Detailed Methodology

• The survey was conducted on behalf of the Center for Insights in Survey Research by Ipsos Sp. z.o.o.
• Data was collected between March 8 and March 14, 2017 through face-to-face interviews.
• The total number of interviews was 1,000.
• Sample size: Total population (n=1,000).
• Margin of error: Plus or minus 3.25 percent with 95 percent confidence level.
• The sample is comprised of Polish residents aged 18 years and older.
• Regions included in the sample are: Central; South; East; North-West; South-West; South, and included both urban and rural inhabitants. Areas of the population excluded from the sample: none.
• The sample design consisted of a two-stage, random sample.
  • Stage One: Primary sampling unit—gminas (principal units of the administrative divisions of Poland) selected with probability proportional to size.
  • Stage Two: Secondary sampling unit—respondent (random equal probability selection of individuals; stratified by gender and age).
• Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding error and/or multiple choice answers.
Glossary of Polish Political Parties

- PO—The Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska)
- PiS—Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość)
- PSL—The Polish People's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe)
- SLD—Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej)
- .N—Modern (Nowoczesna)
- K’15—Kukiz’15
Opinions of the National and Regional Context
Generally speaking, would you say that Poland is heading...

- In the right direction: 57%
- In the wrong direction: 31%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 12%
What would you say is the single biggest problem facing Poland today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about? (Spontaneous answers)

- Politics/Internal politics: 17%
- Poverty and social inequality: 14%
- Unemployment and jobs: 13%
- Healthcare: 10%
- Corruption: 6%
- Economy: 6%
- Work of the institutions/Rule of law: 5%
- Pensions: 3%
- Social problems: 2%
- Taxes: 2%
- Crime: 2%
- Terrorism: 2%
- Education/School system: 2%
- Problems affecting youth: 2%
- Safety/Peace/Security: 2%
- Fundamental rights: 1%
- Judiciary: 1%
- Immigration control: 1%
- Nepotism: 1%
- Other: 3%
- Don’t know: 4%
What is the single biggest problem facing Europe today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about? (Spontaneous answers)

- Terrorism: 18%
- Immigration control: 10%
- Politics/Internal politics: 9%
- Poverty and social inequality: 8%
- Safety/Peace/Security: 7%
- Unemployment and jobs: 6%
- Healthcare: 5%
- Economy: 5%
- Corruption: 4%
- Work of the institutions/Rule of law: 3%
- Pensions: 3%
- Social problems: 2%
- Crime: 2%
- Taxes: 2%
- Education/School system: 1%
- Rise of extremism: 1%
- Nepotism: 1%
- Fundamental rights: 1%
- Judiciary: 1%
- Threats against the environment: 1%
- Other: 2%
- Don't know: 9%
What has the greatest likelihood of threatening our way of life and our children’s future?

- Terrorism, extremism, and political violence: 31%
- Bankruptcy and the disappearance of health and social security systems: 19%
- War/Expansion of the conflict in Ukraine: 13%
- Migration and demographic change: 10%
- Collapse of banks/Financial system/General economic collapse: 9%
- Loss of culture, values, and the way of life we grew up with: 8%
- Other: 8%
- Don’t know: 2%
Do you think that today’s generation of young people has a good future in Poland?

Total population:
- Yes: 25%
- No: 75%

Young people age 18-29:
- Yes: 29%
- No: 71%
Do you think that the process of globalization has benefited or hurt your family?

- Very much benefited: 5%
- Somewhat benefited: 37%
- Somewhat hurt: 25%
- Very much hurt: 6%
Did you vote in the Polish parliamentary elections?

- Yes: 59%
- No: 38%
- No response/Refused to answer: 3%
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next elections?

- Very likely: 37%
- Somewhat likely: 32%
- Somewhat unlikely: 12%
- Very unlikely: 11%
If elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party would you vote?

(Decided population - all those who specified a choice, excluding those who say they don’t know or they will not vote: n=569)

- PiS: 35%
- PO: 31%
- .N: 15%
- K’15: 10%
- PSL: 4%
- SLD: 4%
- Other: 2%

*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.
If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?
Trust in the Political System
What is needed most in Poland right now?

- Stability and continuity: 53%
- Change: 43%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 4%
What should such a change look like?

(Respondents who said that change is needed: n=527)

- Change of government from the current party to the opposition party: 46%
- Change of party leadership so that new faces are in control: 31%
- Constitutional or systemic change that would completely alter the way government business is conducted: 19%
- Don't know: 4%
What is needed most at this time at the European level?

- Stability and continuity: 59%
- Change: 33%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 8%
If you could have only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of government or a prosperous economy?

- Democracy is definitely more important to me: 20%
- Democracy is somewhat more important to me: 31%
- Prosperity is somewhat more important to me: 29%
- Prosperity is definitely more important to me: 11%
- Don't know: 9%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

“Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women.”

