

Free media consolidation in Eastern Europe: Citizen attitudes about political, legal, and economic media freedom

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Elizabeth Stoycheff, M.A.

Graduate Program in Communication

The Ohio State University

2013

Dissertation Committee:

Erik C. Nisbet, Advisor

Gerald M. Kosicki

R. Kelly Garrett

Michael R. McCluskey

Lee B. Becker

UMI Number: 3673744

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3673744

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Copyright by
Elizabeth Stoycheff
2013

Abstract

Over the past half-century, scholars have identified an array of institutional factors that engender free media systems, but have failed to acknowledge the role of citizen attitudes in media reform. A new theoretical perspective called free media consolidation argues that free media systems instead emerge as a combined result of a country's political, legal, and economic institutions to supply free media, and citizens' free media attitudes. This dissertation is the first study to conceptualize citizens' free media attitudes along parallel dimensions (political, legal, and economic), and explore how they are formed. Empirical evidence was gathered from online panel surveys conducted in three media systems in Eastern Europe that possess free (Poland), partly free (Ukraine), and not free (Russia) media environments. My findings suggest that in Poland's free media system, citizens' demand for free media arises as a result of the internalization of free media norms established through interactions with a free media. But in the less free media environments of Ukraine and Russia, citizens are less likely to have internalized free media norms, and instead are more likely to base their evaluations and attitudes about media freedom on their political orientations. Implications for the consolidation of free media systems and future trajectories for research are discussed.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Erik Nisbet, for his unwavering personal and professional support, guidance, and friendship. He has been a truly inspirational mentor, and without his counsel, this dissertation would not have been possible. I also want to acknowledge my loving family, Jim, Gayle, and Lindsey, for instilling in me a passion for education and a commitment to lifelong learning. Their steadfast love and encouragement has enabled me to achieve my childhood dreams of becoming a true “public intellectual.” Thanks to Patrick’s patience and steady reassurance, I have become more confident and independent in my scholarship and in life. I would also like to thank my expert committee members, Dr. Gerald Kosicki, Dr. Kelly Garrett, Dr. Michael McCluskey, and Dr. Lee Becker for their helpful insights, constructive criticism, and professional support. Finally, I would like to thank the Mershon Center for International Security Studies for its generous financial contribution that made international data collection possible.

Vita

- 2008.....B.A., Journalism & Mass Communication,
Political Science, University of Iowa
- 2012.....M.A., Communication, Ohio State University
- 2008-present.....Graduate Associate, School of Communication,
The Ohio State University

Publications

Dimmick, J., Powers, A. Mwangi, S. & Stoycheff, E. (2011). The fragmenting mass media marketplace. W. Lowrey & P.J. Gade (Ed.), *Changing the News: The Forces Shaping Journalism in Uncertain Times* (pp. 177-192). New York: Routledge.

Nisbet, E.C., Stoycheff, E. & Pearce, K.E. (2012). Internet use and democratic demands: A multinational, multilevel model of Internet use and citizen attitudes about democracy. *Journal of Communication*, 62, 249-265.

Fields of Study

Major Field: Communication

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| Abstract..... | ii |
| Acknowledgements..... | iii |
| Vita..... | iv |
| List of Tables | vi |
| List of Figures | viii |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Chapter 1: Free Media Consolidation..... | 6 |
| Chapter 2: Free Media Supply | 17 |
| Chapter 3: Demand for Free Media | 33 |
| Chapter 4: Methodology | 44 |
| Chapter 5: Analyses and Results..... | 70 |
| Chapter 6: Discussion | 114 |
| References..... | 142 |
| Appendix A: Distributions of Dependent Variables..... | 162 |
| Appendix B: Non-Significant Interactions | 168 |
| Appendix C: Supply and Demand Descriptives and Correlations..... | 173 |
| Appendix D: Supplemental Media Use Analyses..... | 176 |
| Appendix E: Survey Instruments | 177 |

List of Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1: 2011-12 Media freedom ratings from Freedom House | 45 |
| Table 2: Comparison of Russian population and sample characteristics..... | 55 |
| Table 3: Comparison of Ukrainian population and sample characteristics | 56 |
| Table 4: Comparison of Polish population and sample characteristics | 56 |
| Table 5: Means and standard deviations for independent and control variables | 68 |
| Table 6: Mean comparison of political, legal, and economic supply, demand, and policy attitudes | 71 |
| Table 7: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting political supply | 75 |
| Table 8: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting economic supply | 79 |
| Table 9: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting legal supply..... | 81 |
| Table 10: Results summary of perceived free media supply hypotheses and research question | 82 |
| Table 11: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting political demand | 88 |
| Table 12: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting legal demand..... | 91 |
| Table 13: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting economic demand..... | 94 |
| Table 14: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting political policy attitudes | 96 |
| Table 15: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting legal policy attitudes..... | 98 |
| Table 16: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting economic policy attitudes ... | 99 |
| Table 17: Effects of tolerance on legal and economic demand in Poland | 103 |
| Table 18: Effects of WSC on political and economic demand in Poland..... | 106 |
| Table 19: Effects of economic ideology on political and legal demand in Poland..... | 107 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 20: Effects of political, legal, and economic demand on political policy attitudes | 109 |
| Table 21: Effects of political, legal, and economic demand on legal policy attitudes ... | 111 |
| Table 22: Effects of political, legal, and economic demand on economic policy attitudes | 112 |
| Table 23: Aggregate perceived supply mean with negative and positive valence | 173 |
| Table 24: Pearson correlations of political supply items across countries | 174 |
| Table 25: Pearson correlations of economic supply items across countries | 174 |
| Table 26: Pearson correlations of legal supply items across countries | 175 |
| Table 27: Pearson correlations between Internet, broadcast, and print use in Poland.... | 176 |
| Table 28: Relative broadcast and print use on perceived supply in Poland..... | 176 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: The virtuous circle of free media consolidation | 15 |
| Figure 2: Predictors of political, legal, and economic free media supply..... | 30 |
| Figure 3: Predictors of political, legal, and economic demand and policy attitudes | 41 |
| Figure 4: Regime support moderating broadcast media's effect on political supply in Russia..... | 76 |
| Figure 5: Tolerance moderating political supply's effect on political demand in Poland. | 85 |
| Figure 6: Tolerance moderating political supply's effect on political demand in Ukraine | 86 |
| Figure 7: WSC moderating legal supply's effect on legal demand in Poland..... | 90 |
| Figure 8: Free market ideology moderating economic supply's effect on economic demand in Poland..... | 93 |
| Figure 9: Hypothesized moderated-mediation results for the political dimension | 100 |
| Figure 10: Hypothesized moderated-mediation results for the legal dimension | 101 |
| Figure 11: Hypothesized moderated-mediation results for the economic dimension..... | 101 |
| Figure 12: WSC moderation on political supply and demand in Poland..... | 104 |
| Figure 13: WSC moderation on economic supply and demand in Poland | 105 |
| Figure 14. Geographic distribution of Ukrainian survey respondents | 117 |
| Figure 15: Distributions of Polish supply and demand with normal curves..... | 162 |
| Figure 16: Distributions of Polish policy attitudes with normal curves | 163 |
| Figure 17: Distributions of Ukrainian supply and demand with normal curves..... | 164 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 18: Distributions of Ukrainian policy attitudes with normal curves | 165 |
| Figure 19: Distributions of Russian supply and demand with normal curves | 166 |
| Figure 20: Distribution of Russian policy attitudes with normal curves | 167 |
| Figure 21: Non-significant tolerance moderation effect on political demand in Russia | 168 |
| Figure 22: Non-significant willingness to self-censor moderation effect on legal demand in Russia..... | 169 |
| Figure 23: Non-significant willingness to self-censor moderation effect on legal demand in Ukraine..... | 170 |
| Figure 24: Non-significant free market ideology moderation effect on economic demand in Russia..... | 171 |
| Figure 25: Non-significant free market ideology moderation effect on economic demand in Ukraine..... | 172 |

Introduction

“Why is media freedom so important? Because – as I often say – information is the oxygen that a free and civilized society needs to breathe. Without it, societies suffocate.”

-Tara Sonenshine, Under Secretary for U.S. Public
Diplomacy and Public Affairs
April 15, 2013

Access to free media is a universal human right (United Nations, 2013) that serves to enlighten citizens, foster accountable governance, and stimulate economic growth. As media becomes an increasingly pervasive source of information in nearly every society, it is important that media environments reject censorship, encourage diversity, and are protected by law. But over the past decade, freedom of the media has declined worldwide, depriving billions of their inalienable rights to information. Today, only 14.5 percent of the world’s citizens live in countries with free media systems, and even staunch defenders of free expression and media, like the United States, Israel, and Hungary have seen their liberties wane (Freedom House, 2012). Equally concerning are tightening media flows among the world’s most notorious violators – like China, Russia, and Iran; these draconian, authoritarian regimes are increasingly sophisticated at limiting the media’s ability to serve its vital functions in society.

In attempts to protect and promote this normative good, scholars have long sought to understand how free media systems arise, making it one of the oldest subjects of inquiry in the field of communication. Research has focused on examining the societal

factors that engender free media environments, including democratic governance, foreign direct investment, economic growth, and journalistic professionalism (e.g., Weaver et al., 1985; Djankvo et al., 2003; Pintak, 2008; Norris, 2008; Dutta and Roy, 2009; Wasserman, 2010; Petrova, 2011; Tran et al., 2011). These macro relationships paint a large-scale picture of the emergence of free media systems but fail to recognize the role of citizen agency in driving political change.

The recent political landscape offers many examples of how public advocacy has positively influenced media reform. Three of the most salient include: the Arab Spring, opposition to Internet regulation laws in the United States, and citizen defense of media freedom in Myanmar. The Arab Spring, which has tentatively been called the “fourth wave of democratization” (Howard & Hussain, 2013), is a political movement from late 2010 to present where citizens across the Arab World nonviolently protested for political liberalization (Howard & Hussain, 2011; Herrera, 2013). Social media, Western media, and the pan-Arab outlet Al Jazeera provided Arab citizens with unfiltered coverage of the protests (Bellin, 2012; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012; Owais, 2011), in contrast to the heavily censored state-run media that dominates the region, igniting further protests for freer media (Greensberg, 2011). As a result, Freedom House reported media freedom gains in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia in 2011, raising their statuses from “not free” to “partly free.”

United States’ citizens loudly voiced similar opposition when two bills, the Stop Online Privacy Act (SOPA) and the Protect IP Act (PIPA) were introduced to Congress in 2012. The proposed legislation evoked fears that it would grant the government the ability to censor citizens from online media that were accused of copyright violations

(Pepitone, 2012). Many websites staged blackouts in opposition, and over 4 million citizens contacted their lawmakers to voice concerns (Sanchez & Segal, 2012).

Legislators heeded public opinion and voting on both SOPA and PIPA was postponed indefinitely.

Halfway across the world, Myanmar – once a notorious violator of media rights – has been experiencing rapid political and social liberalization. Almost overnight, the government lifted strict pre-publication censorship rules, even on sensitive political issues, and its media has flourished. In April 2013, the country began to permit the distribution of private daily newspapers – once banned outright by the regime (Moxley, 2013). But when the government began to rescind some of these new free media gains, it was met with citizen protests against state censorship. The opposition movement deterred the Myanmar government from closing two private publications for failing to adhere to government censors, a significant victory for journalists and the country's media rights (Roughneen, 2012).

Each of these demonstrations highlights the dynamic, give-and-take relationship between the elite institutions who supply free media and citizens who demand it. A great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to the motivations that lead elite institutions to supply media freedom (e.g., Djankov et al., 2003; Weaver, 1977; Weaver et al., 1985; Dutta and Roy, 2009; Petrova, 2008, 2011; Carrington and Nelson, 2002; Aman, 2002; Bunker and Davis, 1998; Kim, 2011; Rely and Cuillier, 2010), but research that acknowledges the role of citizen demand for free media environments is nearly entirely absent in the literature. My dissertation rectifies this omission by proposing a multilevel

explanation of how elite institutional supply and citizen demand interact to produce sustainable, free media systems, called free media consolidation.

Free media consolidation is a new theoretical construct that explains the process by which free media systems stabilize. Adapted from the democratization literature, I argue that media freedom consolidates, or becomes enduring and sustainable as a result of both institutional (supply) and individual (demand) influences (Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Bajomi-Lázár, 2008). When high levels of citizen demand for free media are coupled with elite institutions that supply free media, a reinforcing “virtuous circle” (Norris, 2000, pp. 12) of consolidation is achieved that produces enduring, free media systems.

In nearly all countries, there are three types of societal institutions that shape the supply of free media: political institutions (e.g., parliament, head of state, military), economic institutions (e.g., investor markets, tax agencies, private corporations) and legal institutions (e.g., the courts, police). Scholars have extensively documented how each of these institutions can either limit or promote free media supply (e.g., Djankov et al., 2003; Weaver, 1977; Weaver et al., 1985; Dutta and Roy, 2009; Petrova, 2008, 2011; Carrington and Nelson, 2002; Aman, 2002; Bunker and Davis, 1998; Kim, 2011; Relly and Cuillier, 2010). But to date, there is little-to-no research that examines how citizens embedded with these institutions perceive the political, economic, and legal supply of media systems, how citizen demand for media freedom is produced across these dimensions, nor how demand manifests into policy preferences that propel the virtuous circle of media consolidation.

This dissertation addresses these omissions by theorizing and empirically testing: 1) how citizens form evaluations about the political, legal, and economic dimensions of their media systems, 2) how citizen demand for political, legal, and economic media emerges, and 3) how citizen demand along these dimensions influences policy preferences necessary for a politically, legally, and economically free media.

In Chapter 1, I discuss why free media consolidation is necessary and provide an overview of the media freedom consolidation theoretical framework. In Chapter 2, I identify the political, legal, and economic institutions that shape free media supply, discuss how they vary across media platforms and hypothesize about how citizens form perceptions about supply. In Chapter 3, I shift my attention from supply to demand and introduce a model that explains the emergence of political, legal, and economic demand and its influence on policy preferences. Chapter 4 outlines the methods used to test the proposed models, including a discussion about free media supply in Russia, Ukraine, and Poland, which will serve as exemplar cases of study for this dissertation's empirical analyses. Chapter 5 will present results, and Chapter 6 will offer a discussion of the analyses, application of findings, and areas of future research.

Chapter 1: Free Media Consolidation

Media freedom is a new term used in recent scholarship (e.g., Behmer, 2009; Sobel, Dutta & Roy, 2010; Whitten-Woodring, 2009; Becker & Vlad, 2011) to describe the collective freedom of all platforms in a country's media system. Because scholars have yet to research consensus on a definition, I use this opportunity to define the umbrella term, "media freedom" as: the political, legal and economic freedoms pertaining to television, newspaper, newsmagazines, radio, and Internet.

I conceptualize media freedom both in terms of negative and positive liberties, and in terms of societal and individual freedoms. Free media as a positive liberty acknowledges media as "free for" or "free to" achieving end goals, such as increasing political knowledge, fostering democratic deliberation, and encouraging development. Free media as a negative liberty ensures that the media is "free from" restrictions and censorship and is a matter of principle rather than a means to an end (Berlin, 1958; Picard, 1985; Nordenstreng, 2007). Picard (1985) argues that the two liberties are not antithetical nor do they serve intrinsically different functions, and thus may both serve a common definition.

At the societal level, media is considered free when there is a relative absence of government and economic restraints that inhibit free flows of information – both of individuals and collective entities. Free media also requires the presence of conditions

necessary to ensure the dissemination of a diversity of ideas, including low barriers of entry for contributors, and constitutional provisions and laws to protect journalists and media entities, as well as a reliable enforcement mechanism.

At the level of individual citizens, a free media is defined as one that represents the political viewpoints of all citizens, such that all individuals feel that their ideas and beliefs are acknowledged by the media. Free media protects this right for citizens with fair, enforceable laws, and grants access through a plurality of affordable media outlets.

These definitions of media freedom should be characterized as “relative” or “qualified,” acknowledging that no country has ever had – nor will ever have – a media system that operates completely unfettered, and some regulations are necessary for the operation of a well-functioning society and the protection of individual liberties.¹

Why is media freedom worth exploring? Widespread consensus among scholars, politicians, and human rights officials has established that freedom of the media is a normative good that preserves the dignity of individuals and facilitates an array of positive outcomes. These include: greater economic development, respect for human rights, democratization, and reduced interstate conflict (Tran, Mahmood, Du & Khrapavitski, 2008; Voltmer, 2008; Whitten-Woodring, 2009; VanBelle, 2000; Choi & James, 2006; Asante, 1997; Carrington & Nelson, 2002). Economic growth is an important outcome for both democratic and nondemocratic states, wherein free media prompts increases in creativity and productivity (Asante, 1997; Schramm, 1964; Rogers, 1962), encourages greater international trade and foreign direct investment (Carrington &

¹ Such regulations are bound to vary by cultural norms and preferences, but may include restrictions of content for matters such as public decency, libel and national security.

Nelson, 2002; Tran et al, 2011; Dutta & Roy, 2009), serves as a watchdog of economic and political corruption (Voltmer, 2008; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2008) and leads to increases in a country's annual GDP (Weaver, 1985; Pekson, 2010; Dutta & Roy, 2009).²

An ongoing critique of development research is that it emphasizes materialistic economic progress but fails to acknowledge human development, or improvements in the quality of life for average citizens (Abu-Osba, 1982). The United Nations has developed a quantitative index that measures this dimension of economic growth, called the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI annually assesses living conditions in each country on the dimensions of health, education and individual income (Human Development Index, 2012) that scholarship has also identified as a strong outcome of media freedom (Tran, Mahmood, Du & Khrapavitski, 2011; Djankov, Nenova, McLiesh & Shleifer, 2003; Gunaratne, 2002; Norris, 2004), particularly among democracies (Odugbemi & Norris, 2010; Petrova, 2008). Adherence to international human rights laws, and the rejection of torture, extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment and disappearance are additional dimensions of citizens' quality of life that benefit from greater media freedom (Whitten-Woodring, 2009).

Media freedom's influence on creating and maintaining democratic institutions has been the primary focus of empirical scholarship. A free media is thought to serve as a "Fourth Estate" that provides oversight of political and economic institutions by encouraging good governance and increasing political transparency (Norris; 2004, 2008, 2010; Wasserman, 2010; Ojo, 2002; Moehler & Singh, 2009; Gunaratne, 2002; Tran et

² For a comprehensive review of the relationship between media and development, refer to Asante's (1997) published bibliography.

al., 2011; Djankov et al., 2011; Groshek, 2011; Mughan & Gunther, 2000; Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer, 2007; Woods, 2007). Aware that their performance is being evaluated, governments are more likely to respond effectively and efficiently to public grievances. Sen (1982) contends that there has never been a large-scale famine in a country where free media is supplied because media enable populations to monitor the responsiveness of their governments and use this information to support political officials. Beyond the extreme of famine, government responsiveness to citizen needs has been shown across a range of other policy concerns, from environmental to health issues (Aman, 2002; Besley & Burgess, 2002).

The transparency provided by a free media discourages abuses of government power, either in the form of disregarding the rule of law or engaging in bribery and political corruption (Chowdhury, 2008; Asedra, Boix & Payne, 2003; Ojo, 2003; Aman, 2002; Vaidya, 2005). Media coverage of government malfeasance decreases citizen support for candidates and the likelihood of their continuing incumbency (Ojo, 2003). It also serves as means for governments to self-assess the performance and integrity of individual bureaucrats to ensure that power is being used effectively to achieve collective, rather than personal, goals (Egorov, Guriev & Konstantin, 2009).

Finally, media freedom also helps states avoid costly, international conflicts. Access to free media allows parties on both sides of a potential conflict to assess the costs associated with militarized action and reduces the uncertainty that often leads to conflict (VanBelle, 1997, 2000; Rauchhaus, 2006; Weeks, 2011; Choi and James, 2006). Similar to providing accountability for economic growth and democracy, high levels of media

freedom also hold political leaders responsible for bad militarized outcomes and serve as a deterrent for leaders who want to avoid public sanctions (Choi and James, 2006).

Although interest in media freedom has largely focused on positive societal outcomes (Price, 2011), a few empirical studies have also examined free media's influence on citizen beliefs and attitudes. In a cross-national analysis, Leeson (2008) found that access to a free media increased political knowledge about the European Union, collective action, and voter turnout during the 1990s. And in some cases, media freedom is positively associated with confidence in the media across countries (Tetty, 2006; Aman, 2002; Gunther, 1992; Becker et al., 2011a, 2011b, 2011).

This significant body of research produced over the past half century attests to the normative importance of free media systems. This dissertation undertakes the weighty task of delineating a multilevel theoretical framework that offers an explanation of how free media systems become sustainable over time through an interaction of elite supply and citizen demand. I call this process *free media consolidation*.

Free Media Consolidation

Free media consolidation is a new theoretical perspective that has been adapted from the political science literature on democratic consolidation, which originally stems from Almond and Verba's (1963) seminal work on political culture. Democratic consolidation is the process through which democracies stabilize due to both societal and psychological factors. The societal level factors include the development political institutions governed by elites, and the psychological level consists of "political culture" or the public's attitudes toward political objects and processes (Almond & Verba, 1963).

The vast majority of political science literature attributes the democratization process to societal characteristics, including the political institutions of the previous regime, the country's economic environment, and the vitality of civil society (e.g., Boulding, 2010; Slovic, 2008; Brownlee, 2007; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2005; Bellin, 2004; Rose & Shin, 2001; Lipset, 1959). But the last decade has witnessed a renewed interest in the importance of political culture, or mass attitudes, on democratic development (e.g., Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Nisbet, 2008, Nisbet, Stoycheff and Pearce, 2012; Bailard, 2012; Qi and Shin, 2011; Norris, 2011; Minier, 2001; Ingelhart & Welzel, 2005; Welzel, 2006). This perspective contends that stable democracies require democrats – or citizens who possess knowledge about their political system and seek an active role in the governing process (Almond & Verba, 1963; Diamond, 1993). Democrats espouse the notion that democracy – despite its shortcomings in practice – is the most desirable form of governance and would not tolerate any other institutional arrangement (Linz & Stepan, 1996; Diamond, 1993). A democratic political culture is necessary for a thriving, sustainable democracy because it demonstrates legitimacy and consent of the governed. These democratic beliefs and attitudes arise from a combination of personal characteristics (e.g., tolerance, social class, education), and interactions with the political environment whereby individuals gain an understanding of how government operates (Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Diamond, 1993).

Earlier work on political culture presumed that democratic institutions, or the supply of democracy provided by elites, causally preceded citizens' democratic attitudes. Diamond (1993) argued that when the elite class stabilizes, marked with increased

consensus, moderation, and trust, it would begin to politically liberalize and democratic values would subsequently be diffused to the public. Nisbet (2008) argues that the media plays a fundamental role in this diffusion process. But recent research suggests that citizens in less democratic countries may also be socialized into democratic attitudes *exogenously* through their interactions with diverse media (Schmitt-Beck & Voltmer, 2007; Bailard, 2012; Nisbet, Stoycheff & Pearce, 2012; Lei, 2011). Bailard (2012) argues that this socialization may occur through a process known as “window opening.” Access to greater information, often made possible through the Internet and international media, provides citizens with windows to the world, where they can observe how different types of governance operate in other countries.

The contagious nature of the Arab Spring movement can be attributed, in part, to window opening. On December 18, 2010, Tunisian protesters took to the streets demanding a more active role in governance, seeking to end the country’s political legacy of oppression and corruption. After less than one month of intense, non-violent protests, Tunisian President Ben Ali fled from his post, ending a 23-year rule. Millions across the Arab world and beyond witnessed this astonishing democratic feat via international and social media (Howard & Hussain, 2013; 2011; Herrera, 2013). The Internet served as a window for citizens in neighboring Egypt, Yemen, Kuwait, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Jordan, Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, and other authoritarian countries to learn how to be active democratic citizens and foster political efficacy. As a result, each of these countries staged similar demonstrations for democratic reform.

The Arab Spring is a salient example of how a democratic political culture can manifest even in the absence of democracy. This suggests that democratic consolidation

is recursive, wherein either the elite institutionalization of democracy or citizen democratic attitudes can initiate the process. But regardless of the causal order, consolidation is only considered complete when democracy is *both* respected by the political elite and favored amongst the populace (Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Ojo, 2003; Diamond, 1993). In other words, democracy needs to be both *supplied* by the regime and *demand*ed by the public. Only when both conditions are met are democracies considered stable and secure from reverse waves of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, militancy, and other types of nondemocratic governance. Empirical analyses have supported this theoretical perspective, showing that democratic growth is most likely in states where citizens favor democracy as their preferred form of government and are dissatisfied with the current performance of democracy in their countries (Qi and Shin, 2011; Welzel, 2006; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005).

The virtuous circle of media freedom. The employment of citizen demand in democratic consolidation has been an important theoretical mechanism in explaining democratic sustainability. However, the conditions that constitute democracy are highly contested among political scholars (Elkins, 2000; Dahl, 1971), and perhaps just as subjective to the citizens who are demanding it. Dalton, Shin and Jou (2007) examined over 50 public opinion surveys from developing countries to analyze public perceptions about democracy. They found that citizens in countries that had minimal or poor experience with democracy – where democratic attitudes are most likely to translate into democratic growth (Qi and Shin, 2011) – overwhelmingly cited civil liberties as the defining characteristic of democracy.

Bajomi-Lázár (2008) originally proposed the need to distinctly examine the consolidation of one particular civil liberty – media freedom – to achieve greater theoretical specificity about what citizens really want from their political and media systems (see also Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press). Free media consolidation is conceptualized similarly to democratic consolidation – requiring both the observance of free media by elites and a strong appetite for free media in the populace.

Free media consolidation, like democratic consolidation, is a dynamic, reinforcing process occurring over time – often requiring decades – that arises as a result of both endogenous and exogenous factors. This study focuses on the interplay between citizens and institutions, where the ability of societal institutions to supply media freedom influences citizen demand for media freedom, which subsequently informs policy preferences that may augment levels of free media supply, resulting in a virtuous circle of free media consolidation that is visualized in Figure 1. Norris (2000 pp. 6) describes “virtuous circles,” like the one shown below, as processes where citizen reliance on the media produces beneficial normative outcomes – like free media and democratic attitudes – that further reinforce citizens’ reliance on high quality media (see also Schmitt-Beck & Voltmer, 2007; Avery, 2009).

Elites embedded in three types of societal institutions supply media freedom: political institutions (e.g., parliament, presidency, military), economic institutions (e.g., investor markets, tax agencies, private corporations) and legal institutions (e.g., the courts, police), and I contend that citizens demand free media along similar dimensions, meaning free media can consolidate politically, legally, economically, or a combination

of the three. But only when both elites supply and citizens demand freedom for all three will free media systems be entirely consolidated.

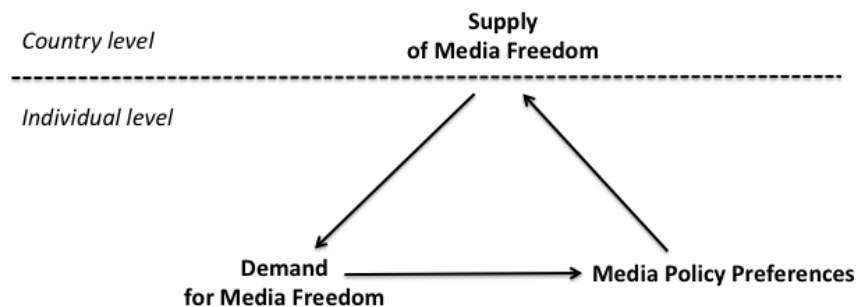


Figure 1: The virtuous circle of free media consolidation

This consolidation process is normatively important because it helps explain the sustainability of free media systems over time. This issue of sustainability is especially relevant because media freedom has declined worldwide over the past decade (Freedom House, 2012), suggesting a lack of consolidation by an apathetic public, abusive elites, or both. However, the overwhelming majority of media freedom scholarship has focused on the exogenous, institutional factors that lead to greater free media supply and has ignored the role that citizen demand plays in sustainable media reform (e.g., Djankov et al., 2003; Weaver, 1977; Weaver et al., 1985; Dutta and Roy, 2009; Petrova, 2008, 2011; Carrington and Nelson, 2002; Aman, 2002; Bunker and Davis, 1998; Kim, 2011).

To date, this existing media freedom research has been limited to assessing free media supply, failing to acknowledge “bottom-up” movements that manifest through

citizen evaluations and demands that may also contribute to media reform. In the following chapter, I theorize how citizens form perceptions and demands of political, legal and economic freedom that ultimately produce demand and policy preferences along respective dimensions.

Chapter 2: Free Media Supply

State boundaries continue to define the vast majority of the world's media systems, and media are therefore reflective of the political environment, the economic marketplace, and the legal system of the countries in which they are embedded (Siebert et al., 1956; Woods, 2007). Institutional structures in each of these domains (e.g., parliament, private companies, courts of law) shape media's freedom – by either protecting or restricting media rights. Therefore, states supply free media along three dimensions: political, legal, and economic (Freedom House, 2012; Whitten-Woodring, 2009; Jakubowicz, 2009; Weaver, 1977), and each dimension requires adequate protection in order to achieve a fully consolidated media system. There has been a substantial body of scholarship that specifies how each dimension of supply develops.

Political freedom is an absence of governmental control over the media in terms of formal and informal censorship, government harassment, violence against journalists and open access to government information (Freedom House, 2012). This type of freedom is the most overt and easily measured, and consequently, has been the primary focus of cross-national scholarship to date (Banda, 2011).

Many scholars believe that political freedom is achieved by securing the media's financial independence from the state (Weaver, 1977; Weaver et al., 1985; Dutta and

Roy, 2009; Petrova, 2008, 2011; Carrington & Nelson, 2002; Aman, 2002; Bunker & Davis, 1998; Kim, 2011). Djankvo et al.'s (2003) convincing empirical analysis of media ownership across 97 countries shows that greater private ownership – as opposed to government ownership – lead to a more politically free media, as measured by Reporters sans Frontières. These results have since been replicated through qualitative interviews with journalists, wherein media professionals employed by state-owned media perceive less political freedom than their equivalents employed by privately owned media (Kim, 2011).

The rise of private media is largely dependent on the local economy (Carrington & Nelson, 2002), and increases in a country's GDP have been shown to engender private media that are susceptible to fewer political restrictions (Weaver et al., 1985; Djankvo et al., 2003; Tran et al, 2011; Petrova, 2011; Van de Vliert, 2011). A significant contributor to a country's overall level of GDP, and subsequent free media, is its level of foreign direct investment (FDI) because it integrates economies into the global market. Dutta and Roy (2009) analyzed the influence of FDI on media freedom in 115 countries from 1994-2003. They found that a 10 percent rise in a country's overall GDP from FDI lead to a dramatic, 7.5 percent increase in media freedom, as measured by Freedom House. The injection of foreign investment into media organizations directly has also had a positive effect on political media freedom, which has been particularly effective in Eastern Europe, where many post-Soviet beneficiaries have experienced greater media freedom since the end of the Cold War (Carrington & Nelson, 2002; Finkel, Perez-Linan & Seligson, 2007).

In addition to foreign investment, private media acquire much of their financial independence through local and national advertising (Petrova, 2008, 2011; Aman, 2002; Carrington & Nelson, 2002; Jakubowicz, 2009). Revenue from advertising in the private sector encourages greater freedom from government because it makes media less likely to distort coverage – and thereby jeopardize advertiser relations – to favor political interests (Petrova, 2011; Aman, 2002). Petrova finds evidence for this relationship both between countries, measuring advertising revenue at the national level (2011), and within countries, among regional markets (2008). Media organizations with a larger advertising base are also more likely to adopt neutral reporting styles to attract larger audiences (Schudson, 2001; Petrova, 2011). Although objectivity is not a necessary condition for media freedom, norms of journalistic neutrality can help ward off government and political threats.

Other scholars have also acknowledged that a free press requires immunity from market forces (Weaver, 1977; Whitten-Woodring, 2009; Jakubowicz, 2009). Independence from the market, or *economic freedom* of the media exists when there is transparency, minimal concentration of ownership and few financial barriers to entry for both media producers and consumers (Freedom House, 2012). Threats to economic freedom have been ever-more looming in contemporary media environments where the rise of multi-national, and even global, media conglomerates threaten the production of local and diverse media content (Norris, 2012; Thussu, 2007; McChesney, 1999), and inequalities in citizen access to information are widening digital divides (Shirazi, Ngwenyama & Morawcz, 2010; Neuman, Bimber & Hindman, 2011).

A pluralistic media structure is a primary determinant of economic supply (Czepek, 2009; Becker, 2004), such that there are “a wide range of media outlets, organizations and services reflecting various points of view, recognizing diverse cultural representations, and offering different ways of interaction and use” (Klimkiewicz, 2010, pg. 906). When such diversity of ownership and content exist, news organizations are less capable of obscuring information for their own purposes, and competition between media outlets for audience attention encourages high quality content (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2008). There has been evidence suggesting greater external pluralism is associated with content that is more critical of the social system (Demers, 1998) and represents a wide range of viewpoints (Yan & Napoli, 2006; Williams, 2002).

Finally, *legal freedom* pertains to just fair, licensing, taxation, and other regulations that protect free media, as well as a strong judiciary and reliable enforcement mechanism (Freedom House, 2012). Although access to information and free press laws are an ongoing concern, countries are now grappling with new challenges of trying to implement regulatory legislation that extends press protections to online environments (Shirazi, Ngwenyama & Morawcz, 2010). Such efforts have been stalled and insufficient in even developed countries and remain a significant albatross to the emergence of legal supply (Neuman, Bimber & Hindman, 2011; Lessig, 2006).

Some research has suggested that international pressure facilitates the adoption and enforcement of legislation that protects the media (Relly, 2012). Legal freedom helps maintain open access to information and transparency necessary for diplomacy and economic transactions (Egorov, Guriev, & Konstantin, 2009; Bonham & Seifert, 2003; Chowdhury, 2008), and thus interactional actors have a stake in freedom of other

country's media environments. Foreign investors tend to be drawn to countries with legally enforced media environments, and cross-national research has shown that foreign direct investment is much more likely, and more profitable, in such countries (Carrington & Nelson, 2002; Tran et al, 2011; Dutta & Roy, 2009). Additionally, because free expression through the media is recognized as a universal human right (United Nations, 2012), countries that fail to legally protect citizens' media rights may face international sanctions (Pekson, 2010).

Supply of Media Freedom Across Media Platforms

The supply of political, economic, and legal freedom in each country's media system varies across print, broadcast, and Internet because of structural differences that are unique to each medium (McCurdy, Power & Godfrey, 2011). Regulation patterns between print and broadcast have been particularly stark across countries, wherein broadcast media tends to be more constrained by political, legal, and economic forces because of its perceived importance to communicating with the masses (Becker, 2004; Norris & Inglehart, 2009). Print media tend to be granted leniency by political, legal, and economic institutions because circulations are lower, concentrated among the highly educated, and have lower barriers to entry for producers (Becker, 2004; Norris & Inglehart, 2009). Internet, as relatively new, evolving medium, that allows for two-way information flows, has been both lauded and scorned for the freedom it provides. Some countries, like China and Iran, have become very adept at restricting freedom of the Internet (Morozov, 2012; MacKinnon, 2012), where others, like Jordan, Argentina, and Russia have allowed the medium greater freedom than either print or broadcast (Freedom House, 2012; Alexanyan, Barash, Etling, Faris, Gasser, Kelly, Palfrey, Roberts, 2012).

These differences deserve a detailed examination because media use is a primary way that individuals interact with their media systems at large and form attitudes about the freedoms media possess. Individuals' reliance on media with different levels of supply may produce varying attitudes about their perceptions of free media supply and consequent demand for media freedom. Previous research has shown that across countries, the freedom of political, legal and economic supply tends to be high among print media, low among broadcast media, and appears to vary in online media based on specific country regulations (Djankov et al., 2003; McCurdy, Power & Godfrey, 2011)

Print. While newspapers in aggregate are an important source of news and information, most individual newspapers have relatively small circulations of educated audiences that limit their impact on mass opinion (Norris & Inglehart, 2009). For this reason, print media typically exhibit higher levels of political, legal, and economic supply than broadcast and – sometimes – online media (McCurdy, Power & Godfrey, 2011). The large number of print media outlets in a country makes it difficult for the government to exert a great deal of control over content and ownership (Norris & Inglehart, 2009; Moehler & Singh, 2009), and some governments are consciously loosening political control over newspapers to focus their attention on more influential media (Song & Wu, 2010; Djankov et al., 2003). For example, in China where government ownership and a priori censorship have long been the norm, the state has begun to privatize the print newspaper industry and rescind overt prior restraint (Tong, 2009; Song & Wu, 2010).

Newspapers are also susceptible to fewer threats to economic and legal freedom. Because print media are more often privatized (Djankov et al., 2003), they are likely to exist in a competitive marketplace with higher quality and more diverse content

(Gentzknow & Shapiro, 2008). Ownership concentration tends to be lower among print media – minimizing legal concerns – and it has relatively low financial barriers to entry (Bagdikian, 2004).

Broadcast. Broadcast media, cross-nationally, exhibit low political, legal and economic supply because of their scarcity and large reach (Pintak, 2008; Moehler & Singh, 2009; Wasserman, 2010; Becker, 2004). Unlike print media, there is a finite capacity of airwaves for television and radio, and as such, governments are resistant to relinquishing their control.

Djankov and colleagues (2003) showed that cross-nationally, governments maintain 60 percent ownership of television and 72 percent of radio, compared to only 29 percent of newspapers. Even more concerning was that in nearly half of countries, government possessed a complete monopoly of broadcast media, meaning they controlled more than 75 percent of the market. Broadcast media not owned by government are quickly seized by large commercial enterprises, resulting in very small percentages of “widely held” or employee-owned operations, which by Djankov et al.’s (2003) estimates, account for less than 6 percent of television and radio outlets worldwide.

The high concentration in ownership is often made possible through legislation that allows for lenient cross-media ownership, either horizontally, vertically or both (Bagdikian, 2004). Monopolies and oligopolies, either by government or business, tend to limit the range of content available by constructing barriers of entry to dissenting and disenfranchised voices (Wasserman, 2010). Television in developed countries, and radio in developing, is the primary source of information for citizens (Raycheva, 2009), and as such, both ownership and content are often subject to the greatest restrictions because

broadcast media are considered the most important to communicating with the masses (Becker, 2004).

Internet. Online media has enabled a two-way flow of information that many argue allows for a diversity of voices and a democratization of media production and dissemination (Shen, Wang, Guo & Guo, 2009; Howard & Hussain, 2011; Gant, 2007). Individuals can now access media from outside their immediate geographic vicinity (Bailard, 2012; Berger, 2009), leading to increases in democratic attitudes and the adoption of democratic norms (Lei, 2011; Nisbet, Stoycheff & Pearce, 2012; Wagner & Gainous, 2013; Valenzuela, 2013; Stoycheff & Nisbet, under review). Cross-national public opinion indicates that greater access to Internet increases the perceived freedom of information in media environments (Dutta, Dutton & Law, 2011).

Some scholars have even argued that the Internet increases free media supply to the extent that it renders discussions of media freedom moot (Reese et al., 2006; Sussman, 2000). But recent research has revealed that governments and private industry are increasingly adept at controlling Internet content and infrastructure development within their countries (MacKinnon, 2012; Morozov, 2011; Dick, Oyieke, Bothma, 2012; Lessig, 2006; Boas, 2005), and laws protecting online have been slow to implementation. In the U.S., the Internet's free media supply has been restricted by systematically suppressing competition and erecting numerous barriers to entry for infrastructure development, resulting in substandard performance and exorbitant prices (Meinrath and Pickard, 2008). Neuman, Bimber and Hindman (2011) discuss how such pricing and infrastructure create digital divides that systematically exclude vulnerable populations from online media. Elsewhere, Jiang (2010) argues that the Internet in China serves as a

hosting forum for government-regulated deliberation, where individuals can come together and discuss political issues, but only those that are aligned with the official party line.

As the Internet is still a new, evolving medium, many legal provisions that are present in other media have not yet adapted to its development to protect individual rights to free media and expression (Boas, 2005; Meinrath and Pickard, 2008; McLean, 2012). For example, the Chinese government recognizes the “right of privacy” for individual citizens, but has not extended any legislation that would protect users’ online privacy rights (Mou, Atkin and Fu, 2011). Raycheva (2009) similarly argues that the European legal framework that regulates media needs to be revamped to better accommodate Internet protections.

Infringements on the Internet may be more discreet than restrictions of print and broadcast because of the unique nature of the medium. Internet allows regulation to be streamlined and “hidden” in code and software that controls access to online information³ (Lessig, 2006), and can manifest itself through more proactive strategies, such as delaying infrastructure development until proper control mechanisms can be developed, regulating bandwidth, distributing online propaganda and outsourcing regulatory practices to divide restrictions between the private sector and government (MacKinnon, 2012; Kalathil and Boas, 2001; Boas, 2005).

Taken together, this emerging body of work suggests that freedom of the Internet may vary based on the political, legal, and economic environment in which it is

³ For example, online Chinese searches for “Tiananmen Square Massacre” have long generated messages stating that results could not be displayed due to “relevant laws, regulations and policies.” But as of late May 2013, the same search returns sanitized results – not alerting users to any filtering process.

embedded. A consistent, cross-national assessment of whether the Internet possesses less or more freedom than its predecessor media has yet to reach consensus. It may very well be that Internet's freedom may offer greater freedom in some countries, while restricting it in others.

In sum, the structural differences of each medium tend to result varying levels of free media supply. Across political, legal and economic dimensions, print media generally exhibits high supply, broadcast exhibits low supply and online media may vary significantly between countries. These patterns are general trends that have been shown to exist cross-nationally, but may not necessarily apply to every country. They do, however, provide some valuable insight into how all three dimensions of supply vary across platforms and may influence the evaluations and demands of citizens who regularly consume print, broadcast, or online media.

To date, this existing media freedom research has been limited to assessing free media supply, failing to acknowledge “bottom-up” movements that manifest through citizen evaluations and demands that may also contribute to media reform. In the following section, I theorize how citizens assess the political, legal, and economic freedom they have based on political predispositions and reliance on different media platforms.

Citizens' Perceptions of Free Media Supply

The consolidation framework posits that citizen demand arises in part because of increases in free media supply (Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Norris, 2011; Bajomi-Lázár, 2008). But because assessments of actual supply are likely unbeknownst to citizens, their perceptions of it are important mediating variables. The first question this

dissertation seeks to explain is how citizens' perceptions of supply are formed. I argue that through interactions with media, citizens establish an understanding of what content is politically permissible, its pluralism, and legality.

Correlational analyses between citizens' perceptions of supply and actual objective assessments of supply reveal that the two are strongly correlated (Becker and Vlad, 2009; Becker, English & Vlad, 2012), suggesting that citizens are very well attuned to the freedoms their media possess. As actual supply increases, citizens' evaluations of the freedom of the media environment become more optimistic as well. So while individuals may be able to accurately make overall assessments of the supply of media freedom in their countries, there is also likely to be within-country variance on evaluations of different dimensions of political, legal, and economic supply based on media use and individual differences — specifically: a) citizen reliance on different forms of media, b) their support for the incumbent regime.

Media Use. As discussed above, political, legal and economic media freedom is not supplied uniformly across platforms in each country (McCurdy, Power & Godfrey, 2011). Media freedom in all three dimensions tends to be high in print media, lower in broadcast media, and varies in Internet media. Because reliance on various media serves as an important heuristic for citizens to evaluate their country's media system (Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press), citizen reliance on different media platforms should significantly shape their perceptions of supply.

When individuals are asked about the supply of political, legal, and economic freedom of their media systems, they likely recall impressions based on previous media exposure. Impression – or on-line – processing occurs when individuals continually

update their cognitive judgments as they encounter relevant information and can recall those judgments when needed (Hastie & Park, 1986). The on-line process assumes that citizens extract evaluations from information (i.e., “good” or “bad”) and integrate them into a continuous tally that summarizes their opinions (Lavine, 2002). The more individuals interact with specific media and update their online tallies, the more likely they are to have readily accessible and consistent opinions about its freedom (Matthes, Wirth & Schemer, 2007; Bizmer et al., 2006; Zaller, 1992).

Previous cross-national research has shown that reliance on print versus broadcast media produces significant differences in a variety of citizens’ attitudes, including media trust (Moehler & Singh, 2009), support for national community (Norris & Inglehart, 2009), support for democracy (Norris, 2011; Chu and Nevitte, 2010), and support for free media in general (Andsager et al., 2004; Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press). Similarly, I argue that differential attitudes about a country’s media’s freeness are formed between those who rely on different platforms. Individuals who rely primarily on print media should perceive the high political, legal and economic supply that characterizes the medium, whereas those who rely on primarily on broadcast should perceive relatively low freedom of each dimension.

Regime Support. These hypothesized relationships between media use and citizen perceptions of free media supply should be amplified among citizens who express high levels of regime support. Support for the regime is understood as confidence in the state’s incumbent officeholders, including the President, Prime Minister, members of parliament, and appointed officials (Rose, Mishler & Munro, 2011; Norris, 2011).

Regimes are transient and not to be confused with a country's perennial structural institutions.

The priorities and operations of a regime determine a nation's political, legal, and economic media freedoms (Tang & Iyengar, 2011; Becker, 2004). They directly oversee and contribute to the passage of media laws that dictate the scope and influence of the media's freedom; they establish parameters for the government's political hold over the media; and they typically have a hand in regulating the economic sector that determines the plurality and accessibility of media. When citizens are asked to evaluate the freedoms their media possess, their responses may be colored by affections toward the incumbent regime that governs these freedoms. Mattes and Bratton's (2007) study offers support for this argument. Their cross-national findings revealed that individuals who expressed greater support for the incumbent regime in their country were more generous when evaluating the country's level of political freedom.

Regime support is an enduring attitude, in which individuals are often socialized from childhood – through family, education, civil society, and the media – to accept the legitimacy of the prevailing regime (Banducci & Karp, 2003). Even in post-communist Europe, which experienced tumultuous regime change, support for incumbent regimes has been established through political learning over time, shaped primarily by regimes' political and economic performance (Mishler & Rose, 2002).

Much like one's national identity, individuals may develop a strong emotional attachment to the regime that guides their way of life (Anderson and Guillory, 1997). Subsequently, regime support “reflects a sort of emotionally-biased running tally that citizens keep on the performance of a system” (Kuechler, 1991, p. 280). Thus, perceived

supply of free media not only reflects citizens' cognitive judgments, but also includes an affective online tally, producing a "How-do-I-feel?" heuristic for evaluating new information, known as motivated cognition (Lodge and Taber, 2000; Redlawsk, 2002; Anderson, 1981). When individuals are asked to form evaluations about their media environments, they are likely to integrate cognitive judgments based on their experiences with the media and affective judgments based on their support for the regime to derive an answer.

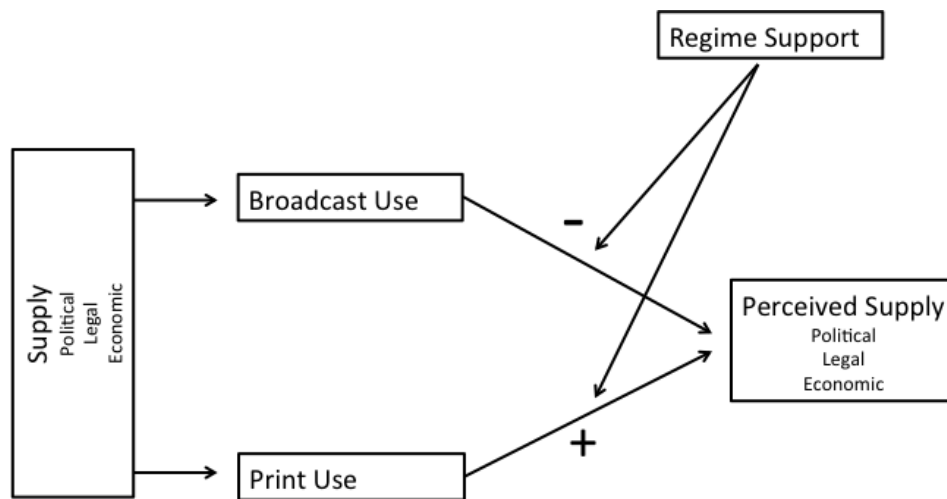


Figure 2: Predictors of political, legal, and economic free media supply

Hypotheses. Based on the literature reviewed above, I predict that citizens' assessments of political, legal, and economic free media supply are the combined result of media interactions and political attitudes, as shown in Figure 1. Those who rely on print media are hypothesized to evaluate their media systems as having greater levels of

political, legal, and economic free media supply relative to those who rely on other platforms, because the structure of the medium permits greater independence on all three dimensions. In contrast, broadcast media consumption should be negatively associated with perceptions of political, legal, and economic supply because it tends to be highly regulated across all dimensions.

Regime support is hypothesized to have both a direct and moderating effect on citizens' perceptions of supply. Favorability for the incumbent regime should produce positive assessments of supply, and should moderate both print and broadcast media use. Because previous research on the freedom of Internet is conflicting, and seems to suggest it may be country-specific, I pose a research question about whether Internet use leads citizens to have relatively high or low perceived supply of political, legal and economic media freedom.

H1a: The frequency of citizens' print media use will be positively associated with perceived supply of political, legal, and economic media freedom.

H1b: The frequency of citizens' broadcast media use will be negatively associated with perceived supply of political, legal, and economic media freedom.

H1c: Citizens' support for the incumbent regime will be positively associated with their perceived supply of political, legal, and economic media freedom.

H2a: Regime support will dampen the magnitude of the relationships between print media use and perceived supply of political, legal and economic media freedom.

H2b: Regime support will amplify the magnitude of the relationships between broadcast media use and perceived supply of political, legal and economic media freedom.

RQ1: Is frequency of citizens' Internet use positively or negatively associated with their perceived supply of political, legal, and economic media freedom.

Chapter 3: Demand for Free Media

This dissertation also seeks to explicate how citizens' evaluations of the political, legal, and economic supply of media freedom translate into free media demand along respective dimensions, and how demand produces policy preferences that propel the virtuous circle of free media consolidation. Thus, this chapter shifts focus from the supply of free media outlined in Chapter 2 to the importance of *citizen demand*.

I conceptualize demand as three attitudinal constructs that correspond with the political, legal, and economic dimensions of supply. Citizens' may independently demand oversight and punishment of government officials that who exert undue control (i.e., political freedom), the preservation of a strong judiciary and constitutional guarantees for free media (i.e., legal freedom), and economic regulations that promote pluralism and prevent financial barriers to entry (i.e., economic freedom).

