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EVALUATION STUDY ON STRATEGY FOR INFORMATION AND AWARENESS-RAISING CAMPAIGNS ABOUT EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN POLAND

Education and Culture Series

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present report covers an analysis and evaluation of the informational, educational, and promotional "Euro-initiatives" being launched in Poland. The research describes activities which will raise the level of awareness in Polish society as regards European integration and build up support for Poland's accession to the European Union (EU). These activities were taken up by various institutions, such as governmental and non-governmental organisations, Church, trade unions, colleges and universities, and the media. They were financed by the government, EU institutions, Polish and foreign foundations as well as by various organisations themselves. What differentiated these activities were the financial resources, the type of target group, and location of the project. The research activities consisted not only of informational but also educational and promotional initiatives, and they shared at least one thing, i.e. their principal objective, which was to provide the recipients (Polish society) with detailed information and opinions on the EU and its enlargement as well as Poland's preparations for EU membership.

The present report tackles mainly the initiatives taken up in the year 2000. However, the research, analyses of the results, and drawn up recommendations refer to a longer period of the years 1998-2000, when the Polish Government formulated a national strategy of informing the Polish society about European integration, and when the number of "Euro-initiatives" grew rapidly.

1. The object of the study and the structure of the report

The report analyses the effectiveness of various types of information activities undertaken in Poland by various institutions. It takes two perspectives into account: that of the institutions which conduct the activities and that of the recipients. It is carried out on three levels. We consider the objectives of the institutions, implementation of the initiatives and the results of the activities. The report is divided into two parts. The first part analyses the activities of various types of institutions, the second contains a comparative analysis of the entire field of study. It is laid out according to the key questions and moves from the evaluation of the objectives of the information campaign (placing emphasis on the perspective of the provider) to an assessment of the effects of the initiative (placing emphasis on the perspective of the recipient).

2. Evaluation objectives

The study had the following objectives:

- Examination of the functioning of key elements of the system transmitting information on European integration;
- Examination of the effectiveness of informational campaigns on European integration with special interest given to the *best practice* examples;
- Recommendations concerning the elaboration of a cohesive informational strategy, which would take into account the specific needs of different target groups

3. An analysis of Euro-initiatives undertaken in Poland by various types of institutions

Information initiatives about European integration are widely diversified. They include both local activities directed at narrow groups of recipients as well as large scale national initiatives. Local activities are the domain of non-governmental organisations which are very active in Poland, also in the sphere of informing about integration. Information activities of non-governmental organisations, local government as well as individual sectors and Church organisations must be seen in the context of the policy of the government Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE) and the Delegation of the European Commission in Warsaw. These two institutions control most of the financial resources which, through grant tenders and subsidies reach the organisations directly in charge of implementing Euro-initiatives. They also possess the information which may be distributed by smaller organisations, or is required for the smaller entities to be able to effectively work on the projects. These three requisites – grant tenders for non-government organisations and the media; information activity and the assistance of the UKIE - constitute the institutional context of all information activities concerning European integration in Poland.

Grant tenders have only partly fulfilled their role. UKIE has been changing the tender dates and requirements as well as the pool of funds available to the organisations. The tender requirements did not favour good applications or create an impression of stability. The Delegation of the European Commission did not provide sufficient assistance to the organisations in understanding the tender procedures. UKIE also failed to come up with an adequate proposal of assistance and training for non-governmental organisations. An overall plan for grant tenders as well as an information policy about the terms and conditions of awarding grants which would be agreed by the main organisers of the tenders, UKIE and the Delegation, is still lacking.

On the basis of the study including detailed interviews with the recipients of these initiatives we can draw some conclusions about the strictly informational activities undertaken by the Polish government (UKIE) and the Delegation of the European Commission; these institutions, although they have highly qualified staff at their disposal and often very good information materials, are not sufficiently active in making use of their potential. They provide information and assistance to those people and institutions that have applied for such assistance. These people have a very high opinion of the quality of information received. However, neither UKIE nor the Delegation reach the less interested and less mobile. This is due to a lack of co-ordination between various institutions. It is the role of UKIE to act as co-ordinator; unfortunately it does not fulfil it in a satisfactory manner.

3.1. Euro-initiatives launched by government institutions and bodies

Euro-initiatives implemented by government institutions and bodies are being taken up with the increasing participation of various social groups and non-governmental organisations, which results in greater effectiveness of these activities and creates a perception of the campaign as a common undertaking of the government and the public. However, the objective of diversifying the activities depending on the nature of the target group is not often fulfilled.

The government campaign assumes initiatives directed both at groups which actively seek information as well as at the more passive ones. In practice however, the majority of projects are directed at the active groups neglecting those communities and regions in the country

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which are less interested. As UKIE civil servants admit, 40% of the means assigned for Euroactivities remain in large cities. According to specialists only about 20% of these funds should be spent in large urban areas.

The main difficulties related to the implementation of the government Public Information Programme were primarily connected with limited funds from the state budget and aid programmes of the European Union, as well as insufficient co-ordination between the institutions. Despite numerous problems most of the campaign elements were fulfilled, and some have turned out to be particularly effective, for instance the incentives directed at specific social groups (especially young people and entrepreneurs), the creation of the network of Regional Centres of European Information, and publishing. Nonetheless, government institutions should come forward more often with information directed towards those less active and less interested in integration. They should put more emphasis on efficient flow of information and better coordination of the various activities in order to avoid duplicating them. The objectives of the Public Information Programme related to partnership with non-governmental and social organisations should be implemented consistently, there should be a stable plan of grant tenders, and Social Advisory Boards should start operating.

3.2 Euro-activities implemented by the Delegation of the European Commission and other foreign entities

The leading foreign entity which conducts European activities in Poland is the Delegation of the European Commission. Other entities taken into account – representative offices of the member states and foundations from the member states, with some exceptions, do not take up European activities on an on-going basis.

During the last three years the Delegation of the European Commission has undertaken a number of actions aimed at intensifying and co-ordinating EU information activity. However, in the opinion of their recipients these actions are insufficient and not visible enough in the Polish media, the information offered is too general and not adjusted to their needs, it does not keep pace with the pre-accession process. The Delegation should be more active in offering information and in its information material place less emphasis on general information on the EU and more on specific aspects of the Union enlargement, which are much more in demand among the Polish public.

3.3 European information in the Polish media

The vast majority of the Polish media, and certainly the largest and most influential, are in agreement about Poland's accession to the EU. However, the media have failed to develop their own manner of writing about European integration. It is predominantly a language of citations. Politicians, civil servants, documents and reports are quoted, while news is written in a "technical" jargon. The journalists themselves as well as their readers, listeners and viewers have already noticed the problem of an appropriate and understandable register for informing Poles about European integration. The predominantly passive attitude of Polish Television, which is indicated by most Poles as the preferred source of information, is yet another problem. It does not fully utilize its potential to inform viewers about integration.

3.4 Information and promotion activities about European integration undertaken by non-governmental organisations

The activities of non-governmental organisations in the area of European integration are largely ahead of government activities. NGOs have started to inform about integration long before the government Public Information Programme was developed. Third sector

organisations have a great deal of experience. Moreover, they employ people who are greatly committed to the task. 10 years of experience and human commitment contribute most to the great potential of these organisations.

Non-governmental organisations are mainly based on voluntary staff and are facing serious financial problems. In order to be effective they need institutional assistance from the government side as well as from donors. For this reason, particularly in those regions of Poland where NGOs are least represented, the "institutional capability building" component of project grants must be emphasised. The second significant type of assistance indicated by the study consists of expert support in applying for grants and settlement of projects. Grant tender procedures should also be simplified as most of the non-governmental organisations which deal with European information are small and active on a local scale.

The recipients of these initiatives have a very high regard for the activities of non-governmental organisations. They point at their local roots and awareness of the needs of participants. Very often non-governmental organisations serve as a link between the government and local communities, by for instance inviting the representatives of UKIE and other ministries to seminars, workshops and meetings. This increases the credibility and authority of both government officials as well as the non-governmental organisation.

An important process, which contributes to the effectiveness of information campaigns, is the creation of a network of information points. This makes information activities more public orientated, facilitates the exchange of information between institutions as well as improves the quality of all the activities. The study has shown that NGOs which operate within a network tend to be more effective than independent ones.

3.5 Euro-initiatives undertaken by employer and employee organisations

Since 1992 employer and employee organisations have been organising an increasing number of initiatives aimed at broadening European awareness. A vast majority of these activities have been on a limited scale and were first and foremost directed at those activists who held high positions in the union hierarchy. However, this does not diminish their potential significance which is mostly due to the mass nature of these organisations, especially trade unions.

So far Euro-initiatives have been instrumental in persuading the leading figures about the key significance of European integration issues for the current as well as future activity of these organisations. At the moment all of these organisations acknowledge the need to conduct large scale training and other types of activity which promotes knowledge among the ranks. This therefore provides an opportunity for new initiatives to reach much further. The ability to implement them will depend upon whether the studied organisations will be financially and functionally capable of taking them up more independently than until now. Due to the concrete nature of the information demanded by employee as well as employer unions and frequently a high degree of complexity of the issues involved, the active support and cooperation of the Polish government and the Commission Delegation is required. The representatives of the studied organisations declared that the information materials offered by UKIE and the Delegation do not meet their requirements.

3.6 Euro-initiatives undertaken in academic centres

Most universities and colleges undertake activities to inform and teach about European integration. Euro-initiatives are taken up by academic institutions largely because of the students' interest in European issues, as well as to raise the prestige of a given institution. On the one hand the students themselves put pressure on the school to introduce European issues into the academic curricula, and on the other the creation of a specialized centre or holding several lectures about the EU is highly prestigious. Hence the frequent initiatives in this area, lectures, student exchanges and conferences.

Study visits and research projects of lecturers as well as students to partner universities and colleges in the EU countries seem to have the most influence on promoting the concept of integration and raising "European awareness" in academic circles. However, due to financial and organisational difficulties their availability is limited.

Lectures and seminars, even only introductory to European integration issues, seem to have the widest participation. They are very popular among students and initiate and stimulate a wider interest in the subject. However, the small number of doctorates and other types of research indicate relatively low academic status of European studies. The publishing activity of universities in this area is also unsatisfactory. This is partly due to financial constraints experienced by most Polish higher education institutions, but already about 50% of them are actively seeking sources of financing their tuition and research in the area of European integration from other sources then the state budget.

4. Assumptions, implementation and results of information activities on European integration

4.1. The assumptions of information activities

The Polish government considers Poland's accession to the European Union to be its *raison d'état* and this assumption underlies the Public Information Programme and the promotion of the concept of integration. The Programme, which is an overall strategy for information activities in Poland, formulates its objectives very broadly. It defines target groups for various activities and assumes that the specific requirements of the individual groups will be taken into account. However, the strategy differentiates social and demographic groups while at the same time completely ignoring the distinction between supporters, opponents and the undecided. The acknowledgement given to non-governmental organisations in the programme is one of its strong points. However, there seems to be no connection between the general statements of programme strategy and the local range of the activities of non-governmental organisations, which makes it difficult to integrate the initiatives into a uniform information campaign. The Programme to a large extent remains a document failing to become an action plan.

Non-governmental, local and labour/employer organisations do not formulate their objectives so clearly into a uniform strategy. This is a highly diversified group of organisations which have various objectives and assumptions. However, the majority believes integration to be very important for Poland and Poles and they are guided by a sense of mission. Their activities are mostly directed at specific groups of recipients and the forms of address are usually adjusted to their requirements. At the local level this approach seems to be very effective. However, on the national scale a common, consistent strategy appears to be lacking and what we see is only a series of independently undertaken initiatives.

4.2. Institutional capability

The institutions which undertake information activities related to European integration are characterised by various degrees of institutional potential. The greatest resources are available in the government sector. This includes a separate ministry (UKIE – Office of the Committee for European Integration) in charge of integration, its staff, very often highly qualified, the respective departments and organisational units in other ministries and in the Prime Minister's and President's Offices, and the proximity of the decision making processes. The institutional capability of the government sector includes the institutional ability to co-ordinate and ensure an efficient flow of information both between institutions and citizens as well as between various organisations which conduct information activities about European integration.

The government does not fully utilize its capabilities as regards direct distribution of information for instance by the national media. Government institutions do not fully coordinate all the information activities connected with Poland's accession to the EU and undertaken by other institutions. The lack of co-ordination, and particularly lack of an efficient flow of information, is one of the key factors which undermine an effective information campaign. Institutions such as for instance local government, employee or non-government organisations have won the trust of the communities in which they operate. Although they have meagre financial means, they possess considerable human capital which ensures the efficiency of their undertakings.

4.3. The implementation of information activities

Information activities devoted to Poland's accession to the European Union have different ranges of operation, from local through regional to national initiatives. Some are even international. At the central level tenders for financing European integration projects and publishing are organised. The networks of information points also operate on a national scale. All activities based on a direct address have a smaller range but at the same time a well defined recipient, and these include seminars, conferences and occasional outdoor events organised mainly by local non-governmental and local government institutions.

4.4. The role of various information channels in information activities about European integration

Considering their information potential, mass media seem to be the least efficiently utilized channel of information, particularly with respect to television, which is the preferred medium for most recipients. Due to the fact that large quantities of written material are being produced (leaflets, folders, information manuals) and the relatively limited range which they are reaching, it may be necessary to improve "informing about information", that is to facilitate access for potential recipients by informing them about the existing sources of information, as well as by using institutions and organisations which operate within a given locality for distributing such information.

4.5 Information requirements and the recipients of information

From the beginning of Poland's accession negotiations respondents are exposed to an increasing amount of information about European integration. In order to make information activities more effective, more then sheer quantity is required. It is necessary to ensure that the information is interesting, understandable and accurate. Particularly when directed to persons who are less interested in the EU enlargement issues The majority of persons surveyed were critical about both the quantity as well as quality of available information, and

only one in five persons in Poland feels well informed about the issues of Poland's integration with the European Union.

The most desirable source of information about integration is the mass media. Recipients also demand information which meets their precise needs. Television and main press titles present a very general picture and try to reach the widest possible public. Hence the importance of the institutions which direct their initiatives to a specific group taking into account information needs of its members. Most institutions of this type base their operations on personal contacts and the experience of persons directly connected with a particular local community.

"Neutral" institutions, which are not connected with the European Union or the world of politics, seem to be most predestined to distribute information about integration, and they are most often considered by the public to be credible sources of information. These include the media, scientific institutions, schools, as well as non-governmental organisations.

The key issues connected with Poland's future membership in the European Union include, according to public opinion, those dealing with the social and economic implications of integration, in particular the ability and conditions for seeking employment abroad, the rights and duties of citizens in united Europe, as well as the impact of integration on employee rights. However, the most important issue in public opinion is the impact of integration on the ability and conditions for Poles to seek employment in the European Union countries. Moreover, respondents would like to know more about the situation of Polish agriculture in the European Union and the impact of integration on the standard of living and level of wages after we join the organisation.

4.6. The impact of information activities on "European awareness"

Generally speaking Poles assess their knowledge about integration as rather low. Although the level of knowledge about the European Union and Poland's accession to it cannot be directly linked to attitudes about integration, providing better information, particularly by way of a direct means of delivery, raises the recipient's awareness of the processes taking place and encourages them to seek more information. Information that was hitherto incomprehensible and shunned becomes "familiar", is no longer feared, and induces independent judgement. Persons who participate in European initiatives - in seminars, workshops and competitions about European integration - are more active in searching for information and more capable of finding it, for instance in the media, and understanding it.

In Poland a large number of Euro-initiatives are being implemented, but they are not equally accessible to all social groups. Their impact on the level of knowledge and interest in European integration is best seen in groups which are already interested in European issues and take full advantage of information campaigns and local activities. However, all these undertakings neglect the uninterested and the inactive. Reaching those groups is primarily the role of government institutions, which should concentrate on co-ordinating and stimulating the activities of non-governmental organisations, trade unions, the media, universities and colleges. The potential of all those entities - often very considerable, is not fully utilised. A better use of their capabilities will make Euro-awareness raising initiatives much more effective.

INTRODUCTION

The present report covers an analysis and evaluation of the informational, educational, and promotional "Euro-initiatives" being launched in Poland. The research describes activities which will raise the level of awareness in Polish society as regards European integration and build support for Poland's accession to the European Union (EU). These activities were taken up by various institutions, such as governmental and non-governmental organisations, Catholic institutions, trade unions, colleges and universities, and the media. They were financed by the government, EU institutions, Polish and foreign foundations as well as by various organisations themselves. What differentiated these activities were the financial resources, the type of target group, and venue of the project. The research activities consisted not only of informational but also educational and promotional initiatives, and they shared at least one thing, i.e. their principal objective, which was to provide the recipients (Polish society) with detailed information and opinions on Europe, the EU and its enlargement as well as Poland's preparations for EU membership. All such activities hereinafter are referred to as *informational initiatives* and the activities undertaken on a wider scale as *informational campaigns*.

The present report tackles mainly the initiatives undertaken in the year 2000. However, the research, analyses of the results, and drawn up recommendations refer to a longer period of the years 1998-2000, when the Polish Government formulated a national strategy of informing Polish society about European integration, and when the number of "Euro-initiatives" grew rapidly. Most of the public opinion research on attitudes towards integration to which the report refers was conducted in the period mentioned above.

Attitudes towards integration develop under the influence of various factors, informational programmes being only one of them. They are affected not only by the political and economic situation in Poland, but also by the way in which the EU institutions are perceived by Polish society. The accession negotiations themselves also play a crucial role. The report describes different types and character of support for integration as well as their sociodemographic diversity. In addition, a number of external factors affecting attitudes towards integration were taken into consideration. Due to the context analysis taking into account the informational initiatives undertaken in Poland, an accurate evaluation was made and further recommendations pertaining to future activities were outlined.

1. Change in the character of support for European integration

In the 90s in Poland the character of support for Poland's accession to the EU has changed considerably. At the beginning of the political transformations in Poland, under the banner "return to Europe", this "Europe" was perceived as the Community, membership of which equalled the membership of western culture and civilisation. The institutional character of this idea was manifested in the application for membership first of the EEC, then of the EU. In the early 90s, the issue of the costs and advantages of joining the EU was never raised in public discussions. The expectations of various groups were not fully articulated at that time. However, in the course of negotiations, Poles began to perceive integration differently, paying more attention to the issues of ensuing advantages and disadvantages to an individual Polish citizen, a specific occupational group, or to Polish society as a whole. Although the aspect of values (an emphasis put on the political character of EU enlargement and on the issues of security) remains considerably crucial, Poles' attitudes have become multifarious

and much more diversified. Whereas within some groups it is shared values and outlook that exert greater influence, within others it is economic benefits that play the most important role. Subsequently, a thorough knowledge of the nature of support in a given social group as well as a balanced attitude towards the aspects of values and economic benefits seem crucial for the adequate preparation of informational campaigns and for the effectiveness of these informational activities in terms of reaching various target groups.

2. Types of support for European integration

Informational activities should take into account not only the change in the character of support for integration but also the types of this support. The research (which has taken into account not only declarations referring to voting in a future referendum, but also the preferred scenarios of Poland's development) conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) has pointed to two types of support for the idea of Poland's integration into the EU: firm (49%) and potential (10%) support. Similarly, it has revealed two groups of opponents of European integration: firm (13%) and potential (20%) opponents. At present, supporters (59%) nearly twice outnumber opponents (33%), however, it should be emphasised that the groups of potential supporters and potential opponents are not stable: they can easily change their previously adopted attitude. The assumptions of informational campaigns should be adjusted to the type of support for, or rejection of, the idea of European integration as well as deciding on and pinpointing the superior objective of a given campaign: either the favourable outcome of the referendum or solid and long-lasting support for integration as the best solution for Poland's development.

3. Factors influencing attitudes towards integration

Attitudes towards European integration are influenced by numerous factors, and the level of knowledge of EU issues and integration is only one of them. Poles' opinions are directly or indirectly affected by Poland's economic situation, living standards, and the unemployment ratio as well as by the perception of world affairs and the course of accession negotiations.

Polish society expressed its strongest support for Poland's integration into the EU in 1996: as many as 80% of Poles were in favour of Poland's future membership of the EU. Over the following few years, it has been noted that the support for the idea of integration has gradually weakened, which could be seen both in the growth in the number of opponents to Poland's accession and the decline in the number of its supporters. In 1999, the percentage of supporters diminished to 55%, whereas the number of opponents grew systematically – in 2000, the opponents of Poland's accession to the EU amounted to 30% of the population. The following factors are considered to have affected Poles' attitudes towards integration:

• **Economic situation.** Growing dissatisfaction with the situation in the country and anxiety about the state of the Polish economy were manifested in the attitudes of certain groups towards integration.

• European integration perceived as a part of the socio-economic transformation process.

The integration constitutes a crucial element of Poland's transformation after 1989 and a continuation of the socio-economic changes then initiated. The attitudes towards integration are closely related to economic and political changes, they mirror both the hopes and anxieties about further opening of the market and the acceleration of economic reforms. Hence the attitude towards integration largely depends on the adopted view on all ensuing socio-economic transformations, such as privatisation or the existence of foreign capital. People with higher education, the entrepreneurs, management, in other words, all those who benefit from the above mentioned transformations, most frequently support Poland's membership of the EU. Conversely, people with the lowest educational level, the unemployed, unskilled workers, and, most importantly, the farmers, in other words, all those who think that their situation has considerably deteriorated due to the transformations, usually remain deeply sceptical about the idea of integration.

- World affairs and their perception. Integration is viewed as a guarantee of international security. However, it is hard to say unequivocally whether, for instance, Poland's accession to NATO has made any impact on attitudes towards the EU in the long term. It seems that shrinking support for integration is not due to Poland's membership of NATO.
- Evaluation of Poland's preparation for joining the EU. An unfavourable evaluation of the political and economic situation in Poland may generate the belief that Poland is not yet adequately prepared to join the EU, which, subsequently, may weaken the support for prompt accession. The more sceptical view on the political and economic situation in Poland, the stronger the belief that the transformations within the country should come first, only then followed by EU accession. Consequently, it is believed that Poland, being a weak and defenceless country, will join the EU as a second-rate member state and the distance between Poland and the EU is frequently emphasised.
- The negotiation process and its perception. It is crucial whether the negotiations are perceived as quite unfavourable for Poland or rather as a process which leads to a compromise with both parties as winners. In other words, it is important to know whether they are considered an attempt at taking advantage by the stronger party, the EU, or as a chance for Poland. What is equally significant is the image of the negotiators themselves and their credibility when confronted with public opinion.
- The level of being informed about European integration. The principles of EU functioning, expected costs and advantages for Poland, the actual effects of the enlargement in terms of individual citizens, and about the necessary adjustment initiatives all these issues influence Poles' attitudes towards integration. However, the level of knowledge of EU affairs and functioning does not necessarily correspond to the attitude towards integration. As the research demonstrates, the ratio of supporters to opponents among people poorly informed on the subject is almost equal, whereas among those well informed the percentage of supporters is the highest.

4. Information on and interest in European integration

The majority of Poles assess the state of their knowledge about integration as rather poor. In October 2000, only one in four Poles claimed that they were well informed on the subject. As many as 69% of the respondents felt that they lacked exhaustive information on integration. Over the past two years (between December 1998 and October 2000), the sense of being informed on the above issue has improved only negligibly.

Similarly, the interest displayed in the process of European integration is infinitesimal, which follows from the fact that an average Polish citizen believes that the effects of integration will affect him/her only to a small extent. In June 2000, 39% of respondents admitted that integration was of minor importance for their lives. Moreover, the research revealed that the forecasts concerning the effects which the integration would exert on the personal lives of Poles were vague and ambiguous. According to public opinion, the consequences of Poland's membership of the EU will be more discernible at the macro-level (for the whole state) than at the micro-level, the level of an individual citizen.

An analysis of informational initiatives undertaken in Poland should take into account the contexts of these activities. The analysis of the type and nature of the support among various social groups will enable us to answer the question of whether informational campaigns take into account this diversity, and to make an accurate evaluation of the campaign assumptions. Similarly, an analysis of factors influencing Poles' attitudes towards European integration allows for the identification of the informational needs of Polish society (e.g. the need of adjustment to specific experiences of an individual recipient) as well as of other aspects which should be considered while planning and conducting various informational campaigns.

5. Subject of research and structure of report

The report examines the effectiveness of various informational activities undertaken by different institutions in Poland. The analysis shows two aspects of the issue: one being of the institutions launching the initiatives and the other of the addressees of these activities. Among the institutions referred to in the research can be found both governmental and nongovernmental organisations, such as foundations, associations, as well as colleges and universities, trade unions and church. The analysed campaigns were launched not only by governmental institutions and within governmental programmes but also as a result of independent, spontaneous initiatives. The target groups of these activities were much diversified, they ranged from the elite group of readers of a magazine relating to EU issues to the chairperson of a village council and village school pupils. The research covers the initiatives undertaken in different regions of Poland, both in big cities, like Warsaw, or Gdańsk, and in small village communities. The report describes the character of dissemination of information on the EU in Poland, with special consideration given to the great initiative displayed by various non-governmental organisations. The analysis also comprises the context within which these organisations function, i.e. the informational policy of Polish government, the activity of the representatives of the European Commission in Poland, and the activity of non-Polish foundations.

The analysis is carried out at three levels: it deals with the assumptions made by the institutions, with the implementation of the initiatives, and with the effects of these activities.

The report is divided into two parts, of which the first describes the initiatives launched by various institutions, and the second constitutes a comparative analysis of the whole area of research, ordered according to key questions ranging from the evaluation of the informational campaigns' assumptions (an emphasis being put on the aspect of the sender) to the evaluation of the initiatives' effects (an emphasis being put on the aspect of the recipient).

Chapter I EVALUATION STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY

The evaluation concerns a series of informational campaigns on European integration implemented by various Polish institutions in 1998-2000, with special consideration given to the initiatives undertaken in 2000.

1. Evaluation objectives

- Examination of the functioning of key elements of the system of transmitting information on European integration;
- Examination of the effectiveness of informational campaigns on European integration with special interest given to the *best practice* examples;
- Recommendations concerning the elaboration of a cohesive informational strategy, which would take into account the specific needs of different target groups.

2. Evaluation design

In order to achieve the above stated objectives, evaluative research has been conducted, which has enabled us to collect data specifying:

- The assumptions of informational campaigns, made by the institutions taking up Euro-initiatives:
- The implementation of these assumptions;
- The effects of the information campaigns organised by selected institutions.

The main objective of the evaluation project, which has been divided into three parts, is to establish the analysis criteria and to answer the following key questions:

2.1 What were the assumptions of informational activities and campaigns?

The evaluation criterion concerning the assumptions of informational campaigns consisted of elaborating a cohesive and systematic strategy of similar campaigns. It was meant to reveal the assumptions and objectives of information campaigns on European integration, and to precisely define the recipient.

2.2 Do institutions have the resources to achieve set goals (what is the *institutional capability*)?

The evaluation criterion concerning the above key question was the level of the *institutional capability*, i.e. the availability of human, organisational, and financial resources of particular institutions engaged in information campaigns. What was taken into consideration was an institution's experience in managing informational campaigns as well as its human and organisational resources to implement the assumptions stated by the information strategy adopted by the institution.

2.3 What types of action were undertaken by institutions to achieve their objectives?

The evaluation criterion concerning the above key question was the effectiveness of the activities, as manifested in the institutions' character, established objectives¹ and the quality of transmitted information. The effectiveness of the activities was probed through identification of the range and forms of informational activities undertaken by selected institutions. In addition, the analysis comprised data revealing various social groups' sense of being informed on European integration as well as the intensity of their support on this issue.

The evaluation of the quality of information transfer (with special consideration given to the clarity and adjustment of the information to the recipients' needs) was to ensure that specific informational materials were addressed to specific and relevant target groups. The title, addressee, sender, and contact address of particular materials were monitored, as well as the relevance of information to the specific experiences of a specific (individual) recipient. It was also investigated whether the institutions did their utmost to achieve the highest quality possible of relevant materials, workshops, seminars, etc., for instance, inviting experts to participate. Additionally, it was investigated whether various forms of information transfer existed on a nation-wide level.

2.4 What types of information channels are used by institutions and on what scale?

The evaluation criterion used with the above question was the adequacy and accessibility of the information channels. The subject of main concern here was the question, to which information channels the recipients had access and whether particular institutions managed to devise any strategy for using these channels. Additionally, it was investigated whether various institutions, while planning their campaigns, made use of the collected data on readers, viewers, etc., of different media as well as whether they did their best to provide the recipients with better access to information.

The adequacy of particular information channels for specific groups of recipients was investigated by answering the question of whether various relevant institutions took into account the diversity of the recipients and, subsequently, adjusted information channels to the specific character of particular target groups.

2.5 To what extent do informational campaigns meet the needs and expectations of the recipients?

The following served as the evaluation criteria: the efficiency of reaching specifically defined target groups of recipients, the ability to identify and meet their needs and interests as well as the means of identifying and defining a target group. Other areas of investigation comprised the following issues: whether institutions conducted research on the informational needs of the recipients, whether research results were used in informational campaigns, and whether a number of members of particular target groups were invited to co-operate.

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¹ The main objective of an institution dealing with education and information is to efficiently disseminate information on European integration. The main objective of an institution agitating for European integration is to gain social support for integration.

Another crucial issue analysed was the opportunity for the recipients to provide feedback and to inquire about problems of interest to them.

The ability of institutions to identify and meet the informational needs of the recipients was also an important criterion. The researchers concentrated particularly on whether the materials comprised information concerning specific experiences of a given (individual) recipient as well as what the opinions of the recipients were as regards the utility of the information provided.

2.6 How have informational campaigns contributed to "European awareness"?

The following issue served as the evaluation criterion here: the influence which information campaigns exerted on particular target groups and the relevance of information to the needs of the recipients. The researchers made use of the recipients' declarations, which revealed that the information provided not only influenced their viewpoints and opinions but also met their informational needs and expectations.

Another crucial part of the evaluation project was the identification and specification of both the tools and methods used while collecting data and conducting the research.

3. Methodology

In order to comply with the assumptions of the evaluation project, the adopted research methodology was based on two paradigms of methods and research techniques: the quality and the quantity paradigms.

The quality paradigm was used in the identification of various categories, crucial for the evaluation of particular phenomena within certain contexts. In addition, the qualitative data facilitated not only profound insight into the specific character of various institutions and of the processes of information, education, and of the promotion of European integration but also the presentation and description of the *best practice* examples. On the grounds of these analyses, the research results were produced and further recommendations, which would allow, in future, for the implementation of the best solutions, were put forward.

The quantity paradigm was applied to the verification of the qualitative analysis results, specification of the range of its application as well as the enrichment of the presented material concerning the comparison drawn between different social groups.

The evaluation project, which took into account both aspects, i.e. that of the sender and that of the addressee of the message, required specific methodology based on complementary research methods. Such methodology permitted for the elaboration of an integrated scheme of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis, which helped to sort collected empirical materials concerning two closely related areas of investigation, one covering the aspects of activity of various institutions, the other accounting for the key questions posed *a priori*.

Research tools and methods applied in the evaluation research, sample characteristics and the research process are described in Appendix 1.

Euro-Initiatives

Chapter II 'EURO-INITIATIVES' UNDERTAKEN BY VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

1. STATE INSTITUTION

In its broadest sense, the basic research issue which constituted part of the analysis of the "European integration activity" undertaken by various state institutions and organisations was whether particular institutions, especially government administration bodies, conduct any 'Euro-initiatives' and if so how, i.e. whether they initiate, devise and introduce informational, educational, and promotional programmes related to the European integration, and what influence they exert on the 'feeling of European identity' among the Poles².

At present, Polish government faces a difficult situation: on the one hand, it has to seek the support of the Member States while negotiating Poland's accession to the EU, and on the other, it has to persuade Polish society to accept the integration, which seems rather difficult with the present, much less EU-friendly, attitude prevailing among the Poles. Over the last four years, social support for Poland's integration into the EU has fallen from 72 % in 1997 to 55% - on a nation-wide scale³. That is why the introduction of an adequate informational, educational and promotional strategy and an effective campaign is so significant. The government has decided to launch a national informational campaign with the co-operation of non-governmental organisations. The majority of Poles are not interested in the issues of the European integration and they do not realise the actual effects of Poland's accession to the EU. Similarly, the information on the EU and the process of negotiations provided by the media is often blurred and inaccurate. That is why the governmental campaign, launched in 1999, is mainly informational and educational in its character, and only partially – promotional.

1.1 Objectives of state informational policy and their realisation

The government in its National Programme of Preparation for Membership of the EU (NPPM) has assumed that the main objectives of state informational policy related to the European integration would be the dissemination of information on the EU among Polish citizens, the explanation of basic mechanisms of its functioning, and highlighting the advantages of the integration, which, altogether, would persuade the majority of Polish society to consciously support Poland's membership of the EU.

The above objectives are to be achieved by the UKIE, Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej (Office of the Committee for European Integration)⁴ which, in 1999, created

³ Dolińska, Xymena, "Poland's membership of the EU: from support to rejection.", in: Kolarska-Bobińska, L. (ed.) (2001) *The Poles and the great transformation. Integration into the EU.*, Warsaw: ISP.

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² The research sample comprised 15 institutions (8 ministries, 4 agencies and foundations which were State owned and 3 bodies being part of other state institutions (the Sejm Chancellery, the Senate Chancellery, the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland). The sample characteristics is described in Appendix 1.

⁴ The preparation and realisation of PIS (the Public Information Programme) constitutes the responsibility of the Department of Information and European Education (a subsidiary of which is CIE, Centrum Informacji Europejskiej (the European Information Centre)) and other departments (e.g. the Department of Education for

PIS, Program Informowania Społeczeństwa (the Public Information Programme), a mediumterm strategy of informational, educational and promotional campaigns for the period of 4 years, which is to be realised in three stages: the negotiation, the referendum, and the accession stages.

The main task of PIS is to initiate the interactive process of dissemination of information, i.e. to encourage the recipients to take part in informational, educational and promotional activities and to stimulate the social debate on the integration. It is believed to be conducive to the expansion of the society's knowledge of the subject and to the increased conscious support of the majority of Polish society for the idea of integrated Europe. The target group of the programme consists of the supporters of the idea of integration, its opponents and those who so far have not adopted any stance. The activities will be differentiated with regard to the profile of various social groups to which the programme is directed, such as opinion makers, pupils and students, occupational groups, the unemployed, the Church. Information on the EU was to be disseminated and transmitted in an accurate, objective and neutral way. The government informational strategy assumed that the citizens should adopt certain attitude towards the issue of European integration independently, hence the information was to cover a variety of aspects of the European integration.

The basic financial sources for this programme come from the state budget, with an additional financial support on the part of the EU, partners of PIS as well as business partners. Annual capital outlays for the realisation of the campaign amount to circa 10 million PLN.

PIS envisages the co-operation of all government institutions at the central level, which deal with the information on the integration and with the process of Poland's integration into the EU itself. The partners of PIS include: non-governmental organisations dealing with the problems of various social groups, self-governments, media, clubs and centres functioning within schools at different levels dealing with the dissemination of information on Poland's integration into the EU. The government's cooperation with these institutions will be based on partnership. PIS assumes content-related and financial support for its all informational, educational and promotional initiatives concerning the European integration.

1.2 Initiatives undertaken in order to meet PIS objectives

- Several public opinion polls conducted in order to monitor the state of knowledge of and the social support for the European integration;
- Creation of CIE, Centrum Informacji Europejskiej (the European Information Centre) in Warsaw, whose main task would be to disseminate information on the EU and Poland's integration into the EU, through distribution of informational materials, preparation of subject-related brochures, answering questions, etc.;
- Apart from CIE, a number of RCIE, Regionalne Centra Informacji Europejskiej (European Information Regional Centres) have been established in 33 towns, whose main objective is not only to inform but also to educate the inhabitants of a given region. Frequently, RCIE is the only place in a given region where the information on the integration is provided⁵;

the Public Administration Officers and of European Studies) in the Office of the Committee for European Integration as well as of the Departments of European Integration in the majority of ministries.

