



# OPUS-23

Wniosek o finansowanie projektu badawczego

## Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze (PGSW) 2023

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Warszawie

## WNIOSEK NOWY/POWTÓRZONY

Czy wniosek był składany w poprzedniej edycji konkursu OPUS?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
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**INFORMACJE PODSTAWOWE**

Tytuł w języku polskim	Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze (PGSW) 2023
Tytuł w języku angielskim	Polish National Election Study (PNES) 2023
Słowa kluczowe w języku polskim	wybory, zachowania wyborcze, partie polityczne
Słowa kluczowe w języku angielskim	elections, voting behaviour, political parties
Czas realizacji [w miesiącach]	36
Obszar badawczy	HS - Nauki Humanistyczne, Społeczne i o Sztuce
Panel dyscyplin	HS5 - Prawo, nauki o polityce, polityki publiczne
Pomocnicze określenia identyfikujące	HS5_007 - Systemy i ruchy polityczne oraz stosunki międzynarodowe

## STRESZCZENIE

### Research project objectives

The key objective of the Polish National Election Study, PNES (in Polish: Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze, PGSW) is to analyse the main electoral event in Polish politics, i.e. the parliamentary elections. Since its launch, the PNES research design has been longitudinally and cross-nationally comparative. Therefore, each wave of the PNES is characterised simultaneously by continuity and change in its content. The earlier is possible due to the repetition of questions in the PNES key instrument, i.e. survey questionnaire. The latter is made possible by including subsequent modules of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), a collaborative research programme bringing together election study teams worldwide, in its questionnaire.

Our goal in the current grant application is to maintain this dual tradition of the project. The PNES should continue to be the foremost source of knowledge about Polish elections. It must also be flexible enough to incorporate Poland's changing political and social reality. Two events of fundamental and lasting importance have marked the parliamentary term and electoral cycle that end in 2023. The COVID-19 pandemic has affected polities worldwide, yet leading to varying consequences in different national settings (contributing to either democratic resilience or democratic decay). The war in Ukraine, in turn, has had particularly significant implications for Polish politics due to the extent to which Poland has had to respond to the refugee crisis created by the war and the security issues inevitably raised by such events. Undoubtedly, these profound changes will, and indeed should, influence the design of the next iteration of the PNES. The proposed project will continue the longitudinal tradition of the PNES while also adding new questions that arise from recent theoretical innovations and empirical developments.

### Research project methodology

The PNES 2023 will be carried out using a similar methodology to its previous editions. Empirical data will be collected through surveys. In keeping with tradition, we will survey a sample of the adult Polish population (CAPI and CAWI surveys) and a sample of representatives of the parliamentary elite (CAPI survey). The mass surveys, a CAPI sample ( $n=1500$ ) and a CAWI sample ( $n=2000$ ) will be carried out almost simultaneously; they will be accomplished a week to three weeks after the election, most likely in October/November 2023. The elite CAPI surveys ( $n=100$ ) will be carried out six to nine months after the election. The CAPI face-to-face questionnaire will take approximately 60-70 minutes. It will be based on a set of core questions derived from previous iterations of the PNES survey and the CSES Module 6 survey questionnaire. It will also include a variety of new questions. The CAWI questionnaire will contain around a third of the questions used in the CAPI questionnaire. The elite CAPI face-to-face questionnaire will take approximately 40-50 minutes and contain around half of the questions used in the mass CAPI questionnaire. The data gathered in the project will enable us to undertake standard multivariate modelling where the impact of substantive variables of interest is controlled for by other relevant individual-level variables, multilevel modelling which controls for the impact of environmental, contextual variables, and experimental analysis in which treatment effects are the quantity of interest.

### Expected impact on political science

There are several ways in which this project will contribute to the advancement of political science knowledge. First, it will enable the continuation of the over 25-year tradition of the PNES, which provides both the Polish and the international scholarly community with an indispensable resource for country-specific and comparative research into Polish electoral politics, which is both longitudinal in character and relevant to new concerns. Second, the experimental nature of the (part of) CAWI survey will make it possible to explore questions about the links between socio-demographics, political preferences and vote choices that cannot be adequately tested otherwise. Third, the project will result in significant research outputs (publications) by project team members.

WNIOSKODAWCA

Status wnioskodawcy	1. Uczelnia
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## PODMIOTY REALIZUJĄCE

**1. SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie**

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Elektroniczna skrzynka podawcza ESP (ePUAP)	/Uniwersytet_SWPS/badania
Czy podmiot stanowi jednostkę zaliczaną do sektora finansów publicznych?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy podmiot pozostaje pod zarządem komisarycznym lub znajduje się w toku likwidacji bądź postępowania upadłościowego?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Kierownik podmiotu / Osoba uprawniona do reprezentacji	dr hab., prof. Uniwersytetu SWPS Aleksandra Cisłak-Wójcik, Prorektor ds. nauki
NIP	1180197245
REGON	011947981
KRS	-
Czy podmiot otrzymuje subwencję na prowadzenie działalności naukowej?	TAK [X] / [ ] NIE

# OPIS SKRÓCONY

## 1. Research project objectives

The key objective of the Polish National Election Study, PNES (in Polish: Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze, PGSW) is to **analyse the main electoral event in Polish politics, i.e. the parliamentary elections**. Since its launch, the PNES research design has been **longitudinally and cross-nationally comparative**. Therefore, each wave of the PNES is characterised **simultaneously by continuity and change** in its content. The earlier is possible due to the repetition of questions in the PNES key instrument, i.e. survey questionnaire. The latter is made possible by including subsequent modules of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), a collaborative research programme bringing together election study teams worldwide, in its questionnaire.

Our goal in the current application is to maintain this **dual tradition** of the project. The PNES should continue to be the foremost source of knowledge about Polish elections. It must also be flexible enough to incorporate Poland's changing political and social reality. Two events of fundamental and lasting importance have marked the parliamentary term and electoral cycle that end in 2023. **The COVID-19 pandemic has affected polities worldwide, yet leading to varying consequences in different national settings (contributing to either democratic resilience or democratic decay - Changotra et al., 2020; Guasti, 2020; Levine, 2020; Lozano et al., 2021). The war in Ukraine, in turn, has had particularly significant consequences for Polish politics due to the extent to which Poland has had to respond to the refugee crisis created by the war, as well as the security issues inevitably raised by such events** (Cherkaev, 2022; Markus, 2022). Undoubtedly, these profound changes will, and indeed should, influence the design of the next iteration of the PNES.

The pandemic and the war are different in nature, yet, we assume they might have led to similar consequences for Polish politics and society. Therefore, we pose a range of research questions related to the expected effects of these events on the 2023 elections, pertaining to issues such as: (a) **freedom vs security dilemmas** (Changotra et al., 2020, Stukalo, Stumakhova, 2018); (b) **economic consequences of pandemic and war** (growing inequalities - Ali et al. 2020; the re-raised question of redistribution - Balasundharam, Dabla-Norris, 2021); (c) **perception of the state and its capacity** (de la Cruz et al., 2022); (d) **relation of the state to international agents** such as EU (Markowski et al., 2020) or NATO (Ruhle, 2015; Baciu, 2021).

The **objective of this application is to continue the PNES series** and allow for description, investigation, and comparisons of Polish parliamentary elections. Consequently, the application must be repetitive in parts; repeating content and information from the previous PNES funding applications is inevitable, and the global tradition of the National Election Studies (Franklin, Wlezien, 2002) endorses this practice.

## 2. Significance of the project

Polish NES is a well-established, internationally acknowledged project. It serves **comparative** functions, as its significant part is always composed of the CSES module. The project's principal value lies, however, in its **temporal comparison**: our research series has covered all the main electoral events in Poland, i.e. parliamentary elections, since 1997. Asking citizens the same questions over time allows for analysis of crucial trends in representation, participation, accountability, etc. It is precisely the repetition (after each parliamentary election) that constitutes this **project's key strengths**.

The PNES usually covers a **wide range of 'core' electoral activities** (van der Eijk, 2002), such as participation in elections, vote choice, party identification, likes/dislikes to parties and politicians, ideological preferences, left-right self-identification, levels and manifestations of political efficacy, political representation and attitudes towards sectoral public policies, to name the most important ones. This 'core' part of the questionnaire is repeated in the same form and wording to compare changes over time in citizens' attitudes, preferences and behaviours. Also, in each project edition, the **most crucial aspect** of the electoral process (at a given moment) is addressed in a detailed analysis.

The PNES has provided and continues to provide **systematic knowledge** about Polish elections. First, the Polish party system's consolidation becomes apparent with the transition period's passage. Second, the Polish voters have a **better understanding** of the political choices offered by the parties. Consequently, the astronomical electoral volatility of the 1990s has continuously fallen in the last electoral cycles to a reasonable level of electoral fluidity, also found in stable, well-established democracies. Third, these positive and encouraging trends are accompanied by a specific Polish problem, i.e. still relatively **low voter turnout**, amounting to around 50-60%. Fourth, we do not observe significant differences between those who participate in elections and those who do not: voting Poles are good **representatives** of non-voters. Fifth, Poles' electoral behaviour changes indicate that their electoral decisions, unlike in the 1990s, are increasingly determined by socioeconomic issues and (related) attitudes towards the EU. However, axiological, socio-cultural and symbolic-historical issues still play a role in voting.

In this edition of the PNES project, the key priority is to focus on the effects of two **recent global crises** (pandemics and war) that have hit the world in recent years (during the 2019-2023 election cycle in Poland). We need to focus our survey questionnaire on current events (war, pandemics) to fully understand their impacts on Polish elections. On the other hand, we also need to address more general questions, like basic features of

modern states and democratic systems, issues of contemporary capitalism, inequality, redistribution, reconfiguration of world political and economic order, etc.

We suspect that both major crises affect voting behaviour. They somehow **structure or determine** all of their aspects previously investigated in PNES analyses (i.e. political representation and accountability, cleavages, visions and evaluations of democracy, political knowledge, issues and policy stances, economic voting, party identification, 'cross-pressure'). We hypothesise that the influence of those variables that 'classical' electoral studies consider the main determinants of voter turnout and voting is modified and somehow different in the transformed, **post-pandemic, war and post-war Polish context**.

However, the war and pandemic (as such) are not particularly interesting to us. Their role as explanatory variables for voting behaviour and their direct impact on voter turnout and vote choices will, in our view, be neither particularly significant nor extensive. Of course, they should be analysed; but in a **thorough and methodologically sophisticated way**, going beyond simple research solutions (such as investigating the direct links between voting behaviour and attitudes towards COVID-19 or war).

We are convinced that the **war and pandemic have fundamentally 'transformed' Poles' thinking about collective life, politics, democracy, and related themes**. We see several elements of this transformation, which (allegedly) influence voting behaviour in the 2023 parliamentary election. There are multiple, multifaceted consequences of war and pandemic. First, the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine changed the **language** describing social reality. Security issues, so crucial for collective life (Maslow, 1943; Inglehart, 1990, 1995), have been placed again in the centre of public discourse (Guasti, 2020; Santana et al., 2020). Second, the **economic changes** triggered and generated by the pandemic and war (inflation, the rising cost of living, falling purchasing power, energy transition away from hydrocarbons, etc.) undoubtedly resonate and will resonate in public opinion, including voting preferences and behaviour. War and pandemic effects are not equally distributed in society (Ali et al., 2020), so they generate new inequalities, **potentially crucial for electoral decisions**, structuring and determining them. Third, due to war and pandemic, the issue of **state's capacity** and efficiency has become central to everyday, colloquial narratives of Poles.

Many changes that occurred due to the pandemic and war did not invalidate the phenomena that had previously influenced Poles' voting behaviour. They neither invalidated the mechanisms that explained it. At most, these two traumatic events transformed them, thus **adjusting the theoretical models explaining** Poles' voter turnout and electoral decisions to the new context. Some of these previously used variables belong to electoral research's so-called 'core business' (van der Eijk 2002). Others are more idiosyncratic: predominantly, they are linked to the ruling party's (PiS) activities. This party has been in government since 2015 and has changed the Polish political system in ways not always in line with democratic standards. It would be inappropriate (and cognitively unprofitable) to ignore these backsliding effects of the PiS rule.

PNES 2023 will provide substantive and thorough insights into Poland's unique (as we hypothesise) parliamentary election. It will show the attitudes and electoral behaviour of Poles. It will provide methodologically sound knowledge about the impact of war and pandemic (both direct and indirect) on them. Thus our project will contribute to the theory and literature on politics by examining elections organised during (or immediately after) tragic and traumatic events, such as pandemic and war.

### 3. Research plan and design

Polish NES is a **longitudinal study**. It employs many modules and questions repeated in each wave. We aim to follow changes in attitudes and preferences of Polish citizens, irrespectively of the study's classical, cross-sectional objective. Since its launch, the PNES has also employed **cross-nationally comparative** modules and batteries of questions (the 2023 PNES questionnaire will also comprise a CSES Module 6 battery). They allow testing the level of 'universality' (or idiosyncrasies) of our findings.

The project has a definite **epistemological character**: like the previous editions of PNES, it was designed in a clear neopositivist paradigm. The theoretical background of the project is **complex and multifaceted**. On the one hand, we 'stand on the shoulders of giants' and refer to the classics of electoral research. On the other hand, we include what is new and valuable in the field in our theoretical inspirations. We conceptualise the determinants of electoral behaviour in various ways, embracing the long-neglected methodological insistence on the '**heterogeneity assumption**' in studying electoral behaviour (Rivers, 1988). The up-to-date research on elections needs to embrace a multi-perspective approach, given fundamental changes in the relative importance of different causal mechanisms over time. This fact implies employing a diversity of methodological approaches to our data analysis. Moreover, the PNES 2023 will also be ontologically and methodologically sensitive to the differentiation between **macro and micro** variables and the diverse contexts in which particular relationships occur, distinguishing between two sets of voting determinants: long-term factors (e.g. cleavage politics, partisan attachments, SES) and short-term factors (e.g. retrospective voting, evaluation of government performance during the pandemic and war). To date, the impact of macro and micro-level factors - both separately and interactively - has not been subject to sufficient analysis.

Our theoretical model explaining Polish elections is thus **indispensably heterogeneous and complex**. On the one hand, it continues the 'traditional' explanation of Poles' political attitudes and behaviour by utilising an approach similar to the widely used Michigan model (with all the adjustments and reformulations). On the other hand, however, the model addresses the contextual effects of war and pandemic on the micro-micro relationship between, for instance, SES and vote choice.

Consequently, our primary research meta-question concerns the **impact of a fundamentally changed context (war and pandemic; social, economic and political crises caused by them) on the voting behaviour of Poles**. Above all, we investigate how war and pandemic have transformed previously identified Poles' voting behaviour patterns: how they influenced the 'universal' (core business) and idiosyncratic determinants of our main dependent variables (i.e. voter turnout and vote). We thus pose questions about the main aspects of electoral behaviour (political representation and accountability, cleavages, visions and evaluations of democracy, political knowledge and media exposure, issue stances, assessment of the economic situation, party identification, cross-pressures), and how they structure electoral decisions and determine electoral behaviour in a specific, rather unusual **post-pandemic and war context**.

