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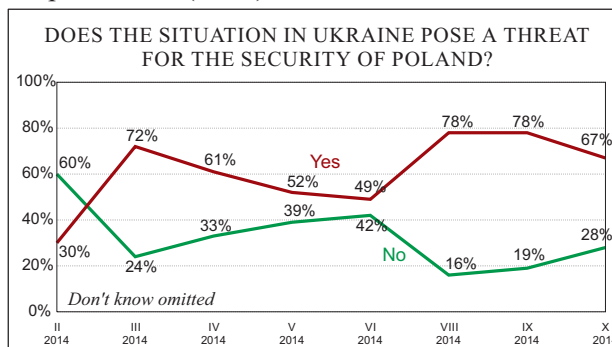
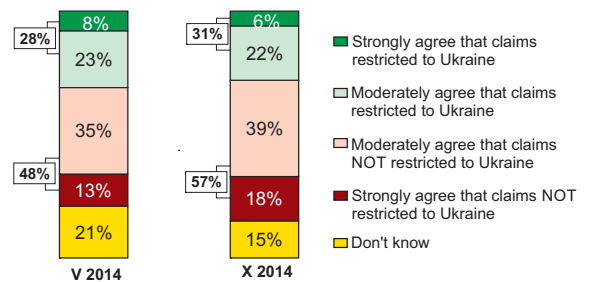
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## FEARS RELATED TO THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE

The majority of Poles (57%) are concerned that the territorial claims of Russia do not end in Ukraine and that Russian government will incite territorial conflicts in other countries populated by a Russian minority. This anxiety is more widespread now than several months ago.

The fear related to the developments in Ukraine was strongest in August and September. Still, at present, in spite of some improvement, the majority of respondents (67%) consider the

DO YOU AGREE THAT TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF PRESIDENT PUTIN ARE RESTRICTED TO RUSSIA, OR DO YOU THINK THAT RUSSIA WILL INCITE CONFLICTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES POPULATED BY THE RUSSIAN MINORITY?

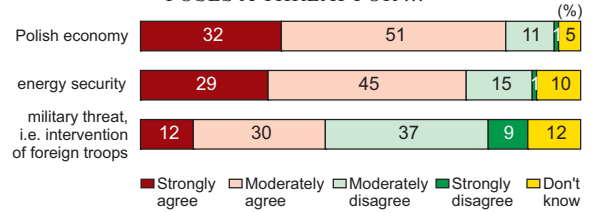


situation in Ukraine as dangerous for Poland.

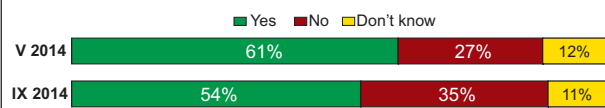
A vast majority of Poles (83%) are concerned about the impact of the developments in Ukraine on the Polish economy. Three-quarters of respondents (74%) believe that there is a threat for the energy security, while two-fifths are afraid that foreign troops may enter Polish territory.

The September summit of NATO was devoted to the crisis in Ukraine. The leaders of 28 member states, who gathered in Newport in Wales, condemned Russia for illegal military intervention in Ukraine. They reiterated that the mutual defence of the allies remains a priority and agreed to maintain permanent presence and activity of air, land and naval forces in the eastern part of NATO on rotating basis. They also decided on forming a "spearhead" force of several thousand land troops ready to deploy within a few days, with the support of air, sea and special forces. In order to strengthen the eastern borders of NATO, command and control centres will be installed and equipment will be located. NATO will strengthen intelligence cooperation, update defence plans and conduct exercises. The leaders of NATO member states also undertook the obligation to increase their countries' defence expenditure to 2% of GDP, and to allocate at least 20% of the defence budget to technical modernization. The

DO YOU AGREE THAT THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE POSES A THREAT FOR ...



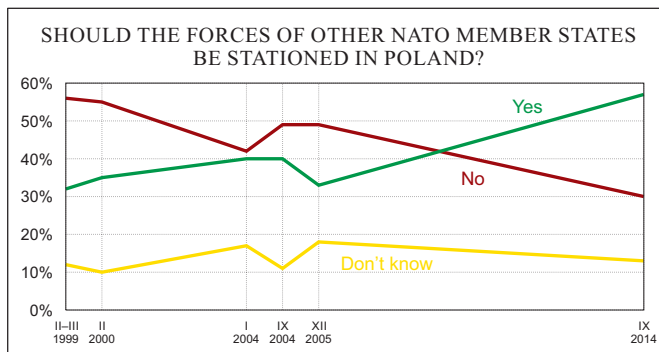
ARE YOU CONVINCED THAT NATO ALLIES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN DEFENCE OF POLAND IN CASE OF AN ARMED CONFLICT?



