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# Spotlight on Poland: Negative Views of Russia Surge, but Ratings for U.S., NATO, EU Improve

More than nine-in-ten Poles see Russia as a major threat and have no confidence at all in Putin

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### How we did this

This Pew Research Center analysis focuses on public opinion in Poland. Polish views of Russia, NATO and the European Union are examined in the context of long-term trend data. The report also explores Poland's own role in Europe and the world. This report draws on a nationally representative survey of 1,043 adults from March 25 to May 5, 2022. The survey was conducted face to face in Poland.

Here are the <u>questions used for the report</u>, along with responses, and the <u>survey methodology</u>.

# Spotlight on Poland: Negative Views of Russia Surge, but Ratings for U.S., NATO, EU Improve

More than nine-in-ten Poles see Russia as a major threat and have no confidence at all in Putin

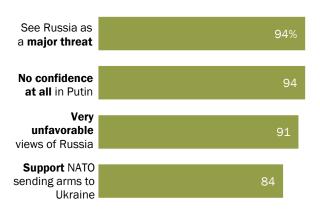
The Russian invasion of Ukraine has led to a dramatic shift in attitudes in Poland, a key European partner and one which only three decades ago was part of the former Soviet Union's Eastern Bloc. Negative attitudes among Poles towards Russia are at all-time highs since Pew Research Center began tracking opinion on this question in 2007, with virtually unanimous negative opinions of the Russian state.

Currently, 94% see Russia as a major threat, up from 65% who said this in 2018, and 94% have no confidence at all in Russian President Vladimir Putin – also an all-time high.

The sharp decline in positive attitudes toward Russia has benefited Poland's western allies, specifically the United States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the

# Poles view Russia as a major threat and support NATO sending arms to Ukraine

% who (have) ...



Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5f, 18c, 43c & 46a. "Spotlight on Poland: Negative Views of Russia Surge, but Ratings for U.S., NATO, EU Improve"

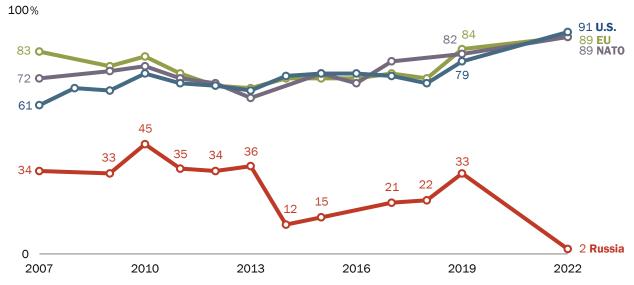
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European Union (Poland is a member of both NATO and the EU). Around nine-in-ten Poles have a favorable view of the U.S., NATO and the EU, all of which represent the highest shares since 2007.

In terms of Poland's relationship with the U.S., the increase in favorable attitudes toward America coincides with a strong 82% confidence rating for U.S. President Joe Biden, a marked increase from the 51% who had confidence in former President Donald Trump in 2019. In addition, roughly two-thirds in Poland see having a close relationship with the U.S. as more important than having one with Russia. Only 1% want a closer relationship with Russia, while 28% volunteer that both are equally important. Just three years ago, more than half of Poles (53%) offered that both relationships are equally important.

#### Polish views of Russia at all-time low as U.S., EU & NATO ratings hit record highs

% who have a **favorable** view of ...



Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5a,c,e & f.

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The shift in attitudes also benefits Polish views of the NATO alliance. Roughly nine-in-ten Poles have a favorable view of NATO, including 34% with *very* favorable opinions of the military alliance. Currently, 84% of Poles support arming Ukraine through NATO and 75% want Ukraine to become a NATO member, a substantial increase in support since 2015. In addition, roughly two-thirds in Poland say they would support their country using military force to defend a NATO ally from a hypothetical Russian military action, and about the same share say the U.S. would defend that NATO ally. This support for military action in the event of a Russian attack on a NATO ally is up a considerable amount since the question was last asked in 2019.

Another clear beneficiary of the decline in ratings for Russia is the EU: It has received its highest rating in Poland (89%) since Pew Research Center began asking the question in 2007. And Poles are now much more likely than they were in 2018 to say that the EU understands the needs of Polish citizens and promotes democratic values, prosperity and peace. Fewer now also say that the EU is intrusive or inefficient. A majority (57%) says that the economic integration of Europe has strengthened the Polish economy.

