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POLES AND POLITICAL PARTIES -DO WE FEEL ALIENATED?

The expression of individual interests is one of the most important processes in a democracy, supporting consolidation and stabilisation of this political system. At the present stage of systemic transformation in Poland, Poles do not feel seriously alienated, as only 13% of respondents cannot indicate a political grouping which would represent their interests and views at least minimally. Almost half of respondents (45%) tend to identify their interests and feelings with at least one party.

The parties currently in power - the AWS (the Solidarity Election Action) and the UW (the Freedom Union) achieved the relatively highest level of positive identifications. Over two fifths of respondents admitted that one of them represents their interests at least to a minimum extent (45% and 44%, respectively). Over one third of respondents has such an opinion of one of the remaining more important groupings - the UP (the Labour Union - 37%), the SLD (the Democratic Left Alliance - 36%), the PSL (the Polish Peasants' Party - 34%) and Jan Olszewski's ROP (the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland - 35%). In comparison with the pre-election period, the AWS has gained the most support. This change is expressed first of all as the increase of the percentage of those respondents who see this party as a good representative of their own interests and views. On the other hand,

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES EACH OF THE FOLLOWING PARTIES EXPRESS YOUR INTERESTS AND VIEWS OR IS IN OPPOSITION TO THEM? consistent with my inconsistent with my interests and views interests and views 45% 30% AWS 44% 23% UW UP 16% 37% 34% 36% SLD 27% 35% ROP (J. Olszewski) 24% 34% PSL 23% KPEiR 21% 20% 31% ChD III RE 18% 20% UPR ROP (A. Macierewicz) 28% 16% 15% PLD 18%

Answers "difficult to say" and "I don't know this party" were disregarded.

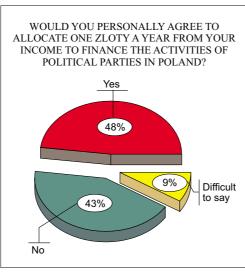
the number of its opponents has not dropped either. Both the AWS and its main rival in the elections (the SLD) are still perceived as the most controversial groupings. They also still

arouse the strongest political emotions - on the one hand they have unconditional support of some respondents, but on the other they are equally strongly rejected by other groups. At the same time it should be noted that the divergence and intensity of these opinions are as strong as a year ago which might indicate that the tendency for a bipolar structure of the political scene

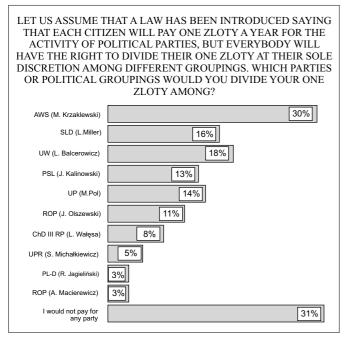
remains as strong as a year ago.

Almost half of respondents are rather willing to support the idea of introducing a special tax for financing the activity of political parties in Poland, provided that the tax is low (e.g. a symbolic 1 zloty a year). Over two fifths (43%) do not accept this idea, including almost one third of those who definitely reject it.

Willingness to offer an amount of money to finance the activity of a particular party is of course first of all an expression of support for this party. Therefore the percentage of potential contributors indicates the level of Poles support for the particular grouping. Similarly, the amount donated illustrates the strength of this support. The AWS is the strongest grouping on the Polish political scene at the moment with regard to both these



measures - 30% of respondents decided to allocate some part of their one zloty to the activity of this party, on average donating 0.67 zloty. The percentage of respondents willing to finance the activity of the SLD was much smaller (16%), although the donated amounts were only slightly smaller (on average 0.65 zloty). 18% would support the UW in this way, but this support is weaker, as the average amount donated to the activity of this party was only 0.54 zloty. The PSL gained the support of 13% of respondents who on average donated 0.59 zloty, while the UP, which was chosen by 14% of respondents, would receive on average 0.51 zloty. Jan Olszewski's ROP would gain financial support of 11% of respondents who on average offered 0.42 zloty. As far as other parties which recently appeared on the political scene are concerned, the Polish Christian Democratic Party proved relatively the most popular (probably due to the name of its founder, Lech Wałęsa) and won the support of 8% of respondents who on average offered 0.42 zloty for this party.



