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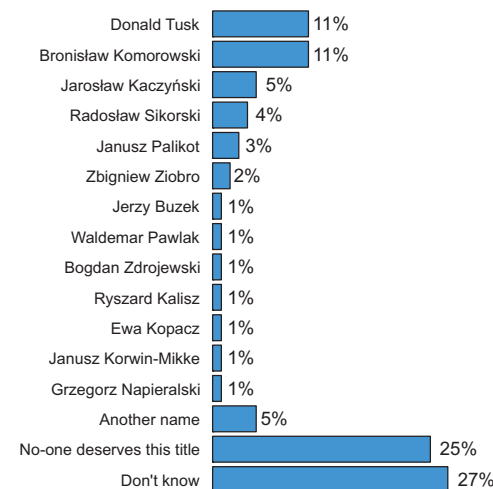
## POLITICIAN OF THE YEAR IN POLAND AND ABROAD

The title of the politician of the year has been awarded by our respondents to the Prime Minister, Donald Tusk, and president Bronisław Komorowski (11% each). These two politicians received markedly better ratings than any competitor. Next in line is Jarosław Kaczyński, the leader of PiS (Law and Justice), who was mentioned by 5% of respondents. He is followed by Radosław Sikorski, the Foreign Minister (4%), and by Janusz Palikot (3%), the leader and mastermind of the success of the party which unexpectedly was third in the Sejm elections.

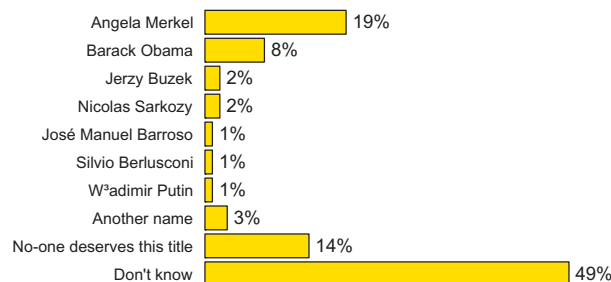
Over half of respondents (52%) did not mention any politician. Among them, some answered that they cannot mention any politician because no name comes to mind (27%), while others (25%) think that no politician deserves this title.

The choice of a politician from the international political scene was even more difficult. Almost half of respondents (49%) had a problem mentioning someone, and

WHICH POLISH POLITICIAN DESERVES THE TITLE OF THE POLITICIAN OF THE YEAR 2011?



WHICH OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICIANS DESERVES THE TITLE OF THE POLITICIAN OF THE YEAR 2011?



about one in seven (14%) believe that none of the known international politicians deserves this title.

The international politician of the year 2011 is, for the Poles, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, nominated by 19% of respondents. Second is the US president Barack Obama (8%), with much lower result. Next in line are Jerzy Buzek, the speaker of the European Parliament (who appeared also in the national context), and Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president. Both of them were mentioned by 2% of respondents.

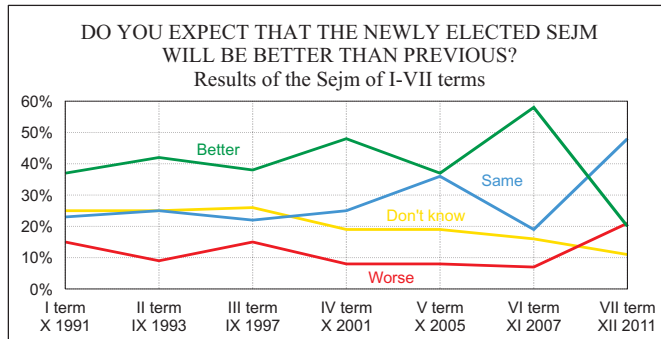
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Politician of the year in Poland and abroad", December 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: December 2011 (N=950). The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## POST-ELECTORAL EXPECTATIONS FROM NEW SEJM AND GOVERNMENT

