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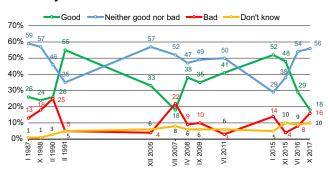
Perception of Polish-German relations

Over half of Poles (56%) perceive current Polish-German relations as average, i.e. neither good nor bad. The rest slightly more often define them as good than bad. Current assessments of Polish-German relations are among the worst since January 1987, when for the first time CBOS asked Poles about this issue. Polish-German relations were worse than currently perceived only in July 2007, at the end of the term of government of Jarosław Kaczyński.

Generally, public opinion about relations between Poland and Germany is characterized by high volatility. In CBOS surveys, they were best assessed in

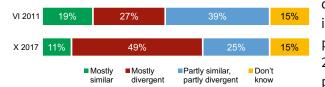
February 1991, shortly after the signing of the Polish-German border treaty. We also recorded positive assessments of mutual relations at the end of the PO-PSL (Civic Platform – Peasant Party) coalition governmentin 2015.

How do you assess current Polish-German relations?



In the last few years, i.e. from June 2011, the perception of the community of interests of Poland and Germany in Europe has clearly deteriorated. While earlier the interests of both countries were described by the largest group of respondents as partly similar and partly different, the opinion is currently prevalent that they are mostly divergent. The percentage of respondents who

Do you think that the interests of Poland and Germany in Europe are similar or divergent?



are of the opinion that both countries currently have divergent interests has increased by as much as 22 percentage points since 2011 (up to 49%), while the percentage of people

noticing the community of interests has decreased from 19% to 11%.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Perception of Polish-German Relations", November 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: October 2017, N=1033. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Opinions about war reparations

The question of war reparations from Germany has appeared in the Polish public debate after 1989 several times. In September 2004, the Sejm unanimously adopted a resolution in which it stated that Poland had not yet received war reparations from Germany and called on the Polish government to take action in

this matter. That resolution of the Sejm was a reaction to property claims of German citizens against Poland and an attempt to prevent their effective enforcement. The German state separated itself from the claims advanced by the German displaced citizens, and the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg in 2008 rejected the complaint submitted in this case by the Prussian Trust. Currently, due to the policies of the governing party, the issue of war reparations has returned, although it is not clear how seriously PiS (Law and Justice) is considering applying for compensation, and to what extent it treats this issue instrumentally. Doubts arise as to whether there are legal grounds to apply for reparations (according to a recent expert opinion of the Sejm Analysis Office - yes, according to the German side - no), although this is not only a legal problem, but also a political one. Meanwhile, the German government, recognizing the German responsibility for the crimes of the Nazi regime, explicitly rejects any claims, arguing that in 1953 Poland renounced reparations and repeatedly confirmed it later. The expertise prepared for the Bundestag shows that possible claims lost their power at the latest at the time the "2 + 4" treaty was signed in 1990.

More than half of adult Poles (54%) think that Poland should demand reparations from Germany for losses incurred during World War II. There are more than one-third of respondents against it (36%).

Do you agree that Poland should demand reparations from Germany for losses incurred during World War II?



Despite significant public support for demanding war reparations from Germany, the opinion prevails that by raising this issue Poland may lose rather than gain.

Do you think that by demanding from Germany reparations (compensation) for losses suffered during World War II, Poland may gain more or lose more?

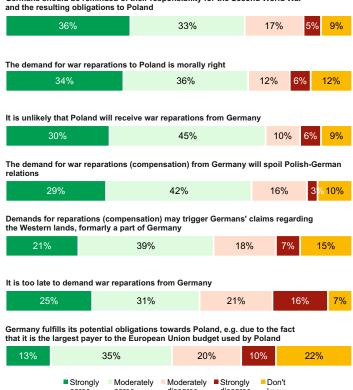


Generally, Poles consider the reasons behind the demands for reparations from Germany to be right, but at the same time to a greater or lesser extent share doubts and reservations regarding the sense of applying for compensation. Most respondents believe that paying reparations to our country is morally right (70%), and also think that Germany should be reminded of their responsibility for World War II and the resulting obligations (69%). At the same time, however, three-quarters of all respondents (75%) do not believe in the

success of any attempts to obtain reparations. Almost three-quarters of respondents (71%) are afraid that demanding compensation will spoil Polish-German relations. The majority (60%) also agree with the opinion that claims for payment of compensation for losses incurred during World War II may trigger claims of Germans regarding the Western parts of Poland, formerly a part of Germany. Over half of the respondents (56%) think that it is too late to apply for war reparations. Moreover, almost half (48%) are inclined to agree with the opinion that Germany is fulfilling its potential obligations towards Poland, for instance due to the fact that they are the largest payer to the European Union budget used by Poland.

Do you agree with the following statements?

Regardless of whether the Polish government decides to apply for reparations or not, Germans should be reminded of their responsibility for the Second World War and the resulting obligations to Poland



All the arguments are significantly related to the attitude to reparation claims towards Germany and to the general prediction of the effects of this initiative. Support for claiming damages for war losses is most strongly correlated with the belief in the moral validity of possible reparation claims and with the disapproval of the view that it is too late to demand war reparations. In turn, the opinion that by applying for reparations Poland may lose more than gain, is most strongly associated with the belief that it is too late to undertake such actions and with the fear that it will spoil the Polish-German relations.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Poles on Reparations", November 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: October 2017, N=1033. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Subjective vs. objective indicators of the state of the economy and material living conditions

The assessment of the economic situation in Poland recorded in recent months is the best since 1989. In the second half of this year, for the first time over half of respondents expressed satisfaction with the state of our economy, while the group giving negative ratings is the smallest since the beginning of transformation. It is worth noting that from the end of 2015, in the perception of the Polish economy, positive assessments outweigh the negative ones. In addition to the current period, starting from 1989, we recorded the prevalence of positive over negative ratings only for about a year, from around mid-2007 to mid-2008.