- Agree: 69%
- Disagree: 23%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 8%

“Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people.”

- Agree: 73%
- Disagree: 19%
- Don't know/Refused to answer: 8%
Issues of Identity
Opinions of the European Union?
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- The EU is a political community, granting certain rights and benefits to all citizens, and requiring loyalty and sacrifice in return. 49%
- The EU is an association of sovereign states, with little connection to individual citizens; citizens owe loyalty and sacrifice to their states, not to the EU. 42%
- Don’t know 9%
On a scale from 1 to 5, does Poland have more in common with Western Europe or with Russia in the following areas?
(1=completely akin to Western Europe; 5=completely akin to Russia)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare, pensions, and other social benefits</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment and standard of living</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality and values</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and intellectual life</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vladimir Putin’s Russia has tried to portray itself as a defender of Christendom and traditional European values in areas ranging from the protection of the family unit to defending against Islamic and other non-European cultures. What is your opinion of this view of Russia?

- It is true - on this issue at least, Russia has taken the side of traditional European values.
- It is not really true - Russia is just cynically pretending to stand up for traditional European values, while really pursuing its own geopolitical interests.
- It is not true at all - it demonstrates Russia’s rejection of modern Western values of tolerance and inclusiveness.
- Don’t know
On a scale of 1 to 5, how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

“Poland’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strongly agree (1)</th>
<th>Somewhat agree (2)</th>
<th>Indifferent/Undecided (3)</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree (4)</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In your opinion, what is the greatest benefit Poland receives through its membership in the European Union?

- 42% Financial aid from the EU
- 27% Access to the common market and border-free travel
- 10% Support of European culture and values
- 9% Security and stability
- 8% Support for democratic governance and rule of law
- 2% None
- 2% Don't know
In your opinion, what is the greatest cost Poland incurs because of its membership in the European Union?

- **Rising prices and increased economic competition from other member states**: 35%
- **Undermining of traditional values and ways of life**: 17%
- **Being treated like “junior partners” in the European Project**: 16%
- **Loss of independence and sovereignty**: 10%
- **None**: 15%
- **Don’t know**: 7%
Opinions of the European Project: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- The European Project has been a success, ensuring peace, economic growth, and the reintegration of Eastern Europe; its important work must continue. (46%)
- The European Project played a major role in creating modern Europe, but the world has changed; the Project needs to be rethought. (40%)
- Don't know (14%)
- Don't know (28%)

The European Project has been a success, ensuring peace, economic growth, and the reintegration of Eastern Europe; its important work must continue.
Opinions of NATO:
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- **NATO guaranteed peace in Europe for the last 70 years and retains a vital role in the maintenance of peace and security on the Continent.**
  - 52%

- **Though NATO played a significant role in the security of Europe in the past, the world has changed since the end of the Cold War and NATO is no longer as important; our approach to security should be rethought.**
  - 35%

- **Don't know**
  - 13%

29
Opinions of peace in Europe:
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- Europe is at peace, and there are no significant threats to peace on the horizon.
- The peace of Europe is threatened on multiple fronts, such as terrorism, a resurgent Russia, and increased migration.
- Don't know
Opinions of Russia’s role in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- Russia is a continuous external threat to Europe, and must be countered by a strong security alliance. (51%)
- Russia should be considered a partner in European security, and brought into European security structures; keeping Russia out makes us less secure. (35%)
- Don’t know (14%)
Opinions of U.S. partnership in Europe:
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- The United States is a natural partner for European security, and its presence in NATO contributes to the peace of Europe. 60%
- The United States should not play a role in European security, and in fact its presence in Europe increases tensions and insecurity. 27%
- Don't know 13%
Opinions of investing in security: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- **47%**
  - Current security threats mean Poland should invest more money in defense and security, even if this means having less money available for things like pensions, healthcare, and education.

- **38%**
  - The current security threats are not serious enough to justify increased defense spending; these resources should instead be used for things like pensions, healthcare, and education.

- **15%**
  - Don't know
Opinions of border security: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- The only way to address the problems of migrants and terrorism is to close the borders of Poland, regardless of the effect such a move would have on the free movement of people in the European Union. 38%
- Closing national borders is a bad idea, because no country has the ability to address the problem on its own. Instead, collective organizations like NATO and the EU must be engaged in intercepting migrants and coordinating anti-terror efforts. 50%
- Don't know 12%
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Ukraine is a part of Russia’s sphere of influence, thus Russia has a right to have a role in decisions made in Ukraine.”

- Strongly agree: 10%
- Somewhat agree: 26%
- Somewhat disagree: 27%
- Strongly disagree: 25%
- Don't know: 13%
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The security of Poland would be better protected by remaining neutral, rather than being forced to choose sides between NATO and Russia.”