On the basis of the structure of respondents' choices made during dividing the hypothetical one zloty among different political parties, one may conclude that the divisions of the Polish political scene still follow first of all from the political heritage of parties and their political self-identification. On one side of the political barricade there are followers of the SLD, the PSL and the UP sharing a strong dislike for the AWS, while on the other side there are followers of the AWS, the ROP and the UW sharing a little weaker dislike for the SLD.

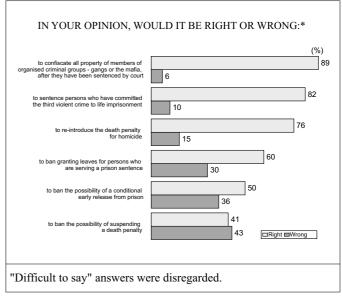
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports "The representativeness of political parties" and "One zloty for political parties", April 1998.

THE FEELING OF THREAT OF CRIME

A considerable majority of respondents (76%) share the opinion that Poland is not a country where

people feel safe; only one in five disagrees. Eleven years ago, in 1987, the proportion was the inverse. The present gloomy image of Poland as a country where life is dangerous appeared in the early 1990s and since that time has changed only slightly. Generally, the current opinions on the threat of crime are similar to those expressed in April 1995.

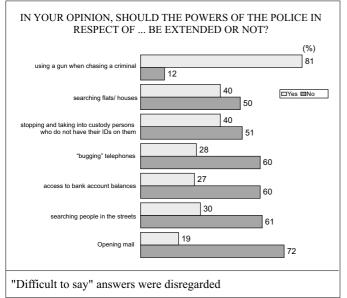
Although the majority of our society believe that life is not safe in Poland, most respondents (72%) regard their place of residence as safe and peaceful. Therefore it seems that the opinion on the safety of our country only partly follows from personal experience of respondents. People's views in this respect seem to be affected by the media rather than experience - namely, by reports on different violations of order and personal safety of people, including the most serious crimes.



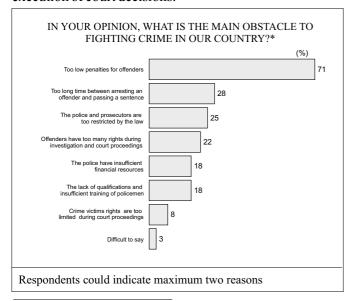
Inhabitants of rural areas feel the safest in their place of residence (84%). Those who live in small towns (up to 20,000 inhabitants) have a not much worse opinion of their area - three quarters of them regard their place of residence as safe and peaceful. This percentage is much lower in big and the biggest cities - 56% and 62%, respectively.

Almost two thirds of respondents are afraid that they might be victims of a crime; almost one in seven feels very much at risk and almost half feel only a little threatened. One in twelve respondents declares the complete absence of such fears. The perceived threat to personal safety has been stable in our society for the last two years.

Women more frequently than men fear for their own safety. The following groups also feel a stronger threat to their personal safety: inhabitants of cities, persons with higher and secondary education, young and middle-aged persons (in comparison with the oldest respondents). As a matter of course, the feeling of a threat to one's personal safety is related to this person's opinion on the safety in their place of residence. Those who evaluate it as safe and peaceful, declare that they personally are not threated by crime over twice as frequently as those who live in a dangerous area.



According to the majority of respondents, fighting crime in Poland is so ineffective mainly due to the fact that penalties are inconsistent with offences. i.e. not severe enough. This can be seen as a result of the strictness of our society, but on the other hand it must be noted that this opinion indicates a serious discrepancy between the social feeling of justice and the jurisdiction and especially the execution of court decisions.



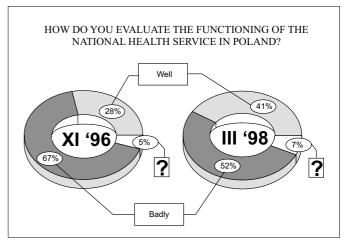
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports "Opinions on the methods of fighting crime and the powers of the police", "Feeling the threat of crime: The attitude towards juvenile delinquency", April'98.

