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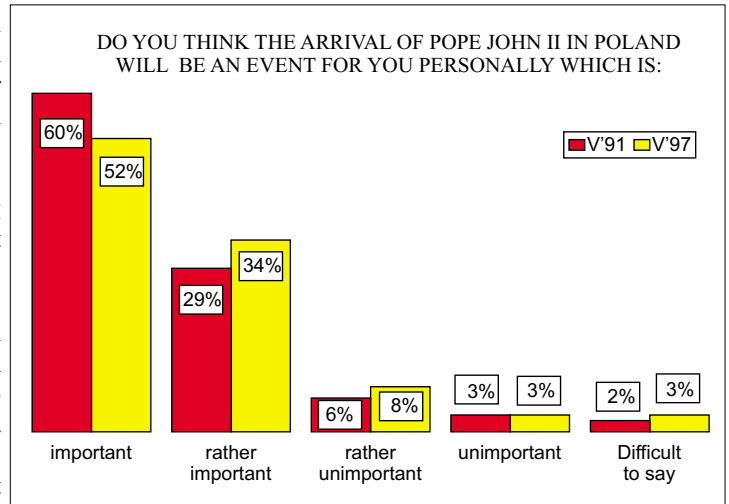
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POPE JOHN PAUL II'S VISIT TO POLAND

Before the Pope's arrival in his homeland we asked respondents about their plans, hopes and expectations linked with this visit. A clear majority (86%) of Poles saw the approaching papal visit as an important event in their lives. Only one in nine did not treat it as especially important. Six years ago, before the fourth pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland, the public had a similar assessment of his visit - however at that time it was more frequently seen as "important", while today people say "rather important" somewhat more frequently.



People's plans to participate in the pilgrimage are evidence of the interest in the Pope's arrival. Three quarters of all Poles intended to systematically follow it via television radio and the press. One in three planned to decorate the windows or balcony in their homes for the occasion. Over one fifth of the respondents said they would attend a mass said by the Pope and one in eight said they were preparing to greet him as he went past on his journey.

Not everyone succeeded in carrying out their plans to take part in the papal pilgrimage. The survey conducted just after the end of John Paul II's visit found that one in fourteen (7%) adult Poles went out to greet him on his journey, and one in four decorated their windows or balcony. According to their own declarations, 11% of his fellow Poles attended the masses said by the Pope and 5% one of the rallies and meetings. On the other hand as many people followed the visit via the media (71%) as had stated this intention earlier.

Despite such a numerous - active or passive - participation of Poles in the pilgrimage of John Paul II to his homeland, we can observe today a certain fall off in the interest shown in this visit compared to the one in 1991. Fewer people than six years ago met the Pope personally by attending a mass said by him or by going out to greet him en route. A much smaller group decorated their windows and balcony, fewer people systematically followed the visit in the media.

Two fifths of Poles had hopes and expectations connected with the visit of the Pope - as many as ten years ago when Pope John II visited his homeland for the third time. However during that time the numbers not connecting any hopes or expectations with the visit rose (from 34 to 52%).

Poles' wishes this year were very similar to those of ten years ago. The respondents similarly counted on a moral regeneration among Poles and for national reconciliation and understanding.

After the end of the pilgrimage less than half the respondents said they remembered some of the words John Paul II had uttered during his visit in Poland. On the other hand among the aims and tasks set before society by the Pope the respondents felt the most important for Poland today were the strengthening of family values (49%), devoting attention to the bringing up and education of the younger generation (36%) and benefitting from freedom in a skilful way. One in four of the respondents thinks that the most important aim the Pope set Poles was the protection of the lives of the unborn, somewhat fewer people (22%) see such an aim as being the building of the spiritual unity of Europe. The words of John Paul II concerning social questions resounded with a

