

IN THIS ISSUE:

- ON THE WAY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION
- THE POLES ON THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND THE CONDITION OF DEMOCRACY IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF OUR REGION
- GROUNDS FOR THE EVALUATION OF THE POLISH ECONOMY
- ATTITUDE TO MARKET ECONOMY

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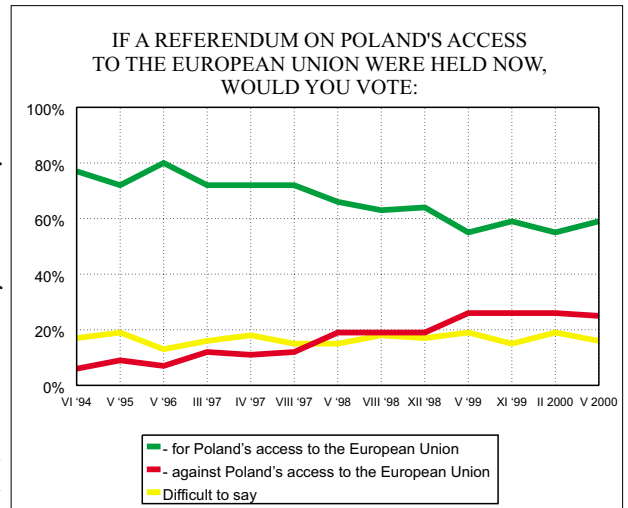
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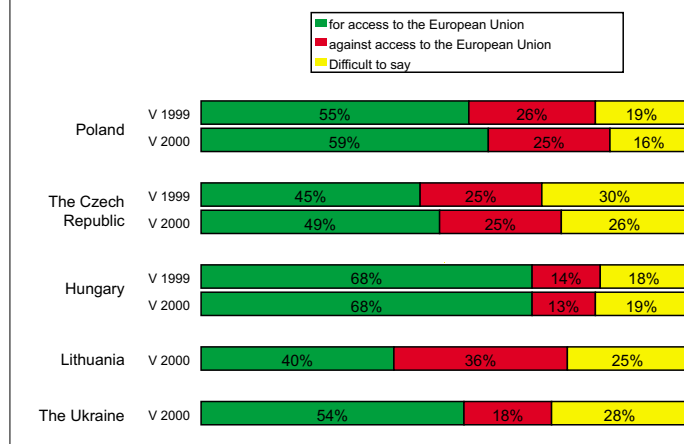
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ON THE WAY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

The decisive phase of the negotiations of Polish membership in the European Union has just begun. Currently discussed issues include such controversial matters as free flow of people and budgetary aspects of membership. One of the next topics is agriculture. Poland upholds its declaration that our country is ready to join the Union at the beginning of 2003. However, the EU more and more frequently signals that Polish entry may be postponed for two years not only due to any potential delays in the implementation of the European Union laws or other shortcomings on Polish part, but also because the necessity to complete the reforms of EU institutions and because of growing fears of citizens of some EU member countries. In May 2000, we have repeated our frequently asked questions



IF A REFERENDUM ON THE ACCESS OF YOUR COUNTRY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION WERE HELD NOW, WOULD YOU VOTE:



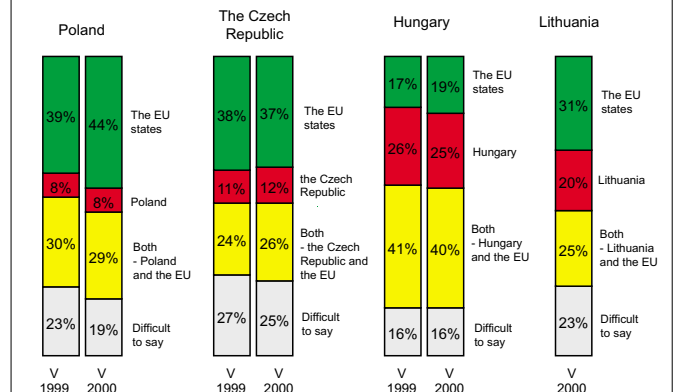
organisation. One in four would vote against it. One may say that as yet a decreasing tendency of the social acceptance for integration with the European Union, apparent between 1996 and 1999, has been halted.

