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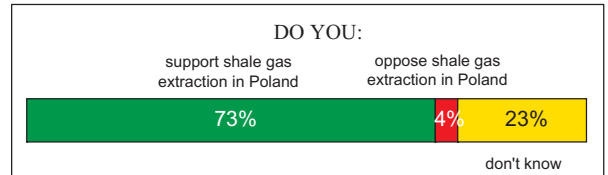
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OPINIONS ABOUT SHALE GAS EXTRACTION

It is estimated that Poland has some of the richest shale gas resources in Europe. The preparation for its extraction is accelerating, which spurs reaction from politicians, experts and the public opinion. The Ministry of Environment has granted over one hundred concessions for the exploration of unconventional gas.

Almost three-quarters of respondents (73%) support shale gas extraction in Poland. The opposing view is expressed by 4%, and almost a quarter (23%) have no definite view on that matter.



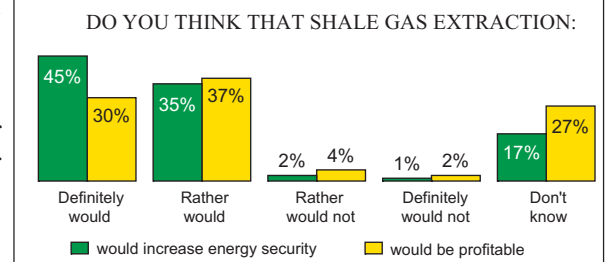
IF SHALE GAS WERE TO BE EXTRACTED NEAR YOUR PLACE OF RESIDENCE WOULD YOU SUPPORT OR OPPOSE IT?



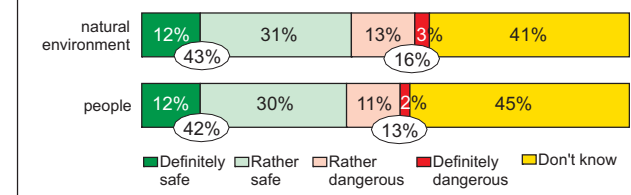
Respondents are less enthusiastic about gas extraction near their place of residence: less than three-fifths support it (56%), and one-fifth oppose it.

Respondents are almost unanimous in the opinion that shale

gas extraction would give Poland independence from import of raw resources, thus increasing energy security of the country (80%). Two-thirds (67%) believe that the cost of shale gas would not exceed the cost of importing resources from outside suppliers, so extraction would be profitable.



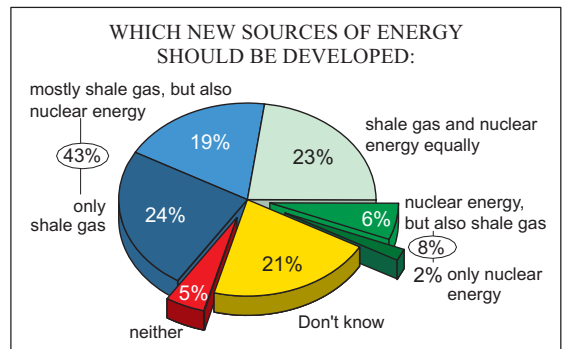
DO YOU THINK THAT SHALE GAS EXTRACTION IS SAFE FOR:



Opinions about the threats posed by the extraction of unconventional gas are more diversified. The belief that the technology used for extraction is safe is as common as lack of opinion. Both responses are given by about two-fifths of respondents.

The debate about shale gas has sidelined the discussion about the development of nuclear energy. Decisions have already been made: by 2020 the first such facility should be

activated. Respondents usually see these two sources of energy as complementary. Relatively few (24%) support developing only shale gas energy, and very few (2%) would restrict new sources to nuclear energy only. Nevertheless, the responses indicate that shale gas extraction is considered to be more attractive and has better future prospects than nuclear energy. Less than a quarter (23%) think that the level of development of both these



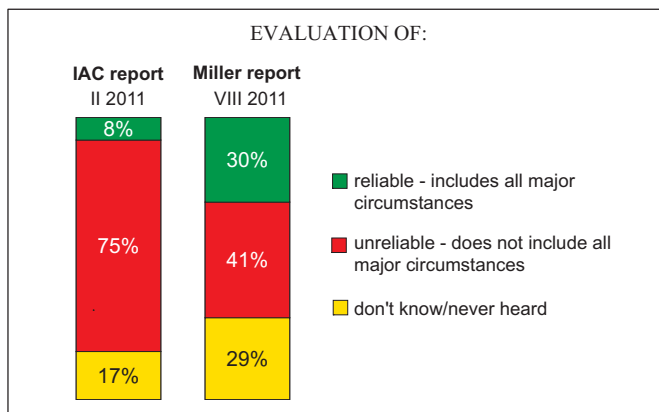
new sources of energy should be similar, over two-fifths (43%) think priority should be given to shale gas, while 8% believe that development of nuclear energy should be the priority.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Opinions about shale gas", September 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: August 2011, N=1051. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

