Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze 2019 (PGSW 2019)
/ Polish National Election Study 2019 (PNES 2019)

Questionnaire in English

Q01. How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?

1) very interested
2) somewhat interested
3) not very interested
4) not at all interested
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q02. And how closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet? Very closely, fairly closely, not very closely, or not at all?

1) very closely
2) fairly closely
3) not very closely
4) not at all
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q03. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements: You feel you understand the most important political issues of this country.

1) strongly agree
2) somewhat agree
3) neither agree nor disagree
4) somewhat disagree
5) strongly disagree
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Q04a. What people call compromise in politics is really just selling out on one's principles.
Q04b. Most politicians do not care about the people.
Q04c. Most politicians are trustworthy.
Q04d. Politicians are the main problem in Poland.
Q04e. Having a strong leader in government is good for Poland, even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.
Q04f. The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.
Q04g. Most politicians care only about of the interests of the rich and influential.

1) strongly agree
2) somewhat agree
3) neither agree nor disagree
4) somewhat disagree
5) strongly disagree
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Now thinking about minorities in Poland. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement?

Q05a. Minorities should adapt to the customs and traditions of Poland.
Q05b. The will of the majority should always prevail, even over the rights of minorities.
Q05c. Immigrants are generally good for Poland's economy.
Q05d. Poland's culture is generally harmed by immigrants.
Q05e. Immigrants increase crime rates in Poland.

1) strongly agree
2) somewhat agree
3) neither agree nor disagree
4) somewhat disagree
5) strongly disagree
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Polish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think the following is for being truly Polish.....very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all

Q06a. To have been born in Poland.
Q06b. For your grandparents to have been born in Poland.

Q06c. To be able to speak Polish.
Q06d. To follow Poland's customs and traditions.
Q06x. To be a Catholic.
Q06z. To respect Polish political institutions and laws.

1) very important
2) fairly important
3) not very important
4) not important at all
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q07. Now on to another topic. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is among politicians in Poland: very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, or it hardly happens at all

1) very widespread
2) quite widespread
3) not very widespread
4) it hardly happens at all
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q08. Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels." Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

1) strongly agree
2) somewhat agree
3) neither agree nor disagree
4) somewhat disagree
5) strongly disagree
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q09. Now thinking about the performance of the government in Poland in general, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Poland did over the past four years? Has it done a very good job? A good job? A bad job? A very bad job?

1) very good job
2) good job
3) bad job
4) very bad job
7) (volunteered) refused

8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q10a. Would you say that any of the parties in Poland represent your views reasonably well?

1) yes
2) no [go to Q11]
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q10b. Which party represents your views best?

1-95) party codes
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q11. Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of the economy in Poland has gotten much better, gotten somewhat better, stayed about the same, gotten somewhat worse, or gotten much worse?

1) gotten much better
2) gotten somewhat better
3) stayed about the same
4) gotten somewhat worse
5) gotten much worse
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q12LH-a. On the 13th of October there were parliamentary elections. As usual, for a variety of reasons many people did not participate in these elections, while others participated. Please say whether you participated or not.

1) yes, I voted
5) no, I did not vote [go to Q12UH-a]
6) (volunteered) no, I was not eligible to vote [go to Q12UH-a]
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q12LH-b. For the candidate of which party list did you vote for in elections to the Sejm [lower house]?

1) KW Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL, Kukiz'15)
2) KW Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS, SP, Porozumienie)
3) KW Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD, Wiosna, Razem)
4) KW Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość
(KORWiN Braun Liroy Narodowcy)
5) KW Koalicja Obywatelska PO .N IPL Zieloni
6) Other (which?)
96) I cast an ineligible vote
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q12UH-a. At the same time as elections to the Sejm, elections to the Senate [upper house] also took place. Did you participate in elections to the Senate?

1) yes, I voted
5) no, I did not vote [go to Q13a]
6) (volunteered) no, I was not eligible to vote [go to Q13a]
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q12UH-b Candidates for elections to the Senate were registered by electoral committees. For the candidate of which electoral committee did you cast your vote?

1) KW Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL, Kukiz'15)
2) KW Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS, SP, Porozumienie)
3) KW Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD, Wiosna, Razem)
4) KW Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (KORWiN Braun Liroy Narodowcy)
5) KW Koalicja Obywatelska PO .N IPL Zieloni
6) Other (which?)
96) I cast an ineligible vote
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q13a. Did you participate in the previous parliamentary elections of October 2015?

1) yes, I voted
5) no, I did not vote [go to Q14a]
6) (volunteered) no, I was not eligible to vote [go to Q14a]
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q13b. For which party or coalition did you cast your vote?

1) Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
2) Platforma Obywatelska RP (PO)

3) Partia Razem
4) KORWiN
5) Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
6) Zjednoczona Lewica SLD+TR+PPS+UP+Zieloni
7) Kukiz'15
8) Nowoczesna Ryszarda Petru
96) I cast an ineligible vote
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q14a. Some people say that it doesn't make any difference who is in power. Others say that it makes a big difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that it doesn't make any difference who is in power and FIVE means that it makes a big difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q14b. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a big difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that voting won't make any difference to what happens and FIVE means that voting can make a big difference), where would you place yourself?