The

capabilities of the Multinational Corps North East in Szczecin will be increased and its role strengthened. However, the decisions made during the September NATO summit did not dispel doubts about the commitment of NATO allies to the defence of Poland in an armed conflict scenario. A little over half of respondents are convinced that Poland can be confident that allies would fight to defend Polish borders.

The leaders of NATO member states did not decide to establish permanent bases on the territory of the "new" member states. However, the majority of Poles (57%) are convinced that forces of other NATO member states should be based in Poland. The support for military presence of NATO forces is at present the highest ever recorded.



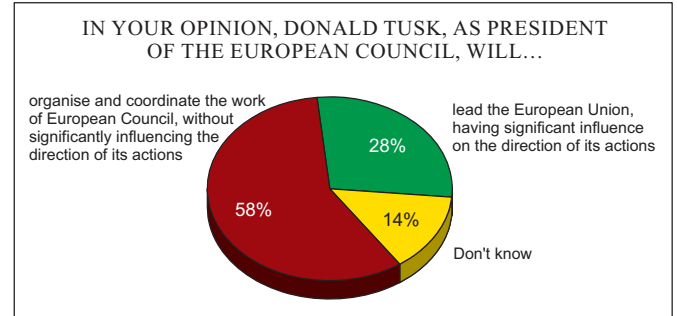
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS reports in Polish: "Interest in the situation in Ukraine and perception of external threat in October" and "NATO summit in Newport", October 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: September and October 2014, N=919 and N=946. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## DONALD TUSK, PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

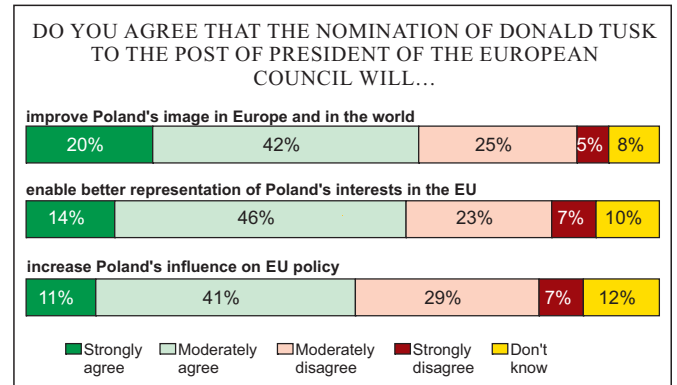
On December 1, Donald Tusk will become the second president of the European Council after Herman Van Rompuy. The election of the Polish Prime Minister was unexpected for the Polish public opinion. It was widely perceived as appreciation of the changing role of Poland in Europe and, first of all, as a personal success of Donald Tusk. Political opponents congratulated the new president on the nomination, while also accusing him of escaping from real challenges on the national level and questioning the influence associated with this position. Surveys show that the election of Donald Tusk increased the support for the Civic Platform and improved the image of the Polish political elites.

According to the European law, the president of the European Council presides over this body, assures preparation and continuity of its work, acts to achieve agreement, reports to the European Parliament on Council meetings and represents European Union in matters of common foreign policy and security. As the legal framework of this function is general, the actual

influence associated with this function depends on the authority, charisma and character of the person nominated for this function. In the opinion of the majority of respondents (58%), Donald Tusk will, first of all, organize and coordinate the work of the European Council. Only slightly more than a quarter (28%) think that he will be the actual leader of the European Union, able to exert significant influence on the direction of its actions.



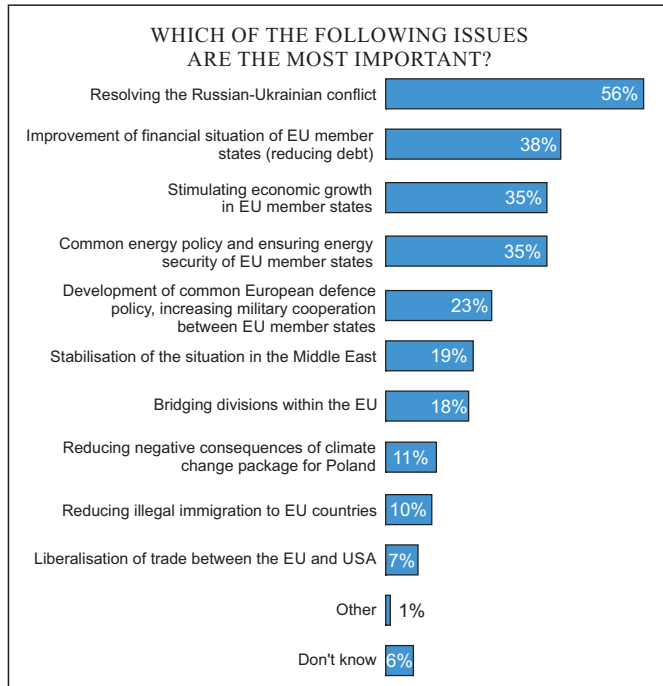
In public opinion, Donald Tusk's presidency will have positive consequences for Poland. In the opinion of the majority of respondents, it will improve its image in Europe and in the world (62%) and enable better representation of Poland's interests in the European Union (60%). A somewhat smaller group of people (52%) think that it will increase Poland's influence on the policy of the European Union.