⁵ See: interviews conducted in RCIE (the European Information Regional Centre) in Ostrołęka.

Editorial activity of the UKIE: series publications (e.g. *European Union – a guide on..., Entrepreneur's Library*), bulletins (e.g. *Euro-integration, Euro-bulletin*), books (e.g. *A*

Compact Dictionary of EU terminology), brochures, leaflets (all in several hundreds of thousands copies a year);

• Participation of the Office of the Committee for European Integration staff in several hundreds of training meetings, conferences, and seminars;

• Initiatives (training meetings, conferences, grant competitions, publications, etc.) directed to particular social groups, such as the farmers, the youth, the entrepreneurs, churches, territorial self-governments, government administration;

 Organisational and financial support for the initiatives undertaken by social partners in the form of open competitions for the media and non-governmental organisations.

1.2.1 CIE and RCIE

Probably the greatest success of the government campaign was the establishment of CIE, Centrum Informacji Europejskiej (the European Information Centre) and a network of 33 RCIE, Regionalne Centra Informacji Europejskiej (European Information Regional Centres) in 1998. By distributing numerous publications and answering various questions personally, by telephone or on the Internet, CIE has become the most important source of information for over 80 thousand clients a year. However, it should be stressed that the institution could make an effort to act with greater dynamics and present its offer on a wider scale. The RCIE, despite financial difficulties (they are self-financing institutions), play a significant role, as they frequently constitute the only source of information on the European integration in a given region. In regions where the community fails to undertake any widespread activity, where there are no universities or culture centres or, still, the number of the existent culture facilities is negligible, such regional centres are, so to speak, oases – the only places where similar information can be obtained.

1.2.2 Grant competitions for the media and non-governmental organisations

Open grant competitions meet with great approval among the media and non-governmental organisations – each time the number of applications exceeds the number expected by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. Annually, several hundreds of projects of different character (conferences, festivals, publications, competitions, training meetings, etc.) are submitted, however, the number of applications sent by non-governmental organisations and other institutions exceeds financial possibilities of PIS (the Public Information Programme). The lack of financial resources is not the only disadvantage. The organisational misunderstandings in the government administration institutions pose another serious problem. For example, the last grant competition (June 2001) was shortened to two weeks as a result of personnel changes and conflicts in the Office of the Committee for European Integration which drastically limited the opportunities of application for a grant. The situation presented above mirrors the actual character of the campaign, i.e. the great interest and involvement of particular social groups and the simultaneously much limited financial resources and little organisational abilities of the government administration, which, subsequently, may lead to considerable discouragement among specific social groups and may hinder the preparation of original and interesting projects.

⁶ These suggestions have been put forward by the non-governmental milieus. See: an interview with the editor in chief of *Union & Poland*.

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⁷ In 2000, the media and non-governmental organisations submitted 649 applications amounting to nearly 34.000.000 PLN, whereas the Office of the Committee for European Integration provided financial support for 124 applications for the sum of 4.300.000 PLN, in: *Implementation of PIS (the Public Information Programme) 'Poland's integration into the EU'*, the report of the Office of the Committee for European Integration, Warsaw (2001), p. 33.

The above scenario becomes even more probable, if we take into consideration the fact that the social groups (and institutions) involved are usually forced to cover the greater part of all costs and the financial aid provided by the PIS budget covers less than a half of all expenses.

1.2.3 Centralisation

Although in the beginning it was assumed differently, the way of implementation of PIS is at present much influenced by a growing tendency towards centralisation in the provision of support. Nearly one half (40 %) of all initiatives supported by the government by means of open competitions are undertaken in one voivodship – Mazowieckie voivodship. Other regions usually take on just a few initiatives. Such distribution of financial resources is not surprising, if we realise that both the capital and the towns and villages in its vicinity have the largest number of students, media executives, social and trade union organisations, which constitute the target group of projects. However, the same data appear as quite shocking, if the farmers and young people in general are taken into account. The great number of implemented programmes in Mazowieckie voivodship results probably from the high level of organisation in this region and from its ability to apply successfully for the support of the Office of the Committee for European Integration. In other regions, e.g. in eastern Poland, the number of undertaken initiatives is infinitesimal.

1.2.4 Institutional co-operation

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the campaign, though not intentional, are the difficulties with co-ordination between various institutions. Although similar co-operation was accounted for in the programme, in the course of implementation of initiatives there appeared a number of obstacles.

A significant feature is the lack of co-operation between state institutions and the media. However, it does not mean that the media do not provide any information on the European integration, but that the assumptions of PIS concerning the participation of media (especially, public television) simply have not been fulfilled, or the co-operation agreements have not been signed. As the results of public opinion research demonstrate, over 80 % of Poles seek information on the European integration on TV, and only then in other sorts of media, thus, the lack of co-operation between the Office of the Committee for European Integration and public television, whose main statutory objective is to provide accurate information and social education, is hard to excuse. The Office of the Committee for European Integration representatives claim that they frequently have tried to enter into co-operation with Polish Television as well as with other non-public television stations, but with moderate success.

The information transfer is rather poor, especially in cases when the institutions involved are of different political orientation, e.g. the Office of the Committee for European Integration and the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Thus, although all political parties have declared their eagerness to enter into non-partisan co-operation with regard to

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⁸ Implementation of PIS (the Public Information Programme) 'Poland's integration into the EU', the report of the Office of the Committee for European Integration, Warsaw (2001), p. 61.

⁹ E.g. 23 out of 53 initiatives directed to the farmers are undertaken in Mazowieckie voivodship, whereas in other voivodships there are merely 1-2 or even no initiatives underway. 15 out of 80 initiatives directed to the youth are launched in Mazowieckie voivodship, whereas other voivodships have several initiatives underway each, and in the voivodships in north-eastern Poland there are either 1-2 or no initiatives, in: *Implementation of PIS (the Public Information Programme) 'Poland's integration into the EU'*, the report of the Office of the Committee for European Integration, Warsaw (2001), pp. 63-67.

Poland's membership of the EU, the political conflicts have predominated the institutional contacts.

One of the few examples of successful co-operation is the co-ordination of the project *To understand negotiations* launched outside of PIS by the Negotiation Team in the Chancellery of the Prime Minister and the representatives of the Office of the Committee for European Integration. Although the information and promotion are not the main responsibility of the Negotiation Team, the minister Jan Kułakowski attended a series of regional conferences, with the simultaneous participation of the media, which were organised in the co-operation with the Office of the Committee for European Integration. Conferences and publications devoted to the issues of the negotiation process have met with a great approval on the part of the recipients and have been broadly covered by the media.

1.3 Assessment of the results of undertaken initiatives

PIS envisaged the implementation of numerous initiatives related to the informational, educational and promotional campaigns, however, in practice, not all initiatives have been brought into fruition and those which have been at least initiated have not always produced the expected results. However, there are several elements of this campaign which, due to their originality and effectiveness, deserve special attention. To characterise the realisation of the campaign, certain issues should be highlighted here. In order to specify whether (and if so, in what way) the campaign (mainly PIS) has influenced the 'sense of European identity', the following criteria should be taken into consideration:

- Is the applied strategy of information dissemination is internally coherent and is it adequate to the specific character of target groups?
- What was realised in accordance with the assumptions and what failed to be realised?
- To what extent does the realisation of the initiatives meet the needs and expectations of particular target groups, what is the effectiveness of information dissemination among these groups?
- Which of the activities can be considered best practice and which can serve as examples of inadequate activities?

1.3.1 Encouragement strategy

The strategy of passive information dissemination, when only government administration is involved without the participation of social organisations and citizens themselves can be found, for instance, in the Czech republic. Poland adopted the strategy of active information dissemination, which means that although the state institutions are responsible for the preparation and realisation of informational, educational and promotional campaigns, other institutions, mainly non-governmental organisations, various social groups (e.g. the youth, farmers, entrepreneurs, etc.), actively participate in the undertaken initiatives. In Poland, employers' and business organisations, farmers' and consumers' associations, etc. are encouraged to submit their proposals, to present their suggestions, to pose questions and to raise new issues. The participation of non-state organisations in the informational, educational and promotional initiatives has positive effects, as the informational campaigns are no longer perceived as propaganda and gain the society's approval. In addition, the participation of non-governmental organisations encourages citizens to undertake various activities for common benefit, increases the sense of identification with the community, and stimulates the feeling of responsibility. This strategy may seem effective, especially in view of the results of public opinion research, which demonstrate that the recipients are extremely

suspicious and disapproving of institutional information, which is perceived as a propaganda instrument¹⁰. The initiatives which involve various social organisations are closer to an average citizen and help adjust governmental programme to the citizens' needs. However, some of these initiatives remain only on paper. For instance, Środowiskowe Rady Konsultacyjne (the Social Advisory Councils) accounted for in the PIS document are being established with certain delays and are hardly effective, which is admitted both by the officers of the Office of the Committee for European Integration themselves and the representatives of the involved groups. The delays and cancellations of grant competitions, for which the Office of the Committee for European Integration is to blame, indicate not entirely serious attitude towards the co-operation and partnership with social organisations in the implementation of PIS.

1.3.2 Effectiveness of information dissemination among target groups

While assessing the effectiveness of the informational strategy, one should take into consideration the criterion specifying the effectiveness of dissemination of information among the recipients. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the planned initiatives should be differentiated with regard to the diversity of target groups:

The youth

The initiatives directed to young people undertaken as a part of PIS, which were most numerous among all undertaken initiatives, turned out to be a great success. Various training meetings and promotional actions were meant to increase the interest and knowledge of the European integration issues. Young people constitute the main social group to which the government informational and educational campaigns are addressed. The government probably assumes that it is the youth who will express the strongest support for Poland's integration into the EU and that it is them who will be most affected by this integration in the future. The initiatives that have been undertaken are focused on the provision of organisational support for the school European Clubs, financial aid through open competitions for numerous projects (80 out of the total 243 initiatives), training, competitions, festivals, publications, seminars concerning the EU issues. The main objectives are the informational and educational activities, which will increase knowledge and not only promote the idea of integration by means of propaganda. The encouragement strategy, which has been mentioned earlier and whose aim is to get the recipients themselves involved in some kind of activity, has fulfilled its function, as young people are willing to take on similar activities, e.g. creation of the school EU Clubs, which already amount to around 1000.

The only disadvantage of this campaign can be the fact that these initiatives are directed to those who already are interested and who already are in favour of the European integration, since public opinion research demonstrates that it is the youth who constitute the most interested, the best informed and the most 'pro-European' social group¹¹. However, according to the authors of PIS, young people constitute an experimental group, with the participation of which, due to their enthusiasm for integration, it is much easier to conduct certain activities, which may be then undertaken with regard to other, more difficult to convince, social groups, such as the farmers.

p. 152.

11 Dolińska, Xymena "Poland's membership of the EU: from support to rejection", in: Kolarska-Bobińska, L.

12 Integration into the EU: Warsaw: ISP, p. 17. 28

¹⁰ The mass-media: press, radio, television, and scientific institutions are perceived as quite trustworthy; the government institutions have gained far less trust; the members of parliament and political parties are not trusted at all, in: Social interest, sense of being informed and the state of knowledge of Poland's integration into the EU, the results of the survey conducted by ISP, 19-23 May 2001; White, M. "Ideological analysis and television", in: Allen, R. C. (1998) Telediscourse. Television in the contemporary research. Kielce: Zumacher,

The farmers

The farmers constitute the section of society which is both the most unwilling to accept Poland's accession to the EU (22 % of farmers support and 24 % of them oppose the idea of integration integration integration issues. They also feel rather poorly informed on that subject (90 % of farmers declare poor and very poor state of knowledge of the subject) Originally, PIS envisaged an exceptionally intensive informational, educational and promotional campaign directed to the farmers. However, in the course of implementation of these campaigns the actual number of undertaken initiatives appeared to be far smaller (by 1/3 less than the initiatives directed to the youth). The initiatives were organised in the form of training meetings and various publications, which did not exactly correspond to the needs of the farmers themselves. As the farmers declare, the most desirable source of information would be television programmes, especially the specialist agricultural programmes Nevertheless, publications addressed to the farmers are perceived as clear and useful and they are evaluated favourably, although the access to these publications is limited, as even several hundreds of thousands of copies do not meet the needs of nearly 8 million farmers.

The majority of organised training meetings were mainly addressed to the farmers from Mazowieckie voivodship, whereas in other voivodships, where the rural areas prevail and the access to information is limited, only a few projects were launched. As a result, considerably large (around 20 % of the whole population) group of the potential recipients has been left beyond the influence of undertaken informational, educational and promotional campaigns, a group which for many years has been against the integration and is not interested in that subject at all.

The initiative, which was meant to compensate for the lack of similar initiatives in rural regions, was the project *Polish countryside in the European Union* prepared by the Office of the Committee for European Integration as a part of PIS. As a consequence of the organisational difficulties in the implementation of PIS, this project failed to be launched, but it was replaced by the initiative of Związek Powiatów Polskich (the Union of Polish Districts) (in the co-operation with non-governmental organisations and co-financed by the Office of the Committee for European Integration) to organise 100 conferences in 300 different districts. This project could have been an important element of the government informational, educational and promotional campaigns directed to the farmers, as it allowed for the organisation of meetings of village inhabitants with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) specialists¹⁵, however, mostly for organisational reasons, it was not included in and financed by the programme. The above situation mirrors the majority of difficulties which stand in the way of successful implementation of PIS: the organisational problems ensuing from the personnel and political conflicts in state institutions, the lack of sufficient co-ordination of co-operation between various institutions and, sometimes, the lack of funds.

Entrepreneurs

⁵ An interview with the Under-Secretary of State in the Office of the Committee for European Integration.

¹² Ibid. P. 26.

¹³ Pyszna, D. "Dissemination of information on Poland's integration into the EU among the rural population.", in: *Peasant, cultivator, or farmer*?, (2000) Warsaw: ISP, p. 220.

¹⁴ 60 % of farmers prefer the programmes on agricultural issues as the main source of information, 34 % of farmers choose informational programmes, e.g. "Wiadomości" [the main news programme on public TV, channel 1], 24 % - all-Polish press, 18 % - training meetings, 12 % - specialist publications, in: Pyszna, D. "Dissemination of information on Poland's integration into the EU among the rural population.", in: *Peasant, cultivator, or farmer? Poland's accession to the EU – hopes and fears of Polish country*, (2000) Warsaw: ISP, p. 225.

The initiatives directed to a group of entrepreneurs who, according to the results of public opinion research, are keenly interested in the European integration issues but feel not well enough informed should be positively assessed. The initiatives take on a form not only of specialist training meetings organised adequately to the needs of the recipients, but also of various publications, radio and television programmes, newspaper articles. CIE publishes bulletins and brochures as a part of the *Entrepreneur's Library* in over 200 thousand copies which are distributed by several all-Polish business organisations, which guarantees that the recipients will be provided with the information. These publications are mainly of specialist nature taking into consideration the needs of the addressees, although the number of copies seems to be too small in comparison to nearly 5 million entrepreneurs. The implementation of the campaign directed to this occupational group seems most adequate with regard to their specific needs. It does not resemble the propaganda in the media but of the informational and educational activity. It explains certain issues significant for the entrepreneurs concerning the harmonisation of Polish commercial law with the EU requirements.

Active/passive recipients

The informational, educational and promotional strategy assumed that it would be directed equally to all groups: the supporters, the opponents of the European integration and those who so far have not adopted any attitude. However, the strategy is somehow inconsistent, for instance, in that it assumes the participation of the interested people and institutions and their active search for information, which practically means that solely the 'Euro-enthusiasts' will be truly active. It is hard to imagine that people who are still undecided or sceptical about the integration will seek and collect the information on the EU on their own, the more so that the access to this information is difficult. In this situation, the lack of sufficient involvement on the part of the media, especially of public television, leads to a failure in the informational campaigns as far as the 'Euro-sceptics' are concerned.

1.4 Conclusions

Summing up the analysis of the informational, educational and promotional campaigns launched by the government administration, a number of issues should be highlighted.

The first issue which should be emphasised is the extensive participation of various social groups and non-governmental organisations who frequently independently initiate different projects and often cover most of the costs of these projects. The more extensive their participation in the government campaign, the greater the effectiveness of this campaign. Additionally, it creates the image of a common initiative, an initiative of the government and the whole society.

The assumption of differentiation of activities in accordance with the specific character of a given target group is not always fulfilled, which, in many cases, results from the inconsequent implementation initiatives, e.g. from not taking the advantage of the results of the public opinion research or from financial and organisational difficulties.

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 $^{^{16}}$ Social interest, sense of being informed and the state of knowledge of Poland's integration into the EU, the results of the survey conducted by ISP, 19-23 May 2001.

¹⁷ E.g. the owners of small private companies are willing to take part in specialist training meetings (43 % of the respondents) and to read regular specialist publications (34 %), in: *Social interest, sense of being informed and the state of knowledge of Poland's integration into the EU*, the results of the survey conducted by ISP, 19-23 May 2001.

Euro-Initiatives

Frequently, it leads to the elaboration of projects which then are not used and do not bring about the expected effects.

Although the campaign entails the initiatives directed both to the 'Euro-enthusiasts' and 'Euro-sceptics', the groups which actively search for the information and those more passive, in practice, the majority of initiatives are addressed to active persons, simultaneously neglecting the groups less interested in the subject.

The main difficulties which appeared while fulfilling the objectives of PIS were, first of all, the limited state budget, the EU aid funds and the lack of co-ordination between various institutions. However, despite numerous problems, the majority of campaign goals have been achieved and some of them have appeared to be surprisingly effective, e.g. the participation of non-governmental organisations, involvement and interest in the European integration issues on the part of specific social groups (especially the youth and the entrepreneurs), the establishment of CIE and RCIE, the editorial activity. And although not all aspects of the campaign turned out to be well-prepared and appropriately implemented, and certain improvements and useful innovations could be introduced, the initiatives produced positive effects.

2. SELECTED FOREIGN AGENCIES

There are several hundred EU member-state institutions and organisations operating in Poland. This paper takes into account three types of institutions which, theoretically, should be involved in European initiatives defined here primarily as dealing with EU issues, i.e. focused on the promotion and support of Poland's accession to the European Union. They are: the Delegation of the European Commission in Poland and delegations of EU member-states as well as public and private foundations from EU countries which support the transformations taking place in Poland and, theoretically, can also support European initiatives. The present chapter is an attempt to look at the activities of these organisations in Poland from the perspective of their involvement in the European information supply and promotion. ¹⁸

2.1 The Delegation of the European Commission in Poland

The EC Delegation in Poland has been operating in Warsaw since 1990. It has three main objectives: to collaborate with the Polish government and central and regional public administration agencies in the process of preparing Poland for membership of the EU, help in the implementation of EU assistance programs in Poland and monitor these programs, and inform Polish society about the European Union and the challenges associated with the integration process.

¹⁸ It is based on an examination of documents describing the activities of these organisations, other materials and studies dealing with European activities taking place in Poland, press articles and interviews, in-depth interviews conducted for the purpose of this report with representatives of NGOs, local governments, business organisations and the EC Delegation in Poland.

2.1.1 Provision of information

The main goal of the Delegation's activities is to promote the European Union in Poland and inform Polish society about it. In pursuing that goal, the Delegation uses tools such as providing contacts for information sources about the EU and its member-states, handing out literature prepared by the European Commission and other EU agencies, and publishing its own materials, available in Polish, about the EU and issues associated with Poland's accession thereto. These activities are in step with the European Commission information strategy. In recent years, the Delegation of the European Commission in Poland has significantly broadened and diversified its range of European activities in the area of information supply. The Delegation has streamlined its information supply operations, increased the number of published titles (particularly those written in Polish - until the late 1990s, its literature was predominately written in English and other official EU languages), created a publication distribution system and launched its own web site.

In 1999, the Delegation opened an information centre staffed with three officers, which is tasked with the day-to-day running of an EU information campaign. The centre contains an audio and multimedia library, and hands out original EC publications, their translated versions, as well as information and promotional literature published by the Delegation. In addition, the Delegation has also contracted a foreign trade office to distribute publications through a mail order service. It also collaborates with Euro Info centres in Poland and, in particular, co-ordinates information and promotional activities with the European Information Centre and UKIE. Moreover, since the year 2000, the Delegation has had its own website, which among other things provides links to all major websites dedicated to European integration. It also organises press conferences, informs the Polish media of important EU events and provides support to EU-related radio and television broadcasts.

However, interviewed representatives of community organisations, local governments and business associations consider these activities insufficient. For example, they would like to see a more extensive publication distribution system, since the literature is still difficult to find elsewhere than at the Delegation's information desk or at information centres. In addition, most literature is too general, which is particularly inappropriate when it is addressed to a specific target group (e.g. business or farming communities). There is a shortage of literature on the European Union's legal *acquis* and on the consequences of Poland adopting EU standards.

From the recipient's perspective, the Delegation of the European Commission in Poland is still not visible enough. Some NGO and local government representatives do not even know of its existence although they have already used various forms of EU assistance. A study of the daily and weekly press shows that information supply activities carried out by the Delegation are not very effective. Very little information is printed about the Delegation and it submits few EU-related articles for publication.

The fact that European information activities are neither co-ordinated nor standardised is certainly another problem. Many materials published by Polish organisations and institutions with EU financial support leave much to be desired in terms of their usefulness and quality, or are copies of earlier publications. The Delegation ought to exert some form of substantive supervision of literature produced with EU money and co-ordinate its publication schedule.

2.1.2 Assistance to Polish government and non governmental organisations

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The Delegation's collaboration effort consists mainly of providing information and counselling to the Polish government and central and local (primarily regional) public administration agencies in preparation for EU membership, and of standard diplomatic activities. From the Polish government's end, this work is co-ordinated by the Office of the Committee for European Integration (*UKIE*), and it is that office that defines the support expected from the Delegation and indeed the European Commission as a whole. The scope of these activities is specified in fundamental documents on Poland's accession to the European Union, i.e. Partnership for Membership and National Membership Preparation Programme.

The co-ordination of the Delegation's and government administration's collaboration leaves much to be desired. A flagrant example was provided by UKIE representatives when they were asked about the ACCESS program only one month prior to its launch and knew nothing about it. In Hungary, the announcement of the program's launch was big news, very adroitly used by the Hungarian government and the local EC delegation to promote Hungary's accession to the Union. This shortage of knowledge among Polish administration representatives is certainly not caused by their lack of contact with Delegation staff, since the latter are very often present at various meetings attended by central government representatives.

Decisions relating to the shape and objectives of assistance programs delivered in Poland are made in Brussels on the basis of negotiations between the European Commission and the Polish government. This is the way that most programs directed at Poland work, including three new ones - PHARE 2, SAPARD and ISPA. In each of these programs the role of the EC Delegation is limited to providing information and counselling to central or regional government agencies, and ensuring that the delivery of the programs complies with EU objectives and procedures. The Delegation's role is somewhat different with respect to two other programs which focus on supporting European initiatives - Small Projects Facility and Phare Access 1999. In both cases, the Delegation is responsible for selecting projects worthy of financial support and overseeing their implementation.

In the press, but also in conversations with representatives of organisations that are financially supported by the EU, there is much criticism of the complicated nature of procedures associated with using EU assistance funds, which at times seriously delays or even precludes the delivery of that assistance. This creates a very negative image of the European Union and shows the European Commission as an extraordinarily complicated and bureaucratic structure, accessible only to a select few. The Delegation or the European Commission ought to provide more information, training and counselling in the practical application of these procedures. This refers particularly to assistance programs for the delivery of which the Delegation is directly responsible and which are addressed to community organisations with significantly fewer resources at their disposal.

2.2 EU member-state delegations

Most EU member-states have been pursuing a policy of support to Central and Eastern European countries including Poland for many years. Most often the priorities of this policy are defined by the government of the particular EU member-state and coincide with the priorities of its overall foreign policy. At the outset of the 1990s, the dominating trend was to provide humanitarian aid to Poland.

That was gradually replaced by the priority to support transformations in specific areas of Poland's social, political, economic and cultural life, and reinforce bilateral co-operation between Poland and the supporting country. At the same time, it is rather clear that individual EU countries try not to duplicate or trespass on EU or EC programs. They limit their strictly European activities to supplying information (publications, Internet websites, reading rooms, libraries). In addition, European information and promotion of solutions already applied in EU member-states come into play in projects related to issues such as unemployment, poverty, the environment, and development of entrepreneurship or reinforcement of democracy. This may ensue to a large extent from the fact that EU member-states already contribute funds to the EU budget for promotion, information supply, training and counselling programs and, therefore, they expect the European Commission and its agencies to assume the burden of European activities

The examples of such EU –related activities are:

The Know-How Fund run by the embassy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland supports restructuring endeavours in areas that must adapt to EU integration requirements such as hard coal mining (program: Social Aspects of Hard Coal Mining Restructuring) or rural regions (Rural Development Program). The former program supplements EC and Polish government activities conducted within the framework of the PHARE program.

SIDA - Swedish International Development Agency - was established by the Swedish government to run foreign assistance programs. The Swedish government has developed a three-year strategy of assistance to Poland. It covers the years 1999 to 2001 and assumes an exchange of information between Sweden and Poland primarily in the fields of security, democracy, social and economic growth, and sustainable development. The strategy also relates to the process of Poland's integration with the EU, but leaves any Swedish technical assistance in this area to the PHARE program. In practical terms, activities supported in Poland relate to individual projects in the fields specified above and are to a large extent part of the bilateral or multilateral co-operation between the countries bordering on the Baltic Sea. Elements of European integration information that sporadically appear relate in principle only to selected topics, usually very narrow ones, most often associated with EU norms and standards applicable in a particular field. The strategy clearly leaves all Swedish technical assistance to the EU, particularly to the PHARE program. In the year 2000, Sweden's financial support to Poland amounted to 44.6 million Swedish krones.

Thus EU member-state delegations to Poland do not actively pursue any European information supply agenda. Any supply of EU-related information and literature that there is constitutes only a minute element of their activities. European activities are pursued indirectly by way of developing bilateral relations between Poland and a given EU country, providing information about that country, promoting its culture and tourism, etc. It seems, however, that European accents present in this type of activities are too subtle to be noticed by the average recipient.

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2.3 Public and private EU member-state foundations operating in Poland

EU member-state foundations providing assistance to various projects in Poland do not focus on supporting European activities. The activities they support only sporadically contain European themes. As in the case of EC member-state delegations, EC member-state foundations aim not so much at directly supporting integration programs as assisting in fields particularly vulnerable to changes, including those brought about by the integration process, such as unemployment, poverty, the environment, development of entrepreneurship, reinforcement of democracy etc.

Among the most active EU member-state organisations operating in Poland are German foundations linked to political parties and to a large degree funded by the German federal budget. They aim at the development of bilateral relations, particularly in the area of social and political theory (usually of the sort compatible with the views of the party associated with the foundation), research, studies, and scientific and cultural exchanges. These objectives do not include any specific activities related to Poland's integration with the EU or EU promotion. The majority of these foundations limit their European activities to supporting individual publications, seminars or studies, e.g. the Konrad Adenauer Foundation supports European Encounters - a series of events on the European theme run by the Schuman Foundation - as well as numerous seminars and scientific publications.

The Ebert Foundation is an exception. It has launched a pro-integration program through which it regularly supports research, studies, publications and conferences on European affairs. The Ebert Foundation has been operating an agency in Poland since 1990. Its main objective is the reinforcement of democracy and pluralism, and development of civil society. The foundation finances and provides substantive support to projects prepared by organisations operating in Poland. In the past, the foundation has backed the following European integration projects:

- A regular annual study of the extent of Poland's adaptation to EU structures ("Euromonitoring");
- A seminar "The Polish Road to the EU Convergent and Divergent Interests of Poland and Germany";
- An international-affairs forum for young politicians and scientists;
- Literature on various aspects of integration, mainly in the form of scientific papers, studies and reports on seminars and conferences. This literature is in most cases prepared by Polish higher educational institutions and centres, research teams or community organisations, and its publication is partly financed by the foundation.

2.4 Conclusions

- The leading foreign institution conducting European activities in Poland is the European Commission Delegation. With a few exceptions (e.g. the Ebert Foundation and the Know-How Fund), EC member-state delegations and foundations usually do not carry out any regular day-to-day European activities.
- As the SIDA strategy clearly shows, this hands-off approach stems from the fact that, from the EU perspective, it is the European Commission and its Delegation to Poland that have the responsibility and resources to run these types of activity.

- In the past three years, the EC Delegation in Poland has undertaken several steps to intensify and streamline its EU-related information activities. To their recipients, however, these activities seem insufficient and under-exposed in the Polish media. The fact that EU member-state delegations do not stock any literature published by the EC Delegation is also peculiar.
- Considerable chaos reigns in the field of providing information about and promoting the "common Europe". The available literature is too general, ill adapted to the reader's needs and falls behind the pre-accession process, which is the prism through which Poles look at European affairs. This may lead to Polish public opinion rejecting the European Union. The question remains who should assume the burden of co-ordinating and overseeing European promotion and information activities the EC Delegation or UKIE?
- The same question presents itself with respect to procedures governing EU assistance, which is a particularly important issue considering Polish conditions. This issue assumes a special significance when one takes into account that Poland has been the main beneficiary of EU assistance programs for many years. Huge problems linked to EU assistance granting procedures experienced by Polish recipients of EU support from government institutions, businesses and territorial governments to community initiatives clearly contribute to the creation of a poor image of European structures.

3. THE POLISH MEDIA

In this chapter, we describe the European initiatives conducted by the Polish mass media. We analyse the premises upon which media information is based, the method of providing information about the European Union, its pending expansion and Poland's European aspirations, and how it is received by readers, listeners and viewers. Our project sample includes periodicals as well as radio and TV stations differing in terms of approach, range and audience. We have conducted in-depth interviews with journalists and publishers, analysed opinions expressed by readers and listeners, monitored public television current-affairs programmes, and examined readership, listening and viewing studies as well as comments provided by representatives of various social groups during case studies. We also present here the political, social and organisational dimension of the process of providing EU-related information by radio and TV, as well as their particular associated difficulties.

Because of their wide reach, the media should play a fundamental role in informing Poles about the European Union. This is very important since approximately 70% of Poles report feeling under-informed about Poland/EU issues, and that number is decreasing very slowly as time passes. ²⁰ In addition, a predominant majority of Poles declares that the media are their favourite source of information about European integration: 79% would like to get such information from TV. ²¹

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¹⁹ The project is based on in-depth interviews and case studies, and takes into account the two largest and most influential national daily newspapers - *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza* - all four Public Radio channels, a small regional radio station in Ostrołęka, the Public Television Network and a small biweekly magazine devoted to EU issues.

²⁰ See OBOP survey results (Feb. 1998, May 1999, Apr. 2000, Oct. 2000). In April 1998, 72% of Poles stated that they had a sense of being under-informed about European integration. More than two years later, in October 2000, the same opinion was expressed by an only slightly lower number of respondents - 69%. The number of respondents who at that time had a sense of being well informed increased from 18% to 25%.

²¹ Study conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs between May 19 and 23, 2001 - "Social interest, information level and knowledge of Poland's integration with the European Union".

The significant role played by the media in informing the population about European integration has been recognised by the government and written into Narodowy Program Przygotowania Polski do Członkostwa w UE (National Program of Preparing Poland for EU Membership). Journalists are being trained in European integration issues within the framework of Program Informowania Społeczeństwa (Public Information Programme). However, the reach of such training is limited - only 30 journalists took part in it in the year 2000. The European Public Relations System, which is a part of the PHARE PL 9707 -European Integration Program, has provided 44 subsidies to radio and TV shows that popularise the European Union (overall subsidies amounted to EURO 547,000). The state has provided subsidies to the printed press (mainly regional). In co-operation with the Polish Press Agency (PAP), the government has developed the EuroPAP database with information about Poland's integration with the EU. The database is accessible by Internet. This Internet service (financed by UKIE and the Co-operation Fund) is free, easily accessible and well utilised by the media. In a word, the government has recognised that the media are one of the most important recipients of information about European integration. However, our survey has shown that media representatives are critical of the governmental information policy, of difficulties associated with obtaining appropriate information and of the complicated language used by politicians in discussions of these issues, which is incomprehensible to the average listener or reader. The difficult language used in the press, radio and TV, and the inconvenient time at which EU-related programs are broadcast also form the subject of criticisms expressed by end receivers of EU-related information - readers, viewers and listeners.

3.1 Radio

Until the year 2000, Public Radio had no strategy for providing European integration information, although it had signed an appropriate agreement with UKIE as early as 1997. In the year 2000, two people in each of Public Radio's five channels were assigned to covering European integration issues. The peculiarity of this situation is that the European integration information broadcast on Public Radio is now dependent on a few individuals who instruct producers or chief editors what information to include and what shows to broadcast.

Public Radio refrains from broadcasting programmes entirely devoted to European issues. It considers that an attempt to reach a selected audience interested in the subject is doomed to failure. Instead, producers try to touch on European subjects in the most popular shows. This strategy seems to be proving prudent, particularly in the case of programmes with a wide audience. The Channel 1 audience consists mainly of older rural dwellers, whereas Channel 3 is listened to by a totally different group - young and well-educated urban residents. Thus, for example, European information broadcast on the Channel 1 show Sygnaly Dnia reaches almost two million listeners every day, or 35% of all radio listeners at that time. A series of shows about the Common Agricultural Policy called Zielony Rynek also has a wide audience. Both shows are listened to primarily by rural and small-town residents in the 40-70 age bracket. Public Radio Channel 3 broadcasts a daily program called *Informator Ekonomiczny*, in which much time is devoted to information about economic adaptations and changes awaiting Poland on accession to the European Union. The program has an average audience of 384,000 of whom 34% are university graduates (this percentage is impressive since, according to the Central Statistical Office, only 11.1% of all Poles have graduated from higher educational institutions). It is also notable that 22% of this audience is made up of

entrepreneurs and people engaged in free enterprise, and therefore an important target group (7.4% of the adult population total).²²

Thus, Public Radio's approach to European information is a function of its perception of what a radio message should be and translates in practical terms into including European integration into a given show and repeating it regularly to "intensify the message". Public Radio officials say that merely to broadcast information is not enough. There has to be an educational element which, after all, is part of the mission of a public broadcaster. The regular *Mr Nowak goes to Europe* fits that bill. It provides specific examples of changes that will take place in various aspects of an average person's life after Poland joins the European Union

It is worth noting that although the management of Public Radio insists on the need to focus on issues associated with Poland adapting to EU requirements rather than on accession negotiations $per\ se^{23}$, it is the latter subject that is discussed most often. What makes news is what is currently happening between Poland and the EU - when will Poland join the European Union, the current status of negotiations, etc.

3.1.1 Grant-supported programmes

The competition for grants forces radio show producers to improve the planning of European information broadcasts and develop cyclical shows. In the opinion of Public Radio executives, European information and education has become much more effective owing to the European Public Relations System (EPRS), which in 2000 was run by a company called EFICOM. Public Radio has submitted grant applications for several projects and many were accepted. Programmes supported by EPRS:

- Contain a characteristic "European jingle", are broadcast at various times and are addressed to different groups of listeners;
- Participating journalists have gone to EU member-states and applicant countries dozens of times. Each such trip has yielded stories, live reports and talks with politicians in the given country;
- Grants created competition among editorial bureaux and an incentive to produce the best possible work.