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q15. 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.

Q15a. Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
Q15b. Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
Q15c. Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
Q15d. Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
Q15e. Kukiz'15
Q15f. Wiosna
Q15g. Konfederacja

Strongly dislike										Strongly like
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

96) (volunteered) I have not heard of this party
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q16. And what do you think of the party leaders / prominent party figures? After I read the name of a party leader, please rate them on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that candidate and 10 means that you strongly like that candidate. If I come to a party leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

Q16a. Jarosław Kaczyński
Q16b. Grzegorz Schetyna
Q16c. Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz
Q16d. Włodzimierz Czarzasty
Q16e. Paweł Kukiz
Q16f. Robert Biedroń
Q16g. Donald Tusk
Q16h. Mateusz Morawiecki
Q16i. Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska
Q16j. Janusz Korwin-Mikke

Strongly dislike										Strongly like
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

96) (volunteered) I have not heard of this politician

97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q17. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place [PARTY] on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

Q17a. Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
Q17b. Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
Q17c. Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
Q17d. Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
Q17e. Kukiz'15
Q17f. Wiosna
Q17g. Konfederacja

Left										Right
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

95) (volunteered) haven't heard of left-right
96) (volunteered) I have not heard of this party
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q18. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Left										Right
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

95) (volunteered) haven't heard of left-right
96) (volunteered) I have not heard of this party
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

Q21. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in [COUNTRY]?

1) very satisfied
2) fairly satisfied
3) not very satisfied
4) not at all satisfied
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q22a. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party?

1) yes [go to Q22c]
5) no
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q22b. Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?

1) yes
5) no [go to Q22d]
7) (volunteered) refused [go to Q22d]
8) (volunteered) don't know [go to Q22d]
9) missing

Q22c. Which party do you feel closest to?

1-95) party codes
97) (volunteered) refused [go to question after Q22d]
98) (volunteered) don't know [go to question after Q22d]
99) missing

Q22d. Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

1) very close
2) somewhat close
3) not very close
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

Q23. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Democracy has its problems, but it is a better form of government than any of the alternatives".

1) strongly agree
2) somewhat agree
3) somewhat disagree
4) strongly disagree
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P1. (*N1.*) Should public expenditures on the health service (N1_1) / education (N1_2) / the unemployed (N1_3) / the army (N1_4) / pensions (N1_5) / subsidies for business and enterprise (N_6) / the police and justice system (N1_7) / social services (N1_8) be…?

1) much higher than at present
2) a bit higher than at present
3) the same
4) a bit lower than at present
5) much lower than at present
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P2. (*N2.*) To what extent – in your opinion – does the financial situation of your household depend upon recent government policy?

1) depends greatly
2) depends considerably
3) depends moderately
4) is totally independent
7) (volunteered) don't know

P3. (N3.) During the last 12 months the economic situation in Poland (N3a) / material circumstances of your family (N3b) has/have…

1) definitely improved
2) rather improved
3) not changed
4) rather deteriorated
5) definitely deteriorated
7) (volunteered) don't know

P4. (*N4.*) What do you think about the current economic situation in Poland (N4a) / material situation of your family (N4b)

1) very good
2) good
3) neither good nor bad
4) bad
5) very bad
7) (volunteered) don't know

P5. (*N5.*) Do you think in the next 12 months the economic situation in Poland (N5a) / material situation of your family (N5b)…?

1) will strongly improve
2) will rather improve
3) will not change
4) will rather worsen
5) will strongly worsen
7) (volunteered) don't know

P6. (*N8.*) Is there, and if yes, how strong, a conflict between the following social groups in Poland?

N8_1) between the poor and the rich
N8_2) between the old and the young
N8_3) between believers and atheists
N8_4) between women and men
N8_5) between employees and employers
N8_6) between public sector and private sector employees
N8_7) between the well educated and the less well educated
N8_8) between the working class and the middle class
N8_9) between farmers and urbanites
N8_10) between Polish patriots and those who do not respect Poland

1) no conflict
2) a weak or moderate conflict
3) a strong, dominant conflict

P7. (*P10.*) Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further'. What number on this scale best describes your position?

Unification has already gone too far										Unification should be pushed further
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P8. (P11 (2011-C16)) Politicians sometimes talk of a divide between 'solidaristic Poland' and 'liberal Poland'. What number on this scale best describes your position?

Solidaristic Poland										Liberal Poland
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

95) (volunteered) I have not heard of this divide
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P9. (P15 (2011-PW32B)) Is there currently a party in Poland towards which you feel real aversion and anger? If yes, please give the name of that party.

Open question: party name
96) (volunteered) there is no such party [go to P17]
97) (volunteered) don't know [go to P17]

P10. (P16 (2011-PW32C)) Do you think that this party should be banned?

1) yes
2) no
97) (volunteered) don't know
98) (volunteered) refused

P11. (*P18.*) Did you participate in the second round of the presidential election on 24th of May 2015? If yes, for which of the candidates did you vote?

