1x1]

12. 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 [1x1]
- 7) DK

13. Looking back, how do you - retrospectively - evaluate the effects of the so-called [Balcerowicz Plan] ?

- 1) very positively
- 2) rather positively
- 3) partially positively, partially negatively
- 4) rather negatively
- 5) very negatively
- 7) hard to say (DK) [1x1]

14. Do you think the condition of our economy in the next 12 months will:

- 1) definitely improve
- 2) rather improve
- 3) will not change
- 4) rather deteriorate
- 5) definitely deteriorate
- 7) DK [1x1]

15. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 4)

Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:

CARD 4:

- 1) Definitely agree
- 2) Rather agree
- 3) Rather disagree
- 4) Definitely disagree
- 7) hard to say (DK)

- 01/ In elections in Poland voters have a real choice. [1x1]
- 02/ Generally speaking, those we elect to Parliament lose touch with the people pretty quickly. [1x1]
- 03/ It should be the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one. [1x1]
- 04/ It is harmful for the economy if government tries to reduce income differences between rich and poor [1x1]
- 05/ The present economic situation is very unfavorable for me and my family. [1x1]
- 06/ Turning the former state-owned companies into private property is going to help very much in solving the economic problems of our country. [1x1]
- 07) Unprofitable factories and mines should be closed down immediately, even if this leads to unemployment [1x1]
- 08/ Politicians who do not believe in God should not perform public functions. [1x1]
- 09/ Nationalism is harmful for the development of our country. [1x1]
- 10/ People like me have no say in what government does. [1x1]
- 11/ The way things are in Poland, people like me and my family have a good chance of getting ahead in life [1x1]
- 12/ Parties are only interested in people's votes, but not in their opinion. [1x1]
- 13/ Politicians should care more about rising crime and deteriorating morals than about individual freedom and human rights [1x1]
- 14/ A woman should be allowed to have an abortion in the early weeks of pregnancy, if she decides so [1x1]
- 15/ In the case of a politician I prefer a good patriot to an expert [1x1]
- 16/ The Church has too much influence in our country. [1x1]
- 17/ Formerly high-ranking communists should be removed from influential public positions [1x1]
- 18/ In Poland the most important objective in the next few years is support for and consolidation of democracy [1x1]
16. How do you evaluate the political situation in Poland in the last four years (1993-97) as compared to the 1989-93 period?
- 1) it definitely improved
 - 2) it rather improved
 - 3) no difference, it's the same
 - 4) it rather deteriorated
 - 5) it definitely deteriorated
 - 7) hard to say (DK) [1x1]

17. 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 [1x1]
- 7) hard to say (DK)

18. 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 [1x1]
- 7) hard to say (DK)

19. 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 [1x1]
- 7) DK

20. 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 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 [1x1]
- 7) hard to say (DK)

21. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 5)

Now we would like to know your opinion about selected social issues.

Tell me to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

CARD 5: 1) definitely agree

2) rather agree

3) partially agree, partially disagree

4) rather disagree

5) definitely disagree

7) DK

A/ state social welfare schemes contribute to people becoming careless and irresponsible [1x1]

B/ man's role is to earn money, woman's -- to take care of the house and family [1x1]

C/ contemporary Poles do not reveal proper respect for traditional values [1x1]

D/ people disobeying law should be subjected to tougher sentences [1x1]

CSES MODULE starts

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

- 1) satisfied
- 2) fairly satisfied
- 3) not very satisfied
- 4) not at all satisfied
- 7) DK [1x1]

23. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 6 [1 - cses])

In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the last election in Poland, where would you place it on this scale of one to five, where ONE means that the last election was conducted fairly and FIVE means that the last election was conducted unfairly?

Last elections conducted fairly	1	2	3	4	5	Last election conducted unfairly
			7) DK			[1x1]

24. Do you think of yourself as close to any particular Polish political party?

1) yes [--> q.27]
2) no
7) hard to say (DK) [1x1]

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

1) yes
2) no [--> q.31]
7) hard to say (DK) [--> q.31] [1x1]

26. Which party is that?

..... [1x2]

(INTERVIEWER: Go to --> q.30)

27. Which party is that?

(INTERVIEWER: if the respondent mentions up to three parties, please write down all of them;
if more than three -- write down the three mentioned first)

1-st party mentioned: [1x2]
2-nd party (if volunteered):..... [1x2]
3-rd party (if volunteered):..... [1x2]

(INTERVIEWER: if - in question 27 - the respondent does not mention any party or only one, go to --> q. 30;
If - in question 27 - the respondent mentions more than one party/coalition, go to --> q.29;
If - in question 27 - the respondent mentions only coalition bloc /SLD or AWS/, go to --> q.28)

28. (INTERVIEWER: Response only by those respondents who chose coalition bloc /SLD or AWS/in q.27)

Which of the parties comprising name of the coalition bloc/ do you feel closest to?