More than three million Ukrainians have fled to Poland since Russia's invasion, and eight-in-ten Poles now support taking refugees from countries where people are fleeing violence and war, up from 49% who held that view in 2018.

These are among the major findings of a Pew Research Center nationally representative survey of Poland, conducted from March 25 to May 5, 2022, among 1,043 people. Interviews were conducted face to face in people's homes and the data is weighted to reflect the overall demographic composition of Poland. This report coincides with a <u>larger survey of 18</u> countries on attitudes toward the U.S., Russia and NATO.

#### Additional findings include:

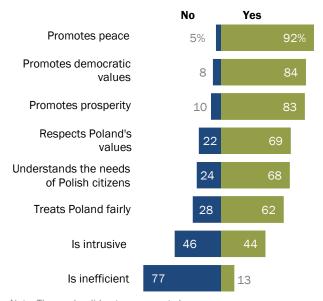
 Attitudes toward Russia are negative across all demographic groups, but attitudes toward the U.S. and the EU are more favorable among Poles ages 18 to

29. Over half of 18- to 29-year-olds have a *very* favorable view of both the U.S. and the EU, compared with only about two-in-ten among Poles 65 and older.

- Similarly, younger Poles are much more likely than their older counterparts to say that the EU understands the needs of Polish citizens and that the EU is not intrusive.
- Politically, there are divides on attitudes toward the EU among supporters and
  nonsupporters of the governing Law and Justice Party (PiS). Generally, those who hold an
  unfavorable view of Law and Justice tend to see the EU in a much more favorable light and
  say the EU promotes prosperity and respects Polish values. On the other hand, those who
  support PiS are much less likely to express positive opinions about the EU. Still, attitudes
  towards Russia and Putin are equally negative among both PiS supporters and
  nonsupporters.

# Most Poles say EU promotes peace, democratic values and prosperity

% who say the European Union ...



Note: Those who did not answer not shown. Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q39a-h. "Spotlight on Poland: Negative Views of Russia Surge, but Ratings for U.S., NATO, EU Improve"

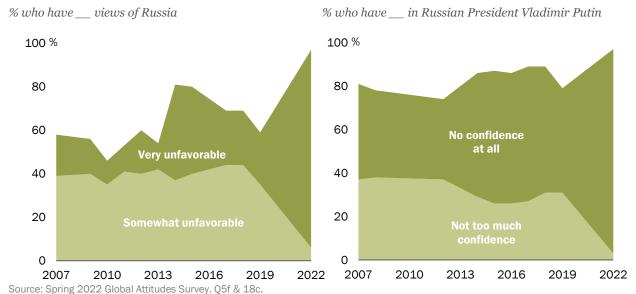
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### As critical views of Russia, Putin reach new highs, Poles turn to U.S.

Polish views of Russia are more critical than ever, with nearly all Poles (97%) holding an unfavorable view of the country, including 91% who have a *very* unfavorable view. The share who hold a very negative view of Russia has increased by 67 percentage points since the question was last asked in 2019.

Poles express equally unfavorable views of Russia regardless of age, level of education or ideology. Apprehension about Russia's power and influence has tracked in the same direction. While 65% said Russia's power and influence posed a major threat to Poland in 2017 and 2018, 94% now hold this view — an increase of 29 percentage points.

#### **Record high negative ratings of Russia and Putin**



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Distrust in Russia's president has likewise reached new highs. Almost all Poles say they have little or no confidence in Putin (97%), including 94% who have no confidence at all. The degree of distrust has also increased dramatically since 2019, when nearly a third of Poles (31%) had not too much confidence in Putin. Now, virtually every Pole has no confidence at all in the Russian leader.

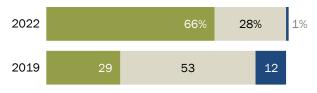
Alongside this increasing wariness of Russia and Putin, Poles favor a closer relationship with the U.S. About two-thirds in Poland now say having a close relationship to the U.S. is more important than having a close relationship to Russia or to both countries. Roughly three-inten consider both relationships equally important, and just 1% prefer prioritizing the relationship with Russia. In 2019, about half of Poles (53%) were more willing to volunteer that close relationships with both the U.S. and Russia were equally important.