- Strongly agree: 10%
- Somewhat agree: 43%
- Somewhat disagree: 22%
- Strongly disagree: 6%
- Don’t know: 19%
Sources of Political News
From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

- Commercial television and radio: 32%
- Public television and radio: 32%
- Online news sources (e.g. newspapers, websites, blogs): 21%
- Major newspapers: 11%
From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

**Age: 60+**
- Commercial television and radio broadcasters: 55%
- Public television and radio broadcasters: 29%
- Online news sources (e.g. online newspapers, websites, blogs): 12%
- Major newspapers: 4%

**Age: 18-29**
- Commercial television and radio broadcasters: 21%
- Public television and radio broadcasters: 43%
- Online news sources (e.g. online newspapers, websites, blogs): 25%
- Major newspapers: 10%
How often do you use social media as a source of daily news?

- Every day: 34%
- Occasionally - once or twice per week: 33%
- Rarely - once or twice per month: 10%
- Never: 23%
Which specific media outlet do you trust the most for your news?

- TVN: 35%
- TVP1: 29%
- Polsat: 24%
- TVP2: 21%
- TVN24: 20%
- TVP Info: 14%
- Onet.pl: 11%
- Wp.pl: 8%
- Polsat News: 7%
- Interia.pl: 4%
- Tvn24.pl: 4%
- Gazeta Wyborcza: 2%
- Gazeta.pl: 2%
- Niezalezna.pl: 2%
- TV Trwam: 2%
- TV Republika: 1%
- Radio Maryja: 1%
- Polskie Radio: 1%
- Fakt: 1%
- TV Plus: 1%
- Sputnik Polska: 1%
- Rzeczpospolita: 1%
- Gazeta Polska: 1%
- Other: 2%
- None: 1%
- Don’t know: 10%
Thinking about major media broadcasters, newspapers, and similar media outlets, which statement is closest to your opinion?

- **36%** The major media is professional and unbiased, providing the necessary basic information I need to know.
- **27%** The major media tries to be professional and unbiased, but their worldview prevents them from reporting the full picture of the stories.
- **27%** The major media is not concerned with factual and correct reporting of a story, but instead is focused on propagating a narrative that serves some particular interest.
- **11%** Don't know
Do you watch or read other media outlets that often have a different point of view than major media outlets, such as Gazeta Polska, Niezalezna.pl, or Sputnik Polska?

- **Every day**: 9%
- **Occasionally (once or twice a week)**: 25%
- **Rarely (once or twice a month)**: 19%
- **Never**: 47%
Why do you think it is worthwhile to watch/read these alternative sources of news?
(Respondents who watch or read alternative media outlets every day, occasionally, or rarely: n=535)

- 33% I read these media outlets to get all points of view on a story, so I can make up my mind for myself.
- 26% I read these media outlets because stories in these outlets are often more fun or exciting than those in the major media.
- 22% I read these media outlets because the major media outlets often do not report some stories at all, so I have to read alternate sources to get the full picture of what is going on.
- 10% I read these media outlets because major media outlets are biased and refuse to acknowledge simple truths; alternative sources are willing to tell the truth.
- 10% Don't know.
Some people say that these media outlets are funded by obscure sources related to Russia or the Russian government and are engaged in efforts to mislead people. What is your response to this charge?

(Respondents who watch or read alternative media outlets every day, occasionally, or rarely: n=535)

- I don’t believe that Russians fund these media outlets - it sounds like a conspiracy theory coming from anti-Russian interests.
- I don’t care if Russians fund these media outlets - the main point is that they tell the truth.
- I would be concerned if these media outlets were funded by the Russians but I have seen no evidence that this is true.
- I believe that the Russians or others are behind these media outlets and that they are not always truthful but I still read them because they are fun and interesting.
- Don’t know
When a major international news story breaks, how do you generally get information about it? Who do you trust most to help you understand what is going on?

- 49% I talk to my friends and colleagues and read articles they forward me.
- 24% I watch mainstream television, read national newspapers, or follow international major media.
- 13% I seek out expertise on the issue from outlets that have a different point of view than major media, including social media and various websites.
- 13% Don't know
Let’s think about a particular major international news story that has developed over the last few years—the crisis in Ukraine. Can you tell me your approach to learning about the situation?

I was very interested in the developments and sought out information from as many sources as I could. 17%

I was somewhat interested in the developments, but I didn’t seek out information. I mainly watched what was on TV or read what was available in the national media outlets. 52%

I wasn’t very interested and rarely watched or read anything about this. 24%

Don’t know 8%
As you heard about the crisis in Ukraine, which sources did you find the most helpful to understanding the developments?

- Major media such as state television and national newspapers (43%)
- Friends and family, who shared information and debated the implications (27%)
- Social media, with its trending news stories and videos (21%)
- Other media outlets that often have a different point of view than the major media (13%)
- Don't know (11%)
### Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed in public company/institution</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed in private company/institution</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently unemployed</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil/Student</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheism</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnosticism</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of above</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>