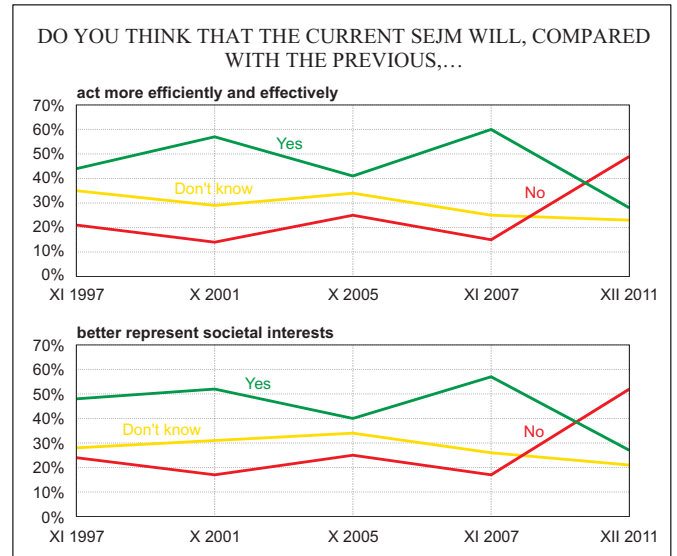
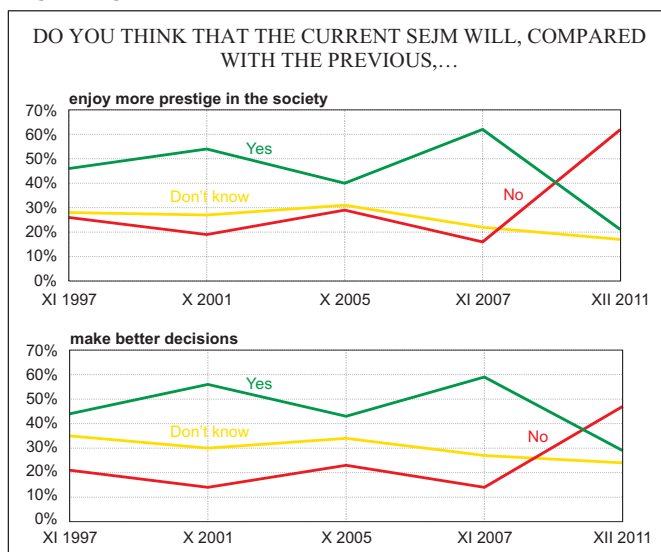
The Autumn parliamentary elections did not significantly change the balance of power on the Polish political scene. For the first time since democracy was restored, the governing

coalition retained power. Donald Tusk again became the Prime Minister of the government formed by PO (Civic Platform) and PSL (Polish Peasant Party). The opposition is, again, composed of MPs for PiS (Law and Justice) and SLD (Alliance of the Democratic Left). The novelty is the presence in parliament of Palikot Movement, a party appealing to the left-wing electorate.

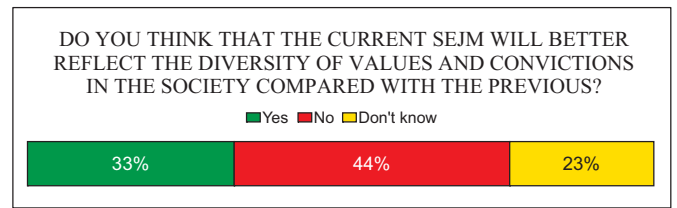
The expectations from the new Sejm are the lowest since 1989. Until now, at the beginning of the new parliamentary term, Poles usually hoped it would be better than the previous one. This time, pessimists (21%) are as numerous as optimists (20%). Almost half of respondents (48%) believe that the new Sejm will be as good as the previous. Probably, the least favourable reception of the Sejm since 1989 is due to the effect of continuation, i.e. of replicating the same majority as before.



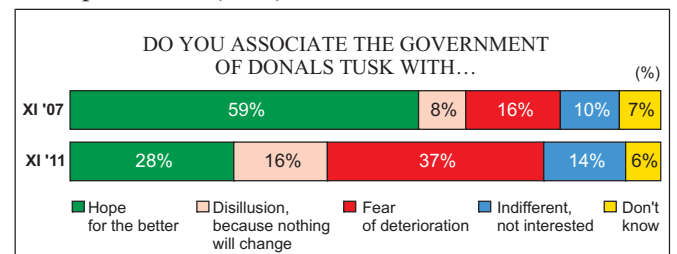
Relatively few respondents expect change as far as the prestige and effectiveness of the Sejm are concerned. Only slightly more than a quarter hope that the current legislature will make better decisions (29%), act more efficiently and effectively (28%), and better represent the societal interests (27%). About one-fifth (21%) expect the current Sejm to enjoy better reputation in the society. Improvement in this respect is expressed by half as many respondent as at the beginning of the previous legislative term, and much fewer than at the beginning of the III, IV and the V term.



The current parliament is best evaluated for its representativity. One-third of the Poles (33%) think that it will better reflect the diversity of values and convictions. However, a plurality (44%) disagree with that opinion.