1) Bronisław Komorowski
2) Andrzej Duda
3) did not vote
4) was not eligible to vote
97) (volunteered) cannot remember, don't know
98) (volunteered) refusal
99) missing

P12. (P19 (2011-PO92).) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

P19_1) Poland needs someone who has the strength to completely transform our system of government and introduce a new, just order.
P19_2) In Poland a few people exercise power that should belong to the ordinary people.
P19_3) This is the last moment to rescue Poland from impending catastrophe.
P19_4) Nothing in Poland will improve until politicians return to good, tried and tested moral values.

P19_5) Solving our country's problems is very simple; we just have to give power to those who want to achieve this.
P19_6) Everything in politics is unambiguously good or evil; the choice is simple.

1) strongly agree
2) rather agree
3) neither agree nor disagree
4) rather disagree
5) strongly disagree
97) (volunteered) don't know
98) (volunteered) refusal
99) missing

P13. (P24.) Did you participate in the most recent local elections, which took place in the autumn of 2018?

1) yes
2) no
4) was not eligible to vote
97) (volunteered) cannot remember, don't know
98) (volunteered) refusal
99) missing

P14. (*I1.*) There are different conceivable solutions to a wide variety of political problems. On the following cards, we present opposing solutions to each issue. Please read them carefully and tell me where you would place your own opinions and stances. In doing so, please use a 7-point scale, where "1" means full acceptance of the statement on the left side of the card, and "7" means full acceptance of the statement on the right side, while "4" means that you favour solutions that fall in between the two statements, and the remaining points on the scale indicate differing levels of acceptance of the two statements.

I1a
1) Climate change and pollution are the most important problems in contemporary Poland.
…
7) Climate change and pollution are not important problems; there are many other much more important ones.
97) (volunteered) don't know

I1b
1) The higher one's income, the larger the share of it that should be taxed
…
7) Everyone should be taxed the same percentage of his or her income, irrespective of the level of income
97) (volunteered) don't know

I1c
1) Our foreign policy should be based on the closest possible cooperation with the European Union, and observance of its binding rules.
…
7) Our foreign policy should be based above all on defence of our political and economic independence, even at the cost of leaving the European Union.
97) (volunteered) don't know

I1d
1) The government should encourage citizens of other states to settle in Poland, if they wish to do so.
…
7) The government should act to prevent foreigners settling in Poland.
97) (volunteered) don't know

I1e
1) The state should grant its citizens the widest possible range of social services (health, social welfare, free education etc.)
…
7) Citizens should take care of and responsibility for providing their own healthcare, self-assistance, education of their children etc.
97) (volunteered) don't know

I1f
1) Same-sex couples should have the same rights as heterosexual couples to publicly manifest their lifestyle.
……
7) Same-sex couples should not have the right to publicly manifest their lifestyles.
97) (volunteered) don't know

I1g
1) A woman should have the right to an abortion regardless of the situation, if that is her choice.
…
7) Regardless of her social or health situation, a woman should not have the right to an abortion.
97) (volunteered) don't know

P15. (*I2.*) 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 PiS's programmatic stance concerning the issue of CLIMATE CHANGE AND POLLUTION (I2_1) come closest to the one expressed at point 1 or 7, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

This process is then repeated for POLAND'S POLICY TOWARD THE EUROPEAN UNION (I2_2) and SAME-SEX COUPLES (I2_3). For question wording and coding, see the previous section.

P16. (*I3.*) 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 PO's programmatic stance concerning the issue of CLIMATE CHANGE AND POLLUTION (I3_1) come closest to the one expressed at point 1 or 7, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

This process is then repeated for POLAND'S POLICY TOWARD THE EUROPEAN UNION (I3_2) and SAME-SEX COUPLES (I3_3). For question wording and coding, see the previous section.

P16. (*I4.*) 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 PSL's programmatic stance

concerning the issue of CLIMATE CHANGE AND POLLUTION (I4_1) come closest to the one expressed at point 1 or 7, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

This process is then repeated for POLAND'S POLICY TOWARD THE EUROPEAN UNION (I4_2) and SAME-SEX COUPLES (I4_3). For question wording and coding, see the previous section.

P16. (*I5.*) 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 Lewica-Razem's programmatic stance concerning the issue of CLIMATE CHANGE AND POLLUTION (I5_1) come closest to the one expressed at point 1 or 7, or is it located somewhere in between; if so, where exactly?

This process is then repeated for POLAND'S POLICY TOWARD THE EUROPEAN UNION (I5_2) and SAME-SEX COUPLES (I5_3). For question wording and coding, see the previous section.

And now for several questions on the topic of democracy. I will ask later about how democracy functions in Poland. For now, I would like to ask you to think about how important various issues are for democracy in general. There are no good or bad answers, please just say what you think about each of these issues.

