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### **IN ADDITION**

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

- The Event of 2023 in Poland and Around the World
- Moods on the Job Market in January
- Activities and Experiences of Poles in 2023
- Trust in Politicians in January
- Social Moods in January
- Assessment of the activities of the parliament, president and local authorities in January
- Rural Inhabitants and Politics
- Social Moods in 2023
- Psychological Wellbeing in 2023
- Moods on the Job Market in December 2023
- Politician of the Year 2023 in Poland and in the World

# First evaluations of the government of Donald Tusk

The transfer of power to the new coalition government took an exceptionally long time. Donald Tusk's cabinet was sworn in almost two months after the October elections, on December 13 2023, after an unsuccessful attempt by Mateusz Morawiecki's third government to obtain a vote of confidence in the Sejm. The circumstances in which the current ruling coalition came to power and the quick and controversial actions of the government (e.g. regarding changes in the public media) could have meant that the government had practically no "honeymoon period", i.e. a time when the public opinion gives the government a lot of trust at the start and refrains from expressing criticism.

Public reactions to the formation of Donald Tusk's government are varied. Twofifths of respondents (40%) express hope for an improvement in the situation in the country following the appointment of Donald Tusk's government. However, slightly fewer people (37%) are afraid that it will be worse than before. Only 8% believe that nothing will change, and 11% declare indifference towards the government.

# What is your reaction to formation of the government of Prime Minister ...

|                                  | %                                      |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Tadeusz Mazowiecki (IX '89)      | 82 2 <mark>8</mark> 4 9                |
| Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (I '91)   | 47 9 21 7 16                           |
| Jan Olszewski (I '92)            | 29 13 41 8 <mark>9</mark>              |
| Hanna Suchocka (VII '92)         | 63 <mark>6 7</mark> 11 <mark>12</mark> |
| Waldemar Pawlak (XI '93)         | 65 7 8 11 9                            |
| Józef Oleksy (IV '95)            | 47 12 14 16 11                         |
| Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (II '96) | 42 <b>13 11</b> 23 <b>12</b>           |
| Jerzy Buzek (XI '97)             | 44 11 14 18 12                         |
| Leszek Miller (XI '01)           | 48 <b>11 15 15 11</b>                  |
| Marek Belka (VII '04)            | 21 16 28 25 <mark>10</mark>            |
| Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz (XI '05) | 44 12 19 16 <mark>9</mark>             |
| Jarosław Kaczyński (VIII '06)*   | 31 23 34 12                            |
| Donald Tusk (XI '07)             | 59 8 16 10 7                           |
| Donald Tusk (XI '11)             | 28 16 37 14 <mark>6</mark>             |
| Ewa Kopacz (X '14)               | 36 19 <b>15</b> 22 <mark>8</mark>      |
| Beata Szydło (XII '15)           | 34 12 37 13 <mark>4</mark>             |
| Mateusz Morawiecki (I '18)       | 46 15 <b>13</b> 18 <mark>8</mark>      |
| Mateusz Morawiecki (XII '19)     | 39 14 28 14 <mark>5</mark>             |
| Donald Tusk (I '24)              | 40 8 37 11 4                           |
|                                  |                                        |

Compared to the previous cabinets, Donald Tusk's government arouses particularly strong emotions and at the same time contradictory reactions: a total of 77% of respondents expect good or bad changes.

Hopes related to the government are most often expressed by the besteducated and well-off people, residents of large cities. In socio-professional groups, such attitude is common among business owners, managers and specialists. Concerns about Donald Tusk's government in power are most often expressed by people with less education and less well-

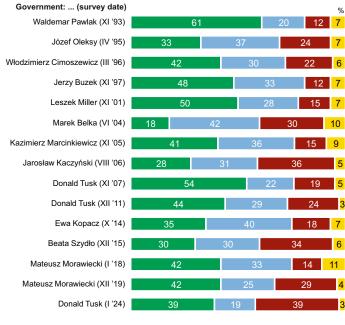
■ hope and belief ■ disappointment ■ anxiety and fear ■ indifference ■ Don't that things will because nothing that things will because you are know get better will change get worse not interested in this

off, rural residents, including farmers, people aged 55+, pensioners, the disabled, homemakers and others not in employment.

The intensification of the political conflict and controversies accompanying the takeover of power in the country by the new coalition are reflected in the declared attitude towards the current cabinet. The government's supporters include 39% of all respondents, and the same number describe themselves as its

opponents. Only less than one-fifth (19%) are indifferent towards the government. Taking into account the percentage of people avoiding declarations for or against the current government, it appears that no cabinet has so strongly engaged the emotions of Poles for over thirty years, and none of them had so many opponents at the beginning of its existence. So far, the government of Beata Szydło was the most controversial at the beginning of its activity (the percentage of its supporters was similar to the percentage of its opponents), but far more people kept their distance from the new cabinet or had no clear attitude towards it.