This conceptualization differs significantly from previous research that has understood citizens' demand or support for free media as a single, abstract construct that measures citizens' core values (Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Andsager et al., 2004, Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997). Values are the stable, overarching beliefs where one end-state is preferred over another (Rokeach, 1973), or in this case, a preference for freedom over restriction. Values occupy a central position in individuals' cognitive systems, but these overarching beliefs may not necessarily translate into specific policy

preferences that adequately safeguard media from each type of threat: political, legal, and economic.

Previous research has shown that a majority of world citizens value free media in the abstract (Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Andsager et al., 2004), but there is little indication as to how this corresponds with citizen demand against specific threats or policy preferences, a concern recently expressed by Gibson (2013). In fact, many previous studies have shown that individuals' free media values experience a significant "slippage" or disconnect when translated to context-specific policies (Nelson, Crawson and Oxley, 1997; Peffley, Knigge and Hurwitz, 2001; Andsager et al., 2004; Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2003; Immerwahr & Doble, 1982; Gibson, 2013; Norris, 2011). For example, citizens are more likely to express overwhelming agreement with abstract, value statements like "I believe in free media for all individuals" than context-specific statements like "I believe political minorities have rights to use the media to express their ideas," that are more representative of protective media policies.

Therefore, I contend that demand should be conceptualized as nuanced attitudinal variables that capture citizens' beliefs about political, legal, and economic freedom. This conceptualization appropriately reflects the political, legal, and economic institutions that have the capacity to threaten or promote free media supply. These three dimensions form the basis for Freedom House's well-established and widely used Press Freedom Index that objectively evaluates free media supply in 197 countries around the world.

Therefore, it is fitting that demand would be conceptualized along parallel dimensions.

This conceptualization improves the face validity of the demand variable and contextualizes demand with boundary conditions found in media policies. Free media

systems require a range of policies dedicated to preserving each dimension, and only by investigating citizens' demand for political, legal, and economic freedom can we reveal how citizens exert bottom-up pressure on the three societal institutions that determine the media's freedom to ensure each dimension is adequately safeguarded.

Citizens' evaluations of free media supply should be important determinants of their demand for media freedom along respective dimensions. According to the virtuous circle of free media consolidation framework, individuals who possess free media value it and demand that free media continue to be supplied (Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Bajomi-Lázár, 2008; Bratton, Mattes & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Norris, 2011). It is a process of political learning, whereby freedom breeds freedom. As individuals perceive that more information is freely available to them via the media, they gain an appreciation for political, legal, and economic media freedom, such that they are more likely to demand media that allows for greater political opposition, economic pluralism, and is guaranteed by law.

Because free media is supplied through three distinct societal institutions, citizens' are likely to perceive distinct political, legal, and economic freedoms through their interactions with media, as hypothesized above. These perceptions, in turn, should cultivate free media demand and policy attitudes among citizens to ensure continued free media supply across all three political, legal and economic dimensions. This is why perceptions of supply and demand should be uniquely conceptualized as three unique constructs as opposed to value judgments that do not clearly translate into policy objectives that propel the virtuous circle.

Citizen perceptions about the availability of media freedom alone are not the only contributing factor to increases in support for a free media. Public attitudes are often a result of an interaction of media behaviors and individual characteristics (McLeod, Pan & Rucinski, 1989; Nisbet & Myers, 2011), whereby pre-existing schemas interact with media content to increase the availability of considerations (Zaller, 1992).

Previous research has identified a number of these individual characteristics, including citizens' political tolerance, willingness to self-censor, and economic ideology that may also shape citizens' demand along each dimension (Nelson, Crawson & Oxley, 1997; Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Gibson, 2013; Norris, 2011; Andsager et al., 2004; Lambe & Reineke, 2009; Hinckley, 2009). I argue that each of these characteristics uniquely corresponds with a dimension of media freedom (e.g., political, legal, or economic) and moderates the relationship between perceived supply and demand. By disaggregating variables that have previously predicted citizen values of free media into individual variables that are associated with specific political, legal, and economic free media attitudes, I provide greater theoretical specificity and face validity of the demand variable. I argue that one's political tolerance should correspond with increases in political demand; willingness to self-censor should amplify legal demand; and economic ideology will be associated with economic demand for free media.

Political Tolerance. The origins of political tolerance can be found in Stouffer's (1955) seminal study that revealed how many individuals believe that political minorities – including communists, socialists, and atheists – should be denied their civil rights. Political tolerance is a learned characteristic obtained through socialization, such that it is a “willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interests one opposes” (Sullivan,

Pierson & Marcus, 1982, pp. 2). While Stouffer (1955) believed that tolerance for these marginalized political groups would increase over time through increases in public education and socialization, Sullivan and colleagues (2003) argued that an entirely tolerant society is highly unlikely because many will find it difficult to tolerate groups that challenge the existing power structure.

Empirical investigation provides evidence of both: Tolerance can be increased through formal education and the socialization of democratic norms (Dunn & Singh, 2012), but there remains considerable variability in political tolerance both between and within societies (Hinckley, 2010; Kirchner, Freitag & Rapp, 2011; Marquart-Pyatt & Paxton, 2007; Weldon, 2006). Peffley and Rohrschneider's (2003) cross-national investigation among 17 countries showed that political intolerance, or refusal to allow political minorities to hold public office and demonstrations, remains a view held by a majority of world citizens.

For individuals who do exhibit high political tolerance toward minority or least-liked groups, research has shown that they tend to be more supportive of civil liberties in general (Gibson, 2013), and express attitudes prioritizing democratic ideals and free speech (Hutchison & Gibler, 2007). Such individuals should similarly demand a politically freer media that allows for the representation of political minorities and opposition viewpoints. And because tolerant individuals have already internalized the norms of political contestation (Marquart-Pyatt & Paxton, 2007), their demand for a politically free media should not rely heavily on their perceptions of supply. It is those with low tolerance – who have not yet acclimated to free media norms – who are likely to base their demand on perceived existing levels of supply.

Willingness to Self-Censor. Willingness to self-censor (WSC) is a psychological trait that captures individual differences in the degree to which one withholds true opinions in the face of possible opposition (Hayes, Glynn and Shanahan, 2005a, 2005b). This predisposition has been used to explain Neumann's (1974) spiral of silence theory, which postulates that as one opinion dominates and becomes entrenched in public consciousness, those who perceive to have minority opinions become less likely to express them. Crucial tenets of media's legal freedom are the constitutional and legal guarantees that protect citizens and journalists to express minority opinions (Freedom House, 2012). Observing a third-person effect, Filak (2012) found that those who scored higher on Hayes et al.'s willingness to self-censor scale were not only more likely to curtail their own opinions across a range of topics (e.g., sex, drugs, political criticism, etc.), but also likely to believe that others in editorial positions should as well.

Lambe (2008) has developed a similar willingness to censor scale that captures citizens' opinions about the stringency or leniency of media laws on a range of topics. The legal protection of various types of content includes prior restraint, "time, place and manner" legislation, allowance, and active protection by police (Lambe, 2008; Lambe & Reineke, 2009).

This predisposition of being unwilling to express one's opinion should significantly moderate the relationship between perceptions of legal supply and demand for a legally free media. Individuals who express high levels of WSC are hypothesized to demand a great deal legal protection when they perceive supply levels to be low because they are fearful of isolation and prosecution. Those with low levels of WSC, who are

uninhibited about expressing their opinions, may not see a need to demand protection when perceived supply levels are low because they are willing to speak out regardless.

Economic Ideology. A free media environment has often been referred to as a “marketplace of ideas” (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956; Napoli, 1999), embracing an economic connotation. The metaphor carries the assumption that media free themselves from government constraints through a competitive, free market model, dictated by supply and demand. Previous research has shown that individuals who have strong free market ideologies also tend to universally support free media (Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press), which is unsurprising given that both rest upon core notions of liberty and free competition (Duch, 1993). I anticipate that this effect will translate directly to the economic dimension of free media supply, as both constructs capture self-regulated pluralism.

Similar to political tolerance, support for free market ideology is an indication of the internalization of democratic norms (Grosjean & Senik, 2011) that espouse a plurality of ideas represented in media. I hypothesize that those who are highly market-oriented should exhibit high economic demand regardless of their evaluations of economic supply because they are familiar with the value of free competition. Those who are less market-oriented will be more likely to draw upon their perceptions of existing economic supply when forming judgments about economic demand.

Demand and Media Policy Attitudes

Consolidation requires the implementation of policies that actively protect each dimension of free media supply. A recent European case study by Psychogiopoulou and colleagues (2011) supports the thesis that implementation of free media policies produces

greater free media supply. But existing measures of demand that capture citizens' support for media in the abstract (e.g., value constructs) fail to correspond with specific policy preferences that protect media across a range of dimensions. I instead argue that nuanced attitudes of political, legal and economic demand should directly produce support for policy preferences along corresponding dimensions – ensuring that each dimension is adequately safeguarded in the media environment.

Previous research has shown that citizens who value free media in the abstract support access to information laws – or legal freedom (Cuillier, 2008; 2009), but there is little indication as to whether universally valuing free media also translates into specific policies that protect the media's economic or political freedoms as well. In fact, a great deal of research suggests the opposite: that support for free media in the abstract does not necessarily translate to context-specific policies (Gibson, 2013; Gibson & Bingham, 1982; Gibson & Bingham, 1985; Peffley, Knigge & Hurwitz, 2001; Andsager, Wyatt & Martin, 2004; Immerwahr & Doble, 1982). Andsager et al. (2004) report a 60 percent “slippage” between those value media in the abstract and support policies that actively protect indecent, pornographic or objectionable content. Nelson et al. (1997) and Immerwahr & Doble (1982) find a similar disconnect for policies that enfranchise political media freedom to unpopular political groups.

Specific political, legal and economic demand variables should attenuate some of this slippage and significantly predict support for policies along respective dimensions. Individuals who espouse not only free media in the abstract, but possess a strong commitment to the criticism and opposition of government and political leaders (i.e., political freedom) should be more inclined to support policies that enfranchise political

minorities and disable the government’s ability to censor. Those who support a diverse, pluralistic, and competitive media (i.e., economic freedom) should likely support economic policies that prevent monopolization and make media affordable and accessible to all citizens. And finally, those who demand media be institutionalized in the constitution and law (i.e., legal freedom) should be more likely to support policies that ensure access to public records and constitutional amendments.

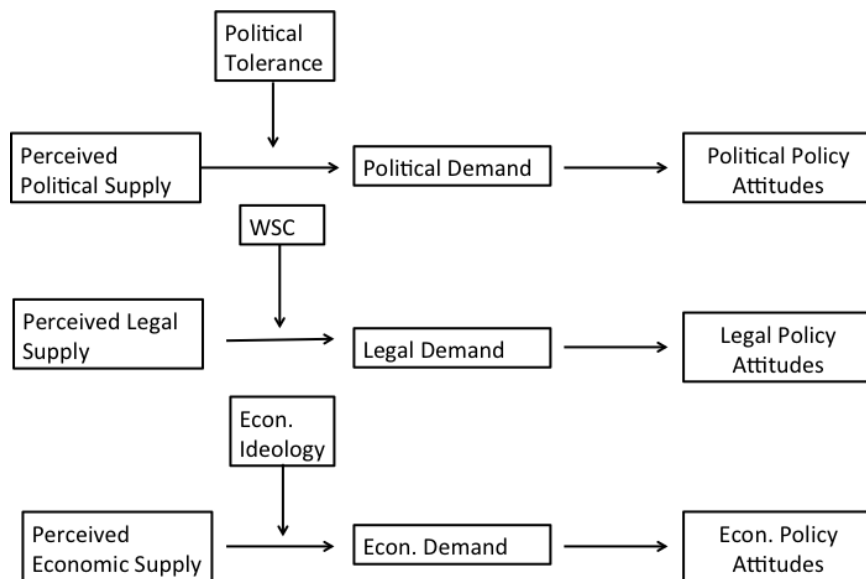


Figure 3: Predictors of political, legal, and economic demand and policy attitudes

Hypotheses. Outlined above, and depicted in Figure 3, is a brief overview of how three previously identified predictors of free media values should specifically translate along the three dimensions and moderate the perceived supply – demand relationship. I subsequently argue that demand for each dimension should translate into corresponding

policy attitudes and inquire about whether demand mediates a relationship between perceptions of supply and policy attitudes.

H3: Perceived supply of each dimension (political, legal, and economic) will be positively associated with demand for free media on the corresponding dimension.

H4a: The relationship between political perceived supply of free media and political demand for free media will be moderated by an individual's political tolerance.

H4b: The relationship between legal perceived supply of free media and legal demand for free media will be moderated by an individual's willingness to self-censor.

H4c: The relationship between economic perceived supply of free media and economic demand for free media will be moderated by an individual's economic ideology.

H5a: Political demand for free media will be positively associated with political policy preferences.

H5b: Legal demand for free media will be positively associated with legal policy preferences.

H5c: Economic demand for free media will be positively associated with economic policy preferences.

RQ2: Does political demand mediate the relationship between political supply and political policy?

RQ3: Does legal demand mediate the relationship between legal supply and legal policy?

RQ4: Does economic demand mediate the relationship between economic supply and economic policy.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The theoretical relationships I outlined in the two previous chapters are hypothesized to be universal in nature and theoretically should manifest similarly in countries with high, moderate, and low political, legal and economic media supply. For this dissertation, I have chosen three country case studies that vary significantly in the structure of their national media systems in order to test and replicate my hypotheses.

Case Studies

Political, legal and economic dimensions manifest uniquely in different media systems. I have selected three national media systems for empirical inquiry that exhibit varying levels of free media supply across political, legal and economic dimensions. The cases of Russia, Ukraine and Poland exemplify a comparative design that will be used to highlight both similarities in individual communication processes and differences in levels of citizen demand across countries. As can be seen in Table 1, case selection represents a range of free (Poland), partly free (Ukraine) and not free (Russia) media systems, as categorized by Freedom House (2012).

Eastern Europe serves as a fascinating region for comparative media study because after the fall of communism and the Soviet Union, communist countries have developed along many different trajectories – some fully transitioning to democratic norms and free media systems, others stuck in transition periods, and others still retaining many political and media policies of communist regimes. The collapse of communism in

Eastern Europe created a quasi-natural experiment that lends itself well for many media comparativists who have examined media's effects on political institutions (Coyne & Leeson, 2009; Norris, 2008; Hallin & Mancini, 2011; Stetka, 2012; Roberts, 2012; Richter, 2011; Semetko & Krasnoboka, 2003; Jakubowitz, 1995), producing a rich body of research that investigates the region's free media supply. Additionally, Péter Bajomi-Lázár (2008) originated his original media freedom consolidation framework in Eastern Europe because of the uneven media development among post-communist countries. Therefore, it is here where I begin my empirical examination of how this supply translates into free media evaluations, demands and policy preferences amongst populations embedded within different types of media systems.

| | <u>Cumulative Media Freedom*</u> | <u>Political**</u> | <u>Legal***</u> | <u>Economic***</u> |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Poland | 25 (Free) | 10 | 8 | 7 |
| Ukraine | 59 (Partly Free) | 21 | 18 | 20 |
| Russia | 80 (Not Free) | 32 | 24 | 24 |

*0=free – 100=not free, **0=free – 40=not free, ***0=free – 30=not free

Table 1: 2011-12 Media freedom ratings from Freedom House

Russia's Free Media Supply. Russia's media system is embedded within a non-democratic state, and violations to media freedom are uniformly high across political, legal, and economic dimensions. The majority of media in the country is state-owned

and subject to strict, pro-government messages, especially broadcast media (deSmaele, 2006), making it one of the most pervasive propagandist media systems in the world. Even after more than 20 years since the fall of the Soviet Union, the Russian media model still adheres to many aspects of Siebert Peterson and Schramm's (1956) Soviet Communist media system archetype. In the seminal work, *Four Theories of the Press*, Soviet Communist media systems are characterized as those where the government employs media for the instrumental use of state power, propaganda, and unity.

This control of the media is achieved via a state monopoly of both direct ownership and subsidized funding that exceeds 80 percent of all news sources, and is particularly high in television, which serves as the primary news source for most Russian citizens (Azhgikhina, 2009; Richter, 2011). Television access is free in the country (electricity notwithstanding), intentionally making it the most affordable medium for many families to be active consumers of the Russian worldview (Vartanova & Smirnov, 2010). Newspapers are affordable, and offer some degree of diversity in terms of ownership and ideas, but circulation has been on the decline as television and Internet offer free and easy access (Vartanova & Smirnov, 2010). Diversity of ownership and content across platforms also continues to decline as the global economic crisis has slowed advertising revenues, forcing many independent outlets to shut down, accept government subsidies, or transition into the hands of Kremlin supporters (Freedom House, 2013; Oates, 2009). The majority of non-state-owned media are concentrated in the hands of corporate oligarchs, many like Gazprom – a large energy company, who have close ties to the state (Azhgikhina, 2009). The high concentration of ownership

among players like Gazprom has led to an increased tabloidization of news and a disappearance of any independent analysis that ever existed (Azhgikhina, 2009).

Almost exclusive control of the media enables the Russian government to use the media to pursue its objectives of strengthening the role of the state, reducing internal conflict and depoliticizing the populace (Vartanova, 2012). In the state's efforts to achieve these goals, media is prone to both pre- and post-publication censorship, resulting in a culture of journalist threats, coercion, and self-censorship (Vartanova, 2012; Oates, 2009; Becker, 2004). Despite some recent advances in the professionalization of journalism (Koikkalainen, 2009), journalists are still not permitted to unionize (Azhgikhina, 2009), and a 2005-2006 survey of Russian journalists revealed that more than 80 percent admitted to practicing self-censorship in their day-to-day reporting (Yakovenko, 2006, as cited in Azhgikhina, 2009).

Self-censorship is prevalent among journalists with all levels of experience, but younger journalists also tend to be particularly susceptible to bribes (Erzikova & Lowrey, 2011). Bribery has become almost institutionalized through state-run media by paying journalists an official salary and a subsidy bonus – which is only received if performance is deemed adequate by governing officials (Azhgikhina, 2009). These practices have jeopardized the integrity of the profession, wherein the public has come to view journalists as corrupt, amoral, and untruthful – a reputation further tarnished by constant vitriolic ridicule from public officials (Azhgikhina, 2009; Pietiläinen & Strovsky, 2010).

For journalists who refuse to toe the party line, Russia can be a hostile environment. Freedom House refers to Russia as one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists due to “widespread lawlessness” enabled by a very weak judicial

system that permits legal harassment and has failed to investigate the murders of many journalists. Over the past decade, 54 journalists have been killed directly as a result of their work in Russia⁴, 30 of which were cloaked with impunity (Committee to Project Journalists, 2013).

The legal process for investigating violence against journalists fails to achieve internal checks-and-balances. Russia's inspector general, or Prokuratura, has a joint role of both prosecuting crimes and overseeing criminal investigations, meaning that any misconduct made during an investigation is evaluated by the same individuals who oversee it (Smith, 2011). To add insult to an already dubious legal process, Russia reintroduced libel laws last summer that seek to curb opposition of political and legal elites (e.g., elected officials, judges, prosecutors, law enforcement, etc.) (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Russia also introduced new Internet legislation last summer, under the guise of child protection, which enables the government to blacklist websites and conduct surveillance with little-to-no justification or oversight approval (Reporters sans Frontiers, 2012). A 2012 poll conducted by Russian NGO, Levada Center, showed that a majority (62 percent) of Russian citizens support this legislation — a result that the Levada Center argues stems from a lack of citizen understanding about its political and societal implications. Recent news stories from the New York Times (Kramer, 2013) and Bloomberg News (Khrennikov, 2013) report that the implications of this new law have already begun to restrict banal content on social media sites, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, with compliance from both Facebook and Twitter.

⁴ Some sources – that cannot guarantee causes of journalist deaths – place estimates of journalist murders significantly higher (Smith, 2011).

A range of public opinion surveys in Russia also show that compared to other developing countries, Russian citizens tend to have low demand for information that is free from governmental control (See Pietiläinen & Strovsky, 2010 for a summary of Russian language survey results; Nisbet and Stoycheff, in press; Rose, Mishler & Munro, 2011), and overwhelmingly accept that media is influenced by the financial and political interests that control it (Oates, 2006). Explicit support for censorship on a variety of issues ranging from opposition of the Russian president to violence and erotica has documented apathy about access to media content among citizens (Pietiläinen & Strovsky, 2010). This dissertation seeks to provide more refined measurement of citizen attitudes to determine whether low demand is a result of public misunderstanding, a preference for other national priorities, or is an artifact of insufficient measurement. Recent political arrests of feminist punk band members, Pussy Riot, have been a salient example of government attacks on citizens' freedom of expression that may serve to amplify demand for freer media in Russia.

Ukraine's Free Media Supply. Ukraine's media system is perhaps best remembered for its Orange Revolution in 2004, where citizens non-violently protested for political and media reform. The 2004 presidential election between Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich, and media coverage of it, was beset with corruption and fraud. Yushchenko, the people's candidate, was polling well ahead of the government-favored Yanukovich, but when Yanukovich was declared the winner, citizens took to the streets in protest (Karatnycky, 2005). Circumventing state-run mass media, citizens demanding democratic reform used the Internet to organize a political movement, recruit supporters, and report news (Kyj, 2006; Duffy, 2010).

Citizen protests resulted in a runoff election between the two candidates, in which Yushchenko won the presidency, but today, political and media liberalization remain in a fragile, unconsolidated state (Norris, 2008; Roberts, 2012). Ukraine has a partly free media system that continues to experience significant threats to its political, legal, and economic freedom (Freedom House, 2012).

Ukraine's media system was largely free of government interference during Yushchenko's presidency, but since 2010, when Viktor Yanukovich was legitimately elected as president (Norris, 2008), there has been increased political censorship, as well as harassment, disappearance, and personal attacks of journalists who are critical of the government (Reporters sans Frontieres, 2012). After his political setback in 2004, Yanukovich is sensitive to the role that media – particularly Internet – can play in political opposition movements and has sought to control it, igniting fears of regression to Russian-like media censorship (Aliaksandrau, Tokbaeva & Vardanian, 2013)

Progressive constitutional protections for media freedom remain intact in Ukraine, and a Law on Access to Information was implemented in 2011 that protects both citizens' and journalists' rights to public records (Freedom House, 2012). But many existing media rights laws fail to be enforced, and the active prosecution of libel through defamation laws consistently deters critical reporting (Freedom House, 2012; Richter, 2011).

Ukrainian journalists express concern for growing sensationalism in private media that has replaced much of the attention to politics, news, and civic discussion (Roberts, 2012). The deterioration in content has been facilitated by jeansa, or hidden advertisements in media that disguise themselves as factual reporting. Jeansa is unbalanced content that promotes the interests of controlling business entities or political

parties, prompting the need for civic groups to implement media literacy campaigns across the country to teach Ukrainians the difference between news and advertising (Negreyeva and Prasad, 2012).

To date, there is no research that specifically examines Ukrainian citizens' evaluations of media freedom, nor their free media demands. But its robust civil society has proven capable and interested in activating citizens to promote political and media reform in the early 2000s when media freedom was at an all-time low. As President Yanukovich continues to rescind free media gains made after the Orange Revolution, it is worth exploring how much political, legal and economic freedom citizens perceive their media system to have and whether demands for greater freedom remain dormant.

Poland's Free Media Supply. Poland is one of the few countries in Eastern Europe that has consolidated its political, legal and economic media freedom and exhibits high supply across all three dimensions. Its media system operates within a democratic state and serves a watchdog function to maintain the democratic process. Shortly after the fall of communism, Poland deviated from the approach taken by many of its post-communism neighbors and transformed its state-run television and radio into publically held media (Lara, 2007). Laws established in the 1990s after the fall of communism also encouraged foreign investment that enabled the rise of many private independent outlets (Coyne & Leeson, 2009), which thrive today. Foreign investment in television ownership was capped at 33 percent of the market share to stimulate media growth but ensure that the majority of broadcast is locally owned, but print media is dominated by German and Swiss influences (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2009). These outlets continue to enjoy

a great deal of pluralism and diversity, and public service media is well received amongst the public (Stetka, 2012; Godzic, 2010).

Journalism in Poland is a well-respected and institutionalized profession, meaning that there is a commitment to professionalization achieved through formal journalism training (increasingly a university degree), membership in professional organizations, and a set code of practices and norms (Stepinska & Ossowski, 2012; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Most Polish journalists report that they have “almost complete autonomy” (pp. 386) in editorial decisions, and view themselves as news disseminators and mobilizers, rather than entertainers – even among those employed by commercial media (Stepinska & Ossowski, 2012). News values in Poland mirror those that guide journalism in the United States, such that media frequently employ episodic framing, morality, and conflict in determining story selection (Nowak & Riedel, 2010).

The constitution and legal system implement and actively protect freedom of speech, access to information, and free media. Although Poland does have a standing libel law that has been used to prosecute journalists, several high-profile defamation cases in the past year ruled in favor of bloggers and journalists (Freedom House, 2012), signifying the courts’ commitment to protecting media rights. Poland continues to make strides in ensuring the protection of free media and is currently revising its broadcasting standards to align with progressive European Union regulations.

The media system in Poland is one that is politically partisan, wherein particular parties rely on the unwavering loyalty of specific outlets, and outlets openly endorse political candidates (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2009). However, the Polish media structure accommodates this partisanship, maintaining high levels of external pluralism to ensure a

diversity of voices necessarily for a politically free media (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Freedom House, 2012), and the Internet also remains unfettered by government. In 2012, Reporters sans Frontieres ranked Poland well above staunch defenders of media freedom like the U.K. and U.S.

Polish citizens are able to afford a wide array of media and value freedom of expression. They have access to free daily newspapers, which constitute a third of the print media market. They also have access to inexpensive magazines, and barriers to entry for content creation – across all platforms – are also low (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2009). Under communism, Polish media were heavily censored, but a thriving underground press consisting of hundreds of alternatives to state media socialized citizens with an appreciation for free media – a significant experience that has shaped post-communist demand (Coyne & Leeson, 2009). More recently, a content analysis (Trammell, Tarkowski, Hofmokl & Sapp, 2006) of Polish online content showed that citizens primarily use blogging as a means of self-expression, suggesting that Polish citizens exhibit a strong commitment to free expression and free media ideals. The impressive level of political, legal and economic free media supply in Poland makes it complementary its less free post-communist neighbors, and merits investigation into the citizen attitudes that help continue to sustain its free media environment.

Survey Sample

Recruitment of participants was conducted through a professional survey organization, Survey Sampling International (SSI) that draws participants from its own international online panels, social media and affiliate partners. SSI uses a sample management platform called Dynamix that emails all system respondents one time per

day, inviting them to come to the survey platform. Interested respondents were greeted with refinement questions that determined their eligibility (based on quotas for age, gender, and education determined from each country's national census) to participate in my dissertation surveys. Because participation was voluntary and not solicited, the Dynamix platform does not allow for the calculation of a survey response rate that is common in other modes of survey research. But SSI reports that this strategy of online recruitment yields a larger pool of respondents who produce higher quality data and suffer less survey fatigue than online panels that email specific survey invitations to panelists. My results attest to this by indicating little survey fatigue with very low break-off rates, or the proportion of questionnaires that were begun but not completed, of 2.1% in Poland, 2.2% in Ukraine, and 4.2% in Russia. Respondents who completed the survey were compensated with a token reward of approximately \$3 for their participation.

The target sample for this study was a voluntary opt-in, non-representative adult sample that attempted to match several key national characteristics, with an N=500 for each country, for a combined total of 1500 respondents. To minimize biases from uncontrolled covariates, I employed a sample matching technique, wherein my non-probabilistic online sample was “matched” with demographics of each country's offline population to reflect the distribution of the national population, namely gender, age, and education (Rivers & Bailey, 2009; Baker, Brick, Bates, Battaglia, Couper, Dever, Gile & Tourangeau, 2013). These matching variables were selected because previous research has shown that they each tend to influence citizens' evaluations of civil liberties, freedom of expression and access to information (Andsager et al., 2004; Cuillier, 2008; Gordon & Segura, 1997; Jerit, Barabas & Bolsen, 2006).

Matching is a technique that has been used in similar studies that examine attitudes across political contexts: Iyengar and colleagues (2010) used demographic matching of online samples when examining the effect of individual differences in political knowledge across four media systems, and Matthes and colleagues (2012) employed matching when investigating individuals' fear of social isolation across 10 different countries. For my samples, national demographic data was gathered from Russia, Ukraine, and Poland's census bureaus and can be found alongside each country's matching sample demographics in Tables 2 – 4.⁵

| | Population Characteristics (%) | Sample Characteristics (%) |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Total Population* | 143,400,000 | |
| Male | 46.3 | 42.9 |
| Female | 53.7 | 57.1 |
| Age* | | |
| 18-29 | 24.0 | 27.5 |
| 30-44 | 26.0 | 22.0 |
| 45-59 | 27.6 | 28.7 |
| 60+ | 22.4 | 22.2 |
| Education Completed* | | |
| Secondary or less | 53.8 | 51.9 |
| Some university or more | 46.2 | 48.1 |
| National Internet Penetration** | 49.0 | |

*Age distribution for persons 18+. 2010 census data from Russian Census Bureau, translated via Google webpage translate:

http://translate.googleusercontent.com/translate_c?depth=1&hl=en&rurl=translate.google.com&sl=auto&tl=en&u=http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm&usg=ALkJrhgBxvBZppQnZO7S2G05TJa7equS8w

**2011 estimate from the International Telecommunication Union (percentage of population that uses the Internet)

Table 2: Comparison of Russian population and sample characteristics

⁵ Although race is frequently employed as a key demographic variable to match sample characteristics, these Eastern European countries are very racially homogeneous – with estimates of upwards of 97 percent of the total populations identifying as “White” or “Caucasian” (Lara, 2007).

| | Population Characteristics (%) | Sample Characteristics (%) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Total Population* | 45,600,000 | |
| Male | 46.0 | 46.5 |
| Female | 54.0 | 53.5 |
| Age* | | |
| 18-29 | 22.2 | 18.7 |
| 30-44 | 26.0 | 22.0 |
| 45-59 | 25.9 | 46.0 |
| 60+ | 26.0 | 13.3 |
| Education Completed** | | |
| Secondary or less | 65.1 | 31.1 |
| Some university of more | 31.3 | 59.9 |
| National Internet Penetration*** | 30.6 | |

* Age distribution for persons 18+. 2012 estimates from Ukrainian Census Bureau:

http://database.ukrcensus.gov.ua/PXWEB2007/popul_eng.htm

**2001 data from Ukrainian Census Bureau: <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

***2011 estimate from the International Telecommunication Union (percentage of population that uses the Internet)

Table 3: Comparison of Ukrainian population and sample characteristics

| | Population Characteristics (%) | Sample Characteristics (%) |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Total Population* | 38,500,000 | |
| Male | 48.0 | 47.2 |
| Female | 52.0 | 52.8 |
| Age* | | |
| 18-29 | 22.2 | 19.2 |
| 30-44 | 27.2 | 27.3 |
| 45-59 | 25.9 | 27.9 |
| 60+ | 24.7 | 25.4 |
| Education Completed* | | |
| Secondary or less | 76.4 | 65.0 |
| Some university or more | 24.6 | 35.0 |
| National Internet Penetration** | 64.9 | |

* Age distribution for persons 18+. 2011 estimates from Polish Census Bureau

http://www.stat.gov.pl/gus/5840_demographic_yearbook_ENG_HTML.htm

***2011 estimate from the International Telecommunication Union (percentage of population that uses the Internet)

Table 4: Comparison of Polish population and sample characteristics

Matching was largely successful across countries, but the Ukrainian sample did exhibit a high education skew. Ukrainian census data estimates that only about 31% of the Ukrainian population has some level of higher education, but the percentage of those who had post-secondary education in my sample was close to 60%. Working closely with SSI, I attempted to minimize this skew as much as possible, but because Internet penetration in Ukraine is low and concentrated among the highly educated, more precise matching was not feasible.

Although these samples are not generalizable to national populations at large, representativeness is not a necessary condition for research questions that seek to understand communication processes (Hayes, 2005; 2013). Generalizability is necessary when attempting to make projections from sample characteristics to population characteristics (e.g., what percent of the population uses Internet?), but is of less importance when trying to draw conclusions about theory that specifies how psychological processes work (Mook, 1983), including the relationships between personality characteristics and attitudinal variables. Further, I sought to test these communication processes in three different countries to examine whether my results are applicable across a range respondents in diverse media environments.

The American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) acknowledges a place for non-representative online panels in social science research. Their 2010 Report on Online Panels concludes that this methodology is appropriate when: 1) “surveys are conducted under circumstances that make probability methods infeasible, if not impossible,” (Baker et al., 2010, pp. 48) and 2) when “research is focused on improving our understanding of how personal characteristics interact with other survey variables

such as attitudes, behaviors, and intentions” (pp. 49). In Baker et al.’s 2013 Report on Non-Probability Sampling, AAPOR further elaborates on these criteria, indicating that unrepresentative samples are satisfactory for use in studies whose objectives are exploratory in nature and seek to model theoretical concepts by examining interactions between personal characteristics and attitudes/behaviors. The surveys conducted for this dissertation clearly meet these criteria and as such, non-probability sampling is a valid approach given the nature of my hypotheses and research questions. However, future work will need to complement the results presented here with more heterogeneous samples before inferences beyond these samples should be drawn.

Survey Translation

Because cross-national comparisons are of significant interest in this study, it was important to create standardized survey instruments with reliable translation. Thus, questionnaires employed an “Ask-the-Same-Question” (ASQ) model and underwent a rigorous translation and back-translation to ensure that question meaning was comparable across countries (Harkness, Van de Vijver and Mohler, 2010). ASQ and has been the preferred means of instrument design in quantitative comparative research, employed by prominent survey organizations like the World Values Survey, Pew Global Attitudes Survey, Gallup Surveys, and regional Barometer surveys.

The translation process took about six weeks in total. A finalized English questionnaire was distributed to native speakers of Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish who translated the survey into these respective languages. Translators also contributed their cultural expertise to help make fine adjustments in the appropriateness of survey questions and responses (e.g., the most popular social media networks used in the

country, the most appropriate intervals to capture respondents' education, religion, and income, etc.). The survey was then back-translated from these languages to English by a different group of native speakers, and any discrepancies were discussed and resolved. Finally, to further ensure valid translations, I employed Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish proofreaders to edit the survey for nuances in meaning, grammatical errors, and cultural sensitivity; their suggestions were integrated into the finalized questionnaires. Proofreaders were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online crowdsourcing tool that pays workers from all over the world to complete short high-intensity tasks, known as HITS. This worker pool is ideal for checking translation work because it does not strive for representativeness, (Berinsky, Huber & Lenz, 2012), but rather enables researchers to recruit individuals with specific qualifications, like language skills.

The measures taken here to ensure accurate translation of the survey instruments exceed the high social science standards of translation and back-translation, with each version of the questionnaire receiving translation input from at least five native speakers. Copies of the English, Polish, Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Russian (Russian language in Ukraine), and Russian questionnaires can be found in Appendix E.

Survey Measures

Dependent Variables. For the first time, this study operationalized citizens' perceived supply and demand for free media along political, legal, and economic dimensions. Citizens' perceptions of supply were measured with three items for each dimension (9 items in sum), on 7-point scales that range from "describes perfectly" to "does not describe at all." Political perceived supply items included "Media in (country)

are free to criticize the government and political leaders,” “The government in (country) censors the media,” “People who produce media experience threats, violence or harassment from government,” (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .63, Ukraine: .68, and Russia: .70). Perceived supply items for the economic dimension included: “Media in (country) is owned by a large number of companies,” “Only a small number of people can access the media in (country),” “Media is affordable to most people,” (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .19, Ukraine: .63, and Russia: .63). And legal perceived supply items included: “Freedom of the media is enforced by the law in (country),” “The constitution protects free media in (country),” and “Laws do not protect media very well in (country).” (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .30, Ukraine: .58, and Russia: .61). Items indicating restrictions on free media were reverse coded. *Demand*. Respondents then indicated their level of support for each of these political (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .18, Ukraine: .57, and Russia: .39), legal (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .10, Ukraine: .44, and Russia: .35), and economic (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .12, Ukraine: .25, and Russia: .08) statements on 7-point strongly agree to strongly disagree scales, and again, items employing free media restrictions were reverse-coded.

Unfortunately, all of the scales piloted for each dimension’s supply and demand conceptualization fell short of the minimum threshold of .70 Cronbach’s alpha for reliability for preliminary research (Nunnally, 1978; Peterson, 1994), and thus, single-item supply and demand measures that possessed the most face validity were used in all analyses. This rendered the item: “Media in (country) are free to criticize the government and political leaders” for political supply and demand, “Media in (country) is owned by a large number of companies” for economic supply and demand, and “The constitution

protects free media in (country)” for legal supply and demand. The implications of this measurement and my explanations for the unreliability of the supply and demand scales are discussed at length in Chapter 6, the Discussion. Table 6 offers a comparison of the descriptive statistics for these dependent variables, and visualizations of their distributions fitted with normal curves can be found in Appendix A.

This study also piloted measures that captured respondents’ media policy preferences along political, legal, and economic dimensions. Inspiration for various policies was drawn from the contemporary media landscape. My measures imitated policies that various countries have either proposed or implemented in attempts to promote or restrict the media’s freedom, including the United States’ Daniel Pearl Freedom of the Press Act, constitutional provisions, and various prior review/restraint laws (New York Times, 2010). Political policies were those that that, “penalize journalists for spreading ‘deliberately untrustworthy information’ with time in prison,” “allows government to review information before it is published in the media,” “and allows the government to monitor citizens’ Internet and social media use” (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .61, Ukraine: .43, and Russia: .51). Economic policies were those that, “imposes a rule where a person cannot own more than one commercial TV broadcasting license in the same market,” “states that foreign investors cannot own majority shares of newspapers in a different country,” and “regulates TV providers so TV is more affordable to citizens” (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .54, Ukraine: .32, and Russia: .44). And legal policies were those that “allow courts to punish government officials for media censorship,” “grants any citizen the right to request and obtain information found in public records,” and “requires scrutiny of media restrictions as part of a country’s annual

review of human rights” (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .45, Ukraine: .35, and Russia: .61). All items were measured on 7-point scales, and each of the political policies was reverse-coded.

The pilot policy items also did not scale reliably together using the standard Cronbach’s alpha of .70 or higher criterion, leading me to again employ single-item measures for each policy dimension that possessed the greatest face validity. For political policy, I used the reverse-coded item, “A policy that allows the government to review information before it is published in the media,” as an operationalization of pre-publication censorship. For legal policy, I used the item, “A policy that grants any citizen the right to request and obtain information found in public records,” as an operationalization for access to information laws, and for economic policy, I employed “A policy that says foreign investors cannot own majority shares of newspapers in a different country,” that captures national pluralism in the media. Descriptive statistics for these policy items can be found in Table 5, and their failure to produce reliable scales is discussed at length in the Chapter 6.

Independent Variables. To examine the effects of individuals’ media use on their perceptions of political, legal, and economic supply, respondents were asked how frequently they consumed various types of media “for news and opinions.” *Broadcast* use was operationalized by asking respondents how often they consumed the dominant form of broadcast, television, on a 7-point scale, ranging from “never” to “all the time.” *Print* use was operationalized by asking respondents how often they consumed the dominant form of print media, newspapers, on a 7-point scale, ranging from “never” to “all the time,” and *Internet* use was measured on an identical 7-point scale. Because this

study employed an Internet sample, it is unsurprising that reliance on Internet was the most popular medium, followed by broadcast and print in all three countries.

Regime support was measured with three items that asked respondents about their attitudes toward their country's President, Prime Minister, and the controlling party in parliament. Each item was asked on a 7-point scale, ranging from "unfavorable" to "favorable," which were averaged together, with positive affect coded high (Cronbach's α , Poland: .89; Ukraine: .95, Russia: .90).

Political tolerance was captured using Sullivan et al.'s (1979) "content-controlled" 6-item index. This index presumes political tolerance is a matter of principle irrelevant to the content of ideas one opposes and is best assessed based on each individual's least-like group. Respondents were first asked to select a group of people in society that they liked least. Nominal response options included "Immigrants," "Communists," "Atheists," "Socialists," "Fascists," "Anarchists," "Democrats," "Muslims," and respondents were also offered the opportunity to write-in another group that was not listed. Write-in responses included terrorists, homophobics, fanatics, and politicians, among others. Across all three post-communist countries, "Fascists" were most often selected as the least-liked group, accounting for 65% of all responses in Poland, 64% in Ukraine, and 72% in Russia.⁶ Six subsequent items asked about respondents' tolerance toward this least-liked group, including whether members of this group should "be banned from being President," "be allowed to teach in public schools," "be allowed to hold public rallies in our city," "be outlawed," "be allowed to

⁶ The large percentage of respondents who selected "Fascists" as their least-liked group is consistent with data from the World Values Survey and Russian panel series data that also report Fascists as highly least-liked (Hinckley, 2009).

make a speech in our city,” and “have their phones tapped by our government.” Items were asked on 7-point strongly disagree to strongly agree scales, and items that included banning or outlawing groups and thus infringing on political liberties, were reverse coded. All items were then averaged into a 7-point scale, with greater political tolerance coded high (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .69, Ukraine: .64, and Russia: .67).

Respondents’ *free market economic ideology* was captured using a 2-item measure that asked the extent to which respondents agreed that: “Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies in our country,” and “Businesses in our country make too much profit.” Both items were reverse coded, and averaged together, such that higher scores indicated greater belief in free market ideals (Pearson’s r , Poland: .39, Ukraine: .39, Russia: .38).

Willingness to self-censor was adopted from Hayes et al. (2005a, 2005b)’s 8-item index that gauged respondents’ agreement with the following statements on 7-point scales: “It is difficult for me to express my opinion if I think others won’t agree with what I say,” “There have been many times when I have thought others around me were wrong but I did not let them know,” “It is safer to keep quiet than publicly speak an opinion that you know most others do not share,” “When I disagree with others, I would rather go along with them than argue about it,” “I tend to speak my opinion only around friends and other people I trust,” “It is easy for me to express my opinion around others who I think will disagree with me,” “If I disagree with others, I have no problem letting them know it,” “I’d feel uncomfortable if someone asked my opinion, and I knew that he or she wouldn’t agree with me.” Items that evoked confidence in one’s ability to speak out were reverse coded, and then all items were averaged into a mean score 7-point

index, with higher scores indicating a greater willingness to self-censor (Cronbach's α , Poland: .75, Ukraine: .64, and Russia: .60).

Control Variables. To prevent spurious relationships, I employed a robust set of demographic and political controls in all analyses. Respondents were asked to self-report their *age*, *sex* (female coded high), and highest *education completed*. A standardized education question was adopted from the World Values Survey for the purposes of this study. In Russia and Ukraine, the education question was asked on a 9-point scale, but in Poland, there were only 7 response options, as two of the levels of secondary education are not applicable to the Polish education system. Higher values indicated the completion of more education.

Respondents were also asked about the *importance of religion* in their lives, as religion has been shown to significantly influence the freedom of the media (Connolly-Ahern & Golan, 2007). Individuals indicated how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: "My religious beliefs are an important reflection of who I am," "In general, my religious beliefs are an important part of my self-image," "Overall, my religious beliefs have very little to do with how I feel about myself," and "My religious beliefs are unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am." The last two statements were reverse coded, and all four items were averaged together into a single 7-point scale, with higher scores indicative of greater religious importance (Cronbach's α , Poland: .71, Ukraine: .84, and Russia: .79).

To ensure that the effects of my media use independent variables were capturing the nature of the medium (e.g., television, newspaper, Internet) and not specific political or economic content, I included two additional media variables that controlled for

respondents' *attention to political news* and *attention to economic news*, which were both measured on 7-point scales from “not at all” to “a great deal,” with greater attention coded high.

Respondents' *socio-economic status* (SES) was measured relatively, with an item adopted from Pew Research's Global Attitudes Surveys. The SES question specifically asked respondents to best estimate their household finances on a 6-point scale ranging from their ability to afford food, clothing, appliances (e.g., television, washing machine), a vehicle, an apartment, and a house. Measuring socio-economic status with tangible goods, rather than incremental national incomes, allowed for a better direct comparison of SES between countries because it eliminates concerns about comparability in purchasing power. Ultimately, what the SES item attempts to operationalize is financial security, to account for any unmet basic needs that may influence individuals' political attitudes. Despite my Internet sample, which tends to bias in favor of more affluent individuals, the average SES was 3.81 (SD=1.03) in Russia, 3.35 (SD=1.02) in Ukraine, and 3.32 (SD=1.16) in Poland meaning that – on average – respondents felt they could provide financially for their households but had difficulty affording vehicles.

I also included several control variables to account for political orientations and engagement in all analyses. Respondents' *political ideology* was captured using a single, 7-point scale, with lower values indicating an affiliation with leftist, liberal politics, and higher values representing an affiliation with right-wing, conservative politics. Public opinion research in post-communist Europe has shown that the left-right continuum is an appropriate means of capturing ideology in these political cultures (Thorisdottir, Jost, Liviatan & Shrout, 2007; Pardos-Prado, 2007), albeit its connotation is broader than in

the U.S., ranging from communism on the far left to nationalism on the far right.

Political interest was measured on a 7-point scale from “very uninterested” to “very interested” in politics, with greater interest coded high. Finally, *political knowledge* was assessed using a 3-item index that tested respondents’ knowledge about their country’s current minister of foreign affairs, the length of a president’s term in their country (in years), and the party with the most seats in their country’s parliament. Response options for each item were captured on 5-point scales ranging from “Definitely true” to “Definitely false.” The three scales were averaged together to comprise a final index, with higher scores indicative of greater political knowledge.

Finally, respondents’ *political efficacy* was included using a common 3-item measure asking agreement with the following statements: “sometimes political issues are so complicated that people like me cannot understand,” “I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing my country,” and “I think I am better informed about political topics and issues than most people.” The first item was reverse coded, and all three items were then averaged into a 7-point index, with higher scores indicating greater efficacy (Cronbach’s α , Poland: .45, Ukraine: .64, Russia: .68).

Translators also suggested that each survey be administered in multiple languages because citizens of these countries are often multi-lingual. Respondents were given the opportunity to take the survey in the country’s official language or English (English coded high). In Ukraine, where Russian is a common language in urban areas, the survey was offered in Ukrainian, Russian, and English. No Ukrainian respondents opted to take the survey in English, so in Ukraine, Russian language was coded high on a dichotomous

item. *Survey language* was included in all analyses as a final control. Descriptive statistics for all independent and control variables can be found in Table 5.

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | <u>Mean (SD)</u> | <u>Mean (SD)</u> | <u>Mean (SD)</u> |
| Sex (% male) | 47.20 | 46.50 | 42.90 |
| Age | 46.35 (15.51) | 44.31 (13.11) | 43.47 (15.73) |
| Education | 5.63 (1.20) | 7.79 (1.72) | 7.45 (1.80) |
| Socio-economic status | 3.32 (1.16) | 3.35 (1.02) | 3.81 (1.03) |
| Religious importance | 3.95 (1.39) | 3.74 (1.50) | 3.67 (1.40) |
| Political ideology | 4.07 (1.08) | 4.05 (1.01) | 4.09 (.97) |
| Political interest | 4.75 (1.51) | 4.77 (1.27) | 4.80 (1.31) |
| Political knowledge | 4.24 (1.00) | 3.98 (.74) | 3.79 (.90) |
| Political efficacy | 4.12 (1.06) | 3.65 (1.15) | 3.63 (1.22) |
| Attn to political news | 5.14 (1.61) | 5.26 (1.72) | 5.30 (1.74) |
| Attn to economic news | 4.59 (1.55) | 5.09 (1.61) | 4.91 (1.79) |
| Broadcast use | 5.56 (1.56) | 5.93 (1.51) | 5.94 (1.59) |
| Print use | 4.44 (1.67) | 4.66 (1.75) | 4.67 (1.75) |
| Internet use | 5.95 (1.27) | 6.27 (1.25) | 5.97 (1.47) |
| Regime support | 4.08 (1.72) | 3.30 (1.67) | 4.67 (1.76) |
| Political tolerance | 3.31 (1.18) | 2.59 (1.13) | 2.61 (1.21) |
| Willing to self-censor | 3.60 (.96) | 3.60 (.80) | 3.58 (.79) |
| Economic ideology | 3.31 (1.36) | 2.51 (1.11) | 2.79 (1.23) |
| Survey language | 99.60* | 13.70** | 99.60*** |

*% Polish, **% Ukrainian, ***% Russian

Table 5: Means and standard deviations for independent and control variables

Data

In March and April 2013, 563 adult respondents in Poland, 675 in Ukraine, and 596 in Russia consented to participate in this study. The average time to complete the survey in Poland was $M=31.78$ minutes ($SD=22.03$), in Ukraine was $M=37.32$ minutes ($SD=20.49$), and in Russia was $M=33.74$ minutes ($SD=22.36$).

To minimize the likelihood of systematic error and ensure active respondent engagement, all datasets were cleaned for speeders, or respondents who completed the survey in an extraordinarily short time, and flat-liners, or respondents who provided the same answer to a large number of questions. These two survey behaviors tend to be correlated, characteristic of “professional” survey respondents, and may introduce systematic error to the data (Gittelman & Trimarchi, 2012; Menictas, Wang & Fine, 2010). Speeders were identified as those who completed the survey in less time than one standard deviation below the mean and were removed from the dataset. I identified flat-liners by calculating each respondent’s coefficient of variation for long batteries of Likert scales across the survey that contained reverse-coded items, which are most susceptible to flat-line responses (Menictas, Wang & Fine, 2010). Respondents with low coefficients of variation, or low variance across questions were individually scrutinized to assess the authenticity of their responses. Respondents suspected of flat-lining were removed from the dataset. These listwise deletions resulted in final $N=490$ in Poland, $N=593$ in Ukraine, and $N=506$ in Russia, for a total $N=1589$. In the following chapter, I discuss my analyses and present results.

Chapter 5: Analyses and Results

Data from all three countries were aggregated into a single dataset to run univariate analyses of variance on the nine dependent variables of interest. Controlling for sex, age, ideology, and SES, a respondent's country origin had a significant effect on their perceptions of political supply $F(2, 1526)=4.27, p < .05$, economic supply $F(2, 1523)=16.18, p < .001$, legal supply, $F(2, 1524)=24.55, p < .001$, and their political demand $F(2, 1526)=43.19, p < .001$, economic demand $F(2, 1526)=71.65, p < .001$, and legal demand $F(2, 1527)=16.41, p < .001$. Survey country was also a significant predictor of political policy attitudes $F(2, 1520)=62.59, p < .001$, economic policy attitudes $F(2, 1520)=30.36, p < .001$, and legal policy attitudes $F(2, 1520)=17.22, p < .001$, after controlling for demographics. Post-hoc Tukey HSD comparison tests revealed that all the means of the supply, demand and policy measures exhibit statistically significant differences across all three countries, except the means of political supply and legal policy for Poland and Ukraine, and the means of economic policy for Ukraine and Russia.

