

Polish General Election Study
(Translation)

J1. On the whole do you think that things in our country are going in the right or in the wrong direction?

1. right
2. wrong
- 7) *Don't know, hard to say*

P 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*

P 3. (INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 1)

Please choose from among the following statements the one with which you most agree:

- 1) our political system is sound and requires no changes
- 2) our political system is generally sound, although it requires minor changes
- 3) our political system is performing poorly and requires lots of changes
- 4) our political system is malfunctioning and requires crucial change
- 7) *Don't know, hard to say*

P 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 -- you are really not interested in politics at all
- 7) *Don't know, hard to say*

C 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 [→ C. 7]
- 7) hard to say [→ C. 7]

C 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 for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [→ C 9.]
- 7) *hard to say* [→ C.9]

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 [--> C. 13]
- 3) I am not eligible [--> C. 13]
- 8) *refusal to answer* [--> C. 13]

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 particular electoral districts voters were entitled to cast two, three or four votes for Senate candidates. Below (1 -4) please insert the names of the electoral committees supporting the candidates for which you voted. E.g. if someone has voted in Warsaw supporting four candidates of the „blok Senat 2001” please write down four times „Blok Senat 2001”

- 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 it doesn't make any difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?

It makes a big difference
who is in power

It doesn't make any difference
who is in power.

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5

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?

Who people vote for
won't make any difference

Who people vote for
can make a big difference

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5

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 [---> C. 24]
- 3) I was not eligible [---> C. 24]
- 7) *I don't remember* [---> C. 24]
- 8) *refusal to answer* [---> C. 24]

(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 5)

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*

(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 5)

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 [→ C 27]
- 7) *don't know* [→ C 27]

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 [→ C 30]
- 2) no [→ C 33]
- 7) *Don't know* [→ C 33]

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 33]

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 35]

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 36]

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 SEE 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:

Strongly dislikes

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

Strongly likes

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” Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (SRP)
- E) Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
- F) Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
- G) Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
- H) Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR)

C 37. (PLEASE SEE 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?

0 _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____ 7 _____ 8 _____ 9 _____ 10
LEFT **RIGHT**

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” Rzeczypospolitej 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 SEE 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?

0 _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____ 7 _____ 8 _____ 9 _____ 10
LEFT **RIGHT**

Lets go back to the recent election

(INTERVIEWER: Questions P42 through P46 are being addressed only to those who have chosen answer "1" in Question C10, i.e. they had voted in the recent election)

P 42. What was the main reason you voted in the last election for the candidate of this particular party?

..... [OPEN-ENDED QUESTION]

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. Has the candidate you voted for been placed at the top of the list, i.e. in first place?

- 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 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
- 8) not applicable

(INTERVIEWER: after Question P46 go to Question P49)

(INTERVIEWER: Questions P47 and R48 only for those respondents who have chosen answer "2" in Question C10, i.e. they had NOT VOTED in the recent election)

P 47. Why did you refrain from voting? Please name the most important reason
..... OPEN-ENDED QUESTION

R 48. In some democratic countries, e.g. Belgium or Australia, citizens are obliged to vote under fine sanction. If this were the case in Poland (i.e. compulsory voting), for which party would you have chosen to vote?

(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 2)

-
- 92) I would not vote despite the sanction
 - 93) I would cast an invalid ballot
 - 97) Hard to say

(INTERVIEWER: Question R49 addressed to all respondents)

R 49. *(INTERVIEWER: Please show CARD 7A)* Would you prefer the SLD/UP coalition to form the government alone, or would you like other parties to join them in forming a coalition government

- 1) I'd prefer SLD/UP to govern alone
- 2) I'd prefer that other parties join SLD/UP to form a coalition government

IF answer „2”, which parties?
97) *Hard to say*

R 50. Would you prefer all other (save SLD/UP) parties which made it to the parliament to form the new government?

