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Social reactions to the European Commission opinion on the rule of law in Poland

On 1 June 2016 European Commission issued an opinion about the rule of law in Poland, which is the first step in the mechanism of monitoring of the protection of the rule of law, opened in January 2016. It is known that the confidential note sent to the Polish government expressed concern about nomination of judges to the Constitutional Tribunal, amendment to the law on Constitutional Tribunal voted on 22 December 2015, observance of the Tribunal judgements related to this issue, as well as effectiveness of the process of adjudicating laws voted in 2016 with regard to their consistency with the Constitution. According to the procedure, Polish authorities should now respond to this opinion.

Over two-fifths of respondents (42%) consider the critical opinion of EC, mentioning threats to the rule of law in Poland, as justified, while a third (34%) think it is unjustified. There are more controversies regarding acceptability of issuing this opinion and EC motives for such actions.





About equal numbers of people consider issuing this opinion as an acceptable (41%) and unacceptable (39%) form of pressure on Polish authorities. Slightly more respondents share the opinion that the EC opinion is motivated by hostility to the Law and Justice (PiS) and the authorities (41%), rather than by concern about the rule of law in Poland (38%).

Almost half of respondents (49%) think that Poland should respect opinions and expectations of the European Commission, while a third (35%) express the opposite opinion. The distribution of responses regarding the arguments and reasons for accepting or rejecting the EC opinion indicates that Poles tend to attach more importance to the international context and relate to a lesser extent to the state of the rule of law in Poland. People convinced that Poland should

Should Poland respect opinions and expectations of European Commission?



respect the EC opinion more frequently argue that lack of positive reaction may have negative political and economic consequences and put less stress on the threat to the rule of law in Poland. On the opposite side, respondents convinced that Poland should not respect the EC opinion usually argue that Poland is a sovereign state and must not yield to external pressure and are less convinced that the rule of law is safe.

Possible negative consequences of the failure to respect the expectations of the EC and absence of consensus on the Constitutional Tribunal include imposing sanctions on Poland. It is possible on the basis of Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union, which states that "the [European] Council, acting by a qualified majority, may decide to suspend certain of the rights deriving from the application of the Treaties to the Member State [...], including the voting rights of the representative of the government of that Member State in the Council."

Overall, almost half (45%) of Poles are afraid that rejecting the opinions and expectations of the European Commission may trigger some sanctions against Poland and one-third (34%) are not concerned.

Are you concerned about the possibility of sanctions against Poland if the opinions and expectations of the European Commission are rejected?



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Reactions to the European Commission's Opinion on the Rule of Law in Poland", June 2016. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2016, N=1002. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Polish-German relations 25 years after signing the Treaty of Good Neighbourship

On 17 June 2016 was the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation, signed by Poland and Germany. It supplemented the Polish-German treaty confirming the existing border, signed on 14 November 1990 and ratified in 1991. This document stresses the significance of Polish-German relations for the unity of Europe, regulates the rights of national minorities living on the other side of the border, promotes the cooperation of Polish and German youth and cultural contacts. It was one of the milestones towards establishing good relations between Poland and Germany after World War II.

After 25 years of the Treaty, the majority of Poles (54%) evaluate Polish-German relations ambivalently, considering them neither good nor bad. The others tend to see them positively (29%), rather than having a bad opinion (8%). Compared with 2015 the opinions are much worse. However, the relations are still seen as better than in 2007, when Jarosław Kaczyński was prime minister. At that time Polish-German relations were seen as bad more often than good.

Evaluation of Polish-German relations



In the view of over two-fifths of Poles (44%), in the last year Polish-German relations have remained unchanged. The others observe deterioration (28%) rather than improvement (9%) of mutual relations.

Compared with a year ago, Polish-German relations are...



As before, Poles are convinced that Polish-German relations can be friendly and based on partnership (79%).





As in previous years, the majority of Poles (73%) are opposed to the increased role of Germany in Europe and in the world.

Do you agree that Germany should have a stronger role in Europe and in the world?



*Research of the Institute of Public Affairs

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Relations between Poland and Germany 25 Years after Signing the Treaty of Good Neighbourship", June 2016. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2016, N=1002. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Contacts between Poles and Germans

The main source of information about Germany and Germans for the Poles is television, mentioned by over two-thirds (68%) of respondents. Over two-fifths (43%) use the internet for this purpose, while almost a third (31%) derive their knowledge from newspapers and magazines. The other significant sources of knowledge about Germany and Germans are conversations with relatives (26%), as well as friends or colleagues (28%).