By conducting paired-samples t-tests, it was evident that demand means were significantly higher than supply means (Poland: political: $t(2, 488)=-2.40, p < .05$, legal $t(2, 488)=-11.95, p < .001$; Ukraine: political: $t(2, 582)=-21.95, p < .001$, legal: $t(2, 580)=-29.11, p < .001$, Russia: political $t(2, 494)=-18.37, p < .001$, legal: $t(2, 495)=$

-21.50, $p < .001$) indicating that individuals across countries wanted more freedom than their media environments currently possess. The exception was economic freedom in all three countries, where supply means were significantly higher than demand means (Poland: $t(2, 488)=3.15$, $p < .01$; Ukraine: $t(2, 580)=18.74$, $p < .001$; Russia: $t(2, 494)=9.36$, $p < .001$).

| | <u>Poland</u> | <u>Ukraine</u> | <u>Russia</u> |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| Political Supply | 4.37 (1.56)* | 4.24 (1.58)* | 4.01 (1.57)** |
| Legal Supply | 4.47 (1.32)** | 3.85 (1.52)** | 4.17 (1.46)** |
| Economic Supply | 5.37 (1.31)** | 5.16 (1.44)** | 4.68 (1.44)** |
| Political Demand | 4.56 (1.57)** | 6.09 (1.13)** | 5.76 (1.36)** |
| Legal Demand | 5.41 (1.32)** | 6.18 (1.09)** | 5.88 (1.22)** |
| Economic Demand | 5.18 (1.37)** | 3.36 (1.79)** | 3.72 (1.70)** |
| Political Policy | 5.39 (1.51)** | 4.91 (1.55)** | 4.25 (1.52)** |
| Legal Policy | 5.69 (1.37)* | 5.74 (1.33)* | 5.30 (1.58)** |
| Economic Policy | 4.27 (1.63)** | 5.01 (1.58)* | 5.03 (1.63)* |

**Significantly different from both countries at $p < .05$.

*Significantly different from one country at $p < .05$.

Table 6: Mean comparison of political, legal, and economic supply, demand, and policy attitudes

Interestingly, citizens perceived their countries to have fairly pluralistic media markets, but did not express enthusiastic demand for this type of freedom, as can be seen in Table 6. Despite this unanticipated trend, all supply means for Poland are consistently

higher than those of Ukraine and Russia, as expected given the high levels of freedom. However, Poland's political and legal demand means are low relative to the other two countries. Russian citizens tended to perceive greater levels of supply and demand less than Ukraine, which is consistent with previous public opinion surveys that show that Russian citizens are optimistic about their free media supply (Pietiläinen & Strovsky, 2010; Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press; Oates, 2006). Distribution was fairly normal for most of these variables; however, political and legal demand in Ukraine (political skewness: -1.50, legal skewness: -1.98) and Russia (political skewness: -1.25, legal skewness: -1.43) were skewed to the left⁷. These distributions, fitted with normal curves, can be found in Figures 15 – 20 in Appendix A.

Analyses 1: Predicting Perceived Supply of Media Freedom

Political Perceived Supply. After examining the distributions of my dependent variables, I fitted a series of OLS regression models to test my hypotheses about the influence of media use and regime support on citizens' perceptions of political, legal, and economic supply. Using independent datasets for each country, I first fit models predicting political supply with media use variables (Internet use, print use, broadcast use, attention to political news, attention to economic news), regime support, demographic controls (age, sex, education, SES, survey language), and additional political controls (political interest, political knowledge, political ideology). These variables explained 16% of the variance in citizens' perceptions of political supply in Poland, 19% in Ukraine, and 15% in Russia.

⁷ This left skew indicates that the variable's mean is less than its median and that the distribution is right-heavy. In other words, responses to political and legal demand in Ukraine and Russia were skewed high.

In Poland, a respondent's sex ($\beta = -.32, p < .05$), religious importance ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$), use of print ($\beta = .09, p < .05$) and broadcast media ($\beta = .16, p < .001$), and his or her support for the current regime ($\beta = .07, p < .001$) were significant predictors of political supply. In other words, men, those who were not very religious, and those who relied heavily on newspapers or television, and exhibited support for incumbent political leaders were more likely to perceive high levels of politically free media. Consistent with H1a, print media did indeed elicit greater political supply, but contrary to H1b, broadcast did as well. This suggests that media use in general enables citizens to accurately gauge political freedom, and the political supply differences by medium in free media environments may be too nuanced for average citizens to detect.

In Ukraine, the fitted model explained 11% of the variance in political supply. Only a respondent's political knowledge ($\beta = .20, p < .05$) and regime support ($\beta = .37, p < .001$) were significant predictors, supporting H1c, but reliance on online, print, nor broadcast media were not significant, dispelling H1a and H1b and answering RQ1. Russia demonstrated much the same pattern, with support for the regime ($\beta = .34, p < .001$) positively predicting political supply, but media use did not. Men and those who paid greater attention to political news were marginally more likely to perceive greater political supply, but the media platform hypotheses were rejected. These results are displayed in Table 7, Models 1 for Poland, Ukraine, and Russia.⁸

Next, I fitted second models for all three countries predicting political supply of media freedom that contained my interaction terms to test whether media effects on political supply were conditional on respondents' support of the regime. I simultaneously

⁸ All tables report unstandardized coefficients (β) unless otherwise noted.

entered three interaction terms into the models, one for each media platform (Internet, print, and broadcast). In Poland, the only country where direct media effects on political supply were observed, there was no moderation effect, undermining any support for the interaction hypotheses (H2a & H2b), and the inclusion of interaction terms did not change the percentage of variance explained by the model. There was a marginally significant interaction of regime support moderating the relationship between print use and political supply in Ukraine, such that those with greater regime support were more likely to perceive greater political supply with greater print use ($\beta=.01$, $p < .10$).

In Russia, there was a small, significant interaction effect wherein greater regime support amplified the positive relationship between television use and political supply ($\beta=.02$, $p < .05$). The inclusion of the interaction terms explained an additional 2% of variance in political supply. Probing the interaction, displayed in Figure 4, with the Johnson-Neyman technique revealed that the conditional effect of broadcast use on political supply is significant at the .05 level for only very low and high values of regime support.

When support for the regime was less than 1.3, there was a negative association, such that as frequency of broadcast use increased, perceptions of political supply decreased, as hypothesized by H1b. However, when support for the regime was greater than 6.3, or very high, there was a strong positive association. Greater reliance on television media led to more optimistic assessments of political supply among those with

| | Poland Model 1 | Poland Model 2 | Ukraine Model 1 | Ukraine Model 2 | Russia Model 1 | Russia Model 2 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Constant | 1.62 (1.63) | 1.29 (1.82) | 2.52 (.81)** | 2.69 (1.18)* | 1.46 (1.25) | 4.30 (1.60)*** |
| Age | -.00 (.00) | -.00 (.00) | -.01 (.01) | -.01 (.01) | .00 (.01) | .00 (.01) |
| Sex | -.32 (.14)* | -.32 (.14)* | -.18 (.13) | -.18 (.13) | .24 (.14)# | .23 (.14) |
| Education | .01 (.06) | .01 (.06) | -.06 (.04) | -.06 (.04) | -.02 (.04) | -.03 (.04) |
| Religious importance | -.10 (.05)* | -.10 (.05)* | -.01 (.04) | -.02 (.04) | -.01 (.05) | -.00 (.05) |
| Socio-economic status | .01 (.06) | .02 (.06) | .01 (.06) | .00 (.06) | -.02 (.07) | -.02 (.07) |
| Survey language | .88 (1.48) | .87 (1.48) | .16 (.21) | .16 (.21) | .43 (1.05) | .55 (1.04) |
| Political interest | .08 (.06) | .08 (.06) | .01 (.06) | .01 (.06) | -.08 (.07) | -.09 (.07) |
| Political ideology | .07 (.07) | .07 (.07) | .01 (.06) | .02 (.06) | .04 (.07) | .03 (.07) |
| Political knowledge | -.03 (.08) | -.02 (.08) | .20 (.04)* | .20 (.09)* | .05 (.08) | .04 (.08) |
| Attention to political news | -.01 (.06) | -.01 (.06) | .04 (.05) | .04 (.05) | .11 (.05)# | .11 (.05)* |
| Attention to econ news | .04 (.05) | .04 (.05) | -.02 (.05) | -.02 (.05) | -.04 (.05) | -.04 (.05) |
| Internet use | .01 (.06) | -.02 (.15) | .03 (.05) | -.01 (.13) | .06 (.05) | -.15 (.15) |
| Print use | .09 (.05)* | .07 (.12) | -.06 (.04) | -.19 (.08)* | -.02 (.04) | -.10 (.11) |
| Broadcast use | .15 (.05)*** | .26 (.11)* | .04 (.05) | .15 (.09)# | -.01 (.05) | -.21 (.11)# |
| Regime support | .20 (.04)*** | .30 (.23) | .37 (.04)*** | .12 (.09) | .34(.05)*** | -.42 (.25) |
| Internet x Regime support | | .00 (.01) | | .00 (.01) | | .02 (.01) |
| Print x Regime support | | .01 (.01) | | .01 (.01)# | | .01 (.01) |
| Broadcast x Regime support | | -.01 (.01) | | -.01 (.01) | | .02 (.01)* |
| R^2 | .16 | .16 | .19 | .19 | .15 | .17 |
| df | 453 | 450 | 534 | 531 | 460 | 457 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 7: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting political supply

strong support for current political figures, and pessimistic assessments among those with strong opposition for incumbent politicians. For all other values of tolerance, there was no significant conditional effect of broadcast use on perceptions of political free media supply.

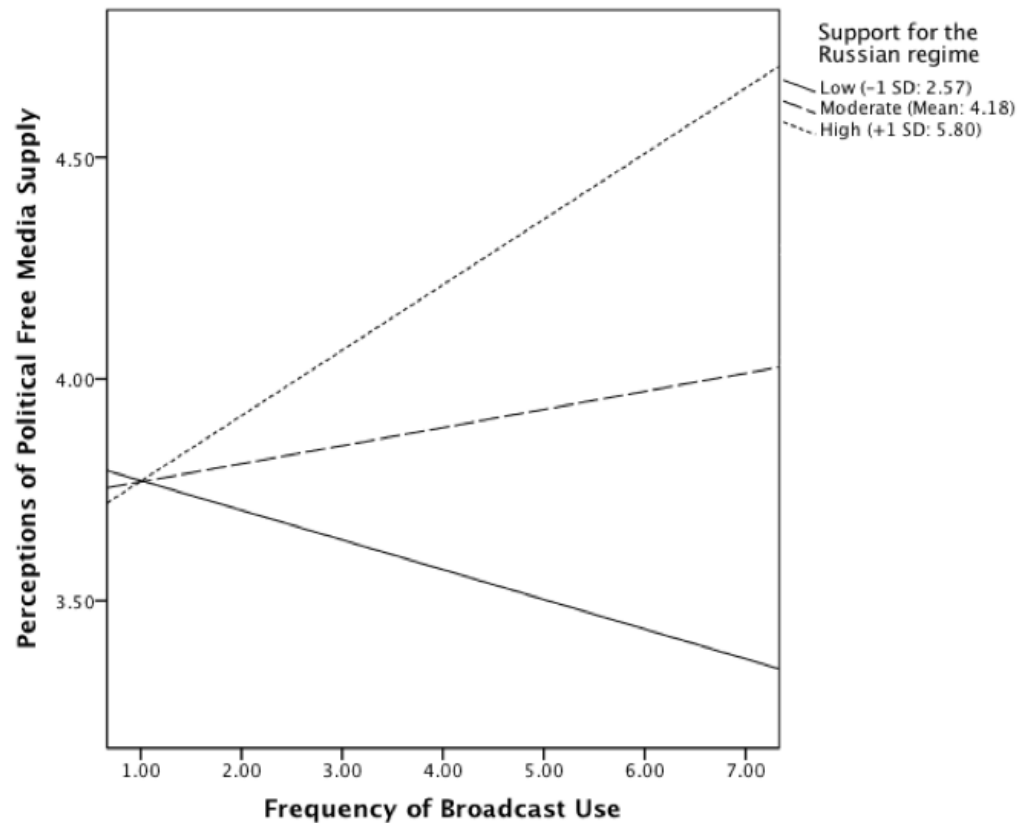


Figure 4: Regime support moderating broadcast media's effect on political supply in Russia

Economic Perceived Supply. To examine the media and regime effects on citizens' perceptions of economic supply, I again fitted models with the same media use variables, regime support, demographic and political controls that were present in the first

analysis. This model explained 15% of the variance in perceptions of economic supply. My results from this analysis revealed that in Poland, perceptions of economic supply resulted from older age ($\beta=.01$, $p < .01$), greater education ($\beta=.12$, $p < .05$), political knowledge ($\beta=.15$, $p < .05$), attention to political news ($\beta=.10$, $p < .05$), and broadcast use ($\beta=.09$, $p < .01$). Greater reliance on broadcast media led to greater – not less – perceived legal supply in Poland, in contrast to H1b. Also contrary to H1a and H1c, print media use and regime support were not significant predictors.

In Ukraine, greater attention to economic news ($\beta=.14$, $p < .01$) and Russian survey language ($\beta=.53$, $p < .05$) were positively associated with high economic supply, while broadcast use ($\beta=-.10$, $p < .05$) and regime support ($\beta=-.19$, $p < .001$) were negatively associated. Neither print nor Internet use produced any significant effect. Contrary to H1c, regime support also exemplified a negative relationship with economic supply in Russia ($\beta=-.25$, $p < .001$). In both the Ukrainian and Russian cases, respondents who perceived high economic supply have negative evaluations of the regime, perhaps suggesting that citizens do not associate or recognize the role government plays in shaping the economic media market. In Russia, younger respondents ($\beta=-.01$, $p < .05$), and those with right-wing political affiliations ($\beta=.16$, $p < .05$) were also associated with greater perceived economic supply, but none of the media use measures produced significant findings, in response to H1a, H1b, and RQ1.

Next, I fitted a second model for all three countries that contained all the aforementioned variables, but also included interaction terms for the media use measures and regime support. None of the interactions across any of the countries were statistically significant at the .05 level, confirming the null for H2a and H2b, but regime

support marginally moderated print media use in Poland at the significance of .10. These results can be found in Table 8.

Legal Perceived Supply. Finally, to examine the effects of media and political predispositions on citizens' perceptions of legal supply, I again fitted a series of models with media use, regime support, political controls, and demographics, which explained 14% of the variance in legal supply. Polish respondents who were young ($\beta = -.24$, $p < .10$), had high SES ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .05$), were supportive of the regime ($\beta = .10$, $p < .01$), and frequently consumed broadcast news ($\beta = -.09$, $p < .05$) were all likely to express greater legal supply, offering support for H1c. Again, it appears that reliance on broadcast in Poland has a positive, rather than a negative association, confirming the null for H1b, and neither reliance on print media or online media produced significant results, confirming the null for H1a offering inclusive results for RQ1.

In Ukraine, age ($\beta = -.35$, $p < .01$), political knowledge ($\beta = .22$, $p < .05$), Internet use ($\beta = -.12$, $p < .05$), and regime support ($\beta = .25$, $p < .001$) were all significant predictors of legal supply. These results confirm H1c, and offer an affirmative answer for RQ1, but H1a and H1b were not confirmed.

In Russia, which has the lowest legal supply, perceptions of legal supply were significantly predicted only by age ($\beta = -.01$, $p < .10$), attention to economic news ($\beta = .11$, $p < .05$) and support for the regime ($\beta = .32$, $p < .001$), again offering support for H1c. Neither print, broadcast nor Internet use yielded any significant effect, confirming the null for H1a, H1b, and providing neither positive nor negative support for RQ1.

| | Poland Model 1 | Poland Model 2 | Ukraine Model 1 | Ukraine Model 2 | Russia Model 1 | Russia Model 2 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Constant | 4.40 (1.32)*** | 3.07 (1.49)* | 4.21 (.77)*** | 4.63 (1.12)*** | 5.08 (1.16)*** | 5.70 (1.50)*** |
| Age | .01 (.00)** | .01 (.00)*** | .01 (.01) | .01 (.01) | -.01 (.00)* | -.01 (.00)* |
| Sex | -.22 (.12)# | -.24 (.12)* | -.22 (.12)# | -.22 (.12)# | .12 (.13) | .12 (.13) |
| Education | .12 (.05)* | .11 (.05)* | .04 (.04) | .04 (.04) | .03 (.04) | .03 (.04) |
| Religious import | .00 (.04) | -.01 (.04) | .06 (.04) | .05 (.04) | .01 (.05) | .01 (.05) |
| Socio-economic | -.01 (.05) | -.01 (.05) | -.11 (.06)# | -.11 (.06)# | -.08 (.07) | -.08 (.07) |
| Survey language | -1.95 (1.21) | -2.00 (1.21) | .53 (.20)** | .50 (.19)* | -.72 (.97) | -.77 (.97) |
| Political interest | .00 (.05) | -.01 (.05) | .03 (.06) | .04 (.06) | .11 (.06)# | .11 (.06)# |
| Political ideology | .08 (.05) | .08 (.05) | -.05 (.06) | -.04 (.06) | .16 (.07)* | .15 (.07)* |
| 79 Political knowledge | .15 (.07)* | .16 (.07)* | -.05 (.09) | -.05 (.09) | .04 (.08) | .04 (.08) |
| Atten to poli news | .10 (.05)* | .09 (.05)# | .02 (.04) | .02 (.04) | -.06 (.05) | -.06 (.05) |
| Atten to econ news | -.02 (.04) | -.01 (.04) | .14 (.04)*** | .15 (.04)** | .08 (.05) | .08 (.05) |
| Internet use | .03 (.05) | .08 (.13) | .08 (.05) | -.07 (.13) | .04 (.05) | -.04 (.05) |
| Print use | .04 (.04) | .10 (.10) | .01 (.04) | .00 (.08) | -.04 (.04) | .04 (.04) |
| Broadcast use | .09 (.04)* | .25 (.10)** | -.10 (.04)* | .01 (.09) | .05 (.05) | .05 (.05) |
| Regime support | .01 (.01) | .41 (.19)* | -.19 (.04)*** | -.27 (.25) | -.25 (.04)*** | -.35 (.24) |
| Internet x Regime | | -.01 (.00) | | .02 (.01) | | .01 (.01) |
| Print x Regime | | -.02 (.00)# | | .00 (.01) | | -.01 (.01) |
| Broadcast x Regime | | -.00 (.01) | | -.01 (.00) | | .00 (.01) |
| R^2 | .15 | .17 | .11 | .12 | .12 | .13 |
| df | 453 | 450 | 532 | 529 | 460 | 457 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 8: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting economic supply

To test the final set of interactions on legal supply (H2a & H2b), I again fitted a series of OLS models with all of the aforementioned variables in addition to three interaction terms to examine whether regime support amplified or dampened the effect of any media use variables on citizens' perceptions of legal supply. Once again, none of the interactions were significant at the .05 level, but regime support did marginally moderate print use in Ukraine ($\beta = .01, p < .10$) and Internet use in Russia ($\beta = .02, p < .10$). The results of both the direct and interaction effects are presented below in Table 9.

In sum, across countries and dimensions, partial support was found for most of my supply hypotheses. H1a, regarding a positive association between print use and perceived supply, was confirmed for political supply in Poland, but not in any other instances. H1b, which posited a negative relationship between broadcast use and perceived supply, was only supported for Ukrainian economic supply, but counter-hypothesized positive relationships were found in Poland across all three dimensions. H1c, regarding regime support, was strongly positively confirmed across all countries for the political and legal dimensions, and was negatively associated for the Ukrainian and Russian economic dimension. H2a, which hypothesized about potential moderating effects of print media use was not supported, and H2b which hypothesized about moderating effects of broadcast media use was supported only in Russia. Regime support moderated the relationship between broadcast use and political perceived supply as hypothesized. Finally, RQ1 that asked about the influence that Internet use would have on the various dimensions of perceived supply, was not supported. Internet use was statistically significant at predicting legal supply in Ukraine, but was insignificant in all other instances, possibly due to the nature of my online sample with lower than typical

| | Poland Model 1 | Poland Model 2 | Ukraine Model 1 | Ukraine Model 2 | Russia Model 1 | Russia Model 2 |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Constant | .38 (1.39) | .00 (1.56) | 4.05 (.82)*** | 4.50 (1.19)*** | 1.39 (1.13) | 3.19 (1.46)* |
| Age | -.00 (.00) | -.00 (.00) | -.01 (.01) | -.01 (.01) | .01 (.00)* | .01 (.00)# |
| Sex | -.24 (.12)# | -.23 (.12)# | -.35 (.13)** | -.35 (.13)** | .06 (.13) | .05 (.13) |
| Education | .08 (.05) | .08 (.05) | .03 (.04) | .03 (.04) | -.04 (.04) | -.04 (.03) |
| Religious importance | .02 (.04) | .02 (.04) | -.01 (.04) | -.01 (.04) | .08 (.04)# | .08 (.04)# |
| Socio-economic status | .11 (.05)* | .12 (.05)* | .04 (.06) | .04 (.06) | .04 (.06) | .03 (.06) |
| Survey language | 1.69 (1.26) | 1.67 (1.26) | -.13 (.21) | -.11 (.21) | .49 (.95) | .51 (.95) |
| Political interest | -.02 (.05) | -.02 (.05) | .05 (.06) | .06 (.06) | .00 (.06) | .00 (.06) |
| Political ideology | -.01 (.06) | -.01 (.05) | -.04 (.06) | -.04 (.06) | -.04 (.06) | -.04 (.06) |
| Political knowledge | .10 (.07) | .11 (.07) | .22 (.09)* | .21 (.09)* | .01 (.08) | .01 (.08) |
| Attention to poli news | .04 (.05) | .04 (.05) | .05 (.05) | .05 (.05) | .11 (.05)* | .11 (.05)* |
| Attention to econ news | .03 (.04) | .03 (.04) | -.04 (.05) | -.04 (.05) | -.02 (.05) | -.02 (.05) |
| Internet use | -.05 (.05) | -.00 (.13) | -.12 (.05)* | -.10 (.13) | .03 (.04) | -.19 (.13) |
| Print use | .07 (.04) | -.08 (.10) | -.06 (.04) | -.19 (.08)* | .00 (.04) | -.05 (.10) |
| Broadcast use | .16 (.04)*** | .29 (.10)** | -.05 (.05) | -.04 (.09) | -.03 (.04) | -.06 (.10) |
| Regime support | .10 (.04)** | .19 (.20) | .25 (.04)*** | .12 (.27) | .32 (.04)*** | -.11 (.23) |
| Internet x Regime support | | -.00 (.01) | | -.00 (.00) | | .02 (.01)# |
| Print x Regime support | | .01 (.01) | | .01 (.01)# | | .01 (.01) |
| Broadcast x Regime support | | -.00 (.01) | | -.00 (.01) | | .00 (.10) |
| R^2 | .14 | .15 | .12 | .13 | .18 | .19 |
| df | 453 | 450 | 533 | 530 | 460 | 457 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 9: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting legal supply

variance in Internet use. For convenience, a summary of the results of my hypotheses and research questions is provided in Table 10.

| | <u>Poland</u> | <u>Ukraine</u> | <u>Russia</u> |
|---|--|---|---|
| H1a: Print media will be positively associated with supply | Supported only for political dimension | Not supported | Not supported |
| H1b: Broadcast media will be negatively associated with supply | Not supported – inverse associations were found across all three dimensions. | Supported only for econ. dimension | Not supported |
| H1c: Support for regime will be positively associated with supply | Supported for legal and political dimensions | Supported for legal and political dimensions – inverse association for econ dimension | Supported for legal and political dimensions – inverse association for econ dimension |
| RQ1: Is Internet use positively or negatively associated with perceived supply? | No significant effect | Negative association for legal dimension | No significant effect |
| H2a: Regime support will dampen the relationships between print media use and perceived supply | Not supported | Not supported | Not supported |
| H2b: Regime support will amplify the relationships between broadcast media use and perceived supply | Not supported | Not supported | Supported for political dimension. |

Table 10: Results summary of perceived free media supply hypotheses and research question

Taken together, these results show that both media use and political predispositions are important determinants of citizens' evaluations of political, legal, and economic supply in Poland, where the media environment is free. But as freedom of the media wanes – in the cases of Russia and Ukraine – reliance on the media to form judgments appear to become less important. Respondents in countries with less political, legal, and economic supply primarily draw upon their political orientations – rather than interactions with the media – when making evaluations of free media supply. The implications of these findings are discussed in Chapter 6.

Analyses 2: Predicting Demand for Free Media

To empirically examine my hypothesized path of relationships from perceived supply through policy attitudes, depicted Figure 3, I employed Hayes' (2013) conditional process modeling approach. Conditional process modeling is a strategy designed to investigate the conditions under which variables influence one another and is ideal for combining moderation and mediation analyses. Using the latest version of Hayes' PROCESS macro, I conducted moderated mediation analyses using model template 7, with a 5000 bootstrap sample for each analysis. For the sake of simplicity, I present the results of these full models in two parts: First, I discuss the moderation results of each model that predict demand, and second, I present the results of the full mediation analyses predicting policy preferences. Although presented separately, all results stem from joint moderated mediation analyses.

Demand for Politically Free Media. For the political dimension, I fitted models independently for each country that contained demographics (age, sex, education, SES, survey language), political controls (political interest, political knowledge, political

efficacy, political ideology), media use (Internet use, print use, broadcast use), and perceptions of all three dimensions of supply, and my key moderating variable: political tolerance.

In the case of Poland, my hypotheses concerning the moderated relationship between political supply and demand were supported. Political supply ($\beta = .61, p < .001$) and political tolerance ($\beta = .50, p < .01$) both positively predicted greater demand for a politically free media, confirming H3, and as hypothesized in H4a, tolerance moderated the effect of supply on demand ($\beta = -.10, p < .01$). The interaction effect, shown in Figure 5, is negative, such that political tolerance dampens the effect between supply and demand, as hypothesized.

I further probed the interaction using the Johnson-Neyman technique. This significance test revealed a region of significance at .05 for the moderating effect at all tolerance scores less than 4.6. This means that there is a conditional positive effect of political supply on political demand for all those except the 10.7% most tolerant respondents. For exceptionally tolerant individuals, there is not a significant conditional effect, likely because demand among these respondents is already high. There appears to be a ceiling effect where respondents with high tolerance consistently demand a politically free media, and those with low tolerance determine their demand based on their assessments of supply. A post-hoc analysis revealed that this moderation effect remains the same even after controlling for fascists selected as the least-liked group. This indicates that it is *not* political tolerance toward one particular group – namely fascists – that is driving the interaction.

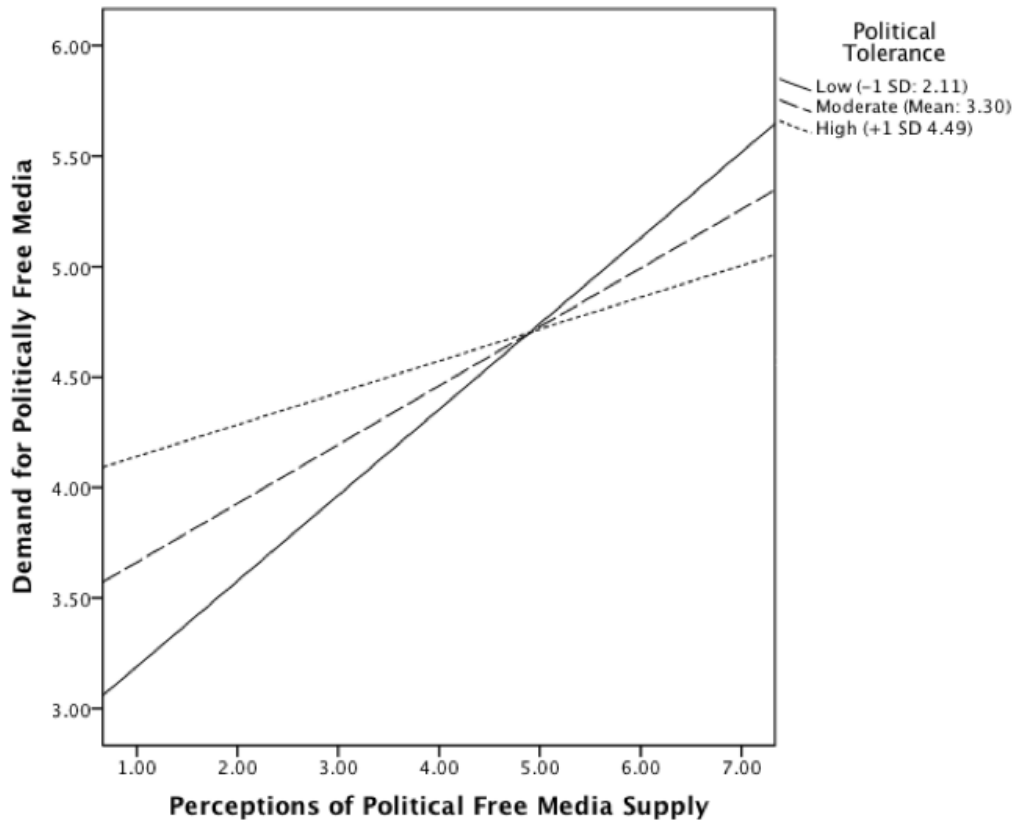


Figure 5: Tolerance moderating political supply's effect on political demand in Poland

Younger respondents ($\beta = -.33, p < .05$), those who expressed greater support for the current regime ($\beta = .14, p < .001$), and those who had high perceptions of legal supply ($\beta = .12, p < .05$) in Poland also expressed greater demand for a politically free media.

In Ukraine, respondents who reported having greater political interest ($\beta = .19, p < .001$), frequently used Internet for news and opinions ($\beta = .07, p < .05$), had less support for the regime ($\beta = -.15, p < .001$), and perceived greater legal ($\beta = .11, p < .001$) and economic supply ($\beta = .08, p < .05$) reported greater demand for a politically free media. Neither political tolerance nor political supply had an independent effect on political

demand in Ukraine, confirming the null for H3, but their combined, conditional effect did ($\beta = -.06, p < .05$), supporting H4a.

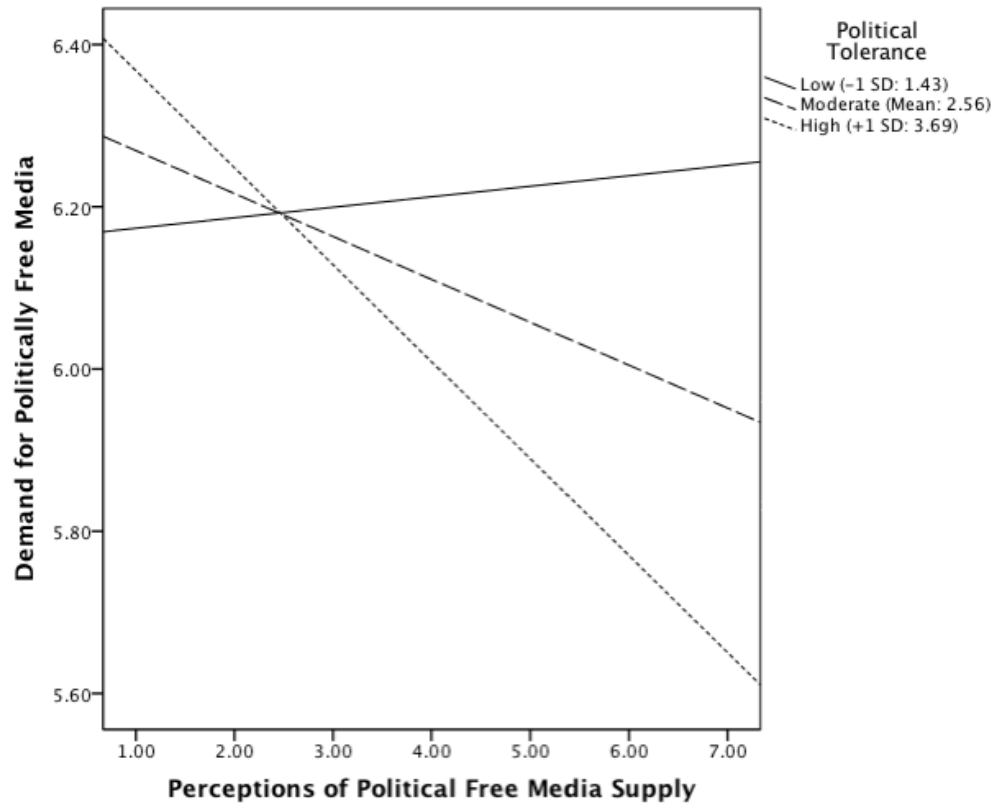


Figure 6: Tolerance moderating political supply's effect on political demand in Ukraine

Probing the interaction displayed in Figure 6 using the Johnson-Neyman technique, I found that the moderation effect was significant at the .05 level for all tolerance values greater than 2.8. This means that for individuals with moderate-to-high tolerance, there is a conditional negative relationship between political supply and political demand. Because Ukraine has a fairly restrictive media environment, tolerant respondents' demand for politically free media may be driven by infringements on

minority groups that less tolerant respondents are not sensitive to. Again, a post-hoc analysis that included the least-liked group as a control revealed that selecting “Fascists” did not alter these results.

In Russia, neither H3 nor H4a were supported. Respondents’ evaluations of political supply did not predict their political demand, and there was no conditional effect based on their political tolerance. But graphing of this non-significant interaction shown in Appendix B Figure 21, does suggest a pattern similar to that found in Ukraine, where individuals with high political tolerance exhibit a negative relationship between political supply and demand, and those with low tolerance exhibit a slightly positive relationship. Although this hypothesized moderation effect was not significant, demand was associated with other orientations, including political interest ($\beta = .12, p < .05$), knowledge ($\beta = .18, p < .01$), perceptions of economic supply ($\beta = .14, p < .01$), and waning support for the regime ($\beta = -.18, p < .001$).

Regime support was a strong predictor of political demand in all three countries; the effect was positive in the democratic country of Poland, such that greater support for the regime elicited greater demand. But in the two non-democratic countries, respondents who possessed negative affect toward the regime were likely to express greater political demand. Perceptions of political supply and tolerance were associated with demand in Poland, and their conditional effect was predictive in Ukraine, but they did not exhibit any significant effect on political demand in Russia. All of the results predicting political demand can be found below in Table 11.

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Constant | 1.69 (1.66) | 4.48 (.70)*** | 2.03 (1.19)# |
| Age | .00 (.00) | .01 (.00) | -.00 (.00) |
| Sex | -.33 (.14)* | -.06 (.09) | -.06 (.13) |
| Education | -.08 (.06) | .01 (.03) | .02 (.03) |
| Religious import | .03 (.05) | -.02 (.03) | .04 (.04) |
| Survey language | -.94 (1.43) | -.23 (.15) | 1.36 (.91) |
| SES | .03 (.06) | -.07 (.05) | .08 (.06) |
| Political interest | .04 (.06) | .19 (.04)*** | .12 (.06)* |
| Political ideology | -.08 (.06) | .04 (.05) | .01 (.06) |
| Political knowledge | -.16 (.08)* | -.03 (.06) | .18 (.07)* |
| Political efficacy | .13 (.07)# | .00 (.05) | .02 (.06) |
| Internet use | -.02 (.06) | .07 (.04)* | .02 (.04) |
| Print use | .03 (.04) | .01 (.03) | .03 (.04) |
| Broadcast use | .08 (.05) | .02 (.03) | .04 (.04) |
| Regime support | .14 (.04)*** | -.15 (.03)*** | -.18 (.04)*** |
| Tolerance | .50 (.16)** | .15 (.11) | .07 (.13) |
| Political supply | .61 (.12)*** | .10 (.07) | .12 (.09) |
| Legal supply | .12 (.06)* | .11 (.03)*** | .04 (.05) |
| Economic supply | .04 (.06) | .08 (.03)* | .14 (.04)** |
| Tolerance x Political supply | -.10 (.03)** | -.06 (.03)* | -.04 (.03) |
| R^2 | .24 | .20 | .16 |
| df | 466 | 545 | 471 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 11: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting political demand

Demand for Legally Free Media. To next examine the determinants of legal demand in each country, I again fitted models to include media use variables, demographics, political controls, regime support, and my independent variables of interest: perceptions of supply and willingness to self-censor (WSC). In Poland, H3 and H4b were both supported. Respondents who expressed greater political interest ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$), less political efficacy ($\beta = -.12$, $p < .05$), greater WSC ($\beta = .45$, $p < .05$) and greater perceptions of legal ($\beta = .52$, $p < .05$) and economic supply ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$) also indicated greater demand for a legally free media. In response to H4b, WSC negatively moderated the relationship between legal supply and legal demand, such that demand increased as supply increased for individuals with low WSC, but decreased as supply increased for individuals with high WSC. Closer examination of this interaction using the Johnson-Neyman technique revealed that the conditional effect of supply on demand is significant at the .05-level only for values of WSC less than 1.2. This means that only for individuals with very low WSC (i.e., those who are very outspoken with minority attitudes), there is a positive effect of legal supply on legal demand for free media. This moderating effect is visualized in Figure 7, with the solid line representing the conditional effect among those with low values of WSC.

In Ukraine, neither legal supply nor WSC significantly predicted legal demand, nor did an interaction between the two, confirming the null for H3 and H4b. Perceptions of other dimensions' supply – political and economic – were also not predictive, but legal demand was associated with older age ($\beta = .01$, $p < .05$), interest in politics ($\beta = .11$, $p < .05$), frequent consumption of television news ($\beta = .07$, $p < .05$), and negative affect for

the incumbent regime ($\beta = -.11, p < .001$). Similarly, in Russia, individuals' perceptions of legal supply and WSC did not significantly predict their legal demand, confirming the null for both H3 and H4b. Instead, older respondents ($\beta = .01, p < .05$), those who expressed greater interest in politics ($\beta = .26, p < .001$), had greater political knowledge ($\beta = .18, p < .01$), less political efficacy ($\beta = -.12, p < .05$), and high perceptions of economic supply ($\beta = .16, p < .001$) demanded a legally free media. All of these results are presented in Table 12.

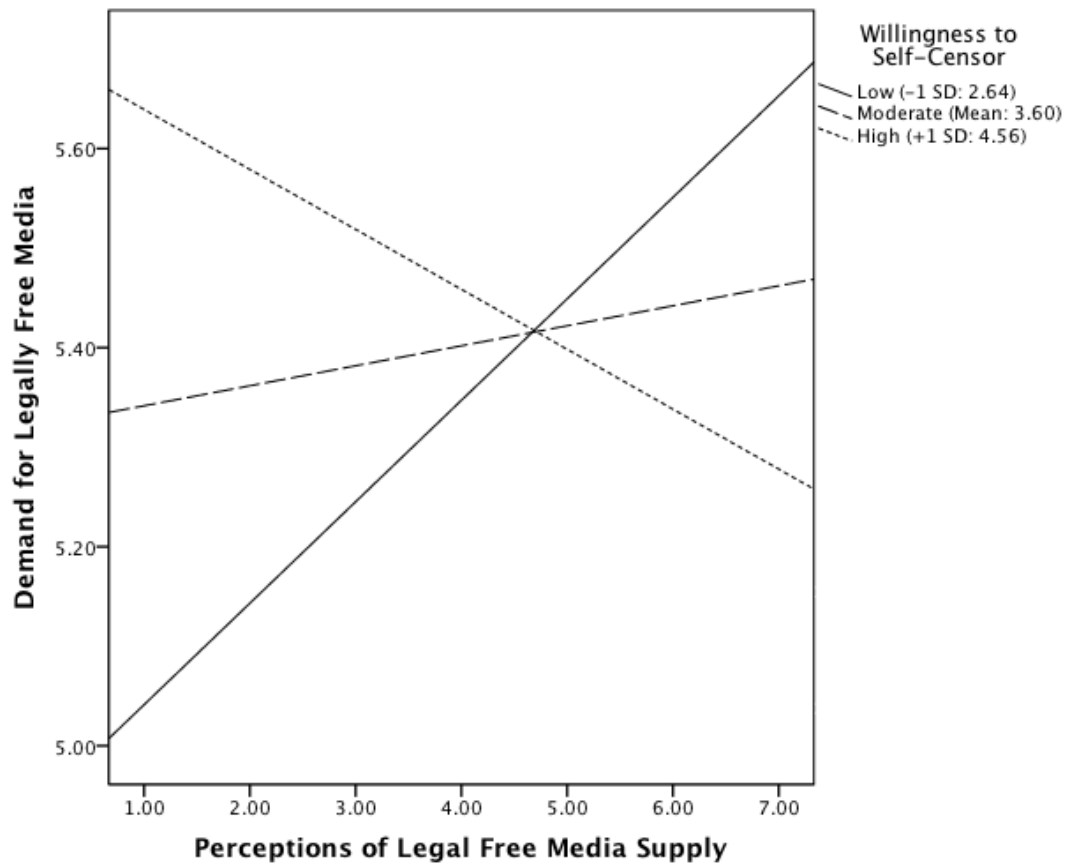


Figure 7: WSC moderating legal supply's effect on legal demand in Poland

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| Constant | -.65 (1.54) | 5.95 (.82)*** | 2.12 (1.12)# |
| Age | .00 (.00) | .01 (.00)* | .01 (.00)* |
| Sex | .18 (.12) | .05 (.10) | -.02 (.11) |
| Education | -.00 (.05) | -.02 (.03) | .01 (.03) |
| Religious import | -.01 (.04) | -.08 (.03)** | .06 (.04) |
| Survey language | 1.06 (1.23) | -.08 (.16) | .44 (.79) |
| SES | -.02 (.05) | -.04 (.05) | .09 (.05) |
| Political interest | .23 (.05)*** | .11 (.04)* | .26 (.05)*** |
| Political ideology | .10 (.05)# | -.07 (.05) | .03 (.05) |
| Political knowledge | .05 (.07) | .12 (.07)# | .18 (.06)** |
| Political efficacy | -.13 (.06)* | -.02 (.05) | -.12 (.05)* |
| Internet use | .08 (.05)# | .05 (.04) | .02 (.04) |
| Print use | .01 (.04) | .00 (.03) | -.02 (.03) |
| Broadcast use | .02 (.04) | .07 (.03)* | .02 (.04) |
| Regime support | .00 (.01) | -.11 (.03)*** | -.01 (.04) |
| WSC | .45 (.20)* | -.19 (.14) | -.10 (.18) |
| Political supply | .02 (.04) | -.01 (.03) | .01 (.03) |
| Legal supply | .32 (.16)* | -.06 (.12) | .01 (.15) |
| Economic supply | .19 (.05)*** | .03 (.03) | .15 (.04)*** |
| WSC x Legal supply | -.09 (.04)* | .02 (.03) | .01 (.04) |
| R^2 | .18 | .12 | .20 |
| df | 467 | 545 | 468 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 12: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting legal demand

Figures depicting the insignificant willingness to self-censor interactions in

Russia and Ukraine can also be found in Appendix B Figures 22 and 23. These

visualizations indicate that in Russia, respondents with high WSC expressed greater demand a legally freer media in general, but the slopes do not statistically differ from one another. In Ukraine, those with low WSC tended to have a negative association between supply and demand, and those with high WSC tended to have a positive association, but these differences were not statistically significant.

Demand for Economically Free Media. To examine my last set of demand hypotheses, I again estimated models with media use, demographic, political controls, regime support, perceptions of supply, and a measure of economic ideology to predict demand for an economically free media. In Poland, perceptions economic supply did not significantly predict economic demand, confirming the null for H3. Polish respondents who expressed political interest ($\beta = .10, p < .05$), positive affect toward the regime ($\beta = .08, p < .05$), and frequently consumed print media ($\beta = .07, p < .05$) were those most likely to express demand for an economically free media. Economic ideology was negatively associated with my dependent variable, such that support for a laissez faire free market led citizens to demand less economic freedom of the media ($\beta = -.67, p < .001$).

H4c that predicted respondents' economic ideology would moderate the relationship between supply and demand was supported in Poland. Polish respondents who expressed strong support for free market ideals exhibited an amplified relationship between economic supply and demand. Once again using the Johnson-Neyman technique to probe the interaction, the conditional effect of economic ideology on the relationship between supply and demand is significant at the .01 level for all values.

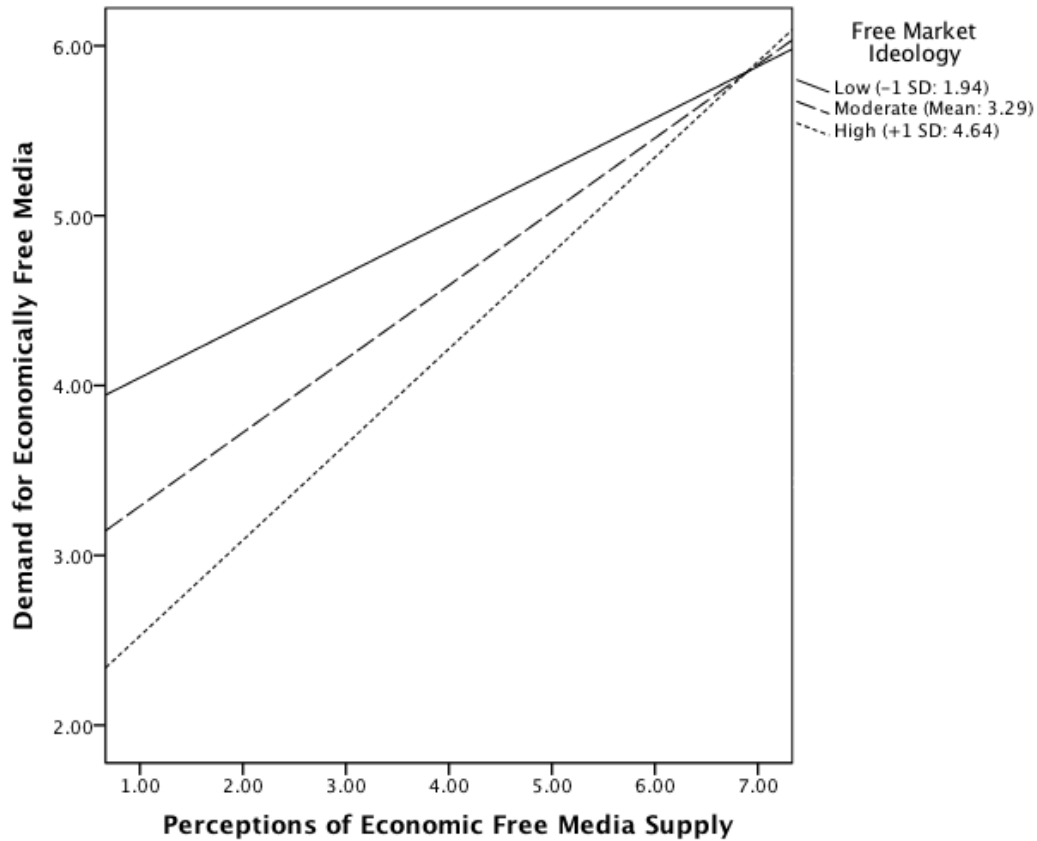


Figure 8: Free market ideology moderating economic supply's effect on economic demand in Poland

In Ukraine and Russia, neither H3 nor H4c were supported, and very few of the variables offered any significant effect on economic demand. Younger Ukrainians ($\beta = -.01, p < .05$), and those who opted to take the survey in the Russian language, rather than Ukrainian ($\beta = 1.24, p < .001$), were the only two variables associated in Ukraine. Younger Russians ($\beta = -.03, p < .001$), and those who frequently consumed print media ($\beta = .11, p < .05$), were also likely to demand greater economic freedom. But economic supply did not predict demand for economically free media, nor did one's free market ideology moderate these relationships. The insignificant interactions in Russia and Ukraine are graphed in Appendix B Figures 24 and 25.

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Constant | 2.63 (1.41) | .70 (1.20) | 1.75 (1.55) |
| Age | .01 (.00) | -.01 (.01)* | -.03 (.01)*** |
| Sex | -.01 (.11)* | -.31 (.16)# | -.04 (.16) |
| Education | -.01 (.05) | .01 (.05) | .01 (.05) |
| Religious import | .03 (.04) | .01 (.05) | .03 (.06) |
| Survey language | .86 (1.16) | 1.24 (.26)*** | 1.69 (1.20) |
| SES | .01 (.05) | .06 (.08) | .12 (.08) |
| Political interest | .10 (.05)* | .03 (.07) | .03 (.07) |
| Political ideology | .01 (.05) | .01 (.08) | .05 (.08) |
| Political knowledge | -.01 (.06) | .02 (.10) | -.00 (.09) |
| Political efficacy | -.12 (.06)* | .01 (.07) | .03 (.07) |
| Internet use | .04 (.05) | .03 (.06) | -.01 (.06) |
| Print use | .06 (.04)* | .02 (.05) | .11 (.05)* |
| Broadcast use | .05 (.04) | -.04 (.05) | -.04 (.05) |
| Regime support | .06 (.03)# | .07 (.05) | -.03 (.06) |
| Economic ideology | -.67 (.17)*** | .22 (.23) | .05 (.08) |
| Political supply | .05 (.04) | -.07 (.06) | .01 (.06) |
| Legal supply | -.01 (.05) | .11 (.06)# | .07 (.06) |
| Economic supply | .10 (.11) | .02 (.12) | -.04 (.12) |
| Econ ideology x Econ supply | .10 (.03)** | -.02 (.04) | -.01 (.04) |
| R^2 | .34 | .09 | .08 |
| df | 468 | 546 | 469 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 13: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting economic demand

Examination of all three interactions reveals that respondents with low free market ideology express high demand regardless of supply. But contrary to Poland where the slopes for free market ideology converge, producing a positive association between supply and demand, the slopes of economic ideology in Russia and Ukraine remain parallel and fail to produce a significant conditional effect. These null moderation results – alongside Poland’s significant interactive effect – can be found in Table 13.

Analysis 3: Predicting Free Media Policy Attitudes

The second, mediated part of my moderated mediation model explained at the onset of this chapter tested political, legal, and economic policy attitudes as dependent variables. Political, legal, and economic demand served as mediating variables between perceptions of supply and policy attitudes. As visualized in Figure 3, I hypothesized that perceived free media supply would be associated with demand for free media, and demand would influence free media policy attitudes across all three dimensions.

For these analyses, models were fit with media use variables, demographics, political controls, political orientations (regime support, political tolerance, economic ideology, and willingness to self-censor), perceptions of supply and demand attitudes.