- 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 over 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 to be 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? 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 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: The respondent should first read the whole list of issues and only then start evaluating each issue's importance in relation to the other ones. The 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
0 _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____	4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____ 7 _____	8 _____ 9 _____ 10

- A) crime
- B) privatization of state owned enterprises
- C) role of the Church and religion in public life
- D) former 'communist nomenclatura' problem
- E) unemployment
- F) level of tax burdens (tax policy)
- G) Poland joining the EU
- H) scope of state's social safety responsibilities

I) state subsidies to agriculture

J) inflow of foreign capital to Poland

P 54. 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)

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

A/

00) Crime policies should be „tough” even if they restrict 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

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

C/

00) The Church should be completely separated from the state and should not interfere with politics

10) The Church should exert influence over politics and state policies

97) DK

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

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

F/

00) The higher one’s income, the higher the percentage at which it should be taxed

10) Everyone should be taxed the same percentage of his/her income, irrespective of the income level

97) DK

G/

00) Our foreign policy should pursue joining the EU as soon as possible

10) Polish foreign policy should not pursue joining the EU, and should instead protect our political and economic sovereignty

97) DK

H/

00) Agriculture should receive subsidies from the budget, otherwise many farms will go bankrupt

10) Agriculture should not receive subsidies from the budget, because no single social group should live at the expense of society

97) DK

I/

00) The state should grant its citizens the widest possible social safety net, i.e. free health care, social welfare, education, etc.

10) Citizens should take their own responsibility for their healthcare, children's education, etc

97) DK

J/

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

10) Inflows of foreign capital should be deliberately limited as it makes the Polish economy dependent upon foreigners

97) DK

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

B

C

F

G

P 56. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the same CARDS 10 -B, C,F,G used in question P 55)

Now let's talk about the 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 P 55, applicable here as well)

B

C

F

G

P 57. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)

Now let's talk about the programmatic stances of **Platforma Obywatelska (PO)**, concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's 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)

B

C

F

G

P 58. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)

Now let's talk about the programmatic stances of **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS)**, concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's 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

P 59. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)

Now let's talk about the programmatic stances of **'SAMOOBRONA'** concerning the same (as above) issues.

Let's start - just as we did before - with the issue of PRIVATIZATION. In your opinion, is SAMOOBRONA'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

P 60. (INTERVIEWER: continue using the four CARDS used in question P 55)

Now let's talk about the programmatic stances of **Liga Polskich Rodzin (LPR)** concerning the same (as above) issues. Let's 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

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?

Political parties care about people Political parties don't care about people

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5

7) hard to say

D 62. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 12) Some people say that political parties are necessary to make the 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

Political parties are not needed in Poland

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5

7) hard to say

D63. During the past twelve months, have you had any contact with an MP or senator in any way?

1) yes

2) no, I didn't have any contact with an MP or 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?

R 70. Is there a political party you can say you feel a real aversion and anger towards? If YES, please tell us which party it is.

party's name:

96. *There is no such party* [→ Z72.]

97. *Don't know, hard to say* [→ Z72.]

(INTERVIEWER: If respondent haven't named any particular party, go to Question Z72)

R 71. Do you think this party should be banned?

1) Yes

2) No

7) *Don't know, hard to say*

Lets go back to issues related to the recent parliamentary election.

Z72. During the last 10 years in Poland there have been four parliamentary elections. Does it, generally speaking, make a difference to you, who wins elections?

1) an enormous difference

2) a great difference

3) a small difference

4) no difference

7) *hard to say*

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

1) very high

2) rather high

3) rather 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 get to the polling station?

1) very easy

2) somewhat easy

3) somewhat difficult

4) very difficult

7) *hard to say*

Z75. Do you agree that voting is a citizen's duty?

1) agree strongly

2) rather agree

3) rather disagree

4) disagree strongly

7) *don't know, hard to say*

P76. Let's 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) marginally

4) does not depend at all; governmental policies have no impact on the economy

7) *hard to say*

P77. To what extent -- in your opinion -- does the financial situation of your household depend upon recent governmental policies?