The **specific research questions** of the project are as follows:

- (1) how do processes of representation occur in the post-pandemic and war context, how do different groups of citizens experience political representation, accountability and responsiveness, and what is their quality?
- (2) how and to what extent do traditional sociopolitical cleavages and divisions explain voter behaviour in the new context?
- (3) how has the new context changed views and evaluations of democracy and their influence on citizens' political preferences and voting behaviour?
- (4) how do political knowledge, media consumption, and political efficacy affect citizens' political preferences and electoral behaviour in the post-pandemic and war context?
- (5) how do ideological stances and new pandemic and war-related issue/policy positions affect citizens' political preferences and electoral behaviour?
- (6) how 'economic' is voting in the new, post-pandemic and war context (is it egotropic or sociotropic, retrospective or prospective)?
- (7) to what extent the post-pandemic and war context affected party identification?
- (8) what exactly are the configurations of 'cross-pressures' that influence citizens' political behaviour and electoral preferences in the new context?

These research questions translate into certain hypothetical expectations. We assume that two crucial factors, i.e. the COVID-19 pandemic (and its consequences) and the war in Ukraine, will determine the electoral decisions of Polish citizens in 2023. They will impact our primary dependent variable (voting) directly and indirectly in interesting and often non-obvious **interactions**. We are convinced that these effects will often overlap, sometimes multiplying and amplifying their impact or cancelling or weakening each other.

We expect (H1) that the **pandemic and war will increase the impact of social identities** on voting behaviour (Federico et al., 2021; Neville et al., 2021). There is a micro-logic behind this thesis: the increasing sense of insecurity induced by the two traumatic events reinforces the importance of social identities and diminishes the importance of previously essential determinants of voting (citizens' rationality, calculation, and the ability to deliberate on political alternatives).

We expect further (H2) that the **pandemic and war (particularly the latter) will induce the rally 'round the flag' effect**, thus boosting voter turnout and support for incumbents. There is a well-developed and theoretically thorough micro-logic behind this thesis (Mueller, 1970): in times of crisis, public opinion perceives those in power as the epitome of national unity and believes that criticism of the opposition should be reduced or dropped altogether (if opposition appears to support the government, there is no conflict for the media to report on, giving the impression to the public opinion that incumbents' actions and activities are good, legitimate and worth supporting).

We also hypothesise (H3) that the **war will bring about the refugees and migration themes**, thus strengthening xenophobes, populists and alike parties and thus boosting support for the current government. Also, in this case, there is a micro-logic behind the thesis: war-induced migration increases tensions in the labour market and the social security system, threatening (a) workers who compete with refugees/migrants for jobs and (b) beneficiaries of social programmes who compete with refugees/migrants for social benefits; both groups are targeted (often successfully) by xenophobic, anti-immigrant, extreme parties. There is also empirical evidence supporting this thesis (Otto, Steinhardt, 2014; Mayda, 2006; Lonsky, 2021; Halla et al., 2017).

We hypothesise (H4) that in response to war and pandemic, the **incumbents may introduce restrictions on rights and freedoms, states of emergency or surveillance practices**. These actions will actualise and contextualise (Santana et al., 2020; Venkatasubramanian, 2020) the impact of traditional sociopolitical cleavages, views and evaluations of democracy, or issue/policy positions on voting.

The PNES project has grown (and is still growing) with each edition. This makes the tasks performed in the framework of its successive editions more and more time-consuming: the gradual but systematic growth of information and knowledge acquired, as well as its increasing complexity, require more and more time (in terms of workflow). We estimate that the project's upcoming iteration will require a research effort of 90-95 person-months (over the whole 36-month project duration).

#### 4. Methodology

The PNES 2023 will be carried out using a **similar methodology** to its previous editions. Empirical data will be collected through surveys. In keeping with tradition, we will survey a sample of the adult Polish population (CAPI and CAWI surveys) and a sample of representatives of the parliamentary elite (CAPI survey).

The key empirical task of the PNES 2023 will be **the CAPI survey of Polish citizens'** attitudes, preferences, and behaviours. Since the project's launch in 1997, this activity has been the crux of our research endeavour and its main empirical task. The mass survey of the population will be accomplished a week to three weeks after the election, most likely in October/November 2023, depending on the exact decision on the election day (we assume that the 2023 parliamentary elections will be held within the constitutional deadline). The CAPI face-to-face questionnaire will take approximately 60-70 minutes, using a randomly selected sample of 1500 adult Poles.

However, a systematic and in-depth analysis of voter behaviour of Poles in 2023 requires reaching for innovative methodological solutions. In recent years, the **conjoint survey experiments** have proved valuable and effective in gaining scholarly knowledge on political behaviour, and these techniques have seen extensive use in political science (Acharya et al., 2018; Bansak et al., 2018; Egami, Imai, 2019). This development has been predominantly driven by the proliferation of computer-administered surveys and the concurrent ability to conduct fully randomised conjoint experiments at a relatively low cost. In order to employ the techniques mentioned above, the CAWI survey will be administered using a randomly selected sample of 2000 adult Poles. Its questionnaire will take approximately 25-30 minutes. It will enable the analysis of the causal relationships between crucial variables of our interest. Also, the simultaneous use of large-scale face-to-face interviews and online surveys will allow us to explore the possibility of using **multiple imputation methods** in the case of groups systematically underrepresented in Polish surveys (Lall, 2016).

Thus, although the CAPI survey still serves the core substantive goal of our research, the CAWI survey is an essential supplementary tool for gathering empirical data on Poles' voting behaviour. With these data, we will be able to answer research questions and test hypotheses about the impact of a fundamentally changed context (social, economic and political crises caused by war and pandemic) on the voting behaviour of Poles. Additionally, the substance of CAPI and CAWI questionnaires will overlap to a certain extent. This overlap will serve the extra purpose of assessing differences in the character of the sample and the nature of responses between the CAPI and CAWI procedures (in the 2019 PNES, this research strategy proved effective).

Comparing **mass and elite** political attitudes is also at the core of our project. It allows for evaluating the quality of **political representation** in Poland. Therefore, an essential task of the project will be the **survey of Polish MPs**; a CAPI survey will be conducted with an adequately selected and representative (for the entire lower house of parliament) sample.

Our data will enable us to undertake standard multivariate modelling where the impact of substantive variables of interest is controlled by other relevant individual-level variables, multilevel modelling, which controls for the effects of environmental, contextual variables, and experimental analysis in which treatment effects are the quantity of interest. This will require the use of statistical analysis software with the following capabilities: (a) regression generalised linear models, binomial and multinomial logistic regression; and (b) structural equation models aimed at observing latent variables and tracing essential relationships between variables that allow us to distinguish between direct and indirect effects; (c) multilevel analyses (hierarchical linear models). These requirements make it necessary for us to purchase a copy of the Mplus statistical analysis package with Mixture and Multilevel add-ons, widely regarded as the gold standard for the analysis of complex structural equation models and multilevel models, and also fully capable of undertaking the less computationally demanding analyses we will require. Statistical analyses will also be performed with Stata, SPSS and R software (it is not necessary to budget for these items, as the licences are free or already at the disposal of SWPS University).

#### 5. Literature

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# OPIS SZCZEGÓŁOWY

Full description in English (up to 15 pages)

## 1. Research project objectives

The key objective of the Polish National Election Study, PNES (in Polish: Polskie Generalne Studium Wyborcze, PGSW) has been to **analyse the main electoral event in Polish politics, i.e. the parliamentary elections**. These elections are the central act of civic sovereignty, shaping Polish political, social, and economic reality for years to come. In most political systems of enduring democracies, it is assumed that the good functioning of democratic institutions requires - among other things - scholarly knowledge and academic reflection. For this reason, in these countries, analyses of elections and citizens' electoral behaviour are regularly conducted. In the Polish democratic system since 1997, this role has been fulfilled by the PNES. This pioneering research project has aimed at **reliable, regular and systematic parliamentary elections registration and analysis**.

In this edition of the PNES, our research project objectives translate into the following (classical, 'core' for electoral studies) research questions: (1) what mode and quality of **political representation and accountability** is experienced by particular groups of citizens (Holmberg, 1989; Mansbridge, 2003; Eulau & Wahlke, 1978; Achen, 1978); (2) to what extent **traditional models of cleavage politics** explain the behaviour of voters, compared with novel forms of social interaction such as private networks and more contingent and fluid forms of social identity (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Bartolini & Mair, 1990; Knutsen & Scarborough, 1998; Toka, 1998; Markowski & Stanley, 2016; Rossteutscher & Stegmueller, 2014; Zuckermann, 2005; Welzel, 2006); (3) to what extent **normative visions and evaluations of specific aspects of democracy** influence citizens' political preferences and electoral behaviour (Ferrin & Kriesi, 2016; Goodin, 2008; Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2003); (4) what is the role of **political knowledge, media exposure** and political efficacy in contributing to the formation of citizens' political consciousness and choices (Fraile, 2013; Althaus, 2003; Luskin, 1990); (5) which **issue stances** or specific policy proposals and which broad ideological leanings influence citizens' political preferences and voting behaviour (Budge & Farlie, 1983; Dalton, 2011); (6) how important is the impact of retrospective and prospective, egotropic and sociotropic **evaluations of the economic situation** for determining citizens' political preferences (Fiorina, 1981; Lewis-Beck & Paldam, 2000; Kotnarowski, Markowski, 2014); (7) verification of the precise role of **party identification** in influencing the vote, and its location in the chain of causality, and in particular: is party identification, as in the US case, the 'unmoved mover' (Campbell et al., 1960; Holmberg, 2007), or are political preferences in Poland dependent on vote choice itself? (Thomassen, 1976; Schmitt, 2009); (8) exactly which configurations of '**cross-pressures**' (Horan, 1971; Hansen, Dolan, 2022) have a decisive impact on citizens' political behaviour and voting preferences.

Since 1997, the PNES research design has been **longitudinally and cross-nationally comparative**. The earlier is possible due to the repetition of questions in the PNES key instrument, i.e. survey questionnaire. The latter is made possible by including subsequent modules of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), a collaborative research programme bringing together election study teams worldwide, in its questionnaire.

Therefore, each wave of the PNES is characterised simultaneously by **continuity and change** in its content. On the one hand, continuity is necessary to demonstrate that social and political changes perpetually occur in Poland. On the other hand, innovations and adjustments in the study design respond to various contexts in which particular elections occur (since elections are indeed historical phenomena). This also applies to the current iteration of the PNES. Furthermore, and as already reflected in the 2019 iteration of the PNES, changes in the viability and representativeness of survey methods may also require alterations to aspects of how the data are collected.

Undoubtedly, our goal in the current application is to maintain this **dual tradition** of the project. The PNES should continue to be the foremost source of knowledge about Polish elections, but it must also be flexible enough to incorporate Poland's changing political and social reality. Two events of fundamental and lasting importance have marked the parliamentary term and electoral cycle that end in 2023. **The COVID-19 pandemic has affected polities worldwide, yet leading to varying consequences in different national settings (contributing to either democratic resilience or democratic decay** - Changotra et al., 2020; Guasti, 2020; Kavanagh, Singh, 2020; Levine, 2020; Weiffen, 2020; Lozano et al., 2021). **The war in Ukraine, in turn, has had particularly significant consequences for Polish politics due to the extent to**

**which Poland has had to respond to the refugee crisis created by the war, as well as the security issues inevitably raised by such events** (Cherkaev, 2022; Chyż, 2022; Markus, 2022). Undoubtedly, these profound changes will, and indeed should, influence the design of the next iteration of the PNES.

Both the pandemic and the war are different in nature, yet, we assume they might have led to similar consequences for Polish politics and society. Therefore, we pose a range of new research questions related to the selected expected effects of these events on the 2023 elections, pertaining to issues such as: a) **freedom vs security dilemmas** (Changotra et al., 2020; Stukalo, Simakhova, 2018); b) **economic consequences of pandemic and war** (growing inequalities - Ali et al., 2020; the re-raised question of redistribution - Balasundharam, Dabla-Norris, 2021); c) **perception of the state and its capacity** (de la Cruz et al., 2022); d) **relation of the state to international agents** such as EU (Markowski et al., 2020) or NATO (Rühle, 2015; Baciu, 2021).

This grant application must be **repetitive** in parts. Repeating content and information from the previous PNES funding applications is inevitable. To omit them would be unfair to the readers and reviewers of the application and, at the same time, highly disingenuous (earlier editions of the project proved to be the right way to study Polish elections). The global tradition of the National Election Studies (Franklin, Wlezien, 2002) endorses this practice. Thus any accusations that the application is redundant or repetitive can be disregarded.

The objective of this application is to **continue** the PNES series and allow for description, investigation, and comparisons of Polish parliamentary elections. The task is to complement the accumulated knowledge, those time-series that PNES has accumulated over its quarter-century of operation. This role of our project (adding current measurements to existing longitudinal data) is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the PNES team's work (as the number of measurements increases, our time-series 'lengthen' and become more valuable). The project is a public good available to scholars and students in Poland and worldwide. Its data are deposited in renowned data banks.

## 2. Significance of the project

Polish NES is a well-established, internationally acknowledged project that also serves **comparative** functions, as its significant part is always composed of the CSES module. However, its principal value lies in its **temporal comparison**: our research series has covered all the main electoral events in Poland, i.e. parliamentary elections, since 1997. Asking citizens the same questions over time allows for analysis of crucial trends in representation, participation, accountability, etc. It is precisely the repetition (after each parliamentary election) that constitutes this **project's key strengths**.

Parliamentary elections (especially to the lower house of parliament, the Sejm) are the **essential democratic procedure** in Polish polity. Above all, they distribute real power in the system. They also legitimise actions intended and implemented to change the social, economic or political reality (of course, to a certain extent - they do not give a simple parliamentary majority the right to make fundamental changes, e.g. to the constitutional order, as they require a more general, more widespread consent). On the other hand, participation in elections in modern democracies is a fundamental type of political activity for citizens. It is linked to questions of civic freedom, equality, or the legitimacy of power (Sartori, 1987; Dahl, 1989). Consequently, any reflection on a modern democratic system, on its political and party system, cannot fail to include an analysis of citizens' electoral behaviour.

The PNES examines various aspects of elections, political attitudes, voting and voting preferences. The project usually covers a **wide range of 'core' electoral activities** (van der Eijk, 2002), such as participation in elections, vote choice, party identification, likes/dislikes to parties and politicians, ideological preferences, left-right self-identification, levels and manifestations of political efficacy, political representation and attitudes towards sectoral public policies, to name the most important ones. This 'core' part of the questionnaire is repeated in the same form and wording to compare changes over time in citizens' attitudes, preferences and behaviours.

In each project edition, the **most crucial aspect** of the electoral process selected at a given moment and in a given context is addressed in a detailed analysis. The survey questionnaire each time covers a slightly different area. So far, the project has particularly focused on the European Union (Markowski, Tucker 2005, 2010), corruption (McManus, Miller, Markowski, Wasilewski 2003), economic voting (Kotnarowski,

Markowski, 2014), populism (Stanley, 2019; Stanley, Cześniak 2022), the development of the party system (Markowski 2006, 2008; Stanley, Markowski, Cześniak, 2021) and similar fundamental issues.

The PNES has provided and continues to provide **systematic knowledge** about Polish elections. The main results of the consecutive waves of PNES to date (1997, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2019) can be summarised in several key points. First, the Polish party system's **consolidation** becomes apparent with the transition period's passage. Second, the Polish voters have a **better understanding** of the political choices offered by the parties. Consequently, the astronomical electoral volatility of the 1990s has continuously fallen in the last electoral cycles to a reasonable level of electoral fluidity, also found in stable, well-established democracies. Third, the positive and encouraging trends, pointing to the consolidation of the system, are accompanied all the time by a specific Polish problem, i.e. still relatively **low voter turnout**, amounting to around 50-60%.