Political Policy Attitudes. In the model predicting political policy preferences, political demand was positively associated with policy attitudes in Ukraine ($\beta = .28$, $p < .001$) and Russia ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$), but not in Poland, providing partial support for H5a. Unfavorable attitudes toward the regime also were a strong positive predictor of political demand in Ukraine ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .001$) and Russia ($\beta = -.22$, $p < .001$), but not in Poland. There was a marginal direct effect of political supply on political policy in Poland and

Russia, but a mediated, indirect relationship in all countries was insignificant, failing to support H6a. Details of these results can be found below in Table 14.

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Constant | 5.03 (1.61)** | 3.73 (.84)*** | 3.21 (1.29)* |
| Age | .00 (.00)* | .01 (.05) | .01 (.01) |
| Sex | -.10 (.14) | -.15 (.13) | -.04 (.15) |
| Education | .07 (.06) | .02 (.04) | -.01 (.04) |
| Religious import | .02 (.04) | .10 (.04)* | .01 (.05) |
| Survey language | -1.24 (1.45) | -.17 (.20) | 1.85 (1.07)# |
| SES | -.09 (.06) | .13 (.06)* | .08 (.07) |
| Political interest | .09 (.06) | .07 (.06) | .12 (.07)# |
| Political ideology | -.03 (.06) | .00 (.06) | -.12 (.07)# |
| Political knowledge | .32 (.08)*** | .08 (.04)# | .00 (.08) |
| Political efficacy | -.02 (.07) | .03 (.02) | .08 (.07) |
| Internet use | -.01 (.06) | -.09 (.05)# | -.00 (.05) |
| Print use | .02 (.05) | -.02 (.04) | -.06 (.04) |
| Broadcast use | -.06 (.05) | .02 (.04) | -.03 (.05) |
| Regime support | -.02 (.04) | -.08 (.01)*** | -.22 (.05)*** |
| Economic supply | .16 (.06)** | -.03 (.05) | -.11 (.05)* |
| Legal supply | -.01 (.06) | -.07 (.05) | -.12 (.06)* |
| Political supply | -.10 (.05)# | .01 (.05) | -.09 (.05)# |
| Political demand | .04 (.05) | .28 (.06)*** | .19 (.06)*** |
| R^2 | .15 | .21 | .20 |
| df | 466 | 545 | 471 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 14: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting political policy attitudes

Legal Policy Attitudes. In the mediation models predicting legal policy attitudes, legal demand was a positive predictor of policy attitudes in all three countries, confirming H5b. However, legal supply did not have a direct or indirect conditional effect on legal policy in any country, confirming the null for H6b. Although there were positive associations between both legal supply and legal demand, and legal demand and legal policy attitudes, the supply-demand effect was so small that when bootstrapped 5000 times, the entire mediated pathway was not statistically significant. Perceptions of economic supply were additional predictors in both Poland and Ukraine, and age ($\beta = .01$, $p < .01$), frequent Internet use ($\beta = .10$, $p < .05$) and negative affect toward the regime ($\beta = -.16$, $p < .01$) were associated in Russia. These details can be found in Table 15.

Economic Policy Attitudes. In the final set of mediation models, which predicted economic policy attitudes, there was partial support for H5c. Economic demand was marginally positively associated with economic policy attitudes in Poland ($\beta = .13$, $p < .10$), negatively associated in Russia ($\beta = -.09$, $p < .05$), and not associated in Ukraine. Russians who perceived greater levels of political ($\beta = .20$, $p < .001$) and economic supply ($\beta = .17$, $p < .01$) in Russia also espoused economic free media policy. There was no direct effect of supply on demand in Poland and Ukraine, and no indirect, mediating effect in any of the three countries, confirming the null for H6c. As can be seen in Table 16, not many of the other predictors were associated with policy in Poland and Ukraine, providing opportunity for future investigation about variables may shape individuals' economic policy attitudes.

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Constant | .18 (1.29) | 3.60 (.81)*** | 5.83 (1.27)*** |
| Age | .01 (.00) | .02 (.00)*** | .01 (.00)** |
| Sex | .17 (.11) | -.04 (.11) | -.12 (.14) |
| Education | .03 (.05) | -.05 (.03) | .04 (.04) |
| Religious import | .02 (.04) | -.03 (.04) | -.06 (.05) |
| Survey language | .40 (1.17) | -.67 (.19)*** | -3.73 (1.04)*** |
| SES | .00 (.05) | .03 (.06) | .11 (.07) |
| Political interest | .13 (.05)** | .07 (.05) | .05 (.07) |
| Political ideology | -.01 (.05) | .04 (.06) | -.01 (.07) |
| Political knowledge | .04 (.06) | -.03 (.08) | .03 (.08) |
| Political efficacy | .01 (.06) | .05 (.06) | .10 (.07) |
| Internet use | .10 (.05)* | .05 (.05) | .10 (.05)* |
| Print use | -.04 (.04) | -.02 (.03) | .06 (.04) |
| Broadcast use | -.03 (.04) | .05 (.04) | .06 (.05) |
| Regime support | .06 (.03)* | -.05 (.04) | -.16 (.05)** |
| Economic supply | .19 (.05)*** | .11 (.04)** | .03 (.05) |
| Political supply | -.05 (.04) | -.01 (.04) | .10 (.05)# |
| Legal supply | .04 (.05) | .04 (.04) | -.01 (.06) |
| Legal demand | .38 (.05)*** | .23 (.05)*** | .13 (.06)* |
| R^2 | .33 | .16 | .16 |
| df | 467 | 545 | 468 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 15: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting legal policy attitudes

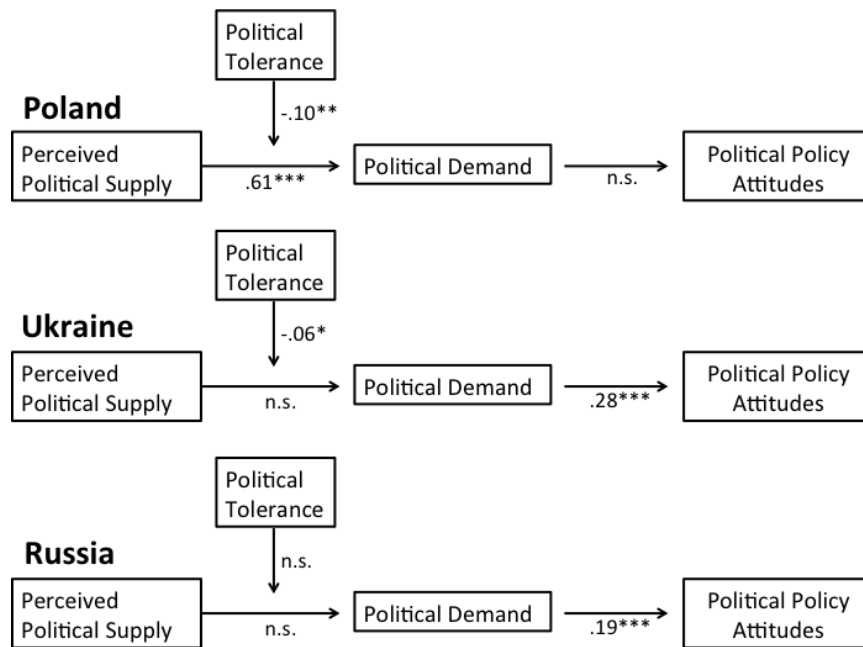
| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| Constant | -.74 (1.80) | 4.30 (.94)*** | 4.71 (1.37)*** |
| Age | .02 (.01)** | .02 (.01)** | .01 (.01)# |
| Sex | .14 (.16) | .03 (.14) | .01 (.15) |
| Education | .04 (.07) | -.06 (.04) | .05 (.04) |
| Religious import | .15 (.06)** | -.05 (.05) | -.09 (.05)# |
| Survey language | 2.54 (1.63) | .11 (.24) | -1.89 (1.13) |
| SES | .03 (.07) | -.05 (.07) | .07 (.08) |
| Political interest | -.00 (.06) | .04 (.06) | .14 (.07)* |
| Political ideology | .19 (.07)** | -.02 (.07) | .00 (.08) |
| Political knowledge | .01 (.09) | -.04 (.10) | .11 (.09) |
| Political efficacy | -.05 (.08) | -.04 (.07) | -.04 (.07) |
| Internet use | .12 (.07)# | -.01 (.06) | -.04 (.05) |
| Print use | .02 (.05) | -.01 (.04) | .00 (.05) |
| Broadcast use | -.04 (.05) | .09 (.05)# | -.10 (.05)# |
| Regime support | -.03 (.04) | .06 (.05) | .08 (.05) |
| Legal supply | -.12 (.06)# | -.05 (.05) | -.05 (.06) |
| Political supply | -.02 (.06) | .03 (.05) | .20 (.05)*** |
| Economic supply | -.08 (.07) | .06 (.05) | .17 (.05)** |
| Economic demand | .10 (.07) | -.03 (.04) | -.09 (.04)* |
| R^2 | .07 | .06 | .12 |
| df | 468 | 546 | 469 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 16: Poland, Ukraine, and Russian models predicting economic policy attitudes

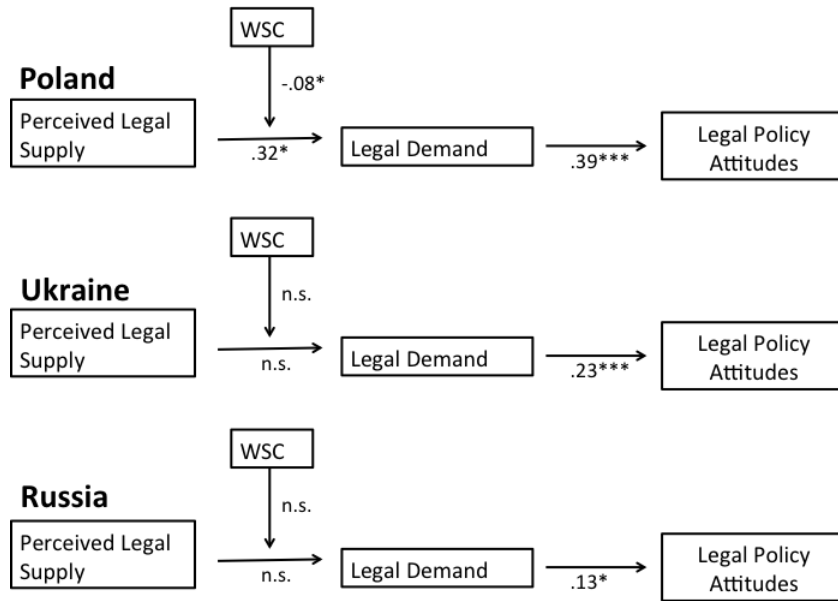
Figures 9 – 11 depict the original hypothesized moderated mediation models, summarizing the results for each country. In Poland, all of the hypothesized relationships were significant except an association between political demand and policy

attitudes, a direct effect between economic supply and demand and economic demand and economic policy attitudes. In Ukraine and Russia, demand and policy attitudes were consistently associated, but the linkages between perceived free media supply and demand were not significant. These relationships are explored further with post-hoc analyses, and discussed at length in the Discussion.



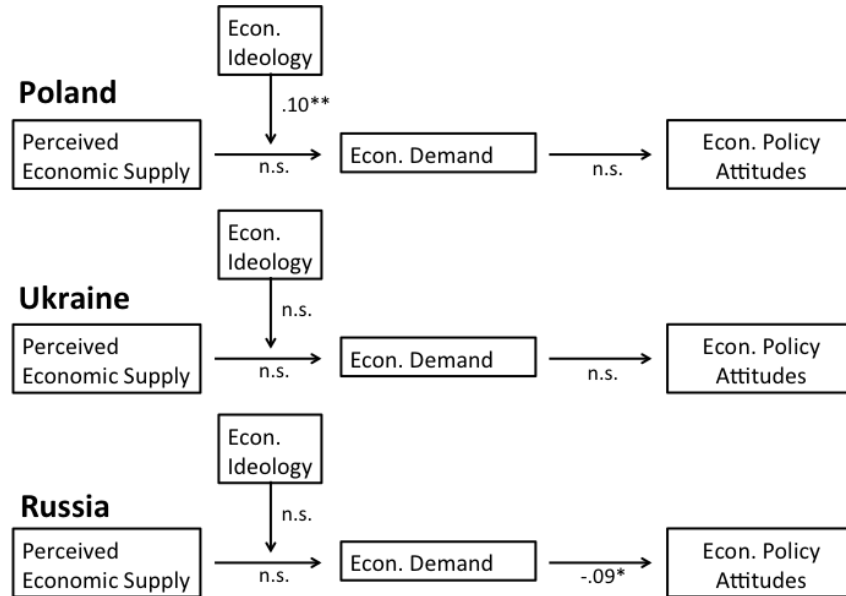
$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 9: Hypothesized moderated-mediation results for the political dimension



$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 10: Hypothesized moderated-mediation results for the legal dimension



$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 11: Hypothesized moderated-mediation results for the economic dimension

Post-hoc Analyses

The hypothesis testing above revealed some interesting initial findings about the relationships between media use and citizens perceptions of free media supply, supply and demand, and demand and policy attitudes. To investigate these relationships further, I undertook a series of post-hoc analyses to gain more nuanced insight into the associations presented above.

Examining unique moderating effects. In Poland, an individual's political tolerance, willingness to self-censor, and economic ideology moderated supply's influence on demand, as hypothesized. These results are encouraging, as they replicate previous research that has shown an association between these variables and demand for free media in democratic countries (Andsager et al., 2004, Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press). However, I conducted a series of post-hoc analyses to determine whether each moderating variable was *uniquely* associated with each theorized dimension. Specifically, I wanted to test whether political tolerance only moderated the political dimension or also produced interaction effects for the legal and economic dimensions, and the same for willingness to self-censor and economic ideology. To examine these effects, I fitted a series of moderation analyses using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro, model 1 with 5000 bootstrap samples. All models were estimated precisely as before; the only difference being a substitution of interaction terms (political tolerance, willingness to self-censor, economic ideology).

Tolerance. Table 17 displays the results of political tolerance on the legal and economic dimensions in Poland. Tolerance has neither a direct effect nor moderating

effect on either legal demand or economic demand, confirming that it is a political predisposition unique to the political dimension.

| | Legal demand | Economic demand |
|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Constant | 1.18 (1.52) | .37 (1.43) |
| Age | -.00 (.00) | .00 (.00) |
| Sex | .18 (.12) | .02 (.11) |
| Education | .01 (.05) | -.02 (.05) |
| Religious import | -.00 (.04) | .01 (.04) |
| Survey language | .91 (1.24) | .42 (1.19) |
| SES | -.02 (.05) | -.01 (.05) |
| Political interest | .24 (.05)*** | .10 (.05)* |
| Political ideology | .10 (.05)# | -.01 (.05) |
| Political knowledge | .06 (.07) | .03 (.06) |
| Political efficacy | -.11 (.06)# | -.12 (.06)# |
| Internet use | .07 (.05) | .07 (.05) |
| Print use | .01 (.04) | .08 (.04)* |
| Broadcast use | .03 (.04) | .06 (.04) |
| Regime support | .01 (.04) | .08 (.03)* |
| Political tolerance | -.03 (.18) | .14 (.21) |
| Political supply | .02 (.04) | .03 (.04) |
| Legal supply | .01 (.13) | .01 (.05) |
| Economic supply | .19 (.05)*** | .55 (.13)*** |
| Tolerance x Legal supply | -.03 (.18) | --- |
| Tolerance x Econ supply | --- | -.03 (.04) |
| R^2 | .18 | .31 |
| df | 466 | 466 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 17: Effects of tolerance on legal and economic demand in Poland

Willingness to self-censor. However, willingness to self-censor does *not* appear to be a predictor unique to the legal dimension. It has a marginally significant negative interaction with political supply ($\beta = -.07, p < .10$), and significantly interacts with economic supply to have a negative effect on economic demand ($\beta = -.13, p < .01$). In both cases, the relationship between supply and demand was strongest among individuals with low willingness to self-censor, as visualized by the solid slope lines graphed in Figures 12 and 13. Those with high WSC demanded greater political and economic media protection than more outspoken respondents when they perceived supply to be low, as hypothesized.

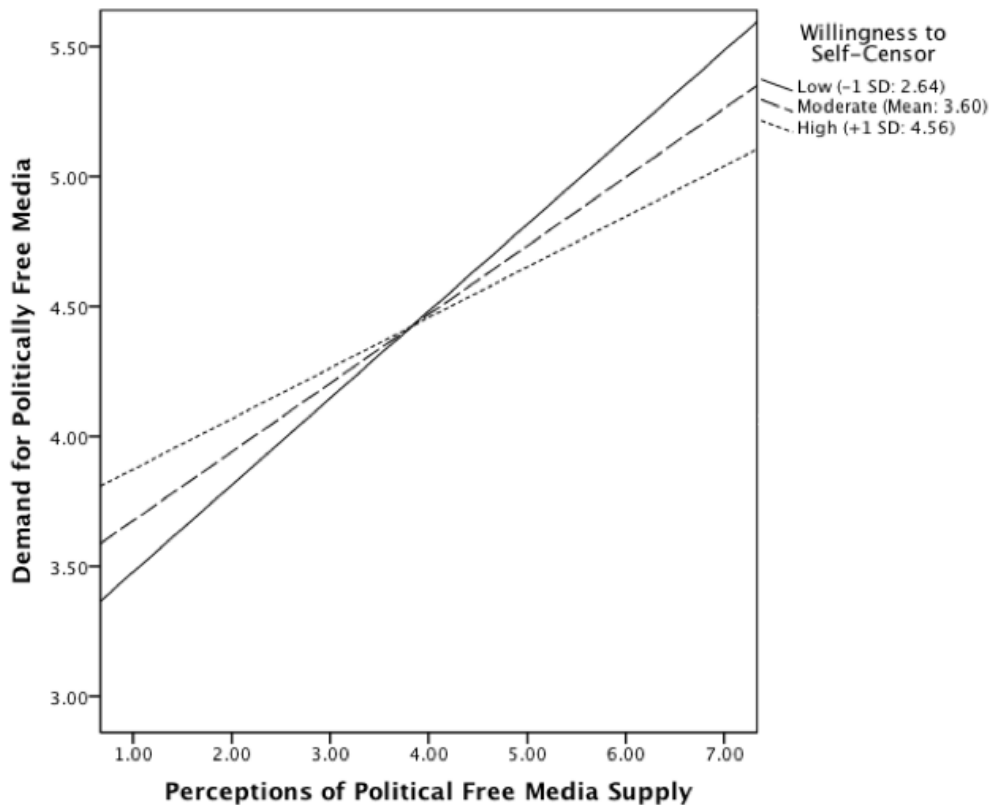


Figure 12: WSC moderation on political supply and demand in Poland

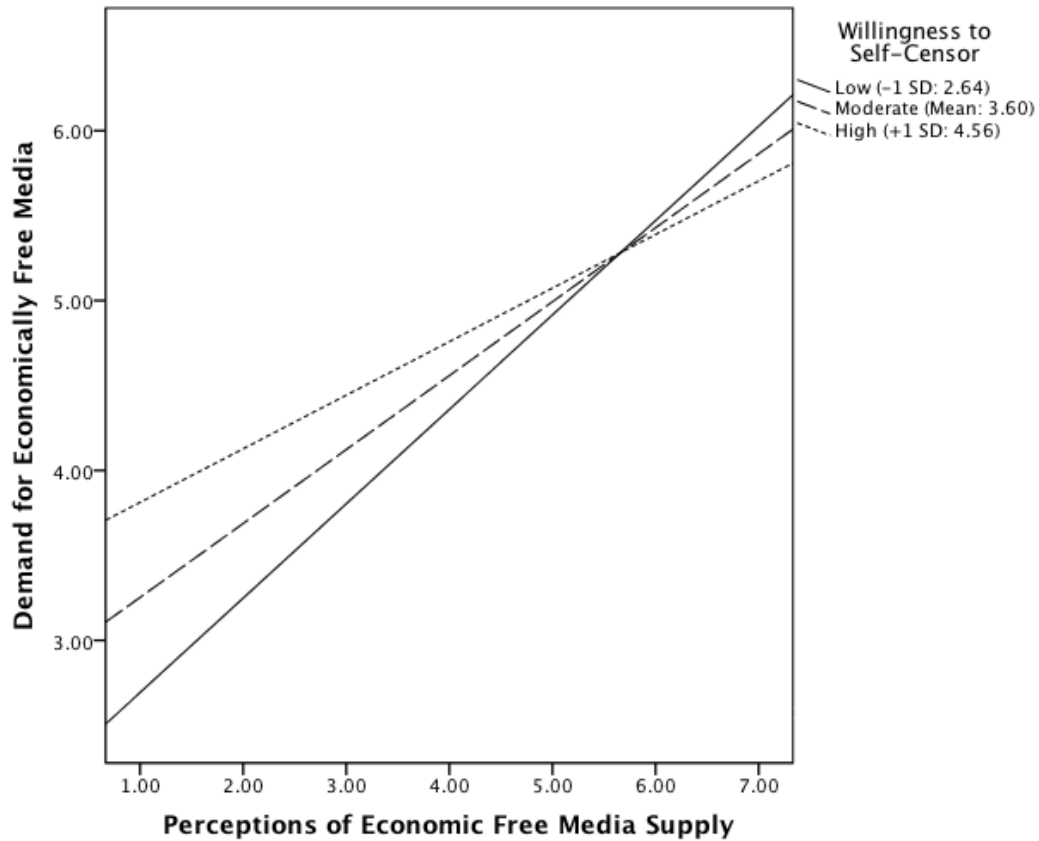


Figure 13: WSC moderation on economic supply and demand in Poland

Economic Ideology. Lastly, respondents’ free market ideology did not have a significant direct or interactive effect on either political demand or legal demand, as seen in Table 18. This indicates that economic ideology solely predicts demand on the economic dimension.

Taken together, these post-hoc results are fairly encouraging. They suggest that political tolerance and economic ideology are each uniquely predictive of one particular dimension of demand (political and economic dimensions respectively), and only willingness to self-censor does not discern well between legal, political, and economic attitudes.

| | Political demand | Economic demand |
|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Constant | 2.41 (1.73) | -2.01 (1.60) |
| Age | .00 (.00) | .00 (.00) |
| Sex | -.31 (.14)* | .01 (.11) |
| Education | -.10 (.06) | -.02 (.05) |
| Religious import | .04 (.05) | .02 (.04) |
| Survey language | -1.01 (1.44) | .47 (1.18) |
| SES | .03 (.06) | .01 (.05) |
| Political interest | .04 (.06) | .10 (.05)* |
| Political ideology | -.07 (.06) | -.00 (.05) |
| Political knowledge | -.16 (.08)* | .04 (.06) |
| Political efficacy | .13 (.07)# | -.11 (.06)# |
| Internet use | -.00 (.06) | .06 (.05) |
| Print use | .04 (.04) | .08 (.04)* |
| Broadcast use | .07 (.05) | .07 (.04)# |
| Regime support | .13 (.04)** | .07 (.03)* |
| WSC | .04 (.02) | .71 (.25)** |
| Political supply | .53 (.14)*** | .04 (.04) |
| Legal supply | .13 (.06)* | .01 (.05) |
| Economic supply | .04 (.06) | .89 (.16)*** |
| WSC x Political supply | -.07 (.04)# | --- |
| WSC x Econ supply | --- | -.13 (.04)*** |
| R^2 | .23 | .33 |
| df | 467 | 467 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 18: Effects of WSC on political and economic demand in Poland

| | Political demand | Legal demand |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Constant | 3.34 (1.68)* | 1.68 (1.46) |
| Age | .00 (.00) | .00 (.00) |
| Sex | -.30 (.14)* | .23 (.12)* |
| Education | -.08 (.06) | .03 (.05) |
| Religious import | .04 (.05) | -.00 (.04) |
| Survey language | .97 (1.44) | 1.04 (1.21) |
| SES | .04 (.06) | -.01 (.05) |
| Political interest | .04 (.06) | .21 (.05)*** |
| Political ideology | -.06 (.06) | .11 (.05)* |
| Political knowledge | -.16 (.08)* | .07 (.07) |
| Political efficacy | .13 (.08)# | -.10 (.06)# |
| Internet use | -.01 (.06) | .06 (.05) |
| Print use | .03 (.05) | -.01 (.04) |
| Broadcast use | .06 (.05) | .01 (.04) |
| Regime support | .14 (.04)*** | .02 (.04) |
| Economic ideology | -.01 (.14) | -.20 (.15) |
| Political supply | .29 (.11)** | .04 (.04) |
| Legal supply | .13 (.06)* | .02 (.12) |
| Economic supply | .05 (.06) | .18 (.05)*** |
| E.Ideo x Political supply | -.00 (.03) | --- |
| E.Ideo x Legal supply | --- | -.00 (.03) |
| R^2 | .23 | .21 |
| df | 468 | 468 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 19: Effects of economic ideology on political and legal demand in Poland

WSC is significantly predictive of both legal and economic demand, and marginally significant of political demand. Moreover, in all three interactions, individuals with high WSC were likely to demand greater media protection when they believed protection to be low. As their perceptions of supply increased, support for legal protection demand waned (albeit not significantly), but demand for political and economic continued to rise. In contrast, outspoken individuals did not demand legal, political, or economic protections when supply was low, but as their perceptions of supply increased, so did their demand. This initial study has identified two unique predictors of political and economic demand, and in the following chapter, I discuss the implications of the WSC moderations and other potential determinants.

Examining unique predictors of policy attitudes. In an additional attempt to delineate political, legal, and economic media freedom as three discrete dimensions, I wanted to determine whether they uniquely predicted policy attitudes. Empirical testing of H5a – H5c revealed that legal demand positively predicted legal policy attitudes in all three countries; political demand positively predicted political policy attitudes in Ukraine and Russia; and economic demand negatively predicted economic policy attitudes in Russia alone. I conducted several post-hoc to examine the effect of all three demand variables on policy attitudes. I fit OLS regression models predicting political, legal, and economic policy attitudes with all three supply measures, all three demand measures, media use, demographics and political control variables.

Political policy attitudes. Once included, neither legal nor economic demand significantly predicted political policy attitudes in any country, and political demand retained its significance in Ukraine ($\beta = .27, p < .001$) and Russia ($\beta = .16, p < .01$). This

indicates that for Ukraine and Russia, political policy attitudes were uniquely the result of political demand. Unusually, none of the demand or supply variables were associated

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Constant | 4.82 (1.56)** | 3.65 (.86)*** | 3.16 (1.28)* |
| Age | .00 (.00)* | .01 (.01) | .01 (.01) |
| Sex | -.13 (.14) | -.16 (.13) | -.05 (.15) |
| Education | .06 (.06) | .01 (.04) | .00 (.04) |
| Survey language | -1.05 (1.42) | -.16 (.21) | 1.90 (1.07)# |
| SES | -.07 (.06) | .13 (.06)* | .08 (.07) |
| Political interest | .03 (.06) | .07 (.06) | .09 (.07) |
| Political ideology | -.05 (.06) | .00 (.06) | -.12 (.07)# |
| Political knowledge | .25 (.04)*** | .09 (.04)* | .01 (.04) |
| Political efficacy | -.00 (.02) | .03 (.02) | .03 (.02) |
| Internet use | -.03 (.06) | -.10 (.05)# | -.00 (.05) |
| Print use | .02 (.04) | -.02 (.04) | -.06 (.04) |
| Broadcast use | -.06 (.05) | .02 (.04) | -.03 (.05) |
| Regime support | -.01 (.01) | -.08 (.02)*** | -.08 (.02)*** |
| Political supply | -.09 (.05)# | .01 (.05) | -.09 (.05)# |
| Political demand | .02 (.05) | .27 (.07)*** | .16 (.06)** |
| Legal supply | -.02 (.06) | -.07 (.05) | -.13 (.06)* |
| Legal demand | .10 (.06)# | .02 (.06) | .07 (.07) |
| Economic supply | .10 (.06) | -.03 (.05) | -.12 (.05)* |
| Economic demand | .06 (.06) | -.01 (.04) | -.02 (.04) |
| R^2 | .16 | .21 | .13 |
| df | 447 | 526 | 450 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 20: Effects of political, legal, and economic demand on political policy attitudes

with political policy in Poland, although political supply was marginally significant ($\beta = -.09, p < .10$). In Russia, legal and economic supply were negatively associated with political policy, even when political supply was not. The results of this full model predicting political policy attitudes can be found above in Table 20.

Legal policy attitudes. For the full model predicting legal policy attitudes, the effects of legal demand remained significant in Poland ($\beta = .35, p < .001$) and Ukraine ($\beta = .18, p < .001$), but diminished in Russia with the inclusion of other demand variables. Instead, Russian political demand was positively associated with legal policy attitudes ($\beta = .23, p < .001$), and economic demand was negatively associated ($\beta = -.08, p < .05$). In Poland and Ukraine, legal policy is not uniquely associated with legal demand. In Poland, was associated with economic supply ($\beta = .14, p < .01$) and economic demand ($\beta = .13, p < .01$); and in Ukraine, both political demand ($\beta = .16, p < .01$) and economic demand ($\beta = .18, p < .001$) were predictors.

Economic policy attitudes. Finally, economic policy attitudes were the most difficult to predict. Economic demand predicted policy only for Russian citizens, and in this case, it was a negative association, such that greater demand led to less support for the economic policy ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$). In Poland, political demand negatively predicted economic policy ($\beta = -.12, p < .05$), and in Ukraine, none of the supply nor demand measures were associated. These results are reported in Table 22.

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Constant | .45 (1.28) | 2.73 (.75)*** | 5.37 (1.23)*** |
| Age | -.01 (.00)** | .02 (.00)*** | .01 (.01)** |
| Sex | .19 (.11)# | -.02 (.11) | -.11 (.14) |
| Education | .05 (.05) | -.05 (.03) | .03 (.04) |
| Survey language | .29 (1.16) | -.64 (.18)*** | -3.87 (1.03)*** |
| SES | -.00 (.05) | .05 (.06) | .11 (.07) |
| Political interest | .12 (.05)** | .06 (.05) | .05 (.07) |
| Political ideology | .01 (.05) | .03 (.05) | .01 (.07) |
| Political knowledge | .06 (.03)# | -.02 (.04) | -.01 (.04) |
| Political efficacy | .00 (.02) | .02 (.02) | .03 (.02) |
| Internet use | .08 (.05)# | .05 (.04) | .10 (.05)# |
| Print use | -.04 (.04) | -.02 (.03) | .07 (.04)# |
| Broadcast use | -.03 (.04) | .05 (.04) | .04 (.05) |
| Regime support | .02 (.01) | -.01 (.01) | -.04 (.02)* |
| Political supply | -.06 (.04) | .00 (.04) | .09 (.05)# |
| Political demand | .03 (.04) | .16 (.06)** | .23 (.06)*** |
| Legal supply | .04 (.05) | .01 (.04) | .00 (.05) |
| Legal demand | .35 (.05)*** | .18 (.06)*** | .01 (.07) |
| Economic supply | .14 (.05)** | .10 (.04) | .02 (.05) |
| Economic demand | .13 (.05)** | .01 (.03)* | -.08 (.04)* |
| R^2 | .34 | .18 | .20 |
| df | 447 | 526 | 449 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 21: Effects of political, legal, and economic demand on legal policy attitudes

| | Poland | Ukraine | Russia |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| Constant | .49 (1.81) | 3.41 (.95)*** | 4.19 (1.34)** |
| Age | .00 (.00) | .02 (.01)** | .01 (.01)# |
| Sex | .11 (.16) | -.01 (.14) | .01 (.15) |
| Education | .05 (.07) | -.05 (.04) | .06 (.04) |
| Survey language | 2.10 (1.65) | .211 (.23) | -1.93 (1.13) |
| SES | .02 (.07) | -.04 (.07) | .06 (.08) |
| Political interest | -.00 (.06) | .03 (.07) | .07 (.07) |
| Political ideology | .18 (.07)** | -.04 (.07) | -.02 (.07) |
| Political knowledge | .01 (.05) | -.05 (.05) | .05 (.04) |
| Political efficacy | -.01 (.03) | -.01 (.02) | -.02 (.02) |
| Internet use | .09 (.07) | -.01 (.06) | -.04 (.05) |
| Print use | .04 (.05) | -.01 (.04) | .01 (.05) |
| Broadcast use | -.03 (.05) | .08 (.05) | -.10 (.05)# |
| Regime support | -.00 (.02) | .02 (.02) | .02 (.02) |
| Political supply | -.01 (.06) | .02 (.05) | .21 (.05)*** |
| Political demand | -.12 (.06)* | .01 (.07) | .05 (.07) |
| Legal supply | -.08 (.07) | -.05 (.05) | -.08 (.06) |
| Legal demand | .12 (.07)# | .10 (.07) | .14 (.08)# |
| Economic supply | -.10 (.07) | .06 (.05) | .15 (.06)** |
| Economic demand | .12 (.07)# | -.04 (.04) | -.10 (.04)* |
| R^2 | .09 | .06 | .13 |
| df | 447 | 526 | 450 |

$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 22: Effects of political, legal, and economic demand on economic policy attitudes

In sum, predictors of policy attitudes paint a complicated picture. Demand on one dimension predicted policy attitudes on the same dimensions under some conditions, but

often not exclusively. Policy results proved to be inconsistent across countries, and in the case of economic policy attitudes in Russia, entirely counter-intuitive, wherein increased economic demand was associated with less support for economically free policy attitudes. Interpretations of these findings are discussed at length in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This study was the first of its kind to explore how individuals in vastly different media environments form attitudes about political, legal, and economic media freedom. It offers two unique contributions to the media freedom literature: 1) it is the first study to conceptualize and operationalize three distinct dimensions of free media supply, demand, and policy attitudes; and 2) it provides a more nuanced understanding about how the supply-demand relationship identified in previous work is contingent on a country's level of media freedom. In good exploratory fashion, it generated more questions than answers. How should supply, demand, and policy attitudes be measured? Why does reliance on different media platforms shape perceptions of supply more in Poland than in Russia and Ukraine? Are there other variables aside from political tolerance, willingness to self-censor, and economic ideology that may moderate supply-demand relationships? And how should the inconsistent relationships between demand and policy attitudes be interpreted? This discussion chapter seeks to explain some of the results presented in the previous chapter and discusses future avenues for my program of research. In doing, it is important to first recognize the limitations of this dissertation, as they may have influenced my findings and may help guide the trajectory of future work.

Limitations.

Sampling. As with any exercise of science that seeks to advance our understanding, this study does have some significant limitations. First and foremost is the nature of my samples. The voluntary, online samples I used employed a frequency matching technique to attempt to mimic the distribution of each national population and minimize biases introduced by uncontrolled covariates, but they cannot definitely rule out all spurious relationships.

AAPOR (Baker et al., 2013) acknowledges non-representative samples that use matching techniques to elevate data quality to publishable standards where the nature of research questions is exploratory, theoretical models are used to explain attitudes and behaviors, and alternative means of inquiry are not possible. Matching on all target variables was successful across countries except in Ukraine where education was highly skewed (see Table 3). Ukraine's low Internet penetration rate is concentrated among urban and highly educated citizens, which is also reflected in a large proportion of Ukrainian respondents opting to take the survey in the Russian language (see Table 5).

The geographic distribution of Ukrainian respondents⁹ mapped in Figure 14 shows that while both Eastern and Western Ukraine were represented in this sample, the vast majority of respondents (N=277) were located in the capital city of Kiev. This concentrated representation in the urban capital, also present in Poland and Russia, is likely to result in respondents who may be more affluent, educated, and more attuned to political issues than those in rural Ukraine.

⁹ Survey Sampling International provided geographic data for respondents only if respondents had made it available. Among all respondents, 589 provided usable geographic data. The unit of measurement was the political region in which the respondent resided.

Ukraine is a nation divided politically and linguistically with citizens in southern and eastern Ukraine more likely to speak Russian, adopt a Russian identity, and support Ukrainian president Yankovych than the West (White, McAllister & Feklyunina, 2010). Kiev, in northern Ukraine, culturally identifies with the East, with other surveys identifying more than 75% of Kiev residents as Russian-speakers (White et al., 2011). In the Ukrainian sample for this study, 237 Kiev residents (or 86%) opted to take the survey in Russian.

My study results suggest that these linguistic differences were reflected in respondents' evaluations of their media environments. Those with a proclivity for the Russian language expressed higher perceptions of economic supply and greater economic demand, than those who took the survey in Ukrainian. This difference was not observed for either legal or political supply and demand. And an independent-samples t-test revealed that Ukrainian and Russian speakers also did not statistically differ in their foreign (i.e., Russian) media consumption. Therefore, differences along the economic dimension may arise from greater media pluralism in urban areas, but laws and political obstacles to free media that would be a restriction countrywide.

The potential effects of this sampling bias also may explain some of the convergence between the Ukrainian and Russian results, as the two do exhibit similar patterns across hypothesized relationships. However, the similarities in the Russian and Ukrainian results may also stem from how both countries possess non-democratic forms of governance and experience restrictions of their media environments. Future research should explore this trend further and examine whether highly educated and urban

respondents in Ukraine espouse different attitudes about media freedom than rural, less educated individuals.

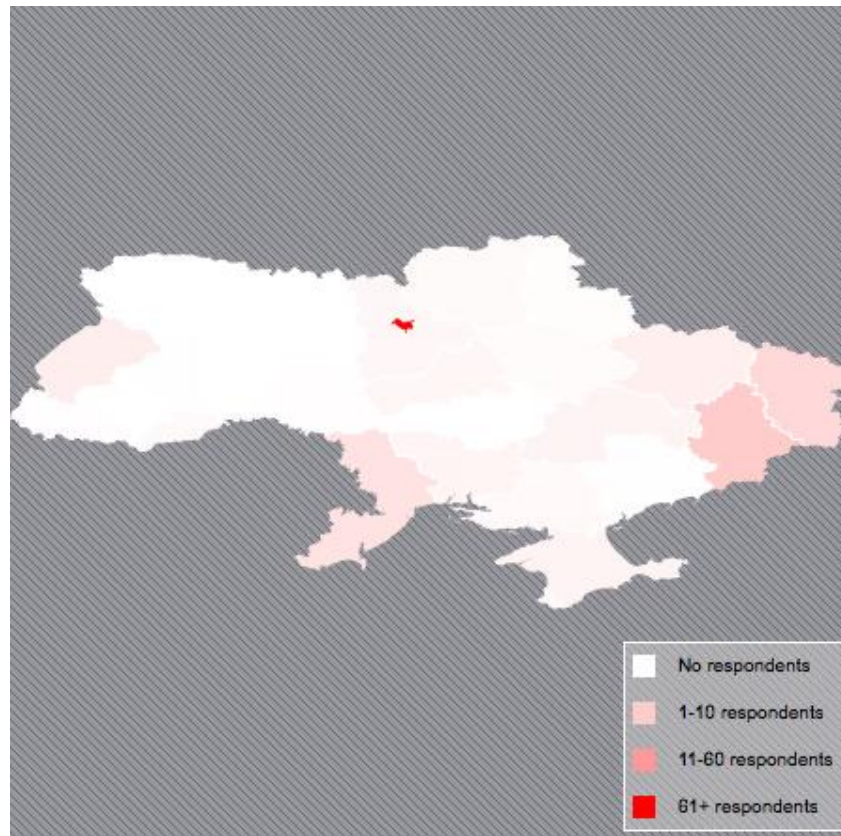


Figure 14. Geographic distribution of Ukrainian survey respondents

Adhering to AAPOR standards, I sought to be as transparent and forthcoming as possible in my methodological and statistical decision-making, while acknowledging that future research would benefit from more representative sampling techniques. Response rates were unfortunately unable to be calculated because of SSI's sampling approach, but I did take steps to instill confidence in my data by reporting each survey's break-off rates

and excluding responses from speeders and flatliners. If representativeness is not possible in future research, matching on more refined characteristics (e.g., media use behaviors, partisan preferences, etc.) would further minimize uncontrolled covariance biases and yield more externally valid results. Supplementing these samples with generalizable, publically available data would also improve external validity, as would redefining the target population. Because this study consisted only of a subset of Internet panelists, limiting the scope of my study to relationships found among Internet users, or online panel populations more specifically, would provide more accurate boundary conditions for my conclusions. Research designs that employ theoretical or methodological manipulations to determine whether priming political affect or exposure to various types of media content influenced demand would also be advantageous at minimizing generalizability concerns.

In my empirical investigation of citizen attitudes about media freedom, I relied on statistical inference testing to reject or accept null hypotheses, which some scholars (Fan & Yan, 2010) have argued may be problematic among non-probabilistic samples. To skirt this criticism, I could have employed a different decision rule, such as a sensitivity test. For example, in Poland, I argue that supply and demand experience a positive relationship. A sensitivity test would be able to conclusively show that in Poland, respondents' ratings of demand are, on average, higher than their assessments of supply. Differences between countries (e.g., free and not free) could also be assessed using a very conservative decision rule of 10%, because previous cross-national research has shown that approximately 10% of the variance in citizen attitudes is attributable to country-level factors (Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press). Despite these alternative methods, statistical

inference testing at the 0.05-level of significance remains the most common decision rule for cross-national research testing communication processes, even among non-probabilistic samples (Curran et al., 2009; Matthes et al., 2012).

Ultimately, my decision to employ an online, non-representative sample was grounded in what AAPOR's 2013 report calls "fit for purpose." The fitness of my sample was a tradeoff of quality for practicality – including time, feasibility, and cost – that enabled me to conduct an independent, cross-national data collection employing variables of my own construction. According to AAPOR (Baker et al., 2013), "In some cases, the choice may come down to a non-probability sample or no survey at all. If some level of confidence that the assumptions of the model hold sufficiently for the purposes of the research, then the choice of a non-probability sample is justified" (pp. 103).

Although I am confident that this method was appropriate to investigate the influence of media use behaviors and psychological characteristics on citizen attitudes (Baker et al., 2010) within countries, I do make an additional assumption that sampling biases are similar across countries. Survey Sampling International recruited participants using uniform methodology in Poland, Ukraine, and Russia, wherein respondents volunteered to participate through SSI's internal panel or were recruited via external partner panels. Underrepresented populations – like those without Internet access – are expected to be similarly underrepresented in all three countries. To mitigate concerns about this sampling assumption, all of my hypotheses and research questions directly test within-country relationships where sampling biases are identical, marginalizing any differences in sampling biases between countries.

The three countries I selected as case studies were specifically chosen because they exemplify a range of free-to-not-free media environments that are culturally congruent. However, Poland, Ukraine, and Russia have all experienced rapid political change over the past 20 years and are still acclimating to free market ideals after decades of communist rule. This cultural context may have significantly influenced citizens' perceptions of and demand for free media – particularly along the political and economic dimensions. Therefore, I echo the cautions of other comparative media scholars (e.g., Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Coyne & Leeson, 2009; Bratton & van de Walle, 1997) to refrain from extrapolating the results found here to citizens elsewhere. Future studies evaluating citizen attitudes of politically, legally, and economically free media should be conducted in media systems with other cultural influences before generalizations are attempted.

It should also be noted that this study was comprised of cross-sectional data, meaning that the causal order between independent and dependent variables cannot be determined. Although theory and previous research has indicated that media use and individual political dispositions are likely to shape individuals' attitudes about their environments (e.g., Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press; Moy & Pfau, 1999; Andsager et al., 2004; Zaller, 1992), this causal order is assumed rather than empirically evaluated. Individuals may very well rely media that they believe to be free and refrain from consuming media that they perceive as unfree, biased, or untrustworthy. Other cross-sectional research has suggested that citizens' perceptions of free media are not synonymous with media confidence (Becker, English & Vlad, 2011; Moehler & Singh, 2009) or media use (Wagner & Gainous, 2013). But longitudinal studies are needed to

explicitly determine the causal order between media use and citizen attitudes, which should be undertaken in future work.

Measurement. Another significant limitation of this dissertation was the unreliability of many of my scales – including both my piloted dependent variables of supply, demand, and policy attitudes, as well as well-established communication measures like political tolerance and willingness to self-censor. Poor reliability among my dependent variables persisted even after I eliminated speeders at 0.5 standard deviations below the mean, prompting me to opt for single-item, 7-point measures for supply, demand, and policy attitudes in all analyses.

Although statistically valid continuous variables, these single-item scales were limited both in their ability to provide comprehensive operationalizations of my theorized variables and produced a low amount of measurement variance. For each dimension, I chose the single item that I felt possessed the greatest face validity. For the political dimension, this was the media’s ability to criticize government and political leaders. This item has been used routinely in previous cross-national public opinion surveys (e.g., Pew Global Attitudes Surveys, Arab Barometer), but lacks the nuance that my two other political variables were attempting to capture: direct government censorship of the media, and political intimidation of media producers.

For the economic dimension, the item I employed in all analyses was concerned with whether a large number of companies have media holdings, tapping the underlying construct of external pluralism in the media market. In retrospect, this item could have been constructed with less ambiguity, asking citizens about the “diversity” or “uniformity” of media ownership and media content. The other two economic variables

sought to capture affordability of the media and the extent to which corporate interests influenced media content, both vital to ensuring an economically free media.

Lastly, for the legal dimension, I captured the constitutionality of free media, but the other two items that were excluded contained important elements of the conceptualization that asked about media laws and their enforcement. This exclusion is particularly important because many countries' constitutions contain free media and free expression provisions, but the extent to which they are respected is dubious (Richter, 2011; Lei, 2011). The United States' steadfast commitment to the First Amendment freedom of speech and the press, but recent revelation of the federal government using a program known as PRISM to conduct widespread online surveillance serves as a particularly poignant example.

I believe that the political and legal items appropriately captured the desired constructs, but their inability to produce reliable scales stemmed in part from my methodological error in question framing. Following good scale development, I included items in my scales that were to be reverse-coded, but in doing, unintentionally framed some of the items as negative liberties (i.e., "freedom from") and others as positive liberties (i.e., freedom to).

Previous research (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Elbach & Keegan, 2006; Gould & Maggio, 2003, Jervis, 1992) has indicated that such question valence may systematically influence individuals' responses, and a brief examination of my data indicates that this may be the case. Using an aggregated dataset, I generated the following means for each of the perceived supply items displayed in Table C1 in Appendix C. On average, means were consistently higher for positive liberties than

negative liberties, perhaps a result of countries espousing free media in principle, but – in the cases of Russia and Ukraine – erecting significant barriers in practice. Appendix C Tables C2 – C4 further show correlations between these items using an aggregated, three-country dataset. Items with similar valence are much higher correlated than those with opposing valence. My measurement development in the future will be more careful about drafting reverse-coded items, such that they do not change whether the item is framed as a negative or positive liberty. Using complementary items like “Government censors the media,” and “Government does not restrict the media,” allows for reverse coding, yet still maintains negative liberty framing and should increase the reliability of my scales. And although this variation in items presented a significant limitation to this study, examining public attitudes of media freedom as a positive-versus-negative liberty is a fascinating avenue for future research.

For the economic dimension, my three measures (market diversity, market influence, and affordability) inspired by Freedom House’s expert assessments, may not have resonated cohesively among respondents as a single economic freedom construct – especially to individuals living in post-communist countries. This may be an instance where Freedom House’s professional conceptualization of what it means to have an economically free media does not translate easily to average citizens. Rather than focusing on parts of economic freedom that may be invisible to citizens, like pluralism in media ownership, it may be more appropriate to ask citizens proximal questions – like the degree to which there is diversity of media content. How citizens define an economically free media is an issue that can be best explored through inductive, open-ended questions. My survey did contain an open-ended item that asked respondents, “What does free

media mean to you?” that will be useful in guiding future construction of such supply and demand variables. However, these responses need to be translated to English and evaluated by a team of skilled coders before conclusions can be drawn. In addition to interpretation difficulties, the closed-ended economic measures also suffered the same methodological problems with question wording as the political and legal dimensions that may have further confounded these results.

I also have reason to believe that some of the unreliability in measurement stemmed from cultural differences, translation issues or the online, non-probabilistic nature of my sample. In addition to my piloted dependent variables’ poor reliability, several established communication measures had Cronbach’s alpha scores slightly lower than published reliabilities among English-only samples. These included political tolerance, willingness to self-censor, economic ideology, and political efficacy.

Unreliability in the measurement of my dependent variables led me to employ single-item scales that contributed to small effect sizes in my analyses. Very few of my independent variables of interest have unstandardized coefficients greater than .50. Although media effect sizes in general tend to be small and cumulative (Gerbner, Gross & Morgan, 2002), larger effect sizes would be anticipated with comprehensive, multiple-item indices.

While reliability in measurement is important and stressed in the peer-review process, the validity of measurement is equally as consequential. Validity is the ability to appropriately measure what one sets out to measure. And there are several different types of validity upon which my measures can be evaluated: convergent, discriminant, predictive, concurrent, and face (Kline, 2009; Babbie, 2013). Convergent validity

ensures that like items are correlated, and discriminant validity shows that they are not perfectly correlated, but rather distinct. My supply and demand measures exhibit some degree of convergent validity, with political supply items correlating as high as .60 and political demand at .42. Items also seemed to be discriminating along the three dimensions, with political and economic supply items correlating at a moderate .43, and demand items at .55. Some items, however, between legal and economic supply were much correlated much lower, as low as .03, and thus need improvement.

Predictive validity refers to the usefulness of the measure to predict future attitudes, whereas concurrent validity is the ability to predict other related items simultaneously. The study outlined in this dissertation did not explicitly theorize about future attitudes or behavior; thus establishing concurrent validity is of greater concern. Despite representing multidimensional constructs, political and legal demand tended to be associated with political and legal policy preferences respectively (see Figures 9 and 10), providing evidence of concurrent validity. Concurrent validity for the economic dimension needs continued improvement, as demand did not tend to be regularly associated with policy attitudes.

Finally, face validity captures the degree to which measures appear to capture the concepts they intend. For measurement in this study, I used face validity items that both would resonate best with individual citizens and were best reflected in Freedom House's conceptualization of each dimension. With the exception of the economic dimension items, which may have been too esoteric for individual citizens to gauge media ownership patterns, my items appeared to have face validity. Babbie (2013) notes a common tension between validity and reliability, such that a compromise must often be

made between the two. So while some improvements in the validity of my indices have yet to be made, which will likely improve the very low reliability among demand items, greater priority will be placed on ensuring measurement validity moving forward.

Implications of Perceived Free Media Supply

Of all my findings, the results from my first set of hypotheses predicting perceptions of political, legal, and economic media freedom were perhaps the most straightforward. In Poland, where freedom of information is free along all three dimensions, perceptions of free media supply tended to arise from a combination of political predispositions and media use behaviors. This is consistent with other scholars who argue that in democratic societies, individuals rely on both available information and personal characteristics to form judgments (Zaller, 1992; Jerit, Barabas & Bolsen, 2006).