Little has remained from the expectations accompanying the formation of the government of Donald Tusk over four years ago. The first PO-PSL government started in favourable economic conditions and improving living standards, which added credibility to the electoral promises of further improvement of the situation in the country. The current government begins its term in the shadow of the crisis in the Eurozone and uncertainty about the future of Poland and Europe. This time, the expose of the Prime Minister was short on promises, and long on restrictions and reductions. It is not surprising that the new government is associated more often with fears about deterioration (37%) than with hope for improvement (28%).



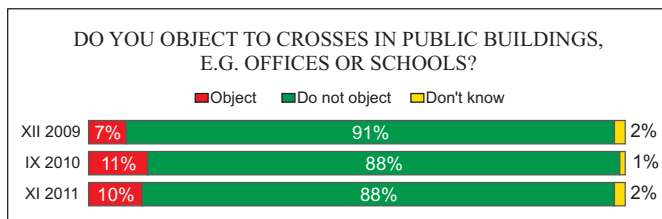
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS reports in Polish: "Expectations from the new Sejm" and "Attitude to the new government of Donald Tusk", December 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: December 2011 (N=950). The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## CROSSES IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

After a rather long period of low intensity of public ideological conflicts related to public manifestation of religious views, the issue of the presence of religious symbols has returned to the public debate. It was stimulated by the conflict about the cross in front of the presidential palace, which was placed after the crash of the presidential plane in Smolensk. The protest of the “defenders of the cross” was perceived by many people as anarchic appropriation of the public space, and it contributed to the increase in popularity of anti-clerical views. It seems clear that the demand to reduce the role of the Church and its influence on the state was critical for the success of the new party Palikot Movement in the recent parliamentary elections.

Legal controversies about the presence of religious symbols in the public space make the voice of the public opinion particularly important.

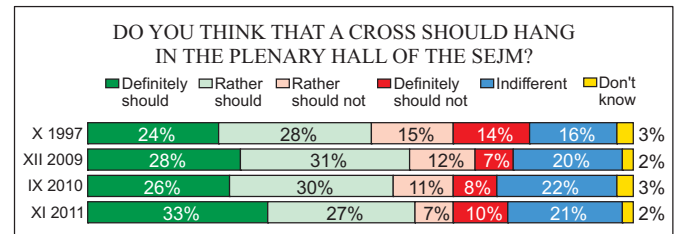
On the most basic level, the acceptance of the cross is expressed by the absence of the feeling that it is inappropriate in the public space. Thus understood, the acceptance is very broad. A vast majority of people in Poland (88%) do not object to a cross in a classroom or office, while every tenth objects to it.



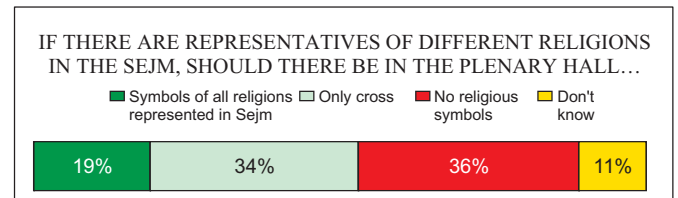
The cross in the hall of the Sejm was put by a group of MPs for the right-wing Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) in October 1997. The controversies concerned not so much by the constitutionality of the presence of the cross in the Sejm, as the method by which it was placed there. The MPs put it there without consultation with representatives of other factions, and without permission of the Sejm leadership. In a survey conducted shortly after this event, over half of respondents (52%) agreed that a cross should hang in the hall of the Sejm, while 29% disagreed. At present the support for the presence of the cross in the Sejm is even more widespread, although it is far from universal: 60% approve of it, and 17% disapprove. Every fifth person (21%) is indifferent.

Opinions about the presence of the cross in the plenary hall of the Sejm is strongly related to religiosity. The more frequent the declared religious practice, the more common the declared conviction about the need for a cross in the Sejm. It is almost universal among people practicing several times a week (89%). Among

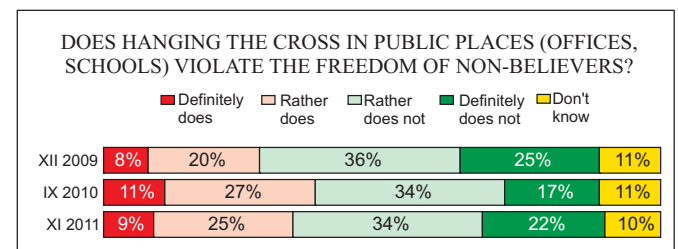
respondents who never go to church this view is shared by 22%, while half are opposed to the cross in the Sejm.