- 1) depends extremely highly
- 2) depends considerably
- 3) depends moderately
- 4) is totally independent
- 7) *hard to say*

(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 15)

E78. During last 12 month ... [read out following items] has the:

- A. political situation in Poland
- B. economic situation in Poland
- C. material situation of your household,
 - 1) definitely improved
 - 2) rather improved
 - 3) did not change
 - 4) rather deteriorated
 - 5) definitely deteriorated
 - 7) *don't know, hard to say*

(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 16)

E79. How do you evaluate the ... [read out following items]? Is it:

- A. political situation in Poland
- B. economic situation in Poland
- C. material situation of your household

- 1) very good
- 2) good
- 3) neither good neither bad
- 4) bad
- 5) very bad
- 7) *hard to say*

(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 17)

E 80. In your view, over the next 12 months the ... [read out following items] will:

- A. political situation in Poland
- B. economic situation in Poland
- C. material situation of your household

- 1) definitely improve
- 2) rather improve
- 3) not change
- 4) rather deteriorate
- 5) definitely deteriorate
- 7) *don't know, 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 now operate better or worse than in the times of the old regime, that is before 1989?

- 1) Now Poland's economy operates much better than before 1989
- 2) Somewhat better
- 3) Neither better nor worse
- 4) Somewhat worse
- 5) Now Poland's economy operates much worse than 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 than before 1989
- 2) Somewhat better
- 3) Neither better nor worse
- 4) Somewhat worse
- 5) Now my family and I are much worse off than before 1989
- 7) *Don't know*

P 84. (INTERVIEWER: 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 four „ladders” presented below. You should bear in mind that the lowest rung indicates the lowest social position, the highest rung -- highest.

A. Wealth	B. Influence	C. Prestige	D. Prospects
wealthiest people	the most influential people	the most prestigious	people with best prospects (for the future)
10	10	10	10
9	9	9	9
8	8	8	8
7	7	7	7
6	6	6	6
5	5	5	5
4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3
2	2	2	2
1	1	1	1
poorest people	least influential people	the least prestigious	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
- B/ your influence over your immediate milieu
- C/ prestige you enjoy
- D/ prospects for the future

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
- B/ between the working and the middle classes
- C/ between the farmers and the urban population
- D/ between the believers and atheists
- E/ between those positively evaluating the former socialist regime in Poland and those critical of it
- F/ between educated and uneducated people

S87. Thinking about the **new government** that is being formed, 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) *[DO NOT READ OUT] neither / mixed / depends*
- 9) *[DO NOT READ OUT] DK/NA*

- 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, our President formally apologized for the wartime massacre of Jews in Jedwabne. What is your view about such apologies? Are they ...

- 1) right
- 2) wrong
- 3) not completely wrong, but unnecessary and inadvisable
8. *[DO NOT READ OUT] mixed / depends*
9. *[DO NOT READ OUT] DK/NA*

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) *[DO NOT READ OUT] neither / mixed / depends*
- 9) *[DO NOT READ OUT] DK/NA*

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) *[DO NOT READ OUT] DK/NA*

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 for ever
- 8) *[DO NOT READ OUT] mixed / depends*
- 9) *[DO NOT READ OUT] DK/NA*

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) *[DO NOT READ OUT] DK/NA [→ S96]*

(INTERVIEWER: only respondents who in question S94 indicate answer 1 or 2)

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 - its 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

- 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)*

A) ... joining NATO is affecting Poland's independence and distinctive culture?

B) How much do you think Poland joining NATO is affecting the actions and decisions 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 actions and decisions of the EU?

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) Even after eastern enlargement, the EU will put the interests of its western member states above the interests of its new eastern members like Poland?
- B) In a real crisis, NATO would never take risks to defend Poland?

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

1	2	<i>neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)</i>	<i>DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)</i>
1. is good for Poland	2. is bad for Poland	8	9
1. the EU defends freedom in central Europe	2. the EU threatens freedom in central Europe	8	9
1. the EU protects Poland's independence and culture	2. the EU threatens Poland's independence and culture	8	9
1. EU politicians and officials in Brussels are honest and efficient	2. EU politicians and officials in Brussels are corrupt and wasteful	8	9

S105. On the whole, would you say NATO...

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

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
- 6) *such a threat does not exist (DO NOT READ OUT)*
- 7) *both Russia and EU/NATO equally (DO NOT READ OUT)*
- 8) *neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)*
- 9) *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
- 8) *neither / mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)*
- 9) *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. Supposing Poland joined the EU, 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. Supposing Poland joined the EU and, as a result, greater numbers of people from different countries and cultures came to live and work in this area. Do you personally feel that would make this area ...

