

## POLISH PUBLICOPINION Solid and Professional 1/2017

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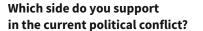
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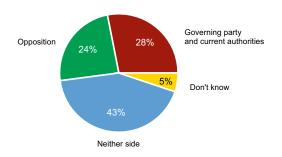
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## Public perception of the parliamentary crisis

The end of 2016 and the beginning of January 2017 were marked by a crisis on the political scene. Members of opposition parties protested against the planned restrictions on the access of journalists to the Parliament, and also against exclusion of one of MPs from Sejm deliberations by the speaker. After the procedures of the Sejm were moved to a different hall, the budget was voted by the ruling party. In the opinion of the opposition the vote was defective and violated parliamentary principles. The protest of the opposition parties Civic Platform (PO) and Modern Party (Nowoczesna) turned into a rotating occupation of the parliamentary rostrum, which lasted until the end the first decade of January. Although the parliamentary crisis was finished, the end of the occupation of the plenary hall does not close the political conflict in Poland.





Generally speaking, Poles can be divided into two more or less equally large groups: those who advocate one side of the political conflict (52% in total), and those who avoid taking sides and distance themselves from the dispute (48% in in total, including 'd o n 't k n o w ' a n s w e r s). Respondents who sympathize with either side are slightly more often

ISSN 2083-1714

**IN ADDITION** TO THE REPORTS REFERRED TO ABOVE, THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED RECENTLY (IN POLISH):

- Poles' Attitudes towards Refugees
- Politician of the Year 2016 in Poland and in the World
- Morality and Religion
- Opinions about Parliament, President and Constitutional Tribunal
- Attitude to Government in January
- Social Moods in January
- Trust in Politicians in January
- Activities and Experiences in 2016

in favor of Law and Justice (PiS) and current authorities (28%) than the opposition (24%).

Each side of the political conflict in the last months uses other arguments and builds different narratives to justify its actions and discredit opponents or critics. Declarations of respondents show that neither side managed to convince a clear majority of the population. However, some arguments invoked in discussions are more convincing than others.

The majority of respondents (61%) agree with the opinion that PiS is abusing power and wants to rule in authoritarian manner, without control by other institutions. The counterargument that PiS governs according to the will of the voters and has a democratic mandate for what it does is more controversial: 45% of respondents agree and 44% reject it.

In the opinion of half of respondents the opposition wants to overthrow the legally elected authorities of Poland. A few months ago, in April 2016, a similar question asked in the context of the dispute over the Constitutional Tribunal was answered in the affirmative by far fewer people (33%). At the same time, presently more than two-fifths of respondents (44%) disagree with the view that opposition is motivated by concern about the state of democracy and the rule of law in Poland (in April 2016 the negative answer was given by 38%). Now 38% of respondents believe that the opposition is fighting for democracy and the rule of law (in April 2016 the corresponding figure was 39%). This means that the

actions of the opposition in relation to the Constitutional Tribunal crisis were seen as more credible than the recent protest in the Sejm.

The opinion that protests against current authorities are primarily conducted by people who were deprived of power and privilege is quite popular, as more than half of Poles agree (52%). At the same time, however, almost as many people (47%) believe that the protesters against the ruling party and current authorities are, in the vast majority, ordinary citizens caring about the rule of law and democracy in Poland.

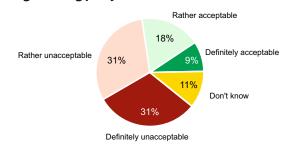
More than half of respondents (51%) consider the protests as an expression of civic opposition to threats to democracy posed by the ruling party, PiS. At the same time, more than two-fifths of respondents (44%) do not see them as manifestations of anarchy threatening democracy in Poland. Such danger is seen 36% of respondents.

