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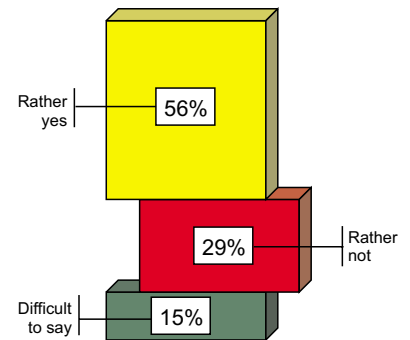
## POLES ON NATO INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

The latest developments in Yugoslavia have dominated the media. The tragedy of the Albanian population of Kosovo and NATO air raids on targets in Serbia and Montenegro have diverted our attention from the local political scene, becoming a frequent subject of discussions and a source of fears. On the one hand, fears connected with the events in Yugoslavia result from our historical experience and the awareness that in the past a conflict escalation in the Balkans led to the outbreak of I World War. On the other hand, the preventive action of NATO air forces immediately followed the admission of Poland to this organisation. As a result, our country has become to a certain extent involved in this conflict.

Over half of respondents are afraid that, by analogy, the situation in Kosovo may lead to the outbreak of a new global conflict. It is probably connected with the negative historical experience of Poles gained in the present century.

Only respondents with higher education and (although to a slightly lesser extent) residents of the largest cities are usually rather not afraid that the NATO action in Kosovo may

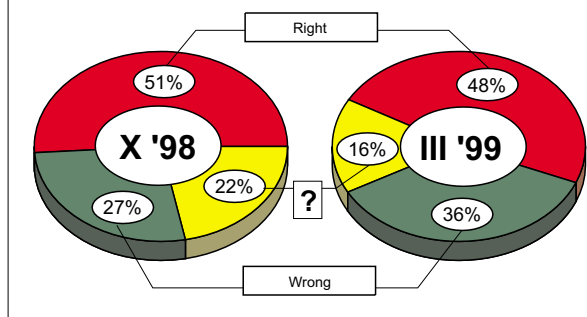
DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN KOSOVO (IN YUGOSLAVIA) MAY LEAD TO A WORLD WAR?



lead to the outbreak of a world war. Such fears are more frequent among persons with low education, as well as older respondents, i.e. those to whom the experience of both world wars is closer.

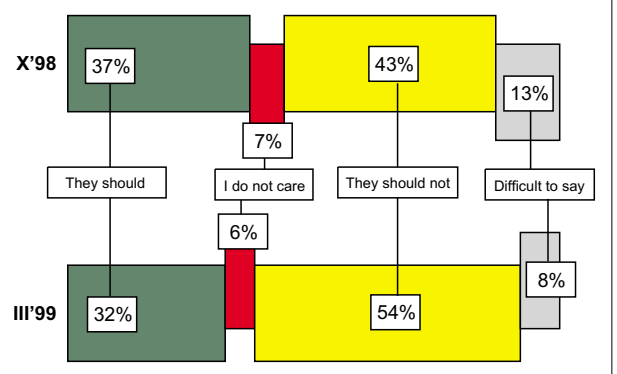
In spite of considerable fears of the possibility of escalation of this conflict, almost half of respondents regard the armed intervention of the NATO in Yugoslavia as the right decision. However, comparing with the opinions expressed last autumn, it can be noticed that the number of opponents of this step has increased.

IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE ARMED INTERVENTION OF NATO STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFLICT BETWEEN SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO THE RIGHT DECISION OR NOT?



education, the bigger their support for the NATO action in Yugoslavia, and probably also the understanding of reasons behind it. Interestingly enough, support for this decision is expressed by persons declaring both left-wing and right-wing political views, although the former declare such support less frequently than the latter (55% and 63%, respectively). Almost three quarters of the AWS (the Solidarity Election Action) and the UW (the Freedom Union) supporters, as well as over half of the SLD (the Democratic Left Alliance) supporters, regard the NATO action as justified. Among the PSL (the Polish Peasants' Party) electorate, as well as among the undecided, the number of supporters of the intervention is only slightly higher than the number of opponents. The opinion that this action is not justified prevails slightly only among politically passive respondents (those who declare that they will not vote in the next elections).

SHOULD POLISH SOLDIERS TAKE PART IN THIS NATO OPERATION OR NOT?