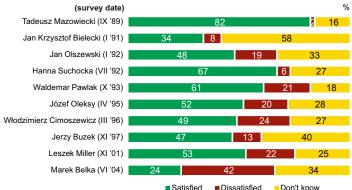
# Attitude towards governments at the beginning of their activity



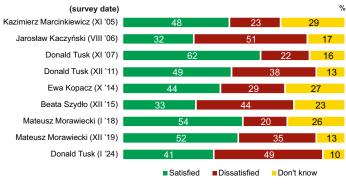
Supporters Indifferent Opponents On't know

Over two-fifths (41%) of Poles are satisfied that Donald Tusk is the head of the government. However, nearly half (49%) express disapproval of the Prime Minister. Only onetenth refrains from expressing their opinion. Donald Tusk is currently in a small group of heads of government, alongside Beata Szydło, Jarosław Kaczyński, and previously Marek Belka, who met with disapproval rather than acceptance on taking office. It was different in the autumn of 2007 and 2011, when Donald Tusk, upon becoming Prime Minister, elicited positive reactions.





#### Are you satisfied with the Prime Minister?



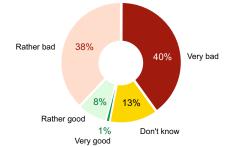
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "The First Ratings of Donald Tusk's Cabinet", January 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: January 2024, N=1015, mixed-mode interviews. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

### Opinions about the relations between the government and the president

Relations between the ruling coalition and President Andrzej Duda have been difficult from the beginning, as was already shown by the president's December veto of the budget-related bill, which was justified by president's disagreement with the procedure for introducing changes in public media, which - according to him -was a "gross violation of the Constitution and the principles of the state based on democracy and the rule of law." Coalition politicians explain the controversial way of implementing changes in the country by the expected problems in cooperation with the head of state.

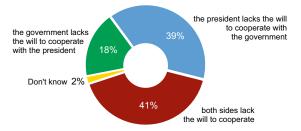
The belief that there is poor cooperation between Donald Tusk's government and President Andrzej Duda is quite common. This opinion is shared not only by voters of all major political parties, but also by people who distance themselves from politics.

### How do you assess the cooperation between Donald Tusk's government and President Andrzej Duda?



In public opinion, it is the president rather than the government who lacks the will to cooperate. This is the opinion of 39% of respondents who describe the relations between the two authorities as bad. More than half as many people (18%) blame the government. A significant proportion (41%) blame both sides for the poor relations between the government and the president.

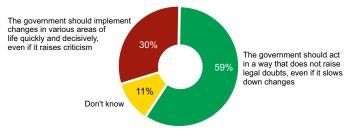
#### Which opinion is closest to your own view



Responses from people assessing the cooperation between Donald Tusk's government and President Andrzej Duda as bad.

The majority of respondents (59%) expect the government to act in a way that does not raise legal doubts, even if it slows down the implementation of changes. Less than one-third (30%) believe that the government should make changes in various areas of life quickly and decisively, even if it gives rise to criticism.

#### Which opinion is closer to your own view?

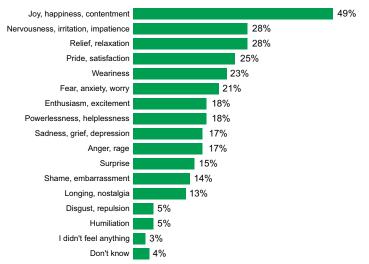


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS Flash publication in Polish: "Opinions about the relations between the government and the president", February 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: January 2024, N=1000, telephone interviews. The quota sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

### **Emotional experiences of Poles**

Responses to the question about the emotions people felt on the day before the study show that positive and negative emotions are mixed in everyday life, although the feeling of happiness, joy and satisfaction clearly outweighs the rest, as it was indicated by half of the respondents (49%).

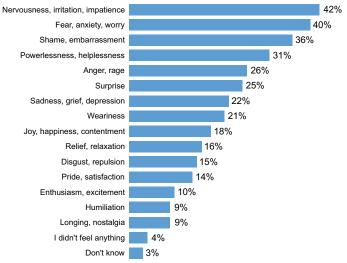
# We feel different emotions every day. What emotions did you feel yesterday?