(INTERVIEWER: if the respondent mentions up to three parties, please write down all of them;
if more than three -- write down the three mentioned first)

1-st party mentioned: [1x2]
2-nd party (if volunteered):..... [1x2]
3-rd party (if volunteered):..... [1x2]

(INTERVIEWER: if - in question 28 - the respondent does not mention any party or only one, go to --> q. 30;
If - in question 28 - the respondent mentions more than one party/coalition, go to --> q.29)

29. Which of these parties you feel closest to?

[1x2]

30. (INTERVIEWER: Please repeat the party, coalition bloc, mentioned above. If did not mention any, we ask q. 30 emphasizing the word [party])

Do you feel very close to this (party, coalition bloc name), somewhat close or not very close?

- 1) very close
- 2) somewhat close
- 3) not very close
- 7) DK

[1x1]

31. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 7 [2])

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?

Political parties care about people

1

2

3
7) DK

4

Political parties don't care about people

5

[1x1]

32. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 8 [3])

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?

Political parties are necessary to make our political system work

1

2

3
7) DK

4

Political parties are not needed in Poland

5

[1x1]

33. Do you happen to remember the name of any candidates who ran in your electoral district in the last parliamentary elections to Sejm?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [--> q.35]
- 7) DK [--> q.35]

[1x1]

34. What names do you remember?

A)

[1x1]

B)

[1x1]

C)

[1x1]

35. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 9 [3])

We'd like to know now what do you think about each of the enlisted parties and coalition blocs. 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.

Strongly dislike											Strongly likes	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
					96) haven't heard of the party							
					97) hard to evaluate (DK)							
A/ Sojusz Lewicy Demokratyczne (SLD), [Democratic Left Alliance]											[1x2]	
B/ Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL) [Polish Peasant Party]											[1x2]	
C/ Unia Wolności (UW) [Freedom Union]											[1x2]	
D/ Unia Pracy (UP) [Labour Union]											[1x2]	
E/ Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność (AWS) [Solidarity Election Action]											[1x2]	
F/ Ruch Odbudowy Polski (ROP) [Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland]											[1x2]	
G/ Krajowa Partia Emerytów i Rencistów (KPEiR) [National Party of Retired and Pensioners]											[1x2]	

36. (INTERVIEWER: Continue using CARD 9 [3])

And now, using the same scale, we'd like to ask you how much you like or dislike some political leaders. Again, if you haven't heard of some leader or you feel you don't know enough about him, just say so.

Strongly dislike											Strongly likes	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
					96) haven't heard of the party							
					97) hard to evaluate (DK)							
A/ Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz											[1x2]	
B/ Waldemar Pawlak											[1x2]	
C/ Leszek Balcerowicz											[1x2]	
D/ Ryszard Bugaj											[1x2]	
E/ Marian Krzaklewski											[1x2]	
F/ Jan Olszewski											[1x2]	
G/ Zenon Ruminski											[1x2]	

37. What do you think about the state of the economy these days in Poland. Would you say that the state of the economy is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, very bad?

- 1) very good
 - 2) good
 - 3) neither good nor bad
 - 4) bad
 - 5) very bad
 - 7) DK
- [1x1]

38. Would you say that over the last twelve months, the state of the economy in Poland has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

- 1) gotten better
 - 3) stayed the same [--> q,41]
 - 5) gotten worse [--> q,40]
 - 7) DK [--> q,41]
- [1x1]

39. (INTERVIEWER: Ask only those who answered (1) in q. 38)

Would you say much better or somewhat better?

- 1) much better
- 2) somewhat better
- 7) DK

[1x1]

40. (INTERVIEWER: Ask only those who answered (5) in q. 38)

- 1) much worse
- 2) somewhat worse
- 7) DK

[1x1]

41. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 10)

Some say that MPs and senators know what ordinary people think. Others say that MPs and senators don't know what ordinary people think. Using the scale on this card, where ONE means that MPs and senators know what ordinary people think and FIVE means that MPs and senators don't know what ordinary people think, where would you place your opinion?

