

## CONTENTS:

- SITUATION IN UKRAINE
- OPINIONS ABOUT POLISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS AND POLAND'S EASTERN POLICY
- EVALUATION OF SYSTEMIC CHANGE
- PEOPLE'S POLAND: EXPERIENCE, EVALUATION, ASSOCIATIONS

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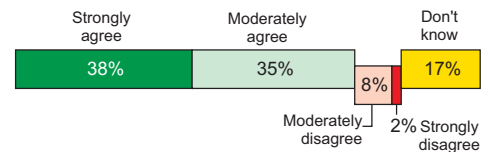
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## SITUATION IN UKRAINE

A vast majority of Poles are interested in the events taking place in Ukraine (79%). However, the proportion of respondents following them is lower than a month (85%) or two months (88%) ago.

For several weeks Ukraine has been plagued by national conflict in the eastern part of the country. These events are blamed on Russia. The majority of Poles (73%) think that these conflicts are indeed inspired by the

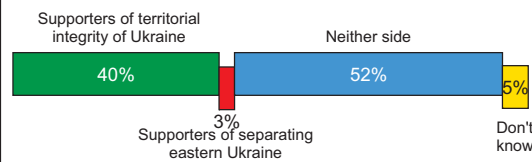
AT PRESENT THERE ARE NUMEROUS NATIONAL CONFLICTS IN UKRAINE. DO YOU AGREE THAT THEY ARE INSPIRED BY RUSSIA AND ORGANIZED BY ITS SPECIAL SERVICES?



Russian authorities and organized by its special services.

While the Polish people have a well-developed opinion about the forces behind the conflict in Ukraine, they are less clear about which side they support. Although respondents supporting

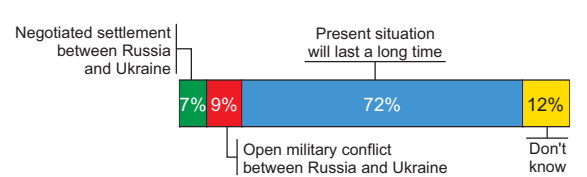
### WITH WHICH SIDE DO YOU SYMPATHIZE?



territorial integrity of Ukraine (40%) prevail numerically many times over those who believe its eastern part should separate (3%), the plurality (about half of respondents) do not sympathize with either side.

As for the predictions about the future, only a few respondents (7%)

### HOW WILL THE CRISIS IN UKRAINE END?



believe that the crisis can be resolved peacefully through negotiations between Ukraine and Russia. Similarly, a small group of people (9%) think that the crisis will end in an open armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine. A vast majority (72%) think the situation similar to today's will last for a long time.

The view that president Putin of Russia is trying to rebuild the empire similar to the USSR is widely shared.

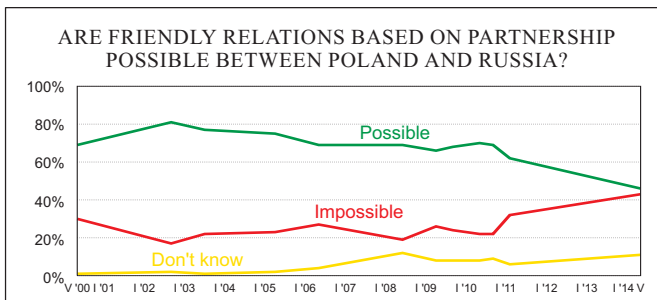
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Situation in Ukraine before its presidential elections", May 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: February and May 2014, N=1074. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## OPINIONS ABOUT POLISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS AND POLAND'S EASTERN POLICY