The youngest respondents (18-24 years old) stand out from others in terms of feeling positive emotions, primarily happiness (74% felt it the day before the survey) and excitement (36%), as well as pride (32%). They felt helpless (11%), nervous (23%) and humiliated (0%) less often than others, and were noticeably more tired (35%). Respondents aged 25 to 34 also compare positively to others when it comes to mental well-being. They felt enthusiasm (29%) and relaxation (37%) more than others, but experienced anger (10%), embarrassment (8%), and anxiety (16%) less often. People aged 35-44 are distinguished positively by pride (36%), and negatively by anxiety (16%). Those aged 45 to 54 were more likely than others to feel embarrassed (21%), and less likely to feel happy (43%). People over 54 felt less excited and enthusiastic (13%). The oldest respondents (65+) are in the weakest mental condition. Compared to the general population, they experienced less joy (38%), satisfaction (14%) and relaxation (19%), and more powerlessness (25%), humiliation (11%) and anger (22%).

The emotional state of society is completely different regarding the current situation in Poland. The eight most frequently felt emotions are - apart from one neutral – all negative feelings, with the predominance of nervousness (42%), anxiety (40%) and shame (36%).

# What do you feel when you think about the current situation in Poland?

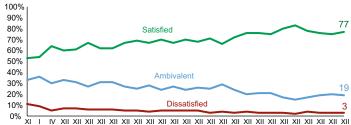


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS Flash publication in Polish: "Emotional states of Polish people", February 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: January 2024, N=1000, telephone interviews. The quota sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

### Satisfaction with life

Compared to the 2022 ratings, overall life satisfaction reported in 2023 changed little. Currently, over three quarters of Poles feel satisfied with their lives (77%) Almost one-fifth (19%) describe their level of life satisfaction as average. Only three out of a hundred (3%) are dissatisfied with their lives. Compared to the previous year, the general level of life satisfaction improved slightly (the percentage of those satisfied increased by 2 points) and is similar to that recorded in 2020.

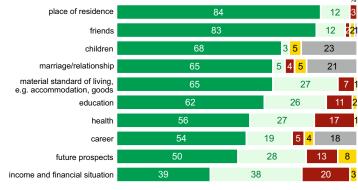
#### Are you satisfied with your life in general?



Men and women equally often declare satisfaction with their life (77% each). It is directly proportional to the assessment of the material standard of living. Among respondents who consider their financial situation as bad, only 39% feel satisfied in life, while among those who consider it average 66% are, and among those who think it is good, as many as 87% are satisfied. Moreover, people who frequently participate in religious practices are clearly more satisfied with life (those who practice several times a week, 87%; once a week, 79%), while among the non-practitioners only 67% share this attitude.

As regards particular aspects of life, Poles most often declare satisfaction with their relationships with friends and closest acquaintances (83% satisfied), and they are also happy with their current place of residence (84%). More than two-thirds of all respondents (68%) are content with their children, and in the group of people with children, the percentage of those who are satisfied is as high as 92%. Almost two-thirds of all respondents express happiness with their marriage or informal relationship (65%, and among those currently in a relationship, 85%). There are equally many people satisfied with the material conditions of living, such as apartment, equipment, etc. (65%). Less than two-thirds declare satisfaction with the level of their education and qualifications (62%). More than half are happy with their health (56%). Almost as many people declare satisfaction with their professional career and achievements (54% among all respondents and 66% among those who work or have worked in the past). Half of all respondents express satisfaction with their future prospects.

Poles find the least reasons for life satisfaction in their income or, more generally, their current financial situation (39% of positive responses). A similar group declare that they are moderately satisfied with their income (38%), and one-fifth of adult Poles are unhappy with their financial status (20%).

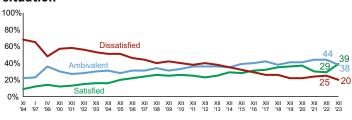


How satisfied are you with your...

Satisfied Ambivalent Dissatisfied Don't know/ Refusal Not applicabl

After a period of noticeable decline in satisfaction with various aspects of life, most likely related to the pandemic and later to the increase in inflation, at the end of 2023 the general mood of Poles got better. The most spectacular improvement was seen in the worst perceived aspect of life, i.e. the assessment of one's own income and overall financial situation. In this dimension, the level of satisfaction increased year-on-year by as much as 10 percentage points: from 29% to 39%. At the same time, the proportion of dissatisfied people decreased by 5 points: from 25% to 20%. This means that - taking into account a longer time perspective - assessments of one's own financial situation are the best in the history of CBOS research, i.e. since 1994.

### How satisfied are you with your income and financial situation



Not applicable, don't know omitted.

More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Life Satisfaction in 2023", January 2024. Fieldwork dates for the sample: December 2023, N=1015, mixed-mode interviews. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

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