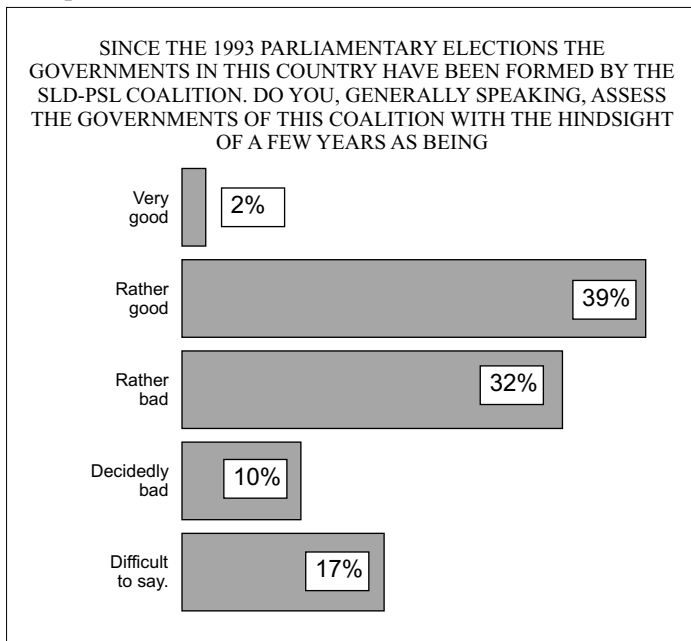
loud echo - almost one in four respondents (24%) thinks that the most important aim which the Pope set his fellow Poles was to oppose exploitation at work, for one in five the most important task was to ease social divisions.

Source: CBOS bulletin "Before the visit of John Paul II to his homeland", May '97; "Pope John Paul II in Poland", June '97

THE ASSESSMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT COALITION COMPARED TO PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS

In three months we shall be electing new parliamentary deputies and senators. The last four years have been a period in which the same coalition, having a clear majority in both houses of parliament, has constituted the government.

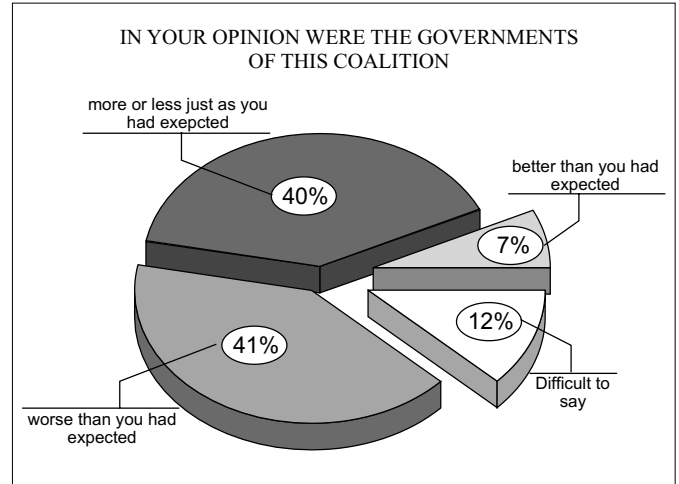
The public's assessment of the governments of the SLD-PSL coalition is not unambiguous. However it must be said that only one in fifty of those polled is inclined to assess the governments of this coalition as very good and one in ten sees them as being decidedly bad. Dissatisfaction with the present government is most frequent among managers and farmers. Positive assessments predominate among unskilled workers, pensioners and private entrepreneurs.



The governments of the present coalition are most unambiguously positively evaluated by SLD voters. The electorate of the second coalition partner - the PSL - is significantly more critical although here also positive assessments predominate.

In 1993 the electoral success of both the SLD and the PSL was achieved under slogans challenging the previous governments. Many voters connected the new government with hopes for change, especially easing the ailments connected with the restructuring of the economy.

The SLD-PSL coalition governments turned out to be a positive surprise for only a few respondents. Two fifths of respondents claim that they were more or less just as they had expected. The number of disappointed people is just as great. The feeling of dislike of the coalition tends to go with advanced years, lower education, dissatisfaction with the respondent's material situation, right-wing political views and above all deep religiosity and frequent religious practice.



The statistics show that both the assessment of the governments and the expectations evaluated ex post depend mainly on political views - this period is rather gently evaluated by the supporters of the present government but sympathisers with the opposition look at it with a big dose of criticism.

The supporters of the SLD are the least disappointed with the governments of the present coalition. Nonetheless a quite significant part of this electorate - above one quarter - is disappointed in its expectations and only one on eight declares positive surprise with the achievements or the style of these governments.

The supporters of the second coalition partner - the PSL - speak about disappointment much more often. Their opinions are clearly divided: over two fifths were disappointed with the government coalitions constituted by the parties which they supported, while a somewhat smaller percentage thought that they were more or less how they had expected them to be. Only one in twenty thinks that that the governments were better than they expected.

Over half of those in the UW electorate think that the SLD-PSL coalition turned out to be neither better nor worse than they expected, but disappointment dominates among the sympathisers of the remaining groupings. The most critical in their judgements are the followers of ROP and KPEiR. Over half of them think that they expected better government from the present coalition.