VIEWS ON MILLER COMMITTEE REPORT AND CAUSES OF SMOLENSK AIR CRASH

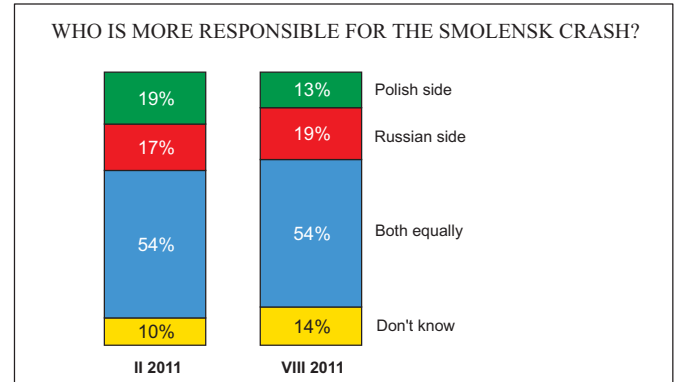
In July the Polish committee investigating the airplane crash in Smolensk, acting under the leadership of Minister for Internal Affairs Jerzy Miller, published its findings. They were largely consistent with the findings of the Interstate Aviation Committee (IAC) led by Russian investigators. However, some significant differences appeared. The Polish report included negligence on the Russian side, which was missing in the IAC report, and it did not find evidence of pressure on the Polish pilots to land in spite of unfavourable conditions. It stated that Polish pilots did not want to land, but made only a trial descent.

The opinions about the report of the Miller committee are divided. A plurality is critical about it: two-fifths (41%) think it is not reliable and does not include all important circumstances of the crash, while close to one-third think it is reliable. A similar percentage (29%) have no opinion or never heard about this report. Although Poles are not enthusiastic about the results of the work of the Polish committee, its evaluation was much better than the evaluation of conclusions contained in the IAC report.



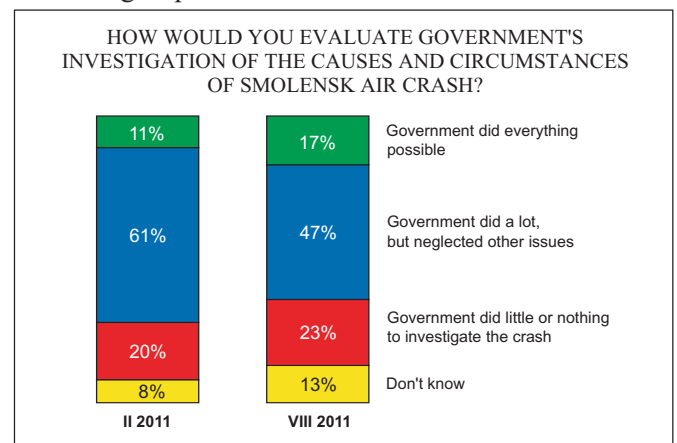
The majority of respondents (54%) think that both the Polish and the Russian side are responsible for the airplane crash in which the Polish president and people accompanying him died. The overall opinions have not changed since February, although minor shifts

can be observed. After the publication of the Miller report, slightly more people blamed the Russian side (19%) than the Polish (13%). After the publication of the IAC report, these proportions were similar, with slightly more blame on the Polish side.

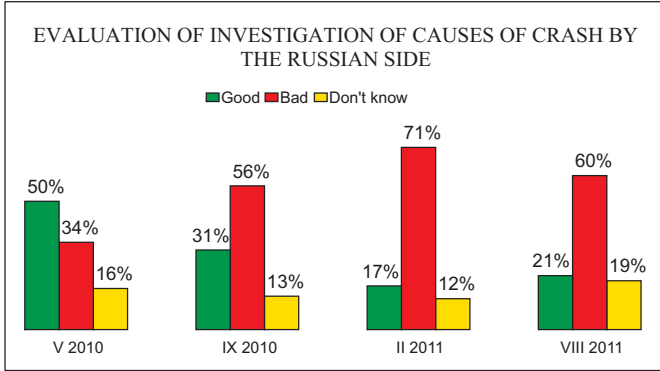


Poles are critical about the actions of the Polish government in investigating the causes and circumstances of the Smolensk crash. They are even more critical about the actions of the Russian side.