Younger Poles are particularly likely to say a close relationship with the U.S. is more important. While 74% of adults under age 30

# Majority in Poland favor close ties with U.S. rather than both Russia and U.S.

% who say \_\_\_ for Poland

- Having a close relationship to the U.S. is more important
- Both relationships are equally important (VOL)
- Having a close relationship to Russia is more important



Note: Those who did not answer not shown.
Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q42.
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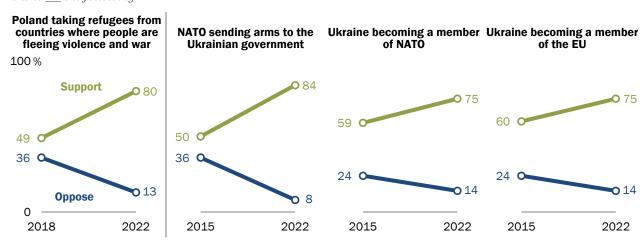
say having a close relationship to the U.S. is more important, 63% of those 65 and older say the same.

# In Poland, high levels of support for taking in refugees, arming Ukraine through NATO

Poles increasingly support their country taking in refugees from countries where people are fleeing violence and war. Eight-in-ten now approve of Poland admitting such refugees, which is a 31 percentage point increase from 2018.

# Poles increasingly support taking in refugees, NATO arming Ukraine and allowing Ukraine to join NATO and the EU

% who \_\_\_ the following



Note: Those who did not answer not shown. For full question wording, see topline.

Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q41, Q46a-c.

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More than eight-in-ten also say they support NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian government in response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine. In 2015, only half in Poland approved of NATO arming the Ukrainian government to defend itself against Russia. Support for Ukraine joining NATO and the EU has similarly increased by double digits from about six-in-ten to 75% since 2015 (a year after Russia's annexation of Crimea, which few countries have recognized, and its initial invasion of the Donbas region of Ukraine).

When asked about a hypothetical military conflict between Russia and a neighboring NATO ally, 65% of people in Poland say their country should use military force to defend that neighbor, 15% reject the use of military force and 19% do not provide an answer. This is an increase of 25 points from 2019 (40% said they supported using military force then) and a return to levels of support last seen in 2017 (62%). Men are more likely than women to say that Poland should defend the

neighbor using military force, as are Poles with unfavorable views of the governing Law and Justice party compared with those with favorable views of PiS.

Poles are also optimistic that the U.S. would step in if a neighboring NATO ally was in a military conflict with Russia. Roughly two-thirds (66%) believe the U.S. would use military force to defend the neighboring ally. Optimism about U.S. intervention on behalf of a NATO ally has increased by 19 points since 2019 and is the highest recorded since the question was first asked in 2015. Views on U.S. military intervention are similar among both men and women and those with differing views of Law and Justice.

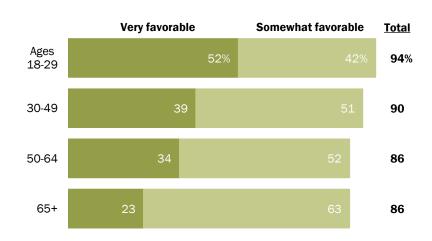
### Polish opinions of the European Union are increasingly positive

Nearly nine-in-ten Poles (89%) have a favorable view of the European Union, the highest rating since the Center began asking this question in 2007. The intensity of these positive views has also increased to record highs; 37% have a *very* favorable opinion of the organization.

While overall favorability is high across age groups, the degree of support varies widely. Young Poles – those ages 18 to 29 – are particularly likely to have *very* favorable views of the EU (52%). Only around a quarter of those ages 65 and older offer the same very favorable ratings.

# Younger Poles are more likely to strongly favor the European Union than older ones

% who have a \_\_\_ opinion of the European Union



Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5c.

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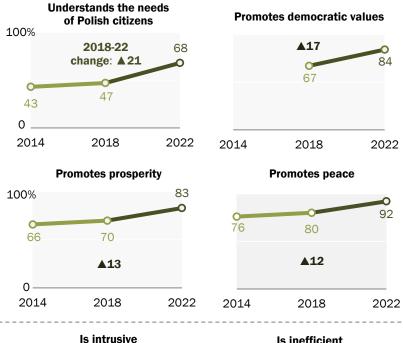
The concentration of favorable views also varies between those who support the governing Law and Justice party and those who do not. Nearly all (94%) Poles with unfavorable views of PiS have a positive opinion of the EU, including 46% who have *very* favorable views. While 83% of PiS supporters also have favorable opinions of the EU, just 27% are *very* favorable.