Donald Tusk will start his term in office in a difficult moment for the European Union, when member states need to be able to reach compromises and act effectively. The challenges facing the EU are related to the crisis in Ukraine, which could pose a threat to the security of EU members, and to the consequences of financial crisis in the Eurozone.

It appears that the Polish public opinion is largely aware of these challenges. In view of the people, the most important issues are resolving the conflict in Ukraine and restoring peace in Europe. The other important task is combating the financial crisis and its consequences: improvement of the financial situation of EU member states and reducing their debt on the one hand, and, on the other hand, stimulating economic growth within the EU. The list of priorities is closed by the energy security of the

EU member states and common energy policy. Taking into account the responses, the following issues may be considered as important, but not top priority: development of common defence policy and improved military cooperation between EU members, stabilization of the situation in the Middle East and bridging the divisions within the EU.

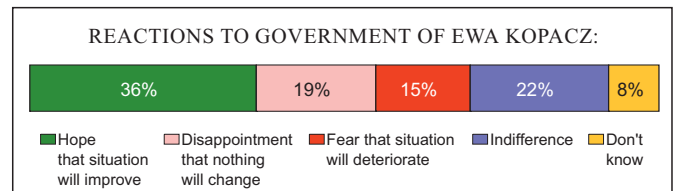


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: *"Donald Tusk as the president of the European Council: reactions and expectations"*, October 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: September 2014, N=946. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

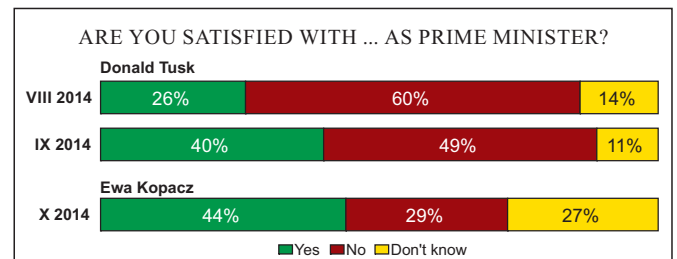
## ATTITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EWA KOPACZ

Donald Tusk was replaced as Prime Minister by Ewa Kopacz, formerly the Speaker of parliament and earlier minister for health. In addition to Tusk, Deputy Prime Minister Elżbieta Bieńkowska left the government to become the European Commissioner for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs. In spite of these changes, the present composition of the government is similar to the former, as the majority of ministers retained their posts. Departure of Donald Tusk from the national-level political scene, in the opinion of many political experts and large sections of public opinion, weakens the Civic Platform and the government it leads. On the other hand, it allows for a "new beginning" and reviving the weakened image of the party in government. The reactions to the government of Ewa Kopacz are moderately positive. The conviction that the situation in

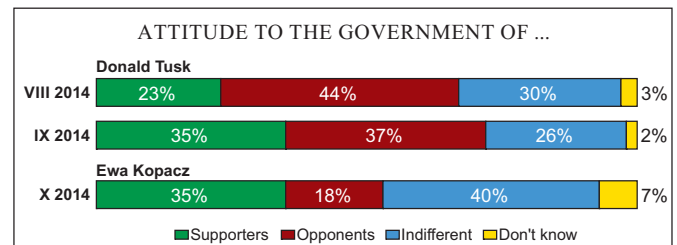
Poland will improve during her term in office is shared by 36% of respondents, while 15% are afraid it will deteriorate. Almost one fifth (19%) think that nothing will change. Prime Minister's gender appears to influence the perception of her government: women (41%) tend to attach hopes more frequently than men (30%). Middle aged people aged 45-64 and, in particular, seniors above 65 (49% of optimists) tend to have better expectations than respondents aged 18-45.



Over two-fifths of Poles (44%) are satisfied that Ewa Kopacz leads the government, while 29% are dissatisfied. Comparing the first ratings of the new Prime Minister with the last notes received by Donald Tusk, it is clear that negative ratings are lower now.