According to almost half of the Polish people (47%), the government did a lot to investigate the causes of the Smolensk crash, but it is also guilty of neglect. Almost a quarter (23%) are even more critical, claiming that the government neglected all opportunities to find the causes. Only 17% are confident that the government did everything it could. Compared with Feb. 2011, the number of ambivalent opinions fell, while the proportion of those convinced that it did everything possible, and of those utterly dissatisfied rose. The increase of the size of the latter group was smaller.



Poles are very critical about the investigation of the Smolensk crash by the Russian side. Most (60%) evaluate its efforts negatively, while only one-fifth have a positive opinion. Only the first phase of investigation immediately after the disaster was evaluated positively in Poland. The highest proportion of negative opinions was noted in the beginning of 2011, after publication of IAC report omitting the mistakes of Russian air traffic controllers and overlooking the state of the airfield.

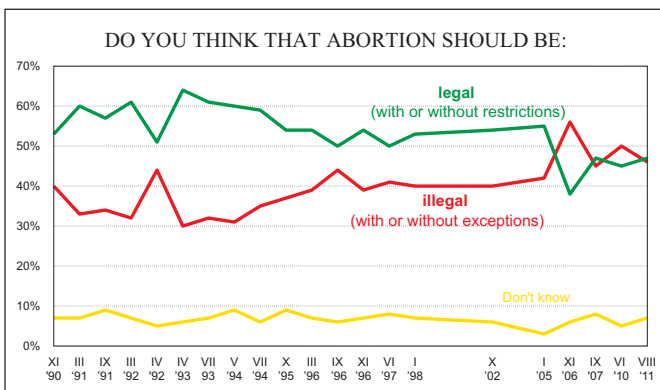


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Views on Miller committee report and causes of Smolensk air crash", September 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: August 2011, N=1051. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

LEGALISATION OF ABORTION IN PUBLIC OPINION

Abortion is a controversial issue. According to the law passed in 1993, it is legal in three cases: if the pregnancy is dangerous to mother's life or health, if the foetus is severely and irreparably damaged, or if the pregnancy is a result of an illegal act.

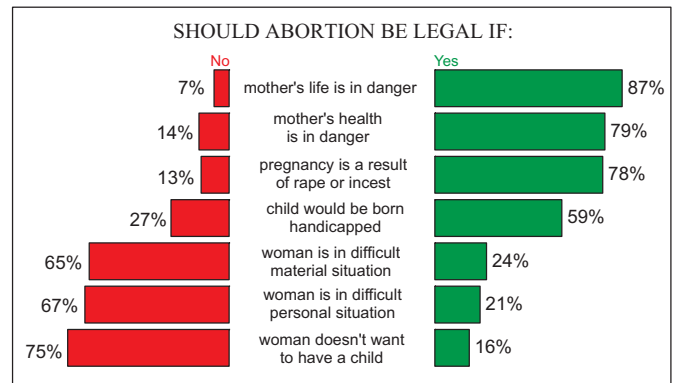
CBOS has monitored the opinions about the legality of abortion since the beginning of the 1990s. Surveys conducted in the years when the law was liberal indicated a high degree of acceptance of abortion. Paradoxically, the highest level of acceptance was noted immediately after the 1993 law, which strongly restricted the possibility to have a legal abortion, was introduced. At that time, almost two-thirds of respondents (64%) were convinced that abortion should be legal. In the last twenty years, the proportion of respondents who think abortion should be allowed fell, and the number of people who believe it should not be allowed rose.



At present, the opinions about the legality of abortion are divided, and the proportions of respondents with pro-choice and pro-life orientation are comparable. Almost half of Poles (47%) support the right to have an abortion: 11% think it should be unconditionally legal,

and 36% support it with some restrictions. A similar group (46%) have an opposing view, believing that abortion should be illegal, either with some exceptions (31%), or unconditionally (15%).

Most people support the right to abortion in situation in which current law allows it. Respondents almost unanimously think that abortion should be allowed if the pregnancy is a threat to mother's life. Almost four-fifths consider it proper to give the right to abortion if mother's health could otherwise be endangered (79%), or if pregnancy is a result of an illegal act. Almost three-fifths of Poles think it should also be allowed if the child would be born handicapped (59%). Far smaller groups would allow abortion in cases when it is illegal under the present law. Only a minority believe that difficult material situation (24%) or personal situation (21%) should provide the grounds for a legal abortion. Still fewer (16%) support abortion on demand, i.e. when the woman does not want to have a child.