The presence of the cross in the Sejm seems to be natural for the majority of Poles. However, a large number of people modify their view considering that fact that MPs are people of different denominations. Overall, over half either believe that in the Sejm there should only be the cross (34%), or that there should be symbols of all religions whose representatives are represented (19%). Slightly more than one-third (36%) think, in this case, there should be no religious symbols in the plenary hall of the Sejm.



In public discussions there sometimes appeared the argument that the presence of the cross violates the freedom of non-believers. Most respondents (56%) disagree with this argument, while 34% agree that the presence of the cross may violate the rights of non-believers. This conviction is now less widespread than in September 2010, when public opinion was drawn to the conflict about the cross in front of the Presidential Palace.

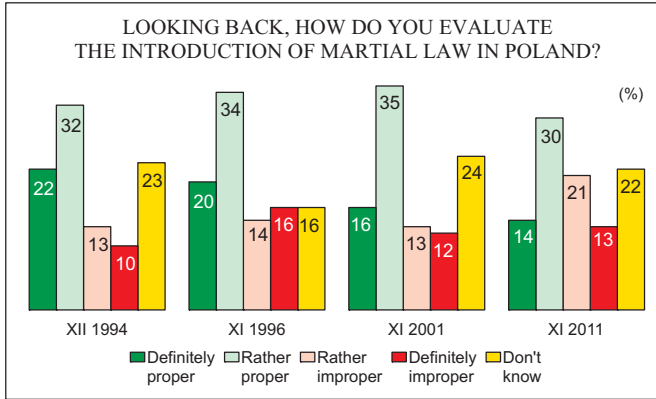


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: “Crosses in the public space” December 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: November 2011 (N=969). The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARTIAL LAW

On 13 Dec. 2011 there was the 30th anniversary of the introduction of the Martial Law in Poland. Societal evaluation of this event is ambiguous. Earlier CBOS surveys indicated that, in spite of the fact that restrictions

and difficulties of that period were alive in collective memory, the majority approved of the decision to introduce the Martial Law. Now the opinions are more diversified. Ten years ago, most Poles (51%) considered the decision to introduce the Martial Law as proper, while 25% disagreed. Now two-fifths (44%) consider it correct, and one-third (34%) think it was bad. Many people (22%) still refrain from expressing an opinion.

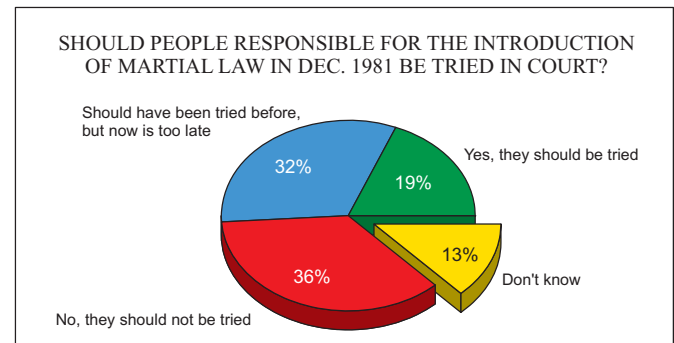


The attitude to the introduction of the Martial Law depends on age. Those born after 13 Dec. 1981, and people who were then too young to remember anything, have a predominantly negative opinion about Martial Law introduction. Older respondents usually think that it was a proper decision.

Poles also disagree about the reasons why Martial Law was introduced. Opinions depend on the evaluation of these events. Respondents convinced that the introduction was proper usually think in this way civil war and foreign intervention was avoided. People disagreeing with this move usually explain it by the desire to maintain power by the ruling Polish United Workers' Party, and by its intention to abolish "Solidarity".



The most important leaders who introduced the Martial Law have not been tried so far. The case against them has been brought to court by the investigative office of the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) and has not been decided. Over one-third of respondents (36%) believe that people responsible for the introduction of the Martial Law should not be tried at all.



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Thirtieth anniversary of the Martial Law", December 2011. Fieldwork for national sample: November 2011 (N=969). The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

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

- ◆ Holiday Trips in 2011
- ◆ Public Perception of Election Campaign and Political Activities on the Internet
- ◆ Party Preferences in December
- ◆ Post-Election Summary
- ◆ Opinions About Parliament and President
- ◆ Social Moods in December
- ◆ Trust in Politicians in December
- ◆ Christmas
- ◆ New-Old Government Coalition
- ◆ Government in Hard Times. Expectations for Donald Tusk's Cabinet
- ◆ Twenty Years of Radio Maryja

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