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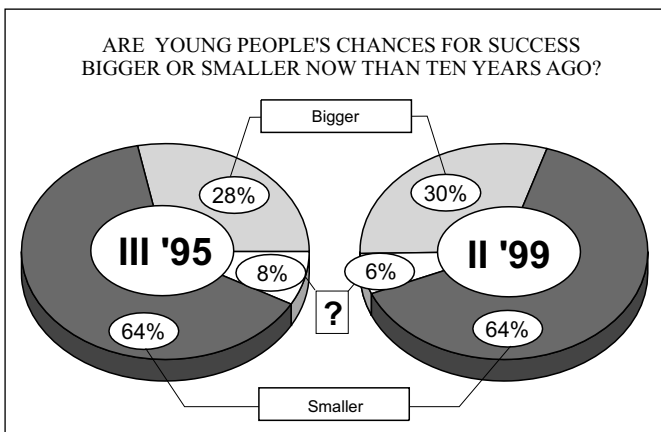
In the opinion of over half of respondents, Polish soldiers should not take part in this NATO operation. This was the prevailing opinion before, too, but the number of opponents of the participation of our soldiers has grown significantly since this intervention became a real possibility and changed from a conciliatory mission into a military operation. Nevertheless, one in three Poles still believes that we should take an active part in this operation.

The strongest opponents of the possible participation of our soldiers in NATO operations are women and persons declaring left-wing political views. The opinions of men and persons with right-wing views vary.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Poles on the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia", April '99.

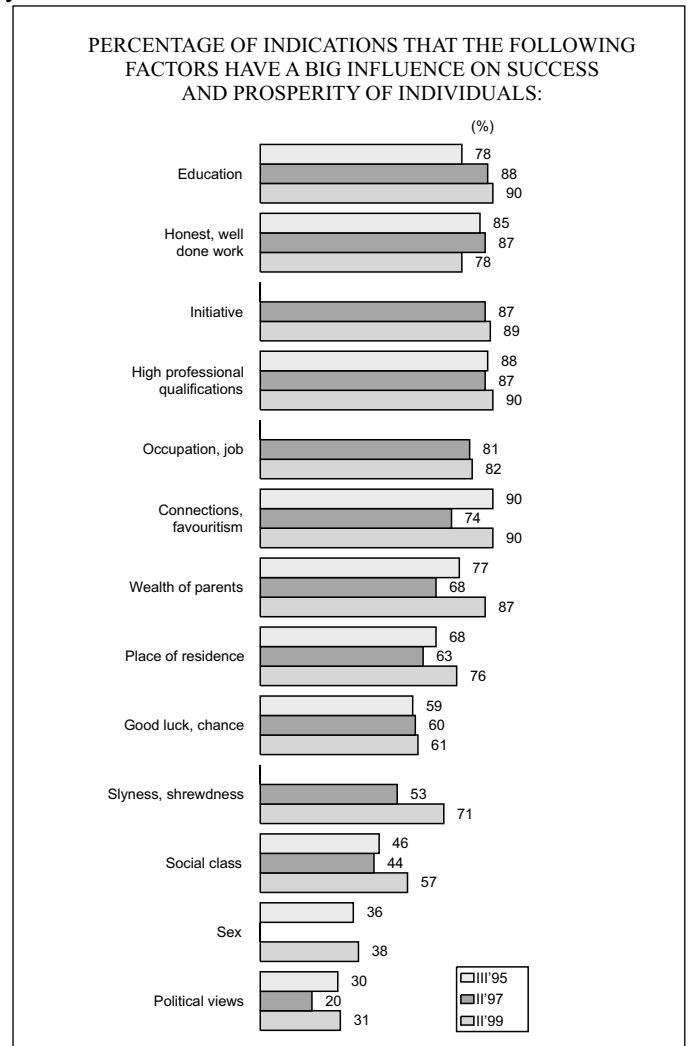
### EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Poles continue to believe that young people entering adulthood have less chances for success now than ten years ago. The period of transformation is seen as less favourable for young people mainly by residents of rural areas (77%) and persons with the lowest incomes (81%). As far as different occupational groups are concerned, the most pessimistic about the future of young people are farmers (94%) and manual workers - both unskilled (83%) and skilled (71%). Well-educated persons with a higher socio-occupational status see the young people's prospects for the future differently. A majority of persons with higher education (59%) believe that at present young people have a better chance for success than ten years ago. Most residents of the largest cities (58%), managers and the intelligentsia (60%) and students and school students (52%) express a similar opinion. One may conclude, then, that the opinion on the prospects for the future of the young generation is closely related to the social and economic position of respondents, as well as the extent to which they are threatened by unemployment.