Please say to what extent, in your opinion, it is important for democracy…

P19.1 (D1.) …that parliamentary elections are free and fair.
P19.2 (D2.) … that political parties constitute a genuine alternative to each other; that they are significantly different from one another.
P19.3 (D3.) …that the media provide citizens with reliable information on the basis of which they can evaluate the actions of the government.
P19.4 (D4.) …that citizens have the deciding voice on the most important political questions by voting on them in a referendum.
P19.5 (D5.) …that constitutional courts have the possibility to restrain a government that is exceeding its prerogatives.
P19.6 (D6.) …that courts treat everyone equally.
P19.7 (D7.) …that the government protects everyone from poverty.
P19.8 (D8.) …that the government explains its decisions to the electorate.
P19.9 (D9.) …that the interpretation of laws is, in the last instance, reserved for religious authorities.
P19.10 (D10.) …that people obey the government.

This is completely unimportant for democracy in general										This is of great importance for democracy in general.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

96) (volunteered) don't know

P20. (*D9a.*) In some countries the government is comprised of one party, and in others by a coalition of two or more parties. Which of these two possibilities is, in your opinion, best for democracy in general?

1) One party forms the government.
2) A coalition of two or more parties forms the government.
3) It depends upon the circumstances.
4) (volunteered) don't know

Now I will ask you several questions on the same topic, but this time I am interested in your opinion on the topic of the functioning of democracy in Poland. As before, there are no good or bad answers, please just say what you think.

Please say to what extent the following statements correspond to the situation in Poland. 0 means that a given statement does not correspond to the situation in Poland at all, while 10 means that the statement completely corresponds to the situation in Poland.

P21.1 (D10.) Elections to the Sejm are free and fair.
P21.2 (D11.) Political parties in Poland offer genuine alternatives; they can clearly be differentiated from each other.
P21.3 (D12.) The media in Poland give citizens reliable information on the basis of which they can evaluate the government.
P21.4 (D13.) Polish citizens have a decisive voice in important political questions, voting directly on them in referendums.
P21.5 (D14.) Polish courts treat everyone the same.
P21.6 (D15.) Constitutional courts have the ability to restrain the government when it exceeds its prerogatives.
P21.7 (D16.) The Polish government protects all citizens from poverty.
P21.8 (D17.) The Polish government explains its decisions to the electorate.
P21.9 (D17x.) In the last instance, the interpretation of laws is reserved for religious authorities.
P21.10 (D17z.) Poles obey the government.

Does not correspond to the situation in Poland at all										Completely corresponds to the situation in Poland
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

96) (volunteered) don't know

P22. (*D21.)* Contemporary democracies are characterised by two main values: equality and freedom. Sometimes these values are in opposition to each other, particularly when it comes to political decisions and the implementation of policy. Which of these values is, in your opinion, the most important at present?

1) definitely freedom
2) rather freedom
3) rather equality
4) definitely equality

P23. (*D22.*) There are varying conceptions of the role of the contemporary state. Which of these is closer to your conception?

1) A state which defends and supports traditional values.
2) A state which supports social progress and modern values.

P24. (*D23.*) There are also other conceptions of the role of the contemporary state. Which of these is closer to your conception?

1) A state which creates the foundations for social solidarity.
2) A state which creates conditions favourable for the entrepreneurship of individuals.

P25. (*T1.*) How often have you discussed the recent elections with your spouse or partner?

0) never
1) rarely
2) sometimes
3) often
95) (volunteered) not applicable (not married or does not live with partner)
96. (volunteered) refused
97. (volunteered) don't know

P26. (*T2.*) Which party – if at all – did your spouse or partner vote for in the most recent parliamentary elections?

0) None; did not participate in the elections.
1) KW Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL, Kukiz'15)
2) KW Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS, SP, Porozumienie)
3) KW Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD, Wiosna, Razem)
4) KW Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość
(KORWiN Braun Liroy Narodowcy)
5) KW Koalicja Obywatelska PO .N IPL Zieloni
6) Other (which?)
95) (volunteered) not applicable (not married or does not live with partner)
96) no answer or question not asked
97) (volunteered) don't know

P27. (*T3.*) And now we will turn to the question of the people with whom you discussed the electoral campaign. How often did you discuss the recent electoral campaign with your family (T3_1) / your friends and acquaintances (T3_2) / your neighbours (T3_3) / your work colleagues (T3_4)?

1) often
2) sometimes
3) rarely
4) never
95) (volunteered) not applicable (for example, does not live with family or is not employed)
96) (volunteered) no answer or question not asked
97) (volunteered) don't know

P28. (*T4.*) Do you think that your family (T4_1) / friends and acquaintances (T4_2) / neighbours (T4_3) / work colleagues (T4_4) supported the same party as you, or supported another party?

1) supported the same party
2) supported a different party
95) (volunteered) not applicable (for example, does not live with family or is not employed)
96) (volunteered) no answer or question not asked
97) (volunteered) don't know

P29. (*T5.*) In total, with how many people did you discuss the most recent election campaign?

0 - 180
98) (volunteered) no answer, question not asked
99) (volunteered) don't know

P30. (T6.) [ask, if T5 > 0] Taking into consideration all your conversations about the last electoral campaign, how many of those you spoke with supported the same party as you?