In Poland, reliance on a particular medium did not appear to influence respondents' perceptions of supply as much as frequency of media use in general. The more individuals interacted with the media, the greater the perceived political, legal and economic supply. This consistency across platforms could be the result of two factors. First, the differences of free media supply between media platforms may be too nuanced for average citizens to detect, especially in Poland's media environment where all platforms are fairly unrestricted. Evaluations of the actual supply that political, legal, and economic institutions provide have been compiled by expert academics, journalists, human rights activists who have a sophisticated understanding of how journalism operates. Such professionals are better equipped to discern opaque constraints like self-censorship, editorial pressures, and media legislation than average citizens.

Second, most individuals relied on a variety of media platforms to get their news and opinions – a process known as complementarity theory. Complementarity theory contends that individuals seek out information they are interested in across channels, and do not exclusively gather news from one medium (Dutta-Bergman, 2004). So when asked to assess the current supply of media freedom in Poland, individuals likely recalled a general impression based on their experience with a variety of platforms, rather than medium-specific judgments. My data indicate this is likely to be the case, as the media use measures are all positively correlated with one another, as shown in Appendix Table D1. More convincingly, additional post-hoc analyses, displayed in Appendix Table D2, revealed that preference for one medium over another in one’s media diet did not significantly influence any dimension of supply. In other words, it does not matter if one relies more on television than on newspapers, or more on newspapers than television. What matters in determining perceptions of supply is frequency of use for each medium. This research question could further be empirically investigated in future studies by asking respondents to specifically evaluate the freedom of various platforms.

Internet use failed to produce any significant effect on perceptions of supply, likely because of the nature of the online sample. Mean Internet use was very high (nearly 6 on a 7-point scale), and contained less variance than either print or broadcast media use. A study that uses a mode of data collection other than online sampling would more convincingly determine whether there are associations between online media use and perceptions of political, legal, and economic supply.

Although individuals’ media use largely did not significantly interact with support for the current regime, regime support did exhibit a positive association with political

supply and legal supply. The more positive affect individuals felt toward those in power, the more they thought political leaders were upholding Poland's free media. The finding that regime support was not associated with economic supply may indicate that individuals do not readily acknowledge the government's presence in the media market, and discern government's influence on the media and the private media market as entirely separate effects.

In Ukraine and Russia, where freedom of the media is more restricted along all three dimensions, frequency of media use had less of an effect on citizens' perceptions of supply. Instead, perceptions of supply were positively associated with greater political knowledge and concentrated among those who reported paying close attention to political and economic issues in the news. It may seem unusual that the most knowledgeable individuals in a very restricted media system would perceive the highest levels of freedom, but Stockmann and Gallagher (2011) argue that in authoritative media systems, media sometimes serve to socialize citizens with "respect and knowledge of the law." (See also Bratton, Mattes & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). It may be the case that these respondents are socialized with regime-sanctioned political knowledge and pay close attention to political and economic issues in the news. These individuals may also be the most susceptible to misleading rhetoric by political, legal, and economic figures about the freedoms their media systems possess.

The one uniform predictor of supply across dimensions was regime support. For the political and legal dimensions, favorable affect for the regime led to more positive assessments of supply. And in Russia specifically, this favorable affect significantly amplified the relationships between consumption of television news and assessments of

supply. Among television consumers, those who have support for the regime are likely the most susceptible to the Russian government's pervasive broadcast propaganda. These findings uphold my theorizing that when asked to evaluate their media environments, individuals engage in motivated reasoning based on their affections toward the regime that consequently colors their evaluations.

Interestingly though, regime support had a significantly negative effect on perceptions of economic supply. The more negatively one felt toward the regime, the more positively he or she evaluated economic freedom, or the pluralism of media ownership. This suggests that Russian and Ukrainian respondents may not associate an economically free media with government involvement, and that one can have confidence in the private media market to produce pluralism despite harboring negative feelings toward the regime. Thus, it seems to indicate that individuals in these countries may understand that government (thereby the political dimension) is not the only institution that shapes freedom of the media environment.

The implications of these findings are that in free media environments, like Poland, perceptions of supply across all three dimensions can be increased with exposure to the media itself, particularly broadcast news, and support for the current regime. But in more restricted media environments, increases in political knowledge, regime support, and specific attention to political and economic news bode favorably for perceptions of free media supply. Previous research (Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press; Norris, 2000; Mattes and Bratton, 2007) has indicated that such increases in perceived supply facilitate increases in demand, a conclusion that my results partially uphold and partially contest.

Implications of Demand for Free Media

The relationships between perceived supply of free media and demand for free media exhibit two distinctly different patterns in democratic (Poland) and non-democratic (Ukraine and Russia) countries. In Poland, moderated relationships between supply and demand operate largely as predicted. Across all three dimensions, there was a conditional, positive effect between citizens' perceptions of free media supply and free media demand. As respondents perceived their media environments to possess greater political, legal, and economic freedom, they expressed greater support for its continued protection. This suggests evidence of political learning (Hinckley, 2009; Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2003; Canache, 2012; Dalton, Shin & Jou, 2007; Norris, 2000; Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press; Qi & Shin, 2011), whereby higher and thus more accurate perceptions of supply is an indication that individuals have internalized an understanding of political, legal, and economic media freedoms, and consequently demand more of them.

Political tolerance significantly moderated the positive relationship between perceptions of political supply and demand in Poland. The interaction coefficient was negative, indicating a dampening effect, and closer examination reveals that highly tolerant individuals always demand the media to be politically free, regardless of their perceptions of supply. As hypothesized, these individuals have already acclimated to the norms of political contestation and do not rely on their perceptions of supply to form demand judgments. Less tolerant people, who have not yet internalized these norms demanded less freedom when they perceived supply to be low, and demanded greater freedom when they perceive supply to be high. Other recent research has documented a similar moderating effect – where those with high tolerance do not rely on assessments of

media to form political judgments, whereas those with low tolerance do (Fridkin & Kenney, 2011).

The moderating effect of political tolerance proved unique to the political dimension; it did not interact with legal supply or economic supply to predict demand. This seems to indicate that the internationalization of the democratic norm of respect for minority rights and opinions, does not necessarily equate with the internationalization of other norms – including rule of law and free market pluralism.

Willingness to self-censor also exhibited a dampening effect on the positive relationship between legal supply and legal demand, as predicted. Only those with very low WSC scores (very outspoken individuals) expressed greater demand as their perceptions of free media supply increased. Those who were reluctant to speak out (high WSC individuals) expressed higher demand when supply was low, indicating they demand legal protections regardless of their perceived supply. This moderating effect is not unique to the legal dimension – individuals with low willingness to self-censor also show a strong positive association between political supply and demand and legal supply and demand. The ability of WSC to transcend dimensions is likely due to the fact that, unlike political tolerance and economic ideology, WSC is a stable personality trait influences all attitudes, rather than a function of learning various political norms.

Lastly, free market ideology significantly moderated the relationship between economic supply and economic demand among Polish respondents. Although there was a positive association between all levels of supply, those with high free market ideology experienced the strongest relationship between supply and demand. This runs counter to my theorizing that those who have high free market ideology have already internalized

norms of pluralism and free competition and thus will not rely on the state of their media environment to form judgments. This could be the result of the fact that self-regulation of markets is an ideal. But in reality, a deregulated, laissez faire media environment can lead to concerning problems for an economically free media, including concentration of ownership and high barriers to entry. Polish respondents who did not fully embrace free markets had high demand for an economically free media when supply was low and experienced a ceiling effect as their perceived supply rose. This means that those most skeptical of free markets have highest demand for an economically free media.

It is very likely that one's interpretation of whether free markets serve as a benefit or determinant to media environments stems from cultural context. When media restrictions originate primarily from political institutions, market intervention and control of the media may be seen as a welcome change. But in countries where economic threats to media loom large, regulation and a "less free" market may be viewed as necessary for maintaining media pluralism.

One's economic ideology was also unique to the economic dimension; it did not moderate the relationship between political supply and demand or legal supply and demand. Again, this suggests that the internalization of free market ideology norms does not mean that one has also internalized respect for minority opinions and rule of law.

Together, these findings about positive relationships between perceived supply and demand in Poland across countries are encouraging. They show that my newly conceptualized variables of political, legal, and economic supply and demand exhibit a relationship consistent with political learning. In Poland's free media environment,

individuals who perceive high levels of political, legal, and economic supply have internalized free media values and express high demand.

However, in Ukraine and Russia, associations between citizens' perceptions of free media supply and demand on mirrored dimensions were largely insignificant. Only for Ukraine's political dimension was there a conditional negative association between supply and demand. Individuals with high political tolerance had high initial levels of demand relative to those with moderate and low tolerance, but demand decreased as their perceptions of supply became more optimistic. This may mean that in Ukraine's fairly restricted media environment, it is those with high tolerance who are sensitive to minorities and opposition groups who are unable to express their views in the media. As these tolerant individuals perceive improvement in free media supply for these minority groups, they may no longer feel its necessary to demand media protections for them. For all other dimensions in Ukraine and Russia, one's support for political, legal, or economic media freedom was not dependent on his or her evaluations of respective political, legal, and economic supply.

Almond & Verba (1963) argue that in order for citizens express demand for political and civil liberties – like media freedom – they first must have an understanding of how the political system operates. This translates to the media environment as well. Before one can appropriately demand free media, he or she must be able to comprehend what it means to have one. Individuals' perceptions of supply are a good indication of how attuned individuals are to the freedom of their media environments.

In Poland, individuals who expressed high-perceived supply best understood the freedoms allowed by political, legal, and economic institutions because actual supply in

the media environment is high. In other words, those who evaluated media freedoms highly were the most “correct” in their assessments. However, in Ukraine and Russia, where actual supply is moderate or low, high perceptions of supply indicate a disconnect – a misunderstanding – of the freedoms their media possess.

My results suggest that the origins of this misunderstanding are driven, in part, by respondents’ support for the current regime. Favorability of the leadership that determines free media supply leads to more optimistic evaluations of the media environment for political and legal dimensions, and pessimistic evaluations for the economic dimension. When one’s perception of high free media supply is driven by affect rather than by the internalization of free media norms, it is not an indication of free media values, and thus, not associated with free media demand.

Overestimations of free media supply in Ukraine and Russia could also arise from historical comparisons. Scholarship acknowledges that political learning is a combination of past and present experiences (Mishler & Rose, 2007, Slomczynski & Shabad, 1997). And despite the significant obstacles to media freedom that Ukraine and Russia face today, both countries currently possess more liberal media environments than during the Soviet era (Becker, 2004). One could argue that citizens who perceive greater supply may possess some evidence of an internalization of free media norms if they use a historical reference point, but not free media norms and values are not supplied by the current media environment. Mishler and Rose (2007, pp. 1) also arrive at this conclusion and argue, “Russians would quickly acquire the attitudes and behaviors appropriate to democracy...if Russian elites supply more authentic democratic institutions.”

In sum, political learning is evidenced in Poland, wherein those who have accurately high assessments of supply have internalized norms of minority opposition, rule of law, and media pluralism and thus express greater demand. But in Russia and Ukraine, erroneous high perceptions of supply are *not* associated with high demand because they are the result of factors (e.g., affect toward regime, distorted media environment, historical comparisons), rather than the internalization of media norms.

Future research should continue to probe these differences in political learning between free and not-free media environments, and also strive to identify other determinants of demand for citizens embedded within unfree media systems. I maintain that political, legal, and economic institutions shape free media supply in all countries, so a fruitful area of future research may include how trust in these institutions influences demand for a politically, legally, and economically free media.

Implications of Free Media Policies

My final set of analyses predicting policy attitudes sought to translate broad free media demands into specific free media policies. Free media demands predicted parallel free media policies in many instances, but because I used single-item scales that failed to capture important components of each dimension, the results were not entirely consistent. In constructing measures for policy attitudes, I unintentionally prioritized external validity (i.e., ensuring they reflected real-life policies) over construct congruence with supply and demand measures. But my results – despite poor measurement – do nothing to suggest that demand may not positively associate with policy attitudes on complementary dimensions with refined policy operationalizations. In fact, in many cases, demand did positively predict policy attitudes, and (legal) demand for

constitutional media protection was associated with support for access to information (legal) policies across all three countries. These results confirm Cuillier (2008)'s work that found a similar relationship between support for free media in general and support for access to information laws.

The one counter-hypothesized finding was a negative association between economic demand and policy attitudes in Russia. There was a mismatch between a demand item that asked whether respondents endorse pluralistic media environments in principle, and a policy that asked whether respondents supported limits on foreign media ownership in practice. Although both items were attempting to capture market diversity, they did so in very different – and perhaps competing – ways. Many countries have caps on foreign media ownership to encourage local content creation and prevent the erosion of local culture through cultural imperialism (Mirrlees, 2013). However, in post-communist Europe, foreign investment has largely been lauded as boon to media development (Dutta & Roy, 2009; Carrington & Nelson, 2002; Finkel, Perez-Linan & Seligson, 2007). And citizens may interpret policies that aim to restrict foreign media ownership as attempts by the authoritarian Putin regime to restrict access to pluralistic media rather than encourage it. This is an important cultural difference that

Future work linking free media demand to policy attitudes may mitigate such glaring discrepancies in interpretation by providing more detailed descriptions of hypothetical legislation rather than asking their support for generic, blanket policies. Summary statements, or perhaps even commentary highlighting the benefits and drawbacks of various policies, would maximize external validity and likely prove more effective at establishing consistent relationships between demand and policy attitudes.

Continuing to explore how support for free media policies is an important step in linking the micro psychological processes back up to macro societal institutions because support for such policies is a primary way individual citizens can influence actual levels of free media supply (Cuillier, 2008; Cuillier & Piotrowski, 2009; Rely & Cuillier, 2010) and contribute to the consolidation process.

Implications for Free Media Consolidation

As introduced at the onset of this dissertation, free media consolidation is a process that explains how media systems become sustainable over time through a combination of elite institutions supplying free media and citizens demanding it (Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press; Bajomi-Lázár, 2008). A single, unitary definition of media freedom protects right of media entities to produce media content unencumbered by political, legal, and economic restrictions, as well as the right of individual citizens to access the media – both financially and politically, and both as content creators and consumers – to ensure that their beliefs and ideas are represented. This multilevel definition reflects international free media law in the Millennium Declaration and legitimizes the free media consolidation framework, in which media freedom is an active process enabled by societal institutions, the professional press corps, and individual citizens.

I argued that demand should be distinguished along three dimensions: political, legal, and economic because these three types of societal institutions have the ability to promote or restrict free media supply (political – parliament, presidency, military; legal – courts, police; economic – private business, corporations). It is only when supply and demand are high across all three dimensions is media consolidation fully achieved.

My results provide some guidance of how to maximize demand for free media along each dimension in various media environments. In Poland, with a free media environment, greater reliance on media (especially broadcast) produced optimistic assessments of free media supply. This supply, in turn, was consistently associated with demand for freer media, and moderated further by one's political tolerance, willingness to self-censor, and economic ideology. Finally, legal and economic positively predicted attitudes in favor of legal and economic media policy reform. For countries with free media systems seeking to consolidate with higher levels of citizen demand, lessons from Poland suggest encouraging citizens to frequently interact with media. Such interactions will boost their perceptions of free media supply, and initiate the process of political learning that produces greater demand. Poland's results are optimistic for the consolidation of free media systems because, across all three dimensions, demand grows as perceived supply increases. However, they may indicate that strong free media demand does not exist in the absence of media supply, suggesting that the process of consolidation is likely to begin with the "top-down" institutional structures that supply free media, rather than through citizen demands.

In Ukraine and Russia, with less free media environments, individuals' political predispositions, including support for the current regime led to optimistic assessments of free media supply. These erroneously high assessments of the freedoms their media possess were unassociated with citizen demand. Future work is needed to identify additional predictors of demand in unfree media environments.

This study does not attempt to examine the longitudinal process of consolidation, as that is a process that requires years, if not decades, through a reciprocal relationship

between institutional supply and citizen demand. Nor does this study attempt to establish a benchmark for when consolidation is achieved or pinpoint the status of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia's consolidation process. These are endeavors for future, longitudinal research. But this study does significantly move the consolidation literature forward by establishing three unique dimensions of free media demand and offering explanations of how they may be amplified in various media environments.

Finally, while consolidation across all three dimensions is certainly the prized gold standard, it would be amiss not to acknowledge that some societal institution(s) needs to provide regulation of the media in order to maintain public order. Therefore, there may be a trade-off of one dimension of freedom for another. Countries may decide to provide greater political supply, but in doing, threaten an economically free media. Allowing greater legal freedom, and having laws and constitutional provisions that universally protect all free speech via the media, may mean that political institutions needs to crack down on opposition media if it becomes problematic.

It is important to recognize that these trade-offs may be reflected in public attitudes as well. Citizens may prefer a media that is politically free even if it is more expensive, or may prefer some political restrictions if they are justly enforced by law. This may help explain why my results showed that supply and demand sometimes predict different dimensions. For example, perceptions of high economic supply predicted political and legal demand, but failed to associate with economic demand. This may indicate that respondents believe they have pluralistic media markets, and may be willing to sacrifice some of the economic freedom for increases on the political and legal dimensions.

These trade-offs may also extend into society's larger priorities. How does maintaining media freedom stack up against other priorities like protecting national security, preserving political stability, or upholding society's morals? These are consequential debates being had by citizens and policymakers around the world. The U.S. government has formally issued many statements, including many made by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, that declare free media a national priority, to be promoted worldwide. The extent to which other governments and world citizens prioritize media freedom is an important element of free media consolidation that my future work seeks to inform.

Conclusion

This dissertation was the first study that conceptualized and examined the conditions that produce citizen demand for a politically, legally, and economically free media. It moves the media freedom literature forward in two distinct directions. First and most significantly, it offered a unique conceptualization of demand for free media based on the three societal institutions (political, legal, and economic) that shape free media supply. Operationalization needs continued refinement, but my results do suggest that citizens can distinguish between political, legal, and economic media freedom. Political tolerance showed to be a unique predictor of demand for a politically free media and free market ideology was uniquely associated with demand for an economically free media among Polish citizens. In Ukraine and Russia, citizens who were less supportive of the regime perceived an economically freer media, acknowledging that political and economic institutions can shape the media's freedom in different ways. Future work will need to continue to distinguish political, legal, and economic dimensions as three distinct

sets of citizen attitudes through refined measure development and confirmatory factor analyses.

The second unique contribution of this dissertation addresses the relationship between citizens' assessments of free media supply and their demand for free media. My results show that the positive relationship between perceived supply and demand documented in previous research (Nisbet & Stoycheff, in press; Norris, 2011) is not universal. The positive association is present in Poland, wherein higher and thus more accurate perceptions of free media supply are evidence of political learning that results in greater demand. But in Russia and Ukraine, no such relationships were observed, such that increases in perceptions of supply did not raise citizens' demand. This could be because demand is uniformly high already in these countries, or it could indicate that citizens are inaccurate in their assessments of supply. Future work should explore these possibilities further and identify additional determinants of political, legal, and economic demand in countries with not-free media systems.

Free media consolidation is an important theoretical addition to the largely descriptive media freedom literature. Identifying unique dimensions of free media demand, and investigating the relationships between citizen perceptions of their media's freedom, demand for media freedom, political orientations, and media use behaviors is a fruitful area of future research. My program of research will seek to continue to tackle these important normative problems by advancing theory and informing public policy.

References

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2005). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, C.J. & Guillory, C.A. (1997). Political institutions and satisfaction with democracy: A cross-national analysis of consensus and majoritarian systems. *American Political Science Review*, 91(1).
- Andsager, J.L, Wyatt, R.O. & Martin, E. (2004). *Free Expression in 5 Democratic Publics: Support for Individual and Media Rights*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc.
- Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Aman, M. (2002). The media and development in Bangladesh. In A. Clapp-Itnyre, R. Islam, & C. McLiesh (Eds.), *The right to tell: The role of mass media in economic development* (pp. 267–274). Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Avery, J.M. (2009). Videomalaise or virtuous circle? The influence of the news media on political trust. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 14(4), 410-433.
- Alexanyan, K., Barash, V. Etling, B. Faris, R., Gasser, U., Kelly, J., Palfrey, J. & Roberts, H. (2012). Exploring Russian Cyberspace: Digitally-Mediated Collective Action and the Networked Public Sphere. Berkman Center Research Publication

No. 2012-2. Retrieved from: <http://www.i-gov.org/images/articles/17757/Russia.pdf>

Azhgikhina, N. (2009). The struggle for press freedom in Russia: Reflections of a Russian journalist. In B. Beumers, S. Hutchins and N. Rulyova (eds.) *Globalization, Freedom and the Media after Communism: The past as future*. New York: Routledge.

Babbie, E. (2013). *The Practice of Social Research, 13th (Eds.)*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bailard, C. S. (2012). A Field Experiment on the Internet's Effect in an African Election: Savvier Citizens, Disaffected Voters, or Both? *Journal of Communication, 62*(2), 330–344. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01632.x

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2008). The Consolidation of Media Freedom in Post-Communist Countries. In K. Jakubowicz & M. Sükösd (Eds.), *Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective* (pp. 73–84). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Baker, R., Blumberg, S.J., Brick, J.M., Couper, M.P., Courtright, M., Dennis, J.M., Dillman, D., Frankel, M.R., Garland, P., Groves, R.M., Kennedy, C., Krosnick, J., Lavrakas, P.J., Lee, S., Link, M., Piekarski, L., Rao, K., Thomas, R.K., Zahs, D. (2010). *Research Synthesis: AAPOR Report on Online Panels, 74*(4), 711-781.

Baker, R., Brick, J.M., Bates, N.A., Battaglia, M., Couper, M.P., Dever, J.A., Gile, K.J., Tourangeau, R. (2013). Report of the AAPOR Task Force on Non-Probability Sampling. Retrieved from:

<http://www.aapor.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Reports1&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=5963>

- Banda, F. (2011). What are we measuring? A critical review of media development assessment tools. In L. Price, M.E., Abbott, S., Morgan (Ed.), *Measures of Press Freedom and Media Contributions to Development: Evaluating the Evaluators* (pp. 89–107). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.
- Banducci, S.A. & Karp, J.A. (2003). How elections change the way citizens view the political system: Campaigns, media effects and electoral outcomes in comparative perspective. *British Journal of Political Science*, 33, 443-467.
- Becker, J. (2004). Lessons from Russia: A Neo-Authoritarian Media System. *European Journal of Communication*, 19(2), 139–163. doi:10.1177/0267323104042908
- Becker, L.B., Vlad, T. (2011). The conceptualization and operationalization of country-level measures of media freedom. In L. Price, M.E., Abbott, S., Morgan (Ed.), *Measures of Press Freedom and Media Contributions to Development: Evaluating the Evaluators* (pp. 23–45). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.
- Berinsky, A.J., Huber, G.A. & Lenz, G.S. (2012). Evaluating online labor markets for experimental research: Amazon.com’s Mechanical Turk. *Political Analysis*, 20(3), 351-368.
- Berlin, I. (1958). Two concepts of liberty: An inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 31 October 1958. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bellin, E. (2012). Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring. *Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 127-149.

- Bellin, E. (2004). The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 36(2), 139–157.
- Berger, G. (2009). How the Internet impacts on international news: Exploring paradoxes of the most global medium in a time of “hyperlocalism”. *The International Communication Gazette*, 71(5), 355–371.
- Bizer, G. Y., Tormala, Z. L., Rucker, D. D., & Petty, R. E. (2006). Memory-based versus on-line processing: Implications for attitude strength. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42(5), 646–653. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2005.09.002
- Boulding, C. E. (2010). NGOs and Political Participation in weak democracies: Subnational evidence on protest and voter turnout from Bolivia. *Journal of Politics*, 72(2), 456–468.
- Bratton, M. & van de Walle, N. (1997). *Democratic experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carrington, T., & Nelson, M. (2002). Media in transition: The hegemony of economics. In R. Islam, S. Djankov, & C. McLeish (Eds.), *The right to tell: The role of mass media in economic development* (pp. 225–245). Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Choi, S.-W., & James, P. (2006). Media Openness, Democracy and Militarized Interstate Disputes. *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(1), 23–46.
doi:10.1017/S0007123407000026
- Committee to Project Journalists. (2013). 54 Journalists killed in Russia since 1992/Motive confirmed. Retrieved from <http://www.cpj.org/killed/europe/russia/>

- Curran, J., Iyengar, S., Lund, A.B. & Salovaara-Moring, I. (2009). Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy. *European Journal of Communication*, 24(1), 5–26.
- Dahl, R. A. (1971). *Polyarchy*. New Haven, MA: Yale University Press.
- Dalton, R. J., Shin, D. C., & Jou, W. (2007). Understanding Democracy: Data from unlikely places. *Journal of Democracy*, 18(4), 142–156.
- Diamond, L. (1993). Introduction: Political Culture and Democracy. In L. Diamond (Eds.) *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Dick, A. L., Oyieke, L. I., & Bothma, T. J. D. (2012). Are established democracies less vulnerable to Internet censorship than authoritarian regimes? The social media test. Department of Information Science. Working Paper.
- Djankov, S., Nenova, T., McLiesh, C., & Shleifer, A. (2003). Who owns the media? *Journal of Law and Economics*, 46, 341–381.
- Dobek-Ostrowska, B. (2012). Italianization (or Mediterraneanization) of the Polish Media System? In D.C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.) *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World* (pp. 26-50). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Duffy, M.J. (2010). Code Orange: How the Internet, cell phones, and new technologies helped shape the Ukrainian Revolution of 2004. *Atlanta Review of Journalism History*, 11(4), 73-88.
- Dunn, K. & Singh, S.P. (2012). Pluralistic conditioning: Social tolerance and effective democracy. *Democratization*, 1-28.

- Dutta-Bergman, M.J. (2004). Complementarity in consumption of news types across traditional and new media. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 48(1), 41-60.
- Dutta, N., & Roy, S. (2009). The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Press Freedom. *Kyklos*, 62(2), 239–257.
- Elbach, R.P. & Keegan, T. (2006). Free at last? Social dominance, loss aversion and white and black Americans' differing assessments of racial progress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(3), 453-467.
- Erzikova, E. & Lowrey, W. (2011). Managed mediocrity. *Journalism Practice*, 6(2), 264-279.
- Fan, W. & Yan, Z. (2010). Factors affecting response rates of the web survey: A systematic review. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 26(2), 132-139.
- Filak, V.F. (2012). A concurrent examination of self-versus-others perception bias and the willingness to self-censor: A study of college newspaper editors and advisors. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 89(2), 299-314.
- Fridkin, K.L. & Kenney, P. (2011). Variability in citizens' reactions to different types of negative campaigns. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2), 307-325.
- Gant, S. (2007). *We're all journalists now: The transformation of the press and reshaping of the law in the Internet age*. New York: Free Press.
- Gibson, J.L. & Bingham, R.D. (1982). On the conceptualization and measurement of political tolerance. *The American Political Science Review*, 76(3), 603-620.
- Gibson, J.L. (2013). Measuring political tolerance and general support for pro-civil liberties policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 77, 45-68.

- Gittelman, S.H. & Trimarchi, E. (November 2012). Your results may vary: A look at consistency in global non-probabilistic online samples. *Quirk's Marketing Research Review*.
- Grosjean, P. & Senik, C. (2011). Democracy, Market Liberalization and Political Preferences. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 93(1), 365-381.
- Godzic, W. (2010). Fakty vs. Wiadomosci: On competition and confusion in Polish TV news. In J. Gripstrud & L. Weibull (Eds.) *Media, Markets & Public Spheres: European Media at the Crossroads* (pp. 213-235). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gould, A.C. & Maggio, A.J. (2003). Political regimes and economic development: A model of reference-dependent choices and experimental data. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America*.
- Groshek, J. (2011). Media, instability and democracy: Examining the Granger-Causal relationships of 122 countries from 1946 to 2003. *Journal of Communication*, 61, 1161–1182.
- Hastie, R., & Park, B. (1986). The relationship between memory and judgment depends on whether the judgment task is memory-based or on-line. *Psychological Review*, 93(3), 258–268. doi:10.1037//0033-295X.93.3.258
- Hayes, A.F. (2013). *Introduction to Mediation, Moderation, and Conditional Process Analysis: A regression-based approach*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Herrera, L. (2013). Egypt's Revolution 2.0: The Facebook Factor (pp. 47-53). In A. Iskandar & B. Haddad (Eds.) *Mediating the Arab Uprisings*. Washington D.C.: Tadween Publishing.

- Hinckley, R.A. (2010). Personality and political tolerance: The limits of democratic learning in Postcommunist Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(2), 188-207.
- Howard, P.N. & Hussain, M.M. (2011). The Role of Digital Media. *Journal of Democracy*, 22(3), 35–48. doi:10.1353/jod.2011.0041
- Howard, P.N. & Hussain, M.M. (2013). *Democracy's Fourth Wave? Digital Media and the Arab Spring*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Human Rights Watch. (2012, July 16). Russia: Criminal libel law a blow to free expression: Halt unraveling of human rights gains. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/07/16/russia-criminal-libel-law-blow-free-expression>
- Hutchison, M.L. & Gibler, D.M. (2007). Political Tolerance and Territorial Threat: A cross-national study. *The Journal of Politics*, 69(1), 128-142.
- Immerwahr, J., & Doble, J. (1982). Public attitudes toward freedom of the press. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 46(2), 177–194.
- Iyengar, S., Curran, J., Lund, A.B., Salovaara-Moring, I., Hahn, K.S. & Coen, S. (2010). Cross-national versus individual-level differences in political information: A media systems perspective. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 20(3), 291-309.
- Kirchner, A., Freitag, M. & Rapp, C. (2011). Crafting tolerance: The role of political institutions in a comparative perspective. *European Political Science Review*, 2, 201-227.

- Jakubowicz, K. (1995). Media Within and Without the State□: Press Freedom in Eastern Europe. *Journal of Communication*, 45(4), 125–139.
- Jakubowicz, K. (2009). Back to the Future. *Index of Censorship*, 38(3), 112–122.
- Jervis, R. (1992). Political implications of loss aversion. *Political Psychology*, 13(2).
- Jerit, J., Barabas, J., & Bolsen, T. (2006). Citizens, Knowledge, and the Information Environment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 266–282.
- Kahneman, D. & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk. *Econometrica* 47, 263-291.
- Karatnycky, A. (2005). Ukraine’s Orange Revolution. *Foreign Affairs*, 84(2), 35-52.
- Khrennikov, I. (2013, April 2). Why YouTube is fighting Russian over a Halloween video. *Bloomberg*. Retrieved from <http://go.bloomberg.com/tech-blog/2013-04-02-why-youtube-is-fighting-russia-over-a-halloween-video/>
- Kline, R.B. (2009). *Becoming a Behavioral Science Researcher: A Guide to Producing Research that Matters*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Koikkalainen, K. (2009). The local and the international in Russian business journalism: Structures and practices. In B. Beumers, S. Hutchins and N. Rulyova (eds.) *Globalization, Freedom and the Media after Communism: The past as future*. New York: Routledge.
- Kramer, A.E. (2013, March 31). Russia begins selectively blocking Internet. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/01/technology/russia-begins-selectively-blocking-internet-content.html?_r=0

- Kyj. M.J. (2006). Internet use in Ukraine's Orange Revolution. *Business Horizons*, 49, 71-80.
- Lambe, J.L. (2008). The structure of censorship attitudes. *Communication Law and Policy*, 13(4), 485-506.
- Lambe, J. L., & Reineke, J. B. (2009). Public Attitudes About Government Involvement in Expressive Controversies. *Journal of Communication*, 59(2), 225–242.
doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2009.01413.x
- Lara, A. (2007). The Polish media landscape (pp. 399-410). In G. Terzis (Eds.) *European media governance: national and regional dimensions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lavine, H. (2002). On-Line versus Memory-based process models of political evaluation. In K.R. Monroe (eds.) *Political Psychology*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. 225-248.
- Lei, Y.-W. (2011). The Political Consequences of the Rise of the Internet: Political Beliefs and Practices of Chinese Netizens. *Political Communication*, 28(3), 291–322. doi:10.1080/10584609.2011.572449
- Lessig, L. (2006). *Code: Version 2.0*. New York: Basic Books.
- Levada Center. (31 July 2012). Citizens welcome new prohibitions requested by strict Russian regime. <<http://www.levada.ru/31-07-2012/rossii-zaprosili-strogii-rezhim-grazhdane-privetstvuyut-novye-zaprety>> Accessed 3 November 2012.
Translation via Google translate:
<http://www.google.com/translate?hl=en&ie=UTF8&sl=auto&tl=en&u=http%3A>

www.levada.ru/31-07-2012/frossii-zaprosili-strogii-rezhim-grazhdane-privetstvuyut-novye-zaprety

- Linz, J.J. & Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lipset, S. M. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy: Economic develop and political legitimacy. *The American Political Science Review*, 53(1), 69–105.
- MacKinnon, R. (2012). *Consent of the Networked: The worldwide struggle for Internet freedom*. New York: Basic Books.
- Marquart-Pyatt, S., Paxton, P. (2007). In principle and in practice: Learning political tolerance in Eastern and Western Europe. *Political Behavior*, 29(1), 89-113.
- Matthes, J., Hayes, A.F., Rojas, H., Shen, F., Min, S.J., Dylko, I.B. (2012). Exemplifying a dispositional approach to cross-cultural spiral of silence research: Fear of social isolation and the inclination to self-censor. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 24(3), 287-305.
- McLean, S. (2012). Overseas website operators beware? The international reach of the UK defamation laws: Status quo and potential changes by pending Defamation Bill. *Computer Law Review International*, 5, 141-147.
- Menictas, C., Wang, P. & Fine, B. (2011). Assessing flat-lining response style bias in online research. *Australian Journal of Market and Social Research*, 19(2), 34-46.
- Minier, J. A. (2001). Is Democracy a Normal Good? Evidence from Democratic Movements. *Southern Economic Journal*, 67(4), 996–1009.
- Mirrlees, T. (2013). *Global Entertainment Media: Between Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Globalization*. New York: Routledge.

- Mishler, W. & Rose, R. (2002). Learning and re-learning regime support: The dynamics of post-communist regimes. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41, 5-36.
- Mishler, W. & Rose, R. (2007). Generation, age, and time: The dynamics of political learning during Russia's transformation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4), 822-834.
- Moxley, M. (9 April 2013). Myanmar opens door to private media, but how much latitude is there? *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/myanmar-opens-door-to-private-media-but-how-much-latitude-is-there/article10962490/>
- Negreyeva, I. & Prasad, R. (2012). Developing media literacy by teaching citizens the standards of professional journalism. *Journal of Applied Journalism and Media Studies*, 1(1), 33-53.
- Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance. *The American Political Science Review*, 91(3), 567–583.
- Neuman, W. R., Bimber, B., & Hindman, M. (2011). The Internet and Four Dimensions of Citizenship. *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media* (pp. 22–42). Oxford University Press, Inc.
- New York Times (13 September 2012). As violence spreads in Arab world, Google blocks access to inflammatory video.
 <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/14/technology/google-blocks-inflammatory-video-in-egypt-and-libya.html?_r=1> Accessed 19 September 2012.

- New York Times (17 May 2010). U.S. to Promote Press Freedom. Retrieved from:
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/18/world/18press.html?_r=0
- Nisbet, E.C. & Myers, T.A. (2011). Anti-American sentiment as a media effect? Arab media, political identity and public opinion in the Middle East. *Communication Research*, 38(5), 684-709.
- Nibset, E.C. & Stoycheff, E. (in press). Let the people speak: A multilevel model of press freedom. *Communication Research*.
<http://crx.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/11/22/0093650211429117.full.pdf+html>
- Nordenstreng, K. (2007). Myths about press freedom. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, 3(1), 15–30.
- Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2009). Limits on Press Freedom and Regime Support. In P. Norris (Ed.), *Public Sentinel: News Media & Governance Reform*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank. Retrieved from <http://pippanorris.com/>
- Norris, P. (2008). *Driving Democracy: Do power sharing institutions work?* (pp. 186–206). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nowak, E. & Riedel, R. (2010). Agenda setting, priming, framing – TV news in Poland during election campaigns 2005 and 2007: Comparative analysis. *Central European Journal of Communication*, 2, 237-252.
- Nunnally, J.C. (1978). *Psychometric Theory* (2nd eds.) New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Oates, S. (2006). *Television, Democracy and Elections in Russia*. London: Routledge.

- Oates, S. (2009). The Neo-Soviet Model of the Media (pp. 37-55). In B. Beumers, S. Hutchins and N. Rulyova (eds.) *Globalization, Freedom and the Media after Communism: The past as future*. New York: Routledge.
- Owais, R. (2011). Arab media during the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia: Time for change. *Middle East Media Educator*, 1(1), 9-13.
- Pardos-Prado, S. (2007). Political ideology and ethnic perceptions: The two Europes. Paper presented to Immigration, Minorities and Multiculturalism in Democracies Conference, October 2007, Montreal, QC, Canada. Retrieved from:
<http://www.queensu.ca/csd/publications/wps/2-EPardospaper.pdf>
- Peffley, M., & Rohrschneider, R. (2003). Democratization and Political Tolerance in Seventeen Countries: A Multi-level Model of Democratic Learning. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(3), 243–257. doi:10.1177/106591290305600301
- Peffley, Mark, Knigge, P., & Hurwitz, J. (2001). A multiple values model of political tolerance. *Political Research Quarterly*, 54(2), 379–406.
- Pepitone, J. (20 January, 2012). SOPA and PIPA postponed indefinitely after protests. CNNMoney.com Retrieved from:
http://money.cnn.com/2012/01/20/technology/SOPA_PIPA_postponed/index.htm
- Peterson, R.A. (1994). A meta-analysis of Cronbach's coefficient alpha. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(2), 381-391.
- Petrova, M. (2011). Newspapers and Parties: How Advertising Revenues Created an Independent Press. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4), 790–808.

- Petrova, Maria. (2008). Political economy of media capture. In R. Islam (Ed.), *Information and Public Choice: From Media Markets to Policy Making* (pp. 121–138). Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Pew Global Attitudes Project. (10 July 2012). Few believe U.S. backs democracy: Most Muslims want democracy, personal freedoms and Islam in political life. <<http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/07/10/most-muslims-want-democracy-personal-freedoms-and-islam-in-political-life/>> Accessed 18 September 2012.
- Pietilaninen, J. & Strovsky, D. (2010). Why do Russians support censorship of the media? *Russian Journal of Communication*.
- Pintak, L. (2008). Satellite Tv News and Arab Democracy. *Journalism Practice*, 2(1), 15–26. doi:10.1080/17512780701768485
- Psychogiopoulou, E., Anagnostou, D. & Kandyla, A. (2011). Does media policy promote media freedom and independence? The case of Greece. *Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from: <http://www.mediadem.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Greece.pdf>
- Qi, L., & Shin, D. C. (2011). How mass political attitudes affect democratization: Exploring the facilitating role critical democrats play in the process. *International Political Science Review*, 32(3), 245–262. doi:10.1177/0192512110382029
- Reporters without borders. (1 Nov 2012). Internet access barred as wave of new legislation threatens freedom of information. <<http://en.rsf.org/russia-internet-access-barred-as-wave-of-01-11-2012,43627.html>> Accessed 3 November 2012.
- Richter, A. (2011). Post-Soviet Perspective on Evaluating Censorship and Freedom of the Media. In L. Price, M.E., Abbott, S., Morgan (Ed.), *Measures of Press Freedom*

and Media Contributions to Development: Evaluating the Evaluators (pp. 145–169). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Rivers, D. & Bailey, D. (2009). Inference from matched samples in the 2008 U.S. National Elections. In *Proceedings of the Joint Statistical Meetings* (pp. 627-639).

Retrieved from

<https://www.amstat.org/sections/srms/Proceedings/y2009/Files/303309.pdf>

Roberts, S.G. (2012). Reportage in the lands of the ‘semi-free’: A comparative study of online political journalism in Georgia and Ukraine. University of Chester.

Retrieved from <http://chesterrep.openrepository.com/cdr/handle/10034/230251>

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Collier Macmillan Publishers.

Rose, R., Mishler, W., Munro, N. (2011). *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime: The changing views of Russians*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, R., & Shin, D. C. (2001). Democratization Backwards: The problem of third-wave democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(2), 331–354.

Roughneen, S. (15 August 2012). In Burma, a delicate balance for new freedoms of speech. *PBS Mediashift: Your guide to the digital media revolution*. Retrieved from <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2012/08/in-burma-a-delicate-balance-for-new-freedoms-of-speech228.html>

Sanchez, J. & Segal, D. (2012). Blackout protesting SOPA, PIPA Bills makes statement on censorship. The Cato Institute. Retrieved from:

<http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/blackout-protesting-sopa-pipa-bills-makes-statement-censorship>

- Semetko, H.A. & Krasnoboka, N. (2003). The political role of the Internet in societies in transition: Russia and Ukraine compared. *Party Politics*, 9(1), 77-104.
- Shen, F., Wang, N., Guo, Z., & Guo, L. (2009). Online network size, efficacy, and opinion expression: Assessing the impacts of Internet use in China. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 21(4), 451-476.
- Slomczynski, K.M. & Shabad, G. (1997). Continuity and Change in Political Socialization in Poland. *Comparative Education Review*, 41(1), 44-70.
- Slovic, M. (2008). Authoritarian reversals and democratic consolidation. *American Political Science Review*, 102(2), 153-168.
- Smith, W. (2011). Europe to the rescue: The killing of journalists in Russia and the European Court of Human Rights. *George Washington International Law Review*, 43, 493-528.
- Sonenshine, T. (15 April 2013). Remarks on Media Freedom. U.S. Department of State: Diplomacy in Action. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/r/remarks/2013/207521.htm>
- Stepinska, A. & Ossowski, S. (2012). Three generations of Polish journalists: Professional roles and identities. *Journalism Studies*, 13(5-6), 857-867.
doi:10.1080/1461670X.2012.668000
- Stetka, V. (2012). Back to local? Transnational media flows and audience consumption patterns in Central and Eastern Europe (pp.157-188). In J. Downey & S. Miheli (Eds.) *Central and Eastern European Media in Comparative Perspective: Politics, Economy, Culture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

- Sullivan, J.L., Piereson, J. & Marcus, G.E. (1979). An alternative conceptualization of political tolerance: Illusory increases 1950s-1970s. *The American Political Science Review*, 73(3), 781-794.
- Tang, W. & Iyengar, S. (2011). The emerging media system in China: Implications for regime change. *Political Communication*.
- Thorisdottir, H., Jost, J.T., Liviatan, I. & ShROUT, P.E. (2007). Psychological needs and values underlying left-right political orientation: Cross-national evidence from Eastern and Western Europe. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 71(2), 175-203.
- Trammell, K.D., Tarkowski, A., Hofmohl, J. & Sapp, A.M. (2006). Rzeczpospolita blogow [Republic of Blog]: Examining Polish bloggers through content analysis. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11(3).
- Tran, H., Mahmood, R., Du, Y., & Khrapavitski, A. (2011). Linking Measures of Global Press Freedom to Development and Culture: Implications from a Comparative Analysis. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 170–191.
- Tufekci, Z. & Wilson, C. (2012). Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 363-379.
- Vartanova, E. (2012). The Russian media model in the context of post-Soviet dynamics (pp. 199-142). In D.C. Hallin and P. Mancini (Eds.) *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vartanova, E. & Smirnov, S. (2010). Contemporary structure of the Russian media industry. In A. Rosenhold, K. Nordenstreng & E. Trubina (Eds.) *Russian mass media and changing values*. New York: Routledge.

- Wagner, K. M., & Gainous, J. (2013). Digital Uprising: The Internet Revolution in the Middle East. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*.
- Wasserman, H. (2010). Freedom's just another word? Perspectives on media freedom and responsibility in South Africa and Namibia. *International Communication Gazette*, 72(7), 567–588. doi:10.1177/1748048510378145
- Weaver, D. H., Buddenbaum, J. M., & Fair, J. E. (1985). Press freedom, media and development, 1950-1979: A study of 134 nations. *Journal of Communication*, 35, 104–117.
- Weaver, D. H. (1977). The Press and Government Restriction: a Cross-National Study Over Time. *International Communication Gazette*, 23(3), 152–169. doi:10.1177/001654927702300301
- Weldon, S.A. (2006). The institutional context of tolerance for ethnic minorities: A comparative, multilevel analysis of Western Europe. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 331-349.
- Welzel, C. (2006). Are levels of democracy influenced by mass attitudes? Testing a central premise of the political culture approach. *Report prepared for Center for the Study of Democracy*, UC Irvine.
- White, S., McAllister, I. & Feklyunina, V. (2010). Belarus, Ukraine and Russia: East or West? *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 12, 344-367.
- Whitten-Woodring, J. (2009). Watchdog or Lapdog? Media Freedom, Regime Type, and Government Respect for Human Rights. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53, 595–625.

