

## POLISH PUBLICOPINION

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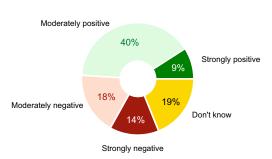
TO THE REPORTS REFERRED TO ABOVE, THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED RECENTLY (IN POLISH):

- Hopes and Fears for 2017
- Political Party Preferences in February
- Opinions on the Education Reform
- Opinions about Parliament, President, Courts and Prosecutor's Office
- Attitude to Government in February
- Social Moods in February
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# Opinions about Donald Tusk, president of the European Council

Almost half of respondents (49%) have a positive opinion about the activities of Donald Tusk as president of the European Council. One-third of respondents (32%) have a negative opinion.

What is your opinion about the activity of Donald Tusk as president of the European Council?



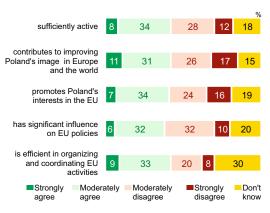
Detailed evaluation of Donald Tusk as the head of the European Council is highly polarized and conditioned by political orientation: 42% of respondents believe that he is sufficiently active in this position, and 40% are of the opposite opinion; 42% of respondents believe that he contributes to the improvement of the image of Poland in Europe and the world, and 43% think that it is not the case;

41% of respondents believe that he promotes Polish interests in the European Union, while 40% do not share this opinion.

Controversy is also raised regarding the impact of Donald Tusk on the European Union policies: 38% of respondents believe that to a large extent he determines the direction of EU action, but slightly more (42%) say that he has no significant impact.

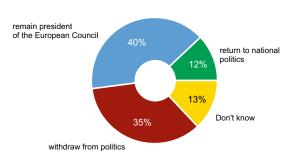
The least controversial aspect is the efficiency of Donald Tusk as the organizer and coordinator of the work of the European Council. He is well evaluated in this role by 42%

## Do you agree that Donald Tusk, president of the European Council is...



of respondents, while 28% have a bad opinion, and a large group (30%) do not have a clear view.

#### Would you like Donald Tusk to...



Expectations regarding the future of Donald Tusk are quite clear. Depending on the attitude to him and the assessments of his activities as head of the European Council respondents believe that he should remain for the second term in his post (40%), or they think that he should withdraw from politics

(35%). Only a relatively small group of people (12%) would like Donald Tusk to return to Polish politics after the end of the current term.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Opinions about Donald Tusk as President of the European Council", March 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: February 2017, N=1016. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

### Attitude to other nationalities

The ranking of the most liked nationalities is topped by Czechs, Slovaks and Italians, who enjoy the sympathy of more than half of respondents. Slightly less well-liked are: Americans, Hungarians, English and Dutch, liked by at least half of respondents. More than two-fifths have a positive attitude to the French, Croatians, Danes, Japanese, Germans, Greeks and Lithuanians. More than a third like Belarusians, Chinese, Estonians, Jews, Ukrainians and Vietnamese. It should be noted that in relation to all these nationalities sympathy prevails, although attitudes towards Ukrainians are quite strongly polarized, and sympathy is declared only slightly more often than antipathy.

Attitude to other nationalities Average values on the scale from -3 (max. antipathy) Nationalities to +3 (max. sympathy) Czechs Slovaks 1,07 Italians 1.05 0.92 Americans Hungarians 54 0,97 English 0,77 0,85 Dutch 0,74 French 0,8 Croats 0,78 0,72 Japanese 0,48 Germans Greeks 0,66 Lithuanians 0,52 Belarusians 0,33 0.36 Chinese 0,58 Estonians Jews 0,19 Ukrainians 0,05 0,25 Russians -0,23 Romanians -0,18 -0,46 Roma (Gypsies) -0,67 Arabs -1,17 Sympathy ■Indifference ■Antipathy Don't know

