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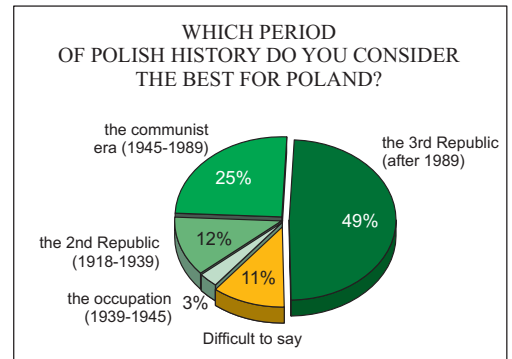
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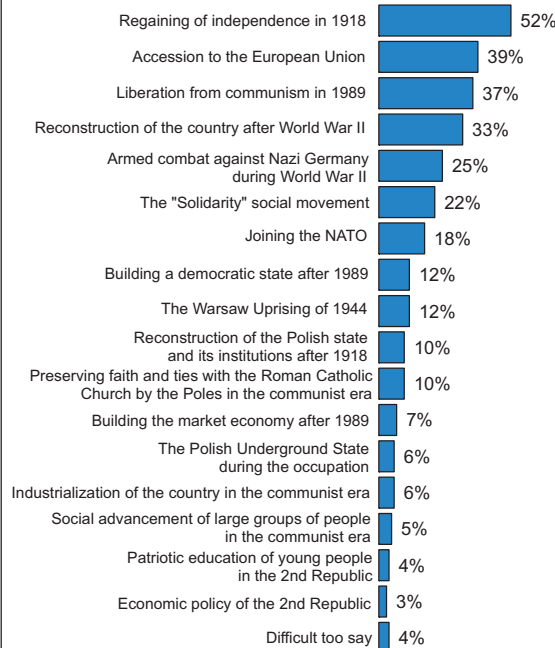
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## A LOOK AT THE PAST CENTURY OF POLISH HISTORY

On 11 November Poland celebrated the 90th anniversary of regaining independence after more than a hundred years of foreign rule. After 1918, the Poles enjoyed freedom for twenty years only. The following years were the years of German occupation and, subsequently, political dependence on the Soviet Union. Free and democratic Poland was reborn in 1989. In the opinion of almost half of adult Poles, the period after 1989 has been the best for Poland in the past century. One in four respondents said



## WHAT WOULD YOU CONSIDER THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS OF POLAND IN THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS?



that the communist period was the best, and one in eight pointed to the pre-war period. The fact that the period of war and occupation was also occasionally mentioned should probably be interpreted as an attempt at emphasizing the heroic attitudes demonstrated by the Poles then.

As far as the biggest achievements of Poland in the last one hundred years are concerned, a vast majority mentioned regaining of independence in 1918. The accession to the European Union in 2004 and liberation from communism in 1989 took the second place. Reconstruction of the country after World War II was also frequently mentioned. The following events were also mentioned by significant proportions of the respondents: armed combat in World War II, the establishment of "Solidarity", and joining the NATO. Low ratings of otherwise important processes occurring during the communist era, such as

industrialization of the country and social advancement of large groups of people, should be noted.

In the opinion of contemporary Poles, dependence on the USSR after World War II was definitely the most negative phenomenon in the last century of Polish history. The following two phenomena followed: wasting the achievements and the victory of "Solidarity", and poverty and social injustice in the 2nd Republic. One in five respondents mentioned excessive influence of the Roman Catholic Church and excessive costs of economic reforms as the biggest weaknesses of Poland in the last one hundred years. The same percentage mentioned actions against the Church in the communist era and the wrong economic policy in the same period. Almost the same proportion of the respondents believe that poorly functioning democracy is one of the biggest weaknesses of Poland.

WHAT WOULD YOU CONSIDER THE BIGGEST WEAKNESSES OF POLAND IN THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS?



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *A look at the past century of Polish history*, November 2008. Survey executed in October 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 1107.