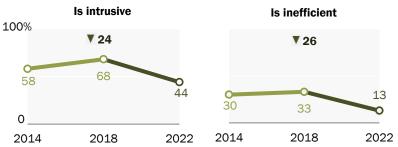
Polish opinion of the EU is also climbing on more specific characteristics. Large majorities of Poles say the EU promotes peace, democratic values and prosperity. Smaller but still substantial majorities say the EU respects Poland's values (69%), understands the needs of Polish citizens (68%) and treats Poland fairly (62%). These ratings have risen significantly since 2018 on each item for which trend data is available. Conversely, decreasing shares call the EU intrusive or inefficient.

As with general favorability towards the European Union, ratings on specific characteristics differ greatly by partisanship. Poles with favorable views of Law and Justice are more critical of the EU, particularly on items that address the organization's relationship with Poland. Fewer than half of PiS supporters say the EU treats Poland fairly, respects Poland's values or understands the

# Growing share of Poles have positive opinions of EU values and actions

% who say the European Union ...





Note: All changes shown are statistically significant. Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q39a-f. "Spotlight on Poland: Negative Views of Russia Surge, but Ratings for U.S., NATO, EU Improve"

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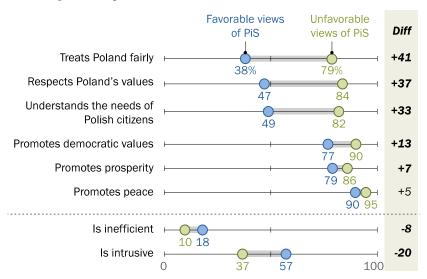
needs of Polish citizens while around eight-in-ten or more of those with unfavorable views of PiS hold those opinions. On more general items – such as whether or not the EU promotes prosperity or democratic values – PiS supporters are still more critical than their counterparts, though to a lesser degree.

Following the same trend, those who hold favorable opinions of Law and Justice are more likely to call the EU intrusive and inefficient than those who do not favor the governing party.

When asked to evaluate Poland's economy since the economic integration of Europe, 57% say it has become stronger, a significant decrease from the 71% who shared the same view in 2019. This drop is driven largely by those with unfavorable opinions of Law and Justice. In 2019, 71% of Poles believed the economy had strengthened regardless of support for PiS. Now, 69% of Poles with favorable views of PiS say the economy has

### Poles with favorable views of Law and Justice party hold less positive opinions of EU, especially on fairness

% who say the European Union\_\_\_



Note: Statistically significant differences shown in **bold**.

Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey. Q39a-h.

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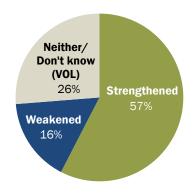
strengthened, while just 52% of those with unfavorable views of the governing party say the same.

Views of economic integration also relate to current ratings of Poland's economy at large. Today, just 46% of Poles say their overall economic situation is good, also a significant decrease from 2019 when positive ratings stood at 74%. Nearly seven-inten (68%) of those who offer a positive evaluation of their economy also think it benefited from the economic integration of Europe, while fewer than half (49%) of those who say the economy is bad agree.

While Poles, on balance, say their economy has strengthened, they do not say the same for their country's influence in the world. Nearly half (49%) say Poland's influence has stayed about the same in recent years. About a third (34%) say it has gotten stronger and another 12% say it is weaker. Like partisan patterns on views of the economic integration of Europe, supporters of the governing party are significantly more likely to say Poland's influence is getting stronger than those with unfavorable opinions of Law and Justice (45% vs. 27% respectively).

# Poles say country was strengthened by economic integration of Europe

% who say Poland was \_\_\_ by the economic integration of Europe



Source: Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey, 038.

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## **Methodology**

### **About Pew Research Center's Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey**

Results for the survey are based on face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Gallup. The results are based on a national sample. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are <u>available here</u>.