The youngest generation of radio journalists, aged under 30, has taken part in grant-supported practical training trips and productions. There was also a seminar on European integration for representatives of all 18 Public Radio channels and 17 regional channels, attended by 40 people.

3.1.2 Example of a small radio station

While analysing information activities carried out by radio stations it is worth taking a look at a small broadcaster operating in a local environment. *Radio Oko* in Ostrołęka is one such broadcaster. The proximity of the recipient and focus on matters affecting the local community, as well as collaboration with local organisations (in this case the Regional European Information Centre), provide an opportunity for better reaching the local community with European information - not only by way of serving integration information

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²² Data based on radio audience rates monitored in November 2000.

²³ "Journalists should concentrate on talking about the need to adapt rather than the negotiation process", "The integration process is 95% legislative revision and that's where the stress should be put." - interview with the Polish Radio Program Director.

but also by arousing listeners' interest in the subject and animating the local community. One example of such activities was a series of shows about the European Union produced with the assistance of children - students at all Ostrołęka schools. This is what the journalist that produced the show has to say: "We went to a few school meetings because a sort of interschool parliament had been created, and the shows began being produced. This gave a nudge to the local community, to schools, and through the schools to children's parents. I am sure they got some information as a result of that. (...) All schools received the shows taped on cassettes, because some of them have their own internal broadcast systems. I have been told that certain schools have already re-broadcast some of the shows." Therefore, the initiative launched by the radio station (jointly with the Regional European Information Centre) had its continuation. It resulted in a dozen or so meetings between students, parents and teachers, one school held competitions about European integration based on one of the shows, and the shows themselves were being re-broadcast within schools.

The shows also provoked a wildly critical reaction from listeners protesting against using children as "pro-European agitators". "People would call and censure us for stuffing these things into children's brains and then making the children repeat them on the air. They could not understand why we were involving children in the fight for Poland's accession to the EU. They accused us of using the children as propaganda tools." ²⁴ However, in addition to expressing their emotions, these listeners were also quick to share their opinions on integration. Thus the program has contributed to intensifying debate and arousing interest in the subject of integration not only among children, but also among adults.

3.2 Polish Public Television

Public Television broadcasts five regular shows devoted to European issues: *Euroexpress*, *Twarzą w Twarz z Europą*, *Europejczycy*, *12.20 do Unii* and *Za i Przeciw*. In the year 2000, the PHARE European Public Relations System subsidised 13 projects for a total of EURO 274,400. To date, Public Television has not signed any overall co-operation agreement similar to that concluded between Public Radio and the Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE).

In addition to shows devoted entirely to the European Union, European integration issues are also mentioned in current-affairs programmes. These shows usually focus on the latest developments and visits and statements made by Polish and EU politicians. The language used in describing the latest developments, particularly the current topic of negotiations or contentious issues, is overly complicated. From the perspective of reaching the widest possible audience and providing European education (which practically does not happen on television), European integration issues should be reported in the daily news show *Wiadomości*, i.e. at peak viewing time (currently, most shows dealing with the EU are broadcast at times when the audience rating is low), in feature stories on adapting legislation and standards to EU requirements, provided in a way that would relate to the everyday experience of an average person. In this context it is worth noting that European-affairs shows addressed to farmers look at these issues precisely from the practical perspective.²⁵ However, not always sufficiently so. Farmers contend that there are radio and TV shows

²⁴ Interview with a journalist from *OKO Radio* in Ostrołęka.

²⁵ Compare E. Kacprowicz, J. Osiecka, E. Berkowska - *Obecność problematyki unijnej i integracyjnej w telewizji publicznej i komercyjnej*. The authors base their work on a survey of European topic programmes broadcast on television in November 2000.

about the European Union addressed specifically to them, but often they do not see any connection between the topics discussed in them and their own experience. One rural community leader, a man with a certain position in his locality and public savvy, puts it thus: "They often talk about the EU on radio and TV. But what of it if it is all theoretical. They should put it in more practical terms." ²⁶

A trade union activist also points to the need of discussing specific issues in addition to making a general convincing effort: "I would like to hear a discussion on specific issues. Not just trying to scare or persuade, but specific issues that would tell us what the pros and cons are." ²⁷ She also notes that discussions on television are often biased and that there is a lack of strictly educational or training programmes.

Television programmes, particularly those addressed to the rural population, should also clearly demonstrate that the expansion of the EU would not only benefit experts gathered in the TV studio but also viewers. Our research detected an attitude exemplified by one farmer's statement: "Those on TV keep praising everything because they have a vested interest... I don't know, maybe Poland will indeed benefit from it, but will I?" 28 The type of attitude "they praise because they will benefit, but I will not benefit" is not restricted only to farmers.

European Union issues are being presented on Public Television at an increasing rate. The five regular programs are a good example. However, the quality of presenting these topics leaves much to be desired. Most materials, particularly those presented in news programmes, do not educate but rather cause even greater confusion and disorientation owing to their incomprehensibility, inconsistency and excessive number.²⁹ European integration materials broadcast on television reach mainly informed viewers. For example, this is how young residents of a small town in the Małopolska Region perceive the usefulness of UKIE brochures and publications they have come across during European workshops conducted in Krakow: "Once I had read this material, I was able to follow more or less what was being said on the news on TV and in the media. Now I understand what it is all about."³⁰ Also conducive to understanding and absorbing European information are discussion meetings at European school clubs. A member of such a club in Ostrołeka says: "Before I started coming to the club I would shy away from this type of information on TV, I wasn't interested in it very much. It is only now that I have started paying attention to it."³¹

Another serious shortcoming of TV policy with respect to providing European integration information is the inconvenient time of broadcasts, which greatly limits the number of potential viewers. When Public Television does broadcast an EU related current-affairs show at a convenient time on one channel, then it inevitably simultaneously broadcasts one of the most popular information shows on the other channel.³² Both shows compete for the same viewers.

²⁶ Interview with a local community leader - participant in European integration training conducted in Pułtusk by FDPA (1).

²⁷ Interview with a trade union activist - participant in European integration training conducted by the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Branch.

²⁸ Interview with a local community leader - participant in European integration training conducted in Pułtusk by FDPA (2).

³⁰ Interview with a student at an agricultural school in Ropczyce - participant in European workshops organised in Krakow by MFEE (1).

31 Interview with a member of the inter-school European club attached to the Regional European Information

³² At 5:00 p.m., Channel One broadcasts the *Teleexpress* news bulletin while Channel Two broadcasts the Europeans current-affairs show.

3.3 Printed press

Newspapers devote a considerable amount of attention to European integration issues. As negotiations have been progressing and the debate concerning the date of EU expansion has heated up, the amount of information about accession negotiations and the European Union presented by most influential daily newspapers has multiplied two- or three-fold since 1998. A biweekly magazine on European affairs was also established in 1998. The two largest national daily newspapers, *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*, publish two or three articles on European integration every day. Information about Poland's negotiations with the European Union decisively dominates in *Rzeczpospolita*. Once or twice a week it also publishes articles commenting on such questions as: "why join the European Union?", "on what terms?" or "what type of European Union would Poland want to join?"

On average, *Gazeta Wyborcza* publishes three articles on the European Union in each issue. Proportions between topics may be described thus: one article per issue is devoted to Poland/UE relations (negotiations, status of preparations for membership), also one article per issue talks about the EU itself, and the third article usually concerns a certain aspect of EU policy, e.g. agriculture, BSE, etc. The issue of the EU's future comes up rarely, but *Gazeta Wyborcza* did publish Joshka Fischer's Berlin speech about a federalist EU as well as reactions thereto.

3.3.1 Supplements and special reports devoted to the European Union

Newspapers also make decisions beyond the publication of regular articles and carry all types of inserts, reports, or dedicated columns and sections, as well as sponsoring European events. In the first half of the 1990s, *Rzeczpospolita* carried a column devoted to the European Union. In the past two years, European information has been appearing in various sections of the newspaper - Economics, Foreign Affairs, Social Issues. The same decentralised form has been adopted by *Gazeta Wyborcza*. European issues are handled in the economic section by two people - an editor and a writer, in the political section - one writer, in the foreign affairs section - one editor and one writer, and in the opinions section - one of the editors.

A single special report was published in *Rzeczpospolita* in the 1990s - on the occasion of Poland signing the Association Treaty. The newspaper currently publishes a separate weekly column on preparations for EU membership. The column does not aim at popularising European Union issues or providing information on the course of negotiations but rather at showing how EU membership will affect the situation of various social and professional groups in Poland.

Since the early 1990s, *Gazeta Wyborcza* has been publishing occasional supplements devoted to European issues, each associated with a specific topic such as the introduction of the Euro, admission of new members to the EU or an important European summit meeting. Approximately 10 such supplements have appeared. So-called *Euroreports* have been published since summer 2000 - every month or so the newspaper devotes a number of columns entirely to the European Union - interviews, commentaries and analyses.

The two newspapers co-operate with the European Commission's Delegation to Poland by publishing texts they receive from that institution. They also work with experts, various study centres, as well as politicians engaged in negotiations and the adaptation processes. They maintain permanent correspondents in Brussels and consider those bureaux very important. Much is also written on European topics by their Berlin and Paris correspondents.

Rzeczpospolita has published UKIE advertisements for grants available to non-governmental organisations. Gazeta Wyborcza does not carry advertisements for European tenders, but certain private companies place self-advertisements associated with the European Union. For example, banks published ads promoting their EURO accounts when the EURO currency was introduced in the EU.

The newspapers sponsor seminars and conferences on European topics. This happens once or twice a year. Editors believe that this promotes their company's image and, besides, it is often a good source of interesting material.

Newspaper editors believe that providing reliable information is the best promotion. Rational arguments speak "for" accession. Therefore, the dilemma of whether to inform or promote is almost non-existent. However, they also publish unfavourable information and commentaries that at times can be extremely critical of both parties to the negotiations. According to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, European topics do not require any promotion. Poland will very soon undergo major transformations and readers need to be informed in order to prepare.

3.3.2 Readers' reaction to articles on European integration

Gazeta Wyborcza receives few letters reacting to articles associated with European integration. However, in the process of gathering material for articles, journalists receive signals from various communities, such as environmental companies involved in waste disposal which say that they are ready to apply EU regulations and that their implementation should be accelerated. Other groups reported to have in some way reacted to articles or to have spoken with Gazeta Wyborcza journalists expressing a particular interest in European integration issues were lawyers, doctors, architects, transport officials, builders and pharmacists.

Articles published in these two large-circulation daily newspapers do not always meet the demands of all readers. Particularly those published in *Rzeczpospolita* are considered difficult to read and require specialist knowledge. A trade unionist from Gdańsk says: "These articles are for experts. Since I have access to the Internet now at work, there is a web site providing current information about the EU and I prefer using that."³³

3.3.3 Example of a periodical devoted to European integration issues

A good illustration of the fact that until recently European integration issues were not making the front pages of large-circulation newspapers is the existence of the *Unia&Polska* magazine. This biweekly was created in 1998 by several European affairs commentators who had decided that, in view of the low level of media interest in EU issues, the population needed a forum in which the EU and Poland's aspiration to join it would be discussed. Indeed, although the amount of information on these subjects provided by the media has grown considerably since 1998, large-circulation newspapers, radio and television are still not a place where the EU expansion and Poland's accession to the EU are discussed in any depth.

In the three years since the establishment of *Unia&Polska*, the magazine has carried more than 300 articles submitted mainly by students, researchers, politicians of various

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³³ Interview with a trade union activist - participant in European integration training conducted by the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Branch.

orientations, policy makers and NGO activists. It is precisely this elite - representatives of these groups - that is the potential and actual readers of the magazine. The publisher of *Polska&Unia* puts it thus: "We are our own target group," meaning the group of people actively interested in European affairs and wishing to debate them.³⁴ A free Internet version of the magazine is read by 5000 people and the printed version has a circulation of 3000, of which 1000 copies are sold on subscription.

Initiators of the undertaking report that their main problem is the shortage of funds (the fact that writing about Europe is not profitable is also illustrated by the case of *Europa* Magazine, produced at one time by a large publishing house and which flopped within a year). From the outset, *Unia&Polska* was a private undertaking. Following the assumption that the magazine must have a solid financial base and be independent, its founders did not use any public monies. As the chief editor says, this is why *"the magazine is free to criticise UKIE"*. The undertaking is financed by advertising (image-building ads addressed to opinion-setters) and magazine sales.

The existence of the magazine is possible only thanks to "an exceptional grassroots interest existing in Poland. European clubs and various associations are mushrooming (...) There is an incredible amount of interest at the university and secondary-school level."³⁵ The creators of the bi-weekly themselves work hard at stimulating local initiatives with a view to grooming future readers of the magazine. "Even if I had the money to advertise the magazine and made it available at some newspaper kiosk somewhere in the countryside, nobody would pay attention to it. But if the magazine is distributed along channels that reach people who are interested in the topic, if it can reach self-government offices, clubs, associations or those European Local Initiative Centres, then I know that it will be picked up by people who are seeking that information..." Another way of reaching readers interested in the specific topic, and one that requires little investment, is to propose thematic study sheets to professional organisations such as the Teachers' Professional Development Centre, Foundation for the Development of Local Democracy or the National Chamber of Commerce. This is how the chief editor explains this idea: "Local governments subscribing to my magazine know that they will find a page addressed to local public servants and edited by the Foundation for the Development of Local Democracy, which they know is on their side. The same goes for teachers who know they will find in the magazine materials useful in preparing lessons on the European Union."37

Unia&Polska magazine is an example of a successful European initiative. This success is due to several factors. Firstly, the magazine is indeed a forum for discussion by proponents of varied political and social persuasion. The editors' credo is that Poland should join the European Union, ³⁸ but they are equally willing to invite articles by opponents of European integration. Thanks to its political independence, the magazine has been able to influence the discussion of European integration policy by various political parties. It was *Unia&Polska* that came forward with the idea for the "Pact on Integration", ratified during the election campaign by almost all major political parties.

The other factor is the magazine's successful vision of being a "permanently updated encyclopaedia of knowledge about the European Union". 39 This knowledge is used both by

³⁴ In-depth interview with the publisher of *Unia&Polska*.

³⁵ In-depth interview with the chief editor of *Unia&Polska*.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Interview with the chief editor of *Unia&Polska*.

³⁹ Interview with the publisher of *Unia&Polska*.

students writing term papers and politicians wishing to keep up with the increasing number of events, issues and trends associated with European integration, and become familiar with the opinions expressed by public personalities.

The third important factor is the close collaboration between the magazine's editorial staff, NGOs and local governments. All benefit from that collaboration - the magazine gets readers and readers get an accessible source of information and opinions about EU expansion and its consequences for Poland and for themselves.

3.4 Conclusions

There is agreement across the Polish media - at least among their most important and largest representatives - that Poland should join the European Union. Differences between their views are hardly perceptible. This is among other things because the media have not yet established their own way of writing about European integration. To a large extent, they are using the language of quotations. They quote politicians, civil servants, documents and reports, and the information they relate is written in a "technical" language. The author of a report written three years ago has noticed this problem and his opinion still holds true. Anyway, journalists are in agreement with readers, listeners and viewers in pointing to the absence of a linguistic form appropriate to conveying information about European integration. The largely passive attitude of the Public Television Network - the most watched information source in Poland - is also a problem. It does not use its full potential sufficiently to inform viewers about integration.

The study has shown the main difficulties encountered by the media in providing information on European Union and in assessment of their performance by recipients.

- Journalists criticise the inaccessibility of information "...the public administration is not an active partner; information has to be dragged out, they are unable to prepare it. What could be called an information policy is at the vestigial stage. EU institutions are not much better."
- The absence of appropriate language for conveying the information is a serious problem. Journalists often use foreign clichés or a kind of Euro-jargon borrowed from official documents and statements delivered by civil servants and ministers. Therefore, a form of expression understood by readers, listeners or viewers must be found.
- There is a problem with the excessive requirements placed on editorial boards applying for grants to produce programmes on European topics. Some editorial boards at Polish Public Radio whose projects had received grants decided to turn down the money because of the complicated system of settling accounts with Brussels and the stress associated with needing to produce reports and submit them to three audits.
- Media representatives view European-affairs information as boring. In their opinion, it is difficult to extract information that would interest a wide audience.

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⁴⁰ See Maciej Łubieński - *Polska - Unia Europejska. Analiza prasy codziennej*, ISP, Warsaw 1998.

- European affairs are very complex issues requiring a great deal of knowledge. Consequently few people are willing to become involved in it in a serious way. Moreover, most issues associated with the European Union cannot be easily translated into an attractive journalistic form. This is one of the reasons why there are no good television shows in Poland about these issues.
- A decisive majority of the population (79%) wishes to get European-integration information from television. The presence of TV in every home imposes a requirement to broadcast highest-quality programmes in terms of clarity, even-handedness, and applicability to viewer experience. Indeed, quality studies indicate that viewers must snatch European integration information from among the other material offered and that only people interested in and already knowledgeable of the topic can understand such information.
- Journalists (with respect to politicians) and readers, viewers and listeners (with respect to journalists) plead for the information to be as clear as possible and based on specific examples. Both groups agree that the material now offered in the Polish media fails to meet these requirements.
- Quality studies indicate that the Internet is gradually becoming an important tool in acquiring EU-related information an obvious reaction to the chaotic and complicated way in which such information is provided in the press. However, this trend applies only to people who are already interested in integration issues.
- Co-operation between the media (particularly regional ones) and NGOs is very important. Initiatives born at the junction of these two worlds not only convey integration information but also rally local communities around European issues.

4. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Polish non-governmental organisations have undertaken "European awareness" activities long before the government Public Information Programme was developed. For this reason the experience and potential of these organisations have a crucial significance for social communication with respect to Poland's integration with the European Union. The activities of non-governmental organisations are analysed on the basis of detailed interviews, case studies conducted in three non-governmental organisations and mail surveys.⁴¹

4.1 The objectives and institutional capability of non-governmental organisations

At present over 45 000 non-governmental organisations are active in Poland. Non-governmental organisations are the most diverse and lively sector in the field of distributing information. Their activities, both local, regional and national, are closely linked with this sphere and despite the fact that only some of them have information as an objective written in

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⁴¹ Sample characteristics is described in Appendix 1.

their statutes, most contribute substantially to the dissemination of information in the society. These organisations prepare training, seminars, conduct various workshops, develop data bases, operate web sites, discussion panels, maintain information and advisory points, arrange exchanges, translate foreign studies into Polish, organise meetings with experts, competitions in various fields of knowledge for young people, conduct continuous training. All these are non-profit activities and are therefore either completely free of charge or priced much below commercial rates.

The studies conducted in 1999 revealed a considerable interest of non-governmental organisations in the process of European integration. Although to the question "What importance did you assign in your activities until now to European integration?" 22.7% of the organisations replied that integration is of little significance to them, as many as 87% declared that they would like to assign more importance to the European integration process in their activities.⁴²

Non-governmental organisations are active in the area of informing about integration even if these activities are not statutory pro-European objectives. More than one fourth of these organisations co-operate with European Union NGOs, 35% benefit from European financial aid programs, 31% maintain contacts with Polish governmental or public institutions involved with European integration. A vast majority, 83%, of these organisations, would like to become actively involved in information activities about European integration. There is a great deal of interest in consultations in the process of Poland's integration with the EU, that is participation in meetings which are aimed at preparing and supporting the negotiations process and offering opinions on working materials about the integration process. However, there seems to be a problem with selecting a common representation of the NGOs for the purpose of such consultations.

The programmes and funds which are active in Poland have a great influence on the intensification of non-governmental activity in the sphere of information and European integration. The European Union notices the fundamental role of the civic society in democratic countries and has been financially supporting Polish non-governmental organisations through the PHARE program for 11 years. Since the PHARE reform in 1998 essentially all programs have been taking into account the future accession of Poland to the EU (e.g. PHARE Access), and some involved direct initiatives which promote the EU (e.g. PHARE "Pro-European Initiatives").

The Internet plays an important role in the information activities of non-governmental organisations. According to the "Study of information needs of non-governmental organisations" it is estimated that although only about 33% of the organisations actually use the Internet, 61% declare that they would like to use it. In January 2001 a non-governmental portal was created, which is a complex information service for non-governmental organisations. It contains modern data bases including a list of 45 thousand Polish NGOs, a database of the EU non-governmental networks, Central and Eastern European organisations, a database of European funds and a database of NGOs involved with European issues. These are interactive databases (everyone may enter or update information about their organisation *on line*) and easy to browse through.

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⁴² It must be stated however that these are the opinions of organisations who replied to the questionnaire and have thereby expressed an interest in European Union issues.

⁴³ The portal <u>www.ngo.pl</u> administered by the Association KLON?JAWOR and financed mainly by the Polish-American Freedom Foundation.

The portal also contains a serious "European" accent – apart from the databases, list of legal regulations of the third sector in each of the member states as well as a list of interesting links, it serves the website of the Representative Office of Polish non-governmental organisations in Brussels.

Despite the fact that as many as 83% of the organisations would like to actively participate in the information campaign about European integration, the non-governmental sector does not feel well prepared for accession to the European Union and considers its own influence on the integration process to be rather weak. The exchange of information is also not highly evaluated. A vast majority (84%) believes that so far the availability of information about European integration is insufficient.

As regards the sources of information, which the NGOs would like to use there, are no clear preferences. Most of the organisations would like to participate in conferences and training as well as have access to specialized magazines devoted to European integration, but all sources of information tend to be equally valued by the NGOs. It is worth noting that almost 30% of the organisations would be prepared to use the Internet to search for information about European integration⁴⁴.

The main barrier for (unaffiliated) non-governmental organisations to running European information points is the lack of financial means (41 indications among 49 organisations surveyed, only three organisations replied that are decidedly not a problem). Other barriers are not considered significant. The organisations believe that they do not lack information or staff adequately prepared for running such information points. Relatively many (15 organisations) note a lack of interest in their information offer.

4.2 The activities of NGOs in the area of European integration

Non-governmental organisations mainly undertake to collect and distribute information about the European Union and the accession process. These include mainly general EU information⁴⁵, training about Union institutions and policies, European funds and Union law.

Indirectly information about European integration is provided by NGOs which work in specific areas. They compare Polish and Union law⁴⁶, monitor legal changes in their areas of activity in the course of adopting *acquis communautaire*, they watch the progress (or lack of progress) of the negotiations and search for partners in the EU for common projects and apply for membership in European non-governmental sector networks.

A distinguishing feature of non-governmental organisations is their activity at the local level. NGOs are well acquainted with local conditions and can reach individuals with their individual needs, as well as answer their doubts in a much wider degree than the media or

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⁴⁴ The most frequently used sources of information so far for the organisations were the daily and weekly press (85% of the organisations), radio and television (79%). The next important source were informal contacts with other organisations (45%), then conferences and seminars (33%), non-government press (31%), local governments and public institutions (28%). The most rarely used source were local libraries and information outlets for non-governmental organisations (12%).

outlets for non-governmental organisations (12%).

45 See e.g. the information campaign "The Church, Poland and the European Union. How are we going to benefit?", a project of the Catholic Pedagogical Society (source: Cooperation Fund).

⁴⁶ See e.g. "The mechanisms of law enforcement in Poland in comparison with the current legal status of the European Union", a project of the League of Polish Women (source: Cooperation Fund).

local governments can. The Polish Robert Schuman Foundation works on the assumption that European integration cannot be explained to people unless this is done by persons who have direct contacts with their local communities (such as priests, teachers, pharmacists etc.) The Foundation's community programs for young people, farmers and teachers from small rural areas and for local authorities are based on this approach.

4.2.1 Information outlets run by non-governmental organisations

The most characteristic local activity aimed at informing about the EU consists of running European information points which are either independent or operate as a specific form of activity of an organisation or institution. Local European information points are run mainly, but not exclusively, by non-governmental organisations. They are created alongside local government offices, libraries, various levels of schools and other public institutions. Networks of information points play an important role in informing about integration. In Poland there are three main networks of European information points: Regional Centres of European Information (initiated by UKIE), Centres of European Documentation (created mainly by institutions of higher education) and the Euro-Info network (pan-European information network for entrepreneurs).

Apart from the networks there is a number of unaffiliated European information points. According to studies of the capacity and requirements of European information infrastructure in Poland, among the 151 unaffiliated information points 49 were created by or alongside a non-governmental organisation.

These studies have also shown an important difference in the standards of operation. Most of the "network" information points provide very good (sometimes excellent) information services. On the other hand very few local (unaffiliated) outlets meet the standards set by the European Commission Delegation in Poland. The criteria proposed by the Delegation consist among others in a central location, access to the Internet, qualifications of persons in charge and knowledge of the local community. Among the non-governmental points only 9 were rated very good, and only one was excellent.

4.2.2 Promotion of European integration

Many NGOs' initiatives are aimed at persuading citizens to approve Poland's accession to the European Union⁴⁷. These include various types of campaigns, events and other promotion activities. The best known example of this type of operation are the Polish European Meetings. They are organised every year since 1994 by the Robert Schuman Foundation. Until 2000 the Meetings took the form of a discussion and presentation of what various nongovernmental organisations do. Now they have become more of a promotion activity – including street functions and festivities, a colourful parade which presents various organisations from all over Poland. The functions in Warsaw are accompanied by similar activities in other cities. Alongside non-governmental organisations government institutions including highest level politicians are found among the participants in the European Meetings. The number of participants is currently estimated at about six thousand.

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⁴⁷ The distinction between information and promotion in this area has proved to be very important in Poland. This is connected with the work on developing the Public Information Programme (PIS). In the initial version PIS contained a statement on "conscientious and circumspect information about both the benefits as well as disadvantages of European integration", which meant financial support for organisations which act against Poland's accession to the European Union. This was very hotly debated and finally "conscientious information" remained but promotion was added.

The Meetings create a lot of media interest, which makes them the most important event favouring European integration in Poland. From the very first Meetings the Foundation has been collecting data about participating organisations and the publication of the "Almanac of Polish non-governmental pro-European organisations" has been the result. This contains basic information about the nature of their activities and possible areas of co-operation.

On the opposite side of the spectrum are the campaigns and promotional activities which are negative about the EU. The organisations which are against Poland's accession to the European Union include anti-globalists, radical environmentalists, anarchists⁴⁸, nationalists, alternative circles as well as farmers and church circles (although anti-European activities of the latter two are stronger within the structures of political parties, trade unions and the media).

4.2.3 Education activities

NGOs exert a major influence on the level of European education, and are even instrumental in introducing subjects dealing with the EU in school curricula. They organise training for various occupational groups⁴⁹, workshops about European funds, and teach how to fill out grant applications⁵⁰. They often co-operate on individual projects. An example of such activity on the national level is the project for European education in Polish schools run by over a dozen non-governmental organisations and the Centre for Teacher Training, which have formed a Coalition for European Education in Polish Schools. The project initiators (including the Stefan Batory Foundation) attempt to consolidate the non-governmental organisations which are involved with European issues and create a pressure group to work on public authorities to adopt various solutions and undertake education and information programs. The project was meant to become a part of the enforcement documents of the Public Information Programme, but due to the reorganisation of the Office of the Committee for European Integration and abandonment of work on these documents this attempt failed⁵¹. The value of the project rests in using the commitment and ideas of teachers to develop their own themes for lessons. The Coalition tries to find willing and creative teachers, the "islands of activity", and to propagate their experience at conferences and in newly developed educational aids, while at the same time influencing systemic solutions⁵². The Foundation is also involved in organising the course "Become a negotiator", a simulation of accession negotiations for secondary school students.

4.2.4 Polish NGOs in the process of creating the European civic society

The lobby of non-governmental organisations which work for public benefit (excluding trade unions and employer organisations) is relatively weak in Poland. This is partly due to the fact that non-governmental organisations are not treated as partners by public authorities, and partly because the non-governmental sector in Poland is incapable of creating a common representation. An important part of lobbying consists in demanding access to information, and more precisely, to participation in consultations with the public authorities.

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⁴⁸ E.g. the Rozbrat [Segregation] Society in Poznań.

⁴⁹ E.g. the project "Adaptation processes in gardening technology and organisation to the European Union requirements on the example of manufacturers of vegetables under screens" of the Association of Farming Producers and Advisors (source: Cooperation Fund).

Producers and Advisors (source: Cooperation Fund).

50 E.g. "European know-how for local governments", a project of the Robert Schuman Foundation (source: Cooperation Fund).

⁵¹ Interview with a civil servant in the Office for European Integration.

⁵² An interview with a staff member of the European Program in the Stefan Batory Foundation.

In the European Union such consultations are termed civic dialogue. The information or conclusions from such dialogue are passed on to member organisations, partners, affiliates and individual persons. Civic dialogue has its own specific dimension in the sphere of European integration. Organisations try to at least be informed (if not consulted) about Polish negotiation positions. A good example here is the number of meetings on specific subjects for non-governmental organisations organised in 2000 by the Forum of Non-governmental Initiatives and the Chief Negotiator's Team. During these meetings the negotiators explained how Polish law is changing and what awaits us after we join the Union.

Non-governmental organisations attach a great deal of importance to public debate on European issues, the most fundamental being where Europe is heading, where Poland is heading and what will be the shape of the Union in the longer term. The initiative of the Institute of Public Affairs of publishing a common declaration of nine Polish nongovernmental analytical centres about the future of Europe⁵³ is also worth noting.

The European Program of the Stefan Batory Foundation plays a leading role in the activities promoting the European civic society. It is very far-reaching (10 large sub-programs are run side by side) and is run by a Foundation which combines on-going activity with grants. It is one of very few foundations which offers grants that support the European integration process⁵⁴. The Foundation belongs to the European Union Task Force of the European Foundation Centre.

An important task consists in expanding the opportunities for the non-governmental sector which will result from European integration. These include activities such as the conference about partnership building between Polish and European Union non-governmental organisations, the project "Access and transparency of European funds for non-governmental organisations", as well as opening the representative office of non-governmental organisations in Brussels. All these activities serve an information purpose: they provide information about European funds, non-governmental organisation networks in the EU and their plans regarding new members from candidate states. The office of Polish NGOs in Brussels tries to stimulate this process.

4.2.5 Co-operating with the government on European initiatives

NGOs demand that the government includes them in its integration effort, and in particular, that it respects the regulations regarding partnership groups in the areas involving social partners⁵⁵ and representatives of non-governmental organisations. These groups were meant to have the ability to monitor the situation in a given sector on an on-going basis in the acquis communautaire adoption process. In practice such groups existed only in a handful of ministries and their composition in fact excluded non-governmental organisations.

Cooperation with the government in the area of pure information on European integration is quite unique in nature. "The strategy of the Public Information Programme (PIS) defines non-governmental organisations as one of the government's key partners in the implementation of the program. The government's co-operation with these organisations must be based on partnership and social dialogue. PIS assumes consultations on information

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⁵³ A Common Europe (Wspólna Europa), ISP 2001.

⁵⁴ Many private foundations provide financial support in Central and Eastern European countries but this support is not directly aimed at these countries' accession to the EU.

Trade unions and employer organisations.

issues based on a consultation board as well as substantive and financial support for nongovernmental organisations and activities which they undertake in the area of information, education and promotion related to integration"56. The unique nature of this co-operation consists in leaving it almost entirely on paper or its complete distortion. Within the SIP framework the UKIE has announced a number of tenders for information activities for nongovernmental organisations, the accessibility and transparency of which has on numerous occasions been questioned among others by journalists from the daily Rzeczpospolita. "Last year in March the UKIE announced two grant competitions - for the media and a separate one for non-governmental organisations. The organisations were to send in project drafts until the end of September, for review by a special tender committee. However, it was unable to review them all as it was dissolved in August."57

At the initiative of the Centre for European Information of UKIE Regional Centres of European Information were created in 33 cities in Poland, which are run mainly by nongovernmental organisations. Their activities are very highly rated although the centres themselves complain about lack of support from UKIE for longer term financing of their operations. At the same time they consider co-operation with the government to be "a privilege"58.

It is difficult to talk about partnership and consultations guaranteed in the Public Information Programme. The Advisory Board for non-governmental organisations has not been created so far despite several years of heavy lobbying by non-governmental organisations⁵⁹ and numerous public declarations on the part of the government. Consultations about the use of funds should concentrate mainly on drafting, monitoring and evaluation of programs financed by them. In Poland the principle of partnership has a long way to go. The great role of nongovernmental organisations in providing information about these funds is often emphasised and Polish organisations undertake such activities but they tend to be shy and very routine (training, conferences, studies). Public administration does not make use of nongovernmental potential in this respect.

4.3 The activities of NGOs and European awareness of the Polish society

The organisations are highly appreciated for their contribution to the improvement of the exchange of information, but reservations tend to arise in the sphere of European integration. This is due to the fact that the subject itself is very sensitive. It is not only a knowledge that may be acquired and later used in everyday life and work. One has to have a concrete emotional attitude (for instance favouring Poland's accession to the EU). Even if "European" information is highly professional, it does not necessarily result in gaining EU supporters. The beneficiaries appreciate non-governmental organisations for their work in collecting and distributing information, often reaching diverse social circles. For their work in organising training in all possible areas, for a widespread system of advice and information, and for being either completely free of charge or very considerably priced, and at the same time highly professional.

⁵⁶ Public Information Programme. Poland's integration with the European Union, Center of European Information, Office for European Integration (UKIE), Warsaw, July 1999.

 ^{57 &}quot;Subsidies not for everyone", Katarzyna Sadłowska, Rzeczpospolita 04.07.2001.
 58 Interview with the head of the Regional European Information Center in Ostrołęka.

⁵⁹ The most effort is attributable to the Association for the Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives and the Robert Schuman Foundation.

But in the sphere of European integration the assessment of non-governmental information activities is somewhat different, often independently of the NGOs themselves.

Detailed interviews with heads of village communities who participated in the seminar organised by the Foundation for Polish Farming Development about Common Agricultural Policy indicate that the seminar was a great success and lectures and materials fully understood by the participants. The practical approach to the classes was appreciated, concrete examples, calculations and comparisons of the Polish situation with the EU was found persuasive (although insufficient according to some participants), they were pleased to be able to ask questions about changes in the specific situation of each individual participant. What was most striking however, was that without undermining the professional expertise of the lecturers and accuracy of the information the heads of village communities were still deeply mistrustful about the information they received. "Well, yes, they all say that, but will it really be like that ... is it certain ... " (one voice) "... they will pay him for these 400 hectares [of potatoes]. But will it really be like that, like really, nobody knows." (another voice). "I would be pleased to be paid (...). That would be good. But will they in fact?" (the second voice again). Information about the European Union often has to break through a barrier of mistrust and prejudice.

The most difficult (and at the same time the crucial) recipients of European initiatives are those social circles and groups which are resentful about integration or express very little interest. This is primarily true of farmers and rural inhabitants. Non-governmental organisations can reach these communities fairly easily due to a high degree of credibility, as they are perceived as neutral (similarly to occupational associations and the Catholic Church). On the other hand the studies show that best results were achieved by means of cooperation between NGOs and government institutions. The participation of government representatives in events held in local communities raises the rank of the event and creates an opportunity for the local people to ask questions and discuss issues. According to a participant of the workshop "Poles and Germans in the European Union" organised by the House of Reconciliation and Meetings named after M.Kolbe in Gdańsk: "Despite the fact that I had some knowledge I was not really interested. My knowledge increased after my participation. It was interesting to meet the gentleman from the Committee of European Integration. He tried to present Poland's situation and the current status of the negotiations."

A representative of the Office for European Integration also notes the need and advantages of such co-operation: "... the advantages are that the Union of Powiats (smallest administrative unit), which is very highly regarded, enables us to talk about it all in a less official manner, and also that I am a guest there not an organiser. Another big advantage is that it is organised by the Union of Polish Powiats and the Foundation for Local Democracy".