3) all or almost all
2) the majority
1) some
0) none
95) not applicable
98) (volunteered) no answer, question not asked
99) (volunteered) don't know

P31. (T7.) During the most recent electoral campaign, did you receive any advice from a leader of a local civil society organisation or member of the clergy, or from both, on which party to support in the parliamentary elections?

0) no [go to T9]
1) yes, from the leader of a local civil society organisation
2) yes, from a member of the clergy
3) yes, from both
98) (volunteered) no answer, question not asked
99) (volunteered) don't know

P32. (*T8.*) For which party?

Name of party.

P33. (*T9.*) During the last election campaign, did you experience any situations in which you avoided talking about politics with family members or friends because you wanted to avoid arguing with someone who has different views?

1) yes, very often
2) yes, sometimes
3) rarely, almost never
4) never
98) (volunteered) no answer
99) (volunteered) don't know

P34. (T10.) During the last election campaign, did you experience any situations in which during a conversation about politics with family members or friends, someone said something that was obviously untrue?

1) yes, very often
2) yes, sometimes
3) rarely, almost never
4) never [go to P24]
98) (volunteered) no answer [go to P24]
99) (volunteered) don't know [go to P24]

P35. (T11.) If yes, did you express opposition to this?

1) yes
2) no
99) (volunteered) don't know [go to P24]

P36. (P25.) Now we will return for the last time to the topic of the elections. Did you participate in this year's elections to the European Parliament? If yes, for the candidate of which electoral committee did you vote?

1) Civic Coalition (Koalicja Europejska, KE)
2) Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS)
3) Spring (Wiosna)
4) Confederation (Konfederacja)
5) Kukiz'15
9) other – which?
95) did not vote
96) was not eligible to vote
97. (volunteered) can't remember, don't know
98. (nie czytać) refused

P37. (KS1.) Do you know someone who can help translate something into a foreign language (KS1a) / sometimes can offer people employment (KS1b) / can advise how to sort out issues with local administrative offices (KS1c) / can bring important issues to the attention of the local press (KS1d) / can lend a significant amount of money (KS1e).

1) yes
2) no
97) (volunteered) don't know
98) (volunteered) refused

[For each of the above, if the respondent answered "yes", ask an additional question.]

Is this person a…(KS2a – KS2e)

1) Family member
2) Friend or acquaintance
3) Either family member or friend/acquaintance
97) (volunteered) don't know
98) (volunteered) refused

P38. (H1.) How often during the most recent election campaign did you pay attention to information on the election in newspapers or the internet sites of newspapers (H1_1) / on the radio (H1_2) / on television (H1_3) / on social media (H1_4)?

4) daily or almost daily
3) 3 – 4 times a week
2) 1 – 2 times a week
1) less than once a week
0) never
98) (volunteered) refused
99) (volunteered) don't know

P39. (H2.) Please estimate to what extent the media outlets you consulted to gain information about the election campaign supported the same party you support.

3) all or almost all
2) most
1) some
0) none
95) (volunteered) no answer – the respondent does not support any party
98) (volunteered) refusal
99) (volunteered) don't know

P40. (H3.) [ask if H1_1 > 0] Which newspaper or newspapers did you most often read to gain information about the election campaign?

Name of newspaper / newspapers
95)(volunteered) did not read any newspapers
98) (volunteered) no answer
99) (volunteered) don't know / don't remember

P41. (H4.) [ask if H1_2 > 0] To which radio stations did you most often listen to gain information about the election campaign?

Name of radio station / stations
95)(volunteered) did not listen to any radio stations
98) (volunteered) no answer
99) (volunteered) don't know / don't remember

P42. (H5.) [ask if H1_3 > 0] Which TV stations did you most often watch to gain information about the election campaign?

Name of TV station / stations
95)(volunteered) did not watch any TV stations
98) (volunteered) no answer
99) (volunteered) don't know / don't remember

P43. (H7.) During the last election campaign, did you share your thoughts or opinions about a particular candidate by email, text message or on social media?

0) never
1) almost never
2) sometimes
3) often
98) (volunteered) no answer
99) (volunteered) don't know / don't remember

P44. (H10.) I am going to read you various opinions on the topic of the world, society and politics. Please say whether you agree with them or not.

1. It isn't the government who governs over us; those who really control us are not known to us.
2. Those who claim that there are powerful organisations in the world which conspire against Poland have a good point.
3. The most important thing to teach children is complete obedience to their parents.
4. Every good manager who wants to gain respect and attention should be severe and demanding towards the people he/she supervises.
5. If you think about it, you have to admit that there are only really two types of person in the world: strong people and weak people.
6. In this complicated world the only way to gain an understanding of how to proceed is to consult specialists and advisors.
7. It is increasingly difficult to find any sense in the world around us.
8. The only thing you can be certain of these days is that you cannot be certain of anything.
9. Amid so many different ideas, theories and worldviews, it is often difficult to have any idea what to believe.
10. I feel increasingly isolated and disoriented in our current socio-political system.
11. I often have the feeling that the current policies of the government are my policies.
12. We are all meaningless cogs in the political machine.