MPs and senators
know what ordinary
people think

MPs and senators
don't know what
ordinary people think

1 2 3 4 5
7) DK

[1x1]

42. During the past twelve months, have you had any contact with an MP or senator in any way?

- 1) yes
- 2) no, no contact at all
- 7) don't remember, don't know (DK)

[1x1]

43. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 11)

Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, where ONE means that it makes a difference who is in power and FIVE means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power, where would you place your opinion?

it makes a difference
who is in power

it doesn't make a
difference who is in power

1 2 3 4 5
7) DK

[1x1]

44. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 12)

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 difference to the better. Using the scale on this card, where ONE means that voting will not make a difference to what happens and FIVE means that voting can make a difference, where would you place your opinion?

who people vote for
won't make a difference

who people vote for
can make a difference

1 2 3 4 5
7) DK

[1x1]

45. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 13)

Do you think most people in Poland, when asked about their opinion on political issues, usually would say what they think about politics or do you think they would usually hide what they really think?

most people in Poland
usually say what they
think about politics

most people usually
hide what they really
think about politics

1 2 3 4 5
7) DK

[1x1]

46. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 14 [9])

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?

(INTERVIEWER: first respondent locates him/herself on the scale)

1) On the LEFT--RIGHT scale I would place myself:

LEFT											RIGHT	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[1x1]	

2) And where, using the same scale, would you place following political parties:

(INTERVIEWER: respondent simultaneously locates on the scale each of the parties)

LEFT											RIGHT	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[1x1]	

A/ Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD), [Democratic Left Alliance] [1x2]

B/ Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL) [Polish Peasant Party] [1x2]

C/ Unia Wolności (UW) [Freedom Union] [1x2]

D/ Unia Pracy (UP) [Labour Union] [1x2]

E/ Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność (AWS) [Solidarity Election Action] [1x2]

F/ Ruch Odbudowy Polski (ROP) [Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland] [1x2]

G/ Krajowa Partia Emerytów i Rencistów (KPEiR) [National Party of Retired and Pensioners] [1x2]

47. In your opinion, how well do Polish political parties accomplish their public function?

1) very well

2) rather well

3) neither well nor poor

4) rather poorly

5) very poorly

7) DK

[1x1]

48. Looking from a several year retrospective, do you consider it a positive fact that in 1990-1995 Lech Walesa was the President of our country?

1) definitely positive

2) rather positive

3) neither positive, nor negative

4) rather negative

5) definitely negative

7) DK

[1x1]

49. And now, evaluating the two-year presidency of Aleksander Kwasniewski, do you consider it positive that he became the Polish President in 1995?

1) definitely positive

2) rather positive

3) nor positive nor negative

4) rather negative

5) definitely negative

7) DK

[1x1]

50. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 5)

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?

CARD 5:

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.

an issue definitely
less important than others
-- a marginal one

fairly (averagely)
important

an issue definitely
more important than others
-- a priority one

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

1) crime													[1x2]
2) privatization of state owned enterprises													[1x2]
3) role of the Church and religion in public life													[1x2]
4) former [communist nomenclatura] problem													[1x2]
5) unemployment													[1x2]
6) level of tax burdens (tax policy)													[1x2]
7) Poland joining NATO and EU													[1x2]
8) scope of state's social safety responsibilities													[1x2]
9) state subsidies to agriculture													[1x2]
10) inflow of foreign capital to Poland													[1x2]
11) legal availability of abortion													[1x2]

51. 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 16 A through 16 K;

At each point in time the respondent should have only one card. Please code answers according to the scale)

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/

00) Agriculture should receive state subsidies, even if it leads to agricultural reform slowdown

10) Agriculture should not receive state subsidies, even if it leads to farmers bankruptcies

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]

J/

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]

K/

00) A woman - if she decides so - should have a free choice of abortion at any time

10) A woman - irrespectively of her social situation and health condition - should have no right to abortion

97) DK

[1x2]

52. (INTERVIEWER: respondent uses CARDS 16 B, C, D, F, J)

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, D, F, J correspond respectively to the same issues as in question 51