The opinion of another participant of the workshops "Poles and Germans in the European Union" may serve as a suitable conclusion: "After participating in this seminar my knowledge increased. It was particularly interesting to meet the representative of the ministry who talked about the negotiations, which conditions we fulfilled and which we did not ... I believe non-governmental organisations are crucial for informing the Polish people."

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4.4 Conclusions

- Non-governmental organisations play a key role in the European initiatives undertaken in Poland but utilising their full potential requires support from the government as well as Union institutions. NGOs expect not only financial but also substantive support (access to information) and the participation of government officials in these initiatives.
- The government and local government should not compete with non-governmental organisations the quality of their activities is comparable. These sectors should cooperate; organisations are capable of reaching individuals and publicising the integration process, while the government can support it with its authority.
- There is a great divide between the activities of large non-governmental organisations on a national scale and local non-governmental initiatives. Large organisations are predominantly financed by private foundations (currently various types of pro-European activities are financed by American foundations), while local initiatives can only rely on the support of the local or central government and the PHARE program. These funds are insufficient. More funds should be made available for this purpose in individual ministries (they support both integration as well as information but seldom do it through non-governmental organisations) and in local governments. Grant procedures should be simplified and more training offered in the area of writing grant applications and grant administration.
- Non-governmental organisations should work towards increasing the PHARE funds which flow through the non-government sector. They should also aim at Poland's membership in other commonwealth programs which are interesting from the point of view of the third sector but not necessarily attractive for the government. Polish NGOs should be better prepared to utilise pre-accession and structural funds as well as participate as widely as possible in all projects where they can be partners (although they cannot apply)⁶⁰.
- Results of studies have shown that the interest of non-governmental organisations in the process of European integration is much higher than their own assessment of their ability to influence this process. Information needs are also far in excess of availability. Both the media as well as the government should try to fill this gap and utilise the full potential which is "dormant" in the non-governmental sector.
- The organisations should ensure that the information they distribute is correct and accurate. They must work towards being more and more professional and raise their standards. NGO staff must be committed to self-education and participate in training, as very frequently gaps in education (inability to speak a foreign language for instance) rule out Polish NGOs as potential partners for foreign organisations.
- The non-governmental sector should aim towards a federal structure and a common representation. Otherwise the government or local governments will not have a clear partner to talk to and consult with.

⁶⁰ These are commonwealth programs for NGOs in the Union.

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5. EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE ORGANISATIONS

In our study of European initiatives taken up by employer and employee organisations in Poland we used the example of four organisations. Two are national all-industry employer associations without any declared political affiliation. The other two organisations belong to the trade union category. All organisations declare political neutrality. Owing to the massive size of trade unions, initiatives they take up have a potential of reaching a great number of people. This is that much more important since many of their members belong to social and professional groups that in the context of the public support for Poland's accession to European Union are seen as undecided.

All four organisations express their support for Poland's accession to the European Union. PKPP stresses that the accession should not take place "at any price and on any terms". A similar attitude is perceivable in the NSZZ "S" position.

Disseminating information and raising awareness of European integration are not within statutory tasks of any of the organisations participating in the study. Nevertheless, each has undertaken such activities in the past. They all declare their intention to continue taking up European initiatives.

5.1 European initiatives undertaken by employer and employee organisations

In most organisations we have studied European initiatives are carried out by foreign relations units and training sections. At BCC, the lobbying section is also very much involved. Our study of trade unions was only able to encompass activities conducted by their central structures. Therefore, one needs to bear in mind that other initiatives are also taken up at the regional and industrial-sector level. NSZZ "S" is the only trade union organisation with a unit dedicated to European integration issues. It is a special *committee* attached to the union's supreme governing body - the *National Executive* operating out of Gdańsk. It has its own office and two employees.

Spokesmen for the four organisations told us that principal activities related to European integration issues consisted in participating in domestic and international conferences as well as providing training. Here are the topics such initiatives covered most frequently:

- Social dialogue and social dimension of the European Union;
- Impact of the EU legislation on the labour law in effect in EU member-states and states seeking EU membership.

In addition, both employee organisations have held training sessions concerning European Workplace Councils and basic issues associated with the European Union. One employer organisation also reviewed Polish opportunities and risks associated with European integration.

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⁶¹ Sample characteristics is described in Appendix 1. The membership of the elitist Business Centre Club (BCC) is composed of more than 2000 entrepreneurs and more than 1100 corporations. Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych (PKPP) also has approx. 2000 members, who jointly provide employment to 400,000 individuals. NSZZ "Solidarność" ("Solidarność" trade union) is a nation-wide trade union with approx. 1,200,000 members, with branches at both workplace and industrial-sector level. In turn, OPZZ, Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych (National Trade Unions Association) is a confederacy of 106 industrial-sector and national trade union organisations with a total of 2,300,000 members (including approx. 500,000 retirees).

Most training has taken place after 1997. Trade unions organise between three and four sessions each year, which are attended in total by some 150 people. When this number is compared with more than one million members in each trade union organisation, the influencing effect of these sessions seems rather small.

BCC invites outside participants to its training sessions. All four organisations publish post-conference materials.

Training is conducted mainly by foreign experts, although the participation of in-house specialists was also frequently stressed. As concerned Polish instructors, NSZZ "S" has been using academic staff, whereas OPZZ has been turning to specialists from UKIE and the Ministry of Labour. All organisations expressed their great need for more training and stated a high level of interest therein among their members. Spokesmen for the four organisations stated that all types of specialists were welcome. Some put more stress on the role of governmental agencies, others on the participation of in-house experts and domestic and foreign NGO representatives. Stress was also put on the need to conduct training in Polish.

Trade union organisations collaborate with similar foreign bodies, mainly in EU member-states and states aspiring to the EU membership. International activities consist of working meetings and joint conferences held mainly abroad, but sometimes also in Poland. OPZZ uses its contacts with individual foreign partners. NSZZ "S" points at the significance of being a member of the European Conference of Trade Unions (ECTU). The union has been the sole Polish member of that organisation since 1995. It is represented in ECTU Steering and Executive Committees in Brussels. NSZZ "S" members have the opportunity to participate in training offered by the European Trade Union College in Brussels. ECTU also provides financial support to European initiatives taken up by NSZZ "S". Many industrial-sector organisations belonging to OPZZ and NSZZ "S" are also members of international bodies.

BCC views itself as one of the sources of information on European attitudes of Polish entrepreneurs for the parliaments of the European Union and its member-states. PKPP also declares having European contacts. The latter is the only organisation of the four with a permanent representative in Brussels (since May 2001).

All four organisations have announced their official position with respect to the Polish accession to the EU, both generally and on specific subjects. To this end, they have organised press conferences and published information in the local and national press. PKPP has been particularly active in this area - its statements have got airtime on television.

Only BCC is regularly collecting and systematising data with a view to preparing studies commissioned by other organisations, such as Polska Fundacja Rozwoju Małych i Średnich Przedsiębiorstw (Polish Foundation for the Development of Small and Medium Enterprises). EU assistance funds have been used, for example, in the development of a study entitled *Preparation of the Position of Enterprises for Negotiating the Terms of Poland's Accession to the EU*. UKIE commissioned BCC to review the Public Information Programme (PIS).

All four organisations participate in reviewing legislative bills associated with the adaptation of the Polish law to UE requirements. Their activities in this area are a collaborative effort. Tymczasowy Komitet Łącznikowy ds. Współpracy z Komitetem Ekonomiczno-Społecznym Wspólnot Europejskich (Interim Liaison Committee for Cooperation with the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities) was established on UKIE's initiative.

It has nine members representing the following organisations: Polska Rada Biznesu (Polish Business Council), Krajowa Izba Gospodarcza (National Chamber of Commerce), Business Centre Club, Federacja Związków Pracodawców Rolnych (Federation of Agricultural Employer Unions), OPZZ, NSZZ "S", Krajowa Rada Izb Rolniczych (National Council of Agricultural Chambers, Związek Rzemiosła Polskiego (Polish Union of Trades) and Federacja Konsumentów (Consumer Federation).

PKPP is the only organisation out of the four that does not participate in the work of the Liaison Committee. Members of the Liaison Committee and nine representatives of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities (ECOSOC) constitute the Joint Consultative Committee, which meets twice a year to review drafts of opinion statements issues by ECOSOC. The Interim Liaison Committee meets once a month. It has not issued any overall joint position statement but has come up with several statements on particular issues, e.g. in early 2001, concerning a review of ECOSOC draft opinion statement entitled "Evaluation and Public Information in the Context of Poland's Preparation for Accession to the EU".

5.1.1 European Initiative Financing Sources

Only PKPP has not taken advantage of small grants provided by PHARE. It funds its initiatives with its own resources, particularly with donations from private sponsors - entrepreneurs who are PKPP members. A large proportion of the financing of European initiatives in BCC also comes from membership fees. Some funding has come from UKIE and Agencja Rozwoju Przedsiębiorczości (Entrepreneurship Development Agency), as well as Stefan Batory and Robert Schuman Foundations. The difference in the financing of European initiatives by the two trade union organisations is that UKIE has funded a large proportion of OPZZ initiatives, whereas Friedrich Ebert Foundation has supported initiatives taken up by NSZZ "S". Both organisations have been financing initiatives also with their own resources. In case of NSZZ "S", a significant additional financial support is provided by the European Conference of Trade Unions.

5.1.2 Dynamics of European Initiatives at Employer and Employee Organisations, and Appraisal of Their Growth Prospects

European integration activities do not constitute principal tasks of the four organisations. The level to which the organisational and opinion-shaping potential of these organisations will be applied in the European integration area is up to the awareness and knowledge of their leaders.

Between 1992 and 2000, these organisations have been paying an increasing amount of attention to European integration issues. There have been two distinct periods:

1992-1998

That was a period in which the awareness of European integration issues was taking shape in the minds of the leaders of these organisations. First foreign contacts were established, restricted-access training sessions were organised for the leaders (financed by small PHARE grants) and discussions were held at the top to elaborate an official position with respect to Poland joining the *European Communities*.

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Outside support came mainly from foreign sister organisations, especially in the case of trade unions, and, to a smaller degree, from specialised NGOs. At that time, the governmental support was insignificant, but the governmental initiative to appoint the Interim Liaison Committee for Cooperation with the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities was important - most organisations listed their participation in that committee as an important element of their European integration activities.

1999-2000

Currently, most leaders of the four organisations consider that European integration activities are an exceptionally significant element of their operations. An increasing amount of the organisational potential is directed to European integration issues. The main objective lies in gathering information and disseminating it internally, with a view to raising European awareness among the ranks.

Everybody questioned about the state of awareness of European issues said that it was steadily growing and stressed the vivid interest in obtaining information and training arising from the ranks. The number of courses on European integration issues is considered decidedly inadequate to the demand.

The present level of awareness among leaders of the four organisations and a certain, still small, organisational potential directed to European integration issues give grounds to hope that their activities will contribute to raising the awareness of a broader number of people. Such opportunities are associated with lobbying activities of employer organisations and, first and foremost, with instructional initiatives within trade-union ranks. The main declared obstacle on the way to the success of such undertakings is not the lack of instructors or shortage of information but limited financial resources that the organisations can direct toward that objective. The problem boils down to the possibility of having access to structured funds, i.e. constant amounts set aside in the organisation budget, which would allow to maintain a staff, even minimal, that would raise and manage funding for this type of programs. At the current organisational level there is a lack of appropriate access to information about available domestic and foreign funding, both governmental and nongovernmental, as well as the absence of a possibility to swiftly react to funding opportunities. For the time being, trade unions do not see any way of financing these activities with their own resources. Employer organisations, which in their majority fund European integration activities themselves, are not prepared to increase that funding by much. This puts a question mark on the possibility of radically increasing the number of Polish employers and employees involved in activities aimed at raising their awareness of European integration issues.

5.2 Example of "Solidarność" trade union

The action plan adopted by the National Executive of NSZZ "S" is an interesting example because, on one hand, it illustrates the nature of potential threats and, on the other, it could serve as a model to others if it turned out to be successful. Activities of the National Executive are subject to the following conditions:

• Since 1995, as the only trade union organisation in Poland, NSZZ "S" is affiliated with ECTU. Therefore, NSZZ "S" representatives participate in numerous international conferences, which the trade union often co-organises;

- ECTU financial support makes it possible for the National Executive to run a specialised unit (European Integration Committee) with its own office and two full-time employees. The existence of this organisational base (in addition to the Training Department) makes it possible to research the availability of programs offered by institutional sponsors and put received grants where the money is needed most;
- The financial and substance-related support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and additional grants received from the PHARE Sierra-Apple program, has made it possible to provide training to over 100 people that hold key positions in the trade union. In 2001, NSZZ "S" plans to train instructors that will be sent to conduct further training in the field. This would make training of a large number of union members more realistic, mainly as a result of reducing expenses associated with inviting foreign experts to Poland and having to interpret their lectures.

Information dissemination and awareness raising activities conducted among trade union members are of great significance. This too can be illustrated by the NSZZ "S" example. Our study has shown a rather large discrepancy in the approach to European integration issues between members of the National Executive and representatives of one of the Regions. The representative of the Mazowsze Region conditioned his organisation's support for the Polish accession to the European Union on terms much stricter than those presented in the official position of the union's National Executive. He pointed to the shortage of topical information. There has been no training whatsoever in his region to date, although some NGOs have offered to provide it.

It should be stressed that the "pro-European" position of the National Executive was adopted by a 60% majority.

5.3 Conclusions

As of 1992, employer and employee organisations alike have been involved in a steadily growing number of initiatives aiming at raising European awareness. Most were characterised by a very limited reach and were addressed mainly to activists at the top of the organisational hierarchy. This does not diminish their potential significance. Indeed, the sheer size of these organisations, particularly of trade unions, needs to be taken into account. The importance of European initiatives taken up by the four organisations to date rests mainly in that they have convinced their top activists of the capital importance that European integration issues played in current and future activities of their organisations. Presently, all four organisations recognise the requirement to conduct large-scale training and other awareness-raising activities among the ranks. Therefore, there is a chance that activities organised henceforth will have a much broader reach. Whether they will take place at all depends on the financial and organisational ability of the four organisations to take up European integration initiatives in a more independent manner than they have done hitherto.

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6. ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

6.1 Types of European initiatives and institutional capability

Almost all institutions participating in the study (58 out of 59) ⁶² have developed a more or less broad strategy of providing European-affairs information and instruction. This strategy involves establishing specialised centres to teach and/or research the subject (30 respondents), organising study or research trips to educational institutions in the EU (27 respondents), or at least introducing occasional lectures on European integration into the general curriculum. Thirty respondents have established specialised European integration units (centres, faculties or institutes, or European information centres). Most of these units are very young, established in the last few years, and are engaged mainly in providing instruction and, sometimes, conducting research (27 respondents). Only a few by-pass teaching and focus on organisation, documentation, information or research.

Respondents reported favouring the traditional didactic approach, i.e. transmitting information to students and assisting them in understanding difficult issues, as well as persuading them as to the merits of the European integration idea. Their principal objective is to provide information about European integration (85% of respondents), about the impact of European integration on Poland as a country (82%) or on individual citizens (78.5%), and promote the idea of European Union expansion (70%). A small percentage (12.5%) acknowledged that one of the objectives was to denounce the idea of EU expansion.

Only 25 European affairs centres reported employing specialist instructors and, as a rule, their number did not exceed 26. At the same time, the number of students attending specialised European integration classes at these centres has skyrocketed from less than 1,000 five years ago to over 10,500. However, there is a great diversification between the institutions in terms of the number of people studying European affairs. There are some centres that provide education to only 20-30 people, whereas others serve a few hundred to over a thousand students. The shortage of academic teachers in the face of a concurrent rapid growth in the student numbers is one of the main problems facing most Polish higher education institutions in general, not only in teaching European integration.

One should bear in mind that European integration instruction can be given in Poland at the undergraduate, graduate or postgraduate level only as a specialisation within study programs such as international relations, law, etc., within the framework of special "European education paths". There is no separate European integration study program because *Rada Główna Szkolnictwa Wyższego* (the Main Council on Higher Education) considers the subject too narrow. This is undoubtedly a significant institutional obstacle to a broader and deeper dissemination of the European integration knowledge in academia.

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⁶² This report is based on a study conducted in academic institutions and other centres of education and instruction, e.g. documentation research and information centres, undertaking various types of European initiative. The study used a questionnaire, asking open and closed questions, sent to 213 institutions, mostly academic. The sample characteristics is described in Appendix 1.

6.2 Execution of initiatives and its assessment

6.2.1 Target groups

European initiatives taken up by academic centres are addressed mainly to students but, to a certain extent, also to teachers. Research shows that students are becoming more and more interested in European integration. This can be illustrated by the number attending European integration classes, which on the scale of all institutions participating in our study has grown from 52% in 1998/1999 to 82.5% in 2000/2001. Lectures are offered at different levels: undergraduate, graduate and doctoral. The largest number of European integration classes is given to students enrolled in international relations, economics, political science and law, but many students in other fields also seek out information on the European Union and select European affairs from other optional programs. Optional European programs are usually offered to students at an advanced level, i.e. in the fourth or fifth year. Some specialised centres, such as the European College in Natolin or the European Study Program at the Warsaw School of Economics, have established post-graduate programs for students strictly specialising in EU affairs. The programs offered at these centres are more advanced. However, the rule is that specialised centres provide instruction to groups counting a few dozen students and thus become elite schools, whereas European programs in institutions that teach the subject only part time are attended by several hundred students. Therefore, when speaking of a specialised education in European affairs, it needs to be noted that there are only a few institutions providing an in-depth EU instruction (i.e. where the curriculum offers several dozen classes dedicated to EU affairs).

Few initiatives are addressed to the scientific staff - specialised training sessions, conferences and foreign exchanges are organised only sporadically. They are mainly directed to European integration instructors and doctoral students preparing dissertations on that subject. Insufficient foreign exchange opportunities are one of the reasons that the number of academic instructors specialising in European integration has been and remains small. A growing number of students interested in the topic combined with an insufficient number of instructors is a significant problem for most Polish institutions of higher education. Among the few positive examples of how to stimulate academic teachers to become interested in the subject is the Jean Monnet program, which enables them to visit foreign educational centres and learn new teaching techniques, and the European Study Program at the Warsaw School of Economics, whose instructors participate in annual teaching-methodology workshops in EU countries. 63

Documentation centres are open to researchers, undergraduate, graduate and doctoral students, as well as anyone else interested in European affairs but not associated with academia, such as journalists. However, as a rule, the amount of documentation available at even the largest centres is insufficient, as the interest in books, periodicals or databases related to European affairs is very high and far exceeds library capabilities.

6.2.2 Methods of conducting European initiatives

European initiatives consist mainly of providing instruction to students (94%), publishing literature (58%), participating in foreign exchange programs (46%), organising domestic and international conferences (35%), cultural events (10%), European awareness competitions (11%), and leading Internet discussion groups (8%).

⁶³ Interview with the deputy director of the European Study Program at the Warsaw School of Economics. PE 323.195 60

The fact that respondents have reported carrying out instructional European initiatives does not mean that an in-depth and comprehensive education in European affairs is provided, even by specialised European education centres. In the overwhelming majority of cases (54 respondents), the EU subject (whether compulsory or optional) is supplemental to main study programs such as international relations, law, marketing or finance. Only four centres, those offering European study programs or "paths", train an elite group of specialists.

The instruction in European integration issues is dominated by traditional teaching methods, which tend not to stimulate students to make an active and independent study effort but, rather, impose an attitude of passive absorption and reproduction of knowledge. European initiatives carried out by individual centres consist of giving lectures (69.5%), seminars (65.5%), publishing condensed literature (58%) and providing specialised training (40%). Students would be better served by European initiatives that were more interactive, such as simulation activities, debates with invited guests, panel discussions on often controversial topics, studies and practical training at institutions and organisations dealing with European integration, etc.

The extent to which an opportunity is taken of partnerships with foreign academic centres within the framework of EU international exchange programs deserves special attention. International exchange programs are particularly suitable to raising "European consciousness" because, in addition to providing academic instruction, they enable the learning of practical aspects of EU operating mechanisms, experience of other European cultures and other standards and value systems, and are designed specifically for academic students and instructors.

Although respondents have reported that the number of partnerships established under programs such as Tempus, Socrates and Leonardo has been growing in recent years, the rate of that growth is by no means satisfactory. The main problem lies in the limited number of foreign exchange positions for students and instructors. The number of people interested in participating exceeds many fold the number of available positions and, consequently, more than one half of respondents (56%), even those which run European centres, have reported not participating in foreign exchange programs. Providing more foreign exchanges within the framework of the most popular programs such as Socrates, Leonardo or Jean Monnet would greatly contribute to the popularisation of European integration. Among those institutions participating in foreign exchange programs, 48% were associated with Tempus, 46% with Socrates and 27% with Leonardo. The number of students participating in these programs has grown from 545 in 1998/1999 to 744 in 2000/2001. Most (654) were in the Socrates program, to which several thousand other students had applied but could not get in.

The other significant obstacle to participation in foreign exchange programs is the seeming inability to meet their formal requirements – to cope with complicated application forms, find foreign schools willing to establish partnerships, etc. It is characteristic that once a school learns how to apply for assistance under one program it is also successful in getting assistance under other, often similar, programs.

Some respondents reported evaluating their initiatives, but only specialised centres such as the European Study Program at the Warsaw School of Economics, European College in Natolin and Jean Monnet Faculty do it in a systematic and comprehensive manner, i.e. students evaluate the courses anonymously and the results of that evaluation are used to rank the subjects. Directors of these centres are required to submit performance reports to the

supervisory or sponsoring institutions (such as the European Commission). Participants in foreign exchange programs are also required to submit reports. This enables modification of the programs as required and their adaptation to the needs and interests of the participants.⁶⁴

With regard to other types of activity, higher education institutions also organise conferences on European integration featuring Polish and foreign guest speakers, which, in addition to academic teachers, are attended by politicians, businesspeople, NGO representatives, and students. As a rule, these conferences are dedicated to specialist issues associated with Poland's EU accession and their objective is to provide knowledge on specific issues rather than to promote accession. Nevertheless, they stimulate the audience (mainly academic teachers) to broaden their interests and specialise in a given field.

6.2.4 Sources of Finance

More than half of all European initiatives would not be carried out at all without the financial and organisational support of EU assistance programs. These initiatives often impose an additional financial burden on the institutions that carry them out and can be undertaken only with outside financial support. As the most important sources of financing, 59.5% of respondents indicated foreign assistance programs such as Phare, Jean Monnet, Tempus, Socrates and the European Union Fifth Frame Program. Other revenues, such as NGO or government grants, cover only a small portion of the costs of running European initiatives.

6.3 Conclusions

- The adoption by most higher education institutions of a strategy of mostly providing European integration information and instruction with elements of pro-European sway to a wide student audience is justified in a situation where the entire Polish population reports being under-informed and insufficiently aware of EU issues. An effective informational effort is conditioned by the informer's ability to arouse the interest of the recipient. This is why even sporadic introductory lectures on European integration or meetings featuring guest speakers may be enough to get students interested and encourage them to seek more topical information independently.
- Higher education institutions undertake European initiatives mainly in response to a high demand for European information from students, but also to raise their own prestige. A mutual dependency seems to be at work: on one hand, students press on the schools to introduce European affairs to educational curricula, while on the other, establishing a centre specialising in European affairs, or just offering a few lectures devoted to the EU, raises the school's prestige. This is probably why there is such a rush to establish various forms of European activities lectures, student exchanges and conferences.
- Foreign exchange study and research trips to higher educational institutions in the EU
 by academic teachers and students are considered to have the highest impact on the
 promotion of European integration and on raising "European awareness" in the
 academic world. However, their scope is limited by financial and organisational
 constraints.

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⁶⁴ Ibid.

- Lectures and seminars, even those constituting only an introduction to European integration issues, reach the largest number of recipients. They are immensely popular among students and although their influence on the state of knowledge of European issues is not very deep, they nevertheless initiate and stimulate general interest in the subject.
- The shortage of strictly scientific work related to European affairs, i.e. research and preparation of doctoral and post-doctoral dissertations, is quite striking. Also, higher educational institutions do not publish very much literature related to European affairs. This state of affairs results partly from the financial constraints affecting most Polish schools both state-run and private. It is reassuring to know that already one half of Polish higher educational institutions is seeking financial support for their teaching and research of European affairs from elsewhere than the state budget.

Chapter III PREMISES, IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT OF EUROPEAN-INTEGRATION INFORMATION PROGRAMMES IN POLAND

This chapter contains a cross-section analysis of EU-related information programs delivered by public institutions and non-governmental organisations. It focuses on the assumptions relative to the methods of disseminating information and conducting information activities, selecting target groups, and adapting information to recipients' needs. That part is followed by an analysis of methods used in putting these assumptions into practice and of the impact of the programs. Relations between various types of institutions engaged in delivering EU-related information programs constitute an additional context in which the impact of these programs can be determined. The chapter ends with a presentation of the effect of information programs from the perspective of their recipients. That effect is confronted with the needs and expectations of the recipients, their interests and their "European consciousness".

1. Assumptions behind EU-related information programmes

Poland's speedy accession to the European Union is viewed by leading Polish political circles as a raison d'État. This is what the president of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski had to say: We must not neglect anything that will take Poland to the European Union and make it a full-fledged member in the foreseeable future." Then he added: "Accession to the European Union (...) is not only a political decision. It is not a decision that has only economic consequences. It is a decision that requires profound social changes, a great deal of preparatory work, and a mental transformation - a change of consciousness. 65

In recognition of the importance of the public being well informed about European integration and thus making a knowledgeable decision with respect to Poland's accession to the EU, the Polish government has adopted the Public Information Programme (PIS) in 1999.

PIS's premise is to inform the public about the process of integration and about its benefits and costs to Poland and its citizens. Although the program is addressed to the entire population, it takes into account its social, educational and cultural differences, and adapts the content and form of its message to the profile of various recipient groups. ⁶⁶ PIS specifies

• To promote public interest in integration and European affairs, and create a public demand for information;

Source: *Poland's Integration with the European Union*, Public Information Programme, Office of the European Integration Committee, Public Information and Communication Department - Warsaw, May 4, 1999.

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⁶⁵ Presidential speech at the conference "The Role of Electronic Media in Informing About Integration with the European Union" - February 21, 2001, post-conference materials, Presidential Chancellery European Integration Office.

⁶⁶ Main PIS objectives:

[•] Prepare the public for the future membership in the EU by making it aware of how the membership will change the country (historical, economic and social dimension), and affect the life of every citizen;

[•] Obtain a broad and solid public support for the integration process, based on the public's knowledge thereof;

[•] Bring in PIS partners to collaborate with the government on providing information, education and promotion activities. These partners are: community organisations, local self-governments, the media, as well as European clubs, centres and units established in educational institutions of various level to popularise the knowledge of and provide information about European integration.

teachers, the youth and businesspeople.

which target groups are particularly significant from the information conveyance perspective. Among these groups the program singles out those recipients who should have and use the knowledge of European integration affairs by virtue of their functions (e.g. politicians, civil servants). Another category are non-governmental organisations, associations and other socially important groups, such as trade unions or church organisations. With their roots in local communities or industrial branches, these organisations are able to convey information in an effective and reliable manner. A similar role is given to the media, both local and national. In addition to institutional recipients of European information, the program singles out individual end recipients - e.g. farmers,

The main premise of PIS is to help initiating and stimulating European-integration activities, establishing and updating databases, launching public-opinion polls, organising conferences, seminars and training sessions, and producing information literature. It sets out to create conditions propitious to the conduct of information, education and promotion activities through offering financial support in the form of grants given to selected local selfgovernment organisations, NGOs, trade unions, professional organisations, church and educational institutions, and the media - both public and commercial. In addition, PIS takes on the task of providing substantive support in the form of a public information and education package of materials prepared by the European Information Centre. These materials are distributed by a network of Regional European Information Centres (RCIE) set up especially for that purpose. The main task of an RCIE consists in running an information outlet open to the public. In addition, the materials are available at fairs, training facilities, conferences, seminars and through a direct mailing system based on addresses included in RCIE databases and provided on received orders, as well as through a dedicated phone line and on web sites.⁶⁸ In order to ensure that the distributed information is of a high quality, i.e. objective, reliable and current, sources of information used for this purpose must be dependable and continuously updated, and should include official documents, government reports, public institution databases, and scientific analyses and studies. Also, the response to the demand for information must be based on public-opinion polls, dedicated studies and comments made by callers.⁶⁹

The European-integration information campaign also involves non-governmental organisations. Some of them run European-integration information and promotion programs. Their impact and target groups vary from one NGO to the next, so it is difficult to speak of a cohesive action undertaken by the entire NGO sector. Nevertheless, there is a group of NGOs that has a similar perception of what their European programs should be. Their objectives include information and promotion, support of the integration process, civic education, advocacy of international *rapprochement* and co-operation, and preparation of a given target group for social and political consequences of Poland's accession to the European Union. NGOs report being actively pro-European and state that their main objectives are European-integration education, information delivery and promotion: *Our mission is to prepare*

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⁶⁷ These target groups are: politicians, civil servants, uniformed services, local self-government authorities, media, businesspeople (particularly small- and medium-size business owners), farmers, teachers, students (in elementary, secondary and post-secondary schools), churches and religious communities (incl. lay

organisations), professional self-governing bodies, community organisations and associations. Source: *Poland's Integration with the European Union*, Public Information Programme, Office of the European Integration Committee, Public Information and Communication Department - Warsaw, May 4, 1999.

⁶⁸ Source: *Poland's Integration with the European Union*, Public Information Programme, Office of the European Integration Committee, Public Information and Communication Department - Warsaw, May 4, 1999. ⁶⁹ Ibid.

different communities for the moment when Poland becomes an EU member. ⁷⁰ Information strategies pursued by these organisations are in part conditioned by the specific nature of particular programs, i.e. the target group, type of conveyed information, organisational capacity and reach. NGOs try to determine the target groups for their projects very precisely. To this end, they use collaborators anchored and active in local communities. In practical terms, the following principle applies: *Those at the lowest level decide to whom address a given project.* ⁷¹ In delivering information projects, NGOs rely mainly on direct contacts with their recipients through activities such as training sessions, workshops, debates and discussion meetings. These activities are tightly linked to the needs of specific target groups: We try to analyse the needs thoroughly, we don't do anything just for our own sake, because we feel like it, but only to meet the needs of others. ⁷²

An important place is occupied by projects of a particular interest to a specific target group. These include various types of cultural events and competitions, and even camps and rallies if the target group happens to be school children or students. Qualitative studies indicate that such projects are considered interesting and encourage young people to participate. This is what the manager of a Regional European Information Centre has to say about it: *We play around with European issues and children learn more through play than when they just sit and listen.* A similar opinion is expressed by the participants in events organised by the RCIE: *We learn through play, it is very interesting and cool.* Another precisely defined target group that NGOs reach are farmers. For them, the content of the conveyed information has been narrowed down to *the most practical issues* (...) - *what will a man with 10 acres and five pigs get from living in the EU.*

Local self-government organisations and NGOs do not have an overall system of defining target groups and adapting programs to their needs. However, the fact that the organisation is anchored in the community and uses the knowledge and experience of assistants who live shoulder-to-shoulder with potential program recipients enables it to properly respond to the community's needs and expectations: *It is simply the knowledge of the people who work with us (...) and experts with whom we collaborate.* This approach is also characteristic of organisations that address their programs to the youth: *People working at the House* (Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Św. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego in Gdańsk) *are for the most part young. They know their community and what interests their peers. For example, if the program co-ordinator is a fellow who spends his time drawing graffiti, he will know precisely what inspires his buddies who have similar interests and what they will want to get from the program. The same goes for co-ordinators of EU programs - they know their peers and have a very good idea of what will interest them most in the program. So this is the basic information we use. In other words, young people run programs for other young people.⁷⁷*

In case of employee organisations, running European-integration information projects is not within the scope of their activities so they do not have any European-information delivery strategy to speak of. However, the issue of Poland's integration with European structures is sufficiently related to matters such as the labour market, employee self-interest or other topics important to employers and employees that it has indeed found its way into their programs.

⁷⁰ Interview with the chairman of the Małopolska Region European Education Forum.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Interview with the manager of the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka.

⁷⁴ Group interview with the youth attending the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

⁷⁵ Interview with an FDPA employee.

⁷⁶ Interview with an official at the Małopolska Region European Education Forum.

⁷⁷ Interview with the program director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań in Gdańsk.

Such initiatives are usually based on the premise of showing the benefits and challenges of European integration to employees. In other words, people must understand that they should prepare themselves for joining the European Union. For example, they will need to know languages and computers to be able to compete with Western workers.⁷⁸

European integration issues are also present in schools. An interdisciplinary path has been introduced in junior high, with optional subjects taught there two hours per week. In senior high, there are European clubs. Most post-secondary educational institutions have a strategy of providing EU-related information and education, implemented through centres tasked with teaching and/or researching the subject, organising student exchanges to study or conduct research at centres located in the EU, or at least giving occasional lectures about European integration within the framework of general teaching curricula. In pursuing these objectives, educational institutions are guided by the conviction that European affairs are important to young people for they will be the main beneficiaries of the integration process.

A strategic role in the information-conveying process is played by the media, particularly TV, radio, newspapers, and the Internet - increasingly popular with the young and/or well educated. This is how the chairman of the Public Television Network sees the television's mission with respect to providing information about Poland's integration with the European Union: In accordance with its mandate, Public Television provides central government institutions with a direct forum where they can present and explain the state policy on Poland's accession to the European Union. (...) However, we have other responsibilities as well. They consist in our duty to reflect the public opinion and show European-integration issues and the government role therein in a dependable and comprehensive manner, and that includes presenting all the accompanying doubts and misgivings. Our duty is to provide arguments "for" and "against" so that the society has enough instruments to work out its own opinion about the issue and thus be able to evaluate on its own the actual account of profits and losses ensuing from integration with the European Union. 79 Other media have a similar attitude of ensuring that the information they present is dependable and comprehensive. However, to say that the media have developed a clear concept of how to convey EU-related information would be an exaggeration. As expressed by the head of UKIE, EU-related information presented by the media is reduced to its political and official dimension. 80 This is a problem because that information should be presented in a comprehensible, interesting and attractive manner.

The government considers Poland's accession to the European Union a *raison d'État*. This view of accession stands behind the Public Information Programme and the entire governmental integration-promotion effort. Institutions that do not totally subscribe to the government view tend to formulate their objectives in a less unequivocal manner and are not propelled by a comprehensive strategy. They differ from one another to a great degree, are based on different premises and have different goals. Nevertheless, most consider Poland's integration with the EU an important process for the country and its residents, and are guided by a sense of mission and the conviction that European issues are important to the public. This is why they are involved in EU-related information and education projects.

 ⁷⁸ Interview with a project co-designer and executor - employee of the Information Department of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.
 ⁷⁹ Presentation by the chairman of the Public Television Network Robert Kwiatkowski at the conference "The

⁷⁹ Presentation by the chairman of the Public Television Network Robert Kwiatkowski at the conference "The Role of Electronic Media in Informing about Integration with the European Union" - February 21, 2001, post-conference materials, Presidential Chancellery European Integration Office.

⁸⁰ Presentation by the head of the Office of the European Integration Committee Jacek Saryusz-Wolski at the conference "The Role of Electronic Media in Informing about Integration with the European Union" - February 21, 2001, post-conference materials, Presidential Chancellery European Integration Office.