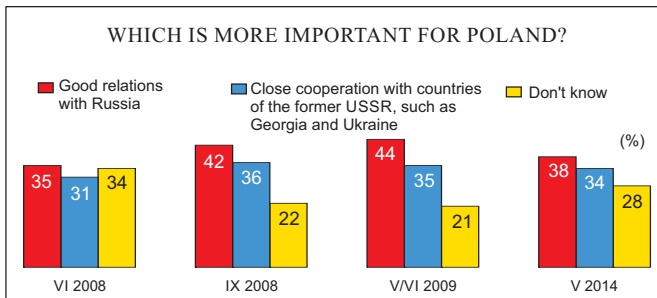
The events in Ukraine and Russian activity towards maintaining its influence in this region strongly deteriorated the perception of Polish-Russian relations. The current evaluations are among the worst ever recorded in CBOS surveys. Almost two-thirds of Poles (65%) believe the relations are bad, while only 3% consider them as good.



Moreover, Poles find it now more difficult than three years ago to imagine friendly, partnership-based relations between both states. Less than half of respondents (46%) think that they are possible. The percentage of respondents who disagree is only slightly smaller.



The views about the priorities of Poland's eastern policy are divided. Similarly to previous years, the group of people who consider relations with Russia a priority (38%) is slightly bigger than the number of respondents attaching paramount importance to relations with former USSR countries, such as Georgia or Ukraine (34%).



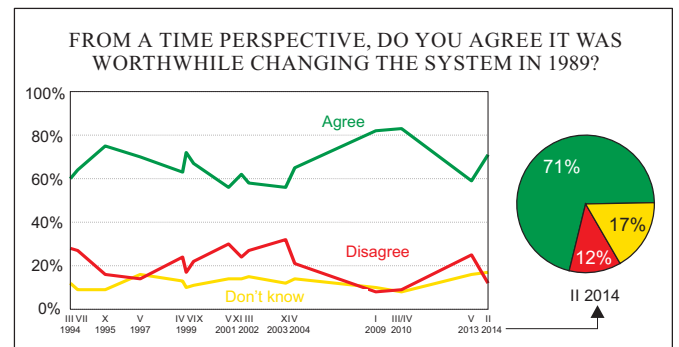
Opinions on this issue are differentiated by convictions about values which should shape foreign policy. Respondents who think that, in its foreign policy, Poland should defend principles even to the detriment of interests tend to consider cooperation with former USSR countries (49%) as more important than good relations with Russia (31%). On the other hand, those who believe that Poland should defend its own interests, even when principles are compromised, tend to be more pro-Russian (44% v. 29%).

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Opinions about Polish-Russian relations and Poland's eastern policy", May 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: February and May 2014, N=1074. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

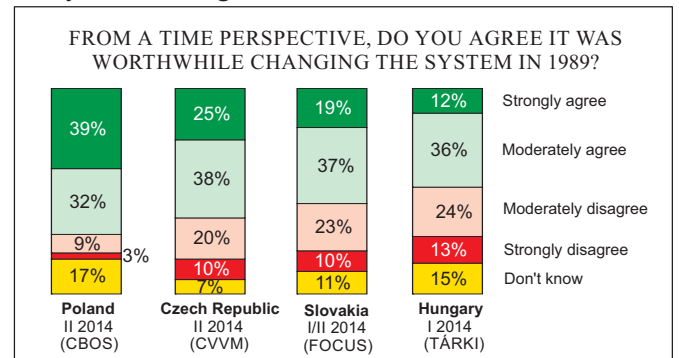
## EVALUATION OF SYSTEMIC CHANGE

A quarter of a century ago, on 4 June 1989, as result of the Round Table agreement, semi-free parliamentary elections took place. The government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki was formed after these elections. He was the first non-communist prime minister after WWII and his government started the systemic change in Poland.