(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, (D) - NOMENCLATURA, (F) - TAXES, and (J) - FOREIGN CAPITAL)

B	C	D	F	J
[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]

53. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the five CARDS used in question 52)

Now let's talk about programmatic stances of PSL, concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's 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 52, applicable here as well)

B	C	D	F	J
[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]

54. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the five CARDS used in question 52)

Now let's talk about programmatic stances of Unia Wolności, concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is UW'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 52, applicable here as well)

B	C	D	F	J
[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]

55. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the five CARDS used in question 52)

Now let's talk about programmatic stances of Unia Pracy, concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is UP'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 52, applicable here as well)

B	C	D	F	J
[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]

56. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the five CARDS used in question 52)

Now let's talk about programmatic stances of Akcja Wyborcza 'Solidarność' concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's start - just as we did before - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is AWS'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 52, applicable here as well)

B	C	D	F	J
[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]

57. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the five CARDS used in question 52)

Now let's talk about programmatic stances of Ruch Odbudowy Polski concerning the same (as above) issues.

Lets start - just as we did previously - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is ROP'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 52, applicable here as well)

B	C	D	F	J
[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]	[1x2]

58. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 17)

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) DK [--> q.60]

[1x1]

59. (INTERVIEWER: continue using CARD 17)

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) DK

[1x1]

60. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 18)

We would also like to know your opinion on some important political issues.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- 1) definitely agree
- 2) rather agree
- 3) partially agree, partially disagree
- 4) rather disagree
- 5) definitely disagree
- 7) DK

A/ government ought not always follow voters' will

[1x1]

B/ in certain circumstances civic freedoms can be restricted

[1x1]

C/ citizens should enjoy widest possible influence over governmental decision-making

[1x1]

D/ all citizens should have equal rights

[1x1]

E/ in specific situations suspension of political parties, trade unions and associations' activities is admissible

[1x1]

F/ democracy may be justifiably restrained for the sake of economic interests

[1x1]

G/ most politicians make promises they know they can't fulfil

[1x1]

H/ politicians are mainly preoccupied with their careers, less with problems our country faces

[1x1]

I/ knowing the right people is more important for winning parliamentary seat than candidate's qualifications

[1x1]

61. How do you, generally, evaluate the financial situation of your household? In your opinion, is it:

- 1) very good
- 2) good
- 3) fair
- 4) poor
- 5) very poor
- 7) hard to say (DK)

[1x1]

62. And if you compare the current financial situation of your household with the situation a year before, would you say that:

- 1) current situation is much better
- 2) slightly better
- 3) the same
- 4) slightly worse
- 5) current situation is much worse

7) DK

[1x1]

63. Would you say that your life in general has improved or worsened since the transformation started, i.e. since 1989/90:

- 1) improved
- 2) remained the same
- 3) worsened

7) DK

[1x1]

64. And do you think the financial situation of your household, in a year from now, compared to the current one, will:

- 1) improve considerably
- 2) improve moderately
- 3) remain the same
- 4) worsen moderately
- 5) worsen considerably

7) DK

[1x1]

65. 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) DK

[1x1]

66. Now please try to compare the financial situation of your parents when they were at your age with yours.

Would you say you are doing better, the same or doing worse?

- 1) much better
- 2) slightly better
- 3) the same
- 4) slightly worse
- 5) much worse

7) DK

9) Irrelevant question

[1x1]

67. (INTERWIEVER: Show CARD 19)

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.

A/ Wealth

- 10) wealthiest people
- 01) poorest people

[1x1]

B/ Influence

- 10) most influential people
- 01) least influential people

[1x1]

C/ Prestige

- 10) the most prestigious
- 01) the least prestigious

[1x1]

D/ Prospects (for the future)

- 10) people with best prospects (for the future)
- 01) people with worst prospects (for the future)

[1x1]

68. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 20)

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) DK

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

69. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 21)

Now I will read you several opinions about the world, politics and society. Please let me know if you agree with them or not.