Fourth, fortunately, we do not observe significant differences between those who participate in elections and those who do not. Our analyses reveal a pattern similar to that in most democracies: among non-voters, there is an overrepresentation of citizens with a lower socio-economic status, the very young and the very old, with a relatively marginal position in the labour market and coming from a rural environment. But the differences are not huge: in a nutshell, Poles who participate in elections are good **representatives** of those who stay at home. We note that no significant social group as a whole (or close to it) is excluded from influencing politics through the electoral process.

Fifth, Poles' electoral behaviour changes indicate that their electoral decisions, unlike in the 1990s, are increasingly determined by socio-economic issues and (related) attitudes towards the EU. However, axiological, socio-cultural and symbolic-historical issues still play a role in voting. Therefore, the Polish party system is undoubtedly more consolidated than a decade or two ago. But it is **far from being 'frozen'**, despite political commentators' suggestions: even the last parliamentary elections showed undeveloped and unrepresented areas in the Polish political discourse where political parties can successfully run their campaigns and gain votes.

The final sixth general point is methodological. The research strategy used in the PNES 2019 edition proved effective and provided an answer to how to research Poles' voting behaviour. The results of the methodological exercises convince us that **it is still impossible to entirely resign from studying the electoral behaviour of Poles using the face-to-face method**. CAWI survey, although very informative and providing precious empirical data, cannot (at least not yet) be considered the only and sufficient method of obtaining information about electoral behaviour in Poland. However, it proved to be a critical source of additional data, enriching the knowledge of the Polish voter.

In conclusion, the PNES has provided and continues to provide **systematic knowledge on Polish elections for over a quarter of a century**. The contribution of this project to the academic reflection and scholarly literature on this crucial procedure of contemporary Polish democracy is vast and invaluable. The recognition of other researchers for this cyclical project is expressed in the widespread use of PNES empirical data in research on Polish politics and the extensive citation of publications based on these data. PNES data have been used in dozens of peer-reviewed articles and monograph chapters in Polish and foreign languages. The results of the PNES have been presented extensively worldwide (also through the CSES network). These facts confirm the significance and usefulness of the project for Polish social sciences.

The PNES empirical data are predominantly acquired in a **large-scale survey** conducted several weeks after the elections on a representative sample of adult (eligible to vote) Polish citizens. This research strategy is well-established and proved efficient worldwide: the best data for investigating voting behaviour come, in general, from post-election studies run just after elections (Dalton, Klingemann, 2007). In those studies, estimates of election results are the most **accurate** (closest to official results) as far as voter turnout and party (candidate) vote are concerned. The impact of the short memory span of respondents is minimised (though not entirely overcome). Data collected in other projects that do not study voter behaviour in post-election periods (i.e. World Value Survey, European Social Survey, International Social Survey Programme, POLPAN) are of lower quality. They yield estimations of voting behaviour that are (often) at odds with official results of analysed elections. Consequently, an empirical study of voting behaviour should - if at all possible - make use of **post-election data**.

The results and analyses of PNES have been published in many articles and books in Polish and foreign languages. They have appeared in prestigious periodicals and publishing houses worldwide; also, they have been published in leading Polish journals and publishers. Moreover, the project is **widely renowned**. In 2007, the PNES principal investigator (Radosław Markowski) received the Stefan Nowak Prize, one of the most prestigious awards in Polish social sciences. The award was given for initiating the PNES and leading the project for many years.

In this edition of the PNES project, the key priority is to focus on the effects of two **recent global crises** (pandemics and war) that have hit the world in recent years (during the 2019-2023 election cycle in Poland). We need to focus our survey questionnaire on current events (war, pandemics) to fully understand their impacts on Polish elections. On the other hand, we also need to address more general questions, like basic features of modern states and democratic systems, issues of contemporary capitalism, inequality, redistribution, reconfiguration of world political and economic order, etc.

We suspect that both major crises affect voting behaviour, somehow **structuring or determining** all of their aspects previously investigated in PNES analyses (i.e. political representation and accountability, cleavages, visions and evaluations of democracy, political knowledge, issues and policy stances, economic voting, party identification, 'cross-pressures'). We hypothesise that the influence of those groups of variables that 'classical' electoral studies consider the main determinants of voter turnout and voting is modified and somehow different in the transformed, **post-pandemic, war and post-war Polish context**. Below we discuss this issue more thoroughly.

However, the war and pandemic (as such) are not particularly interesting to us. Their role as explanatory variables for voting behaviour and their direct impact on voter turnout and vote choices will, in our view, be neither particularly significant nor extensive. Of course, they should be analysed; but in a **thorough and methodologically sophisticated way**, going beyond simple research solutions (such as investigating the direct links between voting behaviour and attitudes towards COVID-19 or war).

We are convinced that the **war and pandemic have fundamentally 'transformed' Poles' thinking about collective life, politics, democracy, and related themes**. We see several elements of this transformation, which (allegedly) influence voting behaviour in the 2023 parliamentary election. There are multiple, multifaceted consequences of war and pandemic.

First, the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine changed the **language** describing social reality. Media narratives (both traditional and social media), everyday communication practices, and colloquial language have been filled with new content and alternative cognitive scripts (either wholly new or old and now revived). Security issues, so crucial for collective life (Maslow, 1943; Inglehart, 1990, 1995), have been placed again in the centre of public discourse. Perceived importance of security affects attitudes not only towards particular policies, but also towards more general ideals like democracy and the rule of law (Guasti 2020; Greitens, 2020), translating *inter alia* into support for political parties (Santana et al., 2020). Second, the war and pandemic had a powerful effect on the world economy (International Monetary Fund, 2022). **Economic changes** triggered and generated by the pandemic and war (inflation, the rising cost of living, falling purchasing power, energy transition away from hydrocarbons, etc.) undoubtedly resonate and will resonate in public opinion, including voting preferences and behaviour. The recent French election (2022) illustrates this shift well. Hence, Polish society must also feel and observe all the processes initiated and/or amplified by the pandemic and war.

Additionally, war and pandemic's economic and social impacts are not **equally distributed** in society (Ali et al., 2020). All the phenomena and processes mentioned above interact with pre-existing inequalities, increasing and deepening them. Moreover, they generate new inequalities directly resulting from them. Various social strata have experienced the pandemic and the war (and the phenomena they have provoked, such as migration) differently. Consequently, Polish society has become increasingly stratified. And this fact is **potentially crucial for electoral decisions**, structuring and determining them: social strata, which differ from each other and compete with each other on many issues, organise themselves into increasingly cohesive and homogenous electorates, which at the same time constitute different 'tribes' in the sphere of discourse, which speak and think differently about the world, use various media and different narratives, scripts and rhetorical tools suggested by them.

Third, the experiences of war and pandemic have also changed perceptions of the state, opinions about it and, above all, expectations towards it. What is feasible in state activity and what the state can provide has become topical. The question of the **state's capacity** and efficiency has become central to everyday, colloquial narratives of Poles. Public discourse has consequently transformed, too: issues of decentralisation and subsidiarity (and alike) have become essential, as well as broadly defined **EU themes** (Markowski et al., 2020). These changes in context certainly affect Poles' voting behaviour. Thus, our project needs to address questions of governance (broadly defined), state, its efficiency, capacity, policies and other activities.

Many changes that occurred due to the pandemic and war did not invalidate the phenomena that had previously influenced Poles' voting behaviour. They neither invalidated the mechanisms that explained it. At most, these two traumatic events transformed them, thus **adjusting the theoretical models explaining** Poles' voter turnout and electoral decisions to the new context. Some of these previously used variables belong to electoral research's so-called 'core business' (van der Eijk 2002). Others are more idiosyncratic: predominantly, they are linked to the ruling party's (PiS) activities. This party has been in government since 2015 and has changed the Polish political system in ways not always in line with democratic standards. It would be inappropriate (and cognitively unprofitable) to ignore these backsliding effects of the PiS rule.

Poland under the PiS rule has changed fundamentally and rapidly in many dimensions. Although the impact of various implemented reforms may be subject to extreme opinions (from complete acceptance to desperate negation), their **transforming power** is indisputable. The actions of PiS - regardless of their assessment - have fundamentally changed the economic, political and social situation in Polish society.

Particularly significant are the transformations of the political system. PiS activities are systematically recorded and thoroughly analysed in cyclical audits of democracy, such as The Varieties of Democracy Institute (V-Dem), Freedom House, or Bertelsmann Stiftung. All of them have documented the **deteriorating state of democracy** in Poland, its growing problems and its degeneration. Their expression is the fall of Poland's place in international rankings measuring the quality of democracy, not in one or two, but in the vast majority of them (if not in all), in several of their subsequent editions. Both overall assessments of Polish democracy and partial assessments (of its dimensions) have worsened.

Earlier, Poland for many years was regarded in Europe as a leader of democratic change. It was a model example of a peaceful and relatively painless transition from authoritarian (or even totalitarian) rule to democracy and a free-market economy. Today the situation has changed. Poland became the **fastest backsliding into authoritarianism** country in the world, according to V-Dem Democracy Report 2021 (V-Dem 2021). It fell from 0.83 to 0.49 on the Liberal Democracy Index from 2010 to 2020 and dropped from the 'liberal democracy' regime type into the 'electoral democracy' one. These processes are also reflected in the other assessments and rankings international experts produce. Various **changes that have taken place in Polish society** under PiS rule (in the years 2015-2023) must be, therefore, a focal theme in any analysis of Poles' voting behaviour in 2023, including PNES.

PNES 2023 will provide substantive and thorough insights into a unique (as we hypothesise) parliamentary election in Poland. It will show the attitudes and electoral behaviour of Poles. It will provide methodologically sound knowledge about the impact of war and pandemic (both direct and indirect) on them. The contribution to the theory - not just that of elections in Poland - of our project will be that we will examine elections taking place during (or immediately after) tragic and traumatic events, such as pandemic and war. In this sense, we hope the PNES 2023 will be an **essential contribution** to the scholarly literature on politics and democracy.

In summary, the fundamental significance of the PNES 2023 project lies in the collection and provision of the best empirical data possible to enable a **systematic, methodologically correct and rigorous analysis** of the 2023 parliamentary elections in Poland. Moreover, the project's importance lies in providing the first in-depth analysis explaining the 2023 parliamentary elections in Poland.

### 3. Research plan and design

The logic of our study imposes methodological constraints on the research plan and design. Thus, three caveats are due at the beginning. First, Polish NES is a **longitudinal study**. It employs many modules and questions repeated in each wave. We aim to follow changes in attitudes and preferences of Polish citizens, irrespectively of the study's classical, cross-sectional objective.

Second, since the beginning of the PNES, we have employed **cross-nationally comparative** modules and batteries of questions. They allow us to test the level of 'universality' (or idiosyncrasies) of our findings. Thanks to this arrangement, Polish elections and Poles' political preferences and voting choices are better-understood. Therefore, the 2023 PNES questionnaire will also comprise a CSES Module 6 battery of questions and selected questions from our previous studies and questions from other studies and surveys (ESS, WVS, etc.).

Third, since our project has already been considered a public good utilised by many scholars and students, in this wave of PNES, we follow our tradition of formulating our research objectives and tasks in a more '**open-ended**' mode of research questions rather than precise hypotheses.

The project has a definite **epistemological character**. Like the previous editions of PNES, it was designed in a clear neopositivist paradigm: it is characterised by epistemological optimism, according to which knowledge exists and is empirically attainable for human beings. We assume the possibility of identifying and analysing those elements of socio-political reality, which are determinants and correlates of electoral processes.

The theoretical background of the project is **complex and multifaceted**. On the one hand, we 'stand on the shoulders of giants' and refer to the classics of electoral research. On the other hand, we include what is new and valuable in the field in our theoretical inspirations.

We conceptualise the determinants of electoral behaviour in various ways, embracing the long-neglected methodological insistence on the '**heterogeneity assumption**' in studying electoral behaviour (Rivers, 1988). In light of fundamental changes, such as the decline of cleavages, the weakening of party identification, the increasing instability of voters' preferences, and decreasing levels of ideological and party loyalty among voters, dominant paradigms previously governing electoral research have shifted. The applicability of classical theories and models, assuming relative homogeneity of explanatory factors in electoral research, has become questionable and contentious. Citizens, the groups they organise themselves into, and the individual and collective political attachments they make are much more **heterogeneous** - both in space and across time - than has hitherto been assumed. Consequently, although classical theories and models may still work in some cases, they are inadequate as general explanations of the contemporary electoral behaviour in all its variety. We thus assert that studies of electoral behaviour should seek to account for different causal factors and paths in arriving at reliable explanations of political behaviour. The theoretical background of this PNES iteration reflects this.

The up-to-date research on elections needs to embrace a multi-perspective approach, given fundamental changes in the relative importance of different causal mechanisms over time. This fact implies employing a diversity of methodological approaches to our data analysis, particularly given our attention to the aforementioned '**heterogeneity assumption**'. Moreover, the PNES 2023 will also be ontologically and methodologically sensitive to the differentiation between **macro and micro** variables and the diverse contexts in which particular relationships occur, distinguishing between two sets of voting determinants: long-term factors (e.g. cleavage politics, partisan attachments, SES) and short-term factors (e.g. retrospective voting, evaluation of government performance during the pandemic and war). To date, the impact of macro and micro-level factors - both separately and interactively - has not been subject to sufficient analysis. Most studies have focused either on the sociological or psychological determinants of voter preferences and behaviour (Columbia and Michigan) or the impact of elections' aggregate national and institutional features, with few attempts to bridge the two. Employing approaches which stress the interdependence of micro and macro-level factors will enable us to move away from this overly restrictive (and thus suboptimal) approach.

PNES, since its inauguration, has been multiparadigmatic and open to new theoretical contributions and the testing of diverse theories of electoral behaviour. Consequently, the project has always been rich in opportunities to assess competing theories and hypotheses. Nevertheless, the Michigan **funnel of causality** (Campbell et al., 1960) has remained at the core of the PNES theoretical background. This classical approach explains the vote by looking at a relatively small set of independent variables, including measures of socio-economic status, parental characteristics and domestic circumstances, party identification, issue stances and policy preferences, ideological leanings and cross-pressures.

Another important element of the project's theoretical background is the **model of (retrospective) accountability**. Citizens' electoral behaviour can primarily be explained by their assessment of the

performance of politicians. This approach is mainly associated with Fiorina's (1981) oft-cited work. It is deeply rooted in the assumption that even if average voters know very little about the complex details of policy formation and implementation, they can nevertheless exert effective control over their leaders simply by assessing the performance of incumbents, penalising ineffective politicians through their removal from office, and rewarding successful ones through the prolongation of their mandates. This approach assumes that citizens possess high levels of rationality, calculation, and the ability to deliberate on alternatives.

The third major theoretical inspiration for this iteration of PNES is the theory of **democracy for realists** (Achen & Bartels, 2016), which claims that the contemporary democratic process does not function according to its ideals, assessed both from the perspective of participation and representation. Several empirical observations support this Achen/Bartels' thesis. First, the accountability function of elections is not fully exploited because citizens find it difficult to accurately assess the government's accountability. Thus retrospective voting is often blind or, at best short-sighted. Second, citizens are too busy with their personal lives to engage in various forms of direct democracy, which are hijacked mainly by multiple interest groups and lobbies. Third, even the most sophisticated and committed voters make political decisions based on social identity and group and party loyalties. Fourth, most democratic citizens are uninterested and poorly informed, lacking the resources or motivation to choose parties or candidates based on political issues. Fifth, citizens' perceptions of party policy positions and political views are significantly influenced by their party preferences.