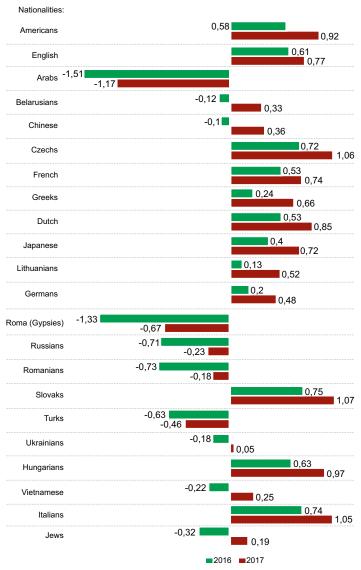
(from +1 to +3)

In case of the other five nationalities included in the survey dislike prevails to a lesser or greater extent. For Russians and Romanians the difference between antipathy and sympathy is relatively small. Negative feelings to Turks are nearly twice as common as positive. In case of the Roma they are more than twice as common. The size of the group having negative attitude to Arabs is even greater. More than half of respondents have a negative attitude towards them and sympathy is declared by a sixth of respondents.

In the year 2017 we have noted the improvement in attitude to all nationalities included in the survey: for twenty-two compared to the previous year, for two (Croats and Estonians) compared to 2015, and for one (Danes) compared to the year 2013. Taking into account the average ratings, the greatest changes in plus, registered over the last year, concern the attitude of Poles towards the Roma (an increase of 0.66), Romanians (an increase of 0.55) and Jews (an increase of 0.51). They are among the less popular nationalities, and last year aversion to them outweighed sympathy.

#### **Attitude to other nationalities**

Average values on the scale from -3 (max. antipathy) to +3 (max. sympathy)



All differences of means statistically significant at p<0.05

The improvement in attitude to all nations included in the survey may be due to a rise in public awareness on manifestation of hostility towards "strangers", which is a form of response to media reports in recent months about acts of violence against people of other nationalities living in Poland and to the growth of xenophobic attitudes in society. Improved attitudes towards other nationalities correspond with the relative psychological well-being of Poles, positive assessments of the past year and relatively good evaluation of material conditions. Analyses show that living conditions are related to attitudes towards other nationalities.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Attitudes Towards Other Nations", March 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: January 2017, N=1045. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

# Polish anti-communist underground in collective memory

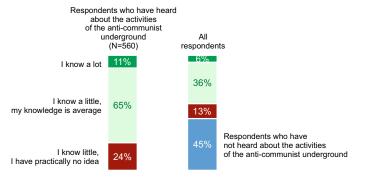
On March 1 is the National Day of Remembrance of post-war anti-communist resistance. It was unequivocally condemned in the past and branded as rogue or marginalized in the mainstream historical education. Recently it has become one of the main narratives in the state historical policy.

The majority of Poles (55%) have heard about armed groups fighting against the new authorities supported by the Soviet Union. Six out of every hundred (6%) say that their knowledge of the subject is large, more than one-third (36%) evaluates it as average, and about one eighth (13%) - as small.

For several years after World War II, armed groups fought in Poland against the new communist authorities, supported by the USSR. Have you heard of the activities of these groups?

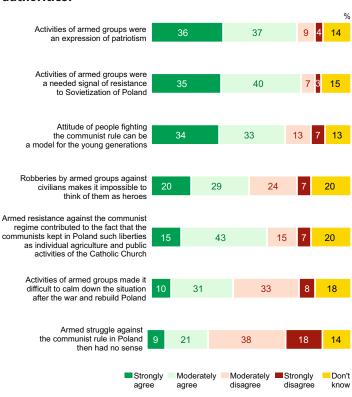


### How would you describe your knowledge on the subject?



The image of guerrillas fighting the People's Republic among all people who have heard about them is overwhelmingly positive. The vast majority agree with the statement that their activities were a needed sign of resistance to the Sovietization of the country (75%). According to two-thirds of respondents (67%) the attitude of the soldiers of the anti-communist underground can be a model for the younger generation, slightly fewer (58%) believe that it contributed to the fact that communist authorities kept such liberties as individual agriculture and public activity of the Church. The plurality agree the view that guerrillas cannot be called heroes, as they carried out robberies on civilians (49% agree vs. 31% disagree). Opinions are divided as to whether the activities of armed groups fighting against the communist regime made it difficult to achieve stabilization of the situation in Poland and its reconstruction after the war - two-fifths of respondents agree and the same proportion take the opposite view (41%). The majority of Poles (56%) disagree with the view that the armed struggle against the authorities and in new socio-political order did not make sense.