Evaluation of economic situation in Poland



"Don't know" omitted

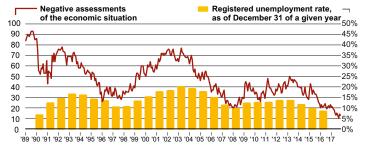
The best assessment of the condition of the Polish economy in the history of CBOS surveys correspond with the positive signals about it. The unemployment rate is the lowest in over twenty-five years, and according to the latest economic forecasts, real GDP growth this year will be the highest since 2011. In November, growth forecasts for Poland were raised to 4.2% in analyses of the National Bank of Poland and the European Commission. Economic growth inland is stimulated by the good situation in Europe. In turn, economic growth as well as the tightening of the tax system have had a positive impact on the budget. According to the predictions of various institutions, including the European Commission, the deficit of the public sector will be significantly lower than assumed six months ago.

Looking from a longer, nearly thirty-year perspective, one can notice a certain cyclicality in the perception of the economic situation, largely convergent with the classic economic cycles. When the economy is in the phase of expansion, these assessments usually improve, while in periods of slowdown, criticism increases (apart from short-term fluctuations in the perception of the condition of the Polish economy dependent on various current events).

Positive assessments of the economic situation and GDP growth

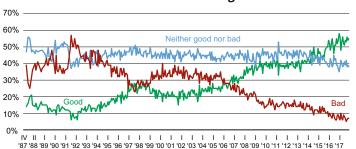


Negative assessments of the economic situation and the registered unemployment rate.



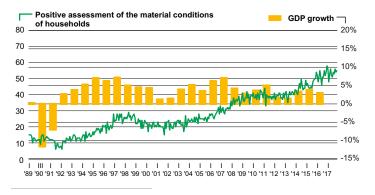
Material situation is of great importance for the perception of the economic situation of the country. Poles are more and more satisfied with the material conditions of their households, and we have observed a very significant improvement in ratings from around 2014. The assessment of the material conditions of households registered in recent months is among the best among those recorded so far.

Evaluation of household material living conditions



Significant improvement of subjective opinions corresponds in a significant way with objective indicators of material situation. Since 2013, there has been an improvement in the labour market and, consequently, there has been a decrease unemployment. As a result of pressure to raise wages, real incomes are growing. The income situation of households is also improving, and, as is clear from more detailed data, it concerns all socioeconomic groups. The introduction of a child-raising benefit (Family 500+ program) has had some significance for improving the income situation of households. Disposable income per person has been growing since 2013, and since 2014 there has been a growth in expenditure per person. In addition, the share of expenditures in incomes has been systematically declining for many years, which gives households greater opportunities to save.

Positive assessments of the material conditions of households and GDP growth



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Subjective vs Objective Indicators of Economy and Material Conditions", November 2017. Data from CBOS surveys on random samples representative for adult population of Poland in years 1989-2017 and data of Central Statistical Office.

Social ties

The opinion is sometimes expressed that intense social changes and the development of new technologies lead to the reduction of close interpersonal contacts and an increase in the sense of loneliness. It is not reflected in CBOS surveys. In total, two-fifths of adult Poles (41%) admit that there are situations when they experience loneliness, although only a few (4%) are always or very often lonely. More than half of respondents (58%) never feel lonely. Since 2005, the percentage of people declaring that they have never experienced loneliness has increased by as much as 24 percentage points.

Are there situations when you feel lonely although there are different people around you?



An adult Pole has, on average, nearly three people with whom he or she can talk about all problems. In the last twelve years, the average number of persons providing support during difficult times has significantly increased. The group of people who don't have anyone who could listen to them or give advice numbers 9% of respondents (down by 3 points).

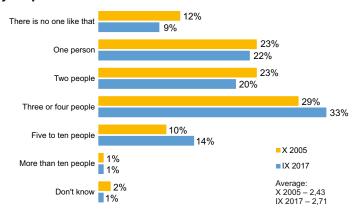
Individuals you can count on are, in the opinion of respondents, first of all the members of the close family,

i.e. spouses (52% of respondents who declare that they have psychological support in difficult situations), parents (27%), siblings (27%) and children (27%). Relations with friends are also very important (31%). In recent years there are more and more informal relationships in Poland, which translates into the fact that nowadays, spouses are indicated less often than in 1999 as support, while partners are mentioned more frequently (12%). In this respect, the role of friends also increases, while the role of colleagues from work / school, neighbours, as well as parents and parents-in-law, slightly decreases.

Everyone has personal problems sometimes.

Everyone needs to confide in someone or ask for advice.

How many people are there who you can talk to about all your problems?



In addition to the fact that Poles almost without exception have someone to talk to about their problems, in most cases they also have someone to ask for help, advice or a loan in a difficult life situation. What's more, the percentage of people who can count on support in this type of difficult situation has been systematically growing since 1999 (a total increase by 10 percentage points).

Everyone is sometimes in a situation when suddenly everything collapses, e.g. there is no money, things go bad at work or at home, no plans come out, nothing goes well. Is there someone you can count on in a difficult situation, who will not refuse help, advice, loan, etc.?



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Social Ties", November 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: September 2017, N=985. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

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