Our theoretical model explaining Polish elections is thus **indispensably heterogeneous and complex**. On the one hand, it continues the 'traditional' explanation of Poles' political attitudes and behaviour by utilising an approach similar to the widely used Michigan model (with all the adjustments and reformulations). The independent variables, starting with SES, via issues and candidates to ideological leanings and cross-pressure, serve as explanatory tools for our main dependent variables, i.e. voter turnout and voting. On the other hand, however, the model addresses the contextual effects of war and pandemic on the micro-micro relationship between, for instance, SES and vote choice. It also addresses Poles' direct opinions on and attitudes towards war and pandemic, depicts and explains them (however, we do not overestimate the direct impact of war and pandemic).

We are convinced that the two tragic and traumatic events that we consider central to the analysis of the 2023 elections (i.e. pandemic and war) have further strengthened the trends we had previously observed and investigated in antecedent editions of the PNES. We will treat the war and pandemic variables as explanatory variables that directly impact the vote decision and as intervening variables that indirectly influence traditional individual-level relationships. So in its theoretical layer, our project will contribute to the ongoing scholarly debate on the very nature of voting behaviour.

Consequently, our primary research meta-question concerns the **impact of a fundamentally changed context (war and pandemic; social, economic and political crises caused by them) on the voting behaviour of Poles**. Above all, we investigate how war and pandemic have transformed previously identified Poles' voting behaviour patterns: how they influenced the 'universal' (core business) and idiosyncratic determinants of our main dependent variables (i.e. voter turnout and vote). We thus pose questions about the main aspects of electoral behaviour (political representation and accountability, cleavages, visions and evaluations of democracy, political knowledge and media exposure, issue stances, assessment of the economic situation, party identification, cross-pressure), and how they structure electoral decisions and determine electoral behaviour in a specific, rather unusual **post-pandemic and war context**.

The **specific research questions** of the project are as follows:

- (1) how do processes of representation occur in the post-pandemic and war context, how do different groups of citizens experience political representation, accountability and responsiveness, and what is their quality?
- (2) how and to what extent do traditional sociopolitical cleavages and divisions explain voter behaviour in the new context?
- (3) how does the new context change views and evaluations of democracy, and what is the influence on citizens' political preferences and voting behaviour?

- (4) how do political knowledge, media consumption, and political efficacy affect citizens' political preferences and electoral behaviour in the post-pandemic and war context?
- (5) how do ideological stances and new pandemic and war-related issue/policy positions affect citizens' political preferences and electoral behaviour?
- (6) how 'economic' is voting in the new, post-pandemic and war context (is it egotropic or sociotropic, retrospective or prospective)?
- (7) to what extent does the post-pandemic and war context affect party identification?
- (8) what exactly are the configurations of 'cross-pressures' that influence citizens' political behaviour and electoral preferences in the new context?

These research questions translate into certain hypothetical expectations. We assume that two crucial factors, i.e. the COVID-19 pandemic (and its consequences) and the war in Ukraine, will determine the electoral decisions of Polish citizens in 2023. They will impact our primary dependent variable (voting) directly and indirectly in interesting and often non-obvious **interactions**. We are convinced that these effects will often overlap, sometimes multiplying and amplifying their impact or cancelling or weakening each other.

We expect (H1) that the **pandemic and war will increase the impact of social identities** on voting behaviour (Federico, Golec de Zavala & Baran, 2021; Neville et al., 2021). There is a micro-logic behind this thesis: the increasing sense of insecurity induced by the two traumatic events reinforces the importance of social identities and diminishes the importance of previously essential determinants of voting (citizens' rationality, calculation, and the ability to deliberate on political alternatives).

We expect further (H2) that the **pandemic and war (particularly the latter) will induce the rally 'round the flag' effect**, thus boosting voter turnout and support for incumbents. There is a well-developed and theoretically thorough micro-logic behind this thesis (Mueller, 1970): in times of crisis, public opinion perceives those in power as the epitome of national unity and believes that criticism of the opposition should be reduced or dropped altogether (if opposition appears to support the government, there is no conflict for the media to report on, giving the impression to the public opinion that incumbents' actions and activities are good, legitimate and worth supporting).

We also hypothesise (H3) that the **war will bring about the refugees and migration themes**, thus strengthening xenophobes, populists and alike parties and thus boosting support for the current government. Also, in this case, there is a micro-logic behind the thesis: war-induced migration increases tensions in the labour market and the social security system, threatening (a) workers who compete with refugees/migrants for jobs and (b) beneficiaries of social programmes who compete with refugees/migrants for social benefits; both groups are targeted (often successfully) by xenophobic, anti-immigrant, extreme parties. There is also empirical evidence supporting this thesis (Otto & Steinhardt, 2014; Mayda, 2006; Lonsky, 2021; Halla, Wagner & Zweimüller, 2017).

We hypothesise (H4) that in response to war and pandemic, the **incumbents may introduce restrictions on rights and freedoms, states of emergency or surveillance practices**. These actions will actualise and contextualise (Santana, Rama & Bértoa, 2020; Venkatasubramanian, 2020) the impact of traditional sociopolitical cleavages, views and evaluations of democracy, or issue/policy positions on voting.

The PNES project has grown (and is still growing) with each edition. This makes the tasks performed in the framework of its successive editions more and more time-consuming: the gradual but systematic growth of information and knowledge acquired, as well as its increasing complexity, require more and more time (in terms of workflow). We estimate that the project's upcoming iteration will require a research effort of 90-95 person-months (over the whole 36-month project duration).

#### 4. Methodology

The PNES 2023 will be carried out using a **similar methodology** to its previous editions. By implementing similar methods while **retaining the key elements of the project's tradition**, we will be better equipped to conduct reliable tests of assumptions about the Polish voter and contribute to advancing knowledge about

electoral behaviour more generally. Empirical data will be collected through surveys. In keeping with tradition, we will survey a sample of the adult Polish population (CAPI and CAWI surveys) and a sample of representatives of the parliamentary elite (CAPI survey).

The key empirical task of the PNES 2023 will be the **CAPI survey of Polish citizens'** attitudes, preferences, and behaviours. Since the project's launch in 1997, this activity has been the crux of our research endeavour and its main empirical task. The mass survey of the population will be accomplished a week to three weeks after the election, most likely in October/November 2023, depending on the exact decision on the election day (we assume that the 2023 parliamentary elections will be held within the constitutional deadline). The CAPI face-to-face questionnaire will take approximately 60-70 minutes, using a randomly selected sample of 1500 adult Poles. To achieve **diachronic comparability**, the core of the questionnaire to be used in 2023 will be based on the previous iterations of the PNES and CSES. It will also contain a number of new questions that reflect new issues or the greater current salience of old ones.

However, a systematic and in-depth analysis of voter behaviour of Poles in 2023 requires reaching for innovative methodological solutions. The changing context of elections determines adjustments to the methodology of the project. In recent years, the **conjoint survey experiment** has proved valuable and effective in gaining scholarly knowledge about political behaviour. Lately, these techniques have seen extensive use in political science (Acharya, Blackwell & Sen, 2018; Bansak et al., 2018; Egami & Imai, 2019). This development has been predominantly driven by the proliferation of computer-administered surveys and the concurrent ability to conduct fully randomised conjoint experiments at a relatively low cost. Methodological innovations of this genre are **more conducive to testing causal claims** about the linkages between socio-demographics, values, preferences and vote choice.

In order to employ the techniques mentioned above, the CAWI survey will be administered using a randomly selected sample of 2000 adult Poles. Its questionnaire will take approximately 25-30 minutes. It will examine causal relationships between crucial variables of our interest. The **directionality of relationships** between socio-demographic status, values and attitudes, political preferences, and vote choice is both under-theorised and insufficiently examined empirically. The experimental and quasi-experimental design makes it possible to test hypotheses relevant to these questions, particularly those on party identification and vote choice (does party identification inform vote choice, as has commonly been assumed, or does the causal arrow run in the opposite direction?). The CAWI makes it possible to analyse the vote decision-making process in the new, transformed, post-pandemic and war context concerning these and other questions.

Thus, although the CAPI survey still serves the core substantive goal of our research, the CAWI survey is an essential supplementary tool for gathering empirical data on Poles' voting behaviour. With these data, we will be able to answer research questions and test hypotheses about the impact of a fundamentally changed context (social, economic and political crises caused by war and pandemic) on the voting behaviour of Poles. Additionally, the substance of CAPI and CAWI questionnaires will overlap to a certain extent. This overlap will serve the extra purpose of assessing differences in the character of the sample and the nature of responses between the CAPI and CAWI procedures (in the 2019 PNES edition, this research strategy proved effective).

The simultaneous use of large-scale face-to-face interviews and online surveys will also allow us, as in the 2019 edition, to explore the possibility of using **multiple imputation methods** in the case of groups systematically underrepresented in Polish surveys. Multiple imputations can obtain approximately unbiased estimates of parameters and standard errors where data are missing, based on the values of similar cases in a multivariate analysis (Lall, 2016). In the case of online research, advanced multiple imputation models will be required since data are not missing at random.

Another critical caveat at this point seems necessary. Although the above description of our general and detailed research questions is formulated as if we were interested in mass public preferences, attitudes and political behaviour alone, this is not true. We are equally focused on Polish parliamentarians' preferences, attitudes, and belief systems. Moreover, a crucial objective of this project is to precisely analyse whether the attitudes and preferences of these two groups differ and, if they do, how and to what extent. Comparing **mass and elite** political attitudes is at the core of our project, allowing for evaluating the quality of **political representation** in Poland. Therefore, an essential task of the project will be the **survey of Polish MPs**; a CAPI survey will be conducted with an adequately selected and representative (for the entire lower house of parliament) sample.

Our data will enable us to undertake standard multivariate modelling where the impact of substantive variables of interest is controlled by other relevant individual-level variables, multilevel modelling, which controls for the effects of environmental, contextual variables, and experimental analysis in which treatment effects are the quantity of interest. This will require the use of statistical analysis software with the following capabilities: (a) regression generalised linear models, binomial and multinomial logistic regression; and (b) structural equation models aimed at observing latent variables and tracing essential relationships between variables that allow us to distinguish between direct and indirect effects; (c) multilevel analyses (hierarchical linear models). These requirements make it necessary for us to purchase a copy of the Mplus statistical analysis package with Mixture and Multilevel add-ons, widely regarded as the gold standard for the analysis of complex structural equation models and multilevel models, and also fully capable of undertaking the less computationally demanding analyses we will require. Statistical analyses will also be performed with Stata, SPSS and R software (it is not necessary to budget for these items, as the licences are free or already at the disposal of SWPS University).

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# STRESZCZENIE POPULARNONAUKOWE

Głównym celem Polskiego Generalnego Studium Wyborczego (PGSW) jest analiza najważniejszego wydarzenia wyborczego w polskiej polityce, jakim są wybory parlamentarne. Od momentu rozpoczęcia projektu PGSW ma ono charakter porównawczy (w czasie i przestrzeni). Z tego powodu każda jego fala charakteryzuje się jednocześnie ciągłością i zmianą treści. Pierwsza z nich jest możliwa dzięki powtarzalności pytań w kluczowym narzędziu PGSW, jakim jest kwestionariusz badania ankietowego. Druga z nich jest możliwa dzięki włączeniu do kwestionariusza kolejnych modułów Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), programu badawczego skupiającego zespoły zajmujące się studiami wyborczymi na całym świecie.

Naszym celem w obecnym wniosku grantowym jest utrzymanie tej podwójnej tradycji projektu. PGSW powinien pozostać najważniejszym źródłem wiedzy o polskich wyborach. Musi też być na tyle elastyczny, by uwzględniać zmieniającą się rzeczywistość polityczną i społeczną w Polsce. Kadencję parlamentarną i cykl wyborczy kończący się w 2023 roku naznaczyły dwa wydarzenia o fundamentalnym i trwałym znaczeniu. Pandemia COVID-19 wpłynęła na sytuację polityczną na całym świecie, prowadząc jednak do różnych konsekwencji w różnych kontekstach krajowych. Z kolei wojna w Ukrainie miała szczególnie istotne implikacje dla polskiej polityki, ze względu na zakres, w jakim Polska musiała zareagować na kryzys uchodźczy wywołany wojną oraz na kwestie bezpieczeństwa, które nieuchronnie wiążą się z takimi wydarzeniami. Niewątpliwie te głębokie zmiany będą, a nawet powinny, wpłynąć na kształt kolejnej edycji PGSW. Proponowany projekt będzie kontynuował tradycję badań podłużnych PGSW, a jednocześnie będzie zawierał nowe pytania, które wynikają z innowacji teoretycznych i postępów badań empirycznych.

Projekt przyczyni się do rozwoju wiedzy z zakresu nauk politycznych na kilka sposobów. Po pierwsze, umożliwi on kontynuację ponad 25-letniej tradycji PGSW, która zapewnia zarówno polskiemu, jak i międzynarodowemu środowisku naukowemu niezastąpione źródło specyficznych dla danego kraju i porównawczych badań nad polską polityką wyborczą, które mają charakter podłużny i odnoszą się do nowych problemów. Po drugie, eksperymentalny charakter (części) badania CAWI pozwoli na zbadanie kwestii dotyczących powiązań między cechami społeczno-demograficznymi, preferencjami politycznymi i wyborami, które nie mogą być odpowiednio zbadane w inny sposób. Po trzecie, projekt zaowocuje znaczącymi wynikami badań (publikacjami) członków zespołu projektowego.

Badanie PGSW 2023 zostanie przeprowadzone z wykorzystaniem podobnej metodologii jak poprzednie edycje. Dane empiryczne będą zbierane za pomocą badań sondażowych. Zgodnie z tradycją, badań będziemy próbę dorosłej ludności Polski (sondaże CAPI i CAWI) oraz próbę przedstawicieli elit parlamentarnych (sondaż CAPI). Badania masowe, próba CAPI ( $n=1500$ ) i próba CAWI ( $n=2000$ ), będą realizowane niemal równocześnie; zostaną zrealizowane tydzień do trzech tygodni po wyborach, najprawdopodobniej na przełomie października i listopada 2023 roku. Sondaż CAPI ( $n=100$ ) będzie przeprowadzany na reprezentatywnej próbie posłów sześć do dziewięciu miesięcy po wyborach. Kwestionariusz CAPI będzie trwał około 60-70 minut. Będzie on oparty na zestawie podstawowych pytań zaczerpniętych z poprzednich iteracji badania PGSW i kwestionariusza CSES Moduł 6. Zawierać będzie również szereg nowych pytań. Kwestionariusz CAWI będzie zawierał około jednej trzeciej pytań wykorzystywanych w kwestionariuszu CAPI. Kwestionariusz badania CAPI na posłach będzie trwał około 40-50 minut i będzie zawierał około połowy pytań wykorzystywanych w masowym kwestionariuszu CAPI. Dane zebrane w ramach projektu pozwolą na przeprowadzenie standardowego modelowania wielowymiarowego, w którym wpływ istotnych zmiennych jest kontrolowany przez inne istotne zmienne na poziomie indywidualnym, modelowania wielopoziomowego, w którym kontrolowany jest wpływ zmiennych środowiskowych i kontekstowych, oraz analizy eksperymentalnej.