- 1) agree
- 2) rather agree
- 3) rather disagree
- 4) disagree
- 7) DK

- 01) It's not the government that runs the country, those who really influence politics are hidden behind and are unknown to us [1x1]
- 02) Those who claim there exist powerful forces plotting against Poland seem to be right [1x1]
- 03) The most important thing one should teach children is complete obedience to their parents [1x1]
- 04) A good supervisor, in order to gain prestige and respect, should be tough and demanding towards his/her subordinates [1x1]
- 05) If one thinks awhile, a conclusion seems obvious -- there are only two types of people: strong and weak [1x1]
- 06) In this complicated world the only way to make sense of the surrounding reality is to rely on experts and professionals [1x1]
- 07) It is getting harder to make sense of the surrounding world [1x1]
- 08) The one thing that is sure nowadays is that nothing is sure [1x1]
- 09) With co-existence of so many various ideas, theories and world-views one has difficult time believing anything in particular [1x1]
- 10) The current socio-political system makes me feel more and more alien and estranged [1x1]
- 11) Frequently I have the impression that current governmental policies exactly represent my preferences [1x1]
- 12) All of us are just cogs in the political machinery [1x1]

70. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 22)

Now I will present you several descriptions concerning feelings and behavior. In each group -- A, B and C -- one finds four statements. Please choose among those four only one, which best represents your own feelings and opinions during last month

A/ Please choose one statement:

- 1) Currently life gives me as much satisfaction as previously
- 2) Currently life gives me less joy than previously
- 3) Nowadays nothing can give me real satisfaction
- 4) Everything fatigues me and I am dissatisfied with almost everything
- 7) DK

[1x1]

B/ Please choose one statement:

- 1) I am equally eager to work as previously
- 2) I have a hard time starting doing anything
- 3) Only with extreme effort I do force myself to accomplish anything
- 4) I am unable to do anything
- 7) DK

[1x1]

C/ Please choose one statement:

- 1) I am looking forward to the future with no gloom
- 2) Future seems gloomy to me
- 3) I am afraid I can't expect anything positive in the future
- 4) I feel future is hopeless and I can't expect improvement
- 7) DK

[1x1]

71. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 22)

Democracy has many features. Which of the following traits of the democratic system do you consider to be more and which less important?

- 1) the most important
- 2) rather important
- 3) fairly important
- 4) rather unimportant
- 5) the least important
- 7) DK

- 01) rule of law
- 02) citizens' activity in the public domain
- 03) parliament representing voters' will
- 04) minority rights
- 05) government taking care of citizens' welfare
- 06) freedom of speech and association
- 07) protection of individual liberties
- 08) recruitment of best qualified people for governmental service
- 09) equal educational opportunities for children from all families
- 10) opportunity of choosing between alternative political party programmes

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

72. Now, please choose among the traits of democracy listed above, two you consider the most important.

- 1).....
- 2).....

[1x2]

[1x2]

73. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 24)

MPs define their parliamentary tasks and roles in a variety of ways. Please, using this scale, let me know to what extent you agree with the following statements. Is it a task of an MP to.... [read subsequent statement below]:

(INTERVIEWER: Answering respondent uses the 7-point scale)

I totally disagree	01	02	03	04	05	06	I totally agree
			97) DK				
A/ control governmental policies and activities							[1x2]
B/ work on legislation							[1x2]
C/ represent the interests of all citizens in the parliament							[1x2]
D/ shape citizens political opinions							[1x2]
E/ represent interests of specific social and professional groups in the parliament							[1x2]
F/ accomplish the political goals of the MP's party							[1x2]
G/ perform mediating role - between parliament and the people							[1x2] [1x2]
H/ win political confidence for the parliament as a whole							[1x2]

74. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 25)

On the CARD you will find pairs of various traits of a state.

Please indicate which of the two traits (in each pair) do you consider more important for efficient functioning of the Polish state today? In case you find both traits almost equally important, nevertheless, please indicate the one that seems more important.

A/							
11) State guaranteeing its citizens' political freedoms							
OR							
21) State preoccupied mainly with securing citizens' welfare							[1x2]
B/							
21) State that creates bases for human solidarity							
OR							
22) State that creates favorable conditions for peoples' entrepreneurship							[1x2]
C/							
31) State run by a good president and efficient civil servants							
OR							
32) State with a parliament capable of passing prudent legislation							[1x2]
D/							
41) State that is predominantly concerned with limiting public expenditures							
OR							
42) State that cares mainly for securing everybody equal access to health services and education							[1x2]
E/							
51) State that preserves and develops traditional values							
OR							
52) State that enhances social progress and modernity							[1x2]

75. Please choose among state's traits listed on this CARD, the two that seem most important to you.

Please choose those two traits from two different pairs [1x2]