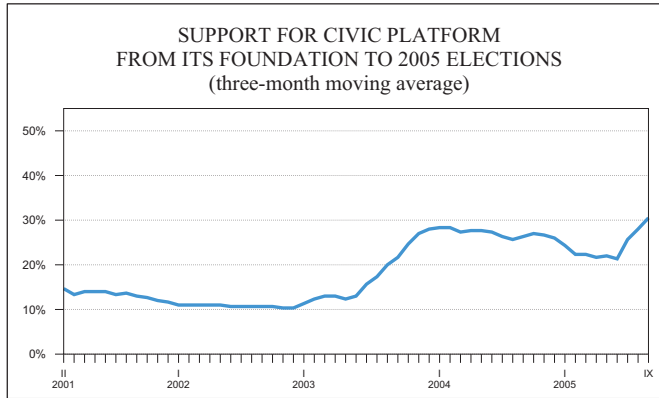
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Legalisation of abortion in public opinion", September 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: August 2011, N=1051. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

SUPPORT FOR CIVIC PLATFORM IN THE LAST DECADE

On 9th October, parliamentary elections were held in Poland. They were won by the Civic Platform, the party led by the Prime Minister Donald Tusk. It received 5 629 773 votes in the Sejm elections, which is 39,18% of the total. This result means that, for the first time in the history of the Republic formed after 1989, the ruling party has won elections and will remain in government.

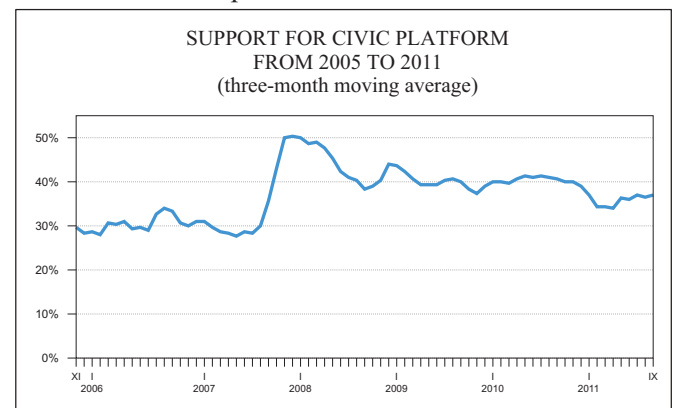
This year, ten years have passed since the founding convention of the Civic Platform. The appearance of the new political force, which later became a political party, attracted attention of a large number of potential voters from the beginning. From Feb. 2001, when this party first appeared in the survey measuring party preferences, its support exceeded 10%. The

elections in Sept. 2001 confirmed this result: Civic Platform had almost 13% of the vote. In 2003, with the support for the governing left gradually diminishing, the Civic Platform started to gain in popularity. In the next two years, it noted results above 20%. In the 2005 parliamentary elections it lost to the Law and Justice party, but it received respectable share of the vote (over 24%), and remained the main party of the opposition.



In the 2007 snap elections Civic Platform had a strong mandate from the voters, receiving 41% of the vote. After the victory, surveys noted a large increase in the number of its supporters. The government of Donald Tusk was formed during the period of strong economic growth. However, in 2008 the world crisis dominated the media, and the government announced the need to decrease budget spending, in spite of the still positive economic situation of the country. This move contributed to the decrease in support for the governing party. The next two years were characterised by stable support for

the Civic Platform. About two-fifths of potential voters were ready to vote for it. The Smolensk air crash, which was a shock for the society, had very limited on the party's ratings. In fact, it even enjoyed a boost in popularity, similarly to other parties. Its candidate, Bronisław Komorowski, won the early presidential elections. Unpopular decisions made in 2011, such as VAT increase and changes in the pension system (reduction of the share of contribution put into individual pension funds) contributed to the decline in the ratings of the party in government. In the subsequent months Civic Platform recovered some of its earlier losses and, until Sept. 2011, maintained a high level of popularity. The result of the October elections confirms its role as the most important force on the Polish political scene.



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: *"Support for Civic Platform: 10 years of activity"*, September 2011. Data drawn from surveys conducted by CBOS in the years 2001-2011.

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

- ◆ Trust in Politicians in August
- ◆ Potential Electorates on Important Socio-Political Issues
- ◆ Party Preferences in September
- ◆ Participation in Elections, Voting Confidence and Preferences of Undecided
- ◆ Voter Turnout – Declarations and Reality
- ◆ Attitude to Government in September
- ◆ Opinions About Public Institutions
- ◆ Public Opinion About Electoral Law and Campaign Mechanisms
- ◆ Social Moods in September
- ◆ Trust in Politicians in September
- ◆ Images of Party Leaders
- ◆ Law and Justice – Ten-Year History of the Electorate

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