## **Topline questionnaire**

### Pew Research Center Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey June 22, 2022 Release

#### Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100% because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
  - Poland in March 2003
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2022 Global Attitudes Survey are presented in this
  topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in
  future reports.

				omic situation, he – is it very good,			
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	6	40	33	19	2	100
	Spring, 2019	12	62	19	3	3	100
	Spring, 2018	5	64	20	6	4	100
	Spring, 2017	3	61	25	6	5	100
	Spring, 2016	3	46	38	8	6	100
	Spring, 2015	1	37	46	13	3	100
	Spring, 2014	1	28	52	16	3	100
	Spring, 2013	2	25	51	19	2	100
	Spring, 2012	3	26	46	23	3	100
	Spring, 2011	1	25	49	22	3	100
	Spring, 2010	5	48	36	8	3	100
	Fall, 2009	2	36	47	12	3	100
	Spring, 2009	2	27	50	15	6	100
	Spring, 2008	3	49	36	6	6	100
	Spring, 2007	0	36	48	13	3	100
	Summer, 2002	0	7	40	51	2	100

		Q5a. Please tell		a very favorable			at unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	36	55	3	0	5	100
	Spring, 2019	19	60	10	3	8	100
	Spring, 2018	13	57	15	3	12	100
	Spring, 2017	11	62	12	3	14	100
	Spring, 2016	8	66	13	3	10	100
	Spring, 2015	12	62	15	2	9	100
	Spring, 2014	11	62	16	3	7	100
	Spring, 2013	9	58	21	3	10	100
	Spring, 2012	9	60	21	5	6	100
	Spring, 2011	7	63	16	3	10	100
	Spring, 2010	14	60	17	2	6	100
	Spring, 2009	7	60	18	6	9	100
	Spring, 2008	6	62	20	4	8	100
	Spring, 2007	12	49	25	6	9	100
	Spring, 2005	11	51	18	5	14	100
	Summer, 2002	14	65	10	1	10	100

		Q5c. Please tell		a very favorable			at unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	37	52	6	2	3	100
	Spring, 2019	27	57	10	4	3	100
	Spring, 2018	19	53	15	6	7	100
	Spring, 2017	17	57	15	4	7	100
	Spring, 2016	11	61	18	4	6	100
	Spring, 2015	9	63	19	3	6	100
	Spring, 2014	13	59	18	4	7	100
	Spring, 2013	8	60	24	4	5	100
	Spring, 2012	10	59	20	5	6	100
	Spring, 2011	14	60	16	3	7	100
	Spring, 2010	21	60	12	2	5	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	12	3	7	100
	Spring, 2007	23	60	10	1	7	100

			Q5e. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of? e. NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2022	34	55	5	1	4	100		
	Spring, 2019	22	60	6	2	10	100		
	Spring, 2017	22	57	6	1	14	100		
	Spring, 2016	12	58	11	1	17	100		
	Spring, 2015	9	65	14	2	11	100		
	Spring, 2013	7	57	17	3	16	100		
	Spring, 2012	11	59	16	3	11	100		
	Spring, 2011	12	60	11	2	14	100		
	Spring, 2010	18	59	9	1	13	100		
	Fall, 2009	17	58	8	2	15	100		
	Spring, 2007	15	57	13	4	11	100		

		Q5f. Please tell	Q5f. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? f. Russia					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Poland	Spring, 2022	0	2	6	91	1	100	
	Spring, 2019	3	30	35	24	8	100	
	Spring, 2018	2	20	44	25	8	100	
	Spring, 2017	2	19	44	25	10	100	
	Spring, 2015	2	13	40	40	5	100	
	Spring, 2014	2	10	37	44	7	100	
	Spring, 2013	3	33	42	12	9	100	
	Spring, 2012	3	31	40	20	7	100	
	Spring, 2011	3	32	41	12	11	100	
	Spring, 2010	6	39	35	11	7	100	
	Spring, 2009	2	31	40	16	10	100	
	Spring, 2007	4	30	39	19	8	100	

Q14h. Thinking about each of the following countries, would you say its influence in the world in recent years has been getting stronger, getting weaker, or staying about the same? h. (Survey country)							
		Getting stronger	Getting weaker	Staying about the same	DK/Refused	Total	
Poland	Spring, 2022	34	12	49	4	100	

