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IN ADDITION

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War in Ukraine

At various stages of the war in Ukraine, the prevailing belief among Poles was always that Ukrainians (with the support of the West) should continue to fight and not make any concessions to Russia. However, since the beginning of the second year of the war, this percentage has been steadily decreasing, and in the last three months it has dropped significantly. Currently, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, the prevailing view in Polish society is that the main goal should be to end the conflict and make peace, even if Ukraine has to give up part of its territory or independence (55% compared to 39% in September).

Only less than one in three Poles believes that the fight should continue and that no concessions should be made to Russia (31% compared to 46% in September). This sudden change is probably related both to the increasingly bad reports from the Ukrainian front and the victory of Donald

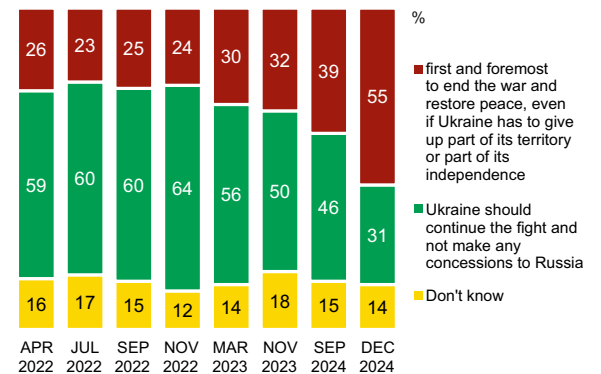
Trump in the US presidential election, him announcing that he would limit support for the fighting Ukraine and strive to end the conflict.

We also asked once again about the predicted end of the war. The expectations at different stages of the conflict were subject to clear fluctuations related to current media reports. In most measurements, opinions were quite divided, and neither the favourable nor the unfavourable predictions for Ukraine clearly prevailed. Against this background, the latest results undoubtedly stand out. Currently, the vast majority of respondents expect that the conflict will end unfavourably for Ukraine (64% in total, compared to 48% in September),

How do you think the war will end?



In your opinion, should the primary goal be...



predicting that it will be forced to give up part of its territory (61%), or that Russia will subjugate it in its entirety (3%). It is worth noting that despite a significant increase in the last three months, this result is consistent with a more general upward trend observed since the end of 2023.

The share of positive forecasts for Ukraine is the lowest since the full-scale Russian invasion (15% in total, compared to 25%

in September), in which 12% of respondents expect that Russia will withdraw from Ukrainian territories attacked from 2022, and 3% also believe that it will withdraw from the territories occupied since 2014. The percentage of “don't know” answers has never been so low and stands at 20%, compared to 27% in September 2024.

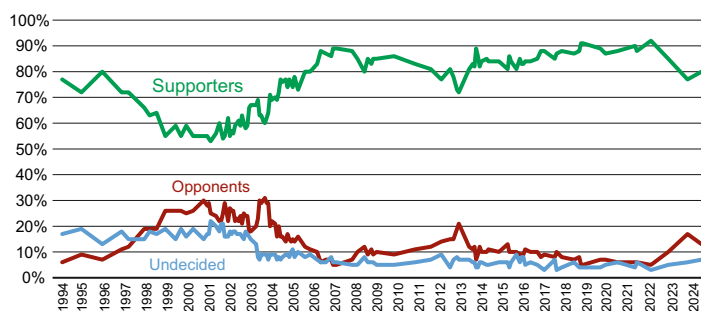
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: “Poles about the War in Ukraine”, December 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: November/December 2024, N=915. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Poland's EU Presidency

On 1 January 2025, for the second time in history, Poland will take over the Presidency of the Council of the European Union for six months. On this occasion, we asked respondents about their attitudes towards the European Union, the challenges it faces, their expectations regarding Poland's assumption of the Presidency of the Council of the EU, how they understand the Presidency and what goals Poland should set for itself in connection with its exercise.

Support for Poland's membership in the European Union is currently declared by 80% of respondents. Approval for Poland's presence in the EU has increased slightly since March this year by 3 percentage points, but has not returned to the very high level of recent years, when it reached as much as 92%. Currently, 13% of respondents are against membership, 4 points less than previously, but more than in the years 2016-2023.