Among five countries taking part in the survey, in Hungary the support for integration with the European Union is clearly the strongest. As a year ago, over 2/3 of Hungarians declare their willingness to vote for integration in a referendum. The lowest acceptance for integration can be noticed in Lithuania, where supporters outnumber opponents by a small percentage only. As

about support for Poland's integration with the European Union. Our colleagues from public opinion research centres in other Central and East European countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania and the Ukraine) added the same question to their surveys.

The number of those who support Poland's integration with the European Union has increased a little during the last three months. At present 59% of respondents want to vote for our access to this

HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE CURRENT RELATIONS BETWEEN [...] AND THE EUROPEAN UNION? WHO BENEFITS MORE FROM THEM?



compared with other countries, the support for access to the European Union is rather high in Poland, higher than in the Czech Republic. Support for integration is also relatively high in the Ukraine, although this country does not officially attempt at membership yet. While the access of the Ukraine to the European Union seems still quite distant, over half of Ukrainian respondents would be willing to vote for it, should a referendum be held on this issue. According to declarations, 18% of Ukrainians would vote against their membership. The support of Ukrainians is, however, much lower than the support expressed by Poles before Poland has started membership negotiations.

The Hungarians not only declare the strongest support for integration, but also highly evaluate current relations between their country and the European Union. As in 1999, the largest percentage of Hungarians describe these relations as equally beneficial for their country and the Union. One in four describes them as beneficial for Hungary in the first place. In contrast, Poles are relatively the most critical about the relations between our country and the EU countries: 44% of Polish respondents believe that they are beneficial first and foremost for the EU. The Czechs evaluate their relations with the Union only slightly better than the Poles.

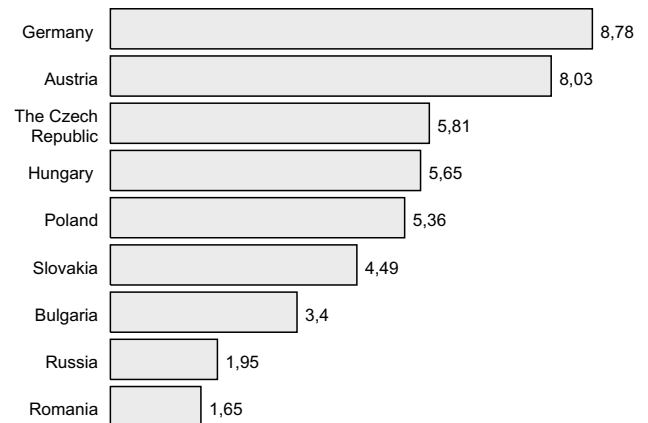
The societies of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland are close to each other in their evaluations of the distance between their countries and the EU membership. In each of these countries the largest percentage of respondents believe that they are more or less half-way to becoming a member of this organisation. The Lithuanians and Ukrainians evaluate the access of their countries to the European Union as a clearly distant prospect. Most of our Eastern neighbours think that their countries are still far from obtaining membership in that organisation. This feeling is especially strong in the Ukraine.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "The Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Lithuanians and Ukrainians on integration with the European Union", June 2000.

THE POLES ON THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND THE CONDITION OF DEMOCRACY IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF OUR REGION

