SURVEY

Poland

DEVBCEEC

Project Title:

The Determinants of Euro-sceptical Voting Behaviour in Central and Eastern European Countries and Party Responses

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Contact person: REINHARD HEINISCH

Professor of Austrian Politics in European Perspective Department of Political Science, Chair Division of Sociology and Political Science, Chair University of Salzburg A-5020 Salzburg, Rudolfskai 42, AUSTRIA reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at

Tel.:0043(0)662 8044–6615 Fax.: 0043 (0)0662-6389-6615 Secretary: Tel.: 0043(0)662-8044-6610 How would you describe, to the best of your knowledge, the general position of the leaders of the following political parties concerning the state of European integration over the past few years?
 (0= Strongly opposed, 10 = strongly in favor)

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		ı	ı	ı	ı	ı					
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(SLD)	0			<u> </u>	1	<u> </u>	U	,	0	<i>J</i>	10
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Solidarna Polska (SP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(PJN)	U	1		3	4	5	В	7	٥	9	10
Unia Pracy (UP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Twój Ruch (TR)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

2. Next, we would like you to consider the importance of European integration from a party's viewpoint. Over the past few years, how important was the EU for the various parties in their public statements? (0 = Not important at all, 10 = Extremely important)

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(SLD)											
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		I	ı	ı							
Solidarna Polska (SP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
							J	•		J	10
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Unia Pracy (UP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Twój Ruch (TR)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			-	1							

3. How would you describe your general position on European integration?

Strongly										Strongly
opposed										in favor
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4. Do you now view the European Union less or more favorably than a year ago? Please indicate your level of favorability or unfavorability on the following scale!

	less					about					more
	favorably					the					favorably
						same					
ſ	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

5. In your opinion, how important are the following problems for this country?

		Not important	Of little importance	Somewhat important	Very important
a)	Weak economic situation.	1	2	3	4
b)	Spreading of corruption in society.	1	2	3	4
c)	Losing decision-making power and erosion of national identity following EU accession.	1	2	3	4
d)	Growing influence of minorities.	1	2	3	4
e)	The political elite does not care about the concerns of average people like me.	1	2	3	4

6. Do you consider questions related to European integration now as being more or less important than a few years ago?

less					about					more
important					the				i	mportant
					same					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

7. As best as you can tell, how would you describe the position on civil liberties the leaders of the following political parties adopted over the course of the past few years?

(0 = Strongly supports civil liberties, 10 = strongly supports tough measures to fight criminality)

21 (6 2)								-			
Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(SLD)											
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Callidada Dalala (CD)											
Solidarna Polska (SP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)											
i olska jest ivajwaziliejsza (i jiv)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Unia Pracy (UP)											
oma racy (or)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Twój Ruch (TR)											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

8. In your opinion, how important was the conflict between civil liberties and law and order to each of the following parties in their public statements over the past few years?

(0 = Not important at all, 10 = Extremely important)

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(SLD)											
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Tolskie Stromitetwo Eddowe (1 52)											
Solidarna Polska (SP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Solidaria i Sisila (S.)											
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
, , , ,		I			I			ı		ı	
Unia Pracy (UP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		•									
Twój Ruch (TR)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	U	1		J	4	J	U	L <u>′</u>	O	J	10

9. And how would you describe the statements of the leaders of the following political parties on the state of minority rights adopted over the past few years?(0 = strongly supports equal rights for minorities, 10 = strongly opposes equal rights for minorities)

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)				2		-		l -	0	0	40
riawo i spiawieuliwość (ris)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(SLD)											
			1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Totakie stromietwo Eddowe (1 52)											
Callida va Balala (CD)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Solidarna Polska (SP)											
			1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Unia Pracy (UP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
······································											
- 6 - 1 (-1)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Twój Ruch (TR)	U	1		3	4	Э	U	,	0	9	10

10. In your opinion, how important was the topic of minority rights to each of the following parties in their public statements?

(0 = Not important at all, 10 = very important)

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(SLD)											
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		1									
Solidarna Polska (SP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
										-	
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Ū	-		3	•	<u> </u>	Ü	,	<u> </u>	J	10
Unia Pracy (UP)	0	1	2	3	4	_	6	7	8	9	10
	U	1	۷	э	4	5	U	,	0	Э	10
Twój Ruch (TR)		1	1	1	1		1	1			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

11. To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

Our politics are controlled by groups who do not represent the people.

Fully										Fully
agree										disagree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

12. What do you think about minority rights? Please indicate on a scale from 0-10 whether equal rights should be granted to minorities.

I strongly										I strongly
support										oppose
equal										equal
rights for										rights for
minorities										minorities
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

13. Do you think any of the following represents a real threat to peace and security in this society?

		No	Yes
a.	National minorities in our society	0	1
b.	Immigrants from other countries	0	1
c.	Neighboring countries.	0	1
d.	Other countries (ask "which one(s)" if respondent picks this option).	0	1
e.	Terrorist groups.	0	1

14. Some politicians argue that leaving the market alone is best for the economy while others claim that government intervention to guide the economy is necessary in our society. What solution do you prefer?