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

P45. (*S1.*) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

1. Instead of taking effective action, politicians constantly over-complicate simple matters.
2. Scientists and experts from various disciplines over-complicate things which are actually rather straightforward.
3. At present, the medical profession just confuses people rather than helps them; to be healthy it's enough to live in a natural way and listen to people similar to us.
4. Solving our country's problems is very simple, we just have to give power to people who want to do this.
5. The work of parliaments consists of endless debate over the details of bills, but in some cases the regulation of particular issues is simple enough that any of us could do it.
6. Politics is a fierce battle between good, represented by the ordinary people, and evil, resulting from the actions of a corrupt elite.

1) strongly disagree
2) rather disagree
3) hard to say
4) rather agree
5) strongly agree

P46. (H11.) In politics parties often have different views. Which of the following alternatives do you think is better?

1) Parties should stick firmly to their convictions, even if other parties disagree with them.
2) Parties should be prepared to cooperate with others, even if that would mean significant compromises with respect to their own convictions.
95) (volunteered) no answer
96) (volunteered) don't know

P47. (PZ1.) Poland should increase expenditure on the army and the purchase of military equipment, even at the cost of reducing money spent on social services like pensions and healthcare.

1) strongly agree
2) rather agree
3) rather disagree
4) strongly disagree
97) (volunteered) don't know
98) (volunteered) refused

P48. (PZ3.) On whose side should Poland stand if there is a serious disagreement between the European Union and the United States of America on key issues in the international arena?

1) on the side of the EU
2) on the side of the USA

3) Poland should not get involved in such conflicts
97) (volunteered) don't know
98) (volunteered) refused

P49. (H12.) Are the following things absolutely necessary, very important, rather important, not very important, or totally unnecessary for success in life?

1. Ambition
2. Knowing the right people
3. Hard work
4. Access to political influence
5. Coming from a rich family
6. A good education
7. Luck
8. In-born talent

1) absolutely necessary
2) very important
3) rather important
4) not very important
5) totally unimportant

P50. (H13.) Please say to what extent you agree with the following statements. Please use a scale from 1 – meaning 'I definitely DO NOT agree' to 7 – 'I definitely agree'.

1. The political system in Poland works as it should.
2. In general, people in Poland get what they deserve.
3. In Poland today everyone has a more or less equal opportunity to be rich and happy.
4. In general, our society is ruled over justly.
5. Politics usually serves good goals.
6. The organisation of our society demands radical change.
7. Year on year, our society gets worse.
8. For me, Poland is the best country to live in.
9. Polish law is just, and applies the same to everyone.
10. People who abide by the law have it better in Poland than people who break the law.
11. In Poland, those who have the most success are those who do not deserve it.
12. At all levels, people holding political power are too often incompetent.
13. Today's Poland is ruled over by people who are only in it for their own interests.

I definitely do not agree						I definitely agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

P51. Below are several contradictory assessments of Polish politics during the last four years. Please indicate which of these statements you agree with more. "1" means complete agreement with the statement described on the left hand side, "7" means complete agreement with the statement described on the right hand side, and "4" means agreement with neither, while the intermediate numbers of the scale indicate limited agreement with one or the other statement.

[a]
1 – the executive branch (PM and ministers) is more important than the judiciary and legislative branches
7 – the executive branch is equally important as the judiciary and legislative branches

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[b]
1 – over the last four years the PiS government may have violated the Constitution and bent the law, but in doing so it helped the poor
7 - the Constitution is sacred; there is no justification for violating it and for bending the law, even if you help the poor while doing so

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[c]
1 – the terrible state of the health system is the result of incorrect policy priorities and spending on other superfluous goals
7 – the health system is fine; the government's policy in this domain is credible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[d]
1 – the lowering of the retirement age is a very good idea, as people should be able to get the most out of old age
7 – the lowering of the retirement age is a disastrous decision, which will negatively affect the economy and result in low pensions for the elderly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[e]
1 – Poland's position in the international arena is in a disastrous state; we have no allies in Europe
7 – Poland's position in Europe is very good, and the US considers Poland its most important ally

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[f]
1 – our social and political life should be directed by the values expressed in the Bible, and by the instructions of the clergy

7 – our social and political life should be directed by laws created by citizens and protected by the Constitution

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

P52. (K1.) Using the card, please indicate how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[ka] Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts.
[kb] For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small.
[kc] The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.
[kd] Schools must teach children to obey authority
[ke] People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than they are these days.
[kf] If a man is suspected of planning a terrorist attack in [country], the police should have the power to keep him in prison until they are satisfied he was not involved.
[kg] Should Poland allow people from West European countries to come and live here?
[kh] Should Poland allow people from East European countries to come and live here?
[ki] Should Poland allow people from poor non-European countries to come and live here?
[mx] One ought to denounce people who articulate critical opinions about selected facts from our history or criticize Polish politicians
[my] The Polish government ought to be supported in the international arena even if it clearly is wrong.