As a rule, these undertakings are addressed to specific target groups and their form is adapted to these groups' needs. On the local level, such approach is very effective. However, on the national scale, instead of a cohesive strategy, there is a gamut of projects developed and delivered independently from one another. The Public Information Programme has a comprehensive strategy of delivering information programs. It has definite objectives, albeit formulated in a quite general manner. Target groups at which these programs should be directed are defined and their specific nature is taken into account. However, the strategy focuses on socio-demographic differences and leaves aside the issue of using a different approach with respect to the proponents, opponents and people undecided about Poland's integration with the EU. The fact that PIS relies on the involvement of local self-government organisations and NGOs in the delivery of European-integration programs is undoubtedly one of its strong points. These institutions are able to transform PIS's general strategy into specific information-delivery projects. Unfortunately, there is no link between PIS's vaguely worded strategy and NGOs' capability to reach local communities which could integrate all programs into one cohesive information campaign. An UKIE official sums it up thus: The problem with PIS (...) is that it has remained a theoretical document rather than becoming an action plan.81

2. Institutional capability

Various types of institutions that run EU-related information programs differ from each other in terms of their capacity, defined as the sum total of financial, administrative, technical, organisational and human resources. This capacity also includes personnel qualifications and experience, as well as the public image and prestige of the institution.

Government institutions tasked with delivering EU-related information programs have at their disposal a significant institutional potential in the form of financial resources, easy access to sources of information, and literature production and distribution capability. They can also tap on the knowledge and experience of their personnel. They use these resources to produce and distribute information materials and to support EU-related projects delivered by local self-government organisations and NGOs. However, government resources are not used to their full advantage when it comes to conveying EU-related information through the national media - mainly public radio and television. For example, UKIE officials complain about the public television not co-operating in spite of the fact that its statutory objective includes transmittal of dependable information and public education. UKIE insists that it has frequently tried to co-operate with TV stations, both public and commercial, but without any measurable effect: We cannot do what TV stations want us to do, i.e. buy commercial time to present the information according to our own script. No government institution would be able to carry such a burden. 82 Public television, which is in a position to become a major player in providing EU-related information, presents it almost only in newscasts or at inconvenient times: EU information provided on TV is broadcast when nobody is watching.⁸³ Programs addressed to strictly limited viewer groups are an exception. One of them is a popular public-TV show addressed to rural communities called *Tydzień*.

⁸¹ Interview with an UKIE official.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

The government does not co-ordinate effectively the totality of information projects associated with Poland's accession to the EU. The lack of co-ordination is one of the main reasons for not being able to carry out effective information campaigns: There is no doubt that it stems from not knowing how to convey information to the public, how the government should convey information.⁸⁴ Although that task does not ensue directly from PIS, it seems that its execution on the national scale would significantly improve the effectiveness of information-delivery programs run by various organisations. This refers in particular to local self-government organisations, which have many years of experience in acting locally and enjoy the confidence of and prestige in local communities. On the other hand, they lack material resources and their activities are not coordinated: If we could ensure such collaboration we would avoid a situation where we are asked to finance a project, let's say in Wrocław Province, developed and delivered by an organisation which has no idea that three kilometres away another organisation, which they don't like or don't know, is delivering the same program and has also applied for financial assistance. If these organisations collaborated, at least with us if not with one another, their programs would reach many more people. 85 Problems associated with using government capability result from the way the administration is operating. Obstacles created by organisational deficiency and bureaucracy stand in the way of many projects: I spoke of a study plan which had been submitted to the UKIE management. But, firstly, UKIE management never met and, secondly, UKIE management in the broad sense of the term was not able to comment, whereas UKIE management in the strict sense, i.e. the minister, did not wish to comment. And the team of sociologists that was to be appointed within PIS - there was such a stipulation - never materialised. Therefore, the study plan remained at the development stage and never got the official approval.86

Financial resources earmarked for EU-related information programs delivered by local selfgovernment organisations and NGOs come for the most part from EU and Polish government (UKIE) assistance funds. Then, in the sequence of importance, they also come from foundations and other NGOs, local self-governments and commercial institutions, or have been earned by the organisations themselves. Those organisations that have used EU assistance funding received it mainly through the PHARE program and, to a small extent, from the European Commission, Cooperation Fund, the Youth for Europe program and other institutions mentioned only sporadically in this context, such as the Council of Europe. In turn, organisations supported financially by government institutions most often used UKIE assistance and the support of individual ministries. As stated by the manager of a Regional European Information Centre, UKIE assistance provided within PIS was mainly used to finance the library and databases, with a small sum going to the delivery of programs.

Most NGOs have few or even no staff employees - they use contractors and volunteers: Our activities are based on people. 87 Neither are they expanding their infrastructure - as a rule, their office space is rented. This is partly a result of financial constraints and partly of the applied operating model. NGO operations are based on team work - the authority and tasks are delegated. A team is put together to run a particular project - it consists of a coordinator, responsible for the overall management of the undertaking, who selects contractors (e.g. instructors if the project refers to providing training) and experts in the required field. The coordinator has a budget and access to administrative support (e.g. accounting) as well as

84 Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Interview with the manager of the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka. PE 323.195

office facilities of the organisation.⁸⁸ The project infrastructure is put together as required e.g. conference rooms and transportation means are rented, etc. Outsourcing and renting (of conference rooms, transportation means, etc.) paid with resources earmarked for the project enables NGOs to carry out a large number of activities at a very low cost. As a result, employees can focus on managing the project and, whenever possible, providing a substantive support thereto. However, project management requires specific resources enabling an effective and flexible functioning of the organisation. These resources are the knowledge and practical management skills, as well as the necessary computer equipment and communication devices. Many organisations have a lot to blame themselves for in terms of management. Besides, even minimal infrastructure must suffice in managing projects since the shortage of equipment is very bothersome and makes for a lot of wasted time. I sometimes must sit and wait for half an hour before I can get hold of a free phone or some other equipment. While material resources at the disposal of NGOs are modest to say the least, the resources provided by many years of experience of their employees and contractors must not be underestimated. NGOs have been involved in European integration issues since the early 1990s and have had time to work out operating methods that are effective and adapted to local conditions. Among them is collaboration on specific projects by several organisations. Their capacities are thus put together with a view to delivering large projects and the links established between them in the process often remain strong even after the project has been completed.

EU-related information projects are not within statutory duties of employer and employee organisations. Nevertheless, they all have run such projects at one time or another and they all declare their intention to run others. The only organisation with a unit dedicated to European integration affairs is the "Solidarity" Trade Union. The unit is a special committee attached to the union's supreme authority, the National Committee, which is based in Gdańsk. It has its own office and two employees. However, EU-related projects are carried out by regional executives. For example, the Gdańsk Region Executive has a full-time staff in its Information Department (which has been publishing *Magazyn Solidarność* for over 20 years) and Training Section. The committee also collaborates with local newspapers, experts in various fields and union activists affiliated with EU institutions. The committee staff complains of a shortage of employees but at the same time stresses that the experience and knowledge of current employees and contractors are sufficient to carry out the statutory tasks. Employees involved in providing training consider that projects related to European issues should be better financed: There are so few full-time positions that every new task constitutes a great burden. Money is needed to hire more staff for this type of training, i.e. conveying EU-related information to people.⁸⁹ The employee from the Training Section who was interviewed considers that the main factor behind the committee's successful implementation of European programs lies in the substantive support received from the trade union as well as an unencumbered access to pertinent materials: The National Committee has an European integration cell. From the substantive point of view, we have no problem knowing what we should write or tell people because we know what they are interested in and we have access to appropriate information and to individuals knowledgeable about the issues. 90 However, finding appropriate instructors is a more difficult task: It wasn't easy to find training experts.

⁸⁸ This model is sometimes also used by institutions that have a full-time staff, with mixed results. In these cases, the flexibility of the model is limited by its artificial adaptation to artificial institutional structures.

cases, the flexibility of the model is limited by its artificial adaptation to artificial institutional structures.

89 Interview with a project co-designer and executor - employee of the Training Section of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

⁹⁰ Interview with a project co-designer and executor - employee of the Information Department of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

(...) We wanted high-class people, with a considerable knowledge of the topic and capable of conveying it.⁹¹

In summing up, it can be said that institutions involved in delivering EU-related information differ with respect to their organisational capacity. The government sector has the largest resources. It has at its disposal a separate ministry that deals with European integration (UKIE) and is staffed with some very highly qualified people, departments and organisational units at individual ministries and in the Presidential and Prime-Ministerial Chancellery, and the proximity of decision-making centres. The government's institutional capacity also includes the possibility to coordinate the information and ensure its effective circulation, both from government institutions to the citizens and between various organisations engaged in the delivery of EU-related programs. It must be stressed that this capacity is not used to the fullest.

The government is not fully taking advantage of its capacity when it comes to using direct means of conveying information, i.e. the national media. Also, it is not very good at coordinating all EU-related information programs run by non-governmental organisations. This lack of coordination, particularly of an effective flow of information, is one of the main factors that impede the running of an effective information campaign. Institutions such as local-self government organisations, trade unions or NGOs enjoy the confidence of the communities in which they work and, despite limited material resources, use their dedicated human potential to ensure the effectiveness of their programs.

3. Delivery of EU-related information projects

Nationwide programs are delivered first of all by the Office of the European Integration Committee. However, some other organisations, notably NGOs, also deliver large-scale programs. These programs usually aim at energising local institutions and organisations, for example self-government organisations or NGOs, into running projects in their region. This method enables them to employ a broad range of information-delivery means and reach specific target groups. In this context, one ought to recognise programs delivered by the central government, which include setting up information outfits, subsidising EU-related information delivery projects and publishing information materials. UKIE has established a network of information outfits - Regional European Information Centres (RCIE). In addition to running an information outfit, each RCIE organises and participates in various regional programs that inform the population about key European integration issues, the process of Poland's integration with European structures, and the benefits and costs of adapting to the EU and being a member thereof. In the performance of these tasks RCIE collaborate with local self-governments, NGOs and schools (e.g. their European clubs). UKIE provides an organisational and substantive support to these activities. The greatest advantage of programs delivered by Regional European Information Centres is that the information they provide directly reaches specific recipients in a form that is adapted to their needs. This is what the manager of an RCIE has to say about it: The time has come to answer specific questions. (...) There have been a lot of shows about the European Union on TV, a lot has been said, but this type of knowledge comes in one ear and leaves the other. The main thing is to reach the people, get them to ask questions and answer these questions as honestly as possible. (...) We are the only ones who can do it because we are the closest to information recipients. 92 The RCIE stocks key official documents, publications and other information materials (databases,

⁹¹ Interview with a project co-designer and executor - employee of the Training Section of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

⁹² An interview with the manager of the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

study reports, analyses) concerning European integration and Poland's accession to the EU. NGOs that do not run RCIEs also provide information in their offices or by telephone, but it is not their main focus of activity and it is performed as an aside.

Various activities addressed to specific social and professional groups have been undertaken in the year 2000 within the framework of the Public Information Programme. ⁹³ They included information projects addressed to journalists, farmers, entrepreneurs, youth, teachers, church and religious organisations, local self-government officials and civil servants.

There were two competitions open to NGOs and the media for subsidies of European-integration information delivery projects. In total, 124 government subsidies were granted (96 to NGOs and 28 to the media). Grants received by NGOs were used to subsidise projects related to launching or developing access to data banks (purchase of hardware and software, database licences), providing a direct access to information, and broadening the collection of literature and documentation referring to the European Union, membership negotiations, and the consequences of Poland's accession. Grants received by the media consisted of 44 subsidies earmarked for the information campaign about the European Union, its structures, operating mechanisms, the Monetary and Economic Union, the course of Polish integration with the EU, impact of this process on Poland and its citizens, benefits of the Common Market to the average consumer, consequences of Poland accessing the EU, and the effect of accession on particular social and professional groups. The campaign was carried out in radio and television (public and commercial), which produced and broadcast shows on these topics.

Subsidised programs included many projects addressed to specific recipient groups. They consisted mainly in running training sessions, seminars and conferences, but outdoor events such as European picnics were organised as well. Literature addressed to specific reader groups was published in the form of guidebooks and folders, subsidies were provided to the publication of newspaper articles, inserts and special supplements, and printing of books such as teacher's and student's guides used in the European study paths followed in junior high school were either completely financed or subsidised.

However, UKIE's subsidy-granting competitions experienced some problems. Their times kept changing and application submission deadlines were drastically reduced. UKIE also withdrew some of the money it had made available to NGOs within the framework of the competition. There are also problems with UKIE's approach to assisting NGOs in getting EU subsidies available from the European Commission Delegation to Poland. Procedures associating with applying and accounting for these subsidies are extremely complicated and fluid. Meanwhile, neither UKIE nor the Delegation bothers to instruct NGOs how to cope with these procedures (the Delegation believes that the initiative should come from UKIE). The two main organisers of grant competitions - UKIE and the Delegation - have no overall plan for running them or for informing the applicants about their procedures.

NGOs focus mainly on delivering small-scale projects - local and regional. Most consist in training sessions, workshops, lectures, debates and discussion meetings. In other words, they aim at providing a setting for acquisition and perfection of specific skills through a direct transmittal of knowledge or exchange of opinions. These projects are at times accompanied by publishing activities (mainly printing books, but sometimes also fliers) and conferences. The projects are addressed to the youth and members of specific social and professional

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 $^{^{93}}$ Report on the Implementation of the Public Information Programme - Office of the European Integration Committee.

An interview with an official of the European Commission Delegation to Poland.

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groups. Although NGOs sometimes join forces to deliver specific projects, there is no effective flow of information about programs that are delivered or at a planning stage. NGOs attempt to catalogue their past experience (Klon-Jawor Data Bank, Schuman Foundation Almanac), but these efforts are insufficient and that aspect of project delivery has not been treated with due attention in the governmental Public Information Programme. A project coordinator in an NGO based in Krakow - which, after all, is a large city - complains that there is no sharing of experience or of information relating to project-planning: What should

be done with all this experience and knowledge? (...) Duplicating projects is a waste of

Most post-secondary educational institutions offer programs that include a European component. Their purpose is more to transmit knowledge about integration and the consequences of Poland's accession to the EU than to promote the idea of EU enlargement. A small number of these institutions admit that one of the objectives of providing EU-related information is actually to criticise the enlargement. European programs are met with a great deal of student interest, but there is a shortage of specialised instructors. The most effective programs, those with the greatest impact on the promotion of the integration idea and best suited to raising "European consciousness" in the academic community are study and research exchanges organised for teachers and students in cooperation with educational centres in the EU, particularly within the framework of international cooperation programs such as Tempus, Socrates or Leonardo.

EU-related projects delivered by employer and employee organisations consist most often of domestic and international conferences, usually followed by the publication of postconference materials, and training sessions on topics such as key EU issues, labour law in EU member states and candidate countries, or the opportunities and hazards of Poland's accession to the Union. These organisations also publish articles both in the general press and in their own periodicals: Our publication project included a regular insert about the European Union published in Magazyn Solidarność. It appeared for several months and ended with a special edition of the magazine, 80% devoted to EU matters. We also ran two competitions: a drawing competition for children - we received about 100 drawings on the EU theme and gave out prizes - and a competition for adult readers testing their EU knowledge - where we also gave out prizes. 96 However, these organisations do not run EU-related projects very often. For example, trade unions organise three or four training sessions annually. These sessions are attended by a total of approx. 150 people, which in comparison to a million or so members in each union gives a rather pathetic picture of their impact. On the other hand, training sessions are organised so as to ensure that participants therein transmit the knowledge they acquire to other employees in their workplaces: At the session which I attended there were also three union bosses from large production plants. They were in a position of transmitting the information they had acquired to other people.⁹⁷ Training materials are prepared in a similar way: These materials are available to local union executives and are meant to be distributed at the workplace. 98 The training is provided by Polish and foreign experts. Trade unions report a great need for providing more such training and a considerable amount of their members' interest in it. Officials from all trade unions declare their willingness to enlist the assistance of all kinds of specialists. Some point to the role that should be played in this area by government institutions, others focus on the

⁹⁵ An interview with the chairman of the Małopolska Region European Education Forum.

An interview with an employee of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.
 PE 323.195

⁹⁶ An interview with an employee of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

⁹⁷ A report on training organised by the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

participation of specialists from within the union or from Polish and foreign NGOs. They all stress the need to conduct the training in Polish.

Various information materials are provided within the framework of delivered programs. Printed materials are published mostly by the Office of the European Integration Committee (UKIE). For example, the office publishes a flier promoting the European Information Centre and providing its address, telephone and fax number, and web site address (in the year 2000, that flier had been distributed in 600,000 copies, whereas the flier addressed to farmers had been produced in 200,000 copies). Guidebooks constitute another form of information material published by UKIE. They provide key information about EU operations, are addressed to different social groups, and deal with various issues. By the end of 2000, fourteen titles had been published in this series, including the General Guide to the European Union, Farmer's Guide to the European Union and Guide to the European Union Cultural *Policy*. Twelve titles for a total of 670,000 copies had been published in the year 2000 alone. UKIE also publishes information folders - condensed wide-circulation information and promotion tools. Their purpose is to encourage various professional and social groups to become interested in integration issues. By the end of the year 2000, thirteen such folders had been published covering topics such as Security and Administration of Justice in the European Union, Youth in the European Union and Environmental Protection in the European Union. In all, 1,800,000 copies had been printed in the year 2000. Specialised brochures, such as those in the Entrepreneur's Library series, have a somewhat different character. These booklets deal with issues of interest to entrepreneurs and employers in a broader and more detailed manner. A total of 225,000 copies have been published in the year 2000. Some books have also been published, for example the *Pocket Dictionary of European* Union Terminology (5000 copies). There is the Eurointegracja bulletin, a periodical addressed to readers interested in integration, mainly entrepreneurs, local self-government officials and journalists (12 issues printed in 10,000 copies have appeared in the year 2000), and brief reports on specific issues providing detailed EU-related information about the harmonisation of legal systems, common agricultural policy, common standards and certificates, etc. One hundred and fifty such reports had been published up to the end of the year 2000, mainly in the computer printout format. All above-mentioned publications are available at the European Information Centre in Warsaw and at 33 Regional Centres. Individuals can access them using the assistance of consultants and librarians at European information centres, NGOs, industrial-branch organisations, school European clubs, trade unions, and student organisations and associations. These institutions commonly use such publications as information materials distributed through their own channels and as teaching aids in conferences, seminars, training sessions and school lessons. They also modify them to produce their own information materials, e.g. for training purposes.

Thus, in addition to specially appointed government institutions, European-integration information delivery programs are run by various types of other Polish institutions and organisations. These programs vary in terms of reach - from local and regional to national, and even international. At the central level, there are information outfits and subsidies granted for European-integration information delivery programs and publications. Various direct information-delivery programs, such as training sessions, conferences or dedicated outdoor activities, do not reach as many recipients but their target groups are better defined.

4. The role of various information-delivery channels in running European-integration information programmes

Television is the most popular information conveyance medium in Poland. In the Institute of Public Affairs study "Poland's integration with the European Union; public awareness and information needs" , respondents list television as the most often used source of information about Poland's accession to the European Union. The main role in the dissemination of the knowledge about integration is played by the news and current-affairs programs. ¹⁰⁰ A smaller role is played by other TV shows and shows dedicated to integration issues. Radio broadcasts are the second most often used source of integration-related information. The printed press, particularly regional and local, comes third. Industrial-branch publications and those addressed to specific reader groups play a relatively small role, but they are particularly appreciated by those to whom they are addressed because the issues they raise best match the interests of a given professional or social group. 101

Among typically informational publications related to European integration, the main role is played by brochures, fliers and guidebooks. According to the manager of a Regional European Information Centre, UKIE-published materials are most common and used by almost all institutions that deliver integration-information programs: I have distributed in the region a huge amount of information materials supplied by the UKIE Information Centre. 102 Internet is also gaining importance, particularly among the young and/or the well educated. 103

Only a small percentage of respondents get integration-related information directly - at meetings, seminars or training sessions dedicated to integration issues - although a direct transmittal of knowledge is the most effective method and most appreciated by people actively interested in the topic. This is because, in addition to providing an opportunity to acquire knowledge, it gives a setting for a confrontation of one's opinions with those of others in a direct discussion, for asking questions about the most pervasive issues, and for clarifying doubts and ambiguities. This is what participants in this type of encounters have to say: The training has put order in my opinions about European integration and greatly broadened my knowledge of these issues. (...) The most important information is that which refers to one's professional or personal situation. ¹⁰⁴ Although almost all institutions that deliver integrationinformation programs run projects that convey information directly, the interest in participating in such activities (meetings, training sessions, seminars) exceeds their current capacity.

Sources of information about issues associated with Poland's future membership in the European Union depend most often on the level of the respondent's education. A higher level of education promotes getting information from several sources, including those that are not readily available. Young people, up to the age of 24, particularly school children and students, come close to the highly educated group in terms of using integration-information

⁹⁹ A study by the Institute of Public Affairs of a random representative sample of the Polish adult population n=1077, May 19-23, 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Eighty-five percent of respondents listed news and current-affairs programs as one of five main sources of information about integration.

¹⁰¹ For example, *Magazyn Solidarność*, distributed free of charge to union members.

¹⁰² An interview with the manager of the RCIE in Ostrolęka.

¹⁰³ Internet as a source of European information is mentioned in an Institute of Public Affairs quantitative study by 2% of respondents. See the report on a case study conducted in the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

sources. Both these groups use less popular information sources such as socio-political periodicals, brochures, fliers, EU integration guides, books, internet and meetings, training sessions and seminars dedicated to integration more often than others. Many projects, such as school and inter-school European clubs, are addressed specifically to the youth and constitute its main source of information. This is what a participant in European club meetings has to say about it: *It is here that we have learned everything we know about the European Union.* Another participant adds: *My school did not teach me anything - all I know about the European Union I have learned here.*¹⁰⁵ The decision to run the greatest possible number of youth projects stems from the conviction that the young generation will be the main beneficiary of the current integration process. The manager of a Regional European Information Centre says: *I will not be able to take much advantage of integration and Poland's accession to the European Union but young people must learn to live in it.*¹⁰⁶

The Institute of Public Affairs has also examined preferences relative to integrationinformation sources. The resultant data demonstrates that the hierarchy of preferred information channels corresponds to the hierarchy of sources from which respondents actually get their integration information. However, a certain discrepancy between the expected and actual sources of integration information shows which sources hitherto not used to their full potential have the greatest possibilities of popularising the integration-related knowledge. Although television is and should remain the main integration-information delivery medium, its offer is rather poor in comparison to public expectations and should be broadened by programming dedicated to these issues. Less than one third of respondents who would like to get their knowledge from television programs dedicated to integration is currently able to do so. In particular, respondents would like to see a new regular series of shows dedicated to European integration issues. The same goes for the radio. Twice as many listeners would like to get integration information from radio broadcasts entirely devoted to that topic than the number currently able to do so. The discrepancy between reality and expectations with respect to methods of providing integration information by the electronic media testifies to the need for a more thorough and fuller information, whereas the means of satisfying the need for information employed by the printed press satisfy public expectations. A decisively more important role should be played by publications other than newspapers, such as brochures, fliers and various types of guidebooks, since they raise much public interest. Therefore, an effort should be made to improve the access to this type of information sources. Only by improving that access will it be possible to ensure that these information materials accomplish their objective and get to those people who are less active in seeking out integration information. Among the locations where these materials should be available, respondents mention postal stations, stores, and special information kiosks. District and municipal administration offices as well as schools are also often mentioned. Every eighth respondent considers that integration-information fliers should be available from the local village administrator.

Many institutions involved in providing integration information are aware of these preferences. For example, Ostrołęka RCIE participates in various events organised in the region's districts, such as harvest or honey-collection festivals, at which it distributes its information materials. The RCIE manager: We have really been everywhere - in all regional schools (...) Last year we have gone to all harvest festivals organised in the region. One of the latest initiatives undertaken by that RCIE is an agreement signed with the administration of eight districts in the region to establish district centres of "socio-European" information

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¹⁰⁵ A group interview with the youth participating in projects delivered by the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

¹⁰⁶ An interview with the manager of the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

run by volunteers. 108 The idea was born when the RCIE realised that people couldn't afford to travel to us and we didn't have the resources to visit them. After all, Internet is everywhere. Therefore, the materials that I have here in the office should be available out there in the district. People have to go to the district administration office to take care of their regular official business, so every such office should have these materials. That's when they will reach people. 109

In summing up, it can be said that many different channels are used to convey information about the European Union and Poland's integration with its structures. In comparison to the potential at the disposal of the mass media, that information channel is used least effectively. This applies particularly to television, which happens to be the preferred information source. Since various types of printed materials (fliers, folders, guidebooks) are published in very large quantities but are accessible to a limited number of readers, it would make sense to consider a better way of providing information about where the integration-related information can be found. In other words, the access to the integration-related information should be facilitated by way of better informing its potential recipients about the institutions and organisations that have this information or by involving institutions and public offices located in the community in the distribution of this information.

5. Needs expectations **European-information** and of program recipients

Respondents to a questionnaire study conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs report that they have been coming across a growing amount of information about European integration since the commencement of negotiations on Poland's accession to the European Union. To the public mind, the most important issues associated with Poland's future membership in the EU are those related to the social and economic consequences of integration. The issues most frequently mentioned as being of interest to respondents concern the effect of integration on the rate of unemployment, material standard of living, salary rates and price levels in Poland. Other issues of interest mentioned by respondents include the situation of Polish agriculture after accession, cost of adapting the Polish legal system and economy to EU requirements and standards, effect of integration on Polish corporations, amount of EU financial assistance compared to the membership fee paid by Poland into the EU budget, extent to which Polish sovereignty will be limited, possibility of purchasing Polish land by foreigners, and effect of integration on natural environment. Other issues of interest, extending beyond the socioeconomic and financial consequences of integration, are those associated with future entitlements of Polish citizens: possibilities and terms of working abroad, general rights and obligations in unified Europe, and the effect of integration on employee rights and their protection. A relatively large percentage of respondents would like to know the effects of integration on Poland's international standing and on the functioning of the administration of justice. The effects of integration on the educational and school system is of a relatively high importance to respondents who are well educated and to the youth - up to 24 years of age, particularly school children and students.

The effects of integration will be felt at the national scale and at the level of individual regions, localities, workplaces and corporations, as well as in the lives of individuals and their families. This is why full information about the consequences of Poland's membership

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

in the European Union should take into account future changes in all these dimensions: both at the national scale and at the regional and local level, in workplaces and in the lives of individuals and their families. Among those organisations which are trying to meet these needs is the Gdańsk Region Executive of the "Solidarity" Trade Union. It has organised a series of information projects which aim at showing both the benefits of integration to employees as well as its requirements. People must understand that they should prepare for entering the European Union, that work in the EU will mean competing with Western workers and that's why they should learn foreign languages and computers. (...) We refer to topics related to the work force, such as the European Workplace Councils or a free movement of the labour force - issues that are important from our perspective. For teachers, we have provided training on EU educational systems, the same for healthcare workers. All these topics reflect the fact that we are a trade union. 110

In summing up, it can be stated that the most important issue in the public mind is by far the effect of integration of the rate of unemployment in Poland and the associated possibilities and terms of Poles taking up employment in EU member states. Respondents would also like to find out more about the situation of Polish agriculture in the European Union and the effect of integration on the material standard of living and salary levels. The issue of foreigners purchasing land in Poland is not present among issues of utmost interest to Poles. Relatively few people are interested in the broader cultural dimension of integration - its effect on the situation of women, the Catholic Church and other religious groups.

In order to render the information effective, it is not enough to deliver it in quantities such that even the people who are less interested in the EU expansion get it. It is also necessary to ensure that the information is of an appropriate quality - interesting, comprehensible and dependable. Meanwhile, a predominant percentage of respondents to the qualitative study have few positive comments to make about both the quantity and quality of available information. Only one respondent in four is satisfied with the quantity of integration-related information provided by the mass media. More than one respondent in two considers that the media provide too little information about Poland's accession to the European Union.

The assessment of the quantity of integration-related information is linked not so much to respondents' socio-demographic characteristics as to their subjective needs. The sense of not getting enough integration-related information from the media is felt predominantly by people interested in integration issues, hence those whose subjective needs for information are the greatest. Nevertheless, the shortage of information about Poland's future membership in the EU is also perceived by those respondents who declare to not be overly interested in this issue. People completely disinterested are the ones who complain the least about the shortage of integration-related information. The best assessment of the quantity of integration-related information is provided by those respondents who feel well informed about the topic. Close to one half considers that there is as much integration-related information as is needed. What is characteristic, however, is that a large percentage of respondents in this group also perceives a shortage of information on Poland's future membership in the EU.

A majority of respondents considers that there is not enough information provided about the benefits and hazards of Poland's accession to the European Union. In the remaining group, there is a predominant opinion that too little is said about negative effects of integration.

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¹¹⁰ An interview with a project co-designer and administrator - employee at the Information Department of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

The imbalance perceived by respondents, which consists in their stressing the shortage of information about negative effects of integration, testifies to the existence of misgivings and doubts associated with that process to which they cannot find any satisfactory answers.

In the questionnaire study conducted with a representative sample of the Polish population, opinions referring to the quality of available information on Poland's membership in the EU are mixed, but more often critical than positive. The harshest criticism is reserved for the clarity of information. More than one half of respondents consider that integration-related information presented by the media is unclear and difficult to understand. More than two fifths have reservations as to its reliability and trustworthiness, and almost as many consider it boring. The assessment of the quality of information available in the media is linked to the interest in the subject and the sense of being informed about it. In general terms, the higher the interest and the more positive the assessment of one's level of being informed about integration, the more positive the assessment of the quality of information presented in the media. There is a clear difference of opinions on this subject between proponents and opponents of Poland's accession to the European Union. People who are planning to vote in the referendum in favour of accession have a much better opinion of the quality of information provided in the media. Their predominant majority considers it interesting and reliable, although its clarity leaves much to be desired. Opponents of Poland's accession to the European Union are for the most part critical of the manner the media present that information in each of the studied dimensions. In every case, only one respondent in four is satisfied with its quality. People who are directly involved in the delivery of integrationrelated projects praise the information materials at their disposal. This is what a member of an inter-school European club has to say about information materials available at the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka: I would give an A+ to these materials; they are very well done and interesting to read, their layout is very interesting - not just in straight lines but in a way that speaks to the reader. Another respondent says that the materials are written in a simple and accessible language, 112 and the graphics are very interesting (...), colourful, they attract attention. 113 A similar opinion is expressed by yet another respondent: *Truly very nicely produced and adapted to the reader more or less interested in the European* Union. They are well written, easy to understand, rather than being so complicated that one would have to go to university to understand them; very interesting and written in a style understood by everyone. 114

As demonstrated by the Institute of Public Affairs study, only one Pole in five feels well informed about issues related to Poland's integration with the European Union. At the same time, one in four reports not having any information on this topic at all. This happens in spite of the fact that European integration in the broad sense of the term has been lately present in the Polish media almost constantly and that there exist specialised institutions established to inform the public of issues associated with integration and its consequences. This state of affairs points to the need for a better insight into the public's information requirements and into information acquisition preferences of various groups. It is extremely important to ensure that institutions which disseminate integration-related information are trusted by its potential recipients.

¹¹¹ A group interview with the youth attending the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

An interview with a participant (I) in programs delivered by RCIE in Ostrołęka.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

The mass media constitute the most desired source of integration-related information. This probably stems from their general accessibility. When answering the question of whom in their opinion should play the main role in providing integration-related information, respondents undoubtedly have taken into account whether they themselves have an easy access to that particular source. Specialised government institutions have also turned out to be important potential disseminators of the integration-related knowledge. European Union agencies represented in Poland are considered appropriate for this type of information activities much less frequently than government institutions and somewhat less frequently than local self-governments and scientific and educational institutions. Other institutions that could popularise the integration-related information have very few proponents. It is noteworthy that political bodies - members of parliament, political parties - are very rarely indicated as appropriate for informing the public of issues associated with integration.

The media, most often indicated as appropriate vehicles for the conveyance of integrationrelated information, are also trusted by the largest number of respondents. Scientific institutions and schools are indicated as trustworthy almost as often as the media, but much less frequently as vehicles appropriate for the conveyance of EU-related information. Among other major discrepancies between the appropriateness of institutions that provide integrationrelated information and their trustworthiness, one should note the high position occupied in the ranking of trustworthiness by the Catholic Church, which is rarely indicated as the preferred source of integration-related information. This gives grounds to conclude that, although the Church is not expected to provide information about integration and its consequences, the information that it does provide should be trusted. It should also be noted that the decidedly least trusted sources of integration-related information are considered those directly associated with politics - members of parliament and political parties. The trust of the mass media is distributed more or less equally among all social groups. On the other hand, the trust of other main types of institutions varies to a relatively high degree. European Union agencies in Poland and, to a lesser extent, government-appointed institutions and local selfgovernments, are considered reliable information sources particularly by respondents with a favourable attitude to integration, but are considered much less reliable by opponents of integration and those with reservations about it. The latter respondents express a high degree of trust in agricultural chambers and agricultural consultation centres (in case of farmers), and in the Church and organisations associated therewith.

However, while the media address their message to the masses, institutions involved in providing integration-related information to small groups pay more attention to the specific characteristics of the group and to its particular information needs. This is what a program director of one such institution has to say: We must know our target group well because our programs must have a recipient if our institution is to exist, if there is any sense in its existence. Participants in our programs are truly the most important element of our activities - they must come to us, but they must also leave with a sense of satisfaction. 115 It is a frequent practice to ask participants directly what they expect from the program, particularly what issues they want to discuss, what they want to learn or talk about, and what they already *know.* 116 The main objective of collecting information about participants' needs is to *render* the program interesting (...) and ensure participants' contribution. This is confirmed by the participants themselves: Everyone here had met with the program coordinator ahead of time and told her what they already knew so as not to duplicate the information.

¹¹⁵ An interview with the program director of *Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Św. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego* in

 $^{^{116}}$ An interview with the coordinator of the program "Poles and Germans in the European Union". 117 Ibid.

The program was established on that basis. The coordinator had asked us what interested us and what we already knew. 118 The manager of an RCIE also stresses the importance of adapting information to the needs of individual recipients: Teaching about life in the European Union is a very important element of the process of informing the public. And this can be taught only by answering individual questions and addressing individual doubts. This is what we want to do - reach the individual. To date, information has been provided at a too general level. Now we have to address the doubts felt by individual citizens. f19 In her opinion, people want to hear an answer to the following question: "This is where I live - what will I get from Poland joining the European Union?" Every person wants to know that simple thing. 120 Target groups are identified already at the project planning stage. The chairman of the Małopolska Region European Information Forum says: We try to analyse the needs as carefully as possible. We don't run programs for their own sake, because we feel like it, they must meet the needs of other people and we plan our programs so as to reach these people with the information they need. 12f Although a majority of these institutions does not conduct regular studies of the information needs of their target groups, it also rarely commissions such studies, most often because of financial constraints. This is why the identification of groups to which individual programs should be addressed and determination of the needs of potential information recipients is based on personal contacts and experience of individuals anchored in the local community. The fact that information conveyed directly, as in NGO projects, is adequate to the needs is confirmed by the participants themselves: It is our future. Negotiations in the matter of Poland's accession to the European Union are underway and we want to take part in the process. We want to know what we are getting into and what we can expect. We are simply curious. 122 This curiosity stems from the consciousness of the consequences of Poland's integration with the European Union: Poland will certainly have to pay a price for accessing the EU but there will be many benefits too. There will be new perspectives. We will be able to travel freely, study in other countries, live anywhere in the EU. A similar sentiment is expressed by another person: Once we join the Union we will have better opportunities for getting education and working in other countries - we will be able to study at foreign universities. This is very important. This information is useful because it tells us that there are such opportunities, that we will not have to go to school only where we live. Besides, we will be able to travel freely inside the European Union, that's very important too, more people will then be travelling abroad. 123

In summing up, it can be said that best suited to popularising the integration-related knowledge and, at the same time, most frequently considered by the public as trustworthy sources of integration-related information are those institutions that are "neutral", i.e. not associated with the European Union or, especially, with politics. Their list is headed by the mass media, scientific institutions, schools and NGOs. As a training project administrator says: *Participants are particularly weary of propaganda. To be accepted, the information they get must be devoid of propaganda elements.* Institutions with a local reach are particularly selective in terms of project recipients.