I am in										I prefer
favor of										government
free										intervention
markets										
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

15. Consider the following political parties:

- Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
- Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
- Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
- Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
- Solidarna Polska (SP)
- Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)

- Unia Pracy (UP)
- Twój Ruch (TR)

To what extent do you agree with the following statement? *Political parties like this are all the same!*

Agree										Disagree
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

16. Thinking about political corruption in this country, please place each of the following political parties on a scale from 0 to 10.

(0 = least corrupt, 10 = most corrupt)

Platforma Obywatelska (PO)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		_			1	ı	ı	ı		ı	
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(313)		1			1	ı	ı	ı		ı	
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Solidarna Polska (SP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Polska Jest Najwazniejsza (PJN)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Unia Pracy (UP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Twój Ruch (TR)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

17. To what extent do you trust each of the following institutions to be taking your interests into consideration? Please indicate on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you do not trust them at all, while 10 means you fully trust them.

Political Parties	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National Parliament		1	١,	1	l 4	l -		7			10
National Famament	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	/	8	9	10
National Government	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
European Union			1	П	1	1	1	1	П	П	
European omon	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
European Parliament	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
European Commission			1	l	1	1			l	l	
European commission	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

18. Do you consider yourself?

Pro-										Anti-
Communist										Communist
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

19. On the whole, how satisfied are you with how democracy works in Poland and in the European Union?

	Not satisfied at all	Not very satisfied	Quite satisfied	Very satisfied
Democracy in Poland	1	2	3	4
Democracy in the European	1	2	3	4
Union				

- 20. Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? If so, which party do you feel close to?
- 21. How often do you discuss politics?

Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1	2	3	4

22. How often do you attend religious service apart from special occasions?

Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1	2	3	4

- 23. Imagine the parliamentary elections will be held this weekend and the following parties are running. Which party would you cast your vote to?
 - Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
 - Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)
 - Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)

- Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
- Partia Demokratyczna demokraci.pl (PD)
- Socjaldemokracja Polska; SDPL
- Liga Polskich Rodzin, LPR
- Samoobrona Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej (SRP)
- Twój Ruch (TR)
- 24. Which would be the most important reason to vote for this party, if parliamentary elections were held this weekend?
- 25. How has the European financial crisis affected your views? Please indicate to what extent you agree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Europe needs to pull together to defend itself against speculative markets, even if it means for countries like mine to make some economic sacrifices.	1	2	3	4	5
Europe should work cooperate to solve the financial crisis but it is the					
major powers and richer economies which have to bear the costs.	1	2	3	4	5
Europe cannot really work together to resolve the financial crisis because decisions are made by a few politicians representing major powers without consulting the people of Europe.	1	2	3	4	5
The ultimate goal used to be close cooperation within the EU, but now countries like mine should rather try and manage on their own.	1	2	3	4	5
The financial crisis confirms for me that the EU was a big mistake					
from the beginning and my country should never have joined.	1	2	3	4	5

- 26. Some people argue that the financial crisis exerts negative effects on the situation in Poland. Do you agree with this statement and, if yes, whom do you mostly blame politically for these effects?
 - Governing parties
 - National leaders of political parties
 - European Union
 - Political leaders of other European countries
 - Other (ask "whom" if respondent picks this option)
 - I do not agree with this statement.

27. Gender

- male
- female

28. Age

- 18 24 years
- 25 34 years
- 35 44 years
- 45 54 years
- 55 64 years
- 65 and more years

29. Education

- primary school
- secondary school without school leaving exam apprenticed
- secondary school with school leaving exam
- university

30. Occupation

- unqualified, auxiliary manual worker in industry, agriculture or services
- qualified manual worker (craftsman, repairman, operation of machines and devices ...)
- service worker (shop assistant, hairdresser, driver, cook, ...)
- administrative clerk
- executive worker (medic, tutor, customs officer,...)
- creative expert professional (university education) i.e. technician, state physician, pedagogue, lawyer, scientist, computer worker, artist...)
- director, vice-manager, politician
- independent gainfully active (entrepreneur, businessman, private doctor, private lawyer...) with no employees
- independent gainfully active (entrepreneur, businessman,...) with employees
- pensioner
- student
- housewife or on maternity leave
- unemployed

31. Size of the Community

- less than 2 thousand inhabitants
- 2 to 5 thousand inhabitants
- 5 to 20 thousand inhabitants
- 20 to 50 thousand inhabitants
- 50 to 100 thousand inhabitants
- more than 100 thousand inhabitants
- Warszawa, Kraków, Łódź, Wrocław, Poznań, Gdańsk, Szczecin, Bydgoszcz, Lublin, Katowice

32. Net Monthly Income of Household

- more than 1 700€
- 1 601-1 700€
- 1 501-1 600€
- 1 401-1 500€
- 1 301-1 400€
- 1 201-1 300€
- 1 101-1 200€
- 1 001-1 100€
- 901-1 000€
- 851-900€
- 801-850€
- 751-800€
- 701-750€
- 651-700€
- 601-650€

- 551-600€
- 501-550€
- 451-500€
- 401-450€
- 351-400€
- 301-350€
- 251-300€
- 201-250€
- less than 200€
- don't know, no answer

33. Size of Household

• number of members