Among the SLD and PSL voters from 1993 the criticism of the coalition is even higher than among its present supporters. Over one third of the SLD electorate at the time, and over half those who supported the PSL in 1993, feel disappointed with the

governments of the coalition constituted by the parties which they then supported.

Source: CBOS bulletin "Who did more for the reforms? Assessments of the government coalition compared to previous governments", June '97.

POLES' ATTITUDES TO REPREHENSIBLE OR MORALLY AMBIGUOUS BEHAVIOUR

In social life there are many forms of behaviour which are held to be reprehensible. Sometimes they even exceed the bounds of the law although in practice we meet with them fairly often. In one of our recent polls we asked respondents about their attitudes to this kind of question.

The declarative character of the replies of those polled made them see negatively most of the forms of behaviour which we presented to them for assessment. The highest level of disapproval was directed against offences connected with alcohol consumption: driving a car while slightly tipsy and drinking alcohol at work. Almost all the respondents were decidedly critical of these forms of behaviour.

Amongst the norms of interpersonal behaviour talking about someone behind their back is treated with exceptional disapprobation (89%). A decided majority of Poles does not accept the beating of children (87%). Travelling on a bus or tram without a ticket is thought to be reprehensible to a somewhat lesser extent - over three quarters of those polled disapproved of this form of behaviour, while one in ten saw nothing wrong in it.

Offences against the state and the Treasury are treated with less public rigour. Donating fictional financial gifts in order to pay less tax is disapproved of by two thirds of the respondents, although 17% see nothing wrong with this offence. We show even greater understanding towards people taking on work while drawing unemployment benefit. In this case nearly as many people declare that there is nothing wrong with this (39%) as clearly oppose it (42%).

We also asked respondents about their attitudes to watching pornographic films. More than one quarter (28%) of those polled rather see nothing wrong with it, although over half (56%) condemn this form of entertainment to a greater or lesser degree.

Among the forms of personal behaviour we presented to people which were ambiguous morally, the least condemned was premarital sex. In this case those allowing it were in a clear majority over those disapproving of it. Nearly half the respondents (49%) said they had nothing against sex before marriage, but less than one in three (31%) condemned this kind of behaviour. Consent for personal freedom goes together with the level of education - it is mainly people with only a secondary school education who condemn it and it is most often tolerated by those having a higher education.

The respondents are least opposed to cheating at school-leaving exams - somewhat more than (52%) see nothing wrong with it, and over one in four (28%)

disapprove. Young people and the youngest respondents - not surprisingly - consent to this form of behaviour the most.

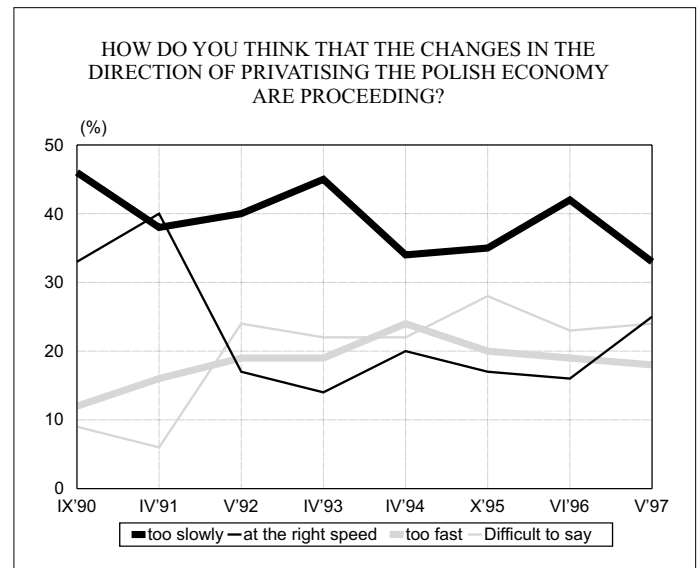
On these last two questions: premarital sex and cheating at the school-leaving exams, one can say that they belong to the category of behaviour which according to the Polish public are "forbidden but you may".

The spread of the infringement of these norms signifies a change in the social attitude to forms of behaviour which concern - and at the same time indicate the collapse of - the normative sphere and practice.

Source: CBOS bulletin "It is forbidden but you may". Poles' attitudes to reprehensible and morally ambiguous forms of behaviour", June '97.