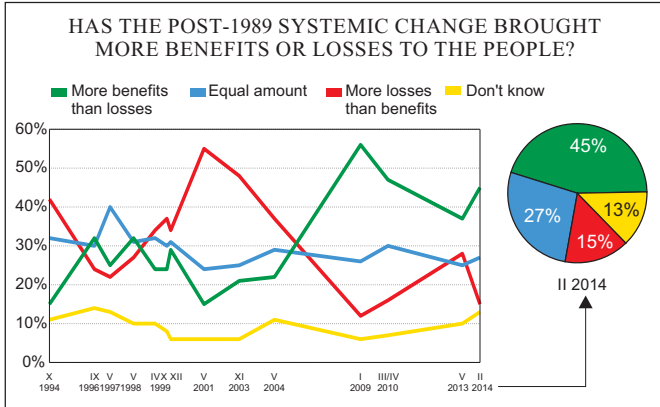
A large majority (71%) think that 25 years ago it was worthwhile changing the system, while 12% disagree. It is worth noting that the level of acceptance of systemic change in Poland never fell below 56%, and in 2009-2010 it was on the level of 82%-83%.



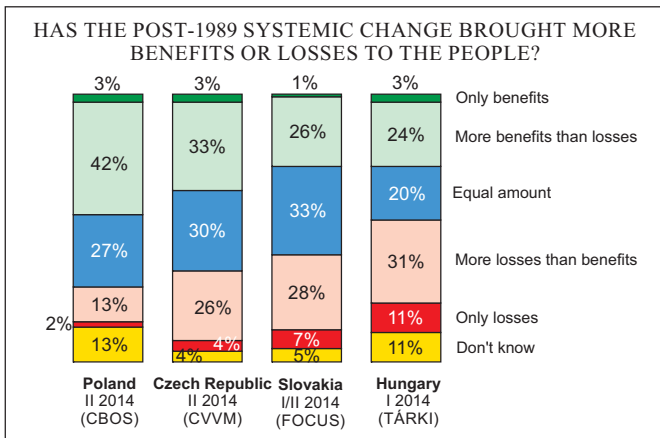
The conviction that system needed to be changed is more widespread in Poland than in the other countries of the Visegrad Four. Hungarians are least happy about the systemic change.



The evaluation of the social consequences of transformation is not unequivocal. The plurality (45%) believe that the post-1989 changes brought more benefits than losses to the people. Compared with the previous year, the percentage of positive opinions markedly increased (an 8-point rise). Moreover, current balance is one of the best ever noted in CBOS surveys. Better evaluations were only noted in 2009, while in 2010 they were similar to today's public opinion. The improvement of societal opinion about the transformation is indicated by the low number of respondents who think it brought more losses than benefits to the people (15%, a 13-point drop from 2013).

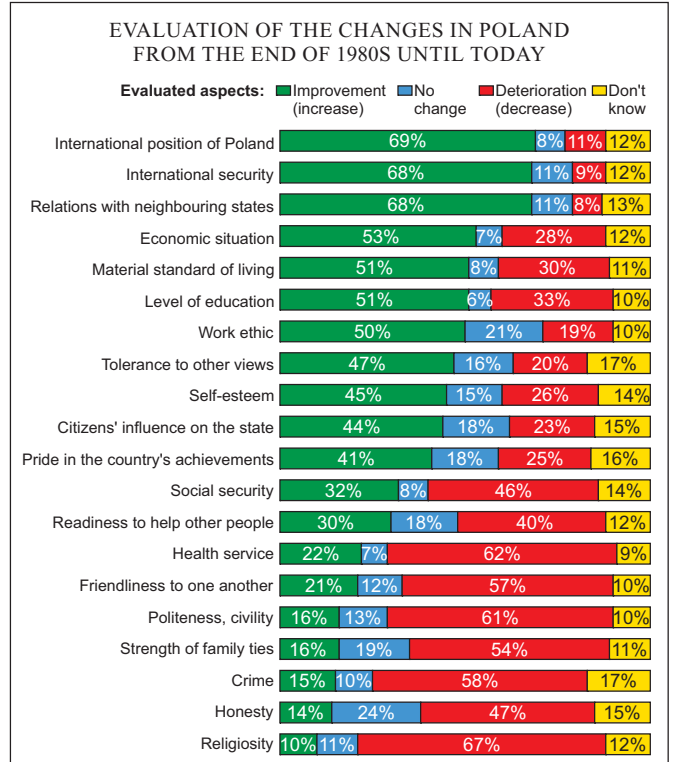


Poles evaluate the social consequences of transformation better than the residents of the other countries of the Visegrad Group.