Differences in the perception of opportunities for young people correspond with the views on the effect of social class on social mobility of young people, i.e. a change of position in the social structure between the generation of parents and the generation of children. Of course, this kind of mobility can only take place if there

are real chances for a change of social position, acquiring better education, qualifications, social rise. In the respondents' opinion, opportunities of children are first and foremost determined by the social status of their parents, in particular by their wealth and position. Compared with the opinions expressed four years ago, the discriminatory importance of these characteristics decreased a little. On the other hand, the importance of the parents' place in the occupational hierarchy grew. It is still a rather common belief that children of wealthy people and persons occupying high positions in the state administration are privileged. On the other hand, all respondents agree that the situation of farmers' children is the worst. The belief in their disadvantageous position as far as opportunities are concerned has become a little stronger over the last few years.

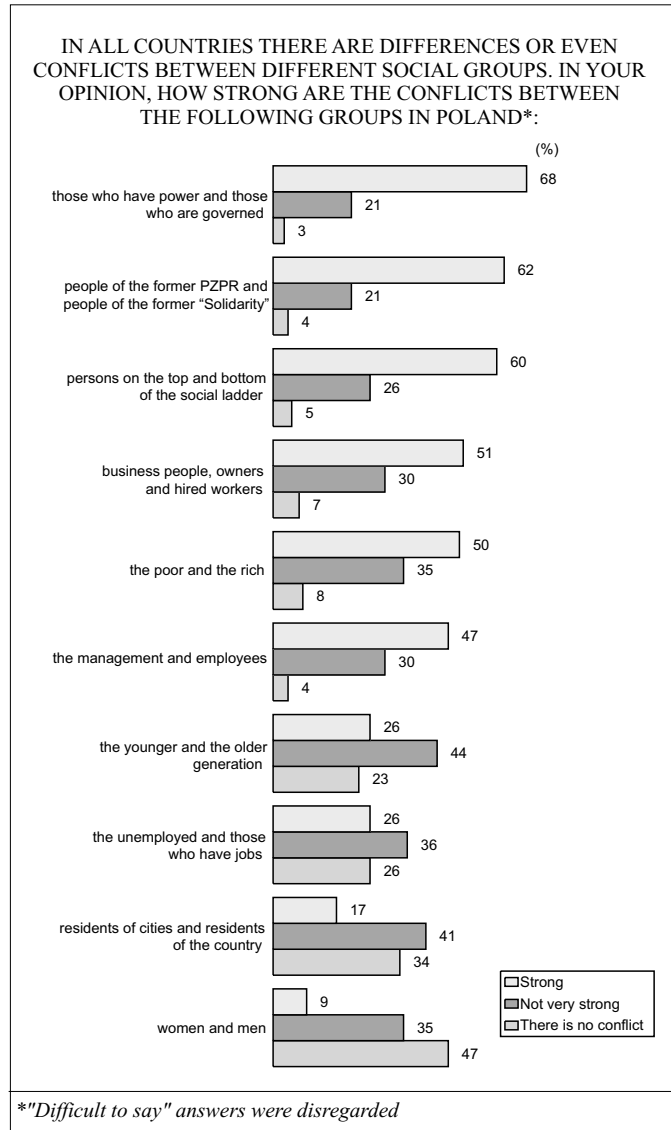


More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Equal opportunities?", March '99.

### DIVISIONS AND CONFLICT AREAS IN THE POLISH SOCIETY

Sociological theories distinguish two contradictory views on the existence of conflicts in social life: according to one of them conflicts are a sign of crisis in the social

order; according to the other they are a dynamic factor enabling a society to maintain balance. Especially in the periods of deep changes the most important divisions in the society may be redefined. In the Poles' opinion the main divisions in our society are connected with political conflicts.