PRIVATISATION '97

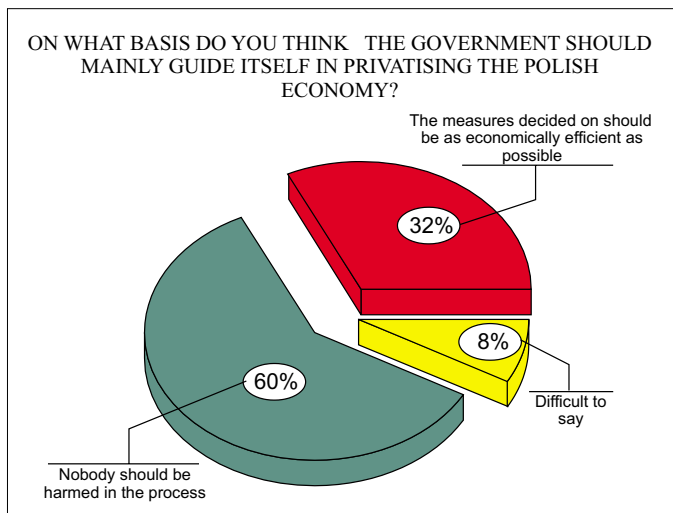
The question of privatisation has been raised in CBOS polls since it began. Today, faced with the parliamentary election campaign, it is again worthwhile diagnosing the social attitudes to ownership transformation.



Compared with last year we have noted a certain improvement in the assessment of the consequences of privatisation. In all the aspects taken into account - the consequences for the country's economy, for the respondent personally and for the workers in the privatised enterprises - there occurred an increase in the percentage of positive opinions and a decrease in negative ones. At present we are seeing the lowest percentage of respondents from 1992 who assess the consequences of privatisation for the economy exclusively in the categories of loss. At the same time the number of people seeing this process as unambiguously beneficial for the economy is approaching the 1990 and 1991 levels - i.e. the beginning of the ownership transformation. Such advantageous assessments of privatisation can have various sources. On the one hand the public seems to have become used to the continuing existence of the ownership transformation process. An insignificant number of people denies its necessity. Ever more people

are experiencing the consequences of privatisation at first hand, which - as the polls indicate - tends to improve their attitude to it. On the other hand a slow down in the tempo of ownership transformation, of which the opposition groupings quite often accuse the government, may have influenced the improvement in the evaluations. Many things indicate that the slow down is in accordance with the wishes of a relatively large part of society, since the percentage of those approving of the present tempo of privatisation (25%) is today at its highest point since 1991.

Compared to past years, the number of people favouring extreme options when it comes to the question of ownership in the economy has decidedly decreased. At present fewer people than earlier favour complete privatisation (6% compared to 14% in 1994) or a completely state owned economy (7% compared to 14% in 1994). The number of respondents agreeing with the view that some sectors of the economy ought to be excluded from privatisation has significantly grown (80% compared to 68% in 1994).



Almost two thirds of those polled agree that in privatising the Polish economy the government ought to direct itself above all by the principle that nobody should be harmed. Half the respondents compared to 1994 think that the government should mainly take into consideration the economic efficiency of the measures it adopts. The option of economic efficiency is mainly supported in the groups which - statistics show - relatively least often suffer the disadvantageous consequences of privatisation, while those who, because of low professional qualifications, are most threatened by these consequences favour social security. People of a higher socio-professional status decidedly more often than average are in addition supporters of liberal privatisation, divested itself in a more frequent than other people's view that unprofitable state enterprises ought to be privatised regardless of the social costs involved and that the deciding factor in the choice of purchaser of state firms ought to be expected profit and

not the nationality of the buyer. As for "welfare-nationalistic" privatisation, it has relatively the most supporters among less educated respondents who have a low professional status. In these groups relatively the most people think that unprofitable state enterprises ought to be maintained by the state and when they are sold the deciding factor ought to be the nationality of the buyer.

The political sympathies of respondents on this question do not differentiate their opinions. Amongst both the people who describe their views as left-wing and in the group who identify themselves with the right, the same percentage of those polled favours the option of economic efficiency and the taking into account of the social interest in the privatisation process.

Source: CBOS bulletin "Privatisation '97", June '97.

In addition to the bulletins referred to above, the following have been published recently:

- Attitudes to the government in May
- The public mood before the constitutional referendum
- Reprivatisation - moral obligation or economic necessity?
- The certainty of electoral decisions. "Second choice" parties
- Opinions concerning selected socio-political questions in the parties' electorates
- The parliamentary elections - preferences in June
- The public mood in June. Attitudes to the government.

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