The main objective of the Polish National Election Study (PNES) is to analyse the most important electoral event in Polish politics, namely the parliamentary elections. Since the beginning of the PNES project, it has had a comparative character (in time and space). For this reason, each wave is characterised by continuity and change in content. The first of these is made possible by the repetition of questions in the key tool of the PNES, the survey questionnaire. The second is made possible by the inclusion in the questionnaire of successive modules of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES). This research programme brings together electoral study teams around the world.

The current grant proposal aims to maintain this dual tradition of the project. PNES should remain the most important source of knowledge on Polish elections. It must also be flexible enough to consider Poland's changing political and social reality. The parliamentary term and the election cycle ending in 2023 were marked by two events of fundamental and lasting importance. The COVID-19 pandemic affected the political situation worldwide but led to different consequences in different national contexts. In turn, the war in Ukraine had particularly significant implications for Polish politics due to the extent to which Poland had to respond to the refugee crisis triggered by the war and the security issues that such events inevitably raise. Undoubtedly, these profound changes will, and indeed should shape the next edition of PNES. The proposed project will continue the tradition of PNES longitudinal studies while incorporating new questions that arise from theoretical innovations and advances in empirical research.

The project will contribute to knowledge in political science in several ways. First, it will enable the continuation of the more than 25-year tradition of the PNES, which provides both the Polish and international scholarly community with an irreplaceable source of country-specific and comparative research on Polish electoral politics that is longitudinal in nature and addresses new problems. Secondly, the experimental nature of (part of) the CAWI survey will allow us to explore the links between socio-demographic characteristics, political preferences and elections that cannot be adequately investigated in other ways. Third, the project will result in significant research outputs (publications) by project team members.

The PNES 2023 survey will be conducted using a similar methodology as previous editions. Empirical data will be collected through survey research. In line with tradition, we will survey a sample of Poland's adult population (CAPI and CAWI surveys) and a sample of representatives of parliamentary elites (CAPI survey). The mass surveys, the CAPI sample ( $n=1500$ ) and the CAWI sample ( $n=2000$ ), will be conducted almost simultaneously; they will take place one to three weeks after the election, most likely in late October/early November 2023. The CAPI survey ( $n=100$ ) will be conducted on a representative sample of MPs six to nine months after the elections. The CAPI questionnaire will last approximately 60-70 minutes. It will be based on a set of core questions taken from previous iterations of the PNES survey and the CSES Module 6 questionnaire. It will also contain several new questions. The CAWI questionnaire will include approximately one-third of the questions used in the CAPI questionnaire. The MPs CAPI survey questionnaire will last about 40-50 minutes and contain around half of the questions used in the mass CAPI questionnaire. The data collected from the project will allow for standard multivariate modelling, in which the effects of variables of interest are controlled by other relevant individual-level variables, multilevel modelling, in which the impact of environmental and contextual variables is controlled, and experimental analysis.

**KWESTIE ETYCZNE**

<b>1. Badania na ludzkich zarodkach oraz materiale pozyskanym z ludzkich zarodków i płodów</b>	
Czy w planowanych badaniach będą wykorzystywane ludzkie zarodki?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystane będą tkanki lub komórki pochodzące z ludzkich zarodków lub płodów?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach będą wykorzystywane ludzkie embrionalne komórki macierzyste (hESCs)?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
<b>2. Badania z udziałem ludzi</b>	
Czy planowane badania odbywają się z udziałem ludzi?	TAK [X] / [ ] NIE
Czy planowane badania polegają na aktywnej interwencji fizycznej lub psychologicznej dotyczącej uczestników badania?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywany będzie ludzki materiał genetyczny?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy planowane badania są eksperymentem medycznym zgodnie z ustawą z dnia 5 grudnia 1996 r. o zawodzie lekarza i lekarza dentysty (Dz. U. z 2018 r. poz. 617 ze zm.)?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy planowane badania stanowią niekomercyjne badanie kliniczne, które wymaga rejestracji w Centralnej Ewidencji Badań Klinicznych ( <a href="https://www.clinicaltrialsregister.eu/">https://www.clinicaltrialsregister.eu/</a> ) zgodnie z ustawą z dnia 6 września 2001 r. Prawo Farmaceutyczne (Dz. U. z 2017 r. poz. 2211 ze zm.) oraz ustawą z dnia 20 maja 2010 r. o wyrobach medycznych (Dz. U. z 2017 r. poz. 211 ze zm.)?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
<b>3. Ludzkie komórki/tkanki</b>	
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywane będą ludzkie komórki lub tkanki dostępne komercyjnie, inne niż wskazane w punkcie 1?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywane będą ludzkie próbki biologiczne pozyskane w projekcie lub pochodzące ze źródeł niekomercyjnych?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
<b>4. Dane osobowe</b>	
Czy planowane badania wiążą się z przetwarzaniem danych osobowych?	TAK [X] / [ ] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywane będą dane osobowe pochodzące z innych źródeł, spoza podmiotu realizującego badania?	TAK [X] / [ ] NIE
<b>5. Zwierzęta</b>	
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywane będą zwierzęta kręgowe lub głowonogi?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywany będzie materiał biologiczny pochodzący od zwierząt (np. krew, mocz lub inne)?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w planowanych badaniach wykorzystywane będą zwierzęce tkanki, komórki lub linie komórkowe dostępne komercyjnie?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
<b>6. Współpraca naukowa z krajami spoza Unii Europejskiej</b>	
Czy działania związane z badaniami podejmowanymi w krajach spoza UE stanowić mogą ryzyko pojawiения się wątpliwości natury etycznej?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE

Czy w badaniach planowane jest użycie lokalnych zasobów ludzkich, kulturowych lub naturalnych, np. udziału ludzi, zwierząt, roślin, materiału genetycznego ludzi lub zwierząt, szczątków ludzkich, materiału o wartości historycznej, roślin lub zwierząt chronionych itp.?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy w ramach badań planowany jest import lub eksport materiału badawczego z krajów spoza UE?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Jeśli zaplanowane badania obejmują kraje o niskim lub średnim dochodzie, czy przewiduje się podział korzyści wynikających z realizacji projektu?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy sytuacja w tym kraju mogłaby narazić osoby biorące udział w badaniach na ryzyko?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE

#### **7. Środowisko, zdrowie i bezpieczeństwo (w tym badania na materiale genetycznie zmodyfikowanym)**

Czy planowane badania obejmują wykorzystanie mikroorganizmów, organizmów, tkanek lub komórek genetycznie modyfikowanych (GMO, GMM)?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy planowane badania dotyczą gatunków zwierząt lub roślin chronionych lub obszarów chronionych?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy planowane badania wymagają użycia czynników lub warunków, które mogą być szkodliwe dla ludzi, w tym personelu badawczego?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE

#### **8. Dziedzictwo kulturowe**

Czy w badaniach planowane jest użycie zasobów dziedzictwa kulturowego, w tym ludzi, flory i fauny, ich materialnych pozostałości, materialnych i niematerialnych wytworów kultury oraz obszarów chronionych ze względu na ich wartość kulturową?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
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#### **9. Nadużycia i podwójne zastosowanie**

Czy w badaniach planowane jest wykorzystanie lub wytworzenie produktu podwójnego zastosowania (np. patogeny, oprogramowanie, technologie), które wymagają autoryzacji eksportowej zgodnie z Rozporządzeniem UE 428/2009?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy planowane badania mogą potencjalnie być źródłem nadużyć, przestępstw, ataków terrorystycznych?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE

Opis działań podjętych w celu zapewnienia wykonywania badań zgodnie z zasadami dobrej praktyki w danej dziedzinie/dyscyplinie naukowej oraz informacja, czy jakieś zgody zostały już wydane, bądź informacje, jak te warunki zostaną spełnione [w języku angielskim]

As in previous editions of PNES, the project's fieldwork will be carried out by a specialised research institute. The contracts signed with the institute to implement the research tasks will include, as a standard, the requirements to fulfil all the obligations incumbent on the company implementing the fieldwork (research companies must comply with the ESOMAR code of ethics and other regulations concerning data and their protection). Thus, the comprehensive protection of respondents and the information collected about them during the survey will be ensured.

The project will operate in compliance with Polish legislation. It will adhere to the Polish Data Protection Act of 29/8/1997 and the General Data Protection Regulation (EU) 2016/679, considering the recommendations formulated by the National Science Center Poland's Council. The research team will follow the directives and good practices for social research established in the Ethics for Researchers guidelines of the European Commission for FP7 (and ensuing framework programmes), A Guide to Professional Ethics in Political Science (APSA), and the Code of Ethics of the International Sociological Association. It will also seek approval from the SWPS University's Ethics Committee for Research with Human Participants.

The respondents will receive detailed information about the project's character, purpose, and methodology. This will also include the scope of their participation, including the approximate duration of the questionnaire/interview and the level of confidentiality, measures to protect the data, and rules of storing and revisiting the data. They will be given time to decide if they want to participate in the study, and they will also be given the possibility to ask questions. Participation in the survey will be voluntary, with only adults (18+) able to provide informed consent.

Research tools will be tested on the pilot samples of members of the target population to ensure that participants can understand the meaning of the research questions correctly. Interviewers will be able to offer interviewee debriefing and, if necessary, provide them with sources of professional advice. Personal data will be protected according to the Polish Data Protection Act of 29/8/1997 and the General Data Protection Regulation (EU) 2016/679.

All data will be encrypted and stored on password-protected folders accessible for authorised personnel only. They will be shared according to the 'FAIR Guiding Principles for scientific data management and stewardship' principles: findability, accessibility, interoperability, and reusability. The data will be saved in an open format and stored in a public database (under an open license, assigned a unique DOI identifier). The CSES module will be delivered to the projects' headquarters and merged into the integrated dataset.

## Oświadczenie

Oświadczam, że

- w przypadku planowania badań wymagających pozyskania zgód, opinii, zezwoleń lub pozwoleń właściwych organów/komisji zobowiązuję się do ich uzyskania przed rozpoczęciem realizacji badań, których dotyczą;
- jestem świadom/a/y wymogu przekazania do NCN w raportach rocznych i końcowym wszystkich uzyskanych zgód, opinii, zezwoleń lub pozwoleń niezbędnych do realizacji projektu;
- jestem również świadom/a/y, że prowadzenie badań bez wymaganych zgód, opinii, zezwoleń lub pozwoleń stanowić może podstawę do nierożliczenia projektu z koniecznością zwrotu części lub całości środków.

TAK [X] / [ ] NIE

## PLAN BADAŃ

Lp.	Nazwa zadania	Podmioty
1	Przegląd piśmiennictwa i dotychczasowych badań PGSW/CSES pod kątem metodologii i założeń teoretycznych  Review of literature and previous PNES/CSES studies as regards their methodology and theoretical assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
2	Przygotowanie narzędzia do badania CAPI  Preparation of tool for CAPI survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
3	Przygotowanie narzędzia do badania CAWI  Preparation of tool for CAWI survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
4	Badanie CAPI  CAPI survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
5	Badanie CAWI  CAWI survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
6	Obróbka danych z badań CAPI  Processing data obtained from CAPI survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>

7	Obróbka danych z badań CAWI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
	Processing data obtained from CAWI survey	
8	Tworzenie zintegrowanej bazy danych PGSW, włączenie do niej danych PNES 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
	Creation of integrated PNES database, integrating PGSW 2023 data into it	
9	Przygotowanie narzędzia do badania CAPI (posłowie)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
	Preparation of tool for CAPI research (MPs)	
10	Badanie CAPI (posłowie)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
	CAPI research (MPs)	
11	Obróbka danych z badań CAPI (posłowie)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>
	Processing data obtained from CAPI research (MPs)	
12	Analiza danych pod kątem przedstawionych w opisie projektu podstawowych pytań badawczych  Data analysis focused on fundamental research questions, mentioned in the project's description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</li> </ul>

13	Formułowanie wniosków projektu	• SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie
	Formulation of project's conclusions	

**ZBLIŻONE ZADANIA BADAWCZE**

Czy kierownik (PI) ubiega się o finansowanie wskazanych we wniosku zadań badawczych również z innych źródeł?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
Czy kierownik (PI) realizuje/realizował zadania badawcze zbliżone do zadań objętych tym wnioskiem?	TAK [X] / [ ] NIE
Kierownik (PI) jest	AUTOREM OPISÓW PROJEKTU [ ] / [X] WSPÓŁAUTOREM OPISÓW PROJEKTU

**Opis zbliżonych zadań i uzasadnienie konieczności ich finansowania [w języku angielskim]**

Należy wskazać realizowane i zrealizowane zadania badawcze, co do których mogłyby zajść podejrzenie podwójnego finansowania w przypadku uzyskania finansowania na zadania badawcze objęte niniejszym wnioskiem. Wyjaśnienie powinno w sposób jednoznaczny wskazywać różnice pomiędzy zadaniami badawczymi i zawierać uzasadnienie konieczności finansowania zadań badawczych w niniejszym wniosku.

Polish National Election Study (PNES) and Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) databases have been continuously updated since 1997 with financing from various sources, mostly NCN (but not exclusively).

One of the project's crucial research tasks is updating these databases.

This task (i.e. completion of databases) cannot be performed unless the team receives funding for it from NCN. Currently, the project team does not have access to any funds from which this task can be performed.

Thus duplicate funding might not be suspected.

This fact provides compelling justification for the necessity of funding the research tasks in this application.

The project is based on a modified methodology, which allows for longitudinal comparison.

In the analysis of results, the team will use the whole database, i.e. data collected so far and new data collected within the project.

**Autorzy opisów projektu**

Radosław Markowski

Piotr Zagórski

Marta Żerkowska-Balas

**Podmioty**

SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie

Czy podmiot ubiega się o finansowanie wskazanych we wniosku zadań badawczych również z innych źródeł?

TAK [ ] / [X] NIE

WSPÓŁPRACA MIĘDZYNARODOWA

Czy projekt realizowany we współpracy międzynarodowej?	TAK [ ] / [X] NIE
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## ZESPÓŁ BADAWCZY

**1. Mikołaj Cześniak, Kierownik (PI)**

Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie
Zakres prac [w języku angielskim]	The Principal Investigator will be responsible for the proper execution of the project in accordance with the plans. He will coordinate the work of the team. He will play a leading and decisive role in developing the research tools, in the implementation of the fieldwork phases of the project and, above all, in the analysis and interpretation of the project results. He will be the principal author of publications based on the empirical data obtained within the project.