- Williams, D. (2002). Synergy Bias: Conglomerates and Promotion in the News. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 46(4), 453–472.
- Woods, J. (2007). Democracy and the press: A comparative analysis of pluralism in the international print media. *The Social Science Journal*, 44(2), 213–230.
doi:10.1016/j.soscij.2007.03.014
- Yakovenko, I. (2006). Ne mesto dlya diskussii (Moscow, Institut ‘Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza’). As cited in Azhgikhina, 2009.
- Yan, M. Z., & Napoli, P. M. (2006). Market Competition, Station Ownership, and Local Public Affairs Programming on Broadcast Television. *Journal of Communication*, 56(4), 795–812. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00320.x
- Zaller, J. R. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix A: Distributions of Dependent Variables

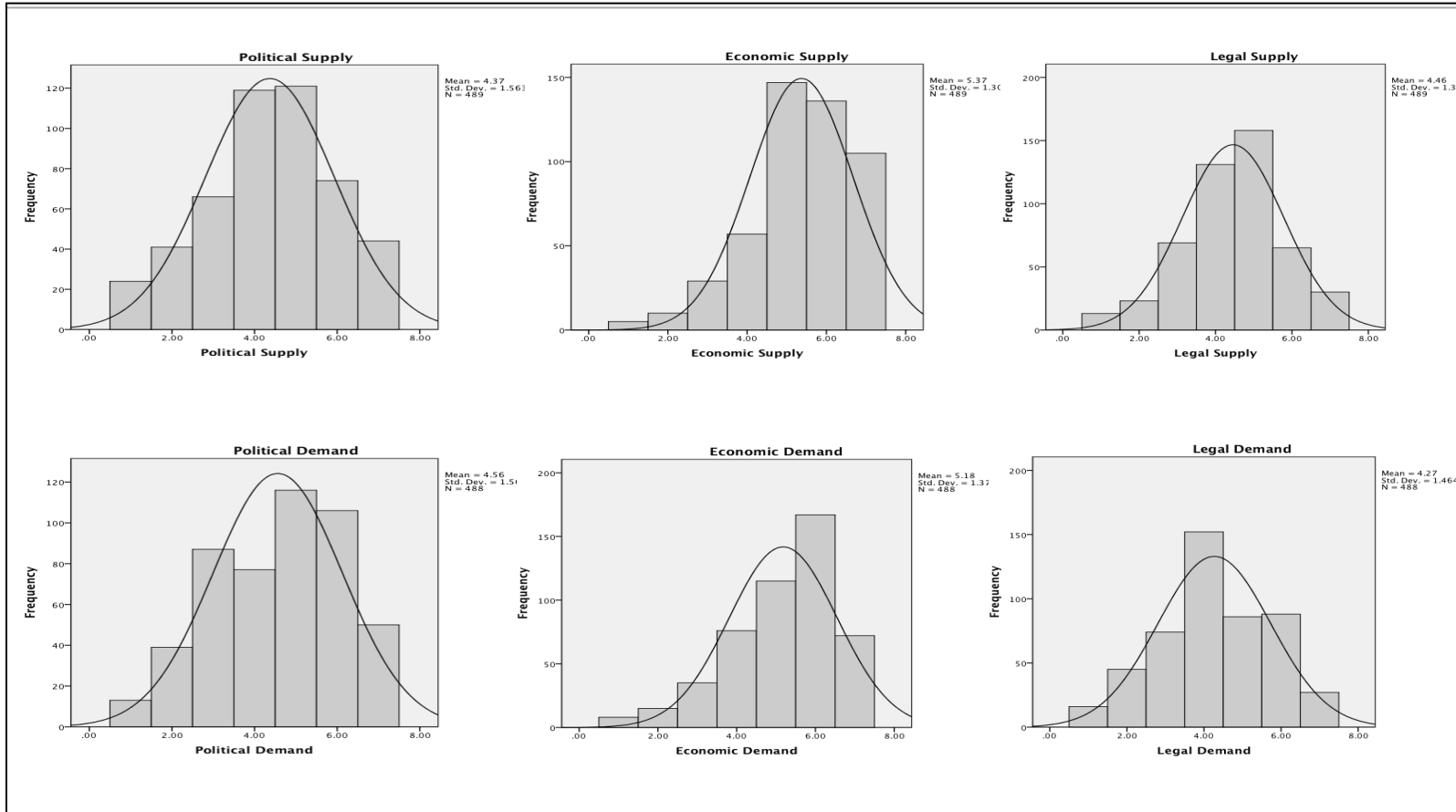


Figure 15: Distributions of Polish supply and demand with normal curves

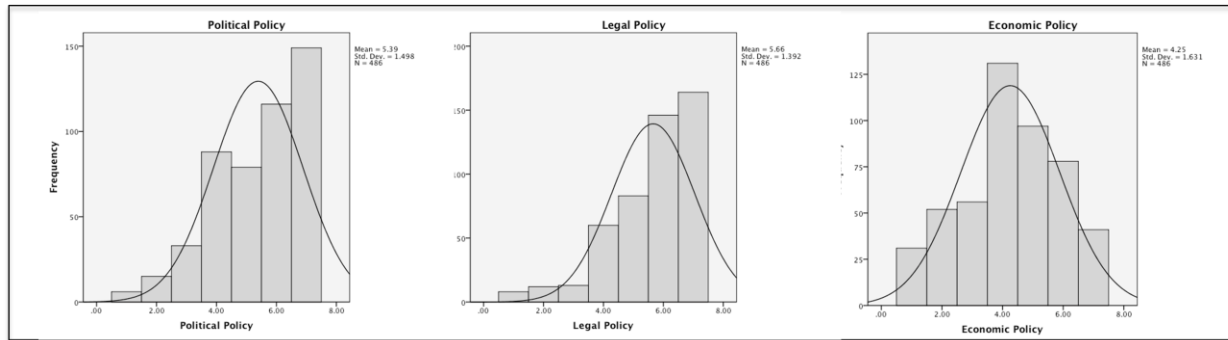


Figure 16: Distributions of Polish policy attitudes with normal curves

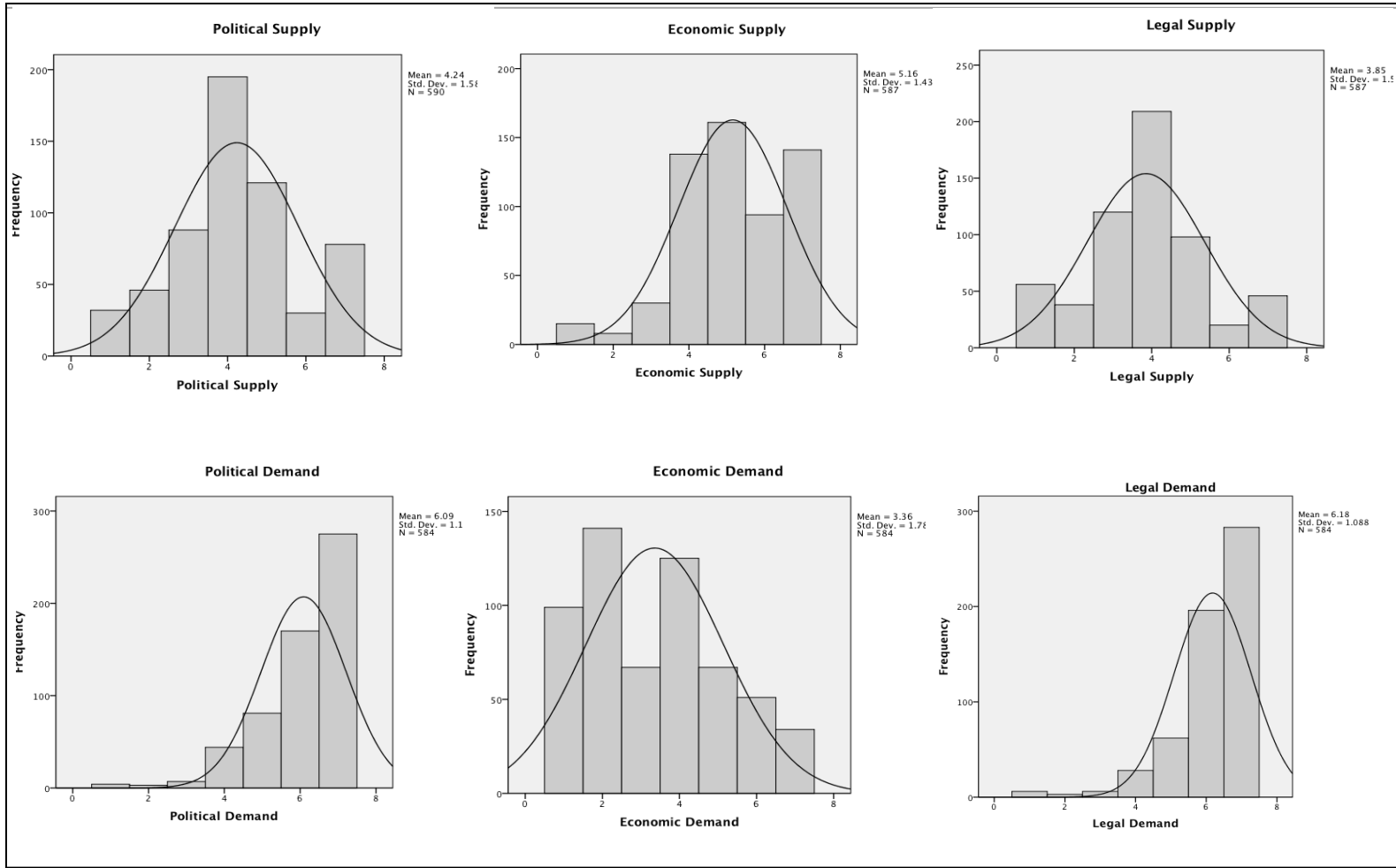


Figure 17: Distributions of Ukrainian supply and demand with normal curves

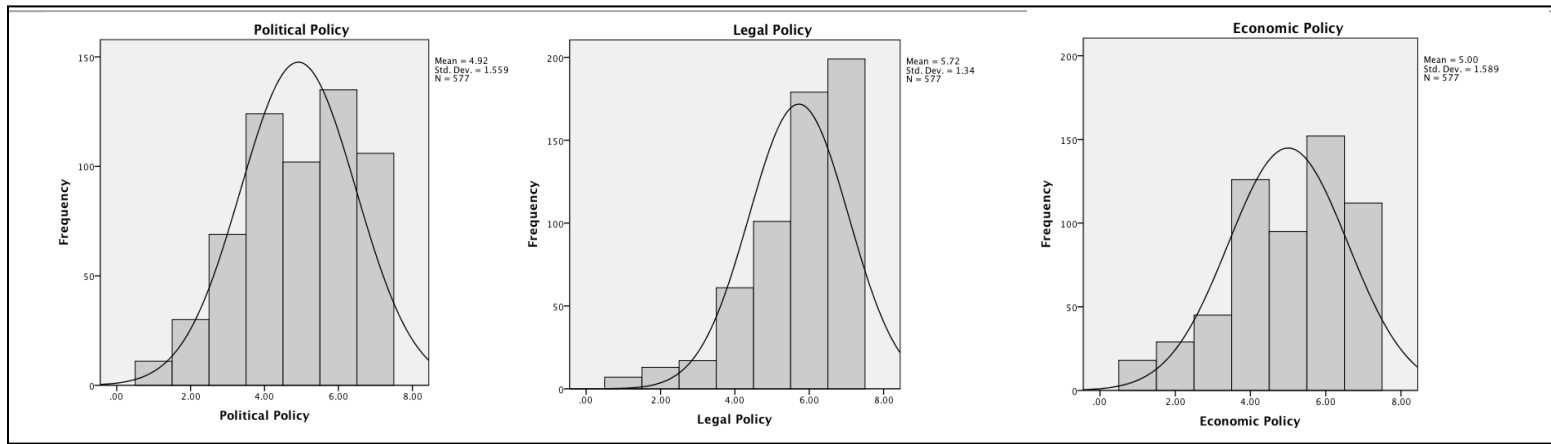


Figure 18: Distributions of Ukrainian policy attitudes with normal curves

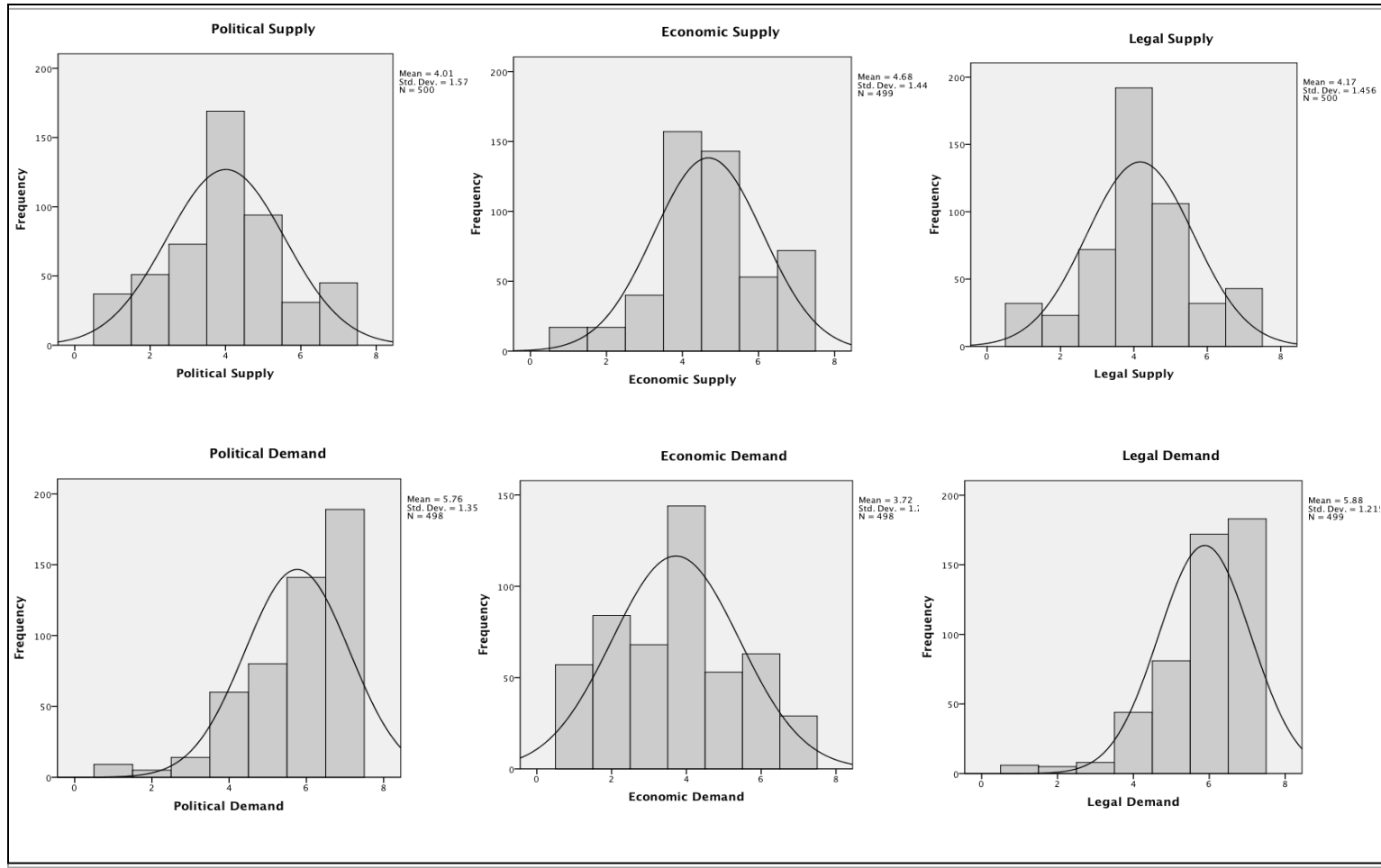


Figure 19: Distributions of Russian supply and demand with normal curves

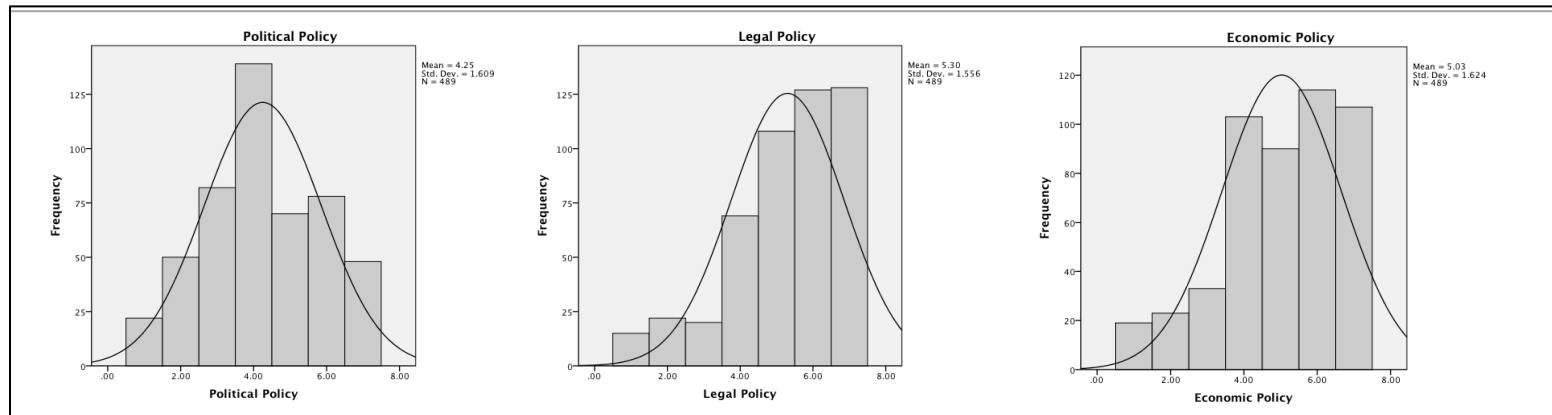


Figure 20: Distribution of Russian policy attitudes with normal curves

Appendix B: Non-Significant Interactions

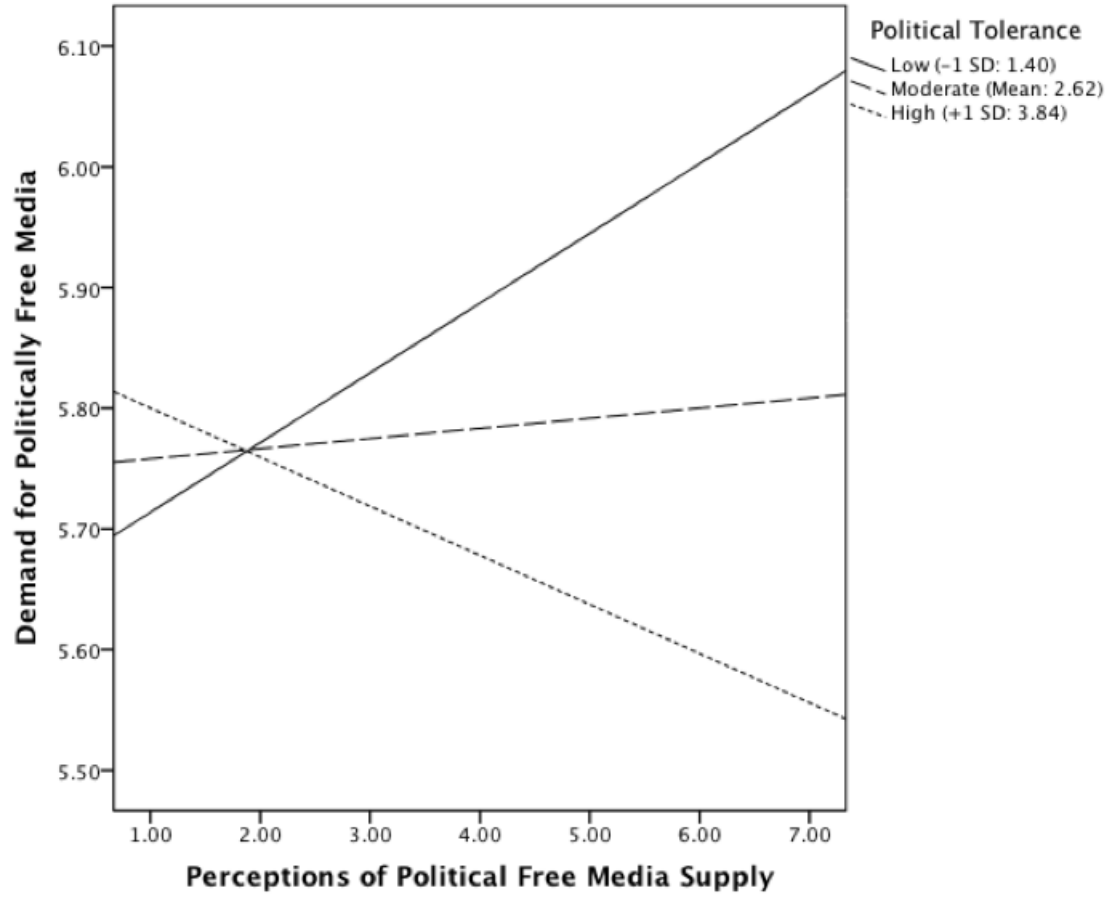


Figure 21: Non-significant tolerance moderation effect on political demand in Russia

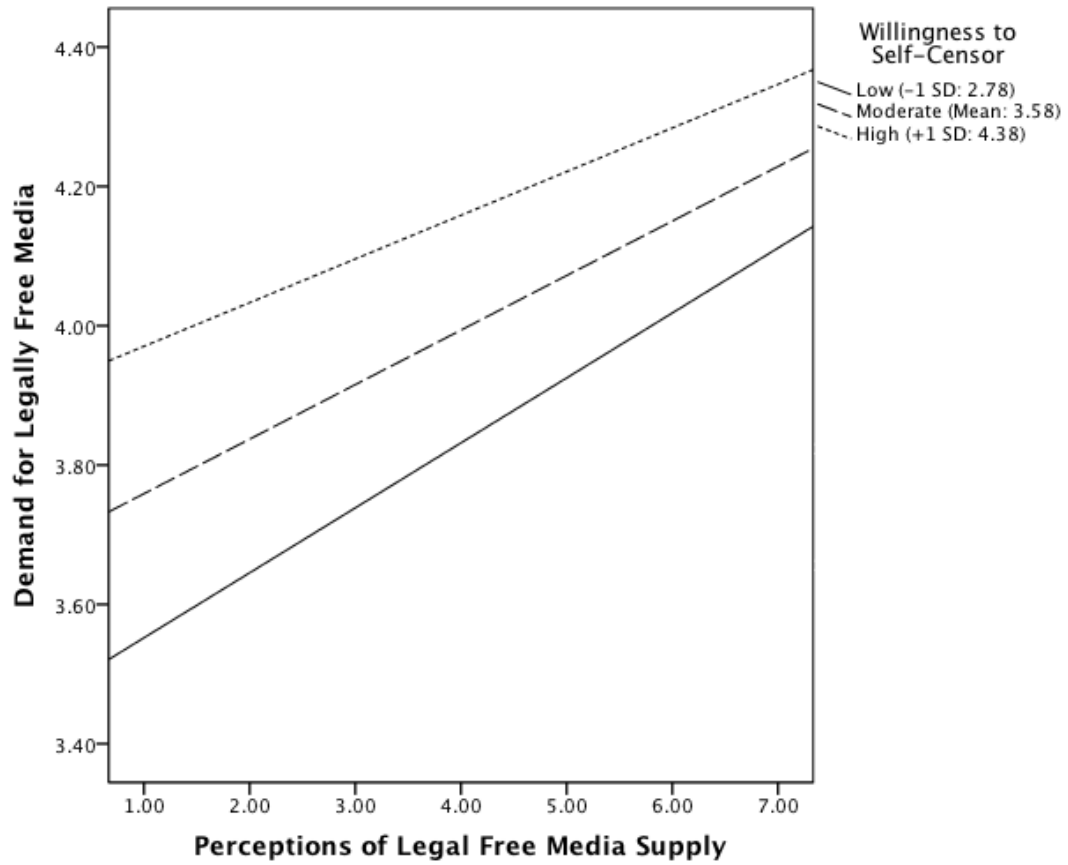


Figure 22: Non-significant willingness to self-censor moderation effect on legal demand in Russia

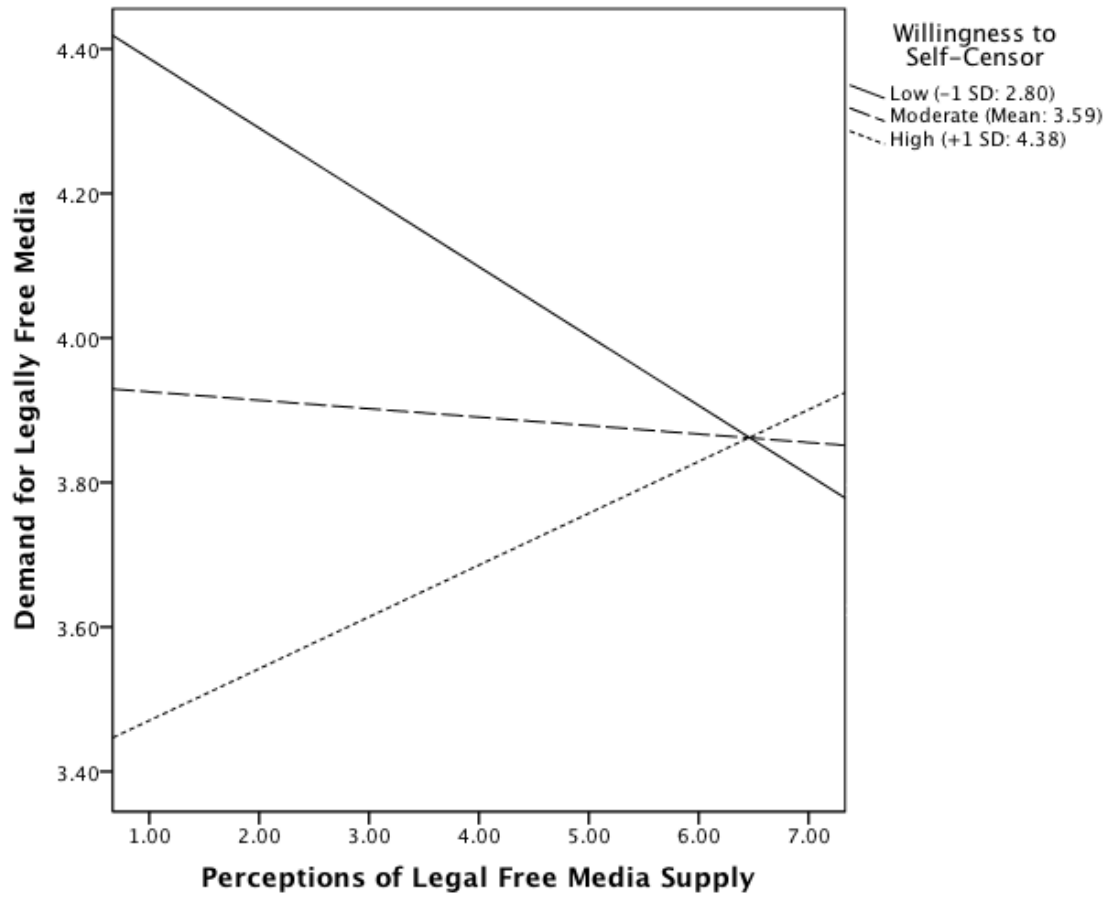


Figure 23: Non-significant willingness to self-censor moderation effect on legal demand in Ukraine

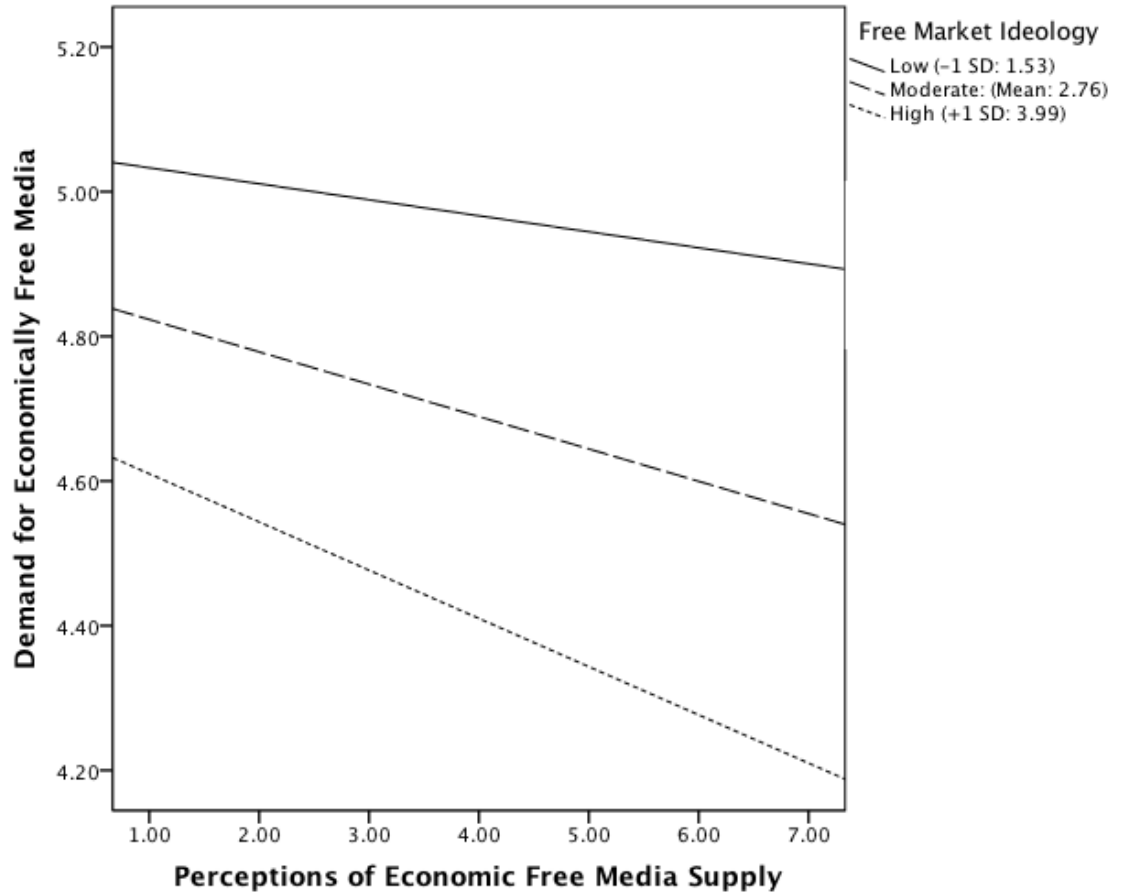


Figure 24: Non-significant free market ideology moderation effect on economic demand in Russia

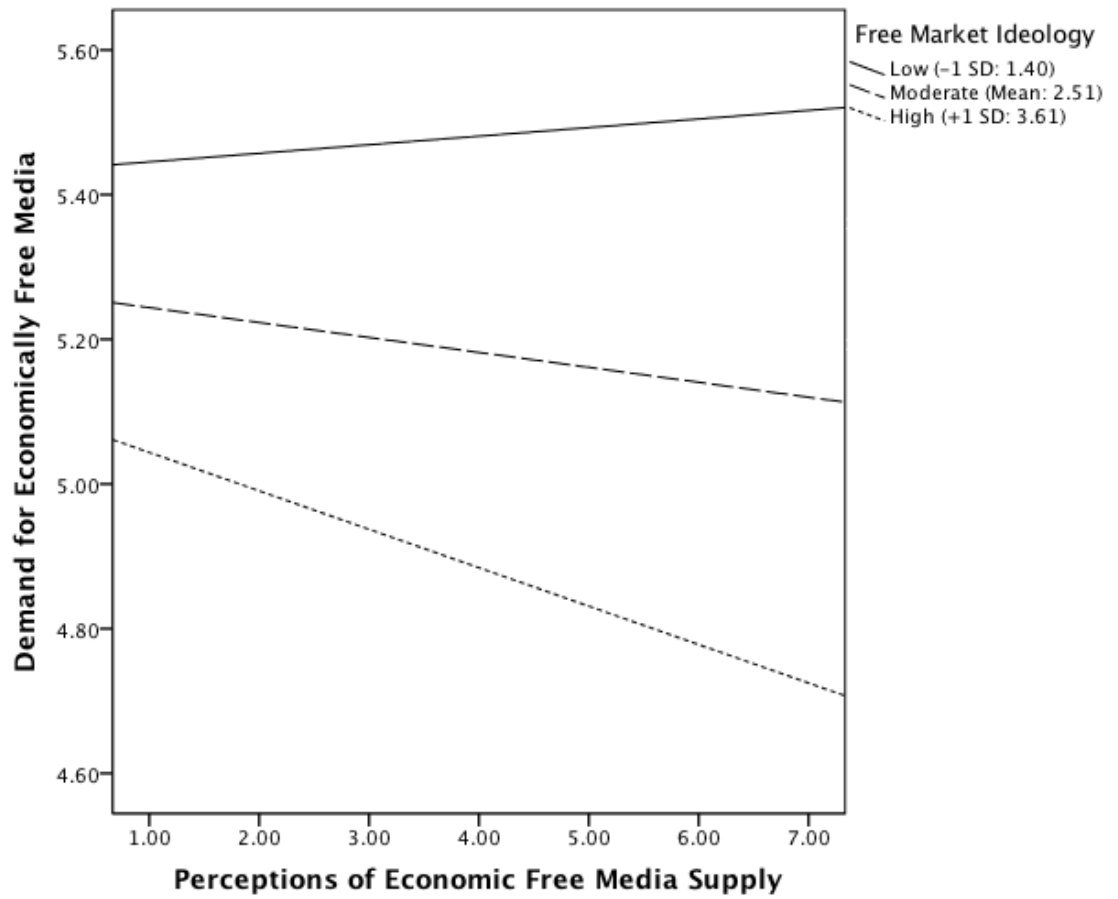


Figure 25: Non-significant free market ideology moderation effect on economic demand in Ukraine

Appendix C: Supply and Demand Descriptives and Correlations

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Valence</i> | <i>Mean</i> |
|--|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>Media is free to criticize government and political leaders</i> | <i>Positive</i> | <i>4.21</i> |
| <i>Government censors the media</i> | <i>Negative</i> | <i>3.91</i> |
| <i>People who produce media sometimes experience threats from government</i> | <i>Negative</i> | <i>3.86</i> |
| <i>Media are owned by a large number of companies</i> | <i>Positive</i> | <i>5.07</i> |
| <i>Media is affordable to most people</i> | <i>Positive</i> | <i>4.80</i> |
| <i>Businesses control the type of media content produced</i> | <i>Negative</i> | <i>3.56</i> |
| <i>The constitution protects the media</i> | <i>Positive</i> | <i>4.14</i> |
| <i>Media is enforced with fair laws</i> | <i>Positive</i> | <i>3.78</i> |
| <i>Laws do not protect journalists and bloggers very well</i> | <i>Negative</i> | <i>3.62</i> |

Table 23: Aggregate perceived supply mean with negative and positive valence

| | Media is free to criticize government and political leaders | Government censors the media (R) | People who produce media sometimes experience threats from government (R) |
|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Media is free to criticize government and political leaders | 1.00 | .35** | .28** |
| Government censors the media (R) | .35** | 1.00 | .60** |
| People who produce media sometimes experience threats from government (R) | .28** | .60** | 1.00 |

**p < .01 (two-tailed)
(R) = reverse coded

Table 24: Pearson correlations of political supply items across countries

| | Media are owned by a large number of companies | Media is affordable to most people | Businesses control the type of media content produced (R) |
|---|--|------------------------------------|---|
| Media are owned by a large number of companies | 1.00 | .36** | .09** |
| Media is affordable to most people | .36** | 1.00 | .01 |
| Businesses control the type of media content produced (R) | .09** | .01 | 1.00 |

**p < .01 (two-tailed)
(R) = reverse coded

Table 25: Pearson correlations of economic supply items across countries

| | Media is enforced with fair laws | Laws do not protect journalists and bloggers (R) | The constitution protects the media |
|--|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Media is enforced with fair laws | 1.00 | .15** | .52** |
| Laws do not protect journalists and bloggers (R) | .15** | 1.00 | .17** |
| The constitution protects the media | .52** | .17** | 1.00 |

**p < .01 (two-tailed)
(R) = reverse coded

Table 26: Pearson correlations of legal supply items across countries

Appendix D: Supplemental Media Use Analyses

| | Internet Use | Broadcast Use | Print Use |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| Internet Use | 1.00 | .28*** | .27*** |
| Broadcast Use | .28*** | 1.00 | .30*** |
| Print Use | .27*** | .30*** | 1.00 |

*** p < .001

Table 27: Pearson correlations between Internet, broadcast, and print use in Poland

| | Political supply | Legal supply | Economic supply |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Constant | 1.67 (1.64) | .91 (1.40) | 4.71 (1.33)*** |
| Age | -.00 (.00) | -.00 (.00) | -.01 (.00)** |
| Sex | -.24 (.14)# | -.15 (.12) | -.17 (.12) |
| Education | .01 (.06) | .08 (.05) | .12 (.05)* |
| Survey language | .67 (1.51) | 1.61 (1.28) | -1.01 (1.22) |
| SES | -.00 (.06) | .10 (.05)* | -.01 (.05) |
| Political interest | .10 (.06) | .00 (.05) | .02 (.05) |
| Political ideology | .04 (.07) | -.00 (.06) | .08 (.05) |
| Political knowledge | -.01 (.04) | .05 (.04) | .10 (.04)** |
| Attn to political news | .05 (.06) | .09 (.05)# | .13 (.05)** |
| Attn to econ news | .05 (.05) | .03 (.05) | -.02 (.04) |
| Internet use | .07 (.06) | .01 (.05) | .06 (.05) |
| Print - Broadcast use ⁺ | -.03 (.04) | -.04 (.03) | -.02 (.03) |
| Regime support | .08 (.01)*** | .04 (.01)*** | .01 (.01) |

⁺Frequency of broadcast use deducted from frequency of print use

p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 28: Relative broadcast and print use on perceived supply in Poland

Appendix E: Survey Instruments

English Survey

Welcome to the Ohio State University Media and Politics Survey. We are conducting this brief survey to understand how people in different countries think and feel about media and politics. In our mission to survey people around the world, we want to make sure your voice is heard. The survey takes around 20 minutes to complete. Your answers will not be identified individually and are completely confidential and only reported as part of a larger trend. Please be assured that all the information you provide will be kept completely confidential* and never used in any way to permit identification of you. You may skip any questions you feel uncomfortable answering.

For questions about your rights or to discuss study-related concerns with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact Ms. Sandra Meadows in the Ohio State University Office of Responsible Research Practices at 1-800-678-6251. We greatly appreciate your participation in this project and we look forward to hearing your thoughts and opinions about some important issues.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Stoycheff
Ohio State University
elizabeth.stoycheff+survey@gmail.com

Erik Nisbet
Ohio State University
nisbet.5@osu.edu

*Notification about Internet security: The study uses an online questionnaire. Although every effort to protect confidentiality will be made, no guarantee of Internet survey security can be given as, although unlikely, transmissions can be intercepted and IP addresses can be identified.

This survey asks you to honestly express your opinion about a lot of issues related to the media. By the media, we mean newspapers, television, radio, magazines, Internet websites, social networks and blogs produced by either professional journalists or people like you.

First, we would like to ask a few questions about your media habits. People get their news and opinions from different media. Some people like reading newspapers or magazines, others like watching TV, listening to the radio or using the Internet. During the typical week, how often do you get news and opinions from newspapers, newsmagazines, television, radio, or the Internet?

| | Never | Rarely | Occasionally | Sometimes | Often | Frequently | All the Time |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Newspapers (print or online) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Newsmagazines (print or online) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Television | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Radio | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Internet (including websites, blogs and social networking sites) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

How often do you get news and opinions from foreign newspapers, newsmagazines, television, radio or Internet websites?

| | Never | Rarely | Occasionally | Sometimes | Often | Frequently | All the Time |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Foreign newspapers (print or online) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Foreign newsmagazines (print or online) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Foreign television programs | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Foreign radio programs | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Foreign Internet websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

When you are using media, how much attention do you generally pay to news and opinions about the following topics?

| | None at all | Not much | A little bit | A moderate amount | Some | A lot | A great deal |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| News about national politics | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| News about the economy | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| News about international issues and events | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Please tell me how often you use the Internet to do any of the following things. How often do you use the Internet to...

| | Never | Less than Once a Month | Once a Month | 2-3 Times a Month | Once a Week | 2-3 Times a Week | Daily |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Share political opinions with others online | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Play games online | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Visit news websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Shop or make online purchases | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Use online search engines to help you find information | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Use social networking sites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Email friends and family | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Watch videos, movies or TV shows online | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

What social networking sites do you currently use? (Check all that apply)

- VK (V Kontakte) - ALL
- Spaces - RUSSIA
- NK.pl (Nasza-klasa.pl) - POLAND
- Odnoklassniki - ALL
- LiveJournal - ALL
- Facebook - ALL
- Twitter - ALL
- YouTube - ALL
- Other, please specify _____
- I do not use any social networking sites

How often do you visit social networking sites?

- Never
- Less than once a month
- Once a month
- 2 to 3 times a month
- Once a week
- 2 to 3 times a week
- Daily
- Several times a day

If Never Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Overall, how important are social networking sites to you personally when it comes to:

| | Not at all Important | Very Unimportant | Some what Unimportant | Neither Important nor Unimportant | Somewhat Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Keeping up with political news | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Discussing political issues with others | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Finding other people who share your political views | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Recruiting people to get involved with political issues | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Now, I'd like to ask some questions about the freedom of Internet and media in your country. In general, is the Internet free or is it restricted in [Insert Country]?

- Very restricted
- Restricted
- Somewhat restricted
- Neither restricted nor free
- Somewhat Free
- Free
- Very Free

In general, is the media free or is it restricted in [Insert Country]?

- Very restricted
- Restricted
- Somewhat restricted
- Neither restricted nor free
- Somewhat Free
- Free
- Very free

The last few questions asked about the amount of freedom (country's) media have. Using your own words, what does having a "free" media mean to you? Please write your response in the box provided below.

Media may have different levels of freedom in different countries. Compared to media in the countries listed below, do you think the media in your country experience more, less or equal levels of freedom?

Media in my country is.....

| | A lot less free | Less free | Somewhat less free | Equally free | Somewhat more free | More free | A lot more free |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Compared to Ukraine's media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Compared to Russia's media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Compared to Poland's media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Compared to U.S.'s media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

We would like to ask you some more questions about the media in (country). How well do you think each of the following statements describes the media in (country)?

| | Does not describe at all | Describes very poorly | Describes poorly | Describes somewhat | Describes well | Describes very well | Describes perfectly |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Media in (country) are always free to criticize the government and political leaders | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The government in (country) censors the media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| People who produce media in (country) sometimes experience threats or violence from government | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media in (country) are owned by a large number of companies | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Businesses control the type of media content produced in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media is affordable to most people in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media is enforced with fair laws in | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (country) Laws do not protect journalists and bloggers very well in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The (country) constitution protects the media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

From the list below, please select the group of people you like LEAST

- Immigrants
- Communists
- Atheists
- Socialists
- Fascists
- Anarchists
- Muslims
- Another group, please specify _____

Please indicate extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} should be banned from being President | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} should be allowed to teach in public schools | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} should be outlawed | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} should be allowed to make a speech in our city | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} should have their phones tapped by our government | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the following groups and people in your country?

| | Very unfavorable | Unfavorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Neither favorable nor unfavorable | Somewhat favorable | Favorable | Very favorable |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| President Vladimir Putin - RUSSIA | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| PM Dmitry Medvedev - RUSSIA | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| United Russia - RUSSIA | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| President Viktor Yanukovich - UKRAINE | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| PM Mykola Azarov - UKRAINE | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Party of Regions - UKRAINE | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| President Bronislaw Komorowski - POLAND | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| PM Donald Tusk - POLAND | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Civic Platform - POLAND | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The news media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

How much trust do you have in each of the following institutions in your country to do what is right?

| | None | Very Little | A Little | Some | A Fair Amount | A lot | A Great Deal |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| The Parliament | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The Courts of Law | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The Police | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The Military | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The Presidency | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The News Media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Now we are going to ask you several questions about your knowledge of politics and media in your country. Not everyone is expected to know these answers. Please just try to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not know the answer, please feel free to select "Not Sure."

The current foreign minister of Russia is Igor Ivanov. The current minister of foreign affairs in Ukraine is Kostyantyn Gryshchenko. The current minister of foreign affairs in Poland is Anna Fotyga.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not sure

The length of the president's term in Russia is 6 years. The length of the president's term in Ukraine is 5 years. The length of the president's term in Poland is 5 years.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not Sure

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation has the most seats in the Federal Assembly. The All Ukrainian Union has the most seats in the Verkhovna Rada. Law and Justice has the most seats in the Zgromadzenie Narodowe.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not Sure

Publishing false statements online or in print that may damage people's reputations is against the law in Ukraine. Publishing false statements online or in print that may damage people's reputations is against the law in Poland. Publishing false statements online or in print that may damage people's reputations is against the law in Russia.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not Sure

The United Nations considers access to free media a universal human right.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not Sure

A wiki is a professional website created for storing web documents, like large HTML pages and images, to reduce bandwidth usage.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not Sure

A podcast is an audio or video file streamed online to a computer or mobile device.

- Definitely True
- Probably True
- Probably False
- Definitely False
- Not Sure

Below are some general questions about society. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| It is okay if some groups have more of a chance than others | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| It would be good if all groups could be equal | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Some groups of people are just more worthy than others | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

Please indicate extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| It is difficult for me to express my opinion if I think others won't agree with what I say | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| There have been many times when I have thought others around me were wrong, but I did not let them know | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| It is safer to keep quiet than publicly speak an opinion that you know most others do not share | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When I disagree with others, I would rather go along with them than argue about it | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I tend to speak my opinion only around friends and other people I trust | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| It is easy for me to express my opinion around others who I think will disagree with me. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| If I disagree with others, I have no problem letting them know it. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I'd feel uncomfortable if someone asked my opinion and I knew that he or she wouldn't agree with me. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Sometimes political issues are so complicated that people like me can't understand what's really going on | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing my country today | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I think I am better informed about political topics and issues than most people | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Please indicate extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies in our country | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Businesses in our country make too much profit | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some are poor | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| We need less government regulation of business in our country | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

In general, how much do you support or oppose having an entirely free Internet?

- Strongly oppose
- Oppose
- Somewhat oppose
- Neither oppose nor support
- Somewhat support
- Support
- Strongly support

In general, how much do you support or oppose having an entirely free media?

- Strongly oppose
- Oppose
- Somewhat oppose
- Neither oppose nor support
- Somewhat support
- Support
- Strongly support

Below are statements about media in (country). Please indicate extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Media should always be free to criticize the government and political leaders in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media should be owned by a large number of companies in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media should be affordable to most people in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The (country's) government should not threaten people who produce media, like journalists and bloggers | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media should be enforced with fair laws in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The (country's) constitution should specify that media is protected by law | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| It is sometimes okay for government to censor media in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| It is sometimes okay if media are owned by a few large companies in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| It is sometimes okay if media laws are not enforced in (country) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Below are a series of statements about important issues facing (country). Please rank the issues in order of importance from 1=MOST IMPORTANT to 3=LEAST IMPORTANT.

- 1 Media that is free from censorship
- 2 Media that is enforced with fair laws
- 3 Media that is affordable to most people

Below are a series of statements about important issues facing (country). Please rank the issues in order of importance from 1=MOST IMPORTANT to 4=LEAST IMPORTANT.

- 1 Media that is free from censorship
- 2 National security
- 3 Free and fair elections
- 4 Community morals and religion

Below are a series of statements about important issues facing (country). Please rank the issues in order of importance from 1=MOST IMPORTANT to 4=LEAST IMPORTANT.

- 1 Media that is affordable to most people
- 2 National security
- 3 Free and fair elections
- 4 Community morals and religion

Below are a series of statements about important issues facing (country). Please rank the issues in order of importance from 1=MOST IMPORTANT to 4=LEAST IMPORTANT.

- 1 Media that is enforced with fair laws
- 2 National security
- 3 Free and fair elections
- 4 Community morals and religion

There are many ways to govern a country. Would you approve or disapprove of the following alternatives?

| | Strongly Disapprove | Disapprove | Somewhat Disapprove | Neither Disapprove nor Approve | Somewhat Approve | Approve | Strongly Approve |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The army governs the country | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Elections and parliament are eliminated so the president can make all decisions | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| In some circumstances, a nondemocratic government can be preferable | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

In your opinion, how much of a democracy is (country) today?

- Not a democracy at all
- A democracy with major problems
- A democracy with minor problems
- A full democracy

Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in (country)?

- Not at all satisfied
- Not very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Very satisfied
- (country) is not a democracy

Democracy can mean different things to different people. In your own words, what would you say democracy in your country means to you?

Now we would like to know your opinions about different media and Internet policies that have been proposed or implemented in different countries around the world. Please read each policy carefully and indicate how much you support or oppose each policy.

| | Strongly oppose | Oppose | Somewhat oppose | Neither oppose nor support | Somewhat support | Support | Strongly support |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A policy that penalizes journalists for spreading “deliberately untrustworthy information” with time in prison | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that allows government to review information before it is published in the media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that allows the government to monitor citizens’ Internet and social media use. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that requires scrutiny of media restrictions as part of a country’s annual review of human rights | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that grants any citizen the right to request and obtain information found in public records | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A policy that allows courts to punish government officials for media censorship. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that imposes a rule where a person cannot own more than one commercial TV broadcasting license in the same market | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that says foreign investors cannot own majority shares of newspapers in a different country | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A policy that regulates TV providers so TV is more affordable to citizens. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Are you interested or uninterested in politics?

- Very Uninterested
- Uninterested
- Somewhat Uninterested
- Neither Interested nor Uninterested
- Somewhat Interested
- Interested
- Very Interested

During the last two years, how often have you participated in any of the following activities?

| | Never | Once | More than once |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Voted in a political election | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Signed a petition about a political or community issue | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Attended a protest or rally | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wrote a letter or email to a political leader | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Worked with others on a community project | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws to protect freedom of expression in the media and on the Internet. Others argue that existing laws are sufficient. Overall, how do you support or oppose new legislation in your country aim at protecting freedom of expression in the media and on the Internet?

- Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Somewhat Support
- Support

(Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Support Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Support Is Selected)

How likely are you to engage in each of following activities to support new legislation protecting freedom of expression in the media and on the Internet?

| | Very Unlikely | Unlikely | Somewhat Unlikely | Undecided | Somewhat Likely | Likely | Very Likely |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Sign a petition | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Attend a protest or rally | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Contribute money to an advocacy organization | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Contact your political leaders to express your opinion | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

(Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Oppose Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Oppose Is Selected)

How likely are you to engage in each of following activities to oppose new legislation protecting freedom of expression in the media and on the Internet?

| | Very Unlikely | Unlikely | Somewhat Unlikely | Undecided | Somewhat Likely | Likely | Very Likely |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Sign a petition | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Attend a protest or rally | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Contribute money to an advocacy organization | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Contact your political leaders to express your opinion | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

People often visit a variety of commercial and government websites to get information, purchase goods or services, talk to friends on social networks, watch videos or movies, contact government agencies or leaders about issues, etc.

Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about your online privacy.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Government websites preserve my online privacy when I use them | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Commercial websites preserve my online privacy when I use them | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I am comfortable with the amount of privacy I have on government websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I am comfortable with the amount of privacy I have on commercial websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I have control over who can get access to my personal information collected by commercial websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I have control over what personal information is released by commercial websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I have control over how commercial websites use my personal information | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about your online privacy.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I have control over who can get access to my personal information collected by government websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I have control over what personal information is released by government websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I have control over how government websites use my personal information | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Giving personal information to government websites is risky | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| My privacy is at risk when I give personal information to government websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Government websites may inappropriately use my personal information | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Giving personal information to commercial websites is risky | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| My privacy is at risk when I give personal information to commercial websites | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Commercial websites may inappropriately use my personal information | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Now, we are almost done. We have a few final background questions for you. Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female

How old were you on your last birthday?

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- No formal education
- Primary school
- Secondary school
- Completed trade/technical school
- Some university
- Completed university
- Post-university

Have you ever lived in another country?

- Yes
- No

Do you have friends or family who live in another country that you write to, talk with or visit regularly?

- Yes
- No

Some people talk about politics in terms of left and right. On a 10-point scale, with 1 indicating extreme left and 7 indicating extreme right, where would you place yourself?

- Extreme left 1
- Left 2
- Lean left 3
- Middle of the road 4
- Lean right 5
- Right 6
- Extreme right 7

Thinking about your religious beliefs, would you say that you are Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Atheist/Agnostic, or something else?

- Protestant Christian (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness)
- Roman Catholic (Catholic)
- [in Russia] Russian Orthodox Church
- [in Ukraine] Ukrainian Orthodox Church
- Greek Orthodox Church
- Jewish (Judaism)
- Muslim (Islam)
- Atheist/Agnostic
- Something else, please specify: _____

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| My religious beliefs are an important reflection of who I am | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| In general, my religious beliefs are an important part of my self-image | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Overall, my religious beliefs have very little to do with how I feel about myself | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| My religious beliefs are unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

How often do you attend religious services outside of weddings and funerals?

- Never
- A few times a year during holidays
- About once a month
- Several times a month
- Once a week
- More than once a week

Below is a list of ranges of total annual household income. Please select the range best reflects your household income in 2012.

- Less than 9250 PLN
- 9251 to 18,500 PLN
- 18,501 to 27,750 PLN

- 27,751 to 37,000 PLN
- 37,001 to 46,251 PLN
- 46,252 to 55,501 PLN
- 55,502 to 64,751 PLN
- 64,572 to 74,001 PLN
- 74,002 to 83,251 PLN
- 83,252 to 92,502 PLN
- 92,502 PLN or more
- Less than 45,400 RUB
- 45,401 to 90,800 RUB
- 90,801 to 211,800 RUB
- 211,801 to 332,900 RUB
- 332,901 to 453,900 RUB
- 453,901 to 575,000 RUB
- 575,001 to 696,000 RUB
- 696,001 to 817,000 RUB
- 817,001 to 938,000 RUB
- 938,001 to 1,028,900 RUB
- 1,028,901 RUB or more
- Less than 8,100 UAH
- 8,101 to 20,300 UAH
- 20,301 to 32,500 UAH
- 32,501 to 52,800 UAH
- 52,801 to 64,900 UAH
- 64,901 to 85,200 UAH
- 85,201 to 97,400 UAH
- 97,401 to 105,500 UAH
- 105,501 to 117,700 UAH
- 117,701 to 129,800 UAH
- 129,801 UAH or more

Polish Survey

Witamy Państwa na stronie ankiety Uniwersytetu Stanowego w Ohio (Ohio State University, USA) Nasza ankieta dotyczy mediów i polityki. Przeprowadzamy badania, które pomogą nam zrozumieć, co **ludzie w różnych krajach** odczuwają i myślą na temat powiązania mediów i polityki. Naszym celem jest przeprowadzenie ankiet na całym świecie. **Chcielibyśmy, aby Państwa głos w tej sprawie miał znaczenie.** Ta ankieta może zająć około 20 minut. **Państwa odpowiedzi są całkowicie anonimowe i całkowicie poufne.** Mają one pokazać ogólne tendencje społeczne. Zapewniamy Państwa, że informacje, których nam udzielacie pozostaną poufne* i nigdy nie będą użyte w jakikolwiek sposób umożliwiający identyfikację respondentów. Możecie Państwo pominąć odpowiedzi na pytania, które wydadzą Wam się kłopotliwe.

W przypadku jakichkolwiek pytań, dotyczących Państwa praw lub jeżeli chcecie Państwo wymienić uwagi dotyczące przeprowadzanego badania z kimś spoza zespołu badawczego, prosimy kontaktować się z Sandrą Meadows (Ohio State University Office of Responsible Research Practices) pod numerem telefonu: 1-800-678-6251 lub za pośrednictwem poczty elektronicznej pod adresem e-mail: meadows.8@osu.edu. Jesteśmy bardzo wdzięczni za udział w naszym projekcie i z przyjemnością **uwzględnimy Państwa sugestie i opinie** dotyczące naszej ankiety.

Z poważaniem,

Elizabeth Stoycheff
Ohio State University
elizabeth.stoycheff+survey@gmail.com

Erik Nisbet
Ohio State University
nisbet.5@osu.edu

*Uwaga dotycząca bezpieczeństwa w internecie: w tym badaniu używany jest kwestionariusz online. Pomimo podjętych wysiłków ochrony prywatności, nie można w pełni zagwarantować bezpieczeństwa ankiet przeprowadzanych w internecie. Zawsze istnieje prawdopodobieństwo, co prawda niewielkie, przechwycenia transmisji i zidentyfikowania adresu IP użytkownika.