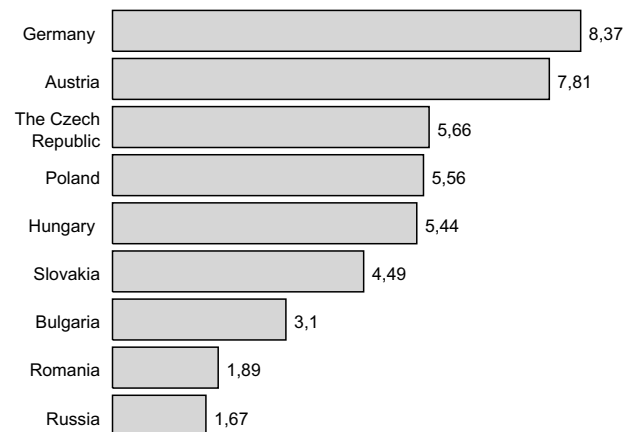
The attitudes to the European Union, discussed above, may be put in a broader context of the images and stereotypes of various European countries. We have asked in Poland a few questions concerning the opinions about selected nine Central and East European countries. In the opinion of Poles, the standard of living is the highest in Germany and Austria, i.e. the countries that belong to the EU. The living conditions in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are evaluated a little lower. At the same time, the conditions of living in these three countries are believed to be similar. The standard of living in Romania and Russia is evaluated the lowest.

WHICH COUNTRY HAS THE HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING?
(Average evaluations on the 1 to 9 scale)



The opinions on political freedom in those countries are only slightly different from the evaluations of the conditions of living. As far as citizens' rights are concerned, "old" democracies (Germany and Austria) were evaluated the highest. Russia and Romania obtained the lowest evaluations.

WHERE DO PEOPLE ENJOY MORE FREEDOM AND EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW?
(Average evaluations on the 1 to 9 scale)



The ranking of countries by perceived opportunities of citizens to participate in politics and influence this sphere of social life is almost the same as other rankings. Germany and Austria were evaluated the highest, Visegrad Group countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland) occupy the next positions.

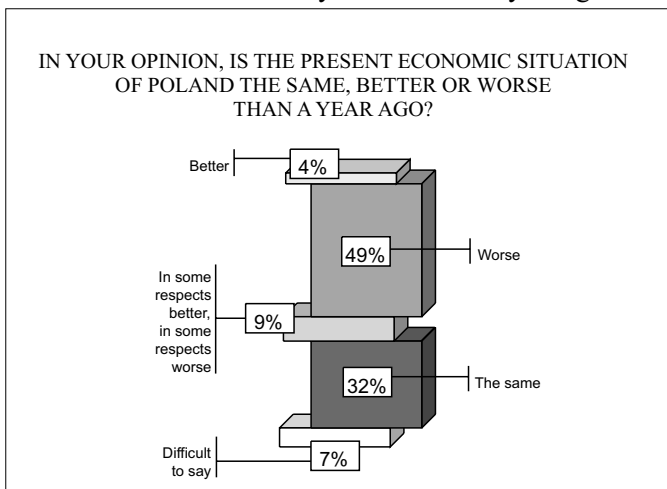
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "How do Poles perceive the countries of our region?", May 2000.

FOUNDATIONS FOR THE EVALUATION OF THE POLISH ECONOMY

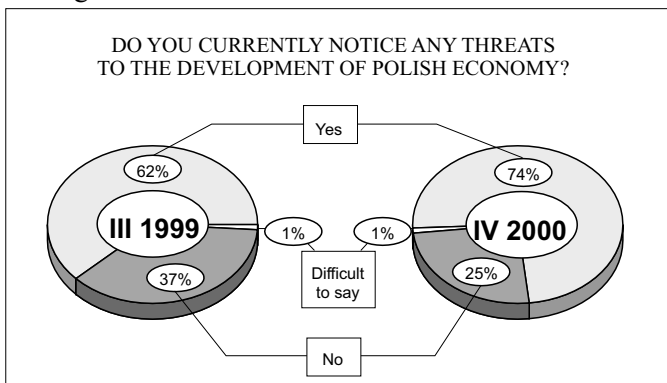
According to experts, the Polish economy is doing well, although some recent trends may be a cause for concern. The economic growth is slower than a few

years ago, though in view of the general economic situation in Europe Poland still is one of the leaders in our region in this respect. On the other hand, insufficient growth of export and an increase of trade deficit up to a dangerous level (over 8% of GDP) as well as the fact that inflation and unemployment began to grow give rise to concern.