- 1) a better place to live and work, on the whole
- 2) a worse place to live and work, on the whole
- 8) *mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT)*
- 9) *DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)*

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:	Very strong 1	Strong 2	Weak 3	Very weak / none 4	mixed / depends (DO NOT READ OUT) 8	DK/NA (DO NOT READ OUT) 9
your family...						
a political party of any kind...						
a religion of any kind...						
a class of any kind...						
The region (voivodship) where you live...						
Europe...						
Poland...						

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) Courts
- D) Officials in state and local government offices
- E) Members of Parliament / Members of the Sejm
- 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) Army
- L) Central Bank of Poland - Narodowy Bank Polski (NBP)
- M) Public TV
- N) Trade Unions
- O) the European Union
- P) NATO

(INTERVIEWER: respondents continue using CARD 25.)

S 113 Now, we would like to know what you think about the policies and politics of the following countries. Do you generally trust or distrust:

- 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 proud are you to be Polish citizen?

- 1) Very proud
- 2) Quite proud
- 3) Not very proud
- 4) Not at all proud
- 7) *Hard to say, don't know*

H115. (*INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 26*) People associate democracy with diverse meanings such as those on this card. For each of them, please tell me whether, for you, it has a lot, something, not much, or nothing to do with democracy.

- 1) A lot
- 2) Something
- 3) Not much
- 4) Nothing to do with democracy
- 7) *Hard to say, don't know*

- A. Political liberties e.g. freedom of speech, freedom of association
- B. Greater social equality
- C. Less corruption and less selling of influence
- D. That judges provide equal justice before the law
- E. Equal rights for woman
- F. More jobs, less unemployment
- G. Improved economic conditions
- H. Multi-party system
- I. Citizen's right to participate in 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.

G121. 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
- B. Religious instruction at schools
- C. Church taking official stands on legislation passed by the parliament

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 did its best 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 state officials. I mean officials like those you meet at gmina level in tax, passport, or social security offices (ZUS – the large state pension office); in state health and education services – including doctors and teachers; as well as, for example, the police and customs officials.

S126. Have your personal experiences of dealing with state officials in the last few years been...

- 1) on the whole, satisfactory
- 2) on the whole, 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 connections 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) Use connections to approach an official – that is, go through one of the official's friends or colleagues...

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)*
 - 9) *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 [→ P135]
 - 8) refusal [→ P135]

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 [→ G137]
- 3) At that time I was less than 18 years old [→ G137]
 - 7) don't remember [→ G137]
 - 8) refusal [→ G137]

P136. (INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 31) For whom did you vote?

.....

G137. How often do you watch TV programs, i.e. the news (Wiadomosci, Panorama) or political programs, debates on salient public issues (Sprawa dla Reportera, Polityczne 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 programs 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. Is it – in your view – good or bad for Poland that UW and AWSP are not present in the Sejm and, instead we have the presence of Samoobrona i Liga Polskich Rodzin?

- 1) it is good for Poland
- 2) it does not matter for Poland
- 3) it is bad for Poland
- 7) hard to say (DK)

P142. Imagine we have a repetition of the election. Now, knowing the results, would you go out and vote in this repeated election?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No [→ C144.]
 - 7. hard to say, don't know [→ C144.]
 - 8. refusal [→ C144.]

(INTERVIEWER: Show CARD 2; write down the number of the indicated party or coalition)

P143. For which party or coalition candidate would you vote, in such a repeated Sejm election?

.....

Now we would like to ask you about our political life. Many people though, are not interested in politics. In case the facts we ask you about are unknown to you please simply tell us.

C144. Who is the chairman of the SLD?

(INTERVIEWER: correct answer reads: Leszek Miller. Please indicate as correct if only family name is mentioned)

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1) [DO NOT READ OUT] | correct answer |
| 2) [DO NOT READ OUT] | incorrect answer |
| 7) [DO NOT READ OUT] | don't know |

C145. Who currently is the President of Russia?