Main sources of knowledge about Germany and Germans



Up to four answers possible

Compared with 2011, TV, radio and printed press are used less often, whereas the internet has increased in importance as the source of knowledge about Poland's western neighbour and its inhabitants. In the last five years there has also been an increase in the number of people gaining knowledge during travels to Germany and personal contacts with Germans.

Information about Germany and Germans usually has positive connotations (48%), but one-sixth of respondents (16%) usually receive negative information. More than a quarter of Poles (29%) think that the information about Germany and Germans is usually neutral, i.e. neither positive nor negative. Although channels of information have changed significantly in the last five years, opinions about the balance of information have remained virtually unchanged.

Is the information about Germany and Germans usually...



Two-fifths of Poles (40%) have been to Germany after 1989. Compared with 2011, the proportion of people who have visited Germany after systemic transformation has risen by 9 percentage points.

Have you been to Germany after 1989?



The percentage of people who have visited Germany after 1989 is higher among the better-educated groups. Less than one-fifth (18%) of respondents with primary and post-primary education have been to this country, while the corresponding figure for college graduates is 58%. Groups that have visited Germany relatively commonly are: residents of cities from 100,000 to 500,000 (57%), people in good material living conditions, i.e. with monthly household per capita income of at least 2000 PLN (58%), managers and professionals with higher education (66%), self-employed (72%). Groups that have visited Germany least are: students (27% have been there after 1989), rural residents (30%), service sector employees (28%), people with lowest household per capita income (23%), respondents evaluating their material living conditions as bad (28%).

Most people who have been to Germany after 1989 last went there in 2010 or later (53%). This means that personal contacts between Poles and Germans are fairly recent: only 15% last went to Germany before 2000, while one-third (32%) most recently visited Germany in the first decade of the 21st century.

The most common reasons for the last travel to Germany were: visiting family or friends (32%) and tourism,

sightseeing, recreation (31%). For 16% the purpose was paid work (permanent or seasonal). Compared with 2011, there has been an increase in the number of personal visits and a decrease in work-related travel. It can be assumed that in the last five years a number of Poles have emigrated to Germany and they invite family and friends to visit. The number of Poles transiting Germany fell slightly.





More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Contacts between Poles and Germans", June 2016. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2016, N=1002. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Attitude to paying taxes

There is a universal conviction (92%) that it is necessary to pay taxes out of which important social goals and needs (e.g. security, healthcare, education) are financed. Tax evasion is usually seen as stealing from other citizens (87%), not as a way of being enterprising (19%). Twothirds of respondents (65%) think that in today's times honest payment of due taxes is a form of patriotism.





Fraudulent claim of VAT from the state budget is universally condemned (92%), as is giving false information to claim benefits (90%) and registering economic activity in "tax havens" (68%), especially if it is done by people performing important public functions, for instance Members of Parliament (87%). Eight-tenths of respondents cannot justify selling goods without due excise tax (e.g. smuggled cigarettes and alcohol), while only a slightly smaller group (76%) condemn buying such goods. A vast majority (78%) think it is unacceptable to underreport earnings in order to reduce due tax. There is a similar level of disapproval for hiring an employee without contract (77%). However, taking illegal employment is condemned much less (59%). The attitude to using legal loopholes in order to reduce due taxes is less restrictive, but nevertheless the majority (54%) cannot justify such behaviour. Least frequently respondents condemn not paying radio and television licence fee, but even in this case condemnation (45%) is more common than acceptance (25%).

Attitude to tax evasion and fraud related to state budget

(0/)

			(%)
Fraudulent claim of VAT from state budget by firms	ę	91	32 <mark>4</mark>
Giving false information to claim welfare benefits	9	0	4 <mark>3 3</mark>
Registering economic activity in a "tax haven" by a person performing important public function, e.g. MP	87	7	52 <mark>6</mark>
Selling goods without due excise tax, e.g. smuggled cigarettes or alcohol	80		8 8 <mark>3</mark>
Underreporting income to reduce due tax	78		10 9 <mark>3</mark>
Employing someone without contract	77	Į.	9 11 <mark>3</mark>
Buying goods without due excise tax, e.g. smuggled cigarettes or alcohol	76	1	0 11 <mark>3</mark>
Registering economic activity in a "tax haven"(state where taxes are much lower)	68	11	13 <mark>8</mark>
Taking employment without contract	59	14	25 <mark>2</mark>
Using tax loopholes to reduce due tax	54	16 2	23 7
Not paying radio and TV licence fee	45	25 2	25 <mark>5</mark>
Condemnat (cannot be		Acceptance (can be justified)	Don't know

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Attitudes towards paying taxes", June 2016. Fieldwork for national sample: May 2016, N=1100. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

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