(INTERVIEWER: Please write down trait numbers: 1)..... 2)..... [1x2]

76. Now, please choose from the remaining pairs, one trait that you consider most important

(INTERVIEWER: Please write down the trait number: 1)..... [1x2]

77. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 26)

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 young and the older generation [1x1]
- E/ between the believers and atheists [1x1]
- F/ between self-employed/entrepreneurs and the public sector employees [1x1]
- G/ between those positively evaluating the socialist Poland and those critical of it [1x1]
- H/ between educated and uneducated people [1x1]
- I/ between those in authority positions and average citizens [1x1]

78. In case of strong disagreement with governmental policies, would you join any of the following activities:

- 1) rather yes
- 2) rather no
- 7) DK

- A/ signing a protest letter against these policies [1x1]
- B/ distributing of leaflets and posters [1x1]
- C/ participation in protest marches and demonstrations [1x1]
- D/ participation in all-national [general] strikes [1x1]
- E/ participation in a hunger strike [1x1]

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:

- A/ crosses on the walls of public buildings, i.e. schools, public offices [1x1]
- B/ religious instruction at schools [1x1]
- C/ religious character of the military oath [1x1]
- D/ priests appearing on public television [1x1]
- E/ church commenting on moral and civil issues [1x1]
- F/ church taking official stands on legislation passed by the parliament [1x1]

80. May this year constitutional referendum took place. Did you participate in it?
1) yes
2) no [--> q.82]
3) at the time I was less than 18 years old [--> q.96]
 7) don't remember [--> q.82]
 8) refusal [--> q.82] [1x1]

81. Did you vote for or against the draft constitution?
1) for
2) against
 7) don't remember
 8) refusal [1x1]

82. Did you participate in the first round of the presidential election of November 5, 1995?
1) yes
2) no [--> q.84]
3) at that time I was less than 18 years old [--> q.96]
 7) don't remember [--> q.84]
 8) refusal [--> q.84] [1x1]

83. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 27) Which of the candidates competing in the first round did you vote for?
..... [1x2]

84. Did you participate in the second round of the presidential election of 19 November 1995?
1) yes
2) no [--> q.86]
 7) don't remember [--> q.86]
 8) refusal [--> q.86] [1x1]

85. Whom did you vote for in the second round?
1) Aleksander Kwasniewski
2) Lech Walesa
3) I crossed both
 7) don't remember
 8) refusal [1x1]

86. Did you participate in the parliamentary election of September 1993?
1) yes
2) no [--> q.88]
3) at that time I was less than 18 years old [--> q.96]
 7) don't remember [--> q.88]
 8) refusal [--> q.88] [1x1]

87. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 28) Which party list did you vote for then?
..... [1x2]
(INTERVIEWER: code down party or coalition number; if respondent says: [DK], code -- [97])

88. Did you participate in the parliamentary elections of October 1991
1) yes
2) no [--> q.90]
3) at that time I was less than 18 years old [--> q.96]
 7) don't remember [--> q.90]
 8) refusal [--> q.90] [1x1]

89. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 29) Which party list did you vote for then?
..... [1x2]
(INTERVIEWER: code down party or coalition number; if respondent says: [DK], code -- [97])

90. Did you participate in the first round of the presidential election of 1990?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [--> q.92]
- 3) at that time I was less than 18 years old [--> q.96]
 - 7) don't remember [--> q.92]
 - 8) refusal [--> q.92]

[1x1]

91. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 30) Which of the then candidates for presidency did you vote for?

- 1) Roman Bartoszcze
- 2) Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz
- 3) Tadeusz Mazowiecki
- 4) Leszek Moczulski
- 5) Stanisław Tyminski
- 6) Lech Wałęsa
 - 7) don't remember
 - 8) refusal

[1x1]

92. Did you participate in the second round of the presidential elections of 1990?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [--> q.94]
 - 7) don't remember [--> q.94]
 - 8) refusal [--> q.94]

[1x1]

93. Which of the two candidates competing in the second round of the 1990 presidential election did you vote for?

- 1) Stanisław Tyminski
- 2) Lech Wałęsa
 - 7) don't remember
 - 8) refusal

[1x1]

94. Did you participate in the parliamentary elections of June 1989?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [--> q.96]
- 3) at that time I was less than 18 years old [--> q.96]
 - 7) don't remember [--> q.96]
 - 8) refusal [--> q.96]

[1x1]

95. Whom did you vote for then: [Solidarity] or the governmental (communist) candidates?

- 1) for [Solidarity]
- 2) for governmental candidates
 - 7) don't remember
 - 8) refusal

[1x1]

96. Now we would like to ask you a few questions about Polish political life. Of course, many people are not interested in politics. Thus, it is natural that many will decline from answering these sort of questions.