Not a long time ago it was believed that the most important division was the line between the two political orientations connected with our recent history, i.e. the conflict between two antagonistic political groupings formed in 1980's: people connected with the former communist party (the PZPR) and those connected with the "Solidarity" trade union. Nowadays the conflict between those who have power and those who do not is more frequently regarded as the main area of social dispute over two thirds of respondents (68%, a 9% growth as compared with 1998) said that this conflict was strong or very strong. It is possible that this change is connected with the escalation of protests of different social groups against the government policy at the beginning of this year.

Conflicts between people on the top and the bottom of the social hierarchy are regarded as strong almost as frequently as conflicts arising from different political orientations. On the other hand, divisions between the poor and the rich, owners and hired workers,

management and employees are regarded as important conflict areas by a smaller number of respondents. In the respondents' opinion, the least intensive conflicts are those between women and men and between people living in the country and people living in cities.

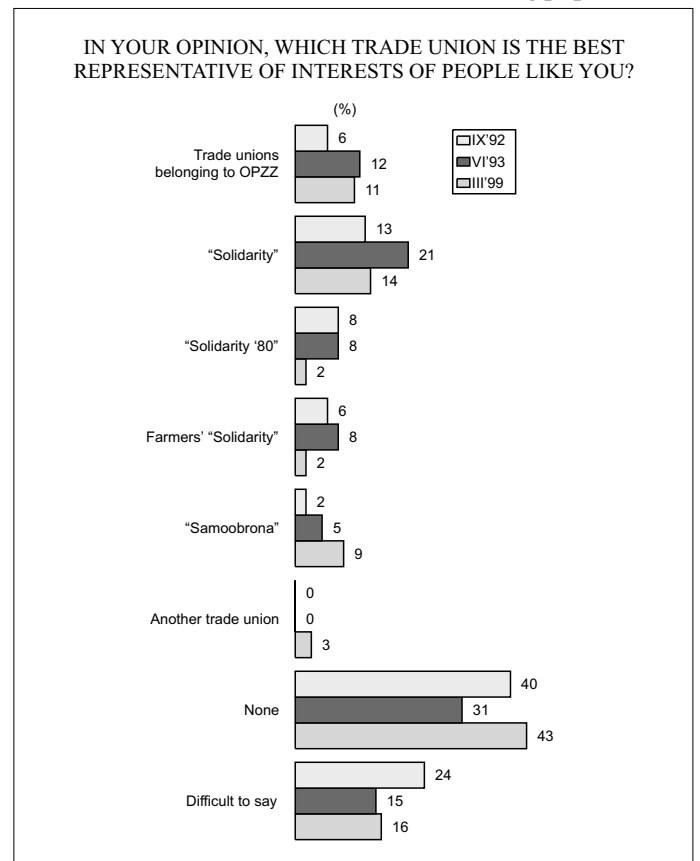
Generally speaking, we can observe a certain decrease in the perceived strength of conflicts. Compared with the previous years, less persons evaluated the conflicts mentioned in our question as very strong or strong. The only exceptions are: the relations between those who have power and those who are governed (we observed an increase in the number of respondents sharing this opinion since the last survey) and the conflict between persons on the top and on the bottom of the social ladder (according to respondents, the strength of this conflict has not changed since the last survey).

The feeling of being underprivileged, especially in the material sphere, encourages the perception of differences and divisions in the society as conflict areas. Respondents who evaluate the living conditions in their household as bad more frequently regard the conflicts discussed here as strong or very strong. On the contrary, persons with higher education less frequently evaluate most of these conflicts as strong.

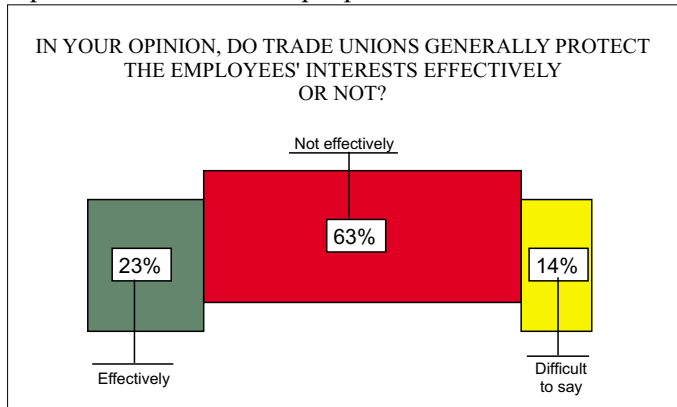
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "The perception of conflicts in the Polish society", April '99.