Irrespective of the economic data, Poles have been expressing clearly negative opinions on the economic condition for quite a long time. Pessimistic evaluations outnumber optimistic ones also with regard to future chances for economic growth. One may say that the opinions of Poles in this respect are much more pessimistic than objective data. A year ago over half of respondents (54%) evaluated the economic situation of Poland negatively, and now this percentage is even bigger (59%). At the same time, every other respondent believes that the condition of Polish economy is worse than a year ago.

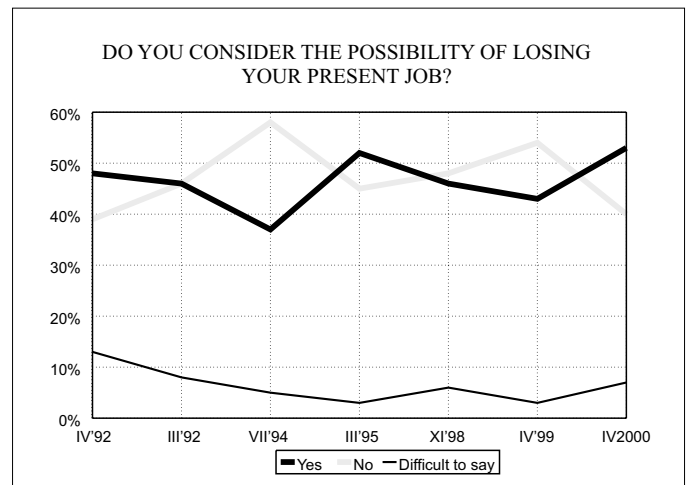


Respondents are critical about changes in their living conditions. Over two-fifths (43%) evaluate the current standard of living of their families as worse than a year ago. Very few (5%) notice an improvement as compared with the previous year. Moreover, most optimists represent one social group: managers and the intelligentsia.

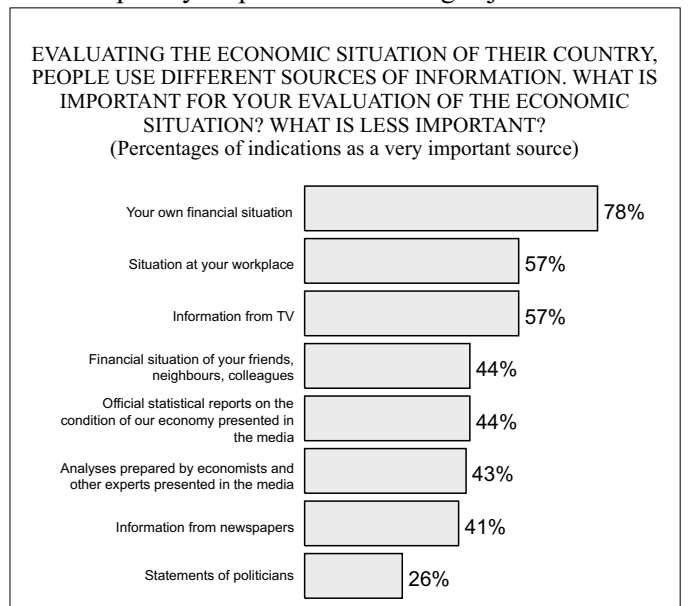


Four-fifths of respondents (80% - by 10 percentage points more than a year ago) regard mistakes in the policy of the government as the most important source of threat to the Polish economy. The most frequently mentioned threats include: high unemployment, privatisation (which obtains critical evaluations), inadequate agricultural policy.

It seems that pessimistic evaluations of the condition of our economy are first and foremost associated with unfulfilled expectations that the average standard of living would quickly improve. The Poles evaluate the economic situation of the country mainly from the perspective of their own financial situation and expectations in this respect, based on the comparison to the standard of living of well-off social groups that have benefited from the economic changes. Evaluation of the economic situation is also associated with the perception of the political situation of the country, especially the attitude towards the government and the evaluation of its reliability. The most important factors affecting social opinions on the economy are the evaluation of individual living conditions and the perception of the situation at the workplace.