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¹¹⁸ An interview with a participant (I) in the program "Poles and Germans in the European Union".

An interview with the manager of the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka.

¹²¹ An interview with the chairman of the Małopolska Region European Information Forum.

¹²² A group interview with the youth participating in projects delivered by the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

¹²³ An interview with a participant in projects delivered by the RCIE in Ostrołęka.

¹²⁴ An interview with a project co-designer and administrator - employee at the Training Section of the Gdańsk Region "Solidarity" Trade Union Executive.

As a rule, they precisely define the target group, gather information about what it expects from the project and its opinions about the project once it is completed, and use project administrators who think in similar lines to the target group and, at the same time, are well prepared to carry out their tasks.

6. Impact of European-integration information programs on "European awareness"

The questionnaire study conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs demonstrates that the level of knowledge about the European Union and its mechanisms is not directly reflected in the attitude to integration. Therefore, empirical data does not support the proposition that the rejection of integration results for the most part from lack of knowledge. Opposition to integration does not result from lack of knowledge, but lack of knowledge is associated with hesitation as to which side to take in the accession referendum and with reluctance to participate therein.

Integration proponents and opponents do not differ much in terms of their knowledge of EU mechanisms and key facts about that institution. Individuals with a definite attitude to integration - either positive or negative - have more knowledge about it than those who do not vet know how they will vote in the accession referendum or do not wish to vote in it at all. The level of the Polish public's knowledge of issues referring to Poland's integration with the EU is low, both in subjective terms - i.e. one's own assessment of how much one knows about it, and objective - familiarity with terms used by the media to describe EU mechanisms and with certain key facts, such as the number of EU member states or the whereabouts of the EU headquarters. People who declare an interest in Poland's future membership in the EU state that integration will bring about significant changes to the country and will have a great deal of impact on their lives. Those who express a lack of interest in the subject explain it by their overall distance to politics and a sense of not having any impact on matters associated with integration. An interest in matters linked to Poland's accession to the EU is expressed by one half of respondents, with only one respondent in ten declaring keen interest. The remaining 40% express only a small amount of interest. From the socio-demographic perspective, the level of respondents' interest in integration issues is associated with their level of education. The higher the education, the more interest in integration. An interest in integration is declared by more than three quarters of respondents with a higher-level education and less than two fifths with an elementary-level education. Such large differences in the level of interest based on education result from the fact that the education level strongly determines an interest in politics and in public affairs in general. As a rule, better educated people are more interested in politics and are more civic minded. An interest in integration also stems from the conviction that integration will have major consequences, both for the country and at a personal level. Indeed, individuals who declare an interest in Poland's accession to the EU most often motivate it by the conviction that integration will have a major impact both on the country and on their personal life.

Providing ample information about the integration process is an indispensable element of preparing the public for membership in the EU. Poles will be able to take a full advantage of

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¹²⁵ "Poland's integration with the European Union; public awareness and information needs" carried out by the Institute of Public Affairs in a representative sample of the adult population (n=1077) on 19-23 May 2001

privileges that will become theirs upon accession only if they are informed of the consequences and terms of integration. They also need a good knowledge of these issues in order to make a responsible and conscious decision in the accession referendum. Meanwhile, Poles have a poor opinion of their level of being informed about integration issues. Less than one respondent in five have the sense of being well informed (only 1% declares being very well informed). Two thirds of respondents declare being poorly informed and 14% admit to having no knowledge of these issues at all.

The sense of being informed about integration is associated with the level of interest in the topic. The higher the level of interest in Poland's accession to the EU, the higher the sense of being informed. This is why the fact that a large proportion of individuals with keen interest in integration have the sense of being poorly informed is so disconcerting. It means that even those people who wish to develop their knowledge of these issues are not always able to find the required amount of information.

A qualitative study has provided an opportunity to supplement the quantitative data. Indeed, it turns out that the level of "European consciousness" is greatly influenced by personal participation in all types of integration-information supply projects. This is why the focus of local and regional information-providing organisations on training sessions and workshops brings measurable effects in the form of giving the participants a sense of being well informed, making them interested in a relatively obscure subject and encouraging them to develop their own opinions about integration on the basis of acquired information. Many participants in various information-supply projects express the following sentiment: I knew nothing about the European Union besides what I had heard in the evening news. My knowledge of these issues has greatly improved thanks to these information books and meetings. 126 At the same time, increased knowledge encourages participants to express an independent judgement about Poland's accession to the EU: I wasn't bothered about it at the beginning, but now I am more sceptical (...) There are many issues that politicians have not cleared up (...) I think that if those issues were cleared up, I would be for accession. 127 Participants in the program "Poles and Germans in the European Union", delivered at Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Św. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego in Gdańsk, define themselves as supporters of Poland's accession to the EU, although one person says that *Poland is not ready* for it yet¹²⁸ and another adds: I would like Poland to function better and, I think, it will function better when it joins the European Union. 129 In turn, a member of a European school club says: If I knew nothing about the European Union I would be probably against accession. It's because what one hears on TV is always the bad parts of joining the EU and that's why I'd vote against it. But here I've learned a lot, that some price must be paid, but acceding the Union will also give us a lot, even more than what we'll have to pay. That's why I'm for accession, although I'd negotiate those transition periods some more. 13

In summing up, it can be said that, in general, Poles consider themselves poorly informed about integration. Only 18% of respondents declare being well informed, 66% - poorly and very poorly informed, and 14% declare not having any information at all. A large majority of people interested in integration cannot find enough information about the subject. Only one respondent in four is satisfied with the amount of integration-related information supplied by the mass media. More than one respondent in two considers that the media supply too little

¹²⁶ An interview with an information recipient - secondary-school student.

An interview with an information recipient - president of a school European club.

An interview with a participant (I) in the program "Poles and Germans in the European Union".

¹²⁹ An interview with a participant (II) in the program "Poles and Germans in the European Union".

¹³⁰ An interview with an information recipient - president of a school European club.

information about Poland's accession to the European Union. Only few respondents (3%) complain about too much information.

Although the amount of knowledge about the European Union and Poland's accession thereto is not directly reflected in the attitude to integration, being better informed, particularly by direct means of information supply, increases the consciousness of processes that are underway and encourages seeking additional information. Information that hitherto has been incomprehensible or shunned becomes familiar and, hence, stops being feared and promotes building independent opinions.

Chapter IV CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General conclusions and recommendations

- There is a very large number of information supply initiatives undertaken in Poland. Their impact on the level of knowledge and interest in European integration is best seen in groups which are already interested in European issues and actively involved in information campaigns and local activities.
 - A particularly active role is played by non-governmental organisations. The government is trying to stimulate these activities through the national Public Information Programme, using tools such as grant competitions for the media and NGOs, Regional European Information Centres and publications. However, the Public Information Programme, despite its assumptions, falls short of providing cohesiveness to all information supply activities. There is little connection between the overall objectives of the programme and local NGO activities, which should form a cohesive information campaign. The Programme has largely remained a theoretical document failing to become an action plan.
- The programme is based on the assumption that its target groups are interested in European integration and actively seek pertinent information. As a result, the information the Programme provides reaches primarily individuals who are already informed and who in their majority are in favour of integration. Information supply activities ought to be re-designed so as to ensure that people who are not active information seekers also have a chance to receive it.
 - There is insufficient flow of information about information programs, which are often delivered in proximity to one another and financed by the same source. NGOs are often unaware of analogous information supply activities undertaken in neighbouring localities. Improving the information flow, creating conditions for collaboration and experience sharing are to some degree accomplished by the NGOs working on database development and information exchange, but the establishment of such information networks should also be encouraged and supported by the government.
 - Institutions involved in supplying European information vary in terms of their organisational capabilities. The government is the one with access to the largest means, mainly in terms of the infrastructure and financial resources. On the other hand, local institutions have the advantage of being able to reach specific target audiences, are aware of their needs and enjoy public confidence. Local initiatives may have limited reach but are very effective. Many NGOs cover rural areas and small towns, and could be used in campaigns addressed to people residing away from large urban centres. Therefore, a good use would be made of providing more financial, organisational and substantive assistance to NGOs. In particular, NGOs must be better informed of new programs and sources of financial assistance, and helped in establishing contacts with Polish and foreign experts on European integration.

- The government should have a two-way policy of focusing on regions underrepresented in terms of information supply projects. Firstly, it should itself become more active in providing European information directly to the end recipient and, secondly, should support the creation and development of civic institutions intended to disseminate such information. The "institutional capability building" component should be taken into account when granting financial assistance. This is particularly significant in regions where NGOs are poorly represented.
- Information campaigns should be addressed to various social, professional and age groups (in addition to providing general information addressed to all). Each such campaign should be addressed to a specific target group and contain information of direct interest, i.e. information that refers directly to their situation (e.g. farmers about the effect of integration on agricultural policy; young people about education and the labour market; local government representatives about the effect of integration on regional policy; the unemployed about finding work in EU countries, etc.), as well as information about the costs the group will have to incur, and the benefits it will get as a result of integration.
- Owing to the fact that respondents assess their overall level of being informed about European integration as poor, there is a need for general information campaigns (i.e. directed to a wide audience) using the main mass media. The language of such campaigns should be simple and easily understood, and an effort should be made to refrain from political or party references, or from using so-called Euro-jargon. The information should be straight-forward and reliable, showing the consequences of European integration on the life of the "average citizen". Stressing the individual dimension is important because, to the public mind, the consequences of integration will be felt by "regular people" only to a small degree.

Institutional conclusions and recommendations

- The three leading government institutions handling the dissemination of European integration information are the Office of the European Integration Committee (UKIE), the Presidential Chancellery, and the Chief Negotiator's Office. Owing to political differences, these institutions do not always operate in a cohesive and co-ordinated manner. The fact that there is no effective information flow between institutions led by representatives of different political views proves that the consensus on European integration declared by Polish politicians at the time of the study has not been put fully into practice in their day-to-day collaboration on that issue.
- The literature developed and published by UKIE, and subsequently distributed free of charge to various organisations and interested individuals, is well received, both in terms of its content and form. UKIE distributes a large volume of fliers, folders and directories, but their effect is rather limited. The literature distribution system ought to be improved and there should be "informing about information" i.e. improving access to information by better advertising the institutions and organisations where such information can be found.

- There is a need for a solid grant-competition plan as well as UKIE plans for collaboration with NGOs for at least one year ahead. Information outlets operating within the Regional European Information Centre network are funded irregularly. There is a delay in determining the ultimate shape of the information network and the timetable of its potential changes.
- The Delegation of the European Commission in Poland is still not visible enough. Some NGO and local government representatives are not even aware of its existence despite having participated in EU assistance programs.
- Organisations that use EU support in running European information projects complain about the complicated procedures associated with EU assistance, which not only impede European initiatives, but also create a negative image of the European Union as a complicated and bureaucratic structure. One should consider simplifying the financial assistance granting and accounting procedures, and provide more information, training and counselling on the practical application thereof. UKIE and Delegation should also be more active in assisting NGOs with formal and procedural problems.
- Mass media, particularly television, constitute an information channel of key importance to the success of a national information campaign. At this point, that channel is used least effectively. Television is and should remain the principal source of information. Electronic media must not limit their European information supply activities to newscasts information thus provided must be supplemented by more detailed and comprehensive programs dedicated to European integration affairs.
- UKIE has signed a co-operation agreement with Public Radio and that has quickly brought measurable results. A similar agreement should finally be signed with Public Television. Also, the government should specify its media information policy and give the media access to full and reliable information. That information must not be saturated with official terminology but ought to be interesting, easily understood, concrete and anchored in the reality of everyday life.
- There is a large potential in employer and employee organisations. On the one hand, they constitute specifically defined target groups and, on the other, they have large numbers of members (particularly the trade unions). Therefore, it would make sense to assist undertaking European information activities among these groups on the largest possible scale.
- There is a steep growth in the number of students taking European affairs subjects, whereas the number of specialised instructors is decidedly insufficient. There should be a series of training sessions or seminars addressed to academic instructors, on the one hand aiming to provide opportunities for professional development and, on the other, serving as a basis for the development of a teaching-methods package (including lesson plans) for young academic staff wishing to teach European affairs.
- There should be more effort made to take advantage of collaboration and exchange with foreign academic centres within the framework of EU programs. The failure to take full advantage of the existing opportunities is associated, among other things, with the inability to meet the formal requirements of such programs. A more active attitude of the offices running individual EU academic programs is necessary. They

themselves should make the effort to reach higher educational institutions, for example by organising meetings with their university staff in charge of international co-operation and publishing information.

Recommendations for a further evaluation of European integration information strategies

- Study of the information needs of particular social and professional groups with a view to providing them with information that meets their expectations;
- Evaluation of activities undertaken by NGOs with a view to determining the areas that necessitate assistance from other institutions (research shows that NGOs lack experience, highly trained personnel, etc.);
- Study of the information supply, education and promotional opportunities provided by the Internet. Despite limited access to the Internet in Poland, this information tool is used by a large number of well educated young people who adopt European integration as a symbol of their generation;
- Further monitoring of the results of polls on the awareness of and support for integration processes among key social groups.

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Appendix 1

METHODOLOGY

Research tools and methods

The following research tools and methods were applied in the evaluation research:

1. Analysis of documents

The analysis of documents of various institutions was used to identify the types of informational activities undertaken, with special consideration given to reports pertaining to the course of particular campaigns led by those institutions as well as to their functioning and institutional capacity. A number of information materials published and distributed by different institutions were analysed in order to assess the quality of information transfer and to define target groups.

The analysis of documents was carried out on the grounds of a special document analysis form¹³¹, which had been drafted on the basis of the evaluation project. The main emphasis was put on the document contents, form, means of distribution, accessibility and adjustment to the specific needs of a specific recipient.

2. Questionnaire method

A number of questionnaire forms were used in the course of the research. The results of the survey conducted on an all-Polish representative sample of the adult population assessed the sense of being informed and the support for integration among various social groups. While analysing the influence that informational campaigns exerted on "European awareness", the researchers made use of poll results collected by the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), whereas monitoring the information channels and the range of their application, they used the findings of a poll carried out on an all-Polish representative sample of the adult population.

3. In-depth individual interview

A number of in-depth interviews with the management and staff of the selected institutions undertaking information initiatives concerning European integration, were conducted in order to investigate the institutional capacity of particular institutions. In addition, the above data, obtained through a series of interviews, served to specify the assumptions of informational activities.

4. Case study

A case study was conducted in those institutions which were considered crucial for the dissemination of information on Poland's integration into the European Union (EU). The case study research used the following research methods:

• An individual in-depth interview with the representatives of each institution directly responsible for the implementation of informational, educational, and promotional activities in terms of "Euro-initiatives" under way. The interviews were meant to provide: (a) data on the

¹³¹ Instructions for document analysis and the list of analysed documents – see also this appendix.

¹³² Instructions for the interviews – see also this appendix.

informational activity taken up by various institutions (with special consideration given to the activities connected with "Euro-initiatives"), (b) information on the specific programmes pertaining to these issues, (c) opinions on the effectiveness of undertaken activities (supplied with the respondents' identification of factors which facilitated, hindered, or exerted any influence on the implementation of "Euro-initiatives" in their institutions). All interviews were first tape-recorded, then transcribed, and finally analysed on the grounds of their carefully examined contexts.

- An individual in-depth interview with a staff member of a selected institution. The interview was to provide detailed information on a specific information programme in which a respondent was directly involved. Special consideration was given to the aspects connected with the specification of target groups and the adjustment of information to the needs of the recipients. One of the main objectives of the interview was the identification of the *best practice* examples in various aspects of "Euro-initiatives" (e.g. the applied methods of information transfer, distribution, etc.). All interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and analysed on the basis of their carefully examined contexts.
- An individual in-depth interview with the recipients of information transmitted within
 particular information programmes. The collected data permitted for the verification of the
 assumptions made by the institutions disseminating informational material. The respondents
 presented their opinions on the contents, form, and means of distribution of informational
 materials they had obtained.
- Analysis of documents. In the course of the case study, the researchers analysed the documents concerning the process of implementation of "Euro-initiatives" in particular institutions as well as informational materials addressed to specific target groups. The researchers used the document analysis form.
- Participating observation. The data collected on the basis of the observation form contributed to the evaluation of the *institutional capability* of the selected institutions. Special consideration was given to the variety of resources used in the implementation of "Euro-initiatives".

In order to assess the adequacy of informational activities to the needs and expectations of the recipients, the researchers made use not only of the case study method but also of document analysis, especially of a number of reports prepared by the selected institutions and informational materials published and distributed by those institutions and addressed to specific target groups.

In order to answer the key question on the accessibility of information channels, the researchers based their findings on the Statistical Yearbook 2000's chapters pertaining to the accessibility of different media in Poland.

Sample characteristics. Research development

Institutions were chosen for the study on the principle of target sample. The sample contains a representative group of all types of institutions involved in information activities about European integration.

Two surveys were conducted:

- A mail survey on the sample of 264 non-governmental organisations which describe themselves as pro-European (data base: "Almanac of Polish pro-European non-governmental organisations" developed by the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation, Warsaw 2000) March-April 2001, replies = 29.9%

- A mail survey conducted on a sample of 213 public and private institutions of higher education (the sample consists of all institutions recognised by the Ministry of National Education); April-May 2001, replies = 27.7%.

During the period from 16 March to 11 May 34 questionnaire interviews were conducted in key institutions which represent all the areas covered by the study. From 31 January to 14 September 10 detailed individual interviews were conducted. From 28 August to 21 September case studies were carried out in five institutions of various types which are involved with information. In the course of these case studies further 24 detailed individual interviews were conducted with employees of these institutions and the recipients of initiatives, and one group interview with the addressees of information activities. In each case the interviews were accompanied by document analysis and observations.

The report contains an analysis of the results of opinion polls conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs:

- The study "Before the Great Change. Polish Public Opinion and EU Enlargement", carried out on a representative sample of the adult population (n=1200) in June 2000.
- The study "Poland's integration with the European Union; public awareness and information needs" carried out in a representative sample of the adult population (n=1077) on 19-23 May 2001.

State Institutions

The research sample comprised 15 institutions, including 12 government administration bodies (8 ministries, 4 agencies and foundations which were State owned) and 3 bodies being part of other state institutions (the Sejm Chancellery, the Senate Chancellery, the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland). Particular ministries, e.g. the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, and the Sejm, the Senate, the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and the Chancellery of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland have had the research conducted in the departments for foreign affairs and European integration or other relevant sections. Taking into account the informational, educational and promotional tasks, special consideration was given to the Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE, Urzad Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej), whose 4 departments provided us with the material: the Department of Information and European Education, the Department of European Legislation, the Department of Co-ordination and Monitoring of Foreign Aid, and the Department of Education for the Public Administration Officers and of European Studies. Additionally, the research sample comprised the agencies and foundations responsible to the ministries and dealing with the issues of Poland's integration into the EU, e.g. FAPA, the Agency for the Restructuring and Modernisation of Agriculture, and the Co-operation Fund.

These and similar institutions were established in the 1990s in order to facilitate and accelerate the implementation of certain tasks, such as structural and ownership transformations, solution of problems related to agriculture, support for self-governments and local communities, industrial restructuring.

All institutions in which the research was conducted provided us with informational materials (brochures, exemplary publications, reports, etc.). Short interviews with higher officers (e.g. directors of particular departments) were carried out, in several cases lengthy and detailed questionnaires were distributed and filled out.

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The Ministry of National Education provided us with a guide concerning the European education in schools. Although the promotion, education, and information on the European integration is among the statutory tasks of two institutions from the investigated group, i.e. the Office of the Committee for European Integration and the Department of Integration and Negotiation with the EU under the Chancellery of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, the majority of other institutions also include similar tasks in their basic activity, especially where the main objective is the co-operation with non-governmental organisations, co-ordination and supervision of foreign programmes' realisation, etc. The analysis used the results of the public opinion poll concerning the interest paid to the European integration, social support for Poland's integration into the EU and the state of knowledge of these issues. The poll has been carried out by the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), the Social Opinion Research Centre (CBOS, Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej), and the Public Opinion Research Centre (OBOP, Ośrodek Badania Opinii Publicznej) for the past few years.

Delegation of the European Commission in Poland and other foreign agencies

The chapter is based on an examination of the literature describing the activities of these organisations, other materials and studies dealing with European activities taking place in Poland, press articles and in-depth interviews conducted for the purpose of this report with representatives of NGOs, territorial self-governments, business organisations and the EC Delegation to Poland.

Media

The chapter is based on in-depth interviews and case studies, and takes into account two largest and most influential national daily newspapers - *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza* - all four Public Radio channels, a small regional radio station in Ostrołęka, Public Television Network and *Unia&Polska* - a small biweekly magazine devoted to EU issues. We have conducted in-depth interviews with journalists and publishers, analysed opinions expressed by readers and listeners, monitored public television current-affairs programs, and examined readership, listenership and viewership studies as well as comments provided by various social group representatives during case studies.

NGOs

The activities of non-governmental organisations are analysed on the basis of detailed interviews and case studies conducted in three non-governmental organisations in Warsaw and three in other regions of Poland, on the basis of a mail survey directed to 264 non-governmental organisations throughout Poland which described themselves as "pro-European" (on the sample of 264 non-governmental organisations which describe themselves as pro-European; data base: "Almanac of Polish pro-European non-governmental organisations" developed by the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation, Warsaw 2000) March-April 2001, replies = 29.9%), as well as quantitative studies conducted by the KLON/JAWOR association on a large sample of non-governmental organisations in various fields and sectors.

The first study was conducted 1998/99 on the expectations and information needs of non-governmental organisations in the process of European integration. The questionnaire was mailed to 5 thousand broadly selected non-governmental organisations in various regions of Poland and various fields and sectors in which they are active. 1205 organisations replied.

The second study: June/July 2000 "Study of information needs of non-governmental organisations", 267 organisations from various sectors and regions of Poland were examined. Third study: 2000/01 "The evidence of information infrastructure capacity and requirements with respect to the European Union in Poland". 151 non-affiliated European information outposts in Poland were studied, including 49 non-governmental organisations. Materials from the Cooperation Fund about projects implemented by the PHARE "Pro-European Initiatives" program have also been also used.

Employer and employee organisations

We used the example of four organisations: Business Centre Club (BCC), Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych [Polish Confederacy of Private Employers] (PKPP), Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych [National Trade Unions Association] (OPZZ), Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy "Solidarność" - Komisja Krajowa i Zarząd Regionu "Mazowsze" ["Solidarity" Independent Self-Governing Trade Union - National Executive and "Mazowsze" Regional Board] (NSZZ "S").

Two are national all-industry employer associations without any declared political affiliation. The membership of the elite Business Centre Club (BCC) is composed of more than 2000 entrepreneurs and more than 1100 corporations. Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych (PKPP) also has approx. 2000 members, who jointly provide employment to 400,000 individuals.

The other two organisations belong to the trade union category. NSZZ "Solidarność" is a nation-wide trade union with approx. 1,200,000 members, with branches at both workplace and industrial-sector level. In turn, Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych (OPZZ) is a confederacy of 106 industrial-sector and national trade union organisations with a total of 2,300,000 members (including approx. 500,000 retirees).

Academic Institutions

This chapter is based on a study conducted in academic institutions and other centres of education and instruction, e.g. documentation research and information centres, undertaking various types of European initiative. The study used a questionnaire, asking open and closed questions, sent to 213 institutions, mostly academic. In a few particular cases (where a given school was recognised as a European study centre), we also conducted interviews and collected literature to find out more about their activities.

The group chosen for our study consisted of 59 higher educational institutions, each with a different profile, tradition, history and size, but for the most part (60%) young, established in the 1990s. They also differed from one another in terms of the number of students and teachers, but most (73%) were large or very large. Nine of them provided education to between 20,000 and 30,000 students and were among the largest academic centres in the country, 35 (60%) educated between 2,500 and 18,000 students, and 15 fewer than 1,600. The group included both state-run higher education institutions and non-public schools of higher learning, educational centres authorised to offer undergraduate, graduate and doctoral programs, and trade colleges offering only a basic degree.

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Instructions

Instructions for the Individual In-depth Interview with the person responsible for the implementation of Euro-Initiatives in a given institution

M1. Self-presentation, familiarisation of the respondent with goals and methods of the interview, guarantee of the anonymous character of the interview, permission for the use of the Dictaphone.

A1. Identification of the initiatives taken in an interviewed institution:

- A1.1 What kind of European Initiatives are or were taken in your institution?
- A1.2 Please, choose three European Initiatives in which you have been most involved. Please, describe in greatest details one of your working days in the period when this programme was being introduced.

A2. Identification of target groups:

- A2.1 While planning European Initiatives, was it specified to whom the information generated in particular programmes should be addressed?
- A2.2 If target groups were not specified, what was the reason?
- A2.3 If target groups of particular programmes were specified, on what basis were they classified?
- A2.4 If target groups of particular programmes were specified, how was it achieved, what was the methodology?
- A2.5 How has your institution managed to disseminate the information generated in the programme among the selected recipients?

A3. Research on the information needs of target groups:

- A3.1 While planning European Initiatives, were the information needs of the recipients taken into account? If any target group in any of the programmes was not identified, please, nevertheless, specify if the information needs were in any way investigated?
- A3.2 If the information needs of the recipients have been probed, on what basis has it been achieved?
- A3.3 If the information needs of the recipients have been probed, how has it been achieved?
- A4. The use of the research results concerning the information needs while planning European Initiatives:
- A4.1 Have the research results been used while planning various activities pertaining to particular European Initiatives (programmes)?
- A4.1.1 If not, why?
- A4.1.2 If yes, how has it been achieved? Please, give further details.
- A5. The use of the research results concerning the information needs while implementing European Initiatives:
- A5.1 Have the research results been used to edit particular information materials?
- A5.1.1 If not, why?
- A5.1.2 If yes, how has it been achieved?
- A5.1.3 Have the materials disseminating the same information, but directed to different recipients been diversified in their contents?
- A5.2 Have the research results concerning the information needs of the recipients been used while working out the final shape of the information materials?
- A5.2.1 If not, why?
- A5.2.2 If yes, how has it been achieved?
- A5.2.3 Have the materials disseminating the same information, but directed to different recipients been diversified in their form?
- A5.3 Have the research results concerning the information needs of the recipients been used as a criterion while planning the way of distribution of particular information materials?
- A5.3.1 If not, why?

- A5.3.2 If yes, how has it been achieved?
- A5.3.3 Have the materials disseminating the same information, but directed to different recipients, been diversified in the way of their distribution?

A6. The use of feedback information in the process of European Initiatives' implementation

- A6.1 While working on the projects of implementation of particular European Initiatives, has the possibility of contacts with the recipients been taken into consideration?
- A6.1.1 If not, why?
- A6.1.2 If yes, on what basis?
- A6.1.3 If yes, how has it been achieved?
- A6.1.4 How is feedback information (which is gathered from the recipients) collected and sorted?

A7. The information on the institution functioning

- A7.1 Please, describe the role of European Initiatives in terms of other activities of your institution.
- A7.2 While considering the involvement of your institution in the information, educational, and promotional campaigns concerning European integration (in terms of European Initiatives), do you specify:
- Goals
- Methods of implementation
- Resources?
- A7.3 If not, how are these activities planned and organised?
- A7.4 If yes, how and on what basis are the goals, resources and ways of functioning defined?
- A7.5 Please, describe your and your institution's experiences so far concerning the information, educational, and promotional campaigns?
- A7.6 Please, specify the factors which, in your opinion, are conducive to the implementation of European Initiatives in your institution.
- A7.7 Please, specify the factors which, in your opinion, hamper the implementation of European Initiatives in your institution.
- A7.8 Please, specify the factors which, in your opinion, could facilitate the implementation of European Initiatives in your institution.

A8. The final commentary of the respondent:

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Instructions for an Individual In-depth Interview with the recipient (addressee) of the European Initiatives undertaken by a given institution

M1. Self-presentation, familiarisation of the respondent with goals and methods of the interview, guarantee of the anonymous character of the interview, permission for the use of the Dictaphone.

A1. Identification of informational materials

A1.1 Please, state whether you are already acquainted with any information on Poland's integration into the European Union (EU) or on the EU itself.

A1.2 What kind of information?

No	Information	In what form? (e.g. a leaflet, article, TV programme)	How was the information distributed among the addressees? (source, channel, timing)	Respondent's commentary
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

A2. Clarity of the materials

- A2.1 In your opinion, is the material (the information in the table) clear?
- A2.2 If not, which elements of the material seem not clear enough?
- A2.3 In your opinion, what should be changed in order to make it clear for you?
- A2.4 If this material is, in your opinion, clear, please, state its features which make it clear.
- A2.5 Which features of the material (the information in the table) seem particularly interesting for you?

A3. Usefulness

- A3.1 Does the material (the Information in the table) seem useful in your opinion?
- A3.2 If yes, how did you use or could you use this material?
- A3.3 If not, what, in your opinion, should be changed in order to make this material useful?
- A4. Please, state whether the materials we are talking about in any way influenced your knowledge of Poland's integration into the EU (and about the EU in general).
- A5. Please, state whether the materials we are talking about in any way influenced your attitude towards Poland's integration into the EU.

Instructions for the analysis of the documents of European initiatives

The documents describing the informative activity of institutions:

Document:

Institution:

- (1) Is there any description of the campaign strategy, in particular, is/are there any:
 - a. guidelines for the campaign
 - b. goals of the campaign
 - c. description of the ways in which particular information channels can be used
- d. identification of the recipients addressees of the action (is there any specific target group, its characteristics, whether the diversity of the recipients has been taken into account)
 - e. range of the activities
- f. methods of implementation (with special consideration given to the types of undertaken actions)
 - g. description of the range and the ways in which human resources are used
 - h. description of the range and the ways in which financial resources are used
 - i. time-frames of the implementation of particular information campaigns
- j. description of the research concerning the efficiency and effectiveness (evaluation) of information and educational campaigns undertaken by institutions
 - (2) Was there any co-operation with the experts (reviews, advice)? (How often? how many times? How was the experts' experience used? How were the effects of their work used?)
- (3) Was there any co-operation with the representatives of selected target groups? (Which target groups? How often? how many times? How were the effects of this co-operation used?)
 - (4) Were the results of social research used? (What research? How were they used?)
 - (5) Was any research identifying the information needs of the recipients conducted? (If yes, how were its results used, what was the target group?)

Documents describing the information campaign:

Document:

Institution:

- (1) What type of activity is described in the document?
- (2) Is there any description of activities, in particular, are there any:
 - a. guidelines for the campaign
 - b. goals of the campaign
 - c. identification of the campaign agents
 - d. identification of the recipients (*Is there a specific target group, its characteristics? Was the diversity of the recipients taken into consideration?*)
 - e. ways of implementation
 - f. time of implementation
 - g. range of the influence of particular organisational forms
 - h. research on the efficiency and effectiveness (evaluation)
 - i. collecting and using feedback information

(3) What is the nature and character of activities undertaken by institutions? (*Is it statutory or extra statutory activity?*)

Information documents:

Documents:

Institution:

- (1) The document comprises the following parts:
- a. Title
- b. Author sender of the information (it can be the name of the institution)
- c. Addressee
- d. Contact address
- e. Visual presentations (drawings, tables, charts, or other visual aids adjusted to the perceptive skills of the recipients)
- f. What kind of language is used in the document? (is it adjusted to the linguistic competence of the addressee?)
- (2) Does the information comprised within the document refer to specific experiences of a specific (individual) recipient?

Apart from the mere instructions, the forms of the documents' analysis contain a commentary of a person analysing the document as well as examples of the phenomena described in the analysis.

Appendix 2

CASE STUDY REPORTS

Report from the case study research conducted in Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

Methodology

The case study research was conducted in Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk, on 28 August 2001. The research included: observation of the institution's activity, analysis of a number of documents concerning the institution's activity (a complete list of analysed documents is enclosed below, at the end of the report), four individual in-depth interviews (with the Programme Director of the Home, with the co-ordinator of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*, and two interviews with Polish participants of this programme).

Research results

Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk was established in 1992 by the Franciscan order. At first meetings and seminars attempted to overcome any prejudice and stereotypes rooted among the Poles and the Germans. Similarly, at present 'the main assumption is the reconciliation between different milieus, creation of new opportunities, and promotion of close relations between various youth milieus from Central and Eastern Europe, this is the fundamental mission of the Home and its main objective. Although the Home is a Catholic institution founded by the Church, whose superior mission is to foster a conscious and responsible Christian way of life, the programmes and initiatives it undertakes are not necessarily religious in their character. As the Programme Director of the Home has observed, 'this is a kind of evangelisation; [...] being a Catholic institution, it is our duty to foster reconciliation, integration, to encourage friendly relations between people, and we do this through secular programmes.

Dom Pojednania i Spotkań (the Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk serves as a centre for Niemiecka Wymiana Młodzieży (the German Youth Exchange), it belongs to Federacja Międzynarodowych Domów Spotkań Młodzieży (the Federation of International Meeting Homes for the Youth), which aims at the development of a citizen society. The idea of Domy Spotkań (Meeting Homes), as the non-public institutions of non-curricular education, has emerged in Poland after the year 1989. Majority of them flourished on the grounds of close contacts with German organisations and thanks to their financial support. Their main objective is to support the initiatives promoting the understanding and co-operation between nations, to guard the observance of human rights, to promote democracy and the idea of European integration, and to support the international youth exchange.

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¹³³ An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

Dom Pojednania i Spotkań (the Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk has at its disposal a dormitory (50 beds), dining room, library, seminar rooms equipped with audio-visual aids, access to the Internet and qualified training staff. The Home co-operates with various specialists in the fields directly connected with the programmes realised in the Home. At present, each year over 60 meetings, conferences, seminars, and workshops are held in the Home, in which young people from the Western, Central and Eastern Europe actively participate. Nearly all programmes are addressed to the young, aged between 16-26 years, and they pertain to the current issues most interesting for the youth. The Programme Director of the Home has explained that 'young people do not want to talk about difficult historical problems, they want to talk about these issues that are interesting for them; if this is hip-hop, they want to talk about hip-hop, if this is graffiti, then it is graffiti they talk about, if this is the European Union, again it is the EU that they discuss.'135 The adequacy of the proposals of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań (the Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) to the expectations of the addressees of its activity constitutes a matter of constant care of the project initiators and executors: 'We must be well informed on our target group, as our programmes must have the recipient [...] in order to allow this institution to exist, to provide the sense of the activity. The attendants, the participants are the most important element of this whole enterprise, they have to come to us, but at the same time they have to leave satisfied.'136

The initiatives undertaken prior to the end of June 2001, apart from the ecumenical meetings of purely religious character, comprised: Polish – German photographic workshops, Polish – Lithuanian – Byelorussian – Ukrainian Internet workshops 'Virtual Society', Polish – German historical seminar *The Poles and the Germans in Gdańsk*, Polish – Byelorussian journalist workshops, Polish – German graffiti workshops, Polish – German musical workshops 'Hip-Hop', and Polish – German jazz workshops. The great interest with which the workshops meet is due to the fact that 'the Home's staff and co-operators are mostly young people who know their milieus, [...] are familiar with the most interesting topics from the point of view of their peers. For instance, if a programme co-ordinator is a graffiti expert, he/she will easily guess the interests and expectations of other young people fascinated with this subject, and what they would like to do and discuss during the programme. Similarly, the co-ordinators who deal with the programme on the EU issues will exactly know their peers and what they would be most interested in during the programme. Thus, this is the basic idea of our activity and its success; we can even say that young people prepare various programmes for other young people."