### POLES ON TRADE UNIONS

According to respondents' declarations, 11% of Poles belong to trade unions. In this group a majority (55%) declare their membership in "Solidarity". Trade union members constitute 20% of the working population.

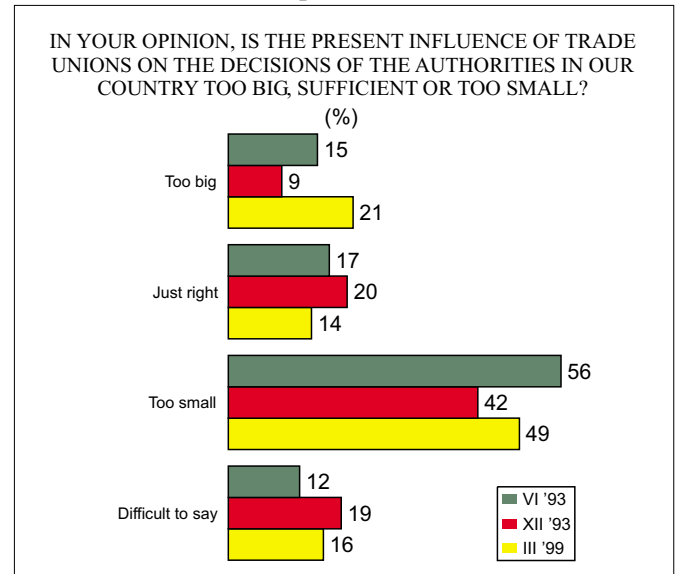


However, trade unions are not perceived as effective representatives of the interests of hired workers. Over two fifths of respondents say that no trade union represents the interests of people like them.



The two largest political groupings on our political scene, i.e. the AWS (the Solidarity Election Action) and the SLD (the Democratic Left Alliance), are coalitions of political parties and trade unions. Activists of "Solidarity" and OPZZ trade unions take part in the works of the Parliament; in the government there are persons who used to be active trade union members. Therefore it is not surprising that support for a particular party is connected with the belief that the trade union associated with this party represents the interests of its supporters. Over half of the AWS supporters (52%) believe that "Solidarity" is the best representative of their interests. On the other hand, over one third of the SLD supporters (34%) regard the OPZZ as the trade union that is the best guardian of their rights as employees. It should be noted that the biggest part of the potential electorate of the largest peasant party, the PSL (the Polish Peasants' Party) (20%), declare that the best representative of their interests is the radical union "Samobrona", which initiates many illegal actions, often challenging the authority of the state and contradicting the idea of citizens' responsibility for the affairs of the state. The feeling of a lack of trade union representation is particularly frequent among the UW (the Freedom Union) electorate. Almost two thirds of the supporters of this party (62%) believe that none of the existing trade unions takes care of their interests.

The social image of "Solidarity" (tested in an open question) is to a large extent shaped by the events on the Polish political scene. Nowadays this union is often seen as a political party. For this reason it is sometimes associated with corruption and arrogance of those in power. It seems that at present respondents do not make a clear distinction between the activity of the trade union "Solidarity" and that of the AWS - a political grouping established under the auspices of this trade union.



As time passes, "Solidarity" starts to be associated, among other things, with its historical achievements. At the same time, however, the young generation is less and less familiar with this trade union. Compared with the year 1993, the percentage of respondents who have no associations with "Solidarity" has grown more than twofold.

The image of the OPZZ is less clear-cut. On the one hand, this union is often associated with the practices of the old system. On the other hand, many respondents see it as the only "real" trade union, although its actions are often ineffective.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Opinions on trade unions", April '99.

**In addition to the bulletins referred to above, the following have been published recently (in Polish):**

Holding up the tendency to limit purchases  
Savings and investments  
The Lent and Easter AD 1999  
Assessments of the recent strikes  
Assessments of the prospects for the Polish economy  
Attitude to the government at the end of March  
The situation after the implementation of the reforms  
Financial problems of households  
Social support for the school reform

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