1) Definitely agree
2) Agree
3) Neither agree nor disagree
4) Disagree
5) Definitely disagree
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P53. (NW1.) Do you believe that over the next ten years Poland's presence in the European Union will bring more benefits for Poland than dangers? Answer on a scale of 1 – 7, where 1 means more benefits, and 7 means more dangers.

More benefits						More dangers
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

P54. (NW2) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Western European states have their problems, but they are still a better model for Poland's future growth than the model provided by states to the east.

1) strongly agree
2) agree
3) disagree
4) strongly disagree

P55. (P.67.) In contemporary Poland some of society are regarded as occupying a high social position, while others are seen as occupying a low position. Where would you place yourself on each of the following "ladders", where the lowest rung means a low social position, and the highest a high social position?

A. WEALTH		B. INFLUENCE		C. RESPECT		D. LIFE CHANCES
the wealthiest		the most influential		the most well-respected		those with the best life chances
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
the poorest		those with the least influence		the least well-respected		those with the worst life chances

P56. (P68) And now please consider again the four features discussed in the previous question and consider whether over the course of the last four years (from 2015) your personal position has changed in any of those spheres.

P68A. Personal wealth
P68B. Influence on one's environs
P68C. Degree of respect experienced
P68D. Life chances

0) significantly improved
1) rather improved
2) remained the same
3) rather worsened
4) significantly worsened
7) don't know

P57. (P69.) Is there any social or professional group to which you feel a genuine aversion or hatred? If yes, please name it.

Name of social or professional group.
96) there is no such group
97) don't know

P58. (X1.) [only asked of those who declared their participation in elections] On the 13th of October there were elections to the Polish parliament. Bearing in mind the result of those elections for the electoral committee you voted for, to what extent are you happy with the result it obtained?

1) the result was much better than I expected
2) the result was a bit better than I expected
3) the result was the same as I expected
4) the result was worse than I expected
5) the result was much worse than I expected
7) don't know
8) refused

P59. (X2.) [only asked of those who declared their participation in elections] In the elections of 13th October it was possible to consider your vote a vote for a specific electoral committee, a specific party, or for a particular candidate. Which of the following corresponds most closely to the action you took when voting?

1) I did not take into consideration which party or candidate I was voting for, I simply cast a vote for a particular electoral committee.
2) I voted above all for a specific candidate who happened to appear on a particular electoral list.
3) I voted above all for a political party; and only to a lesser extent for an electoral committee or a specific candidate.

P60. (Y1.) The body responsible for preparing and implementing the budget is:

1) The parliament (Sejm)
2) The Monetary Policy Council
3) The president
4) The government
5) The National Bank of Poland

6) (volunteered) don't know

P61. (Y2.) How are Polish members of the European Parliament elected?

1) Half are chosen by the Sejm, and the other half are chosen by local government assemblies.
2) They are chosen in general elections by all citizens who are 18 or older.
3) They are designated by the prime minister.
4) They are chosen in general elections by all citizens who are 25 or older.
5) (volunteered) don't know

P62. (Y3.) Does every person born on Polish territory automatically gain Polish citizenship, regardless of the citizenship of their parents?

1) Yes
2) No
3) (volunteered) don't know

Demographic variables

P63. (*CSES: D01a.*) Date of birth: month

1) January
2) February
3) March
4) April
5) May
6) June
7) July
8) August
9) September
10) October
11) November
12) December
99) missing

P64. (*D01b.*) Date of birth: year

1925 - 2001
9999) missing

P65. (*D02.*) Gender

1) male
2) female
3) other
7) refused
9) missing

P66. (*D03.*) Education

1) Early childhood education
2) Primary
3) Lower secondary
4) Upper secondary
5) Post-secondary non-tertiary
6) Short-cycle tertiary
7) Bachelor or equivalent
8) Master or equivalent
9) Doctoral or equivalent
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P67. (*D04.*) Marital or civil union status

1) married or living together as married
2) widowed
3) divorced or separated
4) single, never married
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P68. (*D05.*) Union membership

1) respondent is a member of a union
2) respondent is not a member of a union
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P69. (*D06.*) Current employment status

1) employed - full time (32 or more house weekly)
2) employed - part time (15 to less than 32 hours weekly)
3) employed - less than 15 hours
4) helping family member
5) unemployed
6) student, in school, in vocational training
7) retired
8) housewife, homemaker, home duties
9) permanently disabled

10) others, not in labour force
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P70. (*D07.*) Main occupation

MANAGERS
11) Chief executives, senior officials and legislators
12) Administrative and commercial managers
13) Production and specialized services managers
14) Hospitality, retail and other services managers

PROFESSIONALS
21) Science and engineering professionals
22) Health professionals
23) Teaching professionals
24) Business and administration professionals
25) Information and communications technology professionals
26) Legal, social and cultural professionals

TECHNICIANS AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS
31) Science and engineering associate professionals
32) Health associate professionals
33) Business and administration associate professionals
34) Legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals
35) Information and communications technicians

CLERICAL SUPPORT WORKERS
41) General and keyboard clerks
42) Customer services clerks
43) Numerical and material recording clerks
44) Other clerical support worker