(INTERVIEWER: please write down first and family names)

Please name persons occupying the following positions:

- 1) Sejm's speaker:
- 2) President of the Supreme Court
- 3) Minister of Foreign Affairs

[1x1]

[1x1]

[1x1]

97. July this year Poland was invited to join an important international organization. What organization is it?

..... [1x1]

98. Please name political parties that formed the governmental coalition in 1993-97 period:

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

[1x2]

[1x2]

[1x2]

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

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

A/ TV News (Wiadomości, Panorama) [1x1]

B/ TV political programmes, debates on salient public issues (i.e. Sprawa dla Reportera, Polityczne Graffiti, Linia Specjalna etc) [1x1]

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

.....
99) I don't read dailies [1x2]

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

.....
99) I don't read weeklies or journals [1x2]

102. Recently our TV was broadcasting election programs produced by particular electoral committees.

Did you see them?

- 1) yes, all of them [--> q.M1]
- 2) yes, most of them
- 3) yes, only some of them
- 4) no [--> q.M1]
- 7) DK [1x1]

103. (INTERVIEWER: Please write down up to three (in order of naming) parties. If respondent remembers the name of a politician, but does not the party he/she represented, write down the name)

Which parties' election programs did you watch?

- 1) [1x2]
- 2) [1x2]
- 3) [1x2]

=====

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC, BACKGROUND VARIABLES

M1. Your year of birth: [1x2]

M2. Sex: 1) male
2) female [1x2]

M3. Your educational attainment:

- 1) elementary uncompleted [--> M5]
- 2) elementary [--> M5]
- 3) vocational [--> M5]
- 4) secondary uncompleted [--> M5]
- 5) secondary: gymnasium or technicum
- 6) post-secondary
- 7) university uncompleted (6 semesters or more)
- 8) licentiate or three year vocational college
- 9) university [1x1]

M4. Which of the listed below domains best describes your educational profile?

- 1) human sciences
- 2) technical
- 3) medico-biological
- 4) economical or juridical
- 5) agricultural
- 6) general

[1x1]

M5. What is (was) your father's education?

- 1) elementary uncompleted [--> M5]
- 2) elementary [--> M5]
- 3) vocational [--> M5]
- 4) secondary uncompleted [--> M5]
- 5) secondary: gymnasium or technicum
- 6) post-secondary
- 7) university uncompleted (6 semesters or more)
- 8) licentiate or three year vocational college
- 9) university
- 97) DK

[1x1]

M6. 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 labour market

[1x1]

M7. 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

[1x2]

M8. (INTERVIEWER: If the respondent is currently not in the labor force, ask about last employment/occupation.

Please consequently use present or past tense.

If the respondent never was in the labor force, move to M 19)

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

[1x2]

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

M9. What do (did) you do in this work? What are (were) your main duties and responsibilities?

- [1x2]
- [1x2]
- [1x2]

M10. What is (was) the name/title of your position/job function?

..... [1x2]

M11. What institution do (did) you work for? Please indicate the name of this institution:

..... [1x2]

M12. 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
- 99) DK

[1x2]

M13. 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:
.....)

[1x1]

[1x2]

M14. 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:.....[1x6]

M15. (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?

.....

.....

.....

[1x2]

[1x2]

[1x2]

M16. Does (did) your professional duties include supervision of others' work or commissioning/ordering work to others?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [--> M19]

[1x2]

M17. Does (did) any of your subordinates has his/her own subordinates?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

[1x2]

M18. How many individuals could be considered your subordinates, taking into account all levels below your own

(INTERVIEWER: write down the number of individuals)

[1x4]

M19. (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])

What does (did) your spouse do in his/her work? What are (were) is the name of his/her profession or speciality?

.....

[1x2]

M20. (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])

What was your father (custodian) do as his work when you were aged 14? Please name his profession or job speciality?