## Do you agree with the following statements?

PiS is abusing power and wants to rule in authoritarian way, without control from other institutions	33	3 2	28 19	% 10 10
PiS governs according to the will of the voter and has a democratic mandate for what it do		28	29	15 <mark>11</mark>
The opposition wants to overthrow the legally elected authorities of Poland	y 20	30	22	% 13 15
The opposition cares about the state of democracy and rule of law in Poland	11	27	26 1	8 17
Protests against the ruling party and current authorities are primarily conducted by people who lost power and privilege		29	22	% 12 14
Protests against the ruling party and the auth are in the vast majority conducted by ordinar caring about the rule of law and democracy i	y citizens 17	30	25	11 17
Recent protests by the opposition to the curr government are a manifestation of civil disob	edience			%
in the face of the threat to democracy pose the ruling party (PiS)	<sup>by</sup> 19	32	19 1	1 20
Recent protests by the opposition to the curr government are a manifestation of anarchy threatening democracy in Poland	ent 14	22	26 18	3 20
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Moderately disagree	y Strong disagre	

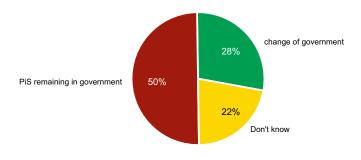
Most respondents (62%) think it is unacceptable for the opposition to occupy the plenary hall of the Sejm to protest against the actions of the governing party.

## Is it acceptable for the opposition to occupy the plenary hall of the Sejm to protest against the actions of the governing party



During the protest in the Sejm a proposal was made to call early parliamentary elections. In public opinion, if they occurred, they would not bring a change of government. Half of respondents think that PiS would remain in power, and only slightly more than one in four (28%) expect their result to the change the government.

## If early elections to the Sejm and Senate were held, they would lead to...

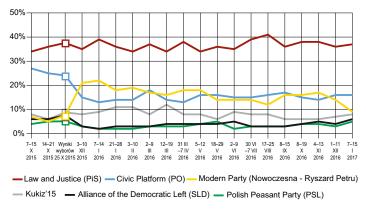


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Image Impact of Parliamentary Crisis", January 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: January 2017, N=1025. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## Political party preferences in January

The parliamentary crisis and events of recent weeks (including the New Year's Eve trip abroad by Ryszard Petru, leader of Nowoczesna, with another MP from this party, made during the protest) have contributed to changes in the support for political parties. Nowoczesna suffered significant losses, while some gains were recorded by parties that distanced themselves from the conflict between, on one side, PiS, and on the other PO and Nowoczesna. The ruling party (PiS) retained high support, more than one-third of declared voters (37%) would vote for it. PO was second, enjoying the support of 16% of voters. In third place, a long distance behind PO, is Nowoczesna, currently supported by only 9% of respondents who would vote in an election. Compared with December the support for the party of Ryszard Petru decreased by 5 percentage points, and its ratings are now the worst since the last parliamentary elections. The Kukiz'15 movement, at 8%, received only slightly less support than Nowoczesna, which until recently aspired to be the leader of the opposition. In January, the Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD) would have a chance to gain parliamentary representation (6% of supporters, an increase of 2 percentage points). Polish Peasant Party (PSL) has support on the border of the electoral threshold (5%). It also slightly raised the number of supporters (an increase of 2 points).

Support for ...



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Political Party Preferences in January", January 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: January 2017, N=1025. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

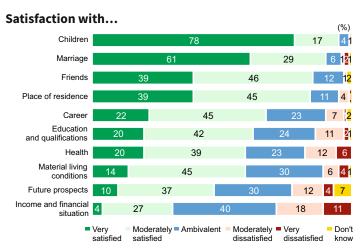
## Satisfaction with life

Satisfaction with life in the last two years is at the highest level ever recorded by CBOS since 1994. A the end of 2016 three-quarters of Poles (76%) declared general satisfaction with life.

#### 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 3% 0% IV '99 XII '00 XII '02 XII '03 XII '04 XII '05 XII '06 XII '07 XII '08 XII '09 XII XII XII XII XII XII '10 '11 '12 '13 '14 '15 XII '01 XII '16 Dissatisfied Satisfied Ambivalent (very and moderately) (very and moderately)

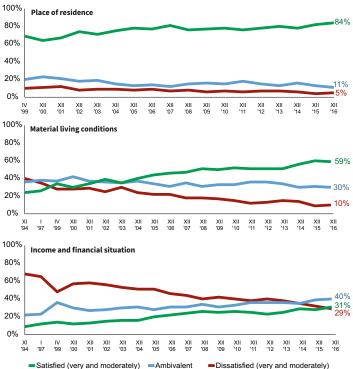
### General satisfaction with life

As in previous years, family and social life are the most important sources of satisfaction. A vast majority (95%) are satisfied with their children, while most married people (90%) are satisfied with their marriage. Overfour-fifths of all respondents (85%) have a positive opinion abouttheir relations with friends. Similar positive feelings are expressed towards the place of residence: 84% are happy with it. Two-thirds (67%) of people with professional experience have a positive opinion about their career. A slightly smaller group of people (62%) are satisfied with their education and qualifications. Nearly three-fifths (59%) express a positive opinion about their material living conditions, i.e. accommodation, goods. The same proportion (59%) are positive about their health. Almost half of Poles (47%) declare optimism about their future prospects. Least satisfaction is derived from income and financial situation (31%).