Ta ankieta wymaga od Państwa wyrażenia swoich szczerych opinii dotyczących wielu kwestii powiązanych z mediami. Pod terminem media rozumiemy **dzienniki, telewizję, radio, czasopisma, strony internetowe, portale społecznościowe i blogi** tworzone i wydawane zarówno przez **zawodowych dziennikarzy, jak i przez amatorów.**

Na początku chcielibyśmy zadać kilka pytań dotyczących Państwa nawyków medialnych. Ludzie uzyskują wiadomości **i wyrabiają sobie opinie** na podstawie różnych źródeł informacji. Niekórzy czytają gazety i czasopisma, inni oglądają telewizję, słuchają radia lub korzystają z internetu. Jak często w trakcie tygodnia zdobywa Pan/Pani **wiadomości i kształtuje własne poglądy** na podstawie gazet, czasopism, telewizji, radia lub Internetu?

| | 1 Nigdy | 2 | 3 | 4 Czasami | 5 | 6 | 7 Zawsze |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Dzienniki (w wersji drukowanej i elektronicznej) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Czasopisma (w wersji drukowanej i elektronicznej) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Telewizja | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Radio | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Internet (łącznie: strony internetowe, portale społecznościowe i blogi) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Jak często uzyskuje Pan/Pani wiadomości i kształtuje własne poglądy na podstawie **źródeł zagranicznych**: dzienniki, czasopisma, telewizja, radio lub strony internetowe?

| | 1 Nigdy | 2 | 3 | 4 Czasami | 5 | 6 | 7 Zawsze |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Zagraniczne dzienniki (w wersji drukowanej i elektronicznej) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Zagraniczne czasopisma (w wersji drukowanej i elektronicznej) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Zagraniczne programy telewizyjne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Zagraniczne programy radiowe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Zagraniczne strony internetowe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

W trakcie korzystania z mediów, ile uwagi poświęca Pan/Pani wiadomościom i opiniom, które dotyczą następujących tematów?

| | 1 Bardzo mało | 2 | 3 | 4 Średnio | 5 | 6 | 7 Bardzo dużo |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Wiadomości o polityce krajowej | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wiadomości ekonomiczne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wiadomości o wydarzeniach i sprawach międzynarodowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Proszę nam powiedzieć, jak często używa Pan/Pani internetu w następujących celach. Jak często używa Pan/Pani internetu do...

| | Nigdy | Rzadziej niż raz w miesiącu | Raz w miesiącu | 2-3 razy w miesiącu | Raz w tygodniu | 2-3 razy w tygodniu | Codziennie |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| wymiany poglądów politycznych z innymi w Internecie | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| gier internetowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| przeglądania stron i portali informacyjnych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| zakupów internetowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| korzystania z wyszukiwarek w celu znalezienia informacji | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| korzystanie z serwisów społecznościowych | | | | | | | <input type="radio"/> |
| wysyłania wiadomości e-mail do rodziny i przyjaciół | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| oglądania filmów wideo i programów telewizyjnych w internecie | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Z jakich portali społecznościowych aktualnie Pan/Pani korzysta? (Proszę wybrać właściwe)

- VK (V Kontakte)
- NK.pl (Nasza-klasa.pl)
- Odnoklassniki
- LiveJournal
- Facebook
- Twitter
- YouTube
- Inny, proszę sprecyzować _____
- Nie korzystam z portali społecznościowych

Jak często odwiedza Pan/Pani portale społecznościowe?

- Nigdy
- Rzadziej niż raz w miesiącu
- Raz w miesiącu
- 2-3 razy w miesiącu
- Raz w tygodniu
- 2-3 razy w tygodniu
- Codziennie
- Wiele razy w ciągu dnia

If Never Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Ogólnie, jak ważne są dla Pana/Pani portale społecznościowe, jeśli chodzi o:

| | 1 Zupełnie nieważne | 2 | 3 | 4 Obojętne | 5 | 6 | 7 Niezwyczajnie ważne |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| otrzymywanie wiadomości dotyczących polityki | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| dyskusje na tematy polityczne z innymi | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| spotykanie innych ludzi o podobnych poglądach politycznych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| motywowanie ludzi do angażowania się w działalność polityczną | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Teraz, chcielibyśmy zadać parę pytań na temat wolności mediów i internetu w Pana/Pani kraju. Ogólnie, czy **internet** w Polsce daje możliwość swobodnego korzystania z praw i obowiązków, czy raczej wolność w internecie jest ograniczona?

- Bardzo ograniczona
- Ograniczona
- Trochę ograniczona
- Ani nie daje swobody ani nie tworzy ograniczeń
- Daje nieco wolności
- Daje wolność
- Daje pełną wolność

Ogólnie, czy **media** w Polsce są wolne czy ich wolność jest ograniczona?

- Bardzo ograniczona
- Ograniczona
- Trochę ograniczona
- Ani nie są wolne ani nie jest ona ograniczona
- Mają nieco wolności
- Są wolne
- Są całkowicie wolne

Ostatnich parę pytań odnosiło się do media wolności mediów w Polsce. Używając własnych słów, czy może Pan/Pani zdefiniować termin "wolne" media? Prosimy o udzielenie odpowiedzi w polu poniżej.

Wolność mediów może mieć różny poziom w różnych krajach. Porównując media krajów wymienionych poniżej, czy uważa Pan/Pani, że media w Polsce cieszą się większą, mniejszą lub równą wolnością?

Media w moim kraju są...

| | O wiele mniej wolne | Mniej wolne | Trochę mniej wolne | mają ten sam poziom wolności | Trochę bardziej wolne | Bardziej wolne | O wiele bardziej wolne |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| W porównaniu z mediami na Ukrainie | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| W porównaniu z mediami w Rosji | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| W porównaniu z mediami w Stanach Zjednoczonych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Chcielibyśmy Panu/Pani zadać jeszcze parę pytań dotyczących mediów w Polsce. Jak Pan/Pani uważa?
Która z poniższych wypowiedzi dotyczy mediów w Polsce?

| | w ogóle nie dotyczy | bardzo mało dotyczy | mało dotyczy | niewiele dotyczy | dotyczy | dotyczy w pełni | Doskonale je opisuje |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Mediom w Polsce zawsze wolno krytykować rząd i przywódców politycznych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rząd polski cenzuruje media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ludzie tworzący media w Polsce czasami są zastraszani lub ulegają przemocy ze strony rządu | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media w Polsce należą do różnych właścicieli | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Przedsiębiorcy kontrolują treść przekazu medialnego w Polsce | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Dostęp do mediów jest w Polsce w cenie przystępnej, osiągalnej dla większości | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Media w Polsce podlegają jasnym przepisom prawa | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Prawo w Polsce niezbyt dobrze chroni dziennikarzy i blogerów | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chroni media | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Prosimy o wybranie z poniższej listy grupy, którą lubi Pan/Pani **NAJMNIJ**

- imigranci
- komuniści
- ateści
- socjaliści
- faszyci
- anarchiści
- liberałowie
- muzułmanie
- inna grupa, prosimy sprecyzować _____

Prosimy o zaznaczenie w jakim stopniu Pan/Pani zgadza się z każdym z następujących zdań

| | 1 Całkowicie się nie zgadzam | 2 | 3 | 4 Jest mi to obojętne | 5 | 6 | 7 Zgadzam się w zupełności |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} Powinno mu się zabronić być Prezydentem | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} Powinno mu się pozwolić nauczać w szkołach publicznych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} Powinno mu się pozwolić organizować publiczne zgromadzenia w naszym mieście | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} Powinno się go pozbawić praw publicznych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} Powinno mu się pozwolić przemawiać w naszym mieście | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| {q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} Powinno się założyć rządowe podsłuchy na ich telefonach | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Czy Pana/Pani zdanie na temat następujących postaci i grup ludzi w Polsce jest pozytywne czy raczej nie?

| | 1 Całkowicie nieprzychylna | 2 | 3 | 4 Są mi obojętni | 5 | 6 | 7 Bardzo przychylna |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Prezydent Bronisław Komorowski | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Premier Donald Tusk | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Platforma Obywatelska | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media informacyjne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Jak ocenił(a)by Pan/Pani swoje przekonanie o tym, iż wymienione poniżej instytucje w Polsce robią to, co do nich należy?

| | Żadne | Bardzo małe | Małe | Trochę | Dostateczne | Duże | Bardzo duże |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Sejm | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Sądy | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Policja | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wojsko | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Prezydent | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media informacyjne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Teraz chcielibyśmy zadać Panu/Pani kilka pytań dotyczących polityki i mediów w Polsce. Dokładne odpowiedzi nie są konieczne. Prosimy tylko zaznaczać te, które wydają się Panu/Pani prawidłowe. Jeśli nie zna Pan/Pani odpowiedzi, prosimy zaznaczyć "Nie mam pewności".

Obecnym ministrem spraw zagranicznych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej jest Anna Fotyga.

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

Długość kadencji Prezydenta w Polsce wynosi 5 lat.

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

Prawo i Sprawiedliwość posiadają większość miejsc w Parlamencie.

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

Publikowanie drukiem lub zamieszczanie w internecie oszczerstw, mogących kogoś zniesławić jest w Polsce prawnie karalne

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

ONZ uznaje dostęp do wolnych mediów za powszechne prawo człowieka

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

Wiki to profesjonalna strona internetowa, stworzona w celu przechowywania dokumentów internetowych, takich jak obrazy i duże strony HTML

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

Podcast to plik audio lub video przesyłany strumieniowo online na komputer lub urządzenie mobilne.

- Zdecydowanie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie prawda
- Prawdopodobnie fałsz
- Zdecydowanie fałsz
- Nie mam pewności

Timing

First Click

Last Click

Page Submit

Click Count

Poniżej mamy parę pytań dotyczących ogólnych zagadnień społecznych. Prosimy zaznaczyć, w jakim stopniu się Pan/Pani zgadza z każdym z następujących stwierdzeń

| | Zdecydowanie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| To właściwe, że niektóre grupy społeczne mają więcej możliwości niż inne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Mielibyśmy mniej problemów gdybyśmy traktowali tak samo różne grupy społeczne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Żeby dać sobie radę w życiu, czasami konieczne jest umniejszenie innej grupy społecznej | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Jeżeli niektóre grupy społeczne znalazłyby swoje miejsce, mielibyśmy mniej problemów | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Byłoby bardzo dobrze, gdyby wszystkie grupy społeczne były równe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Niektóre grupy ludzi są lepsze od innych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Prosimy o zaznaczenie w jakim stopniu Pan/Pani zgadza się z każdym z następujących stwierdzeń

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Jest mi trudno wyrazić swoją opinię i myślę, że inni nie zgodzą się z moim zdaniem | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wiele razy miałem/am wrażenie, że inni wokoło nie mają racji, ale nie pokazywałem/am tego | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Bezpieczniej jest siedzieć cicho, niż publicznie wyrażać opinie, z którymi nie zgadza się większość | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kiedy nie zgadzam się z innymi, wolę raczej z nimi współpracować, niż się kłócić | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Staram się wyrażać swoje opinie tylko wśród przyjaciół i ludzi, którym ufam | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Z łatwością wyrażam swoje zdanie wśród ludzi, którzy jak się domyślam, nie zgodzą się ze mną | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kiedy nie zgadzam się z innymi, nie mam problemów z mówieniem o tym | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Czuję się niezręcznie, jeżeli ktoś pyta o moją opinię, a ja wiem, że ta osoba nie zgodzi się ze mną | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Prosimy o zaznaczenie w jakim stopniu Pan/Pani zgadza się z każdym z następujących stwierdzeń

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Czasami kwestie polityczne są tak zawile, że nie jestem w stanie zrozumieć, o co tak naprawdę w tym wszystkim chodzi | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wydają mi się, że dość dobrze rozumiem główne problemy polityczne, z którymi, obecnie boryka się nasz kraj | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Myślę, że jestem lepiej poinformowany/na odnośnie tematów politycznych niż większość społeczeństwa | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Prosimy o zaznaczenie w jakim stopniu Pan/Pani zgadza się z każdym z następujących stwierdzeń

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Kilka dużych przedsiębiorstw w kraju posiada zbyt wiele władzy | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Przedsiębiorcy w Polsce zarabiają za dużo | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Większość ludzi ma się lepiej w gospodarce wolnorynkowej, mimo wyraźniejszych różnic między bogatymi a biednymi | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| W Polsce rząd powinien mniej mieszać się w sprawę przedsiębiorców | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Ogólnie, jak bardzo popiera Pan/Pani ideę całkowicie wolnego **Internetu**?

- Jestem zdecydowanie przeciw
- Jestem przeciw
- Jestem raczej przeciw
- Jest mi to obojętne
- Raczej popieram
- Popieram
- Całkowicie popieram

Ogólnie, jak bardzo popiera Pan/Pani ideę całkowicie wolnych **mediów**?

- Zdecydowanie jestem przeciw
- Jestem przeciw
- Jestem raczej przeciw
- Jest mi to obojętne
- Raczej popieram
- Popieram
- Całkowicie popieram

Poniżej przedstawione są wypowiedzi na temat mediów w Polsce. Prosimy o zaznaczenie w jakim stopniu Pan/Pani się z nimi zgadza

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Mediom w Polsce zawsze wolno krytykować rząd i przywódców politycznych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media w Polsce znajdują się w posiadaniu wielu właścicieli | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media w Polsce są w cenie przystępnej osiągalnej dla większości obywateli | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rząd polski nie powinien zastraszać ludzi medialną pracujących w mediach, takich jak dziennikarze i blogerzy | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Media w Polsce podlegają jasnym regułom prawnym | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej powinna precyzyjnie określać granice prawnej ochrony mediów | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Czasami cenzurowanie mediów przez rząd polski jest dopuszczalne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Czasami dopuszczalne jest, aby media pozostały w rękach kilku dużych przedsiębiorstw | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Czasami to lepiej, że przepisy dotyczące mediów nie są wykonywane | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Poniżej przedstawiamy szereg zdań, które dotyczą ważnych problemów, z którymi boryka się obecnie Polska. Prosimy uszeregować te zdania według kryteriów ważności, od **1=NAJBARDZIEJ WAŻNE do 3=NAJMNIEJ WAŻNE**.

- 1 Media powinny być wolne od cenzury
- 2 Media powinny podlegać jasnym regułom prawnym
- 3 Media powinny być cenowo dostępne dla większości ludzi

Poniżej przedstawiamy szereg zdań, które dotyczą ważnych problemów, z którymi boryka się obecnie Polska. Prosimy uszeregować te zdania według kryteriów ważności, od **1=NAJBARDZIEJ WAŻNE do 4=NAJMNIEJ WAŻNE**.

- 1 Media powinny być wolne od cenzury
- 2 Bezpieczeństwo narodowe
- 3 Wolne i demokratyczne wybory
- 4 Moralność i religia

Poniżej przedstawiamy szereg zdań, które dotyczą ważnych problemów, z którymi boryka się Polska. Prosimy uszeregować te zdania według ważności, od **1=NAJBARDZIEJ WAŻNE do 4=NAJMNIEJ WAŻNE**.

- 1 Media, które są cenowo dostępne dla większości ludzi
- 2 Bezpieczeństwo narodowe
- 3 Wolne i demokratyczne wybory
- 4 Moralność społeczna i religia

Poniżej przedstawiamy szereg zdań, które dotyczą ważnych problemów z którymi boryka się Polska. Prosimy uszeregować te zdania według ważności, od **1=NAJBARDZIEJ WAŻNE do 4=NAJMNIEJ WAŻNE**.

- 1 Media, które podlegają jasnym regułom prawnym
- 2 Bezpieczeństwo narodowe
- 3 Wolne i demokratyczne wybory
- 4 Moralność społeczna i religia

Istnieje wiele sposobów rządzenia krajem. Czy popiera Pan/Pani na następujące alternatywne sposoby rządzenia?

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam! | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam! |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Tylko jedna partia polityczna może startować w wyborach i sprawować rządu | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| W kraju sprawuje władzę wojsko | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Wybory i parlament nie istnieją, a wszelkie decyzje podejmuje Prezydent | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Prosimy zaznaczyć, w jakim stopniu Pan/Pani zgadza się z każdym z następujących stwierdzeń

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Demokracja jest najbardziej pożądaną formą rządów | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| W niektórych okolicznościach niedemokratyczna forma rządów może być lepsza | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Dla mnie osobiście to bez znaczenia, jaką formę rządów mamy | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

W Pana/Pani opinii, na ile obecnie Polska jest krajem demokratycznym?

- Zupełnie nie jest demokratyczna
- Jest demokracją z poważnymi problemami
- Jest demokracją z małymi problemami
- To pełna demokracja

Ogólnie, na ile Pana/Panią satysfakcjonuje sposób działania demokracji w Polsce?

- Zupełny brak satysfakcji
- Brak satysfakcji
- Satysfakcja
- Całkowita satysfakcja
- Polska nie jest państwem demokratycznym

Demokracja może oznaczać coś innego dla każdego. Prosimy własnymi słowami powiedzieć, co dla Pana/Pani oznacza demokracja w Polsce?

Teraz chcielibyśmy dowiedzieć się, jaka jest Pana/Pani opinia na temat stosowanych i proponowanych na świecie rozwiązań politycznych dotyczących regulacji mediów i internetu. Prosimy dokładnie przeczytać poniższe przykłady rozwiązań i zaznaczyć, na ile się Pan/Pani z nimi zgadza

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Rozwiązanie, w którym dziennikarze są skazywani na kary więzienia za „umyślne” rozpowszechnianie "niepewnych informacji" | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, które pozwala rządowi na przeglądanie informacji przed jej publikacją w mediach | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, które pozwala rządowi na monitorowanie, w jaki sposób obywatele używają internetu i portali społecznościowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, które wymaga monitorowania ograniczania mediów, jako części corocznego krajowego raportu dotyczącego praw człowieka | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, oferujące każdemu obywatelowi prawo do otrzymywania informacji publicznej | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, które pozwala sądom na karanie przedstawicieli rządu za cenzurowanie mediów | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Rozwiązanie prawne, w którym prawna przedsiębiorca nie może posiadać więcej niż jednej koncesji telewizyjnej na tym samym rynku | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, które nie pozwala zagranicznym inwestorom posiadania większościowych pakietów akcji tytułów prasowych w danym kraju | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rozwiązanie, które kontroluje dostawców usług telewizyjnych tak, aby telewizja posiadała bardziej przystępną dla obywateli cenę. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Czy interesuję się Pan/Pani polityką?

- Zupełnie mnie to nie interesuje
- Nie interesuję się
- Niewiele się interesuję
- Jest mi to obojętne
- Trochę się interesuję
- Interesuję się
- Bardzo się interesuję

W ciągu ostatnich dwóch lat, jak często uczestniczył/ła Pan/Pani w którymś z następujących wydarzeń?

| | Nigdy | Raz | Więcej niż raz |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Głosowanie w wyborach | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Podpisywanie petycji dotyczącej sprawy politycznej lub społecznej | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Branie udziału w proteście lub wiecu | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Pisanie wiadomości do przedstawiciela politycznego | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Współpraca nad projektem dla społeczności lokalnej | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Niektórzy, utrzymują, że państwa powinny uchylać więcej praw chroniących wolność słowa w mediach i internecie. Inni dowodzą, że istniejące prawa są w zupełności wystarczające. Ogólnie rzecz biorąc, czy zgadza się Pan/Pani, czy też raczej sprzeciwia nowemu ustawodawstwu w kraju, mającemu na celu chronić wolność słowa w mediach i internecie?

- Sprzeciwiam się
- Raczej się sprzeciwiam
- Raczej popieram
- Popieram

Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Support Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Support Is Selected

Na ile zaangażowałby/aby się Pan/Pani w poniższe działania mające na celu poparcie nowego ustawodawstwa chroniącego wolność wypowiedzi w mediach i Internecie?

| | Bardzo niechętnie | Niechętnie | Raczej niechętnie | Nie mam zdania | Raczej chętnie | Chętnie | Bardzo chętnie |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Podpisanie petycji | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Branie udziału w proteście lub wiecu | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ofiarowanie środków finansowych na wsparcie organizacji | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontaktowanie się z lokalnymi liderami politycznymi w celu wyrażenia swojej opinii | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Oppose Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Oppose Is Selected

Na ile zaangażowałby/ałaby się Pan/Pani w poniższe działania mające na celu przeciwstawienie się nowemu ustawodawstwu chroniącemu wolność wypowiedzi w mediach i Internecie?

| | Bardzo niechętnie | Niechętnie | Raczej niechętnie | Nie mam zdania | Raczej chętnie | Chętnie | Bardzo chętnie |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Podpisanie petycji | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Branie udziału w proteście lub wiecu | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ofiarowanie środków finansowych na wsparcie organizacji | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontaktowanie się z lokalnymi liderami politycznymi w celu wyrażenia swojej opinii | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Ludzie często odwiedzają różne komercyjne i rządowe strony internetowe, aby uzyskać informacje, dokonać zakupu towarów lub usług, porozmawiać z przyjaciółmi na portalach społecznościowych, oglądać materiały wideo, kontaktować się z agencjami rządowymi lub politykami itp.

Proszę nam powiedzieć jak bardzo zgadza się Pan/Pani, lub nie zgadza z poniższymi twierdzeniami na temat ochrony Pana/Pani prywatności w internecie.

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Strony rządowe chronią moją prywatność w trakcie ich odwiedzania | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Komercyjne strony internetowe chronią moją prywatność w trakcie ich odwiedzania | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Jestem spokojny/na, jeżeli chodzi o ochronę mojej prywatności, kiedy używam rządowych stron internetowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Jestem spokojny/na, jeżeli chodzi o ochronę mojej prywatności, kiedy używam komercyjnych stron internetowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontroluję to, kto może uzyskać dostęp do moich danych osobowych zbieranych przez komercyjne strony internetowe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontroluję to, jakie moje dane osobowe są udostępniane przez komercyjne strony internetowe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontroluję to, jak komercyjne strony internetowe używają moich danych osobowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Proszę nam powiedzieć jak bardzo zgadza się Pan/Pani, lub nie zgadza z poniższymi twierdzeniami na temat Pana/Pani prywatności online.

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Kontroluję to, kto może uzyskać dostęp do moich danych osobowych zbieranych przez rządowe strony internetowe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontroluję to, jakie moje dane osobowe są udostępniane przez rządowe strony internetowe | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kontroluję to, jak rządowe strony internetowe używają moich danych osobowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Podawanie danych osobowych rządowym stronom internetowym jest ryzykowne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Moja prywatność jest zagrożona, kiedy podaję moje dane osobowe rządowym stronom internetowym | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rządowe strony internetowe mogą, niewłaściwie używać moich danych osobowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Podawanie danych osobowych komercyjnym stronom internetowym jest ryzykowne | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Moja prywatność jest zagrożona, kiedy podaję moje dane osobowe komercyjnym stronom internetowym | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Komercyjne strony internetowe mogą, niewłaściwie używać moich danych osobowych | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

To już prawie koniec ! Chcielibyśmy jeszcze tylko dowiedzieć się czegoś ogólnie na Twój temat, Nasz Szanowny Respondencie. Czy jest Pan/Pani mężczyzną czy kobietą?

- Mężczyzną
- Kobieta

Ile Pan/Pani ma lat?

Jakie jest Pana/Pani wykształcenie?

- Bez wykształcenia
- podstawowe
- średnie (matura)
- zawodowe
- Wyższe - licencjat
- Wyższe - magisterskie
- Wyższe – pomagisterskie

Jaki jest najwyższy stopień wykształcenia, który udało Ci się osiągnąć?

- 1 Brak oficjalnego wykształcenia
- 2 Wykształcenie podstawowe niepełne
- 3 Wykształcenie podstawowe pełne
- 4 Wykształcenie średnie niepełne: techniczne/zawodowe
- 5 Wykształcenie średnie pełne: techniczne/zawodowe
- 6 Wykształcenie wyższe niepełne
- 7 Wykształcenie wyższe pełne

|WVS education item consistent across all three countries. Responses number 6-7 don't exist in the polish education system therefore the translation has been skipped: 8th and 9th levels are translated as the 6th and 7th.

Czy mieszkał/ła Pan/Pani kiedykolwiek za granicą?

- Tak
- Nie

Czy ma Pan/Pani przyjaciół lub krewnych mieszkających za granicą, z którymi utrzymuje Pan/Pani regularny kontakt?

- Tak
- Nie

Niektórzy mówiąc o polityce używają terminów „lewica” i „prawica”. Jakie są Pana/Pani poglądy w 10 stopniowej skali, gdzie 1 oznacza skrajną LEWICĘ, a 7 określa skrajną PRAWICĘ?

- ekstremalna lewica 1
- lewica 2
- umiarkowana lewica 3
- centrum 4
- umiarkowana prawica 5
- prawica 6
- ekstremalna prawica 7

Jak określiłby Pan/Pani swoje przekonania religijne? Jakiego jest Pan/Pani wyznania?

- protestanckiego
- rzymsko-katolickiego
- prawosławnego
- mojżeszowego
- wyznaje Islam
- jestem ateistą/ agnostykiem
- Jeśli jest Pan/Pani innego wyznania, prosimy sprecyzować: _____

Prosimy zaznaczyć, w jakim stopniu się Pan/Pani zgadza z każdym z następujących stwierdzeń

| | Zupełnie się nie zgadzam | Nie zgadzam się | Raczej się nie zgadzam | Jest mi to obojętne | Raczej się zgadzam | Zgadzam się | Całkowicie się zgadzam |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Moje przekonania religijne są istotnym odzwierciedleniem tego, kim jestem | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Moje przekonania religijne stanowią ważną część mojego wyobrażenia o sobie | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Moje przekonania religijne mają bardzo mało wspólnego z temat moim wyobrażeniem o sobie | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Moje przekonania religijne nie mają nic wspólnego z tym, jakim jestem człowiekiem | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Jak często uczestniczy Pan/Pani w obrzędach religijnych, nie licząc ślubów i pogrzebów?

- Nigdy
- Kilka razy w ciągu roku, podczas świąt
- Raz w miesiącu
- Kilka razy w miesiącu
- Raz w tygodniu
- Częściej niż raz w tygodniu

Prosimy o zaznaczenie, które z poniższych zdań najbardziej odzwierciedla stan Pana/Pani domowych finansów.

- Nie zawsze mamy wystarczającą ilość pieniędzy na jedzenie.
- Na jedzenie wystarczy, ale mamy problem z kupowaniem ubrań.
- Mamy wystarczającą ilość środków na jedzenie, ubrania czy na drobne urządzenia AGD. Jednak kupienie telewizora, lodówki czy pralki może stanowić problem.
- Stać nas na wszystkie najważniejsze urządzenia AGD. Jednak kupienie samochodu może stanowić problem.
- Posiadamy wystarczającą ilość oszczędności, aby było nas stać na prawie wszystko, może z wyjątkiem kupna mieszkania czy domu.
- Nie mamy żadnych kłopotów finansowych, możemy sobie pozwolić na mieszkanie lub dom.

Poniżej przedstawione są przykładowe pułapy miesięcznych dochodów gospodarstwa domowego.

Prosimy o zaznaczenie, która z grup najlepiej pasuje do Pana/Pani dochodów w 2012 roku.

- Mniej niż 9250 PLN
- 9251 do 18500 PLN
- 18501 do 27750 PLN
- 27751 do 37000 PLN
- 37001 do 46251 PLN
- 46252 do 55501 PLN
- 55502 do 64751 PLN
- 64572 do 74001 PLN
- 74002 do 83251 PLN
- 83252 do 92502 PLN
- 92502 PLN lub więcej

Ukrainian Survey

LANGUAGE

Будь ласка, виберіть свою мову:
Пожалуйста, выберите язык опроса:
To continue, please select your language:

- Українська мова
 Русский
 English

INTRO

Ласкаво запрошуємо до опитування про політику та засоби масової інформації (ЗМІ), яке проводиться Університетом штату Огайо. Ми проводимо це коротке дослідження щоб зрозуміти, як люди в різних країнах сприймають засоби масової інформації та політики. Наша місія полягає в опитуванні людей в різних країнах світу з метою зробити так, щоб голос кожного був почутий. Заповнення опитування займає близько 20 хвилин. Результати дослідження будуть опубліковані тільки як частина основної тенденції. **Ваші відповіді залишаться конфіденційними і не будуть розглядатися індивідуально.** Будьте впевнені, що вся інформація, яку Ви надаєте, буде повністю конфіденційною і ніколи не буде використана для вашої ідентифікації. Будь ласка пропустіть будь-які питання, на які Вам незручно відповідати.

Якщо у Вас є питання про ваші права або Ви бажаєте обговорити будь-які проблеми щодо цього дослідження з кимось, хто не є членом дослідницької команди, будь ласка контакуйте з пані Sandra Meadows, яка працює в офісі, відповідальному за дослідження в Університеті штату Огайо. Її контакти: телефон 1-800-678-6251 або е-пошта: meadows.8@osu.edu. Ми дуже цінуємо вашу участь в цьому проекті і будемо раді почути Ваші думки щодо цих важливих проблем.

Щиро дякуємо

Elisabet Stoycheff
Університет штату Огайо
elisabeth.stoycheff+survey@gmail.com

Erik Nisbet
Університет штату Огайо
nisbet.5@osu.edu

*Про безпеку Інтернету: це дослідження проводиться з використанням онлайн-анкетування. Хоча усі зусилля захистити конфіденційність будуть зроблені, але безпека будь-якого анкетування у Інтернеті не може бути гарантована. Малоімовірно, але передача інформації може бути перехоплена, а адреси Інтернет провайдерів, IP, ідентифіковані.

MEDIA USE

Цей огляд має на меті виявити Вашу справжню думку про багатопроblemність Вашого відношення до ЗМІ, висловити Вашу думку про багато проблем щодо ЗМІ. Під ЗМІ ми розуміємо: **газети, телебачення, радіо, журнали, вебсайти Інтернету, соціальні мережі і блоги, створені або професійними журналістами або такими людьми, як Ви.**

По-перше, дайте відповідь на деякі запитання про ЗМІ, які Ви читаєте.

Люди отримують свої **новини і думки** від різних ЗМІ. Деякі люди читають газети або журнали, інші дивляться телебачення, слухають радіо або користуються Інтернетом. Протягом тижня, як часто Ви отримуєте **новини і думки** з газет, суспільно-політичних журналів, телебачення, радіо, або Інтернету.

| | Ніколи 1 | 2 | 3 | Іноді 4 | 5 | 6 | Постійно 7 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Радіо | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Газети (друковані або в онлайні) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Суспільно-політичні журнали (друковані або в онлайні) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Телебачення | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Інтернет (у тому числі вебсайти, блоги і сайти соціальних мереж) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Як часто Ви отримуєте новини і думки з **іноземних** газет, суспільно-політичних журналів, телебачення, радіо або вебсайтів Інтернету?

| | Ніколи 1 | 2 | 3 | Іноді 4 | 5 | 6 | Постійно 7 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Іноземні радіопрограми | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Іноземні телепередачі | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Іноземні газети (друковані або в онлайн) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вебсайти іноземного Інтернету | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Іноземні суспільно-політичні журнали (друковані або в онлайн) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Коли Ви користуєтесь ЗМІ, скільки уваги Ви загалом приділяєте новинам і думкам про наступні теми?

| | Ніякої 1 | 2 | 3 | Середня кількість 4 | 5 | 6 | Багато 7 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Новини про національну політику | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Новини про економіку | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Новини про міжнародні проблеми і події | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Будь ласка розкажіть, як часто Ви користуєтесь Інтернетом, щоб дізнаватися про події. Ви використовуєте Інтернет для того щоб:

| | Ніколи | Менше одного разу в місяць | Щомісячно | 2-3 рази в місяць | Одного разу на тиждень | 2-3 Рази на тиждень | Щодня |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Поділитися політичними думками з іншими в онлайн | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Дивитися відео, кінофільми або телевізійні покази в онлайн | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зайти на вебсайти з новинами | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Робити онлайн-покупки | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Грати в ігри онлайн | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Для електронного зв'язку із друзями чи сім'єю | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Користуватися сайтами соціальних мереж | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Користуватися пошуковими онлайн-системами для пошуку інформації | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Які сайти соціальних мереж Ви зараз використовуєте?

- VK (V Kontaktete)
- В кругу друзей
- NK.pl (Nasza-klasa.pl)
- Odnoklassniki
- LiveJournal
- Facebook

- Facebook
- Twitter
- YouTube
- Інший, конкретизуйте
- Я не користуюся сайтами соціальних мереж

Як часто Ви використовуєте сайти соціальних мереж?

- Ніколи Менше одного разу в місяць Щомісячно 2 до 3 рази в місяць Один раз на тиждень 2 до 3 рази на тиждень Щодня Декілька разів в день
-

Взагалі, наскільки важливіми є сайти соціальних мереж для Вас особисто, для того, щоб:

| | Зовсім не важливий | Мало важливий | Частково важливий | Ні важливий, ні мало важливий | Частково важливий | Важливий | Надзвичайно важливий |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Зоставатися в курсі політичних подій. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Обговорювати політичні питання з іншими | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Знаходити інших людей, які розділяють Ваші політичні погляди | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Залучати людей для участі в політичних дебатах. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

SUPPLY

Зараз, будь ласка, дайте відповідь на деякі питання щодо свободи Інтернету і ЗМІ у Вашій країні.

Взагалі, в Україні доступ до **Інтернету** є вільним чи обмеженим?

- Дуже обмеженим Обмеженим Частково обмеженим Ні обмеженим, ні вільним Частково вільним Вільним Дуже вільним
-

Взагалі, **ЗМІ** в Україні є вільними чи обмеженими?

- Дуже обмеженим Обмеженим Частково обмеженим Ні обмеженим, ні вільним Частково вільним Вільним Дуже вільним
-

Останні декілька запитань стосуються питання про те, наскільки вільними є ЗМІ України. Тобто, що значить "вільні" ЗМІ для Вас? Напишіть свою відповідь нижче.

SUPPLY2

Медіа, можливо, мають різні рівні свободи в різних країнах. У порівнянні із ЗМІ в країнах перелічених нижче, Ви думаєте, медіа у Вашій країні має більшу, меншу або однакову рівні свободи?

менше, менше або однаково рівні свободи:

Медіа в мой країні с....

| | Набагато не вільніші | Не так вільні | Частково не так вільні | Однаково вільні | Частково вільніші | Вільніші | Багато вільніші |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Порівняно з польськими ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Порівняно з російськими ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Порівняно з американськими ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Продовження опитування про ЗМІ в Україні. Як Ви думаєте, чи добре кожне з наступних стверджвань описує ЗМІ в Україні?

| | Не описує взагалі | Описує дуже замало | Описує замало | Описує обмежено | Описує добре | Описує дуже добре | Описує абсолютно |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Уряд в Україні піддає ЗМІ цензури | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Люди, які працюють у ЗМІ в Україні, іноді отримують погрози або влада вчинює над ними насильство | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Закони не захищають журналістів і блогерів | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ контролюється справедливими законами в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ в Україні належать великим компаніям | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ доступні для великої кількості людей в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Бізнес-структури контролюють зміст інформації у ЗМІ, які друкуються в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Українська конституція захищає ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ в Україні завжди вільні критикувати урядове і політичне керівництво | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

POLITICAL PSYCH

Від списку нижче, виберіть групу людей, які Вам подобаються **менше за всіх**:

- Іммігранти
- Комуністи
- Атеїсти
- Соціалісти
- Фашисти
- Анархісти
- Демократи
- Мусульмани
- Інша група, конкретизуйте

Вкажіть наскільки Ви згодні або ні з кожним з наступних стверджень щодо групи людей, яких Ви відмітили в попередньому запитанні.

| | Зовсім не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати, згідний чи ні | Частково згідний | Згідний | Дуже згідний |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} вони можуть мати дозвіл для виступу з доповіддю у Вашому місті | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} треба дозволяти їм працювати викладачами в державних школах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} вони повинні бути поза законом | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| | Зовсім не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати, згідний чи ні | Частково згідний | Згідний | Дуже згідний |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} з них не можна обирати Президента | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} їх телефони повинні прослуховуватися нашим урядом | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} їм може бути дозволено провести публічні виступи в вашому місті | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Ви маєте сприятливу або несприятливу думку про ці групи людей у Вашій країні?

| | Дуже несприятливу | Несприятливу | Частково несприятливу | Ні сприятливу, ні несприятливу | Частково сприятливу | Сприятливу | Дуже сприятливу |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Прем'єр-міністр Микола Азаров | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Президент Віктор Янукович | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Всеукраїнське Об'єднання "Батьківщина" | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Партія Регіонів | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Новини ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Скільки довіри Ви маєте до того, що кожна з наступних установ у Вашій країні робить те, що є правильно?

| | Ніякої | Дуже малу | Невелику довіру | Певну | Певний рівень довіри | Багато | Дуже Багато |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Парламент | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Суди загального права | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Поліція | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Президентські установи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Військові установи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Новини ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

KNOWLEDGE

Зараз ми поставимо Вам декілька запитань про ваше знання політики і ЗМІ у вашій країні. Можливо, не кожен знає ці відповіді. Будь ласка, відповідайте тільки про те, що Ви знаєте найкраще. Якщо Ви не знаєте відповідь, не соромтеся, щоб вибрати "не впевнений".

Міністр закордонних справ в Україні на даний час – Леонід Кожара

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно
- Не певен

Строк повноважень президента в Україні 5 років.

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно
- Не певен

Всеукраїнське Об'єднання "Батьківщина" має найбільше місць у Верховній Раді.

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно
- Не певен Sure

Оприлюднювати сфальсифіковані твердження, які можуть нашкодити репутації людей в пресі або в онлайн є протизаконним в Україні.

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно
- Не певен

Організація Об'єднаних Націй вважає, що доступ до безкоштовних ЗМІ є одне з загальнолюдських прав людини.

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно
- Не певен

Wiki - це є професійний вебсайт, створений для збереження таких файлів, як HTML, сторінок і фотографій у всесвітній мережі з метою скорочення використання пропускнуої спроможності мережі.

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно

Не певен

Podcast – це є звуковий або відео файл, який можливо проглянути в онлайні з вашого комп'ютерного або мобільного пристрою.

- Це вірно
- Можливо вірно
- Можливо не вірно
- Це не вірно
- Не певен

Timing

These page timer metrics will not be displayed to the recipient.

First Click: 0 seconds.

Last Click: 0 seconds.

Page Submit: 0 seconds.

Click Count: 0 clicks.

POLITICAL PSYCH2

Будь ласка, дайте відповідь на декілька загальних питань про суспільство. Вкажіть, наскільки Ви погоджуєтеся або розходитеся в думках з кожного з наступних тверджень.

| | Дуже не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Якщо б певні групи людей залишилися на «своєму місці», ми б мали менше проблем | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Щоб випередити когось у житті, іноді необхідно наступити на ноги іншому | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Деякі групи людей просто є менш цінними від інших | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ми мали б менше проблем, якщо б ми ставилися до різних груп людей однаково | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Це є прийнятим, якщо деякі групи мають більші можливості, ніж інші | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Було б добре, якщо усі групи людей могли б бути рівними | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Вкажіть наскільки Ви згодні або розходитеся в думках з кожним з наступних тверджень.

| | Дуже не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Найбільше людей почувають себе краще у вільній ринковій економіці, хоча серед них є бідні і багаті | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Нам потрібне менше державне регулювання бізнесу в нашій країні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Бізнес-структури в нашій країні отримують занадто великі прибутки | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Занадто велика влада сконцентрована в руках декількох | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

POLITICAL PSYCH3

Вкажіть наскільки Ви згодні або розходитеся в думках з кожним з наступних тверджень.

| | Дуже не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Я відчуваю, що досить добре розумію важливі політичні проблеми, що стосуються моєї країни сьогодні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я думаю, що я краще проінформований про політичні теми, ніж більшість людей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Іноді політичні проблеми такі складні, що люди як я не можуть зрозуміти, що дійсно відбувається | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Вкажіть наскільки Ви згодні або розходитеся в думках з кожним з наступних тверджень.

| | Дуже не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Якщо я розходжуся в думках з іншими, я не маю жодної проблеми сказати їм про це | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я почував би себе незручно, якщо хто-небудь запитав би мою думку і я знав, що він або вона не зможе погодитися зі мною. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я прагну висловлювати свою думку тільки у колі друзів та інших людей, яким я довіряю | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мені важко висловити мою думку, якщо я думаю, що інші не погодяться з тим, що я говорю | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мені не важко висловити свою думку коли інші, як я передбачаю, не згодні зі мною | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Коли я розходжуся в думках з іншими, я швидше погоджуся з ними, ніж сперечатимуся про це | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Безпечніше промовчати, ніж публічно висловити свою думку, якщо Ви знаєте, що більшість інших її не поділяють | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Багато разів я думав, що інші навколо мене були несправедливі, але я не сказав їм цього | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

DEMAND

Взагалом наскільки Ви підтримуєте або опонуєте наявності повністю вільного Інтернету?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Повністю опоную | Опоную | Частково опоную | Ні опоную, ні підтримую | Частково підтримую | Підтримую | Повністю підтримую |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Взагалі, наскільки Ви підтримуєте або опонуєте наявності повністю вільних ЗМІ?

Повністю опоную
 Опоную
 Частково опоную
 Ні опоную, ні підтримую
 Частково підтримую
 Підтримую
 Повністю підтримую

Твердження про ЗМІ в Україні. Вкажіть наскільки Ви погоджуєтесь або розходитеся в думках з кожним з наступних тверджень.

| | Дуже не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Український уряд не повинен погрожувати людям, які працюють у ЗМІ, зокрема журналістам і блогерам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ мають завжди бути вільні, щоб критикувати урядове і політичне керівництво в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Чи є припустимим, якщо закони щодо ЗМІ не є дійсними в Україні. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Чи є припустимим, якщо ЗМІ належать декільком великим компаніям в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ мають належати деякій кількості великих компаній в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| | Дуже не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
| Українська конституція повинна конкретизувати як ЗМІ в державі захищені згідно закону | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ мають бути доступними по кишені для найбільшої кількості людей в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ в Україні повинні підкорятися справедливим законам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Чи є припустимим, якщо уряд буде здійснювати цензуру над ЗМІ в Україні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Що Ви вважаєте найбільшою проблемою для України. Будь ласка, визначте ступінь важливості з 1= НАЙБІЛЬШ ВАЖЛИВА до 3=НАЙМЕНШ ВАЖЛИВА.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ЗМІ, які змушені рахуватися зі справедливими законами | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ, які вільні від цензури | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ доступні за цінами більшості людей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Інша серія тверджень про важливі проблеми України. Будь ласка, визначте ступінь важливості з 1= НАЙБІЛЬШ ВАЖЛИВА до 4=НАЙМЕНШ ВАЖЛИВА.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Вільні і справедливі вибори уряду | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ, які вільні від цензури | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Державна безпека | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Взаєморозуміння між мораллю і релігією | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Інша серія тверджень про важливі проблеми України. Будь ласка, визначте ступінь важливості з 1= НАЙБІЛЬШ ВАЖЛИВА до 4=НАЙМЕНШ ВАЖЛИВА.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Вільні і справедливі вибори уряду | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Взаєморозуміння між мораллю і релігією | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ доступні за цінами більшості людей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Державна безпека | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Інша серія тверджень про важливі проблеми України. Будь ласка, визначте ступінь важливості з 1= НАЙБІЛЬШ ВАЖЛИВА до 4=НАЙМЕНШ ВАЖЛИВА.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Державна безпека | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| ЗМІ, які змушені рахуватися зі справедливими законами | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Взаєморозуміння між мораллю і релігією | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вільні і справедливі вибори уряду | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

DEMOCRACY

Є багато шляхів управляти країною. Чи Ви схвалили б чи ні наведені нижче варіанти?

| | Повністю не схвалюю | Не схвалюю | Частково не схвалюю | Не можу сказати чи схвалюю, чи ні схвалюю | Частково схвалюю | Схвалюю | Повністю схвалюю |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Військова диктатура | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Відсутність виборів і парламенту. Пряме президентське правління . | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Тільки одній політичній партії дозволено брати участь у виборах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Вкажіть, наскільки Ви погоджуєтеся або розходитеся в думках з кожним твердженням наведеним нижче.

| | Повністю не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати ні чи згідний, чи не згідний | Частково згідний | Згідний | Повністю згідний |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| При деяких обставинах не демократичне правління може бути кращим | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Для людей, таких як я не має ніякої різниці яку форму правління ми маємо | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Демократія є кращою за будь-який вид правління | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

DEMOCRACY2

Слово «демократія» може мати різне значення для різних людей. Що слово «демократія» у вашій країні означає для Вас?

По-вашому, наскільки демократичною є Україна сьогодні?

- Не має демократії взагалі
- Демократія з великими проблемами
- Демократія з незначними проблемами
- Повна демократія

Наскільки Ви задоволені тим, як демократія працює в Україні?

- Анітрохи не задоволений
- Не дуже задоволений
- Задоволений
- Дуже задоволений
- В Україні демократії немає

POLICY & PARTICIPATION

Будь ласка висловіть ваші думки щодо правового порядку у ЗМІ і Інтернеті, що запропоновані або здійснюються в різних країнах світу. Будь ласка ретельно прочитайте про кожний захід і вкажіть чи Ви його підтримуєте чи ні.

| | Повністю не підтримую | Не підтримую | Частково не підтримую | Ні підтримую, ні не підтримую | Частково підтримую | Підтримую | Повністю підтримую |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Не дозволяти одній особі володіти більш ніж однією комерційною телевізійною чи радіомовною ліцензією на тому ж ринку | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Контролювати телевізійних продюсерів щодо доступності продукту за вартістю для громадян | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Дозволяти судам карати представників влади за медіа-цензуру | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Карати журналістів за поширення "свідомо ненадійної інформації" аж до ув'язнення | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Надавати будь-якому громадянину право на запит і отримання інформації, яка є змістом публічних виступів | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| | Повністю не підтримую | Не підтримую | Частково не підтримую | Ні підтримую, ні не підтримую | Частково підтримую | Підтримую | Повністю підтримую |
| Не дозволяти іноземним інвесторам володіти більшістю акцій у газеті в іншій країні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вимагати уважного нагляду за ЗМІ, як частиною контрольованого нагляду з прав людини в країні | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Дозволяти уряду розглядати інформацію перед її оприлюдненням в ЗМІ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Дозволяти уряду моніторити цивільний Інтернет і соціальний медіа-простір. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Ви зацікавлені або незацікавлені в політиці?

Дуже незацікавлений
 Незацікавлений
 Частково незацікавлений
 Ні зацікавлений, ні незацікавлений
 Частково зацікавлений
 Зацікавлений
 Дуже зацікавлений

Впродовж останніх двох років, як часто Ви брали участь у будь-якій з цих діяльностей?

| | Ніколи | Одного разу | Більше одного разу |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Проголосували на політичних виборах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Прийшли на акцію протесту | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Працювали з іншими на громадському проекті | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Написали листа або відправили електронну пошту до політичного лідера | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Підписали петицію за політичне або громадське питання | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Деякі люди заперечують можливість надання країнам більших прав для захисту свободи слова в ЗМІ і Інтернеті. Інші вважають, що існуючі права недостатні.

Взагалом Ви підтримуєте чи опонуєте новому законодавству у Вашій країні щодо захисту свободи вираження в ЗМІ і Інтернеті?

Опоную
 Частково опоную
 Частково підтримую
 Підтримую

Чи прийняли б Ви участь у цих заходах для того щоб підтримати нове законодавство, що захищає свободу вираження в ЗМІ і Інтернеті?

| | Прийняв | Навряд чи | Можливо навряд чи | Не знаю | Можливо ймовірно | Ймовірно | Дуже ймовірно |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Підпишете петицію | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Будете спілкуватись з Вашим депутатом, щоб висловити вашу думку | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зробите грошовий внесок до організації захисту | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Прийдете на акцію протесту | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Наскільки ймовірно щоб Ви б прийняли участь у обговоренні нового законодавства, що захищає свободу в ЗМІ та Інтернеті?

| | Прийняв | Навряд чи | Можливо навряд чи | Не знаю | Можливо ймовірно | Ймовірно | Дуже ймовірно |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Зробите грошовий внесок до організації захисту | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Підпишете петицію | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Прийдете на акцію протесту | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Будете спілкуватись з Вашим депутатом, щоб висловити вашу думку | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

PRIVACY

Люди часто відвідують різноманітні комерційні і урядові вебсайти з метою отримати інформацію, придбати товари або послуги, розмовляти з друзями на соціальних мережах, подивитися відео або кінофільми, контактувати з урядовими організаціями або керівництвом щодо різноманітних проблем і т.п.

Скажіть, будь ласка, наскільки Ви згодні або розходитеся в думках з наступними твердженнями про вашу онлайн-конфіденційність.

| | Абсолютно не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | НЕ можу сказати чи згідний чи ні | Частково згідний | Згідний | Абсолютно згідний |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Я контролюю як комерційні вебсайти користуються моєю особистою інформацією | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролюю яка з моєї особистої інформації оприлюднюється (зі сторони) комерційного вебсайту | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Комерційні вебсайти захищають мою онлайн-конфіденційність, коли я користуюся ними | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролюю хто може мати доступ до моєї особистої інформації зібраної комерційними вебсайтами | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Урядові вебсайти захищають мою онлайн-конфіденційність, коли я користуюся ними | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я згідний з кількістю конфіденційності, яку я маю на урядових вебсайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я згідний з кількістю конфіденційності, яку я маю на комерційних вебсайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

PRIVACY2

Наскільки Ви погоджуєтеся або розходитеся в думках з наступними твердженнями про вашу онлайн-конфіденційність.

| | Абсолютно не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати чи згідний чи ні | Частково згідний | Згідний | Дуже згідний |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Моя конфіденційність знаходиться в ризику, коли я надаю особисту інформацію комерційним вебсайтам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Надання особистої інформації комерційним вебсайтам ризиковане | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Надання особистої інформації урядовим вебсайтам ризиковане | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Урядові вебсайти можуть невідповідно використовувати мою особисту інформацію | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Моя конфіденційність знаходиться в ризику, коли я надаю особисту інформацію урядовим вебсайтам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| | Абсолютно не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати чи згідний чи ні | Частково згідний | Згідний | Дуже згідний |
| Я контролюю те, які урядові вебсайти користуються моєю особистою інформацією | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Комерційні вебсайти можуть недопустимо використовувати мою | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

персональну інформацію

Я контролюю те, яка з моєї особистої інформації видається урядовими вебсайтами

Я контролюю хто може дістатися до моєї особистої інформації зібраної урядовими вебсайтами

DEMOGRAPHICS

Ми майже закінчили. Дайте, будь-ласка, відповіді на декілька завершальних запитань.

Ви чоловік чи жінка?

- Чоловік
 Жінка

Скільки вам повних років?

Який найвищий освітній рівень, що ви досягли?