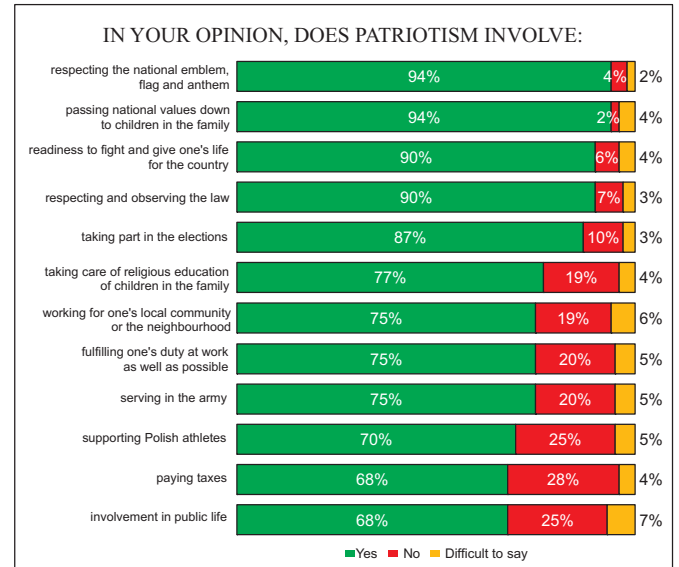
## UNDERSTANDING PATRIOTISM

In the course of history, a rather special tradition of understanding patriotism has been formed in Poland. To a large extent it was related to a certain (usually negative) point of reference, such as a war or a loss of independence or freedom. As a result, specific obligations became inherent to patriotism: an obligation to fight, to sacrifice one's private life for the community or for the ideas which are important for the existence of the state and the nation. Today the understanding of patriotism is mainly related to the question whether it can exist without such negative points of reference, i.e., during peace time.

The concept of patriotism is understood in different ways, although generally the traditional understanding, which refers to the national symbols and fighting to defend them, prevails.

According to those polled, the most important features of patriotism include: respecting such symbols as the national emblem, the flag and the national anthem, passing down national values to children in the family, and readiness to fight and give one's life for the country. In the opinion of a big majority, patriotism means observing the law and taking part in the elections. It

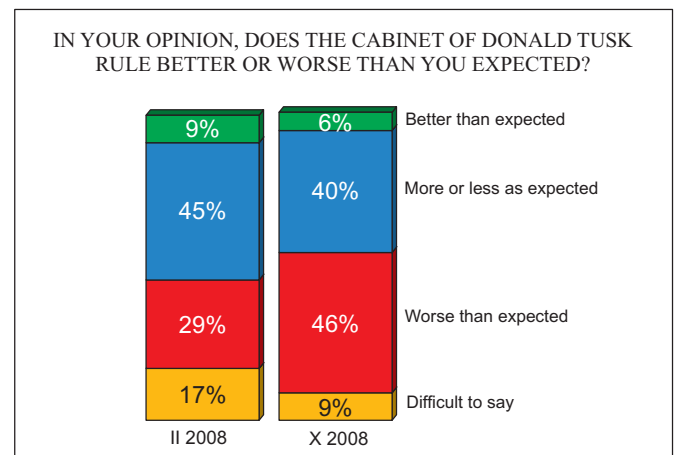
should be noted, however, that considerably fewer respondents expressed strong approval for these definitions.



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Understanding patriotism*, November 2008. Survey executed in October 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 1107.

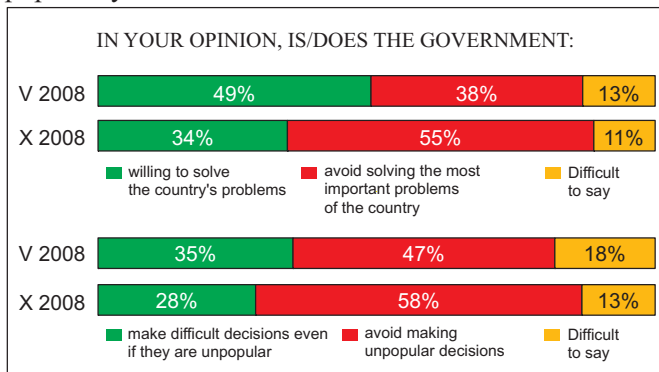
## EVALUATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF DONALD TUSK

Donald Tusk's cabinet finished its first year in power in November. It did not have many spectacular achievements in this period. Due to the political context in which the PO-PSL (Civic Platform Polish Peasant Party) coalition has to function (the President coming from one of the opposition parties, insufficient number of votes in the Parliament to overrule presidential veto), the cabinet seems to believe that many of the reforms announced in the election programme would be impossible to implement.