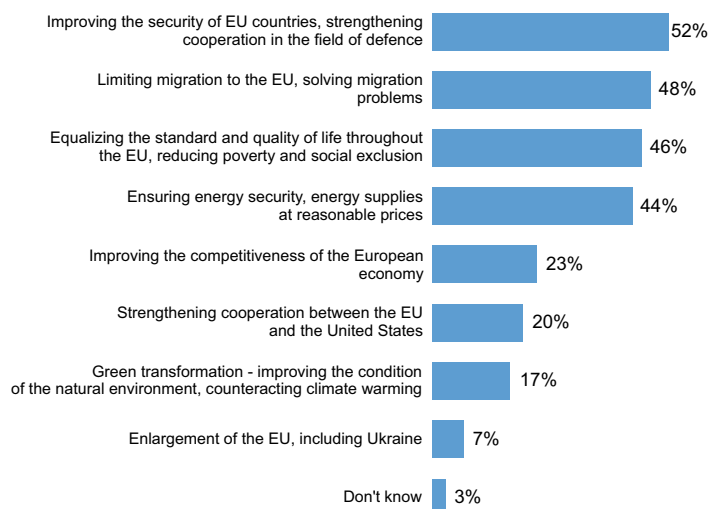
Attitude towards Poland's membership in the EU



Respondents were asked to indicate two or three of the most important challenges currently facing the European Union. The most important one was the improvement of the security of EU countries and strengthening their cooperation in the field of defence. More than half indicated this (52%). Slightly fewer people considered limiting migration to the EU (48%) and equalising the standard and quality of life throughout the Union (46%) as the most important issues at present, as well as ensuring energy security, i.e. energy supplies at reasonable prices (44%). The remaining challenges were indicated much less frequently, as relatively less important or not at all

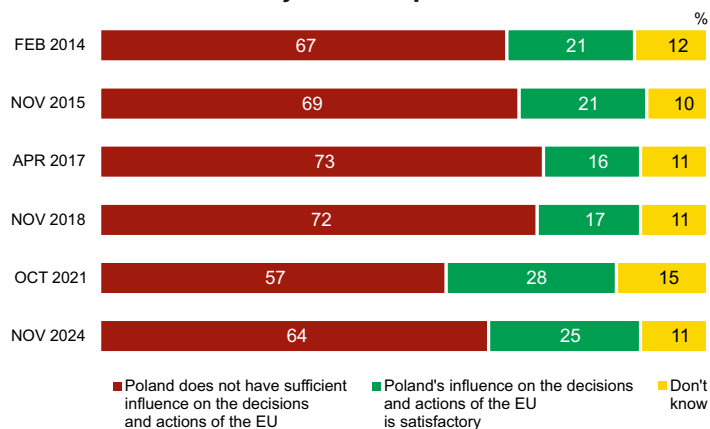
important. The fewest people (7%) considered the enlargement of the European Union as the most important issue at present. Relatively few respondents (17%) mentioned in this context one of the EU priorities – combating climate change and the so-called green transformation. In view of the above-mentioned priorities, issues such as improving the competitiveness of the European economy (23%) and strengthening cooperation with the United States (20%) have also been relegated to the background.

What are the most important challenges facing the European Union today?



In the public opinion, our country still does not have enough influence on the decisions and actions of the EU. This is currently the opinion of 64% of respondents. Satisfaction with the scope of the possibilities of shaping EU policy is expressed by a quarter (25%). The assessment of Poland's possibilities of influencing EU decisions has worsened compared to October 2021, but is better than in the years 2014-2018.

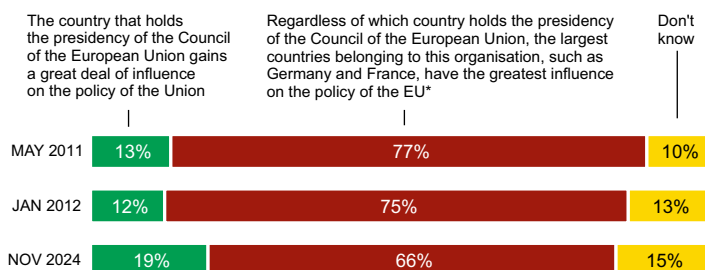
Which view is closer to your own opinion?



Poles do not expect that the presidency of the EU Council will give our country a significant influence on EU policy. The majority of respondents (66%) believe that regardless of which country holds the presidency, the largest countries belonging to this organisation, such as Germany

and France, have the most influence on EU policy. However, this belief is no longer as widespread as in 2011-2012, in the period immediately before and after Poland took over the presidency of the EU Council for the first time. Since 2011, the percentage of people convinced that holding the presidency increases the possibility of influencing EU policy has increased significantly. Almost one-fifth (19%) currently hold this opinion.

Which view is closer to your own opinion?