**2. Wykonawca\_1, Wykonawca**

Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie
Zakres prac [w języku angielskim]	He/she will be involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in most of the tasks carried out within the project. He/she will closely collaborate with Post-doc_1 in taking care of the project's methodological, statistical, and technical aspects. In particular, he/she will perform (parts of) the following tasks: 1) review of the literature and previous PNES/CSES, with particular focus on methodology and technicalities of the electoral research 2) preparation of tools for the CAPI and CAWI surveys 3) support, counsel and expertise in the processing data obtained from the CAPI and CAWI surveys 4) support, counsel and expertise in the creation of an integrated PNES database 5) support, counsel and expertise in the data analysis focused on fundamental research questions mentioned in the project's description 6) formulation of the project conclusions 7) dissemination of project results (presenting PNES findings at academic conferences and publishing them in scholarly journals and monographs)
Wymagane kwalifikacje [w języku angielskim]	- sound academic background in empirical political and social research - publication experience, good publication record, strong motivation to publish - good knowledge of electoral research theories, methods and techniques - good knowledge of statistics, data analysis and statistical methods/techniques - good knowledge of statistical packages, including R, Stata and SPSS - good communication skills

**3. Wykonawca\_2, Wykonawca**

Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie
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Zakres prac [w języku angielskim]	He/she will be involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in most of the tasks carried out within the project. He/she will closely collaborate with Post-doc_2 to take care of the project's theoretical and conceptual aspects, disseminate scholarly knowledge generated within it, and present its results and conclusions, both in academic circles and to the broader audience. In particular, he/she will perform (parts of) the following tasks: 1) involvement in task 1 of the project (systematic review of literature and previous PNES/CSES studies), with particular emphasis on electoral research theories and models 2) preparation of the CAPI survey tools (including MPs survey) 3) preparation of the CAWI survey tools 4) coordination of the fieldwork, outsourced to the external research institute conducting the CAPI survey (including the MPs survey) 5) coordination of the fieldwork, outsourced to the external research institute conducting the CAWI survey 6) analysis of the PNES database 7) formulation of project conclusions 8) dissemination of project results (presenting PNES findings at academic conferences and publishing them in scholarly journals and monographs)
Wymagane kwalifikacje [w języku angielskim]	- sound academic background in empirical political and social research - publication experience, good publication record, strong motivation to publish - good knowledge of electoral research theories, methods and techniques - good knowledge of statistics, data analysis and statistical methods/techniques - good knowledge of statistical packages, including R, Stata and SPSS - good communication skills

#### 4. Post-doc\_1, Post-doc

Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie
Zakres prac [w języku angielskim]	He/she will be primarily responsible for the methodological and technical aspects of the project, the proper planning, preparation, and execution of the fieldwork, as well as the methodologically sound processing, analysis and deposition of the empirical data produced by the project. He/she will also be responsible for ethical issues related to the data produced by the project. He/she will be responsible and will perform the following tasks: 1) involvement in task 1 of the project (systematic review of literature and previous PNES/CSES studies), with particular emphasis on methodological and technical issues of electoral research 2) preparation and coordination of work on the CAPI survey tools (including MPs survey) 3) preparation and coordination of the CAWI survey tools 4) procession of the data obtained from CAPI and CAWI surveys 5) creation of an integrated PNES database (1997-2023) 6) analysis of the PNES database 7) deposition and dissemination of the PNES data
Wymagane kwalifikacje [w języku angielskim]	- sound academic background in empirical political and social research - good knowledge of statistics, data analysis and statistical methods/techniques - good knowledge of statistical packages, including R, Stata and SPSS - good communication skills

#### 5. Post-doc\_2, Post-doc

Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie
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Zakres prac [w języku angielskim]	He/she will be primarily responsible for the theoretical and conceptual aspects of the project, as well as the dissemination of scholarly knowledge generated within it. He/she will also play a primary role in presenting the project's results and conclusions, both in academic circles and to the broader audience. He/she will be responsible and will perform the following tasks: 1) involvement in task 1 of the project (systematic review of literature and previous PNES/CSES studies), with particular emphasis on electoral research theories and models 2) preparation of the CAPI survey tools (including MPs survey) 3) preparation of the CAWI survey tools 4) coordination of the fieldwork, outsourced to the external research institute conducting the CAPI survey (including the MPs survey) 5) coordination of the fieldwork, outsourced to the external research institute conducting the CAWI survey 6) analysis of the PNES database 7) formulation of project conclusions 8) dissemination of project results (presenting PNES findings at academic conferences and publishing them in scholarly journals and monographs)
Wymagane kwalifikacje [w języku angielskim]	- sound academic background in empirical political and social research - knowledge of electoral research theories, methods and techniques - publication experience, good publication record, strong motivation to publish - good communication skills

## KIEROWNIK (PI)

<b>dr hab. Mikołaj Cześniak</b>	
Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie

Stopień doktora	
Czy kierownik (PI) posiada stopień doktora?	TAK [X] / [ ] NIE
Rok nadania stopnia	2006
Dziedzina w języku polskim	nauki społeczne
Dziedzina w języku angielskim	social sciences
Dyscyplina w języku polskim	nauki o polityce
Dyscyplina w języku angielskim	political science
Nadany przez	
Nazwa podmiotu w języku oryginalnym [transkrypcja na alfabet łaciński]	Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk
Nazwa podmiotu w języku angielskim	Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences

Informacje o przerwach - ankieta dorobku	
Długoterminowe (powyżej 90 dni) udokumentowane zasiłki chorobowe lub świadczenia rehabilitacyjne w związku z niezdolnością do pracy w okresie ostatnich 10 lat przed rokiem wystąpienia z wnioskiem - liczba dni	b.d.
Urlopy związane z opieką i wychowaniem dzieci udzielone na zasadach określonych w Kodeksie pracy - liczba dni	b.d.

Dyscypliny naukowe (zgodnie z klasyfikacją MNiSW)		
Lp.	Kod i nazwa	Główna dyscyplina naukowa
1	5.5 - nauki o polityce i administracji	Główna dyscyplina naukowa

Dane osobowe	
Imię	Mikołaj
Drugie imię	Aleksander
Nazwisko	Cześniak
PESEL	75022600130

Data urodzenia (rrrr-mm-dd)	1975-02-26
Płeć	Mężczyzna [X] / [ ] Kobieta
Obywatelstwo	Polska

Informacje kontaktowe	
Telefon	(22) 517-98-46
Adres e-mail	mczesnik@swps.edu.pl
Elektroniczna skrzynka podawcza ESP (ePUAP)	

Adres zamieszkania	
Kraj	Polska
Województwo	mazowieckie
Kod pocztowy	03-948
Miejscowość	Warszawa
Ulica, numer domu, numer lokalu	ul. Meksykańska 9 m. 20

Adres korespondencyjny	
Kraj	Polska
Województwo	mazowieckie
Kod pocztowy	03-948
Miejscowość	Warszawa
Ulica, numer domu, numer lokalu	ul. Meksykańska 9 m. 20

Elektroniczny identyfikator naukowca	
Elektroniczny identyfikator naukowca	0000-0003-0246-1321
Rodzaj identyfikatora	ORCID

Zatrudnienie				
Lp.	Nazwa podmiotu w języku polskim	Nazwa podmiotu w języku angielskim	Stanowisko w języku polskim	Stanowisko w języku angielskim

1	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie; Wydział Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych; Instytut Nauk Społecznych	SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities; Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences; Institute of Social Science	profesor uczelnii	associate professor
2	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie; Wydział Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych; Instytut Nauk Społecznych	SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities; Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences; Institute of Social Science	Dyrektor	Director

## ANKIETY CZŁONKÓW ZESPOŁU

### KIEROWNIK (PI)

dr hab. Mikołaj Aleksander Cześniak

### PRZEBIEG KARIERY NAUKOWEJ

#### Education/Promotions:

2013 Habilitation in social sciences (field: political science), Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences;  
2006 Doctorate in social sciences (field: political science), Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences;  
1999 MA in sociology, University of Warsaw

#### Employment:

Since August 2013: Associate Professor at the SWPS University, Director of the Institute of Social Sciences at the SWPS University;

From June 1999 to December 2013: Assistant Professor (previously PhD candidate), Head of the Electoral Research Division (2011-2013); Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences;

From October 2006 to July 2013: Assistant Professor, Department of International Politics, SWPS University;

#### Citations:

Scopus: 92 citations (June 2022)

Publish or Perish: 914 (June 2022)

### PUBLIKACJE NAUKOWE

1. Ben Stanley, Mikołaj Cześniak, *Uninformed or informed populists? The relationship between political knowledge, socio-economic status and populist attitudes in Poland* (2022), artykuł, East European Politics, East European Politics 38(1): 43-60; 70 pkt. MEiN  
Liczba cytowań (bez autocytytowań): 4  
Otwarty dostęp: tak, DOI 10.1080/21599165.2021.1876676  
Status publikacji: opublikowane, *Publikacja do pobrania z systemu*
  
2. Mikołaj Cześniak, Jarosław Flis, Adam Gendźwiłł, Jacek Haman, Anna Materska-Sosnowska, Anna Rakowska-Trela, Andrzej Rychard, Magdalena Wrzalik, Jarosław Zbieranek, *Reguły, zamiary, praktyki. Prawo wyborcze i wybory 2017-2020 [Rules, intentions, practices. Electoral law and elections 2017-2020]* (2022), książka, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar i Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego, ISBN 978-83-66849-34-1  
Liczba cytowań (bez autocytytowań): 0  
Otwarty dostęp: tak, DOI 10.7366/9788366849341  
Status publikacji: opublikowane
  
3. Ben Stanley, Radosław Markowski, Mikołaj Cześniak, *Marginalization, not mainstreaming: Explaining the failure of fringe parties in Poland* (2021), artykuł, Party Politics, Party Politics 27(1): 46-57; 200 pkt. MEiN  
Liczba cytowań (bez autocytytowań): 2  
Otwarty dostęp: tak, DOI 10.1177/1354068819863616  
Status publikacji: opublikowane, *Publikacja do pobrania z systemu*
  
4. Mikołaj, Cześniak, Rafał Miśta, *Zamożność, wpływy, poważanie – społecznie cenione dobra oczami polskich wyborców [Wealth, influence, respect - socially valued goods in the eyes of Polish voters]* (2021), artykuł, Studia Socjologiczne, Studia Socjologiczne 242(3): 57-88; 70 pkt. MEiN  
Liczba cytowań (bez autocytytowań): 2  
Otwarty dostęp: tak, DOI 10.24425/sts.2021.138475  
Status publikacji: opublikowane, *Publikacja do pobrania z systemu*
  
5. Sebastian Popa, Mikołaj Cześniak, Piret Ehin, Aine Ramonaite, *Party System Stability* (2021), rozdział, in: H. Schmitt, P. Segatti i C. van der Eijk (eds.), *Consequences of Context. How the Social, Political and Economic Environment Affects Voting*. London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 151-168, ISBN 978-1-5381-5150-1

Liczba cytowań (bez autocytoowania): 0

Otwarty dostęp: nie

Status publikacji: opublikowane

- 6.** Mikołaj Cześniak, Rafał Miśta, Marta Żerkowska-Balas, *Uczestnictwo i mobilizacja w wyborach parlamentarnych 2019 roku [Participation and mobilisation in the 2019 parliamentary election]* (**2020**), artykuł, Studia Socjologiczne, Studia Socjologiczne 239(4): 91-121; 70 pkt. MEiN

Liczba cytowań (bez autocytoowania): 4

Otwarty dostęp: tak, DOI 10.24425/sts.2020.135145

Status publikacji: opublikowane

- 7.** Ben Stanley, Mikołaj Cześniak, *Populism in Poland* (**2019**), rozdział, in: D. Stockemer (eds.), *Populism Around the World*. Cham: Springer, pp. 67-87, ISBN: 978-3-319-96758-5

Liczba cytowań (bez autocytoowania): 42

Otwarty dostęp: nie, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-96758-5\_5

Status publikacji: opublikowane

- 8.** Ben Stanley, Mikołaj Cześniak, *Poland's Palikot Movement: Voice of the disenchanted, missing ideological link or more of the same?* (**2016**), artykuł, Party Politics, Party Politics 22(6): 705-718; 200 pkt. MEiN

Liczba cytowań (bez autocytoowania): 19

Otwarty dostęp: nie, DOI 10.1177/1354068814560911

Status publikacji: opublikowane

- 9.** Adam Gendźwiłł, Mikołaj Cześniak, Jarosław Flis, Jacek Haman, Anna Materska-Sosnowska, Bartłomiej Michalak, Paweł Pietrzyk, Jarosław Zbieraniek, *Nieważne głosy, ważny problem. Wyniki badania kart do głosowania z wyborów do sejmików województw 2014 [Invalid votes, important problem. Results of the examination of ballots from the 2014 provincial (voivodship) assembly elections]* (**2016**), książka, Warszawa: Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego, ISBN 978-83-62338-73-3

Liczba cytowań (bez autocytoowania): 25

Otwarty dostęp: tak

Status publikacji: opublikowane

- 10.** Mikołaj Cześniak, *In the Shadow of the Smolensk Catastrophe—The 2010 Presidential Election in Poland* (**2014**), artykuł, East European Politics and Societies, East European Politics and Societies 28(3): 518-539; 100 pkt. MEiN

Liczba cytowań (bez autocytoowania): 23

Otwarty dostęp: nie, DOI 10.1177/0888325414532492

Status publikacji: opublikowane

## DOKONANIA ARTYSTYCZNE

b.d.

## BADANIA NAUKOWE FINANSOWANE PRZEZ NCN

DANE POBRANE AUTOMATYCZNIE

Tytuł w języku polskim: **Wiedza polityczna w Polsce**

Nr rejestracyjny:

2013/11/B/HS5/03545

Źródło(a) finansowania:

NCN, Nazwa konkursu: OPUS-6

Kwota: **558 675 PLN**

Podmiot realizujący:

**SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny w Warszawie; Wydział Nauk Humanistycznych i Społecznych**

Data rozpoczęcia realizacji: **2014-09-18**, Data zakończenia realizacji: **2018-03-17**

Wynik oceny:

Uznanie umowy za wykonaną

### **Lista najważniejszych publikacji będących rezultatem projektu:**

Publikacje w czasopismach:

- Mikołaj Cześniak, Michał Wenzel, Wiedza polityczna Polaków w perspektywie porównawczej, *Polskie Studia Politologiczne*, 57, 103-123, Athenaeum, 2018, IF: 0, - Opublikowane
- Agnieszka Jasiewicz-Bekiewicz, Mikołaj Czesnik, Michał Kotnarowski, Michał Wenzel, Marta Żerkowska-Balas, Co tam Panie w polityce? Struktura potocznej wiedzy politycznej Polaków, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 4, 31-51, Komitet Socjologii PAN, ISP PAN, 2017, IF: 0, - Opublikowane
- Marta Żerkowska-Balas, Mikołaj Cześniak, Mateusz Zaremba, Dynamika wiedzy politycznej Polaków, *Studia Socjologiczne*, 3/2017 (226), 7-31, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie, 2017, IF: 0, - Opublikowane
- Michał Wenzel, Marta Żerkowska-Balas, Reading, Writing and Political Competence, *Polish Sociological Review*, 2, 147-165, POLSKIE TOWARZYSTWO SOCJOLOGICZNE, 2018, IF: 0.121, - Opublikowane

### **Publikacje dodane przez redaktora:**

Stanley, Ben, Mikołaj Cześniak. 2022. Uninformed or informed populists? The relationship between political knowledge, socio-economic status and populist attitudes in Poland. *East European Politics* 38(1): 43-60.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2021.1876676>

b.d.

### **INNE PROJEKTY BADAWCZE**

b.d.

### **NAJWAŻNIEJSZE OSiągnięcie naukowe**

I consider my most important scientific (and also organisational) achievement to be the **establishment and management to date of the Institute of Social Sciences at the SWPS University**. This institute coordinates research activities at the SWPS University in the following disciplines: sociological sciences, political and administrative sciences, management and quality sciences, and social communication and media sciences. It integrates experts from these areas working at the Faculty of Humanities, Faculty of Social Sciences, Faculty of Design in Warsaw, and the Faculty of Psychology and Social Communication in Wrocław.