It seems that the Poles started to review critically the effects of the cabinet's work at the end of its first year in power. Nearly half of respondents are disappointed by the effects of the work of Donald Tusk's cabinet and consider them below expectations. Disappointment is much more common now than after the first three months of functioning.

In the last months, the opinions about the government's determination to implement the necessary reforms have deteriorated. Currently a majority of the respondents doubt whether the government really wants to solve the country's most important problems and is ready to make difficult and painful decisions even if its popularity would suffer as a result.



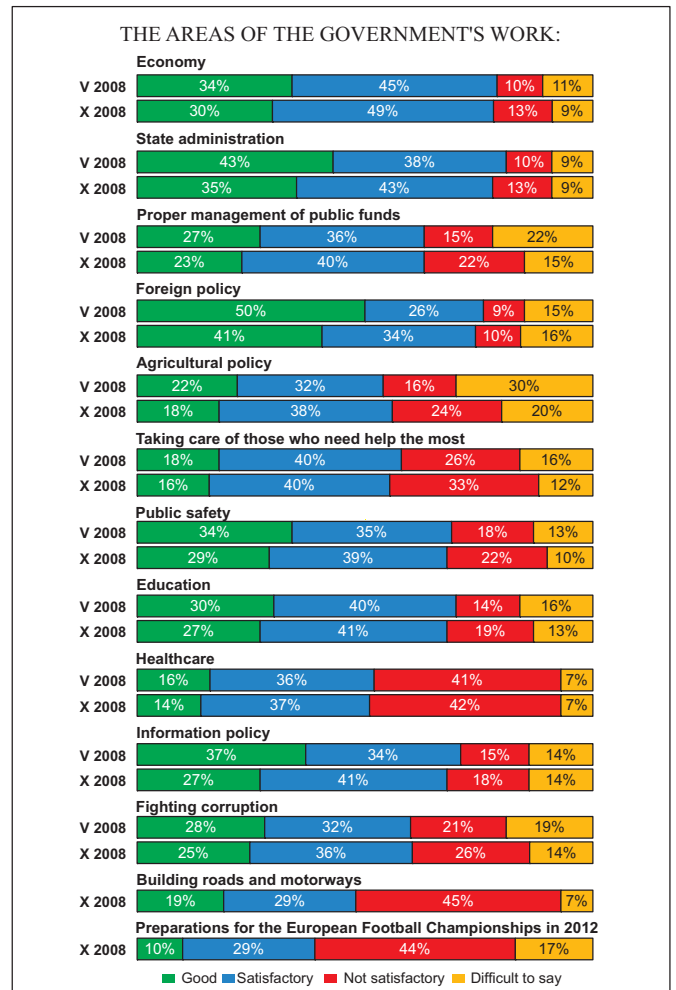
Among the various areas of the cabinet's activity, the Poles definitely like the foreign policy the most. They are also satisfied with the style of governing. The economic policy of the government, as well as the policy on crime and safety are also evaluated positively, although the opinions are slightly less enthusiastic. The most negative opinions concern the effects of the government's work related to the construction of roads and motorways, and the preparations for the 2012 European Football Championships. The activities in the healthcare sector are also criticized.

The evaluations of all aspects of the government's work have deteriorated in the last few months.

Despite growing disappointment with its work, the cabinet of Donald Tusk, as compared with its predecessors, enjoys exceptional and long-standing trust. Despite the downward tendency in the ratings of the Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister himself, the supporters of the cabinet still greatly outnumber its opponents (42% to 23%).

A plurality of Poles (48%) are still happy with the fact that Donald Tusk is the head of the government, while 36% are dissatisfied.

The fact that many people still remember the style and language of the previous ruling coalition (formed by the Law and Justice (PiS)) seems to be a sufficient guarantee of a relatively big support for the present cabinet.



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports (in Polish): *Achievements and neglects of Donald Tusk's government and The attitude to Donald Tusk's government in November*, November 2008. Surveys executed in October and November 2008. Representative random samples of adult Poles. N=1107 (October) and N=1050 (November).