The programmes of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań (the Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk also included Polish – German seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* addressed to the young from high schools, colleges and universities, both in Poland and Germany. The recruitment process not only 'took place among the members of the EU Interest Groups in schools, but also attracted a number of not associated people who got the information from the Internet, as well as people who had already attended other meetings' devoted to other issues. So far, only two editions of this seminar were held, one in 2000, and the other one in 2001. This year's seminar was attended by 12 people, including 7 persons from Poland. The programme mentioned above was managed by two co-ordinators, one from the Polish, and another from the German, party.

¹³⁵ An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ An interview with the co-ordinator of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

The idea of a debate on the EU issues and Poland's integration into its structures grew because, according to a Polish programme co-ordinator, 'it is a current issue, people are keenly interested' in the subject. One of the seminar participants shares a similar point of view: 'I find the EU issues very interesting, also what young Germans think about the EU and about Poland's membership of the EU seems quite interesting. It was really interesting to know their view-points.' The Programme Director comments on the emergence of the EU issues within the programme and recollects a conversation with several people who came up with a new idea: 'Last year it turned out that there was a considerably large group of young people [...] interested in the EU issues. And if there is a group of young people interested in any subject, we always give them this opportunity to meet here, in the Home, to work together, in this case, on the subject of the EU, and [...] working together, participating in various activities, and living together, they integrate with each other and reject the stereotypes, sometimes even without realising that, as they are so much engaged in thinking about the EU.'

Preparation of each programme, including the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*, comprises a questionnaire for the participants of a given programme, which investigates their expectations as regards the programme, with special interest paid to 'what issues they would like to discuss at the seminar, what they would like to know, to refresh what they already know, [...] and what they are already familiar with.' The main objective of this questionnaire is 'to make the programme interesting, [...] and the participants more active.' The seminar participants confirm that: 'First, each of us talked with the co-ordinator, we said what we knew about the EU not to repeat information, and on the basis of this the programme was then prepared [...] the co-ordinator asked us about our interests, whether we were members of the EU Interest Groups, what we already knew.' 144

The seminar list of topics included the EU history and the presentation of the EU institutions, however, the key elements of the seminar were an opinion poll taken on the street and a role play. The opinion poll was to investigate the knowledge of the EU among the inhabitants of Gdańsk, who were asked a series of very simple questions, e.g. on the number of the Member States or the euro currency as well as pertaining to their opinions on Poland's accession to the EU and its consequences for Poland and for the lives of its citizens. The collected data served as a material for a debate on the state of knowledge of and interest paid to the integration issue among the Poles. The use of the street opinion poll in the didactic process seems to be an ingenious idea, the more so as it was warmly welcomed by the participants themselves: 'it was the most important element of this seminar.' One of the participants of the whole initiative commented as follows: 'We found out what the knowledge of the inhabitants of Gdańsk about the EU was. First, we met together and made up the questions that we should ask in order to find out as much as possible about the state of knowledge among the inhabitants. We noted down the questions and split into 3-people groups and went out on the streets, and asked these questions to different people. Their knowledge turned out to be very poor. These were the easiest questions, such as how many members the EU has. Some people said that 3, the others that 5, I think that only one person said that 15. Then, we analysed these answers and we formulated the conclusions. Afterwards, we discussed what these results implied, what we thought of the whole thing. We were shocked, we had not expected anything of the sort. We thought that the knowledge of the inhabitants of Gdańsk was more extensive... 145

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ An interview with a participant (I) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

¹⁴¹ An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

¹⁴² An interview with the co-ordinator of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* ¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ An interview with a participant (I) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

An interview with the co-ordinator of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* PE 323.195

Due to the role play the participants had an opportunity to compare the mechanisms of functioning of companies in the Member States (in this case, Germany) and in the non-EU countries (Poland) as well as to identify the consequences of the membership of the EU for the functioning of various firms and companies.

The participants highly evaluated the meeting with a representative of Biuro Pełnomocnika Rządu ds. Integracji Europejskiej (the Office of the Government Commissioner for the European Integration), who delivered a lecture on Poland's accession to the EU and the process of Polish negotiations. One of the seminar participants said that 'particularly interesting was the meeting with the representative of the ministry, who talked about our negotiations, which conditions we had already fulfilled and which remained to be satisfied.' 146

In general, the interviewed participants of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* perceived the programme as 'much varied in its topics' and the classes as 'interesting and supplied with valuable material.' One of the participants admitted: 'after the seminar my knowledge has considerably improved.' What follows is the opinion of the Programme Director on the role of this kind of seminar: 'Our programmes are meant to give an opportunity to acquire or just enrich one's knowledge and specific skills pertaining to certain subjects [...] We also want to present some aspects of discussed issues in such a way that would enable the participants [...] who are interested to seek the relevant information on their own [...] It has never been our intention to educate anyone on the EU or integration issues, our duty is to demonstrate and examine several basic aspects [...], sometimes to inspire...' 150

In the course of the seminar, a plethora of materials, issued by Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej (the European Integration Committee Office) and Biuro Pełnomocnika Rządu ds. Integracji Europejskiej (the Office of the Government Commissioner for the European Integration), were used, especially information brochures, scenarios of classes for the teachers, scenarios of role plays, students' books with exercises published by Fundacja Batorego (the Batory Foundation) as well as various magazines, such as *The European*. A great number of these materials were 'distributed among the participants who could then keep them for themselves.' ¹⁵¹

As regards the opinions on the disseminated materials, the Programme Director alleged: 'None of the co-ordinators claimed that the materials were in any way useless, or that they were difficult to work with, none of the participants was dissatisfied with the materials either. If such claims and complaints had been present, I would probably have known about it in order to seek other more appropriate sources of information. These materials were satisfactory and sufficient for our needs.' Another frequently used source of information was the Internet but the respondents failed to specify the web pages they had explored.

Additionally to the participation in the seminar, the respondents sought the information on the integration in the press, at the geography classes, and at the meetings of the school EU Interest Groups.

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¹⁴⁶ An interview with a participant (II) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

¹⁴⁷ An interview with a participant (I) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

¹⁴⁸ An interview with a participant (II) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* ¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

An interview with the co-ordinator of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

¹⁵² An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

Although the evaluation does not constitute a customary practice of all initiatives undertaken by the Home as it largely depends on the needs of grant-giving institutions, in the case of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* at the end of the programme there was held 'a summary seminar during which each of the participants could express their opinions on what they liked, what should be changed and why.' And although all these opinions were not written down nor recorded, the programme co-ordinator assured us that the participants' opinions on the seminar 'were used in the project of the next edition of similar workshops.' The Programme Director added: 'we must consider now the direction of change in interests of young people in the EU issues, what new ideas will emerge, and whether these new aspects should be included in the programme next year.'

The majority of the interviewed participants of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* define themselves as the supporters of Poland's accession to the EU, however, one of the respondents claimed that 'Poland has not been prepared yet,' whereas another one added: 'I would rather that Poland functioned in a better way, and I think that [due to Poland's integration into the EU] it will function in a better way.'

The EU issues are also present in other programmes launched by Dom Pojednania i Spotkań (the Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk: 'the integration issues were discussed during other seminars, e.g. the historical seminar *Poland and Germany after the year 1945* included this topic spontaneously, it appeared simultaneously in the TV debates. The EU issues are also present, for instance, during the visits of the Byelorussians who are curious how it looks from our point of view as they are not involved in this problem.' 157

Conclusion

The collected data demonstrate that the initiative undertaken by Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk, i.e. the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* addressed to young people, refers to a Catholic character of this institution, whose mission is not only to foster a conscious and responsible Christian way of life, but also to disseminate information on the issues interesting for the young, including Poland's integration into the EU.

The seminar participants favourably evaluated the seminar meetings, which was due to an appropriate identification of the target group, careful examination of collected information on the participants' expectations and opinions, and to the staff who were not only well trained and competent but also 'on the same wavelength' as the participants.

Thus, not only the issues selected for discussion, which were adequate to the participants' interests, but also the adopted didactic means and methods seem to have enhanced the effectiveness of the initiatives addressed to young people.

The Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań (the Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk summed up: 'I am much satisfied that the programme on the European Union provides us with the next topic for discussion for young people.' The EU issues constitute an excellent motivation for the Home, whose main objective is the reconciliation between the nations,

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¹⁵³ An interview with the co-ordinator of the programme *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk

¹⁵⁵ An interview with a participant (I) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

¹⁵⁶ An interview with a participant (II) of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union*

¹⁵⁷ An interview with the Programme Director of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk ¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

to organise meetings of the youth from different countries and to probe their opinions on the issues related to themselves. In the case of the issues directly pertaining to the European integration, such meetings allow for the analysis of opinions of the Member States' representatives. All the initiatives undertaken by the Home help to reject the stereotypes, to surmount any barriers, and to promote tolerance and understanding.

List of documents under analysis:

- (1) Description of the activity of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk a computer print-out;
- (2) Description of the rules of a role play organised during the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* a computer print-out;
- (3) The schedule of the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* a computer print-out;
- (4) The results of the opinion poll conducted within the seminar *The Poles and the Germans in the European Union* a computer print-out;
- (5) An informational flier concerning Federacja Polskich Domów Spotkań (the Federation of Polish Meeting Homes);
- (6) An informational flier concerning the Calendar of particular programmes of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk for the year 2001;
- (7) Publishing House of Dom Pojednania i Spotkań im. Maksymiliana M. Kolbego (the St. Maksymilian M. Kolbe Home of Reconciliation and Meetings) in Gdańsk:
- *Under close scrutiny* ("Pod lupą") a newspaper first edited during the journalist workshops, no.1, March 2000;
- Ecology: Donbas in the eyes of the journalists ("Ekologia: Donbas oczami dziennikarzy") Materials of Miezdunarodnovo Praktitchieskovo Seminara Molodih Zurnalistov, Donieck 2000:
- (8) Contents of the Institution's web page www.dmk.pl

Report on the case study research conducted in Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education)

Methodology

The case study research was conducted on 28 August 2001 in Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education) in Cracow and in Zespół Szkół Rolniczych im. Wincentego Witosa (the complex of Wincenty Witos Agricultural Schools) in Ropczyce. The research comprised the observation of the institution's activity, documents' analysis as well as individual in-depth interviews with the President of the Forum, with a coordinator of the project *European Education – for ourselves and the others*, and with three participants of this programme – the attendants of Zespół Szkół Rolniczych im. Wincentego Witosa (the complex of Wincenty Witos Agricultural Schools) in Ropczyce.

Institution's characteristics

Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education - MFEE) was established in December 1997 assembling all interested in European education in its broadest sense. The main area of the Forum's activity is the Małopolska region but quite a few initiatives are undertaken in other areas as well. The Forum attracted a group of teachers, the training staff of several non-governmental organisations, young social leaders, self-governmental activists, journalists, and scientists, whose main objective was to help various social groups to face the challenges posed by Poland's integration into the European Union (EU).

Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education) is an independent institution, legally functioning as an association, with the seat in Cracow, whose fundamental aim are the initiatives referring to the European education.

MFEE members are mostly teachers dealing with pro-European activities, the training staff of non-governmental organisations, young social leaders, self-governmental activists, journalists, and political scientists.

MFEE is an institution of a scientific and educational character: its main activities are an organisation of conferences, training meetings, lobbying for modern educational system, collection and completion of materials and educational aids.

The main objectives of MFEE are as follows:

- To prepare various social groups and organisations functioning on the lower levels of public life for the challenges related to Poland's integration into the EU;
- To co-operate with the EU partners in order to investigate the future conditions and tools used in the EU structures;
- To introduce the 'European dimension' to schools, non-governmental organisations, local and trade union self-governments;
- To support the co-operation between Poland and the EU in terms of co-operation between schools, youth exchange, and educational projects using the existing programmes of co-operation;
- To create the information database and to collect educational aids adequate to be used in educational programmes on the EU issues.

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¹⁵⁹ List of analysed documents – see attachment.

MFEE initiatives are mainly directed to:

- Teachers and other education workers
- Local public opinion leaders
- Youth
- Non-governmental organisations
- Farmers
- Communes Councillors and members of commune executive branch
- Other selected occupational groups farmers, clerks ¹⁶⁰

Research results

The main objective of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education) is the dissemination of information on the European integration and the provision of support for various institutions (mainly self-governmental and non-governmental organisations) in their pro-European activity. The organisation was established in order to meet the needs of local communities from the Małopolska and Podkarpacie regions: 'our institution is very young, it was established in 1998. [...] it turned out that the demand for the information and European education is extensive. [...] In particular, what was exactly meant [...] was that in Cracow the initiative was great and successful, whereas the farther from Cracow, the greater the needs, which remained unfulfilled.'161 The founders of the Forum decided to enable other institutions to launch pro-European initiatives: 'from the very beginning, we made one basic assumption: to cooperate with other organisations. '162 Since MFEE functions as a forum, it concentrates its efforts not only on the dissemination of information among the recipients but also on the provision of hints how to pass acquired knowledge further on in their own milieus. Thus, this activity is based on the exchange of experiences of various people and institutions functioning in local communities: 'this is the idea of the Forum: to unite these partners, to present them with an offer.'163 In the activity of this organisation 'three factors are most important: co-operation, experience – "I have certain experiences so I now can pass this knowledge on", and sharing with the others, which is perhaps most significant.'164

MFEE has always tried to perceive the issue of European education comprehensively, from different angles of different areas of interest: 'the Forum tries to identify the relations between various areas of interest, [...] to face the problems comprehensively, and not separately, [...] not to separate the issue of education from the self-governments' activity. We try to find a common denominator for all these issues.' ¹⁶⁵

The Forum activity is financed by the financial aids, town hall financial resources, and the voivodship programmes ¹⁶⁶. These financial means are to be used to embark on particular enterprises, whose number and range grow year by year. ¹⁶⁷ MFEE, taking the advantage of the grant, puts the main emphasis on and pays the greatest attention to human resources, limiting the amount of money designed for the infrastructure to an indispensable minimum. It follows from the belief that 'the premises and the space as well as other similar things are additional.

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^{160 &#}x27;Euro CD' MFEE, 2000

¹⁶¹ An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education)

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ An interview with a co-ordinator of the project European Education – for ourselves and the others.

¹⁶⁷ 'Year by year our turnover increases, first there was several tens of thousands of Polish zloty (PLN), then several hundreds of thousands PLN, it was in 1999 – the first year of our activity with external financing, bookkeeping, etc., then the year 2000 and the turnover amounting to around 250 thousand PLN, and, which is important, that year we completed two big projects.' – an interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

[...] If our aim is new infrastructure, our activity will go in a wrong direction, the idea is to meet the needs of the others and not our own.' The institution employs only two permanent staff workers – the office manager and the accountant. The remaining staff – around 40 people – are employed by the Forum on a basis of a contract of service or as volunteers. Similarly, project coordinators, experts, and the training staff running the training meetings usually sign a contracts of service. 'Another significant aspect of the Forum are the volunteers.' The co-operation with the volunteers is widely used 'in various projects', when 'the enthusiasm of people involved is very important'. The organisation of work is based on the teams of workers concentrating on different projects and delegating specific responsibilities. The project co-ordinators organise the work of the volunteers during the implementation of each project. The co-ordinator 'is engaged specifically in designing the project, whereas somebody else has to bring the whole thing to fruition. We must have at our disposal people who would be able to devise and complete a given element of the project, to perform the operational activities.'

The Forum has developed an interesting method of inviting the volunteers to co-operation. The Institution regularly holds meetings devoted to the European integration, to which it invites young people from the last classes of secondary schools and universities. If, during such a meeting, there is someone who 'is interested in the EU issues, we invite him to co-operation on our projects. This is not our target group, this is just the way to find people willing to co-operate. Anyone coming to the organisation is first tested, he is assigned small tasks, which are not that important, gradually his skills improve, [...] he acquires certain qualifications working on the project.' Due to this type of recruitment and introducing the volunteers into the subsequent levels – more and more responsible tasks – a well-organised team of co-operating workers has emerged, who largely facilitate the work on the projects.

The growing number of launched projects meant greater needs with regard to space, equipment, and the organisation of work. In August 2001, MFEE moved to new premises, where it has at its disposal two rooms, with the possibility to rent seminar and conference halls, gastronomic facilities and dormitories. The latter is crucial for frequent visitors from outside Cracow, who come to attend the training meetings and conferences organised by the Forum. According to MFEE members, this kind of solution based on the periodical rental of indispensable resources has much better effects. It permits for keeping the expenses at the relatively low level, it does not burden the organisation with administrative needs and does not freeze its structure, which facilitates the development of the institution in the chosen direction, such that would be considered the best by the board of the Institution. The only problem that remains is the office equipment. The Forum has at its disposal two computers (with the Internet access), telephone, fax, and a photocopier. Taking into consideration the multitude of the devised and implemented projects as well as wide and frequent contacts with a great number of co-operators and other organisations, MFEE possesses 'a limited amount of [office] equipment. Lack of this equipment terribly hampers the work and it makes us waste our time, if, for instance, someone has to wait for a half an hour to make a phone call or to get access to some other device.' Another problem that has recently emerged is the management of particular teams. The Forum President admits that 'these are the things that we are just learning.' The staff try to cope with these problems according to their own ideas: 'at present, the responsibilities are clearly defined, we have created a library, we have catalogued our materials and education materials, we have even set up a rule for using the computer[...]¹⁷².

¹⁶⁸ An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

¹⁶⁹ An interview with the co-ordinator of the project European Education – for ourselves and the others.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

^{1/1} Ibid.

¹⁷² An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

Another method of facing the above problems is to take the advantage of other organisations' experience: 'watching the work of other organisations [...] I have looked through the database concerning the volunteers. There was detailed information on each of them, what their interests were, what he/she wanted to do, which day he/she was and was not available.' MFEE also has its own database for the volunteers but it is not complete, it does not comprise all volunteers. Moreover, organisational problems also emerge during the co-operation with the institutions financing the Forum's activity. Many institutions disposing of aid funds are subject to certain inertia characteristic of the majority of bureaucratic institutions, which means that small, mobile organisations have '[...] problems with receiving the money [from the EU institutions administering the aid funds].'

The Forum presents its offers and organises the training on the European integration issues, and then enters into co-operation with other institutions so as to create a whole network of organisations involved in the EU initiatives: 'it is important to not only train all these people but also give them the possibility of functioning and create a whole network of relations and contacts. We already have numerous contacts with other districts (powiat). A great number of the Forum's projects are brought into fruition in one of the following ways: either we act as an institution giving support, or we launch only small-scale projects, or we co-operate on a given project with other [organisations]. Among these different forms of organisation, the training meetings and workshops based on the interactive methods (e.g. role-plays) prevail. Additionally, a number of seminars were held and various promotional activities were undertaken, such as opinion polls taken on the street, or the 'European Picnic' event. 175 Most frequently, the Forum supports the activities undertaken by other institutions, giving the content related advice, e.g. with reference to planning and organising the training: 'the Forum does not produce great amounts of materials, as we are not a rich organisation. If there is a seminar on the European integration for various institutions, it is obvious that we will provide people responsible for the workshops, a lecturer, etc., we will help with the whole preparation, but that is it. This is the way we function and distribute the information. We are solely an educational and counselling institution.'176

One of the MFEE projects, European Education – for ourselves and the others, is addressed to schoolchildren from small towns in Poland and it is developed in the co-operation with "Bank Żywności" ('Alimentary' Bank) of the EquiLibre Foundation. 'It all began as follows: we knew that there [in schools] they are much interested, and we knew that because several members of our Forum are teachers and they expressed their expectations [...] that the pupils could get acquainted with these EU issues, that they could get interested. At that moment, the idea of the project was to integrate these people [...] and make them help collect food supplies for the poor from Cracow. We entered into co-operation with "Bank Żywności" [...] and these young people collected the food, and then transported it to Cracow, where, in turn, they could participate in the two-day-meeting with the young from Cracow. The first day was devoted to the training during which they could learn how to use the Internet and how to find information on the EU. Although [...] the schools from these small towns have computers with the Internet access, nobody can use this Internet [...], so the computer skills and knowledge of the Internet were almost none. We had to show them where [...] they could find this necessary information. Then there was the training on the youth projects, how to get the funds (including the public relations), how to advertise a given project in the media, how to organise everything. [...] Afterwards, there was an educational game, Sightseeing of Cracow in a European style.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ In the period 1998-2000, MFEE launched 22 'Euro-initiatives', mainly training meetings and workshops addressed to young people, teachers and self-governments.

An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

The participants were divided into teams which set off from one place in the city and visited the places of the greatest interest, where there were hidden envelopes with some tasks to perform – some questions, riddles, the tasks were connected with the EU issues [...] and they had to answer these questions, to solve the problems. This team which found the envelope and answered correctly to the questions won [...]. And then there was an integration meeting for the whole group of participants [...]. The next day, each [of the participants] worked on the project on their own. They were divided into groups, [...] they started to draft their [projects], then there was a session on the job market. At this stage, we decided to diversify these meetings a little bit, as there were [...] young people who had just finished their secondary schools and they just entered the job market. That is why [...] part of these meetings was devoted to the employment [...] issues, we invited some specialists, we even entered into co-operation with Wojewódzki Urząd Pracy (the Voivodship Job Office) and its 'job counselling' centre. [Another issue that was tackled during these meetings was higher education], we invited [the representatives of] students' organisations, who described the student life, how it looks from 'behind the scenes' and advised how to pass the entrance examinations, just to encourage these young people to enter the university. And the younger children [...] – there was a part of the meeting [...] more entertaining, some games, plays on that day.'177

All MFEE initiatives are addressed to the clearly specified target group: 'Our main objective, our mission, is to prepare various social groups and milieus for Poland's membership of the EU. We have already specified several target groups of our activity, such as the teachers, self-governments, country communities - farmers and agricultural consultants, [...] and, last but not least, young people, both schoolchildren and students.' Target groups are identified at the early stage of planning the initiatives concerning the implementation of particular programmes. This is a general rule governing the implementation of all programmes (from the initial stages, as preparation, to the final phases, as adoption) drawn up in the Forum: 'we try hard to analyse the needs thoroughly, we do not do anything for ourselves, because we like it, but we do it for the others, to meet the others' needs [...] and we try to get to these people to provide them with this information.'179 The Forum as an institution does not conduct any systematic research on informational needs of the selected target groups. Similarly, it rarely orders the research to be conducted, which follows from the limited financial resources. In result, the identification of target groups of specific programmes and the specification of informational needs of the potential recipients is based on personal contacts and experiences of the people coming from a given local milieu. In case of the identification of target groups 'it is those who are at the lowest levels decide to whom a given project should be directed. [For instance], in case of the district ['powiat'] EU information centres it was the district that made the decision whether it was an education department, a special interdepartmental unit, or a marketing department [to which the programme should be addressed].'180 Similarly, the way in which the programme is realised is usually consulted with people or institutions remaining in close contact with the recipients: 'we got to these people by [...] sending the questionnaires to the district authorities, we described our idea, our aim, and they chose the adequate tool.' As regards the programme European Education – for ourselves and the others the identification of target groups was based on the selection of schools for the participation in the programme. The recruitment tool consisted in the 'application form, where there were questions asking about the activity of particular groups: is there any activity undertaken by the young, [...] is this the EU interest group, are they willing to participate [in the programme]. Then there was a question whether a given school is interested in the EU integration-friendly activity. 181

¹⁷⁷ An interview with the co-ordinator of the project European Education – for ourselves and the others.

¹⁷⁸ An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

¹⁸¹ An interview with the co-ordinator of the project *European Education –for ourselves and the others*.

On the other hand, the way the programmes were realised and their contents were consulted 'with teachers who told us [...] what knowledge they [children] had at that moment and what was the best [solution] for them [...] the whole project has to be adapted to the target group.' 182 Summing up, at the stage of the formulation of the programme, the works related to the identification of the target group of the recipients and to the adaptation of the programme itself to the needs of the recipients were divided into two phases: 'first, there was an interview with teachers; second, previous experiences of the members themselves who, in the past, had run meetings or workshops for young people were taken into consideration.' In result, 'each element of the programme was adjusted so as to pursue our main aim, which we could adopt due to our earlier talks and interviews with the teachers from Małopolska and Podkarpacie regions.' A team of experts in various disciplines was engaged in the preparation of materials for the whole programme. One of the tasks of this team was to make sure that the materials were adapted to the recipients' needs: 'the language and other things were the result of the teamwork of the editorial staff. There is a task team, who decide about the direction [of activities], particular people are selected, who are good at certain things, [...] this is one of the advantages of the Forum, the ability to choose, the knowledge who should be selected. Even if, as regards the organisational aspect, we have much to learn, with respect to the content related matters we have chosen the right direction.¹⁸⁴ In the course of the implementation of the programme, the participants had free access to informational materials prepared by Centrum Informacji Europejskiej (the EU Information Centre). Working towards the MFEE objectives, the participants of the programme passed the acquired knowledge further on at the meetings of the EU interest groups in their schools. The pupils received informational materials 'from our colleague – the chairman of our [EU] interest group.' The EU interest groups' activity was based on meetings organised twice a week during which 'the chairman provided us with general information, some of us, those who had earlier attended some specific lectures, often held in another town, told the rest about what they had got to know, what they had discussed there.'186 The materials were evaluated as clear, special consideration was given to 'their graphic layout and binding; it was in a form of a small handy booklet, not like a thick tome with all the information inside, but just with useful information, which I find interesting and I can check it there at any time.' The language of the bulletins was also considered 'easy and clear, any new concept, notion was [clearly] explained.'188 Simultaneously, the recipients expect that the texts 'will to a lesser extent tackle purely scientific issues, unless they are explained in a more casual language' 189, which especially refers to longer essays devoted to specific disciplines. The pupils who were the recipients of the programme claim that they use in their everyday life the information they acquired: 'if I read these materials, I know what they are talking about on the TV, in the media, what it is all about¹⁹⁰. Sometimes they plan to use this knowledge in future, in their future education: 'I am going to write an MA thesis on this subject, on the [EU] integration and agriculture.'191

Analysis of the effects of the MFEE informational activity demonstrates that the programme *European Education – for ourselves and the others* has considerably heightened the sense of being informed on the EU and the European integration issues: 'I knew nothing about the EU, I only heard something in "Wiadomości" [the main news programme on TVP 1 channel, Polish Television], then, sometimes my parents told me something, but since I began going to this interest

182 Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ An interview with the President of Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education).

¹⁸⁵ An interview with one of the recipients – a girl from a high school.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ An interview with one of the recipients – the chairman of the EU interest group.

¹⁸⁹ An interview with one of the recipients – a girl from a high school.

¹⁹⁰ An interview with one of the recipients – the chairman of the EU interest group.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

group's meetings my knowledge about the subject has much increased, thanks to these bulletins, these meetings. Simultaneously, the improved knowledge encourages the pupils to express their own opinions on Poland's accession to the EU: 'at first I did not mind, but now I have become more sceptic. [...] There are too many unexplained issues, which the politicians have not managed yet to discuss and it is hard to say what will happen [...] but I think that if these matters were finally explained, I would be for [the integration]. 193

Conclusion

The strategy of informational activities adopted by MFEE – concentration on the integration of different milieus, the support for various initiatives, and the co-operation with different organisations – has had positive effects. The launched projects, such as European Education – for ourselves and the others, prove the effectiveness of the Forum's activity. Thanks to this programme the EU interest groups in schools across all small towns and villages have gained the content related and organisational support. During the meetings the participants of the programme were trained practically so that they would be able to spread the acquired knowledge and qualifications further on in their own milieu. It enabled the members of these interest groups to undertake successful informational initiatives in their schools, where, due to the large distance to big cities, the access to information was much limited. These initiatives clearly point to the Forum's strategy whose main objective is to encourage people to seek the information on their own rather than to provide them directly with this information. A good example illustrating the above mechanism is a series of classes devoted to the Internet as an ingenious source of practical information on the EU. The informational activities were focused on the organisation of training meetings and workshops for young people coming from small villages located far from the big cities and sources of information, which made these children become interested in the new issues and encouraged them to corroborate their own opinions on the grounds of freshly acquired information. Finally, it should be stressed that MFEE has infinitesimal administrative costs.

List of analysed documents

- Euro CD, Małopolskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education), 2000 the project is financed by the EU.
- Content related report, Programme *European Education for ourselves and the others*, Małoploskie Forum Edukacji Europejskiej (the Małopolski Forum of European Education), 2000.

¹⁹² An interview with one of the recipients – a girl from a high school.

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¹⁹³ An interview with one of the recipients – the chairman of the EU interest group.

Report from case study research conducted in Regional European Information Centre in Ostrolęka

Methodology

The case study was conducted at Regional European Information Centre (Regionalne Centrum Informacji Europejskiej - RCIE) in Ostrołęka on August 29, 2001. The study included: monitoring the centre's operations, examining several operating documents (their list appears at the end of this report), conducting four in-depth interviews (one interview with the chair of the board of the North-East Mazowsze Province Regional Development Agency (Agencja Rozwoju Regionalnego Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego) who is also the director of RCIE Ostrołęka, one interview with an RCIE program coordinator, two interviews with participants in activities organised by the centre and a group interview with young people that use the facility.

Results

RCIE Ostrołęka is run by the North-East Mazowsze Province Development Agency. The agency's objective is to shape and develop local community spirit, and support regional development and local entrepreneurship. The agency collaborates with government institutions and NGOs in the area of regional policy. The RCIE centre fits into the agency's mission and strategy perfectly. Before all else, the agency is a meeting place for people from various communities. In addition to the centre, the agency runs Klub Kobiety Kobietom (*Women for Women Club*), Biuro Obsługi Niezależnych Organizacji Pozarządowych (*Independent NGO Support Bureau*), Biuro Porad Obywatelskich (*Civic Advice Bureau*) and Dom Inicjatyw Regionalnych (*Regional Initiative Centre*). The agency also provides training for the unemployed, *gmina* development strategy advisory services and projects such as promotion of the fight against breast cancer or Swedish Days in Ostrołęka.

RCIE Ostrołęka is one of 33 Regional European Information Centres set up in former and current provincial capitals, and operates within the network of centres established and supported by the European Information Centre of the European Information and Education Department of the Office of the European Integration Committee (UKIE). These centres, run by local self-governments, NGOs, and research and educational institutions, are self-financed and entitled to seek funding through commercial operations as well as subsidies and grants (also within PIS).

The main task of RCIE centres is to operate a public information facility. They stock main documents, publications and other information materials (databases, summaries, analyses, etc.) relative to European integration and Poland's accession to the European Union, and provide Internet access as well as assistance of expert consultants. These services require that RCIE centres be properly located (preferably downtown, on the main floor, with a free customer access), equipped (information desks, reading room, customer access to Internet) and staffed with qualified personnel (experience in and knowledge of European integration, customer service and information provision). In addition to running an information facility, RCIE centres organise and participate in various types of regional initiatives aimed at informing the population about issues associated with European integration, Poland's accession to the EU, and benefits and costs of adaptation and future membership in the European Union. In achieving these tasks, RCIE centres collaborate with local self-governments, NGOs and schools (including school European clubs). The Office of the European Integration Committee supports RCIE operations with organisational and substantive assistance (RCIE staff training, publications and informational materials, substantive consultations, assistance in organisation and conduct of informational and educational programs).

RCIE centres carry into effect the governmental Population Information Program associated with Poland's accession to the EU. The director of RCIE Ostrołęka says that UKIE funds received within the PIS framework have been used mainly to finance the centre library and database, and that a small portion has been also used to finance statutory tasks. In addition, the centre supports itself with revenues obtained from providing training and "much is done by volunteers (...) since we rely on people for our activities." ¹¹⁹⁴

The collaboration with UKIE is deemed both important and ennobling: "The UKIE chairman invited us and all other regional centres to celebrate UKIE's 10th anniversary. He thanked us, told us what he expected from us, what type of collaboration he would like to see; he said that we were a terribly important element of the entire process of informing the population, that that collaboration was ennobling, that our participation in the governmental Population Information Program gave us credibility." However, the centre director believes that the collaboration should be more regular and systematic, and would like UKIE to organise more training for RCIE consultants. On the other hand, she is pleased with the amount, quality and diversity of materials UKIE provides. Indeed, one is impressed with their range at RCIE Ostrołęka.

The centre director also stresses the role RCIE plays in reaching individuals with European integration information. She suggests that "UKIE should change its approach. We have reached a phase where there is a need for specific answers. (...) There have been many TV programs about the European Union, a lot is said about it in the media. But this type of information goes in one ear and out the other. We must reach out to people, force them to ask questions and answer these questions as thoroughly as possible. (...) We are the only ones that can do it because we are close to these people." One RCIE employee believes that the most effective way of informing about integration is by reaching out to individual people. UKIE has given that task to regional centres, which by virtue of operating in local communities are best placed to conduct information activities among regional residents.

RCIE Ostrołęka provides information on the following topics: adaptation of Polish law to EU requirements, expected consequences of Poland's accession to the EU, labour regulations and running a business in the EU, EU regional and structural policies, assistance programs, common agricultural policy, taxation, customs and financial systems, and social policy. "Throughout the region I have distributed a great amount of information materials provided by the UKIE Information Centre" - says the RCIE centre director.

The centre offers a range of publications, including European Integration Committee materials such as a monthly European integration bulletin *Eurointegracja*, series of guidebooks *Biblioteczka Przedsiębiorcy* (Entrepreneur's Pocket Library) on topics ranging from EU law versus Polish law, EU norms and standards, and labour regulations and competition law, to customs duties and taxes, and an information booklet (general information about the EU, the Monetary Union, information for business people, farmers and students, publications on religion and culture, information on regulations governing the purchase of real property by foreigners, environmental protection information, guide to assistance programs, and articles on benefits and costs of Poland's integration with the EU.

In addition to these publications, RCIE Ostrołęka offers specialised topical studies and books such as *Podręczny Słowniczek Terminów EU* (Pocket Dictionary of EU Terms), *Drogi do UE - Narodowe Strategie Informacyjne* (Roads to the EU - National Information Strategies), *Program*

¹⁹⁴ Individual interview with the director of RCIE Ostrołęka.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Informowania Społeczeństwa (Population Information Program), Droga do Brukseli (The Road to Brussels) as well as over 2000 specialised publications available from the RCIE European library. The library also has a separate reading room where one can find EU related materials, press clippings, EU treaties and government documents dealing with the process of Poland's integration with the EU. Every year there are more and more school children and students using the library, and the titles of resources in its collection are available at the municipal public library.

RCIE Ostrołęka runs a database of EU institutions, Polish institutions and organisations involved in integration, list of journalists specialising in EU issues, elements of European (CELEX) and Polish (LEX) law, and institutions handling EU assistance programs.

The RCIE centre is in the process of developing a web site with a subject guide, business guide, RCIE information, links to other sites in Poland and the rest of Europe, information about contests conducted in the framework of the governmental Population Information Program as well as an EU assistance program service. Currently the information about RCIE operations is available on the web site of the North-East Mazowsze Province Development Agency.

The RCIE centre is accessible by phone, mail, fax and e-mail. Its information pamphlet contains a detachable self-addressed postcard which can be used for sending in questions or comments. As the centre director says: "We will send these cards out to provide people with the opportunity to start asking questions that concern them the most" 198 The centre has advanced multimedia equipment which it uses in its projects.