- Немає формальної освіти
 Недостатньо повне початкову освіту
 Завершено (обов'язкового) початкова освіта
 Неповна середня школа: технічного / професійного типу / (обов'язкове) початкової освіти та початкової професійної кваліфікації
 Повна середня освіта: технічна / професійне типу / вторинний, проміжний професійної кваліфікації
 Неповна середня: університетські підготовчі типу / вторинний, проміжний кваліфікації загальні
 Повна середня: університетські підготовчі типу / Повна середня, рівень зрілості сертифікат
 Деякі університет без ступеня / Вища освіта - більш низького рівня теоретичного сертифікат
 Університет зі ступенем / Вища освіта - верхній рівень теоретичного сертифікат]

Чи жили Ви коли-небудь в іншій країні?

- Так
 Ні

Чи маєте Ви друзів або сім'ю в іншій країні з якими листуєтеся, розмовляєте або відвідуєте регулярно?

- Так
 Ні

Деякі люди говорять про політику в термінах "ліво" та "право" сторін. По 7 бальній шкалі, де 1= є екстремальною лівою стороною, 7= є екстремальною правою стороною, де б Ви розмістили себе?

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Максимально ліворуч | Ліворуч | Схиляюся ліворуч | Посередині | Схиляюся праворуч | Праворуч | Максимально праворуч |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Якої Ви віри?

- Християнин - Протестант (наприклад, Баптист, Методист, Лютеранин, Пресвітеріанин, Єпископальний, Реформіст, з Церкви Христа, Свідок Єгови)
- Християнин - Католик (Римо-католик)
- Християнин - Православний з Української Православної Церкви (Московський Патріархат)
- Християнин - Православний з Української Православної Церкви (Київський Патріархат)
- Християнин - Православний з іншої Православної Церкви (Грецької, Російської, Американської та ін.)
- Християнин – Греко-католик (Уніат)
- Юдей
- Мусульманин
- Агностик або атеїст
- Інше, конкретизуйте:

Наскільки Ви погоджуєтеся або розходитеся в думках з кожним із наступних тверджень

| | Абсолютно не згідний | Не згідний | Частково не згідний | Не можу сказати чи згідний чи ні | Частково згідний | Згідний | Дуже згідний |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Моя віра є важливою частиною мого самоствердження | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Моя віра малозначна для того, якою людиною я є | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Моя віра дуже мало впливає на те, як я сприймаю себе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Моя віра є важливим відзеркаленням мене | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Як часто Ви відвідуєте церкву (або синагогу, або костел) окрім весілля і похоронів?

- Ніколи
- Декілька часів в рік впродовж свят
- Один раз в місяць
- Декілька разів в місяць
- Один раз на тиждень
- Більше одного разу на тиждень

Виберіть твердження з наведених нижче, яким Ви вважаєте свій сімейний фінансовий стан.

- Ми не завжди маємо досить грошей для їжі
- Ми маємо досить грошей для їжі, але купити одяг є проблемою
- Ми маємо досить грошей для їжі, одягу і маленьких побутових електроприладів, але купити телевізор, холодильник або посудомийну машину є проблемою.
- Ми можемо дозволити головні побутові електроприлади, але купити автомобіль є проблемою.
- Ми маємо досить заощаджень майже для усього окрім дорогих речей як, наприклад, квартира або будинок.
- Ми не маємо ніяких фінансових труднощів і можемо дозволити купівлю квартири або будинку.

Нижче - список діапазонів повного щомісячного сімейного прибутку. Виберіть діапазон, який краще всього відображає ваш сімейний прибуток за

минулий місяць.

- Менш ніж 675 UAH
- 676 до 1,700 UAH
- 1,701 до 2,700 UAH
- 2,701 до 4,400 UAH
- 4,401 до 5,400 UAH
- 5,401 до 7,100 UAH
- 7,101 до 8,100 UAH
- 8,100 до 8,800 UAH
- 8,801 до 9,800 UAH
- 9,801 до 10,800 UAH
- 10,801 UAH або більше

Ukrainian – Russian language Survey

Пожалуйста, выберите язык опроса

- Русский
- Английский

Добро пожаловать на опрос о Средствах Массовой Информации (СМИ) и Политике от Университета Штата Огайо (США). Мы проводим этот краткий опрос, с тем чтобы понять, **как жители разных стран** относятся к СМИ и политике. Мы опрашиваем людей из разных стран мира, и **Ваше мнение очень важно для нас**. Опрос займет у Вас примерно 20 минут. **Ваши ответы анонимны и** будут оцениваться в обобщенном виде вместе с ответами других респондентов. Вы можете быть уверены в том, что любая предоставленная Вами информация будет храниться в конфиденциальности* и не будет использована с целью Вас опознать. Если Вы предпочитаете не отвечать на некоторые вопросы, Вы можете их пропустить.

Для информации о правах участников этого опроса, или если Вам угодно обсудить вопросы, возникшие во время прохождения опроса, с лицом, не являющимся автором исследования, Вы можете связаться с госпожой Сандрой Медоус из отдела Отдела Ответственной Научной Деятельности в Уни-те Штата Огайо по телефону 1.800.678.6251 или по электронной почте meadows.8@osu.edu. Мы очень признательны Вам за участие в опросе, так как нас интересуют **Ваши взгляды на некоторые важные темы**.

С уважением,
Элизабет Стойчефф/
Уни-тет Штата Огайо
elizabeth.stoycheff+survey@gmail.com

Эрик Нисбет
Уни-тет Штата Огайо
nisbet.5@osu.edu

*Предупреждение о безопасности данных в Интернете: Это исследование пользуется онлайн-анкетой. Несмотря на то что будут приложены все усилия для соблюдения конфиденциальности, мы не можем гарантировать абсолютной безопасности данных в Интернете, так как, хоть это и маловероятно, любая информация в Интернете может быть перехвачена и может быть установлен IP-адрес компьютера респондента.

Мы просим Вас откровенно выразить свое мнение по вопросам, связанным со СМИ. Под СМИ мы подразумеваем газеты, телевидение, радио, журналы, интернет-сайты, социальные сети и блоги, которые ведут как профессиональные журналисты, так и обычные люди, такие как Вы.

Мы начнем с нескольких вопросов о том, как Вы пользуетесь СМИ. Люди знакомятся с **новостями и комментариями** в разных СМИ. Кто-то любит читать газеты и журналы, кто-то смотреть телевизор, слушать радио или пользоваться Интернетом. Как часто в течение типичной недели Вы узнаете **новости и комментарии** из газет, журналов, теле- и радиопередач или Интернета?

| | Никогда 1 | 2 | 3 | Время от времени 4 | 5 | 6 | Постоянно 7 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Газеты (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Общественно-политические журналы (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Телевидение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Радио | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Интернет (сайты, блоги, живой журнал и соц. сети) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Как часто Вы узнаете новости комментарии из зарубежных газет, журналов, теле- и радиопередач и Интернета?

| | Никогда 1 | 2 | 3 | Время от времени 4 | 5 | 6 | Постоянно 7 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Зарубежные газеты (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные общественно-политические журналы (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные телепередачи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные радиопередачи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные интернет-сайты | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Знакомясь с новостями и комментариями, как много внимания Вы уделяете следующим темам?

| | Мало 1 | 2 | 3 | Некоторое количество 4 | 5 | 6 | Много 7 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Новости украинской политики | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Экономические новости | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Международные новости | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Как часто Вы пользуетесь Интернетом для того, чтобы...

| | Никогда | Реже, чем раз в месяц | Раз в месяц | 2-3 раза в месяц | Раз в неделю | 2-3 раза в неделю | Ежедневно |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Обсуждать политические взгляды | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Играть в компьютерные игры в режиме онлайн | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Читать новостные сайты | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Делать покупки в Интернете | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пользоваться поисковыми системами для получения информации | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пользоваться сайтами социальных сетей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Посылать электронную почту друзьям и родственникам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Смотреть видеоклипы, фильмы или телепередачи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Какими социальными сетями Вы пользуетесь на данный момент? (Отметьте все, что подходит)

- ВК (В Контакте)
- В Кругу Друзей
- Спейсес (Spaces)
- Одноклассники

- Живой Журнал
- Фейсбук
- Твиттер
- Ютюб
- Другое. Пожалуйста, впишите _____
- Я не пользуюсь социальными сетями

Как часто Вы посещаете сайты социальных сетей?

- Никогда
- Реже, чем раз в месяц
- Раз в месяц
- 2-3 раза в месяц
- Раз в неделю
- 2-3 раза в неделю
- Каждый день
- Несколько раз за день

Насколько важны Вам лично социальные сети для того, чтобы:

| | Совсем не важны 1 | 2 | 3 | В некоторой степени важны 4 | 5 | 6 | Необычайно важны 7 |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Находиться в курсе политических событий | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Обсуждать политику | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Находить людей, которые разделяют Ваши политические взгляды | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Привлекать людей к политике | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Перейдем к вопросам о свободе Интернета и СМИ в Вашей стране.

Свободны ли **СМИ** в Украине или же связаны ограничениями?

- Связаны строгими ограничениями
- Связаны ограничениями
- Скорее связаны ограничениями
- Не свободны, но и не связаны ограничениями
- Скорее свободны
- Свободны
- Совершенно свободны

В общем и целом, свободен ли **Интернет** в Украине или же связан ограничениями?

- Связан строгими ограничениями
- Связан ограничениями
- Скорее связан ограничениями
- Не свободен, но и не связан ограничениями
- Скорее свободен
- Свободен
- Совершенно свободен

Предыдущие вопросы относятся к свободе Украинских СМИ. Опишите своими словами, что такое для Вас «свободные» СМИ. Напишите, пожалуйста, свой ответ в текстовом поле ниже.

В разных странах СМИ обладают разной степенью свободы и независимости. На Ваш взгляд, по сравнению со СМИ в нижеперечисленных странах, обладают ли СМИ в Вашей стране такой же, меньшей или большей степенью свободы?

Украинские СМИ...

| | Значительно менее свободны | Менее свободны | Немного менее свободны | В равной степени свободны | Немного более свободны | Более свободны | Значительно более свободны |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| По сравнению со СМИ России | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| По сравнению со СМИ Польши | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| По сравнению со СМИ США | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Мы хотим задать Вам еще несколько вопросов об украинских СМИ. На Ваш взгляд, насколько точно следующие утверждения отражают ситуацию со СМИ в Украине?

| | Абсолютно неверно | Очень неточно | Неточно | В чем-то верно, в чем-то неверно | Точно | Очень точно | Абсолютно верно |
|--|-------------------|---------------|---------|----------------------------------|-------|-------------|-----------------|
| | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| СМИ в Украине всегда имеют возможность критиковать правительство и политических лидеров | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство Украины подвергает СМИ цензуре | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Журналисты и блогеры в Украине иногда подвергаются угрозам или насилию со стороны правительства | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Украинские СМИ являются собственностью многочисленных коммерческих компаний | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Бизнес контролирует содержание информации украинских СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Доступ к СМИ в Украине по средствам большей части населения | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Деятельность СМИ в Украине регулируется справедливыми законами | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Закон не защищает украинских журналистов и блогеров адекватно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Украинская конституция защищает СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Выберите, пожалуйста, из данного списка группу людей, которые вызывают у Вас наибольшую неприязнь:

- Иммигранты
- Коммунисты
- Атеисты
- Социалисты
- Фашисты
- Анархисты
- Демократы
- Мусульмане
- Другая группа. Пожалуйста, впишите _____

Пожалуйста, укажите, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} не должны иметь права занимать пост Президента | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны иметь право преподавать в государственных школах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны иметь право устраивать общественные митинги у нас в городе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны быть объявлены вне закона | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны иметь право выступать с речами в нашем городе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} -- правительство должно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| прослушивать их телефонные разговоры | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Как Вы относитесь к нижеследующим лицам и группам лиц в Вашей стране?

| | Крайне отрицательно | Отрицательно | Скорее отрицательно, чем положительно | Ни отрицательно, ни положительно | Скорее положительно, чем отрицательно | Положительно | Очень положительно |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Президент В.Ф. Янукович | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Премьер-Министр Н.Я. Азаров | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Партия Регионов | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Насколько Вы можете быть уверены в том, что нижеперечисленные лица и органы в Вашей стране поступят справедливо?

| | Совершенно не могу быть уверен/а | Практически и не могу быть уверен/а | Скорее не могу быть уверен/а | Могу быть в некоторой степени уверен/а | Скорее могу быть уверен/а | Могу быть вполне уверен/а | Могу быть абсолютно уверен/а |
|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Верховная Рада | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Суды | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Полиция | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Армия | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Президент | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Теперь мы бы хотели ознакомиться с Вашим знанием политики и СМИ в Вашей стране. Мы не ожидаем, что все респонденты дадут точные ответы на все вопросы. Пожалуйста, постарайтесь ответить как можно точнее. Если Вы не знаете ответа, Вы можете выбрать вариант “Не уверен/а”.

Должность Министра иностранных дел Украины занимает Константин Иванович Грищенко.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Срок президентства в Украине - 5 лет.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Всеукраинское Объединение «Свобода» имеет большинство мандатов в Верховной Раде.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Публикация в Интернете или в печати ложных сведений, которые могут нанести ущерб чей-либо репутации, является нарушением украинских законов.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

ООН считает доступ к свободным СМИ универсальным правом человека.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Вики – это профессиональный сайт, созданный для хранения веб-документов, таких как объемные HTML страницы и иллюстрации, для того чтобы сэкономить пропускную способность полосы.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Подкаст – это аудио- или видеофайл, который распространяется через Интернет и может прослушиваться/просматриваться с компьютера или мобильного устройства

- Верно

- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Timing
 First Click
 Last Click
 Page Submit
 Click Count

Перед Вами несколько вопросов об обществе. Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| То, что у определенных социальных групп есть больше возможностей чем у других, вполне в порядке вещей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Если бы мы относились непредвзято ко всем социальным группам, у нас было бы меньше проблем | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Чтобы преуспеть в жизни, иногда необходимо притеснять другие социальные группы | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Если бы люди из определенных социальных групп знали свое место, у нас было бы меньше проблем | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Было бы хорошо, если бы все социальные группы имели равные права | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Некоторые социальные группы лучше других | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
|--|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <p>Мне трудно высказать свое мнение, если я думаю, что со мной не согласятся</p> <p>я</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Часто, когда я думаю, что люди вокруг меня неправы, я им этого не говорю</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Безопаснее промолчать, чем публично высказать мнение, которое, как тебе известно, многие не разделяют</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Когда я не разделяю чужого мнения, я скорее соглашусь, чем стану спорить</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Обычно я открыто высказываю свои мнения в кругу друзей и людей, которым</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <p>я доверяю.</p> | | | | | | | |
| <p>Мне легко высказыв ать свое мнение в присутств ии тех, кто со мной не соглашает ся.</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Если я с кем-то не согласен/ сна, мне не трудно им об этом сказать.</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Если спрашива ют мое мнение и я знаю, что со мной не согласятс я, я чувствую себя неловко.</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Иногда вопросы политики настолько сложны, что таким как я не понять, что на самом деле происходит. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мне кажется, что я достаточно хорошо разбираюсь в важных вопросах политики, стоящих на сегодняшний день перед моей страной | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| По-моему, я лучше других осведомлен/а в вопросах политики. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен /сна | Не согласен /сна | Скорее не согласен /сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен /сна | Согласен /сна | Абсолютно согласен /сна |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| В нашей стране слишком много власти сосредоточено в руках нескольких крупных компаний. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Коммерческие организации у нас в стране имеют слишком большой доход. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Большинству людей лучше при рыночной экономике, несмотря на то что при этом есть богатые и бедные. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Нужно сократить правительственный контроль бизнеса у нас в стране | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

В общем, насколько Вы поддерживаете или отвергаете идею абсолютно свободным СММ?

- Категорически отвергаю
- Отвергаю
- Скорее отвергаю
- Ни поддерживаю, ни отвергаю
- Скорее поддерживаю
- Поддерживаю
- Полностью поддерживаю

В общем и целом, насколько Вы поддерживаете или отвергаете идею абсолютно свободного **Интернета**?

- Категорически отвергаю
- Отвергаю
- Скорее отвергаю
- Ни поддерживаю, ни отвергаю
- Скорее поддерживаю
- Поддерживаю
- Полностью поддерживаю

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| СМИ всегда должны иметь возможность критиковать украинское правительство и политических лидеров | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Украинские СМИ должны принадлежать многочисленным коммерческим компаниям | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| СМИ должны быть по средствам большинству украинцев | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство Украины не должно угрожать журналистам и блогерам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <p>Деятельность СМИ в Украине должна регулироваться справедливым законам</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>СМИ должны быть защищены Конституцией Украины</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Иногда приемлемо, что правительство подвергает цензуре Украинские СМИ</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Иногда приемлемо, что Украинские СМИ принадлежат лишь нескольким крупным компаниям</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| <p>Иногда приемлемо, что законы, которые защищают СМИ, в Украине не соблюдаются</p> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Украиной. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **3=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, свободные от цензуры
- 2 СМИ, деятельность которых регулируется справедливыми законами
- 3 СМИ, которые по средствам большинству людей

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Украиной. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **4=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, свободные от цензуры
- 2 Государственная безопасность
- 3 Свободные и честные выборы
- 4 Общественная нравственность и религия

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Украиной. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **3=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, которые по средствам большинству людей
- 2 Государственная безопасность
- 3 Свободные и честные выборы
- 4 Общественная нравственность и религия

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Украиной. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **4=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, деятельность которых регулируется справедливыми законами
- 2 Государственная безопасность
- 3 Свободные и честные выборы
- 4 Общественная нравственность и религия

Существует много вариантов управления страной. Одобряете ли Вы или отвергаете следующие варианты?

| | Категорически отвергаю | Отвергаю | Скорее отвергаю, чем одобряю | Ни одобряю, ни отвергаю | Скорее одобряю, чем отвергаю | Одобряю | Полностью одобряю |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Только одна партия имеет право баллотироваться на выборах и занимать руководящие посты | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Страной управляет армия | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Выборы и парламент отменены, так что президент может принимать все решения | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен /сна | Не согласен /сна | Скорее не согласен /сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен /сна | Согласен /сна | Абсолютно согласен /сна |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Демократия предпочтительна любым другим формам правления | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| В некоторых случаях недемократические формы правления могут быть предпочтительны | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Таким как я безразлично, какая у нас форма правления | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

На Ваш взгляд, является ли сегодняшняя Украина демократическим государством?

- Украина не является демократическим государством
- У украинской демократии есть серьезные проблемы
- У украинской демократии есть незначительные проблемы
- Украина – это полноценное демократическое государство

В целом, насколько Вы удовлетворены тем, как демократия функционирует в Украине?

- Совершенно не удовлетворен/а
- Не вполне удовлетворен/а

- Вполне удовлетворен/а
- Полностью удовлетворен
- Украина не является демократией

Разные люди понимают разное под словом демократия. Опишите своими словами, что для Вас означает демократия в Вашей стране.

Теперь нам бы хотелось узнать Ваше мнение по поводу различных порядков, касающихся СМИ и Интернета, которые либо были рекомендованы, либо практикуются в разных странах мира. Укажите, насколько Вы поддерживаете или не одобряете каждый из порядков.

| | Совершенно не одобряю | Не одобряю | Скорее не одобряю | Не поддерживаю, но и не против | Скорее поддерживаю | Поддерживаю | Полностью поддерживаю |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Журналисты должны быть наказаны тюремным сроком за распространение “заведомо недостоверной информации” | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство имеет возможность проверять информацию до ее публикации в СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство имеет возможность отслеживать, как граждане пользуются Интернетом и социальными сетями. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ограничения, наложенные на СМИ, должны пересматриваться в рамках ежегодного государственного обзора прав человека | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Каждый | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| гражданин имеет право запросить и получить информацию, находящуюся в государственных архивах. | | | | | | | |
| Суд должен наказывать правительство чиновников за цензуру СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Запрещается владение несколькими коммерческими лицензиями на телевизионное вещание на одном и том же рынке | | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Инвесторы не имеют права владеть контрольным пакетом акций газеты, если они не являются гражданами государства, где выпускается эта газета | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Предоставление телевизионных услуг регулируется с целью обеспечения доступных цен на телевидение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Интересуетесь ли Вы политикой?

- Совершенно не интересуюсь
- Не интересуюсь
- Скорее равнодушен/шна, чем интересуюсь
- Не интересуюсь, но и не совсем равнодушен/шна
- Скорее интересуюсь, чем равнодушен/шна
- Интересуюсь
- Очень интересуюсь

42. Сколько раз за последние два года Вы принимали участие в следующих мероприятиях?

| | Ни разу | Один раз | Больше одного раза |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Голосовал/а на выборах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Подписывал/а петицию на политическую или социальную тему | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Участвовал/а в демонстрации или протесте | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Посылал/а (электронное) письмо политическому лидеру | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Совместно с другими участвовал/а в проекте на общественных началах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Некоторые люди считают, что в их стране необходимо ввести больше законов, защищающих свободу самовыражения в СМИ и Интернете. Другие полагают, что достаточно и существующих законов. В принципе, были ли бы ЗА новое законодательство, целью которого является защита свободы слова в СМИ и в Интернете, или ПРОТИВ такого законодательства?

- Против
- Скорее против
- Скорее за
- За

Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Support Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Support Is Selected

Насколько вероятно, что Вы предпримете следующие действия, чтобы поддержать новое законодательство о защите свободы самовыражения в СМИ и в Интернете?

| | Крайне маловероятно | Весьма маловероятно | Маловероятно | Не решил /а | Вероятно | Весьма Вероятно | Крайне вероятно |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Подпишите петицию | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Примете участие в митинге или протесте | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пожертвуете деньги общественной организации, ведущей кампанию в этой области | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Свяжетесь с политическими лидерами, чтобы выразить свое мнение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Oppose Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Oppose Is Selected

Насколько вероятно, что Вы предпримете следующие действия, чтобы воспрепятствовать новому законодательству о защите свободы самовыражения в СМИ и в Интернете?

| | Крайне маловероятно | Весьма маловероятно | Маловероятно | Не решил /а | Вероятно | Весьма Вероятно | Крайне вероятно |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Подпишите петицию | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Примете участие в митинге или протесте | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пожертвуете деньги общественной организации, | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ведущей кампанию в этой области | | | | | | | |
| Свяжетесь с политическими лидерами, чтобы выразить свое мнение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Люди часто посещают различные коммерческие и государственные сайты в целях получения информации, услуг, приобретения товаров, чтобы общаться с друзьями в социальных сетях, смотреть клипы и фильмы, обращаться в государственные конторы и к политическим деятелям по различным вопросам и т.п.

Насколько Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими утверждениями по поводу безопасности Ваших личных данных в Интернете?

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Когда я посещаю государственные сайты, мои личные данные защищены | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Когда я посещаю коммерческие сайты, мои личные данные защищены | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Степень безопасности и моих личных данных на государственных сайтах меня устраивает | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Степень безопасности | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| и моих личных данных на коммерческ их сайтах меня устраивает | | | | | | | |
| Я контролирую то, кому будут доступны мои личные данные, собранные на коммерческ их сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую, что из моих личных данных коммерческ ие сайты могут передать третьим лицам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую то, как коммерческ ие сайты используют мои личные данные | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Насколько Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими утверждениями по поводу безопасности Ваших личных данных в Интернете?

| Абсолютно не согласен /сна | Не согласен /сна | Скорее не согласен /сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен /сна | Согласен /сна | Абсолютно согласен /сна |
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Я контролирую то, кому будут доступны мои личные данные, собранные на государственных сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую, что из моих личных данных государственные сайты могут передать третьим лицам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую то, как государственные сайты используют мои личные данные | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вводить личные данные на государственных сайтах может быть рискованно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я рискую конфиденциальностью, когда ввожу личные данные на государственных сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Государственные сайты могут ненадлежащим образом воспользоваться моими личными данными | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вводить личные данные на коммерческих сайтах может быть рискованно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Я рискую конфиденциальностью, когда ввожу личные данные на коммерческих сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Коммерческие сайты могут ненадлежащим образом воспользоваться моими личными данными | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Мы подходим к концу опроса. Нам нужно задать еще несколько общих вопросов. Укажите Ваш пол:

- Мужской
- Женский

Сколько Вам полных лет?

Какое образование Вы получили / получаете?

- Никогда не учился
- Неполное начальное образование
- Начальное образование
- Неполное среднее плюс профессиональные курсы (ПТУ, ФЗУ, РУ без среднего образования)
- Среднее специальное или профессионально-техническое (СПТУ, техникум, училище)
- Неполное общее среднее (8-9 классов)
- Общее среднее (10-11 классов)
- Незаконченное высшее (не меньше трех курсов вуза)
- Высшее образование

Жили ли Вы когда-нибудь за рубежом?

- Да
- Нет

Есть ли у Вас друзья или родственники, живущие за рубежом, с которыми Вы часто общаетесь, переписываетесь, или которых Вы часто навещаете?

- Да
- Нет

Политические убеждения иногда делят на правые и левые. Оцените, пожалуйста, свои собственные убеждения по семибалльной шкале, где 1 -- это крайне левые убеждения, а 7 -- крайне правые убеждения?

- Крайне левые 1
- Левые 2
- Склоняюсь влево 3
- В центре 4
- Склоняюсь вправо 5
- Правые 6
- Крайне правые 7

Какую религию Вы исповедуете?

- Протестантское христианство (баптист, методист, лютеранин, пресвитерианец, епископалец, реформист, свидетель Иеговы)
- Римское католичество (католик)
- Украинская православная церковь
- Греческое православие
- Иудаизм (еврей)
- Ислам (мусульманин)
- Атеист / агностик
- Иное. Пожалуйста, поясните: _____

Насколько Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими утверждениями?

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Мои религиозные убеждения являются важным отражением того, кто я есть | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мои религиозные убеждения играют важную роль в моем представлении о себе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Мои религиозные убеждения играют малую роль в моей самооценке | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| То, каким человеком я себя считаю, не зависит от моих религиозных убеждений | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Как часто Вы принимаете участие в религиозных службах, помимо свадеб и похорон?

- Никогда
- Несколько раз в год, в праздники
- Примерно раза в месяц
- Несколько раз в месяц
- Раз в неделю
- Чаше, чем раз в неделю

Пожалуйста, выберите утверждение, которое наиболее точно описывает финансовую ситуацию Вашей семьи.

- У нас не всегда хватает денег на еду
- Нам хватает на еду, но не на одежду
- У нас хватает денег на еду, одежду и мелкие товары для дома. Но новый телевизор, холодильник или стиральная машина нам не по карману
- Мы можем позволить себе бытовую технику. Но купить машину нам не по карману.
- У нас достаточно сбережений почти на все, но покупка квартиры или дома нам не по карману
- У нас нет никаких финансовых проблем и мы можем позволить себе купить квартиру или дом

Перед Вами шкала семейного дохода. Укажите, пожалуйста, Ваш общий семейный заработок за последний месяц, выбрав одну из категорий.

- Менее 675 ГРН
- 676 до 1,700 ГРН
- 1,701 до 2,700 ГРН
- 2,701 до 4,400 ГРН
- 4,401 до 5,400 ГРН
- 5,401 до 7,100 ГРН
- 7,101 до 8,100 ГРН
- 8,101 до 8,800 ГРН
- 8,801 до 9,800 ГРН
- 9,801 до 10,800 ГРН
- 10,801 ГРН и выше

Russian Survey

Пожалуйста, выберите язык опроса

- Русский
- Английский

Добро пожаловать на опрос о Средствах Массовой Информации (СМИ) и Политике от Университета Штата Огайо (США). Мы проводим этот краткий опрос, с тем чтобы понять, **как жители разных стран** относятся к СМИ и политике. Мы опрашиваем людей из разных стран мира, и **Ваше мнение очень важно для нас**. Опрос займет у Вас примерно 20 минут. **Ваши ответы анонимны и** будут оцениваться в обобщенном виде вместе с ответами других респондентов. Вы можете быть уверены в том, что любая предоставленная Вами информация будет храниться в конфиденциальности* и не будет использована с целью Вас опознать. Если Вы предпочитаете не отвечать на некоторые вопросы, Вы можете их пропустить.

Для информации о правах участников этого опроса, или если Вам угодно обсудить вопросы, возникшие во время прохождения опроса, с лицом, не являющимся автором исследования, Вы можете связаться с госпожой Сандрой Медоус из отдела Отдела Ответственной Научной Деятельности в Уни-те Штата Огайо по телефону 1.800.678.6251 или по электронной почте meadows.8@osu.edu. Мы очень признательны Вам за участие в опросе, так как нас интересуют **Ваши взгляды на некоторые важные темы**.

С уважением,
Элизабет Стойчефф/
Уни-тет Штата Огайо
elizabeth.stoycheff+survey@gmail.com

Эрик Нисбет
Уни-тет Штата Огайо
nisbet.5@osu.edu

*Предупреждение о безопасности данных в Интернете: Это исследование пользуется онлайн-анкетой. Несмотря на то что будут приложены все усилия для соблюдения конфиденциальности, мы не можем гарантировать абсолютной безопасности данных в Интернете, так как, хоть это и маловероятно, любая информация в Интернете может быть перехвачена и может быть установлен IP-адрес компьютера респондента.

Мы просим Вас откровенно выразить свое мнение по вопросам, связанным со СМИ. Под СМИ мы подразумеваем газеты, телевидение, радио, журналы, интернет-сайты, социальные сети и блоги, которые ведут как профессиональные журналисты, так и обычные люди, такие как Вы.

Мы начнем с нескольких вопросов о том, как Вы пользуетесь СМИ. Люди знакомятся с **новостями и комментариями** в разных СМИ. Кто-то любит читать газеты и журналы, кто-то смотреть телевизор, слушать радио или пользоваться Интернетом. Как часто в течение типичной недели Вы узнаете **новости и комментарии** из газет, журналов, теле- и радиопередач или Интернета?

| | Никогда 1 | 2 | 3 | Время от времени 4 | 5 | 6 | Постоянно 7 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Газеты (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Общественно-политические журналы (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Телевидение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Радио | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Интернет (сайты, блоги, живой журнал и соц. сети) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Как часто Вы узнаете новости комментарии из зарубежных газет, журналов, теле- и радиопередач и Интернета?

| | Никогда 1 | 2 | 3 | Время от времени 4 | 5 | 6 | Постоянно 7 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Зарубежные газеты (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные общественно-политические журналы (печатные или в Интернете) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные телепередачи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные радиопередачи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Зарубежные интернет-сайты | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Знакомясь с новостями и комментариями, как много внимания Вы уделяете следующим темам?

| | Мало 1 | 2 | 3 | Некоторое количество 4 | 5 | 6 | Много 7 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Новости российской политики | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Экономические новости | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Международные новости | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Как часто Вы пользуетесь Интернетом для того, чтобы...

| | Никогда | Реже, чем раз в месяц | Раз в месяц | 2-3 раза в месяц | Раз в неделю | 2-3 раза в неделю | Ежедневно |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Обсуждать политические взгляды | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Играть в компьютерные игры в режиме онлайн | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Читать новостные сайты | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Делать покупки в Интернете | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пользоваться поисковыми системами для получения информации | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пользоваться сайтами социальных сетей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Посылать электронную почту друзьям и родственникам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Смотреть видеоклипы, фильмы или телепередачи | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Какими социальными сетями Вы пользуетесь на данный момент? (Отметьте все, что подходит)

- ВК (В Контакте)
- В Кругу Друзей
- Спейсес (Spaces)
- Одноклассники

- Живой Журнал
- Фейсбук
- Твиттер
- Ютюб
- Другое. Пожалуйста, впишите _____
- Я не пользуюсь социальными сетями

Как часто Вы посещаете сайты социальных сетей?

- Никогда
- Реже, чем раз в месяц
- Раз в месяц
- 2-3 раза в месяц
- Раз в неделю
- 2-3 раза в неделю
- Каждый день
- Несколько раз за день

Насколько важны Вам лично социальные сети для того, чтобы:

| | Совсем не важны 1 | 2 | 3 | В некоторой степени важны 4 | 5 | 6 | Необычайно важны 7 |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Находиться в курсе политических событий | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Обсуждать политику | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Находить людей, которые разделяют Ваши политические взгляды | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Привлекать людей к политике | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Перейдем к вопросам о свободе Интернета и СМИ в Вашей стране.

Свободны ли **СМИ** в России или же связаны ограничениями?

- Связаны строгими ограничениями
- Связаны ограничениями
- Скорее связаны ограничениями
- Не свободны, но и не связаны ограничениями
- Скорее свободны
- Свободны
- Совершенно свободны

В общем и целом, свободен ли **Интернет** в России или же связан ограничениями?

- Связан строгими ограничениями
- Связан ограничениями
- Скорее связан ограничениями
- Не свободен, но и не связан ограничениями
- Скорее свободен
- Свободен
- Совершенно свободен

Предыдущие вопросы относятся к свободе Российских СМИ. Опишите своими словами, что такое для Вас «свободные» СМИ. Напишите, пожалуйста, свой ответ в текстовом поле ниже.

В разных странах СМИ обладают разной степенью свободы и независимости. На Ваш взгляд, по сравнению со СМИ в нижеперечисленных странах, обладают ли СМИ в Вашей стране такой же, меньшей или большей степенью свободы?

Российские СМИ...

| | Значительн о менее свободны | Менее свободн ы | Немного менее свободн ы | В равной степени свободн ы | Немного более свободн ы | Более свободн ы | Значительн о более свободны |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| По сравнению со СМИ Украины | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| По сравнению со СМИ Польши | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| По сравнению со СМИ США | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

12. Мы хотим задать Вам еще несколько вопросов о Российских СМИ. На Ваш взгляд, насколько точно следующие утверждения отражают ситуацию со СМИ в России?

| | Абсолютно неверно | Очень неточно | Неточно | В чем- то верно, в чем-то неверно | Точно | Очень точно | Абсолютно верно |
|--|----------------------|------------------|---------|---|-------|----------------|--------------------|
| | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| СМИ в России всегда имеют возможность критиковать правительство и политических лидеров | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство России подвергает СМИ цензуре | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Журналисты и блогеры в России иногда подвергаются угрозам или насилию со стороны правительства | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Российские СМИ являются собственностью многочисленных коммерческих компаний | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Бизнес контролирует содержание информации российских СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Доступ к СМИ в России по средствам большей части населения | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Деятельность СМИ в России регулируется справедливыми законами | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Закон не защищает российских журналистов и блогеров адекватно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Российская конституция защищает СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Выберите, пожалуйста, из данного списка группу людей, которые вызывают у Вас наибольшую неприязнь:

- Иммигранты
- Коммунисты
- Атеисты
- Социалисты
- Фашисты
- Анархисты
- Демократы
- Мусульмане
- Другая группа. Пожалуйста, впишите _____

Пожалуйста, укажите, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} не должны иметь права занимать пост Президента | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны иметь право преподавать в государственных школах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны иметь право устраивать общественные митинги у нас в городе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны быть объявлены вне закона | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} должны иметь право выступать с речами в нашем городе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| \${q://QID19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoicesTextEntry} -- правительство должно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| прослушивать их телефонные разговоры | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Как Вы относитесь к нижеследующим лицам и группам лиц в Вашей стране?

| | Крайне отрицательно | Отрицательно | Скорее отрицательно, чем положительно | Ни отрицательно, ни положительно | Скорее положительно, чем отрицательно | Положительно | Очень положительно |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Президент В. В. Путин | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Премьер-Министр Д. А. Медведев | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Единая Россия | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Насколько Вы можете быть уверены в том, что нижеперечисленные лица и органы в Вашей стране поступят справедливо?

| | Совершенно не могу быть уверен/а | Практически и не могу быть уверен/а | Скорее не могу быть уверен/а | Могу быть в некоторой степени уверен/а | Скорее могу быть уверен/а | Могу быть вполне уверен/а | Могу быть абсолютно уверен/а |
|-----------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Дума | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Суды | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Полиция | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Армия | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Президент | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Теперь мы бы хотели ознакомиться с Вашим знанием политики и СМИ в Вашей стране. Мы не ожидаем, что все респонденты дадут точные ответы на все вопросы. Пожалуйста, постарайтесь ответить как можно точнее. Если Вы не знаете ответа, Вы можете выбрать вариант “Не уверен/а”.

Должность Министра иностранных дел России занимает Игорь Сергеевич Иванов.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Срок президентства в России - 6 лет.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Коммунистическая Партия Российской Федерации (КПРФ) имеет большинство мандатов в Федеральном Собрании.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Публикация в Интернете или в печати ложных сведений, которые могут нанести ущерб чей-либо репутации, является нарушением российских законов.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

ООН считает доступ к свободным СМИ универсальным правом человека.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Вики – это профессиональный сайт, созданный для хранения веб-документов, таких как объемные HTML страницы и иллюстрации, для того чтобы сэкономить пропускную способность полосы.

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Подкаст – это аудио- или видеофайл, который распространяется через Интернет и может прослушиваться/просматриваться с компьютера или мобильного устройства

- Верно
- Скорее верно
- Скорее неверно
- Неверно
- Не уверен/а

Timing
 First Click
 Last Click
 Page Submit
 Click Count

Перед Вами несколько вопросов об обществе. Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| То, что у определенных социальных групп есть больше возможностей чем у других, вполне в порядке вещей | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Если бы мы относились непредвзято ко всем социальным группам, у нас было бы меньше проблем | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Чтобы преуспеть в жизни, иногда необходимо притеснять другие социальные группы | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Если бы люди из определенных социальных групп знали свое место, у нас было бы меньше проблем | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Было бы хорошо, если бы все социальные группы имели равные права | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Некоторые социальные группы лучше других | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен /сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен /сна |
|---|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Мне трудно высказать свое мнение, если я думаю, что со мной не согласятся | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Часто, когда я думаю, что люди вокруг меня неправы, я им этого не говорю | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Безопаснее промолчать, чем публично высказать мнение, которое, как тебе известно, многие не разделяют | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Когда я не разделяю чужого мнения, я скорее соглашусь, чем стану спорить | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Обычно я открыто высказываю свои мнения в кругу друзей и людей, которым я доверяю. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мне легко высказывать свое мнение в присутствии тех, кто со мной не соглашается. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Если я с кем-то не согласен/сна, мне не трудно им об этом сказать. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Если спрашивают мое мнение и я знаю, что со мной не согласятся, я чувствую себя неловко. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Иногда вопросы политики настолько сложны, что таким как я не понять, что на самом деле происходит. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мне кажется, что я достаточно хорошо разбираюсь в важных вопросах политики, стоящих на сегодняшний день перед моей страной | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| По-моему, я лучше других осведомлен/а в вопросах политики. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| В нашей стране слишком много власти сосредоточено в руках нескольких крупных компаний. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Коммерческие организации у нас в стране имеют слишком большой доход. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Большинству людей лучше при рыночной экономике, несмотря на то что при этом есть богатые и бедные. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Нужно сократить правительственный контроль бизнеса у нас в стране | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

В общем, насколько Вы поддерживаете или отвергаете идею абсолютно свободным **СМИ**?

- Категорически отвергаю
- Отвергаю
- Скорее отвергаю
- Ни поддерживаю, ни отвергаю
- Скорее поддерживаю
- Поддерживаю
- Полностью поддерживаю

В общем и целом, насколько Вы поддерживаете или отвергаете идею абсолютно свободного **Интернета**?

- Категорически отвергаю
- Отвергаю
- Скорее отвергаю
- Ни поддерживаю, ни отвергаю
- Скорее поддерживаю

- Поддерживаю
- Полностью поддерживаю

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| СМИ всегда должны иметь возможность критиковать российское правительство и политических лидеров | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Российские СМИ должны принадлежать многочисленным коммерческим компаниям | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| СМИ должны быть по средствам большинству россиян | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство России не должно угрожать журналистам и блогерам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Деятельность СМИ в России должна регулироваться справедливо | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ым законам | | | | | | | |
| СМИ должны быть защищены Конституцией РФ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Иногда приемлемо, что правительство подвергает цензуре российские СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Иногда приемлемо, что российские СМИ принадлежат лишь нескольким крупным компаниям | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Иногда приемлемо, что законы, которые защищают СМИ, в России не соблюдаются | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Россией. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **3=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, свободные от цензуры
- 2 СМИ, деятельность которых регулируется справедливыми законами
- 3 СМИ, которые по средствам большинству людей

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Россией. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **4=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, свободные от цензуры
- 2 Государственная безопасность
- 3 Свободные и честные выборы
- 4 Общественная нравственность и религия

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Россией. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **3=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, которые по средствам большинству людей
- 2 Государственная безопасность
- 3 Свободные и честные выборы
- 4 Общественная нравственность и религия

Перед Вами список важных вопросов, стоящих перед Россией. Пожалуйста, расставьте эти вопросы по порядку от **1=НАИБОЛЕЕ ВАЖНО** до **4=НАИМЕННЕ ВАЖНО**.

- 1 СМИ, деятельность которых регулируется справедливыми законами
- 2 Государственная безопасность
- 3 Свободные и честные выборы
- 4 Общественная нравственность и религия

Существует много вариантов управления страной. Одобряете ли Вы или отвергаете следующие варианты?

| | Категорически отвергаю | Отвергаю | Скорее отвергаю, чем одобряю | Ни одобряю, ни отвергаю | Скорее одобряю, чем отвергаю | Одобряю | Полностью одобряю |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Только одна партия имеет право баллотироваться на выборах и занимать руководящие посты | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Страной управляет армия | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Выборы и парламент отменены, так что президент может принимать все решения | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

Укажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны или не согласны с каждым из следующих утверждений.

| | Абсолютно не согласен /сна | Не согласен /сна | Скорее не согласен /сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен /сна | Согласен /сна | Абсолютно согласен /сна |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Демократия предпочтительна любым другим формам правления | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| В некоторых случаях недемократические формы правления могут быть предпочтительны | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Таким как я безразлично, какая у нас форма правления | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

На Ваш взгляд, является ли сегодняшняя Россия демократическим государством?

- Россия не является демократическим государством
- У российской демократии есть серьезные проблемы
- У российской демократии есть незначительные проблемы
- Россия – это полноценное демократическое государство

В целом, насколько Вы удовлетворены тем, как демократия функционирует в России?

- Совершенно не удовлетворен/а

- Не вполне удовлетворен/а
- Вполне удовлетворен/а
- Полностью удовлетворен
- Россия не является демократией

Разные люди понимают разное под словом демократия. Опишите своими словами, что для Вас означает демократия в Вашей стране.

Теперь нам бы хотелось узнать Ваше мнение по поводу различных порядков, касающихся СМИ и Интернета, которые либо были рекомендованы, либо практикуются в разных странах мира. Укажите, насколько Вы поддерживаете или не одобряете каждый из порядков.

| | Совершенно не одобряю | Не одобряю | Скорее не одобряю | Не поддерживаю, но и не против | Скорее поддерживаю | Поддерживаю | Полностью поддерживаю |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Журналисты должны быть наказаны тюремным сроком за распространение “заведомо недостоверной информации” | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство имеет возможность проверять информацию до ее публикации в СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Правительство имеет возможность отслеживать, как граждане пользуются Интернетом и социальными сетями. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ограничения, наложенные на СМИ, должны пересматриваться в рамках ежегодного государственного обзора прав человека | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Каждый гражданин имеет право запросить и получить информацию, находящуюся в государственных архивах. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Суд должен наказывать правительство чиновников за цензуру СМИ | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Запрещается владение несколькими коммерческим и лицензиями на телевизионное вещание на одном и том же рынке | | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Инвесторы не имеют права владеть контрольным пакетом акций газеты, если они не являются гражданами государства, где выпускается эта газета | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Предоставление телевизионных услуг регулируется с целью обеспечения доступных цен на | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| телевидение | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Интересуетесь ли Вы политикой?

- Совершенно не интересуюсь
- Не интересуюсь
- Скорее равнодушен/шна, чем интересуюсь
- Не интересуюсь, но и не совсем равнодушен/шна
- Скорее интересуюсь, чем равнодушен/шна
- Интересуюсь
- Очень интересуюсь

Сколько раз за последние два года Вы принимали участие в следующих мероприятиях?

| | Ни разу | Один раз | Больше одного раза |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Голосовал/а на выборах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Подписывал/а петицию на политическую или социальную тему | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Участвовал/а в демонстрации или протесте | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Посылал/а (электронное) письмо политическому лидеру | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Совместно с другими участвовал/а в проекте на общественных началах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Некоторые люди считают, что в их стране необходимо ввести больше законов, защищающих свободу самовыражения в СМИ и Интернете. Другие полагают, что достаточно и существующих законов. В принципе, были ли бы ЗА новое законодательство, целью которого является защита свободы слова в СМИ и в Интернете, или ПРОТИВ такого законодательства?

- Против
- Скорее против
- Скорее за
- За

Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Support Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Support Is Selected

Насколько вероятно, что Вы предпримете следующие действия, чтобы поддержать новое законодательство о защите свободы самовыражения в СМИ и в Интернете?

| | Крайне маловероятно | Весьма маловероятно | Маловероятно | Не решил /а | Вероятно | Весьма Вероятно | Крайне вероятно |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Подпишите петицию | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Примете участие в митинге или протесте | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пожертвуете деньги общественной организации, ведущей кампанию в этой области | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Свяжетесь с политическими лидерами, чтобы выразить свое мнение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Answer If Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Somewhat Oppose Is Selected Or Some people argue that countries need to enact more laws ... Oppose Is Selected

Насколько вероятно, что Вы предпримете следующие действия, чтобы воспрепятствовать новому законодательству о защите свободы самовыражения в СМИ и в Интернете?

| | Крайне маловероятно | Весьма маловероятно | Маловероятно | Не решил /а | Вероятно | Весьма Вероятно | Крайне вероятно |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Подпишите петицию | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Примете участие в митинге или протесте | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Пожертвуете деньги общественной организации | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| организации, ведущей кампанию в этой области | | | | | | | |
| Свяжетесь с политическими лидерами, чтобы выразить свое мнение | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Люди часто посещают различные коммерческие и государственные сайты в целях получения информации, услуг, приобретения товаров, чтобы общаться с друзьями в социальных сетях, смотреть клипы и фильмы, обращаться в государственные конторы и к политическим деятелям по различным вопросам и т.п.

Насколько Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими утверждениями по поводу безопасности Ваших личных данных в Интернете?

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Когда я посещаю государственные сайты, мои личные данные защищены | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Когда я посещаю коммерческие сайты, мои личные данные защищены | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Степень безопасности моих личных данных на государственных сайтах меня устраивает | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Степень безопасности | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| и моих личных данных на коммерческ их сайтах меня устраиает | | | | | | | |
| Я контролирую то, кому будут доступны мои личные данные, собранные на коммерческ их сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую, что из моих личных данных коммерческ ие сайты могут передать третьим лицам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую то, как коммерческ ие сайты используют мои личные данные | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Насколько Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими утверждениями по поводу безопасности Ваших личных данных в Интернете?

| Абсолютно не согласен /сна | Не согласен /сна | Скорее не согласен /сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен /сна | Согласен /сна | Абсолютно согласен /сна |
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Я контролирую то, кому будут доступны мои личные данные, собранные на государственных сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую, что из моих личных данных государственные сайты могут передать третьим лицам | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я контролирую то, как государственные сайты используют мои личные данные | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вводить личные данные на государственных сайтах может быть рискованно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Я рискую конфиденциальностью, когда ввожу личные данные на государственных сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Государственные сайты могут ненадлежащим образом воспользоваться моими личными данными | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Вводить личные данные на коммерческих сайтах может быть рискованно | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Я рискую конфиденциальностью, когда ввожу личные данные на коммерческих сайтах | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Коммерческие сайты могут ненадлежащим образом воспользоваться моими личными данными | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Мы подходим к концу опроса. Нам нужно задать еще несколько общих вопросов. Укажите Ваш пол:

- Мужской
- Женский

Сколько Вам полных лет?

Каков уровень Вашего образования?

- Без образования
- Начальная школа
- Средняя школа
- Среднее специальное
- Незаконченное высшее
- Высшее
- Аспирантура или ученая степень

Жили ли Вы когда-нибудь за рубежом?

- Да
- Нет

Есть ли у Вас друзья или родственники, живущие за рубежом, с которыми Вы часто общаетесь, переписываетесь, или которых Вы часто навещаете?

- Да
- Нет

Политические убеждения иногда делят на правые и левые. Оцените, пожалуйста, свои собственные убеждения по семибалльной шкале, где 1 -- это крайне левые убеждения, а 7 -- крайне правые убеждения?

- Крайне левые 1
- Левые 2
- Склоняюсь влево 3
- В центре 4
- Склоняюсь вправо 5
- Правые 6
- Крайне правые 7

Какую религию Вы исповедуете?

- Протестантское христианство (баптист, методист, лютеранин, пресвитерианец, епископалец, реформист, свидетель Иеговы)
- Римское католичество (католик)
- Русское православие
- Греческое православие
- Иудаизм (еврей)
- Ислам (мусульманин)
- Атеист / агностик
- Иное. Пожалуйста, поясните: _____

Насколько Вы согласны или не согласны со следующими утверждениями?

| | Абсолютно не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна | Скорее не согласен/сна | Не согласен/сна, но и не оспариваю | Скорее согласен/сна | Согласен/сна | Абсолютно согласен/сна |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Мои религиозные убеждения являются важным отражением того, кто я есть | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мои религиозные убеждения играют важную роль в моем представлении о себе | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Мои религиозные убеждения играют малую роль в моей самооценке | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| То, каким человеком я себя считаю, не зависит от моих религиозных убеждений | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|

Как часто Вы принимаете участие в религиозных службах, помимо свадеб и похорон?

- Никогда
- Несколько раз в год, в праздники
- Примерно раза в месяц
- Несколько раз в месяц
- Раз в неделю
- Чаше, чем раз в неделю

Пожалуйста, выберите утверждение, которое наиболее точно описывает финансовую ситуацию Вашей семьи.

- У нас не всегда хватает денег на еду
- Нам хватает на еду, но не на одежду
- У нас хватает денег на еду, одежду и мелкие товары для дома. Но новый телевизор, холодильник или стиральная машина нам не по карману
- Мы можем позволить себе бытовую технику. Но купить машину нам не по карману.
- У нас достаточно сбережений почти на все, но покупка квартиры или дома нам не по карману
- У нас нет никаких финансовых проблем и мы можем позволить себе купить квартиру или дом

Перед Вами шкала семейного дохода. Укажите, пожалуйста, Ваш общий семейный заработок за последний месяц, выбрав одну из категорий.

- Менее 3,780 P
- 3,781 до 7,570 P
- 7,571 до 17,650 P
- 17,651 до 27,740 P
- 27,741 до 35,900 P
- 35,901 до 47,900 P
- 37,901 до 58,000 P
- 58,000 до 68,100 P
- 68,101 до 78,200 P
- 78,201 до 85,750 P
- 85,751 P и выше