The Institute is responsible for distributing funds for research work, increasing the number of grants and the participation of its personnel in international academic projects, and establishing research cooperation with foreign centres conducting research in the area of social sciences.

The Institute was recognised as the **best Polish research institution in the social sciences in THE World University Ranking** from 2020 to 2022.

As the **co-founder and first head of this research unit** (established in 2018), I consider its successes to be my most significant (so far) scientific and organisational achievement.

### **DOŚWIADCZENIE NAUKOWE**

- The European Consortium for Political Research (**ECPR**) Official Representative at the SWPS University (since 2013), regularly attending ECPR events;
- Chair of the **IPSA Research Committee 16** (Socio-Political Pluralism), elected in 2017, regularly attending IPSA events;
- Representative of Poland in the **Management Committee of Action IS0806** ('The True European Voter: A Strategy For Analysing the Prospects of European Electoral Democracy That Includes the West, the South and the East of the Continent'), implemented under the **COST Programme**, supported by the European Research and Technological Development Framework Programme (2009-2014);

- Member of the Polish national team of the 'Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union' (**PIREDEU**) project (FP7 project, 2008-2011);
- Member of the Polish national team of the 'Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe' (**INTUNE**) project (FP6 project, 2007-2010);
- Member of the Polish national team of the 'Transformation Research Initiative' (**TRI**) project, (2006-2008);
- Member of the Polish national team of the 'Active Civic Participation' (**CIVICACTIVE**) project (FP6 project, 2003-2006);
- Member of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on Voting Behaviour and Public Opinion in a comparative perspective (since 2009);
- Collaborator of the project 'Manifesto Research on Political Representation' (MARPOR), awarded a grant from the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), implemented by the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (since 2009);
- Collaborator in the project 'Content Analysis of Party Programmes in Comparative Perspective', implemented by Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (2000-2007);
- Member of the ECPR Working Group on Political Knowledge (2002-2004);

## WYRÓŻNIENIA I NAGRODY

- 5th October 2021, awarded the **SWPS University Medal**, in recognition of his achievements in scientific and organisational activities, Warsaw;

## WYKŁADY I REFERATY

- (2021) presentation 'Voting and socially valued goods: do citizens reward incumbents or punish them?', delivered at the **APSA Annual Meeting**, Seattle, 30 September 2021
- (2019) **keynote presentation** 'On inequalities in Poland (the perspective of individuals)', delivered at the concluding plenary session of the **17th National Sociological Congress**, entitled 'Revolution or Reproduction?' (organised by Tomasz Zarycki), Wrocław, 11-14 September 2019
- (2019) **guest lecture** 'Politics for stupid people? Political knowledge, socioeconomic status and populist attitudes in Poland', delivered at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, 28 May 2019
- (2015) **keynote lecture** 'Citizens, voters, consumers - interpenetrating identities of contemporary Poles', delivered in the concluding
- plenary session of the **16th Congress of the Polish Association of Market and Opinion Researchers** (PTBRIo), entitled 'Consumer Intelligence', Warsaw, 22-23 October 2015
- (2010) **guest lecture** 'Voter Turnout in Poland - a Major Problem after Twenty Years of Freedom?', delivered in the opening plenary session during the conference 'Twenty Years of Freedom in Central Europe', Budapest, 25-26 November 2010
- (2008) presentation 'Polish 'Exceptionalism': Voter Turnout in Poland in light of CSES data', delivered in the opening session at the **CSES Conference and Planning Committee Meeting**, Warsaw, 26 April 2008
- (2006) **keynote presentation** 'Voter Turnout Stability – Evidence from Poland', delivered in the opening plenary session during the conference 'Contextual Effects in Electoral Behaviour', European University Institute, Department of Political and Social Sciences, Florence, 30 November 2006

## INNE ISTOTNE OSiągnięcia w NAUCE

**Reviews in postdoctoral** (habilitation) procedures: (2020) Marek Butrym; (2015) Marek Mazur; (2015) Anna Sroka.

**Reviews in doctoral** procedures: (2022) Jan Kujawski; (2020) Nika Palaguta; (2018) Paweł Maranowski; (2014) Toma Burean.

**Reviews in university promotion** procedures: (2020) Maciej Górecki; (2017) Andrzej Polus.

**Editorial reviews:** (2020) Adam Gendźwiłł. Local elections in Poland; (2018) Mikołaj Pawlak, Tying Micro and Macro; (2016) Marek M. Kamiński; Majority electoral laws and FPTP.

## WYNAGRODZENIA I STYPENDIA

Lp.		Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025
1	Nazwa	dr hab. Mikołaj Aleksander Cześniak	30 000	30 000
	Rodzaj udziału	Kierownik (PI)		
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie		
	Rodzaj zatrudnienia	wynagrodzenie dodatkowe		
	Okres pobierania wynagrodzenia [w miesiącach]	36		
	Wynagrodzenie całkowite [PLN]			90 000
2			Rok 2023	Rok 2024
	Nazwa	Wykonawca_1	18 000	18 000
	Rodzaj udziału	Wykonawca		
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie		
	Rodzaj zatrudnienia	wynagrodzenie dodatkowe		
	Okres pobierania wynagrodzenia [w miesiącach]	36		
3	Wynagrodzenie całkowite [PLN]			54 000
			Rok 2023	Rok 2024
	Nazwa	Wykonawca_2	18 000	18 000
	Rodzaj udziału	Wykonawca		
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie		
	Rodzaj zatrudnienia	wynagrodzenie dodatkowe		
	Okres pobierania wynagrodzenia [w miesiącach]	36		
	Wynagrodzenie całkowite [PLN]			54 000

			Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025
4	Nazwa	Post-doc_1	105 000	140 000	140 000
	Rodzaj udziału	Post-doc			
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie			
	Rodzaj zatrudnienia	wynagrodzenie pełnoetatowe			
	Okres pobierania wynagrodzenia [w miesiącach]	33			
	Wynagrodzenie całkowite [PLN]				385 000
			Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025
5	Nazwa	Post-doc_2	105 000	140 000	140 000
	Rodzaj udziału	Post-doc			
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie			
	Rodzaj zatrudnienia	wynagrodzenie pełnoetatowe			
	Okres pobierania wynagrodzenia [w miesiącach]	33			
	Wynagrodzenie całkowite [PLN]				385 000

## APARATURA

## INNE KOSZTY

Inne koszty bezpośrednie						
Lp.			Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025	
1.	Nazwa / opis [w języku angielskim]	Field work by a specialised research institute (three surveys)	430 800	43 500	0	
	Kategoria	Usługi obce				
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie				
	Kwota łączna [PLN]			474 300		
Uzasadnienie i kalkulacja [w języku angielskim]						
<p>To obtain relevant, quality data, we need to outsource the fieldwork to external research institutes. Three different surveys will be administered.</p> <p>According to the request for proposal we have submitted to PBS and Kantar, the cost of such surveys is as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) The cost of the CAWI survey (N=2000, 25-30 minute interview) equals 36800 PLN.</li> <li>2) The cost of the CAPI survey (N=1500, 60-70 minute interview) equals 394000 PLN.</li> <li>3) The cost of the CAPI survey with the MPs (N=100, 40-50 minute interview) equals 43500 PLN.</li> </ol> <p>The sample size guarantees the robust analyses of electorates of political parties with various levels of support. Previous PNES surveys and other similar surveys realised by the team were shared with the public research agencies to estimate the duration of each survey and the type of questions asked.</p> <p>Total costs in the outsourced services (surveys) category equal 474300 PLN.</p> <p>The cost is related to research tasks 4, 5, 10.</p>						
2.	Nazwa / opis [w języku angielskim]	Conferences and business trips (by members of the research team)	0	15 060	16 590	
	Kategoria	Wyjazdy służbowe				
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie				
	Kwota łączna [PLN]			31 650		
Uzasadnienie i kalkulacja [w języku angielskim]						
<p>The findings of the project must be disseminated, we plan to present them at academic conferences in Poland and abroad.</p> <p>The money planned for these actions will be spent on conference fees, travel, accommodation and all other expenses related to these trips. Altogether we plan 8-10 conference trips (5 in Poland and 5 abroad).</p> <p>We estimate the cost of a single conference in Poland at 1200 PLN: conference fees (600 PLN), accommodation (310 PLN) and transport (train ticket: 200 PLN); the diets (90 PLN; 3X30 PLN per diem) are estimated according to the MPiPS Regulation (Dz.U. 2013 poz. 167).</p> <p>We estimate the average cost of a single (European) conference at 5130 PLN: conference fees (1200 PLN), accommodation (1500 PLN) and transport (plane ticket: 1800 PLN), and diets (630 PLN).</p> <p>The cost is related to the broadly defined dissemination of the project's findings. Total expenses in the conferences and business trips category equal 31650 PLN.</p>						

3.	Nazwa / opis [w języku angielskim]	Personal portable computer	10 900	0	0		
	Kategoria	Materiały i drobny sprzęt					
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie					
	Kwota łączna [PLN]		10 900				
	Uzasadnienie i kalkulacja [w języku angielskim]						
<p>Two personal portable computers for the research team. Additionally, a package of MS Office software will be purchased for each computer. The cost of 1 laptop (5450 PLN including VAT) is calculated based on SWPS University IT team estimates and includes the cost of MS Office. Computers will be used exclusively by the members of research teams for the purposes related to realisation of research tasks.</p> <p>The project team needs efficient computers with high computing power to process the data generated in this (and previous) editions of PNES. Computers are expected to quickly and effectively process data (ample computational power, large working memory).</p>							
4.	Nazwa / opis [w języku angielskim]	Mplus Base Program and Combination Add-On software	4 697	0	0		
	Kategoria	Materiały i drobny sprzęt					
	Podmiot	SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie					
	Kwota łączna [PLN]		4 697				
	Uzasadnienie i kalkulacja [w języku angielskim]						
<p>Mplus is a latent variable modelling software with a wide variety of analysis capabilities (exploratory factor analysis, structural equation modelling, and alike) and allows all these modelling features to be combined in a fully integrated general latent variable framework.</p> <p>The project includes various kinds of multivariate modelling (described in detail in the project description), which require appropriate software. Thus it is necessary to purchase a copy of the Mplus statistical analysis package with Combination Add-ons (the package which combines Mixture and Multilevel add-ons). It is widely regarded as the gold standard for the analysis of complex structural equation models and multilevel models. Mplus Version 8.8 University Pricing for Mplus Base Program and Combination Add-On equals \$895 (according to pricing available on the software website <a href="https://www.statmodel.com/pricing.shtml">https://www.statmodel.com/pricing.shtml</a>), which (according to 06.06.22 NBP exchange rate 1\$=4,2675 PLN gives 3819 PLN + 23% VAT).</p>							

## OPEN ACCESS

Nazwa podmiotu	Koszty pośrednie na Open Access [PLN]			RAZEM [PLN]
	Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025	
<b>1. SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistycznośpołeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie</b>	29 790	0	0	29 790

## POMOC PUBLICZNA

**1. SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie**

Czy finansowanie będzie stanowiło pomoc publiczną?	Tak [ ] / [X] Nie
Kierownik (PI) i osoby reprezentujące podmiot zapoznały się z zasadami występowania pomocy publicznej	Tak [X] / [ ] Nie

**ZESTAWIENIE KOSZTÓW PODMIOTÓW**

SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny z siedzibą w Warszawie				
Koszty pośrednie OA (%)	2,00			
Pozostałe koszty pośrednie (%)	20			
	Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025	Razem [PLN]
Koszty bezpośrednie, w tym:	722 397	404 560	362 590	1 489 547
- koszty wynagrodzeń i stypendiów, w tym:	276 000	346 000	346 000	968 000
-- wynagrodzenia etatowe	210 000	280 000	280 000	770 000
-- wynagrodzenia dodatkowe	66 000	66 000	66 000	198 000
-- stypendia i wynagrodzenia studentów i doktorantów	0	0	0	0
- koszty aparatury naukowo-badawczej, urządzeń i oprogramowania	0	0	0	0
- inne koszty bezpośrednie	446 397	58 560	16 590	521 547
Koszty pośrednie, w tym:	174 269	80 912	72 518	327 699
- koszty pośrednie OA	29 790	0	0	29 790
- pozostałe koszty pośrednie	144 479	80 912	72 518	297 909
Koszty ogółem	896 666	485 472	435 108	1 817 246

**ZESTAWIENIE CAŁKOWITYCH KOSZTÓW NA POSZCZEGÓLNE LATA REALIZACJI**

	Rok 2023	Rok 2024	Rok 2025	Razem [PLN]
Koszty bezpośrednie, w tym:	722 397	404 560	362 590	1 489 547
- koszty wynagrodzeń i stypendiów, w tym:	276 000	346 000	346 000	968 000
-- wynagrodzenia etatowe	210 000	280 000	280 000	770 000
-- wynagrodzenia dodatkowe	66 000	66 000	66 000	198 000
-- stypendia i wynagrodzenia studentów i doktorantów	0	0	0	0
- koszty aparatury naukowo-badawczej, urządzeń i oprogramowania	0	0	0	0
- inne koszty bezpośrednie	446 397	58 560	16 590	521 547
Koszty pośrednie, w tym:	174 269	80 912	72 518	327 699

- koszty pośrednie OA	29 790	0	0	29 790
- pozostałe koszty pośrednie	144 479	80 912	72 518	297 909
Koszty ogółem	896 666	485 472	435 108	1 817 246

## PLAN ZARZĄDZANIA DANYMI

### 1. Opis danych oraz pozyskiwanie lub ponowne wykorzystanie dostępnych danych

Sposób pozyskiwania i opracowywania nowych danych i/lub ponownego wykorzystania dostępnych danych

The project will collect new data and generate new datasets from quantitative surveys (CAPI, CAWI, CAPI MPs). The analyses will use newly acquired data, as well as previous editions of the PNES/CSES, for comparison purposes (comparisons over time and space).

Secondary data analysis will also use existing datasets (PNES and CSES) to capture changes over time (time-series). The data quality will be ensured by outsourcing the fieldwork to specialised research institutes that meet all guild standards (ESOMAR, OFBOR).

The generated data will be merged with existing PNES and CSES datasets. All data will be encrypted and stored in a password protected folders accessible only to authorised personnel.

Pozyskiwane lub opracowywane dane (np. rodzaj, format, ilość)

The PNES 2023 will be carried out using a similar methodology to its previous editions.

By implementing similar methods while retaining the key elements of the project's tradition, we will be better equipped to conduct reliable tests of assumptions about the Polish voter and contribute to advancing knowledge about electoral behaviour more generally.

Empirical data will be collected through surveys.

In keeping with tradition, three different surveys will be administered: we will survey a sample of the adult Polish population (CAPI and CAWI surveys) and a sample of representatives of the parliamentary elite (CAPI survey).

We will outsource the fieldwork to external research institutes to obtain relevant, quality data.

The sample size (CAPI=1500, CAWI=2000) guarantees the robust analyses of electorates of political parties with varying levels of support.

PNES questionnaires will be shared with the research institute to estimate the duration of each survey and the type of questions asked.