..... [1x2]

..... [1x2]

M21. We are interested as well in the changes in your professional situation that occurred in the last years. Please recall now June 1989.

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

..... [1x2]
..... [1x2]

- 94) irrelevant, nothing has changed [--> M27]
- 99) irrelevant, in 1989 did not work [--> M27]

M22. 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
- 99) DK [1x2]

M23. Were you the owner of this company (enterprise, farm) or hired employee?

- 1) owner or co-owner
- 2) hired employee
- 3) other status (describe: [1x1]
..... [1x2]

M24. (INTERVIEWER: In case of individual (private) farmer ask about the specializational profile of the farm and its size (in ha)

What was the profile of the company/enterprise you worked for? What did it produce, create?

..... [1x2]

M25. Did your professional duties include supervision of others' work or commissioning/ordering work to others?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [--> M19] [1x2]

M26. Did any of your subordinates had his/her own subordinates?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [1x2]

M27. (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 selfemployd)

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

..... new Polish zloty [1x4]

M28. (INTERVIEWER: question answered only by respondents who own or lease farms)

What was your average monthly income last year?

..... new Polish zloty [1x4]

M29. What is the average monthly income of your household?
..... new Polish zloty [1x4]

M30. What is your marital status?
1) married or remaining in permanent relationship, cohabitation
2) widow (er)
3) divorced, separated
4) single

M31. How many members, including yourself, your household is comprised of ?
(INTERVIEWER: write down the number and code it next; code as follows: 1 person = 01, 2 persons =02...etc.) [1x2]

M32. 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.
(INTERVIEWER: please write down the number and code it next; code as follows: 1 person = 01, 2 persons =02...etc) [1x2]

M33. How many members of your household are aged 18 and below?
(INTERVIEWER: please write down the number and code it next; code as follows: 1 person = 01, 2 persons =02...etc [1x2]

M34. Please assess the ratio of sq. meters per household member in your household?
sq meters [1x2]

M35. 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?.....) [1x2]

M36. 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 [1x1]

M37. For how long does your family live in this locality/area
1) my grandparents already lived here [1x1]
2) my parents already lived here [1x2]
3) I moved here when I was
(INTERVIEWER: Please code the number of years in the box)

M38. Did you ever happen to be a member of:
1/ PZPR 1) yes 2) no [1x1]
2/ ZSL 1) yes 2) no [1x1]
3/ SD 1) yes 2)no [1x1]

M39. Are you currently a member of any political party, political club or political association?

- 1) yes (name it please: [1x1]
- 2) no [1x2]

M40. 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 (please name:)
- 5) no, at the time I did not happen to be a member of any of above organizations
- 9) irrelevant [1x1]

M41. Are you currently a member of a trade union?

- 1) yes, [Solidarity] trade union
- 2) yes, OPZZ trade unions
- 3) yes, other trade unions (please name:)
- 4) no, I am not a member of any trade union [1x1]

M42. Is anybody from your household a member of a trade union?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) DK [1x1]

M43. How would you describe your attitude towards religion? Are you a:

- 1) atheist
- 2) agnostic
- 3) believer
- 4) devout believer
- 7) DK [1x1]

M44. Are you:

- 1) Roman-Catholic
- 2) Other than Roman-Catholic denomination (name what: [1x1]
- 3) atheist
- 4) no answer

M45. 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 [1x2]

ANNEX FOR THE INTERVIEWER

Please indicate the time of interview conclusion: hour..... minute [2x2]

A1) Please code the region respondent lives in:

- 1) Former Russian partition - territory of the Congress Kongdom
- 2) Former Austrian partition - territory of Galicia
- 3) Former Prussian partition
- 4) Territories regained after World War II
- 5) DK
- 6) No data [1x1]

A2) (INTERVIEWER: Please write down the electoral district.
The electoral districts are the same as voievodships, except for:
Warsaw voievodship (2 districts): 1. Warsaw-city, 2. Warsaw-voievodship
Katowice voievodship (3 districts): 15. Sosnowiec, 16. Katowice, 17.Gliwice) [1x1]

A3) Interviewers sex: 1) male 2) female [1x1]

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) [2x2]

A5) Respondents attitude towards the interview:

- 1) definitely well-disposed
- 2) rather well-disposed
- 3) indifferent
- 4) rather ill-disposed
- 5) definitely ill-disposed [1x1]

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

.....
(interviewer's signature)