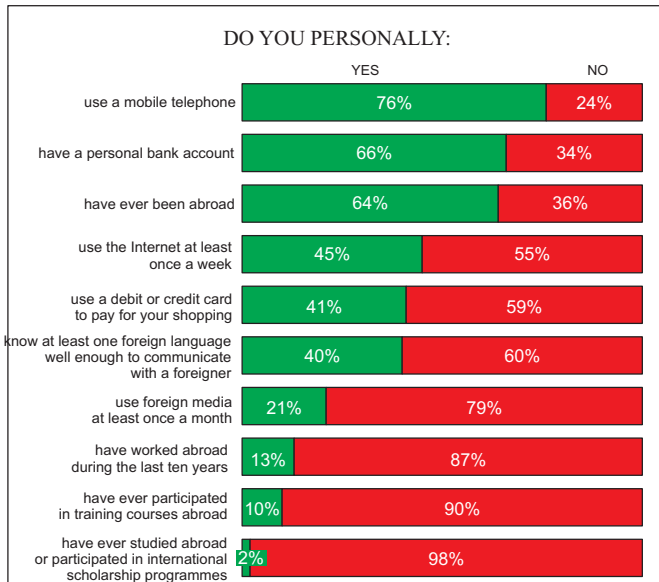
## ARE THE POLES A MODERN SOCIETY

Fast technological development, dramatic growth of the level of education, better availability of goods and services, open borders are factors which create many opportunities, but at the same time make modern life quite challenging, especially for those who are less equipped to take advantage of contemporary innovations.

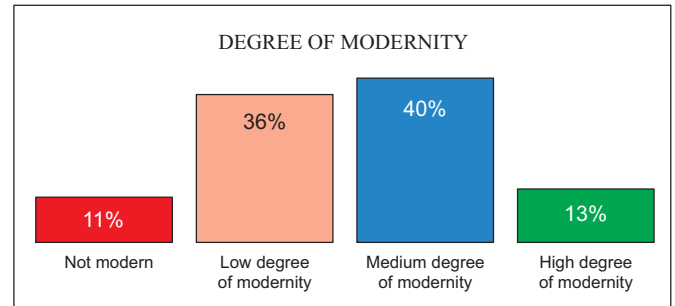
The respondents were presented a list of ten activities, which to a bigger or lesser extent seem to characterize a modern person. Of these ten, using a mobile phone is the most popular in Poland. The following are also quite common: having a bank account and foreign travel. Using the Internet is significantly less popular. Even fewer respondents declare using a debit or credit card to pay for their shopping.

Two-fifths of respondents declare that they know at least one foreign language well enough to communicate with a foreigner. At the same time, only one-fifth use foreign media, such as the press, radio, television or websites, to obtain information at least once a month. One in eight Poles has worked abroad during the last ten years.

The following activities are less popular: participating in training courses and studying abroad.



Based on an analysis of different degrees of modernity, understood as making use of modern technologies and innovations, we have divided the respondents into four groups, labelled as: not modern (those who did not give any affirmative answers); those characterized by a low degree of modernity (one to three affirmative answers); those characterized by a medium degree of modernity (four to six affirmative answers), and those characterized by a high degree of modernity (seven to ten affirmative answers).



The first group consists mainly of the eldest respondents (aged 65 or more) and those with the least education; as far as their occupational status is concerned, they are mainly pensioners. In the second group there are comparatively more rural people than in the other groups - particularly farmers, as well as persons with trade school education and those with relatively low per capita income. These respondents mostly belong to the 55+ age group. The third group contains a relatively large proportion of the youngest respondents (aged 18 to 24), in particular students, as well as persons aged 35 to 54, inhabitants of cities with a population between 101,000 and 500,000, persons with secondary education, and the following occupational groups: lower-level office workers, semi-manual workers and self-employed persons. The fourth group is mainly distinguished by education. It contains a relatively biggest proportion of persons with higher education, managers and the intelligentsia, as well as owners of private businesses. This group is also characterized by the highest per capita income. This group also contains relatively more respondents aged 25 to 34 and inhabitants of the largest cities (population over 500,000).

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Are the Poles modern?*, November 2008. Survey executed in November 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N= 1050.

**In addition to the reports referred to above, the following have been published recently (in Polish):**

- ◆ The Independence Day
- ◆ The pension system - evaluations and demands
- ◆ Political party preferences in November
- ◆ Opinions about the work of the Parliament, the President and the National Bank of Poland
- ◆ Perception of prices
- ◆ Social moods in November
- ◆ Leisure outside the place of residence
- ◆ The Poles about the proposed changes in the system of education
- ◆ Trust in politicians in November

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Yearly subscription rate for "Polish Public Opinion" is 80 USD

Circulation: 70 copies

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