### 2. Dokumentacja i jakość danych

Metadane i dokumenty (np. metodologia lub pozyskiwanie danych oraz sposób porządkowania danych) towarzyszące danym

Data and metadata will be stored as resources in a password-protected, secure folder in the SWPS University central resources.

Investigators' laptops will be encrypted, covered by a security policy (changing passwords) and managed from the SWPS University's domain. Data carriers are also encrypted.

Encrypted VPN connections are available for data transfer to central resources. In addition, a VDI server system is implemented at the University along with the necessary licences.

On the VDI server, it is possible to store, process and analyse quantitative and qualitative data, images and video files. The regulations adopted at the University impose the need to archive data on a dedicated server.

SWPS University has internal regulations on GDPR compliance and a Data Protection Officer who can be consulted.

The research infrastructure management regulations adopted at the University include regulations defining the database owner and its custodian, who determines the possible access to the database resources.

Stosowane środki kontroli jakości danych

The University of SWPS has developed and implemented internally applicable data protection regulations.

In 2019, the Rector enacted new Regulations for the Protection of Personal Data at the SWPS University, incorporating the provisions of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

The Rector's Regulations introduced a Personal Data Protection Security Policy, a Management Instruction for the IT system used to process personal data, and Regulations for the processing of personal data and the use of computer equipment.

The Regulations also introduced a procedure for managing personal data protection incidents, a procedure for exercising data subjects' rights and a procedure for designing new processes for processing personal data.

### **3. Przechowywanie i tworzenie kopii zapasowych podczas badań**

Przechowywanie i tworzenie kopii zapasowych danych i metadanych podczas badań

The SWPS University provides central servers with adequate space for data from each project. Network resources are backed up daily, so data will have backup redundancy.

Sposób zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa danych oraz ochrony danych wrażliwych podczas badań

A Data Protection Officer has been appointed at the SWPS University.

The PI will be contacted on all matters relating to the processing of personal data at the University.

Emerging issues may also be consulted with the USWPS Legal Office.

The data sets will comply with FAIR and archiving guidelines.

Therefore, data will be findable, accessible, interoperable and reusable.

European best practices on data availability will be followed; a one-year embargo on data release (starting from the date of generation) is foreseen.

### **4. Wymogi prawne, kodeks postępowania**

Sposób zapewnienia zgodności z przepisami dotyczącymi danych osobowych i bezpieczeństwa danych w przypadku przetwarzania danych osobowych

Data Protection Officer has been appointed at the SWPS University.

University employees can contact him in all matters regarding the processing of personal data at the university.

Data backups can be recovered from central resource backups.

The University of SWPS has developed and implemented internally applicable data protection regulations.

In 2019, the Rector enacted new Regulations for the Protection of Personal Data at the SWPS University, incorporating the provisions of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

The Rector's Regulations introduced a Personal Data Protection Security Policy, a Management Instruction for the IT system used to process personal data, and Regulations for the processing of personal data and the use of computer equipment.

The Regulations also introduced a procedure for managing personal data protection incidents, a procedure for exercising data subjects' rights and a procedure for designing new processes for processing personal data.

Sposób zarządzania innymi kwestiami prawnymi, np. prawami własnością intelektualnej lub własnością. Obowiązujące przepisy

In the case of data collected and compiled as part of the project, SWPS University is the data owner; in the case of data obtained from external sources, ownership follows the contractual agreement (e.g. license).

All researchers involved in this project regardless of the type of contract entered into, transfer the property rights to the SWPS University.

### **5. Udostępnianie i długotrwałe przechowywanie danych**

Sposób i termin udostępnienia danych. Ewentualne ograniczenia w udostępnianiu danych lub przyczyny embarga

Raw data will not be published.

Analysed data (anonymised) will be published in academic publications.

Raw data will be destroyed at the end of the project, unless other provisions prolong the need for storage or it is necessary for other reasons (e.g. documentation of scientific research results, merging data into more extensive, integrated datasets, etc.).

Sposób wyboru danych przeznaczonych do przechowania oraz miejsce długotrwałego przechowywania danych (np. repozytorium lub archiwum danych)

Anonymized processed data will be kept on the contactor's servers, where they will enjoy the full, maximum protection required of research institutes by Polish and European law.  
After being transferred to the SWPS University, the data will be stored on the SWPS University servers and on dedicated project computers.

#### Metody lub narzędzia programowe umożliwiające dostęp do danych i korzystanie z danych

SPSS; R; Stata; MS Office; Google applications

Sposób zapewniający stosowanie unikalnego i trwałego identyfikatora (np. cyfrowego identyfikatora obiektu (DOI)) dla każdego zestawu danych

Individual datasets will have different structures and purposes.

They will be stored separately.

The datasets produced within the project will be assigned a unique DOI identifier for accessible location and reference.

Separate DOI will be given to the datasets upon depositing them in the dedicated archives.

#### **6. Zadania związane z zarządzaniem danymi oraz zasoby**

Osoba (np. funkcja, stanowisko i instytucja) odpowiedzialna za zarządzanie danymi (np. data steward)

PI will be responsible for data management.

Additionally, on the institutional level, SWPS University is in the process of preparing the Data Management Strategy for all the scientific projects.

This document will also indicate the person responsible for data management on the institutional level.

Środki (np. finansowe i czasowe) przeznaczone do zarządzania danymi i zapewnienia możliwości odnalezienia, dostępu, interoperacyjności i ponownego wykorzystania danych

Datasets will be digitalised from the very inception, due to their nature.

Using archiving and data repository will guarantee that the data will be findable (through DOIs), accessible (based on access management at the archives), interoperable (usable beyond single software) and re-usable (described in a way to make it easy to use and integrate with other datasets).

The financial and time costs of data management and sharing are included in the budget of the project.

## OŚWIADCZENIA ADMINISTRACYJNE

### OŚWIADCZENIA KIEROWNIKA (PI)

Oświadczam, że

1. zadania badawcze objęte niniejszym wnioskiem nie są i nie były finansowane z NCN ani z innego źródła;
2. w przypadku ubiegania się lub uzyskania finansowania zadań badawczych objętych tym wnioskiem z innego źródła niż NCN:
  - a) w razie uzyskania finansowania z NCN
    - zrezygnuję z ubiegania się o finansowanie z innego źródła
    - albo
    - powiadomię osobę upoważnioną do reprezentowania podmiotu będącego wnioskodawcą o rezygnacji ze środków przyznanych na realizację zadań badawczych przez Dyrektora NCN;
  - b) w razie uzyskania finansowania z innego źródła
    - powiadomię osobę upoważnioną do reprezentowania podmiotu będącego wnioskodawcą o rezygnacji z ubiegania się o finansowanie w tym konkursie NCN
    - albo
    - zrezygnuję z przyjęcia finansowania z innego źródła;
3. w przypadku zakwalifikowania wniosku do finansowania wyniki badań uzyskane w wyniku realizacji projektu badawczego będą poddane ewaluacji i opublikowane w wydawnictwie/wydawnictwach o zasięgu międzynarodowym;
4. w przypadku zakwalifikowania wniosku do finansowania, wyrażam zgodę na zamieszczenie, wraz z informacją o wynikach konkursu, na stronie podmiotowej NCN oraz Ośrodka Przetwarzania Informacji (OPI), popularnonaukowego streszczenia projektu;
5. zapoznałem się z zasadami doręczania decyzji Dyrektora NCN;
6. wyrażam zgodę na dokonanie weryfikacji wniosku przy pomocy oprogramowania antyplagiatowego oraz umieszczenie treści wniosku w bazie danych oprogramowania;
7. zapoznałem się z treścią Kodeksu Narodowego Centrum Nauki dotyczącego rzetelności badań naukowych i starania o fundusze na badania i zobowiązuję się do jego stosowania;
8. w przypadku uzyskania finansowania zobowiązuję się do przebywania przez co najmniej 50% czasu trwania projektu na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i pozostawania w dyspozycji podmiotu realizującego projekt na zasadach określonych w Regulaminie przyznawania środków na realizację zadań finansowanych przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki w zakresie projektów badawczych.

Akceptacja oświadczenia: tak

**OŚWIADCZENIA KIEROWNIKA PODMIOTU / OSOBY UPRAWNIONEJ DO REPREZENTACJI**

Oświadczam, że

1. zadania badawcze objęte niniejszym wnioskiem nie są i nie były finansowane z NCN ani z innego źródła;
2. w przypadku ubiegania się lub uzyskania finansowania zadań badawczych objętych tym wnioskiem z innego źródła niż NCN:
  - a) w razie uzyskania finansowania z NCN
    - zrezygnuję z ubiegania się o finansowanie z innego źródła
    - albo
    - zrezygnuję ze środków przyznanych na realizację zadań badawczych przez Dyrektora NCN
  - b) w razie uzyskania finansowania z innego źródła
    - zrezygnuję z ubiegania się o finansowanie w tym konkursie NCN
    - albo
    - zrezygnuję z przyjęcia finansowania z innego źródła;
3. działając w imieniu podmiotu, który reprezentuję, w przypadku uzyskania finansowania projektu badawczego zobowiązuję się do:
  - a) włączenia projektu badawczego do planu zadaniowo-finansowego podmiotu;
  - b) zatrudnienia kierownika projektu badawczego oraz wykonawców niezbędnych do realizacji projektu badawczego na zasadach zgodnych z wnioskiem i warunkami konkursu;
  - c) zatrudnienia kierownika projektu na cały okres realizacji projektu na podstawie umowy o pracę na co najmniej połowę pełnego wymiaru czasu pracy;\*
  - d) zapewnienia warunków do realizacji prowadzonych badań, w tym udostępnienia przestrzeni biurowej/laboratoryjnej oraz aparatury naukowo-badawczej niezbędnej do realizacji tych badań;
  - e) zapewnienie obsługi administracyjno-finansowej realizacji projektu badawczego;
  - f) sprawowania nadzoru nad realizacją projektu badawczego i prawidłowością wydatkowanych na ten cel środków finansowych;
4. w przypadku zakwalifikowania wniosku do finansowania, wyrażam zgodę na zamieszczenie, wraz z informacją o wynikach konkursu, na stronie podmiotowej NCN oraz Ośrodka Przetwarzania Informacji (OPI), popularnonaukowego streszczenia projektu;
5. zapoznałem się z zasadami doręczania decyzji Dyrektora NCN;
6. wyrażam zgodę na dokonanie weryfikacji wniosku przy pomocy oprogramowania antyplagiatowego oraz umieszczenie treści wniosku w bazie danych oprogramowania;
7. zapoznałem się z treścią Kodeksu Narodowego Centrum Nauki dotyczącego rzetelności badań naukowych i starania o fundusze na badania i zobowiązuję się do jego stosowania;
8. jestem świadomy/a, że w przypadku przedłużenia czasu realizacji projektu, jestem zobowiązany/a do kontynuacji zatrudnienia kierownika projektu na podstawie umowy o pracę na co najmniej połowę pełnego wymiaru czasu pracy przez cały okres przedłużenia okresu realizacji projektu, przewidzianego we wniosku.\*

\*nie dotyczy osób pobierających świadczenia emerytalne z systemu ubezpieczeń społecznych

Akceptacja oświadczenia: tak

## OCHRONA DANYCH OSOBOWYCH

### INFORMACJA O ZASADACH PRZETWARZANIA DANYCH OSOBOWYCH

Na podstawie art. 13 ust. 1 i 2 rozporządzenia Parlamentu Europejskiego i Rady (UE) 2016/679 z dnia 27 kwietnia 2016 r. w sprawie ochrony osób fizycznych w związku z przetwarzaniem danych osobowych i w sprawie swobodnego przepływu takich danych oraz uchylenia dyrektywy 95/46/WE (ogólne rozporządzenie o ochronie danych) (Dz. Urz. UE L 2016, Nr 119, s. 1) informujemy osoby wnioskujące o finansowanie projektu badawczego, działania naukowego, stażu, stypendium doktorskiego lub komponentu badawczego, że:

- a) Narodowe Centrum Nauki z siedzibą w Krakowie przy ul. Twardowskiego 16, 30-312 Kraków jest administratorem Pani/Pana danych osobowych,
- b) kontakt z wyznaczonym Inspektorem Ochrony Danych w Centrum jest możliwy za pomocą poczty elektronicznej pod adresem iod@ncn.gov.pl, telefonicznie pod numerem +48 12 341 9113 lub bezpośrednio w siedzibie administratora danych osobowych,
- c) podstawę prawną przetwarzania Pani/Pana danych osobowych przez Centrum stanowi art. 6 ust. 1 lit. c ogólnego rozporządzenia o ochronie danych w związku z art. 20 ustawy z dnia 30 kwietnia 2010 r. o Narodowym Centrum Nauki (Dz. U. 2018 poz. 947 z późn. zm.),
- d) Pani/Pana dane osobowe będą przetwarzane w celu:
  - rozpatrywania wniosku o finansowanie projektu badawczego, działania naukowego, stażu, stypendium doktorskiego lub komponentu badawczego,
  - nadzoru, obsługi finansowo-księgowej, kontroli w trakcie jak i po zakończeniu projektu badawczego, działania naukowego, stażu, stypendium doktorskiego lub komponentu badawczego, oceny ich realizacji i rozliczenia umów o finansowanie – w przypadku przyznania środków finansowych na realizację projektu badawczego, działania naukowego, stażu, stypendium doktorskiego lub komponentu badawczego,
  - przeprowadzania ewaluacji realizacji zadań Centrum, sprawozdawczości, upowszechniania w środowisku naukowym informacji o przyznanym przez Centrum finansowaniu badań, realizacji innych czynności regulowanych przepisami prawa powszechnie obowiązującego oraz w celach archiwalnych,
- e) od momentu pozyskania, Pani/Pana dane osobowe będą przetwarzane przez okres niezbędny do realizacji celów wskazanych w lit d), dochodzenia związanych z nimi roszczeń, okres wymagany przez przepisy prawa powszechnie obowiązującego oraz przez okres przechowywania zgodny z instrukcją kancelaryjną Centrum i Jednolitym Rzecznym Wykazem Akt,
- f) podanie przez Panią/Pana danych osobowych stanowi wymóg ustawowy i bez ich podania nie można zrealizować celów wskazanych w lit d),
- g) odbiorcami Pani/Pana danych osobowych mogą być wyłącznie podmioty uprawnione do uzyskiwania danych osobowych na podstawie przepisów prawa, oraz w zakresie określonym w art. 31 ustawy z dnia 30 kwietnia 2010 r. o Narodowym Centrum Nauki (Dz. U. 2018 poz. 947 z późn. zm.) osoby korzystające ze strony podmiotowej Centrum,
- h) Pani/Pana dane osobowe mogą być powierzone do przetwarzania podmiotom zewnętrznym takim jak m.in. Ośrodek Przetwarzania Informacji - Państwowy Instytut Badawczy z siedzibą przy al. Niepodległości 188b, 00-608 w Warszawie w ramach realizowanych przez nie usług na podstawie umów o powierzenie danych osobowych, a podmioty te są również zobowiązane do zachowania poufności przetwarzanych danych,
- i) przysługuje Pani/Panu prawo dostępu do treści swoich danych, sprostowania swoich danych osobowych oraz ograniczenia przetwarzania swoich danych osobowych,
- j) przysługuje Pani/Panu prawo wniesienia skargi do Prezesa Urzędu Ochrony Danych Osobowych w przypadku naruszenia przepisów ogólnego rozporządzenia o ochronie danych.