AVAILABILITY OF MEDICAL SERVICES AND THE EVALUATION OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

Over half of respondents (56%) believe that they would have no problems with obtaining medical at a state health centre when ill; two fifths think that it

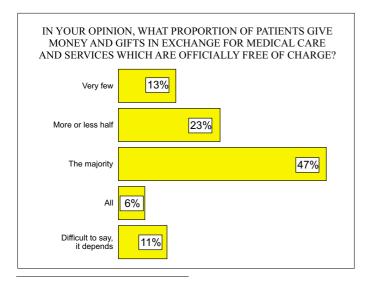
advice would be difficult for them to receive such help. The situation is even worse as far as dental care is concerned. Almost half of respondents believe that they would have problems with obtaining help in a state dental clinic. Inhabitants of the biggest cities have the worst opinion of the chances of receiving medical advice. The following groups are more frequently sceptical about this issue than others: respondents with secondary and higher education, lower-rank office workers, semi-manual workers, unskilled workers and the unemployed. On the other hand, the following groups notice problems with obtaining help in state health centres the least frequently: pensioners (who at the same time use health care services the most frequently), skilled workers and farmers.

At the same time for a large part of our society the national health service remains the basic - or the only available source of health care. Over half of respondents claim that they could not afford an appointment with a private doctor (52%) or dentist (53%). Moreover, even those who believe that, if necessary, they could afford the services of a private doctor could not generally afford prolonged treatment. Only 7% of respondents expect that they could afford long-term private treatment. The basic factor affecting these declarations is of course the financial situation of the respondent. The percentage of persons who believe that they could afford a visit to a private clinic if it was necessary was the highest among owners of private businesses and managers. On the other hand, representatives of the following groups declared such a possibility the least frequently: the unemployed, farmers, unskilled workers, semi-manual workers and pensioners.



The national health service is usually not valued highly, although now it is criticised less than two years ago. Half of the respondents believe that it functions badly, while two fifths express a positive opinion. According to respondents, the worst aspects of the national health service are the amount of attention given to patients by doctors (62% of negative indications), efficiency (57%) and providing good conditions of treatment (56%). Negative evaluations also prevail among opinions on such issues as equal chances of receiving medical help and the feeling of safety among patients. Only the qualifications of doctors working for the national health service are evaluated positively by a considerable majority of respondents (65%).

In the respondents' opinion the national health service is far worse than private health service. The biggest differences relate to the amount of attention given to patients, providing good conditions of teatment, treating patients kindly and with care and availability of services.

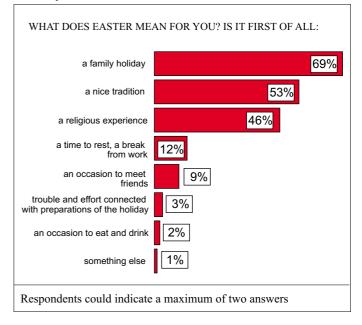


More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports: "Opinions on the functioning of the state and private health service", "Opinions on the access to medical services", April 1998.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE LENT AND EASTER IN POLAND

In the Polish tradition Eaaster is a very special holiday. For Catholics it is the most important religious event in the whole year. It is also associated with such national traditions as e.g. decorating Christ's grave which is visited by worshippers on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. In the time before Poland regained independence, this decoration was one of the few official forms of expressing the common experience and feelings of Poles. Some aspects of Easter are also connected with much older rituals related to the beginning of spring and

they include many elements of folk customs, such as painting eggs or pouring water on people on Easter Monday.



The most commonly observed Easter traditions and customs are fasting on Good Friday and Ash Wednesday, blessing food on Holy Saturday, sharing the blessed egg with close family during Easter Sunday breakfast and sending Easter cards to family and friends. According to the respondents' declarations, over 90% of Polish families observe these customs.

For contemporary Poles, Easter is first of all a family holiday and a part of our national tradition. Less than half of the society regard the religious aspect of this holiday as the most important. This aspect is of course stressed first of all by those who practise religion - most of them consider this aspect of Easter as the most important, but the meaning of this holiday as an important family event is only slightly less important for them.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Polish traditions associated with the Lent and Easter", April 1998

In addition to the bulletins referred to above, the following have been published recently:

"The attitude towards the government"

"Social moods in March"

"Opinions on the initiative to restore Polish citizenship to political emigrants"

"Changes of trust in politicians"

"Treating diseases with the use of traditional methods"

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