SERVICE AND SALES WORKERS
51) Personal service workers
52) Sales workers
53) Personal care workers
54) Protective services workers

SKILLED AGRICULTURAL, FORESTRY AND FISHERY WORKERS

61) Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers
62) Market-oriented skilled forestry, fishing and hunting workers
63) Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers

CRAFT AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS
71) Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians
72) Metal, machinery and related trades workers
73) Handicraft and printing workers

74) Electrical and electronic trades workers
75) Food processing, wood working, garment and other craft and related trades workers

PLANT AND MACHINE OPERATORS, AND ASSEMBLERS
81) Stationary plant and machine operators
82) Assemblers
83) Drivers and mobile plant operators

ELEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS
91) Cleaners and helpers
92) Agricultural, forestry and fishery laborers
93) Laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport
94) Food preparation assistants
95) Street and related sales and service workers
96) Refuse workers and other elementary workers

ARMED FORCES OCCUPATIONS
01) Commissioned armed forces officers
02) Non-commissioned armed forces officers
03) Armed forces occupations, other rank

99) missing

P71. (*D07a.*) Socio-economic status

1) white collar
2) worker
3) farmer
4) self-employed
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P72. (*D08.*) Employment type: public or private

1) public sector
2) private sector
3) mixed
4) "third sector" / non-profit sector
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P73. (*D09.*) Household income

2 – 40000 zł

P74. (*D09a.*) [if refused to answer previous question] Please indicate which of these categories corresponds to your household's monthly income.

1) up to 300 zł
2) between 301 zł and 500 zł
3) between 501 zł and 750 zł
4) between 751 zł and 1 000 zł
5) between 1 001 zł and 1 250 zł
6) between 1 251 zł and 1 500 zł
7) between 1 501 zł and 1 750 zł
8) between 1 751 zł and 2 000 zł
9) between 2 001 zł and 2 250 zł
10) between 2 251 zł and 2 500 zł
11) between 2 501 zł and 2 750 zł
12) between 2 751 zł and 3 000 zł
13) between 3 001 zł and 3 500 zł
14) between 3 501 zł and 4 000 zł
15) between 4 001 zł and 4 500 zł
16) between 4 501 zł and 5 000 zł
17) between 5 001 zł and 7 000 zł
18) between 7 001 zł and 8 000 zł
19) between 8 001 zł and 10 000 zł
20) over 10 000 zł
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P75. (*D10.*) Religious denomination

1101) Roman Catholic
1102) Eastern (Greek Rite) Catholic churches
1200) Protestant
1504) Jehovah's Witness
1600) Eastern Orthodox
8100) Agnostic
8200) Atheist
8300) None
9600) Other
9997) (volunteered) refused
9998) (volunteered) don't know
9999) missing

P76. (*D11.*) Religious services attendance

1) never
2) once a year
3) two to eleven times a year
4) once a month
5) two or more times a month

6) once a week / more than once a week
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P77. (*D13.*) Ethnicity

001 – 996 [as ethnicity code labels]
997) (volunteered) refused
998) (volunteered) don't know
999) missing

P78. (*D14.*) Country of birth

001-996 [as country code labels]
997) (volunteered) refused
998) (volunteered) don't know
999) missing

P79. (*D15.*) Was either biological parent born outside the country?

1) yes
2) no
97) (volunteered) refused
98) (volunteered) don't know
99) missing

P80. (*D16.*) Language usually spoken at home

001-996 [as country code labels]
997) (volunteered) refused
998) (volunteered) don't know
999) missing

P81. (*D17.*) Region of residence (voivodship)

1) dolnośląskie
2) kujawsko-pomorskie
3) lubelskie
4) lubuskie
5) łódzkie
6) małopolskie
7) mazowieckie
8) opolskie
9) podkarpackie
10) podlaskie
11) pomorskie
12) śląskie
13) świętokrzyskie
14) warmińsko-mazurskie
15) wielkopolskie
16) zachodniopomorskie
99) missing

P82. (*D18.*) Primary electoral district

1) Legnica
2) Wałbrzych
3) Wrocław
4) Bydgoszcz
5) Toruń
6) Lublin
7) Chełm
8)Zielona Góra
9) Łódź
10) Piotrków Trybunalski
11) Sieradz
12) Kraków
13) Kraków
14) Nowy Sącz
15) Tarnów
16) Płock
17) Radom
18) Siedlce
19) Warszawa
20) Warszawa
21) Opole
22) Krosno
23) Rzeszów
24) Białystok
25) Gdańsk
26) Słupsk
27) Bielsko– Biała
28) Częstochowa
29) Katowice

30) Bielsko– Biała
31) Katowice
32) Katowice
33) Kielce
34) Elbląg
35) Olsztyn
36) Kalisz
37) Konin
38) Piła
39) Poznań
40) Koszalin
41) Szczecin
99999) missing

P83. (*D19.*) Rural or urban residence

1) rural area or village
2) small or middle-sized town
3) suburbs of large town or city
4) large town or city
7) (volunteered) refused
8) (volunteered) don't know
9) missing

P84. (*D20.*) Number in household

1 - 10