			Q18c. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. c. Russian President Vladimir Putin						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2022	0	2	3	94	1	100		
	Spring, 2019	2	13	31	48	7	100		
	Spring, 2018	1	6	31	58	4	100		
	Spring, 2017	0	4	27	62	7	100		
	Spring, 2016	1	6	26	60	7	100		
	Spring, 2015	1	8	26	61	3	100		
	Spring, 2014	1	7	29	57	4	100		
	Spring, 2012	3	16	37	37	8	100		
	Spring, 2008	1	13	38	40	7	100		
	Spring, 2007	0	7	37	44	12	100		

		Q38. In the long run, do you think that (survey country)'s overall economy has been strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Europe?						
		Strengthened	Weakened	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2022	57	16	22	4	100		
	Spring, 2019	71	12	13	4	100		
	Spring, 2015	53	29	14	4	100		
	Spring, 2014	53	26	16	5	100		
	Spring, 2013	41	38	15	6	100		
	Spring, 2012	48	29	15	8	100		
	Spring, 2010	68	16	9	6	100		
	Fall, 2009	53	28	15	4	100		

		Q39a. Do you	think the Europe	an Union? a. F	romotes peace
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	92	5	3	100
	Spring, 2018	80	12	8	100
	Spring, 2014	76	18	5	100

		Q39b. Do you think the European Union? b. Promotes prosperity					
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2022	83	10	7	100		
	Spring, 2018	70	18	12	100		
	Spring, 2014	66	25	9	100		

		Q39c. Do yo	ou think the Euro democra	opean Union? o tic values	c. Promotes
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	84	8	8	100
	Spring, 2018	67	18	15	100

				an Union? d. U try nationality) d	
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	68	24	9	100
	Spring, 2018	47	42	11	100
	Spring, 2014	43	49	8	100

		Q39e. Do you think the European Union? e. Is intrusive				
		Yes No DK/Refused Total				
Poland	Spring, 2022	44	46	9	100	
Spring, 2018		68	24	9	100	
	Spring, 2014	58	33	9	100	

		Q39f. Do you think the European Union? f. Is inefficient					
		Yes No DK/Refused Total					
Poland	Spring, 2022	13	77	10	100		
Spring, 2018		33	50	17	100		
	Spring, 2014	30	60	10	100		

		Q39g. Do you think the European Union? g. Treats (survey country) fairly					
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2022	62	62 28 10 100				

		Q39h. Do you think the European Union? h. Respects (survey country)'s values					
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2022	69	69 22 10 100				

		Q41. Thinking about immigration, would you support or oppose (survey country) taking refugees from countries where people are fleeing violence and war?				
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total	
Poland	Spring, 2022	80 13 8 100				
	Spring, 2018	49	36	14	100	

			Q42. Which is	more important f	or (survey count	ry)?	
		Having a close relationship to the United States		Both relationships are equally important (DO NOT READ)	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	66	1	28	2	3	100
	Spring, 2019	29	12	53	4	2	100

		Q43c. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for (survey country). Do you think that each of the following is a major threat, a minor threat, or not a threat to (survey country)? c. Russia's power and influence					
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	
Poland	Spring, 2022	94	4	2	1	100	
	Spring, 2018	65	22	8	5	100	
	Spring, 2017	65	25	5	5	100	

		Q44. If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is our NATO ally, do you think (survey country) should or should not use military force to defend that country?				
		Yes, should No, should not use military use military force force DK/Refused Total				
Poland	Spring, 2022	65	19	16	100	
	Spring, 2019	40	43	18	100	
	Spring, 2017	62	26	12	100	
	Spring, 2015	48	34	17	100	

		Q45. And do you think the United States would or would not use military force to defend that country?					
		Yes, would No, would not use military force force DK/Refused Total					
Poland	Spring, 2022	66	15	19	100		
	Spring, 2019	47	30	23	100		
	Spring, 2017	<b>Spring, 2017</b> 57 26 17					
	Spring, 2015	49	31	20	100		

		Q46a. In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose each of the following actions? a. NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian government			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2022	84	8	8	100
	Spring, 2015	50	36	14	100

		Q46b. In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose each of the following actions? b. Ukraine becoming a member of NATO				
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total	
Poland	Spring, 2022	75 14 12 100				
	Spring, 2015	59	24	17	100	

		Ukraine, do	Q46c. In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose each of the following actions? c. Ukraine becoming a member of the EU				
		Support	Support Oppose DK/Refused Total				
Poland Spring, 2022		75	14	11	100		
	Spring, 2015	60 24 16 100					