Ambivalence in the evaluations of the changes in the last 25 years is indicated in detail by the opinions on different dimensions and spheres of life. Poles appreciate, above all, positive changes in the international situation: improvement in international position of the country, improved national security and good relations with neighbouring states. A large number of respondents note the socio-economic consequences of transformation: improvement of the economy and material standard of living, increased levels of education, better work ethic. A slightly smaller group agree that in the last quarter-century there was increase in tolerance to different opinions, self-esteem of Polish people and pride in the country.

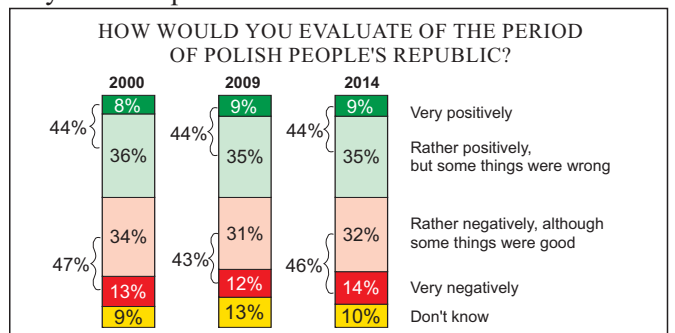
On the negative side, Poles note the increase in individualism and weakening of interpersonal ties. A large group see the decrease in religiosity. In prevailing opinion, people are now less friendly to one another, the family ties are weaker, and there is less readiness to help others. Respondents tend to think that people are less honest than at the end of the 1980s, and that crime rate has increased. The perceived negative consequences are also: deterioration of health service and decreased social security (associated with the appearance of unemployment, which was unknown under the former system).



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS reports in Polish: "Evaluation of 25 years of systemic transformation" and "Opinions in changes in different spheres of life", May 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: February 2014, N=1020. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## PEOPLE'S POLAND: EXPERIENCE, EVALUATION, ASSOCIATIONS

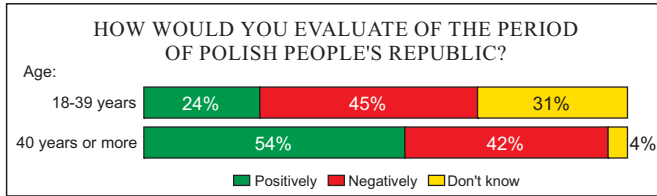
As time passes, the number of people who remember People's Poland diminishes, while the group for whom it is merely history grows. The survey shows that age significantly influences the perception of the former system. Some older people are nostalgic for People's Republic, while the youth are usually critical, if they have an opinion at all.



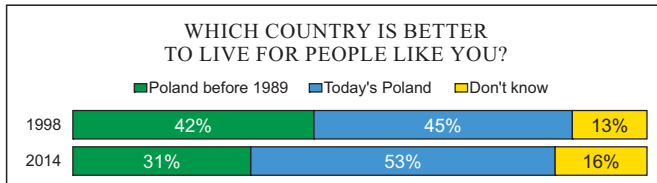
Poles remain divided into two almost equal parts in their opinions about People's Republic. Over two-fifths (44%) evaluate this period in history positively, while a slightly larger group (46%) express a critical opinion. For

the last fourteen years these proportion have remained practically unchanged.

The attitude to the People's Poland depends on respondents' age. People over 40, i.e. those who were at least 15 in 1989, evaluate this period much better than younger respondents.