(INTERVIEWER: correct answer reads: Wladimir Putin. Please indicate as correct if only family name is mentioned)

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1) [DO NOT READ OUT] | correct answer |
| 2) [DO NOT READ OUT] | incorrect answer |
| 7) [DO NOT READ OUT] | don't know |

C146. Could you please name the military alliance of which Poland is currently a member?

(INTERVIEWER: correct answer reads: NATO)

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1) [DO NOT READ OUT] | correct answer |
| 2) [DO NOT READ OUT] | incorrect answer |
| 7) [DO NOT READ OUT] | don't know |

P147. Please recall the afternoon, when the TV showed the breaking news – the tragedy in New York. For many this was a real shock. Were you terrified of something wrong starting that night and exerting an impact on your personal life?

- 1) Yes, I was really terrified
- 2) It wasn't a dread, although I was afraid
- 3) I felt clear fear
- 4) I did not feel any anxiety
- 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?

- 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 the labor market

M6. Please indicate from the list below all categories that apply to you personally.

[INTERVIEWER: Read out the list and mark all categories indicated by the respondent.]

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) disabled 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 market, ask about last employment/occupation.

If the respondent was never in the labor force, move to M21)

Please consequently use present or past tense.

M7. Where are (were) you currently (last) 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 a hired employee?

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

M13. When did this company (enterprise etc.) initiate its activities?

- 1) prior to World War II
 - 2) right after the War or in the 1950s
 - 3) between 1960 – 1979
 - 4) between 1980 – 1988
 - 5) in 1989 or later
- (which year exactly?

7) *DK, don't remember*

M14. And when did you start working for this company? Please indicate year and month..

1.year

9997) - *don't remember*

2.month

01-January, 02-February, etc 97) *don't remember*

M15. How many people happened to be employed in this company (enterprise, farm), apart from 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 the case of individual (private) farmers ask about the specializational profile and size of farm (in ha)*

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

.....

M17. Do (did) your professional duties include supervision of others' work or commissioning/delegating work to others?

- 1) yes
- 2) no [→ M21]

M18. Do (did) any of your subordinates have his/her own subordinates?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

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

(INTERVIEWER: write down the number of people:)

.....

M20. CODE:

SKZ:

ISCO:

Spouse's employment status. If no spouse, move to M25.

M21. Please indicate - from the list below - which item best describes your spouse's professional status:

- 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 (is) was the ownership status of your spouse's 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 the case of individual (private) farmers ask about the specializational profile and size of farm [in ha])

M23. What is (was) the profile of the company/enterprise he/she works (worked) for? What does (did) it produce, make?

.....

M24. What does (did) your spouse do in his/her work? What is (was) the name of his/her profession, specialty and position? Please tell us whether s/he falls into the category of hired employee or independent owner?

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

.....

CODE:

SKZ:

ISCO:

M25. Please recall the period when you were fourteen.
What was your father's (custodian's) job when you were aged 14? Please name his profession or job specialty and his position? Please tell us whether he had been hired as an employee or if he was an independent owner?

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

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

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

-
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 works (worked) for? What does (did) it produce, make?

(INTERVIEWER: In the case of individual (private) farmers ask about the specializational profile and size of farm[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 aggregate (from all sources) 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. Of how many members, including yourself, is your household comprised?

..... 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 in sq. metres per household member of your household?

..... sq. metres

M38. Do you live in:

- 01) your own house
- 02) your own flat
- 03) a cooperative flat
- 04) a municipal
- 05) the house/flat of your family
- 06) a 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. How long has your family lived in this locality/area?

- 1) my grandparents already lived here
- 2) my parents already lived here
- 3) I moved here when I was

(INTERVIEWER: 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 the 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 of:

1. yes
2. no
7. *hard to say*

- A. business or employers' organization
- B. farmers' organization
- C. professional association

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

- 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

- 1) never
- 2) less frequently than once a year
- 3) more or less once a year
- 4) several times a year
- 5) once a month
- 6) two to three times a month
- 7) once a week
- 8) several times a week
- 97) *DK*
- 98) *refusal*

Please indicate the duration of the interview: hours..... minutes

ANNEX FOR THE INTERVIEWER

A1) Please code the region the 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) Interviewer's 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) Respondent's attitude towards the interview:

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

questionnaire #

code #

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