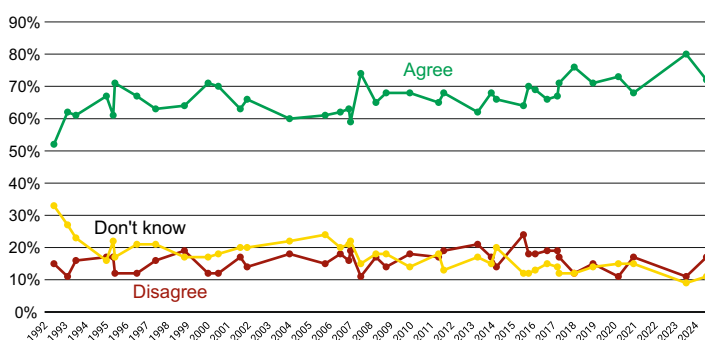
* In 2011 and 2012, in addition to Germany and France, the United Kingdom was also mentioned in this context

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Before the Polish Presidency of the EU Council", December 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: November 2024, N=981. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Attitude to democracy

Since the early 1990s, when we started researching attitudes towards democracy, the prevailing belief holds it to be the best form of government. Currently, more than seven in ten respondents agree with the statement that democracy has an advantage over all other forms of government (72% compared to 17% who disapprove of it), which is 8 points less than a year ago. This decline should not be associated with some kind of doubt in democracy. It is a correction of the record result registered after last year's parliamentary elections, which mobilized Poles to vote to an unprecedented degree. Moreover, taking into account the entire history of our research, this is still a result that indicates very high support for democracy.

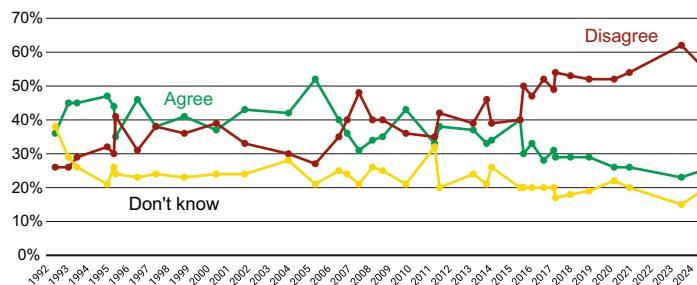
Do you agree that democracy is superior to all other forms of government?



The current level of acceptance of non-democratic government is one of the lowest in the history of our surveys. A quarter of respondents currently agree that in

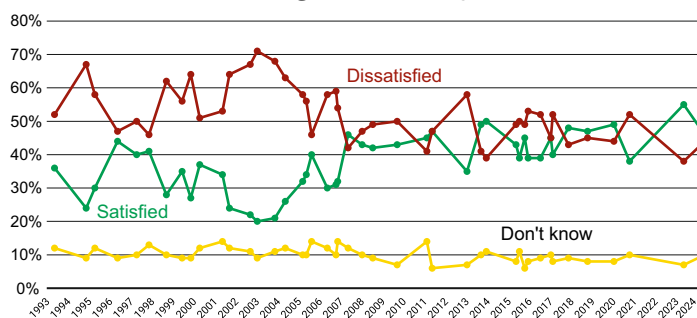
some situations non-democratic governments are better than democratic ones (25%, an increase of 2 percentage points since the previous survey), while almost six in ten (56%, a decrease of 6 points) disagree. Opposition to non-democratic governments intensified after the parliamentary elections in 2015 and has remained at a higher level than before.

Do you agree that undemocratic government can sometimes be better than democratic?



A month after last year's parliamentary elections, opinions about the quality of democracy in our country were better than ever before, since 1993. Such sentiments were largely shaped by a sense of agency: thanks to the participation of a significant number of Poles in the elections, the balance of power in parliament and, consequently, the government changed. This is the most tangible and socially satisfying aspect of democracy's operation. However, such a state of political mobilization is by its nature temporary. Currently, assessments of the functioning of democracy are therefore worse than a year ago, and at the same time very divided. Almost half express satisfaction with its functioning (46%, a decrease of 9 percentage points), and slightly fewer people (44%, an increase of 6 points) are dissatisfied.