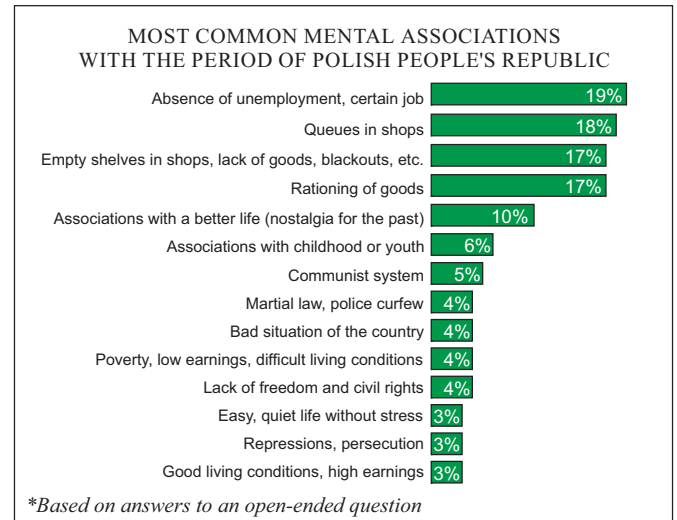
At present Poles see positive sides of the present Poland more than they did in 1990s. While ten years after the systemic change the opinions were divided, now the prevailing opinion holds that today's Poland is a better country to live than the pre-1989 (53% vs. 31%).



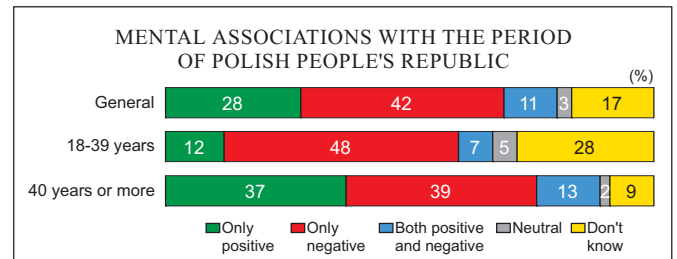
The changes in opinions are, to a large extent, the result of a growing number of people who have no clear memories of People's Republic or were born after 1989. Young people much less often than the older respondents consider the pre-1989 Poland to be a better place live.

The period of People's Poland is mentally associated, on the one hand, with deficit of consumer goods: queues, empty shelves in stores, rationing. On the other hand, respondents associate it with certainty of employment, absence of unemployment. Nostalgia for the People's Poland is indicated by associations with a better life, with childhood or youth, and also with a quiet life devoid of stress and poverty. However, this period

also evokes images of the communist system, martial law, lack of freedom and civil rights, repressions, difficult situation in the country, and poverty.



In general, the People's Poland brings more negative than positive associations. Young respondents tend to have negative associations, while older ones are divided.



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "People's Poland: experience, evaluation, associations", May 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: February and May 2014, N=1074. 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):**

- ◆ Opinions about Pope Francis' Pontificate
- ◆ The Social Range of Unemployment in Poland
- ◆ Events in Ukraine and Insecurity in Central and Eastern Europe
- ◆ Social Activity in Poland
- ◆ The Fall of Communism and Origins of Changes in Collective Memory
- ◆ Elections to European Parliament
- ◆ Public Opinion about Proposed Changes in Electoral Law
- ◆ Party Preferences in May
- ◆ Attitude to State Institutions and Political Parties after 25 Years
- ◆ Evaluations of Economic Situation and Living Conditions of Households after 1989
- ◆ Opinions About Public Institutions
- ◆ Elections to European Parliament
- ◆ Social Moods in May
- ◆ Attitude to Government in May
- ◆ Opinions about Elections in June 1989 and Cabinet of Tadeusz Mazowiecki after 25 Years
- ◆ Trust in Politicians in May
- ◆ Cabinets and Prime Ministers of the Third Republic of Poland
- ◆ Polish-American Relations and Global Influence of the United States Policy

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