From a long-term perspective, current levels of satisfaction with different aspects of life are among the highest. Since the mid-nineties the level of satisfaction with material living conditions and income and financial situation have increased significantly. Respondents declare satisfaction with their place of residence more than everbefore.





### Don't know omitted

Analyses show that the level of satisfaction with almost all aspects of life covered by the survey is strongly associated with the assessment of respondents' material conditions. This regularity is observed in case of satisfaction with friends, marriage, place of residence, career, future prospects and, of course, the material living conditions such as housing, equipment, etc., as well as income and financial situation.

Don't know omitted

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Life Satisfaction", January 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: December 2016, N=1136. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

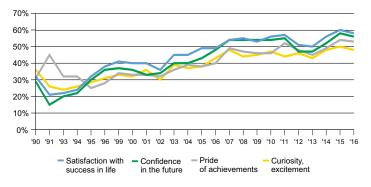
## Subjective well-being in 2016

In the past year, more than half of respondents often or very often felt satisfaction with success (58%) confidence that everything was going well (56%), pride in their own achievements (53%), and nearly half of respondents were often curious or excited about something (48%). Negative emotions were mentioned less frequently than positive. The most frequent negative emotional state was nervousness, irritability (41% of respondents often experienced that feeling) About a quarter of Poles often felt discouraged or tired (27%), a similar percentage repeatedly felt helpless (23%). Almost one-fifths of respondents often experienced rage (18%), and one-sixth had depression (17%) in the last year.

Compared with last year's results, the proportion of respondents declaring frequent experience of all the positive emotional states included in the survey decreased slightly, with simultaneous small decrease in the percentage of people who repeatedly experienced negative emotions.

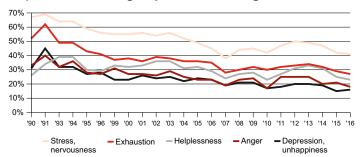
Form a long-term perspective it can be seen that, since 1990, Poles' subjective well-being has markedly improved. During this time, there has been a significant increase in the percentage of respondents frequently experiencing all positive emotions included in the survey.

### Respondents declaring they felt the following emotions often:



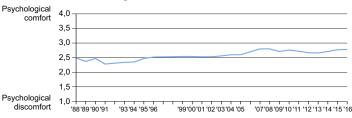
At the same time, in this period the percentage of respondents repeatedly experiencing anxiety, irritation, discouragement, fatigue and anger markedly decreased. A clear downward trend, however, is not noticeable in case of the sense of helplessness.

Respondents declaring they felt the following emotions often:



Over the last year the value of the synthetic indicator of psychological well-being, which measures the state of positive and negative emotions in society, has not changed significantly (its current value is 2.78). From a longer perspective, since 1988, it can be seen that the worst well-being was recorded in 1991. In subsequent years psychological condition of Poles improved steadily. Roughly from the mid-nineties the indicator of well-being changed only slightly for ten years. In 2007 we noted its improvement, and the values of the index in 2007 and 2008 were among the highest ever recorded. In subsequent years Poles' well-being deteriorated somewhat, but in 2014 we noted slight improvement. The current value of the indicator is comparable to its results in 2007 and 2008.

### Subjective well-being in 1988-2016



Mean strength of emotional state was calculated for nine dimensions on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 signifies discomfort (frequent experience of negative emotions) and 4 signifies psychological comfort (frequent experience of positive emotions)

Relatively the best psychological well-being in the last year was enjoyed by respondents satisfied with the material conditions of their households, people from households with the highest income per capita, university graduates, people from 18 to 34 years of age. Supporters of the political right wing and respondents participating in religious services several times a week reported aboveaverage values.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Psychological Wellbeing in 2016", January 2017. Fieldwork for national sample: December 2016, N=1136. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.tion of Poland.

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