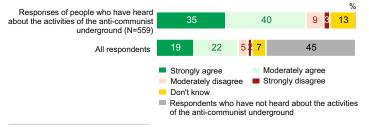
### Do you agree with the following statements concerning the activities of armed groups fighting against communist authorities?



Responses of people who have heard about the activities of the anti-communist underground

In total, 75% of those who have heard of the anticommunist underground in Poland declare that for them personally the people fighting with the communist authorities after the war are heroes.

## Do you personally agree that people fighting communist rule after the war are heroes?



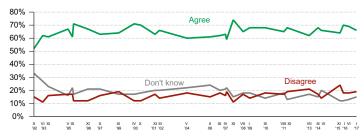
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Polish Anti-communist Resistance Movements in Collective Memory", March 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: February 2017, N=1016. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## **Opinions about democracy**

The political changes that took place in Poland after the parliamentary elections in 2015 noticeably influenced the attitude of Poles towards democratic and undemocratic governance and a general identification with the political system.

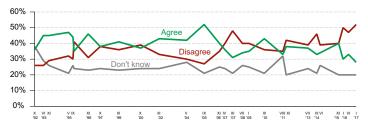
Approval of democracy expressed in the statement that it has an advantage over other forms of government is declared by two-thirds of Poles (66%). While there has been a slight decline in support for democracy since last year, generally speaking it can be said that pro-democratic attitude is firmly rooted in Polish society and fluctuations of opinion observed in the last 25 years are relatively small.

## Do you agree that democracy is superior to all other forms of government?



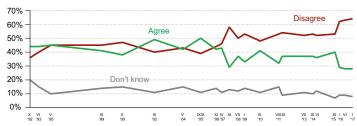
More than a quarter of respondents (28%) agree with the statement that, in some cases, non-democratic government is more desirable than democratic, and over half (52%) believe the opposite. A noticeable increase in criticism of undemocratic political solutions followed the recent parliamentary elections and was reflected in last year's surveys. This year, the level is not only higher than in 2016, but also the highest on record, i.e. since 1992.

## Do you agree that undemocratic government can sometimes be better than democratic?



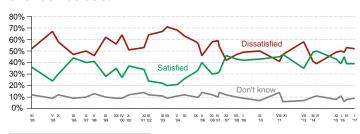
The level of political alienation has remained the lowest in the history of CBOS surveys since last year. The percentage of Poles indifferent as to whether the government is democratic or undemocratic comprises more than one-quarter of all adults (28%), while almost two thirds (64%) are concerned about it.

# Do you agree that, for people like you, it does not really matter whether the government is democratic or undemocratic?



The functioning of democracy in Poland is negatively evaluated by more than half of respondents (52%), while two-fifths (39%) have a positive view. Distribution of opinions on this subject is similar to results recorded at the beginning and in the middle of last year. Since 1993, when CBOS started the assessment of the functioning of democracy in Poland, criticism is in general more common than approval.

# Do you agree that, for people like you, it does not really matter whether the government is democratic or undemocratic?



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Opinions on Democracy", February 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: January 2017, N=1045. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

For more information on CBOS services and publications please contact:

CBOS

5/7, Świętojerska, 00-236 Warsaw, Poland

Phones: (48) 22 629 35 69, 22 628 37 04 Fax: (48) 22 629 40 89

e-mail: sekretariat@cbos.pl www.cbos.pl

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