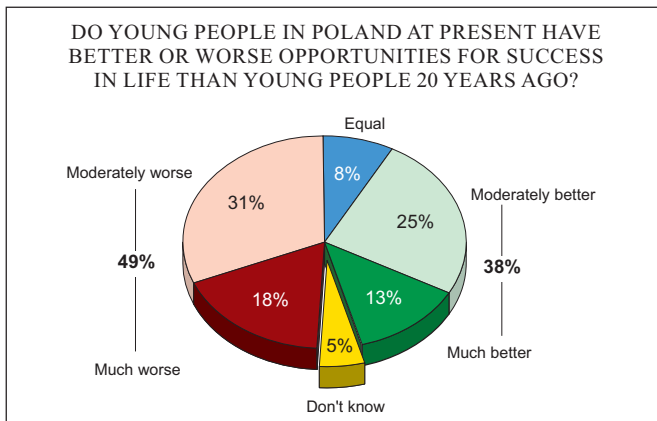
The supporters of the government constitute 35% of respondents, while opponents (18%) are half as numerous. A large proportion of respondents (40%) are indifferent towards the government. Although the new government has not gained widespread social support, it has half as many opponents as Donald Tusk's cabinet at the end of its term. This means that, in spite of the elements of continuity, current government begins its term without being strongly burdened with negative legacy of mistakes and errors committed by the previous one. It appears that the Poles are prepared to give the new government a chance, in spite of the rather limited hopes related to its formation.



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: *"First ratings of the government of Ewa Kopacz"*, October 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: October 2014, N=919. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

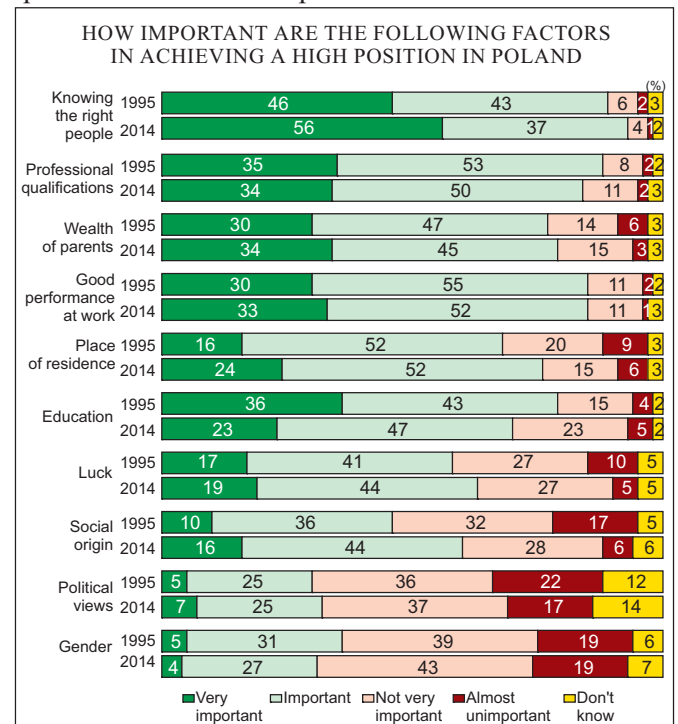
## FUTURE PROSPECTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN POLAND

With the systemic change in 1989, new paths of professional development and success opened for young people. Young adults in that periods had the opportunity to embark on spectacular career trajectories. The deciding factors were often entrepreneurship, hard work and the ability to learn, rather than formal education. At present, 25 years after systemic change, the situation of young adults is often discussed in the context of unemployment among graduates, atypical employment (e.g. civil law contracts) associated with lack of certainty about work, and economic migration. According to almost half of respondents (49%), in the mid-1990s young people had better opportunities for success than now. Almost two-fifths (38%) consider chances for success at present as better than 20 years ago, while one in twelve (8%) thinks that the chances are equal.



On top the list of factors that enable the achievement of high position in the society are connections, knowing the right people. In public opinion, the other important factors influencing the careers of young people are: good performance at work, professional qualifications, wealth of parents, place of

residence, education, luck, and social origin. Respondents attribute little importance to gender and political views. In the last 19 years, there have been important changes in the perception of factors determining success in life understood as occupying high social position. The most important change is the increased importance attributed to social origin as a determinant of opportunities. This is probably associated with changes in social structure and increasing stratification of the society. More importance than before is attached to place of residence, connections, and luck. On the other hand, gender, education and professional qualifications are less important.



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Future prospects of young people in Poland", October 2014. Fieldwork for national sample: August 2014, N=980. 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):

- ◆ Is the Involvement of International Community in Resolving Ukrainian Conflict Enough?
- ◆ Local Elections
- ◆ Opinions about Changes to "Junk Contracts"
- ◆ Party Preferences in October
- ◆ Opinions about Public Institutions
- ◆ Social Moods in October
- ◆ Trust in Politicians after Government Change
- ◆ Expectations Associated with Cabinet of Ewa Kopacz
- ◆ Parents' Spending on Education of Children in School Year 2014/2015

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