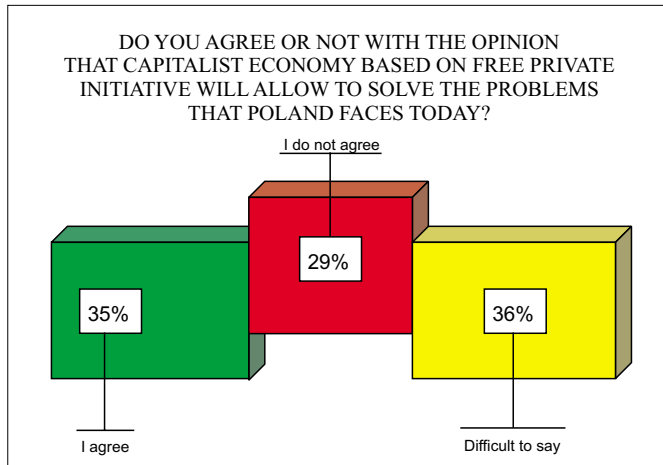
It should be noted that in the respondents' opinion official economic reports, economic data published in the media and declarations of experts are more important than the statements of politicians, who, as we may suppose, are more frequently suspected of not being objective.



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports: "Social grounds for evaluation of the condition of the Polish economy", "The feeling of being informed about the activities of political institutions. Sources of information on economy", May 2000.

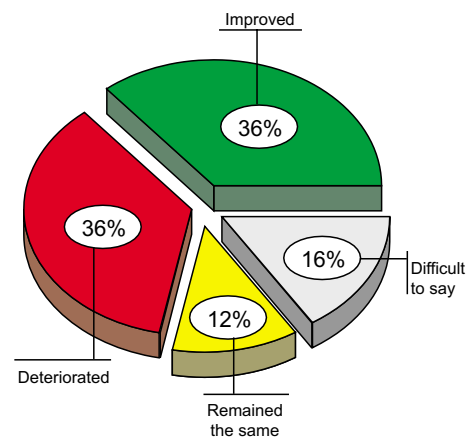
ATTITUDE TO MARKET ECONOMY

Pessimistic evaluations of the economic situation are associated with scepticism as to the advantages of the market economy. Although in the opinion of the largest percentage of Poles free market capitalism is the best economic system for our country (41% of positive answers), the possibility of solving economic problems through implementation of the principles of market economy is evaluated less optimistically.



Respondents are even more critical to liberal solutions when restricting the role of the state and its influence on the economic life is mentioned in the question. In that case two-fifths of respondents (40%) share the view that the establishment of market economy not controlled by the state is not good for the future of Poland. A slightly lower percentage (38%) regard it as beneficial. On the whole, in the respondents' opinion the functioning of market economy in our country is far from perfect. Two-thirds of respondents (68%) are to a greater or smaller extent dissatisfied with the functioning of market economy in Poland. Only one in five persons is satisfied (20%).

IN YOUR OPINION, AS COMPARED WITH THE LAST YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM, I.E. THE SECOND HALF OF 1980s, HAS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY IMPROVED, DETERIORATED OR REMAINED THE SAME?



Critical opinions on the fact that the whole social and economic life is governed by market mechanisms are associated with certain rehabilitation of left-wing ideas and an increase of their popularity. After several months of domination of right-wing self-identification, since April 1999 we have observed a shift to the left in the political declarations of Poles. In April 2000 more than a quarter of respondents (29%) declared left-wing political views and only 21% described their political views as right-wing. We also observe a certain decrease in the critical opinions on socialism as compared to 1995, slightly less persons regard the nature of that system as utopian (30%). At the same time, the percentage of respondents who believe that socialism was the right, although badly implemented idea has grown to 47%. If these political moods do not change, they may be reflected in the results of the parliamentary elections to be held next year.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report: "The Poles on the market economy, socialism and economic changes of the last decade", May 2000.

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

Obligations of the state towards citizens and obligations of citizens towards the state
 Political party preferences in May
 Tax settlement for 1999
 Popularity of presidential candidates
 Attitude to the government before the crisis in the coalition
 Trust in politicians in May
 Who would prefer to live in the PRL (Poland before 1989)
 The state and the interests of citizens in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary
 Evaluation of the functioning of democracy in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary

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