Evaluation of functioning of democracy in Poland



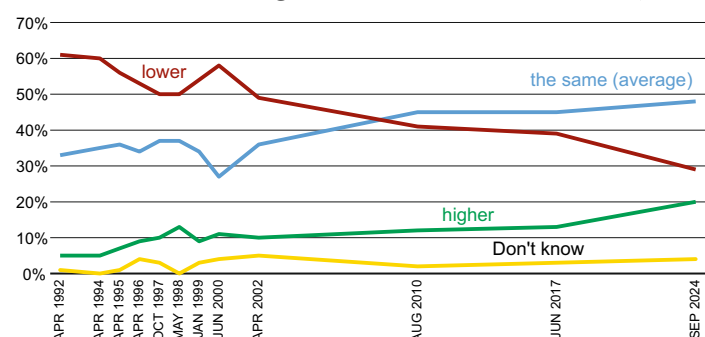
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Democracy – Attitudes and Assessments", December 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: November 2024, N=981. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Social inequalities

The largest proportion of respondents, i.e. almost half (48%), assess their financial situation as average – they believe that their family income is neither higher nor lower than the income of other families. Three out of ten

respondents (29%) believe that it is lower than average, and one in five (20%) believe that it is higher. Since the beginning of the nineties, the percentage of respondents who believe that their family income is higher than average has increased from 5% in 1992 to 20% currently, with a corresponding increase in the number of people who claim that it is average (an increase from 33% to 48%). On the other hand, the percentage of respondents who think that their income is lower than average has decreased from 61% to 29%. It is worth noting that over the last seven years, the percentage of those who consider their family income to be higher than average has increased by 7 percentage points, while the percentage of those who believe that it is lower has decreased by 10 points.

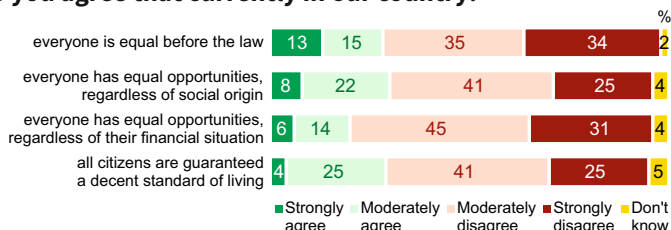
Do you think that the current income of your family, compared to the average income of families in Poland, is:



The percentages of answers: "significantly higher" and "slightly higher" (higher) and "significantly lower" and "slightly lower" (lower) were summed up

The vast majority of Poles believe that equality, at least in the areas covered by the survey, is not currently respected. Respondents who believe that everyone is equal before the law (28%), has equal opportunities regardless of social background (30%) or financial situation (20%), and who believe that all citizens are guaranteed a decent standard of living (29%) are now in the minority.

Do you agree that currently in our country:

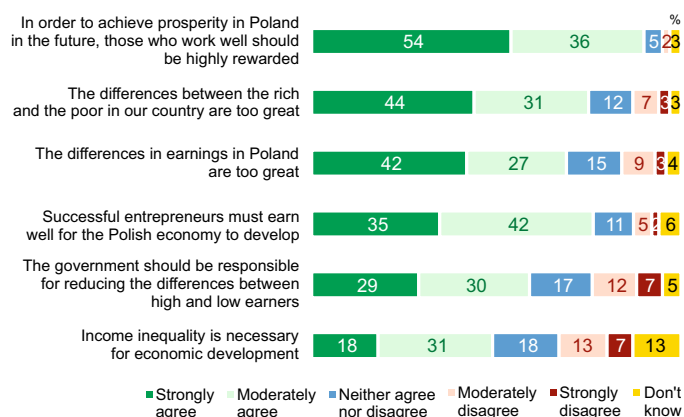


The vast majority of respondents believe that the differences between the rich and the poor in Poland are

too large (75%). Slightly fewer are convinced that there is too much variation in earnings (69%). These percentages have decreased over the last seven years by 11 and 12 percentage points respectively and are the lowest recorded in the last three decades, but the inequality in our society is perceived by the majority of respondents as excessive. Over half of adult Poles believe that the government should have the duty to reduce the differences between high and low earners (59%). The share of people with this opinion has decreased compared to 2017 by 17 percentage points and is also the lowest in the thirty years since we started asking about this issue. Income inequality is less often perceived as excessive, which is why there are fewer expectations that the state will eliminate the differences between high and low earners.

Compared to 2017, the belief that income inequality is a necessary condition for economic development has strengthened by 2 percentage points, to 49%. The opinion that in order to achieve prosperity in the future, those who work well should be highly rewarded is relatively least controversial, as almost everyone agrees (90%). The vast majority of respondents also believe that successful entrepreneurs must earn well for the Polish economy to develop (77%, an increase of 4 percentage points compared to 2017).

Do you agree with the following statements?



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Poles' Attitudes Towards Social Inequalities", December 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: September 2024, N=941. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

For more information on CBOS services and publications please contact:

CBOS

5/7, Świętojerska, 00-236 Warsaw, Poland

Phones: (48) 22 629 35 69, 22 628 37 04 Fax: (48) 22 629 40 89

e-mail: sekretariat@cbos.pl www.cbos.pl

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