In addition to the statutory task of providing information about the European Union, the centre conducts a range of pro-European projects such as outdoor events, meetings and debates within the framework of the programs *Polubić Unię Europejską – Ostrołęcki Rok Integracji* (Getting to like the European Union - Ostrołęka Integration Year), *Unia Europejska, jak w niej żyć?* (How to live in the European Union), or *Ostrołęka – atrakcyjny europejski obszar kulturowy – Kurp Europejczykiem* (Ostrołęka - attractive European cultural region - Kurp Region open to Europeans). The last program was nominated for the prestigious Fundacja Kultury Award. The centre has published a pro-European poster - *Patrz Polska, you see Europe*.

While the EU presidency was being handed over to Sweden, the centre organised a Swedish Day. There were displays, concerts by folk artists, food fairs as well as meetings, including a meeting with the Swedish ambassador to Poland.

The centre also hosts an Inter-School European Club where some 20 school children participate in weekly activities. As one regular participant says: "It is a place where we talk about integration, about young people, what are our plans, how we imagine Poland in the future." Another participant adds: "It is where we get bits of information about various EU member-states and programs for school children and students who wish to study abroad." Club members particularly appreciate information materials and permanent access to Internet: "There is a small library here with materials on European issues where we can learn about EU countries and generally about the EU law, institutions - everything about the EU - the treaties too, and we even have access to Internet. Internet is the greatest!" Another participant says: "I give highest marks to the materials - they are very well done and interesting to read. Their layout is interesting - they are not just straight text and they appeal to the reader." Yet another participant says that the materials "are written in an easy and understandable language²⁰², and their graphic design is very

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Group interview with young users of the RCIE centre.

²⁰⁰ Ibid

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

interesting. They are colourful and catch the eye - very attractive."²⁰³ Another respondent shares the positive opinion of information materials available at the centre: "They are very interesting and speak to all readers, even those only mildly interested in the European Union. They are very well written, easy to understand, do not require higher education to understand, very interesting indeed, and written in a style accessible to everyone."²⁰⁴ Club members agree that they find centre activities "extremely interesting." 205 Yet another club member adds: "The idea of holding such meetings appealed to me so I came to one. I liked it right away - it's not like at school where you just sit; here we have very interesting discussions. I liked this approach right away and I decided I'd come more often. I like it very much."²⁰⁶ Respondents explain their interest in European Union issues thus: "It is our future. Negotiations on Poland's accession to the EU are under way and we want to participate in that process, know what we are getting ourselves into, what is ahead - we are simply interested in these matters."²⁰⁷ That interest stems out of the consciousness of the consequences of Poland's accession to the EU: "Poland will inevitably pay a price for joining but there will be benefits too. New opportunities will open up, we will be free to travel, study and live in any EU country." Another respondent expresses a similar sentiment: "Once we join the EU we will have better opportunities for studying and working in other countries. It is very important to be able to study at a foreign educational institution. The information we get here is important because it tells us that we can study in other countries and not only where we live. The fact that we will be able to travel freely is also very important - more people will then decide to travel abroad."²⁰⁸

Members of the Inter-School European Club say that they get the bulk of information about the EU in the school European club: "This place is where we have learned all we know about the European Union." Another participant adds: "I have learned nothing at school, all the information I have I got here. It is the only source of my knowledge about the EU."²⁰⁹ One respondent sums up his comments thus: "If I knew nothing about the European Union I would probably be against accession because all the information given on TV is negative and so I would vote against. But here I have learned a lot, I know now that certain price will have to be paid, but that joining the EU will also be very beneficial, there are probably more advantages than disadvantages of joining. So I am in favour of Poland's accession to the EU, although I would still try to negotiate better terms for those transition periods."²¹⁰

The RCIE centre director and her collaborators, mainly volunteers, lecture at local schools on the European Union and integration issues using the centre's multimedia equipment and materials. They also use such opportunities to distribute information materials. The centre is also assisting teachers, particularly those whose students have selected the European educational path.

The centre has organised a project called *School Holidays with the European Union*, whereby 32 children who were spending holidays at home came into the centre for four hours a day. The centre has also sent a few RCIE collaborators on study trips to EU institutions, including one focused on learning the operations of European information centres.

RCIE Ostrołęka also collaborates with the local radio station *Radio Oko*, which broadcasts to approx. 200,000 potential listeners. The centre and the radio station jointly develop shows on EU issues. There was a whole series of shows on the situation of women in the European Union called *The European Salon - Women for Europe*. One of the organisers explains the idea behind the

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Interview with a participant (I) in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²⁰⁵ Group interview with young people participating in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²⁰⁶ Interview with a participant (I) in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²⁰⁷ Group interview with young people participating in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²⁰⁸ Interview with a participant (I) in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²⁰⁹ Group interview with young people participating in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

series: "We had frequent discussions on how women cope with today's life, how it looks in Poland and how in other countries. Unemployment, for example - it concerns Western European women as much as women in Poland. The show featured successful women and described how they had arrived at that success.."²¹¹

In another radio show series, EU-related information (cultural, travel, cooking, etc.) was presented by children. All schools in Ostrołęka participated in that project. Listeners' reaction to involving children in such initiative was mixed. One of the organisers of the project describes it thus: "Suddenly listeners were faced with children's voices, often sounding very young, talking about integration. Sometimes they made sense, other times not quite. The response was very mixed. Some listeners complained about the childishness of the statements and protested against involving children in the pro-European campaign. They accused us of using them as a propaganda tool. I received many damning phone calls. But, of course, there were also calls full of admiration, or at least even-handed, and very encouraging. "212 All this notwithstanding, it was a great experience for the children who participated in the shows. "They liked that approach - being at a radio station and all the associated fun. They treated it like a game and loved it."²¹³ Children's involvement in the show compelled their teachers to get involved as well (not always with enthusiasm since, as one of the show organisers says²¹⁴, some teachers treated this as an additional burden for which they were not getting paid) and draws in the involvement of the entire school community. Some schools did not stop at organising one radio show and continued with EU-related initiatives. They came up with their own ideas - for example, "children would draw the flags of EU countries, participate in contests about the Union." As one organiser of these events says, the aggregate output of these shows is still used both at the RCIE centre and at some schools: "I sent these programs on cassettes out to the schools to be played on their internal loudspeaker system. These shows are general and can be used again and again. I already received information that they were being re-broadcast." ²¹⁶

The occasional publication of EUROPA - male gwiazdy (Europe - Little Stars) magazine is an interesting initiative. Non-professional editorial collaborators have an opportunity to prove their journalistic, graphic and photographic skills by way of featuring EU communities similar in size to Ostrołeka in the form of little stars on the map of Europe. This is what one can read about the idea behind the publication on the web site of the North-East Mazowsze Province Development Agency: "In our opinion, the headings correspond to the issues which the Polish society should be particularly interested in and knowledgeable of during the process of accession to the European Union. The consciousness of one's own values, but also of the diversity of values existing in the EU, awareness of accession costs and benefits, in other words a professional preparation of the local community for membership in the EU, will decide whether Poland will be a successful EU member. I hope that we will be able to show that Kurp Region is a genuine European community. We would like our town of Ostrołęka to shine on the firmament of small European communities as a little but noticeable star. For us, Ostrolęka is the most important star."²¹⁷

Representatives of various social groups - women, the unemployed, manual workers in the process of re-training, and especially children - are invited to participate in the development of each issue. This is what the centre director has to say about children's participation: "We will continue using children and young people as conveyors of information. It is not a very elegant thing to say, but the fact remains that when you give children something to do they go back home and get the entire

²¹¹ Interview with an organiser of an event carried out at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid. ²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ www.mazowsze.arrmpw.org.pl

family involved. We have evidence of that - grandfathers come to the centre because their grandchildren happen to participate in one project or another."²¹⁸

The centre focuses its programs on children, particularly those programs that are developed with the inter-school European club in mind. Its approach to disseminating information about the EU and Poland's accession thereto appeals to the young audience: "We play around with European issues and children learn more when they play than when they just sit and listen." Participants themselves express a similar view: "We learn through play and that's interesting and fun." Young people also appreciate the opportunity to meet peers and exchange opinions: "The current approach - using inter-school and school European clubs - seems to suit young people best. Getting dry information from books means a lot but does not do much to promote independent thinking. Group discussions on various topics, on the other hand, do promote independent thinking and force participants to share their opinions with others."

The decision to direct the bulk of centre initiatives to young people stems from the conviction that these topics are important to a generation that will be the main beneficiary of the current accession process. As the centre director says: "My generation will take only a small advantage of Poland's accession to the European Union, but young people must learn to live in it.²²²

Women constitute another key recipient group. They benefit from a program on the equal status of men and women based on the European Union experience²²³. The program was developed out of conviction that women constitute a somewhat socially disadvantaged group.

The centre manager stresses the need to bring information to an individual recipient: "Teaching how to live in the European Union is a very important element of the information-providing process. And this can be taught only by answering questions and doubts expressed by individuals. Therefore, we will try to reach every person. Information provided to date has been too general now is the time to start responding to individual misgivings." She says that people want an answer to the following question: "This is where I live - how will I benefit from Poland becoming an EU member?" This simple question is on the mind of every person. 225

The key idea behind all current initiatives undertaken by the centre is to respond to the demand and invite information recipients to become active participants: "In all our materials and information tools, for example radio shows, we keep telling people to come to the centre and share their project ideas with us, provided that they are also ready to be responsible for carrying them out. We provide the setting, but it is up to the people to act on their ideas." This approach was used in the case of the Beekeepers' Association, whose members had asked "how they should prepare for operating under European Union conditions."

Answers to many inquiries directed to the centre require specialised and detailed knowledge, and that is when the centre turns for assistance to expert consultants: "Many issues deal with agriculture and that's the most contentious topic in our region. In those cases we use the skills of our expert collaborators." - says the centre director.

²¹⁸ Personal interview with the director of the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka.

²¹⁹ Ibid

²²⁰ Group interview with young people participating in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²²¹ Interview with a participant (I) in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

²²² Personal interview with the director of the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

A portion of pro-European programs is carried out under the auspices of the centre's managing body, the North-East Mazowsze Province Development Agency. In addition to running their own programs, RCIE representatives (volunteers) participate in other events taking place in various localities of the region, such as harvest or honey collection festivities, at which they distribute information materials. As the centre director says: "We have really gone everywhere - from visiting all regional schools to participating in last year's all local harvest festivities." One of the most recent RCIE initiatives is the signing of agreements with eight localities in the region to set up local European and civic information points staffed with volunteers. The idea was born when it became evident that "people could not afford to travel to see us. Our own field travel is very expensive. After all, Internet is everywhere and so the materials available at our centre should also be available locally. People visit the local self-government office to take care of their basic official business. I believe that our materials should be available at every local office - this is when they will truly reach people."

The centre director wants to collaborate with European information centres in the EU: "I think that we will be able to establish cooperation between European information centres and Polish regions. I have seen a map of Europe indicating European information centres and my dream is to see our centre on it before Poland joins the Union." Young visitors to the centre express their wish to see that idea implemented: "We could try to establish contact with children and young people in other countries. It is important to know how they see us and other countries and cultures. It is important to know how European Union residents look at those things. I don't mean meeting these children personally, but, for example, through Internet." 1232

Conclusion

The implementation of the action plan adopted by the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka takes into account the assumptions of the Population Information Program. The centre's activities are directed at the local community, with a focus on key recipient groups, which in the case of RCIE Ostrołęka are women and school children. Those who design programs directed to such specific recipient groups try to mould them so as to take into account that specificity as well as the group's needs and interests.

RCIE Ostrołęka activities consist of diverse initiatives that draw in representatives of various local and regional communities. Various distribution channels are used to popularise and disseminate information about the European Union and Poland's accession thereto. Participants in RCIE activities are encouraged to provide feedback, ask questions and actively seek out information. Most often, European integration information is disseminated by representatives of the groups to which it is addressed. Much attention is also paid to the quality of the initiatives with a view to making them as attractive as possible and, hence, encourage target group participation.

Documents examined:

- 1. Information folder of the Regional European Information Centre in Ostrołęka
- 2. Information folders published by UKIE and distributed by RCIE Ostrołęka
- 3. Information about RCIE Ostrołęka activities computer printout
- 4. "Małe Ojczyzny w zintegrowanej Europie (*Small Homelands in Integrated Europe*) -materials of a scientific forum organised under the auspices of Komitet Badań Naukowych (*Scientific Research Committee*) in Warsaw

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- 5. Europa małe gwiazdy periodical; Issue 1/1999, Ostrołęka
- 6. Content of the web site www.mazowsze.arrmpw.org.pl

²²⁹ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Interview with a participant (I) in events organised at RCIE Ostrołęka.

Report from the case study research conducted in Zarząd Regionu Gdańskiego NSZZ "Solidarność" (the Board of the Gdańsk Region Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarność")

Methodology

The research was conducted on 30 August 2001 and it included an observation of the institution's activity, analysis of a number of documents, two interviews with the co-authors and executors of the EU programmes as well as three interviews with the recipients of these activities.

Research results

The initiatives undertaken by Zarząd Regionu Gdańskiego NSZZ "Solidarność" (the Board of the Gdańsk Region Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarność") are mostly of an informational character. The dissemination of information is handled by the Information and the Training Sections, however, whenever the launched projects concern the European Union (EU) issues the above sections co-operate with other departments of Zarząd Regionu (the Region Board) and Komisja Krajowa (the National Trade Union Commission). The institution has never elaborated any specific information strategy pertaining to the EU issues, as its fundamental role is to transmit information concerning the staff workers and the trade unionists. 'In the same way as we describe the health and safety matters at the premises, we describe, for instance, the relations and contacts of our staff with the employer from the EU.'233 The superior statutory task of the organisation is to represent and defend the employers' interests. Both executors agree that provision of information on the EU in terms of the employers' interests complies with the trade union statute.

For many years the Board of the Gdańsk Region Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarność" has maintained contact with the EU organisations, especially with the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). 'Our contacts are frequent and mutual in nature, for instance, the Training Section co-operates with Swedish trade unions.' More regular and systematic informational activity concerning the EU began in 1998, when the Information and the Training Sections launched the project *Common Europe more familiar for the employee – ABC of the united Europe*, within the programme Sierra Media Support. The next project, *The European Union – chances and challenges*, (Phare Fund) was carried out in the years 1999-2000. 'The EU issues have not emerged in our activity at the moment of receiving the grant, however, the financial support provided by Fundusz Współracy (the Co-operation Fund) enabled us to launch a regular to a certain extent informational campaign on the EU issues.' The Information Section also co-operates with the EU trade unionist press agencies.

The main objective of the carried out projects, Common Europe more familiar for the employee—ABC of the united Europe and The European Union – chances and challenges, was to 'familiarise the project recipients with the EU issues, especially with the consequences of Poland's accession to the EU for the employees in our country.' ²³⁶

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²³³ An interview with a co-author and executor of the project, staff member of the Information Section.

²³⁴ An interview with a co-author and executor of the project, staff member of the Information Section.

A report on the implementation of the project *The EU – chances and challenges*.

²³⁶ Grant request.

One of the main characteristics of the initiatives undertaken within the above mentioned programmes was great diversity of forms of information transfer and of the information itself, which will be clearly demonstrated in a detailed analysis of the contents of both projects.

The project Common Europe more familiar for the employee – ABC of the united Europe '... has been divided into two parts: the publishing and the training part. The publishing part comprised an informational brochure on the EU issues that has been regularly enclosed with "Magazyn" (Magazine) for a couple of months. Finally, a complete Magazine issue has been edited, 80 % of which have been devoted to the EU issues. Moreover, two competitions have been organised, a drawing competition for children, we have received around 100 drawings concerning the EU, and we have granted awards, and a competition in general knowledge concerning the EU, for adult Magazine readers, we have also granted awards. Thanks to these grants we have bought the equipment [...] There were held two training meetings, one directed to the trade union media – we provided trade union newspapers and editors with information as well as developed certain skills '237, and the other part, Common Europe more familiar for the employee, has been directed to 17 people dealing with the information within the structures of the "Solidarność" Trade Union. Additionally, an opinion poll on the consequences of Poland's accession to the EU has been conducted among the trade unionists.

Another project, *The European Union – chances and challenges*, comprised:

- A questionnaire concerning the state of knowledge and the anxieties and expectations of the trade union members as regards the EU as well as their needs for the information on Poland's integration into the EU (300 questionnaires, non-representative sample). The questionnaire results were published in no.11/2000 of "Magazyn Solidarność" ('Solidarność' Magazine), which summed up the project.
- Introduction of monthly column in 'Solidarność' Magazine. ('Its aim is to popularise the EU issues as well as to supplement and present the effects of the training meetings.'²³⁸).
- A special edition of 'Solidarność' Magazine, no.11/2000, which sums up the grant use and is nearly wholly devoted to various aspects of the integration.
- Information on the project on the web pages of the Region Board.
- Eight subject training meetings (training on the European Social Charter, the European Trade Union Councils, the promotion of equal treatment for men and women in collective agreement, the Systems of Health Care in the Member States, the European education standards and the teacher status in the EU, migration of the workers after the integration into the EU). 150 people have been trained.
- The seminar, *The European Union always a current issue*, 8 November 2000, which summed up the project. Around 80 trade unionists, who represented the commissions from the area of Pomorski voivodship, attended the seminar. ²³⁹

'We wanted to demonstrate what both advantages and requirements will result from the integration. I mean, we wanted people to understand that they should be prepared for the integration into the EU, that, for instance, to become a competitive worker for those Western employees they have to learn languages, computing. Another important issue as regards the employee's rights were the European Trade Union Councils (Europejskie Rady Zakładowe) and free workforce transfer. The education milieus were invited to participate in the training meeting on the education system in the EU. We also organised a series of training meetings for the health-care service. This time we began with the questionnaire. First, *Magazine* carried out the questionnaire which investigated the attitude towards the EU. Second, there was a relevant column in *Magazine* and a whole edition of *Magazine* summing up the project, followed by the seminar.

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²³⁷ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Information section.

A report on the implementation of the project.

²³⁹ Ibid

Third, there were eight training meetings, a three-day training once a month. Then, we held a competition with a special award being the English language course, and a questionnaire. Finally, we prepared a web page on the Internet with the description of this grant. '240

The most numerous target group of the EU projects of the Region Board are the members of the Gdańsk Region (50 thousand people). 'Since we are a unionist organisation, we direct these training meetings to the trade unionists, as only they can be assigned to this training with the consent of an employer. It would be unacceptable if the unionists were forced to use their holiday leave in order to undergo the training.' 'Solidarność' Magazine, printed in 20-30 thousand of issues, and the web page are addressed to these people (although, as regards the Internet, it is not popular enough yet, for obvious reasons). 'The articles which were published in the newspaper were meant to reach as many people as possible.' 242

As regards the training the target groups were formed among the active unionists. The participants of the first training recruited from the workers specialising with bulletins and the company's broadcasting station, these were the members of Komisje Zakładowe (the Company's Trade Union Commissions) dealing with information. 'We put the main stress not only on the development of journalistic skills but also on the dissemination of information on the EU, which could be then used by those people. [...] The participants of the next training meeting were selected on the basis of their profession: if the training concerned the education issues, we gathered the teachers; if it was on the health care systems in the EU, we invited the health care service workers.'243 Another criterion used in the selection process was the territorial criterion: it was significant for the executors of the training that the unionists from the whole Region could participate in the training. It was also important that a given occupational group comprised the representatives of different companies. 'So that literally everybody could have their chance, so that later on, they could pass these ideas on within their own environment, on their own backyard. One of the recipients has a similar opinion: 'When I was on this training, there were three presidents of big companies, they were not accidental people, people from the street, but they were selected, so that they would be able to share their knowledge with others.'245 As it follows from what was quoted above, the executors assumed that the contents of the training meetings would be passed on in the participants' companies. It can be additionally proved by the fact that 'many times it happened so that if somebody from a company participated in some training, and we announced that there would be more training meetings, then there were a number of further applications from that company.'246 Similarly, the materials distributed during the training meetings are not meant to be limited solely to the private use of the participants. 'These materials should be at the disposal of the whole trade union, as it was the unionist representative who participated in the training. They should be at the disposal of Komisja Zakładowa (the Company's Trade Union Committee) and to be used within the premises of the company. 247 The target groups' selection method was suggested by the authors of the project, which seemed, as our interviewers emphasise, to be a natural consequence of the character of training.

Although the Section does not normally carry out the research on the needs and expectations of the recipients, this time the specific character of target groups was taken into account while planning the contents of training. '[...] such research certainly would be extremely interesting, but, above all, we would be short of time [...]. Elaborating this project, we were obliged by certain deadlines, we had to trust ourselves and a group of people who co-operated with us. We had to believe hard that

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²⁴⁰ An interview with a co-author and executor of the project, staff member of the Information Section.

²⁴¹ An interview with a co-author and executor of the project, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁴² An interview with a co-author and executor of the project, staff member of the Information Section.

²⁴⁴ An interview with a co-author and executor of the project, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁴⁵ An interview with a recipient 1.

²⁴⁶Ibid.

²⁴⁷Ibid.

the knowledge we possessed was adequate and that such was the demand. ²⁴⁸ The training subjects were selected on the grounds of their importance and usefulness for the unionists. The accuracy of the executors' assumptions was proved by the results of a questionnaire that was the first stage of the second project and by a great number of applications. The training staff prepared a comprehensive training programme, which was then adjusted to the expectations of a specific target group. At the beginning of the training the participants described about their expectations, they evaluated each day of the training, and at the end of the training they filled out the evaluation questionnaire. The results of these questionnaires were taken into account in the Training Description and in the report on the project implementation. What follows from the questionnaires is that the participants would like a longer training – 5 instead of 3 days – and a more thorough analysis of discussed issues. Moreover, there was a suggestion of a brochure published by the Region Board which would more clearly explain the EU issues to the workers. 'The knowledge disseminated among the workers should be constantly enriched as the date of Poland's accession to the EU approaches (higher frequency of held training meetings). The executors, while planning next training meetings, take into account the above suggestions, which can be proved by the fact that the EU training will be included within the standard offer of the Training Section. However, because of the limited financial resources, this type of training will not be equally frequent as other training meetings concerning other workers' issues. '[if] there is any interest in the Labour Code, these needs will be fulfilled and there will be training concerning the Labour Code. But if there are 200 people interested in the EU training, I will not be able to organise such training on a monthly basis within the Section's budget. There will not be enough money, as simple as that. 250

The EU projects launched by the Gdańsk Region Board are completed by the full time staff of the Information (which has been publishing the 'Solidarność' Magazine for over 20 years) and the Training Sections. Simultaneously, both Sections have co-operated with the journalists of local newspapers, the Komisja Krajowa (the National Trade Union Commission) staff members who remain in a regular contact with the EU bodies as well as with other specialists. The training staff have Euro-trainers qualifications. There is a specialist in the Internet who deals with the creation and actualisation of the web page.

In the course of an analysis, certain differences in the methods of programme implementation in the two Sections have become evident. The staff member of the Information Section, who is engaged in the editing aspect of implemented programmes, emphasised that the dissemination of information on the EU constitutes an element of the Section's everyday activity and that the provision of the grant did not affect the way and course of work. 'Pursuing this project was not anything new or exceptional, as the EU issues are regularly tackled in our *Magazine* and in this case we only had to mention that this page had been financed by the EU.'²⁵¹ On the contrary, the Training Section considered the grant a real burden. 'Our Section has its own specific tasks and this grant constituted an additional burden, additional work for us. [...] Frequently, we stayed overtime, so that it was all prepared, completed. [...] There was a need for much more people, that is why we were supported by our colleagues from Komisja Krajowa (the National Trade Union Commission).'²⁵²

As follows from the above, there are not enough workers for these types of tasks, however, it should be stressed that the experience and education of the workers and co-workers are sufficient for the implementation of planned initiatives. In the opinion of one of the executors more extensive financial support is needed for the EU projects. 'As the number of workers is not sufficient,

²⁴⁸ An interview with a recipient 1.

²⁴⁹ A report on the training Migrations of workers after the integration into the EU.

²⁵⁰ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Information Section.

²⁵² An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

additional tasks only hinder us. There should be more money for additional workers and training, so that we could disseminate the information. ²⁵³

The Information Section worker claims that resources of the institution and easy access to relevant materials facilitate the implementation of the EU initiatives. 'Within Komisja Krajowa (the National Trade Union Commission) there is Komisja do Spraw Integracji z UE (the Subcommission for the European Integration). As regards the contents of our materials, we do not have any problems as we know what we should to write, what we want to express, because we know in what people are interested, we have access to this information and we have people who are specialists.' However, it was more difficult to find adequate people to run the training meetings. 'To find these experts was not so easy, as I sought them in Warsaw and I tried to get them from Warsaw. We wanted these people to be somebody, to possess extensive knowledge and high qualifications to pass this knowledge.'

As regards the technical aspect, the equipment of the Information and the Training Sections was used while implementing the projects. Thanks to the first grant, a computer and two modems were purchased. The co-ordinators claim that better computer devices and a new photocopier would largely facilitate work. However, the use of still newer technical devices is not necessarily well looked upon by the recipients. The special edition of the magazine of 1999, which, due to Phare grant, was printed on a better paper, was not favourably evaluated by the unionists as they considered it an extravagancy. The second project edition, devoted to the European integration issues, was printed on plain paper.

The analysed information materials comprised articles which have regularly appeared in special issues of 'Solidarność' Magazine since 1998 and the information distributed during the training meetings. Magazine has longstanding tradition as the unionist magazine and its authors have longstanding experience in handling information with great clarity so that it is understandable for wide range of recipients (Magazine is addressed to 50 thousand unionists of much diversified educational background and professions). The editors aim at the highest level of articles. One of the project executors has commented as follows: 'These issues are not anything extraordinary for us, as we have contacts with the EU trade unions, we are well familiar with Europejskie Rady Zakładowe (the European Trade Union Councils), equal treatment, women's problems – so, writing about these issues is closely related to our everyday work. Next floor is occupied by Komisja Krajowa (the National Trade Union Commission), the EU integration Department, the foreign department, whose workers remain in regular contact with the EU structures. We even did not need to seek any experts in these unionist issues, we have them here on the spot. If there is any problem, we go upstairs and order an appropriate article. Apart from the special issues of Magazine which are wholly devoted to the EU, there is always one page in each Magazine which deals with this subject. The articles are written clearly and understandably and often illustrated with pictures or charts. They bring up the workers' matters, frequently referring to the training meetings which were held in a given month. The issue no.6/2000 contained the article devoted to equal treatment for men and women and illustrated with the photographs from the training. Moreover, there was a column Kaleidoscope with brief news on the EU, a competition, and an advertisement of the web page. ²⁵⁷ The following present the examples of articles from other issues: "O demonstracji związkowców z UE w Porto" (On the EU unionists demonstration in Porto), "Relacja z konferencji na Dworze Artusa" (Report on the conference at Artus' court), "Debata w Klubie Polskim podczas Expo 2000" (Debate in the Polish Club during the Expo 2000), "Dialog społeczny po europejsku" (Social dialogue in European style), "Niepełna karta. Europejska Karta Społeczna" (Incomplete Charter. The European Social Charter). One of the project executors has

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²⁵³ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁵⁴ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Information Section.

²⁵⁵ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁵⁶ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Information Section.

²⁵⁷ "Magazyn 'Solidarność'" ('Solidarność' Magazine) no.6/2000

emphasised that the unionists are especially suspicious of the propaganda activity, which means that the information directed to these people should be totally void of any propaganda elements.

Although the training meetings are much diversified in terms of the contents, their form is similar. The executors would like to avoid any 'form of a lecture [...], opting rather for workshops or seminars for the adults, most of whom left school 20 years ago [...].'²⁵⁸ The selection of this rather than that form of training, just as the choice of the training contents, did not follow from the systematic research on the needs of the recipients, but it was elaborated by the executors on the grounds of information collected during the training on adult education. '[...] the best way to spread this kind of knowledge among people is to distract them, at least for a while, from their work, their home duties, namely, to provide for them training in some resort.'²⁵⁹ One of the participants has described the training as follows: '[...] we had some exercises. First, there was a speech on some issue, and then we were divided into groups and in these groups we discussed this issue, we had some charts, we wrote down the answers [...] I liked it a lot.'²⁶⁰ Another way to make the training more interesting was a film-show. All participants have agreed that the training was clear and communicable, whereas the presence of the experts made it even more reliable.

Part of the recipients have much appreciated the knowledge acquired during the training: 'For example, I was in such situation that my boss threatened me during our conversation, "When Poland's joins the EU, then the employers will have their say", and I said, "Sir, let me show you the European Social Charter, where there is clearly written so and so, and then I think that it will be the employers who should mind their words and actions and not the employees." He was astonished and he finished the discussion and stopped threatening me. And this is one of these things that I learned from the training.' However, another respondent was not as enthusiastic, and although he admitted that the knowledge he gained during the training was interesting but completely useless in terms of his unionist activity.

The recipients have claimed that the training helped them to sort their knowledge about the European integration and that it largely extended their knowledge so far. The information on their personal or professional situation was regarded as most significant, which was taken into account by the authors of the project. For instance, the training concerning Europejskie Rady Zakładowe (the European Trade Union Councils) was directed to the workers of companies in which foreign capital already holds or is going to hold its shares in the near future. However, one of the interviewers who participated in this training claims that it does not yet hold true for his job specifically: '[...] this training is addressed rather to the specialists and to the companies with foreign shareholders or to those who plan foreign capital in their companies and want to be prepared. At present, we are not planning any foreign capital in our company, but we are undergoing privatisation and it is highly probable that in two years time we will sell part of our shares to a foreign investor and then, we will need this type knowledge as well.' 262

The availability of the information for an average recipient was also analysed. The main criterion taken into consideration while selecting the information channel was its availability for the unionists. The basic informational means used by the project executors is *'Solidarność' Magazine*) – a free magazine, distributed through subscription and disseminated by company's trade union committees, thus, it meets the requirement of availability for its addressees.

The project executors also differentiated between the passive and active (those who are active trade unionists) recipients. The information available in *Magazine* is directed to an average addressee, whereas the training contents is more appropriate for an active, interested in the EU issues

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²⁵⁸ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ An interview with the recipient 2.

²⁶¹ An interview with the recipient 2.

²⁶² An interview with the recipient 3.

unionist. The project executor has described the way of informing about the training as follows: 'We did it this way that there was a general information leaflet that the unionist organisations meet at joint assemblies. There was also an announcement in *Magazine* that we had the grant and that we started the training, and that all interested, all those who wanted to contact the Section could enter into contact and obtain preliminary information. Afterwards, we sent invitations to Komisje Zakładowe (the Company Trade Union Commissions), just as we always do in case of all training meetings. Komsja Zakładowa (the Company Trade Union Commission) was responsible for assignment of its members to the training. Most frequently, it was the chairmen that were assigned, but sometimes the Commission members as well. The Commission decided who was to participate in the training. We always send more invitations than we have places, as it is difficult to specify the date clearly, but we apply this method along all training meetings.'²⁶³

The project executors stress that any feedback is always welcomed and that it is possible through telephone, e-mail, post, or an evaluation questionnaire on the training. The authors of the publishing part extremely rarely receive any feedback. '[...] we were told that certain things were spoken of and written about too scarcely, especially after [this training] on the education, I realised that there were a lot of phone calls. I mean, I can not say that I used any information directly.'264 On the contrary, the Training Section is the place where the unionists come with various matters and problems not necessarily directly connected with the training, as one of our respondent has emphasised. 'What is going on in the company? How should this problem be solved? We are asked these and similar questions by our workers, who treat us as their first line advisors.'265 That is why the executor claims that her knowledge of the recipients needs is generated in everyday intensive contacts with the target group. Similarly, during particular training meetings the training staff establish friendly relationships with the participants. 'They realise that [...] they are working under our supervision, [...] but we are their friends at the same time, our aim is to [...] eliminate stress.' However, since these friendly relationships hinder the participants from expressing any criticism, it has been suggested that an anonymous after-training questionnaire should be constructed.

As the author of the project has emphasised during the interview, the information on the integration is necessary so that the unionists could make a conscious choice in the accession referendum, no matter whether their decision would be finally "yes" or "no". The positive results of this strategy are evident when the recipients opinions are analysed, in which they stress that their knowledge has improved and that they are aware of both the advantages and the difficulties related to Poland's membership of the EU. As follows from the interviews with the recipients, they have frequent contacts with firm opponents of Poland's accession to the EU. All of them emphasise that the training has helped them to suppress any doubts as regards the EU enlargement. One of the participants of the training has said: '[...] the opinion that the integration equals the loss of sovereignty is still prevailing. And it is not true. The Member States have even more sovereignty than the non-EU countries. This is what I think.'²⁶⁷

Conclusion

At the first sight, the alliance of the EU information with the unionists' interests seems rather risky, the more so as 'the workers are much suspicious of this topic, it is too ambiguous for them, they are afraid of this EU. [...] It is important that the balance between the information and propaganda will not be shaken, as our unionists are very sensitive about that.'²⁶⁸ The analysis of

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²⁶³ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁶⁴ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Information Section.

²⁶⁵ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁶⁶ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Training Section.

²⁶⁷ An interview with the recipient 3.

²⁶⁸ An interview with a co-author and executor of the projects, staff member of the Information Section.

interviews and documents demonstrates that the authors and the executors of programmes mentioned above have managed to avoid entanglement on ideological arguments of opponents and supporters of Poland's integration into the EU. They concentrated on passing the most accurate, pro-European but not propaganda information. The authors of the project made use of their experience in work with the unionists, planning both the contents of training and articles and the methods of reaching the recipient. Very good knowledge of the target group's needs, although not supported with systematic research, permitted for the elaboration of information transfer which was adequate for specific recipients and not related to abstract information present in the media. As follows from the interviews with the recipients, the criterion of usefulness as a decisive factor in the selection of subject matter for the training and articles was most adequate. Moreover, the diversity of undertaken activities adjusted to the active or passive character of the recipients facilitated the access to the unionists. Directing the training to the group of the most active representatives of Komisje Zakładowe (the Company's Trade Union Commissions) in the whole region refers to the "snow-ball" effect, where one initiative can trigger off the rest. The articles written in a clear language published in the unionist press, which has a relatively big range, meet the information needs of less active trade union members. The above solutions applied in the initiatives of the Gdańsk Region Board can be considered the best practice initiatives within the area of information on the EU.

List of analysed documents:

- (1) Grant request for the project *The European Union chances and challenges –* a computer print-out;
- (2) Project *The European Union chances and challenges –* a computer print-out;
- (3) Report on the implementation of the project *Common Europe more familiar for the employee ABC of the united Europe –* a computer print-out;
- (4) report on the implementation of the project *The European Union chances and challenges –* a computer print-out;
- (5) "Magazyn Solidarność" (*'Solidarność' Magazine*) no.6/1998, 2,4,11,12/2000, 7,8/2001;
- (6) Reports and evaluations of training meetings held in 2000 within the programme *The European Union chances and challenges –* computer print-outs;
- (7) Questionnaire of "Magazyn Solidarność" ('Solidarność' Magazine) concerning the unionists' knowledge and opinions on the EU.

Report on the case study research conducted in the Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture

Methodology

The case study research was conducted in August/September 2001 in the seat of the Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture (FDPA) in Warsaw and in three villages in the vicinity of Pułtusk. The case study included an observation of the institution's activity, analysis of a number of documents, individual in-depth interviews with the vice-director of the FDPA, with a worker responsible for the implementation of the programme *Polish soltys* (village administrator) in the European Union, and with three soltysi (village administrators) who attended the relevant meetings organised during this programme.

Introduction

The Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture (FDPA), a non-profit and nongovernmental organisation, was established in 1988. The main aim of its activity is to collect funds for the realisation of specific programmes. The Foundation provides the support for the modernisation and restructuring of the countryside. 'At present, one the programmes focuses on the preparation of Polish villages for the integration into the European Union [EU].'269 The EU issues were introduced into the agricultural programmes of the FDPA for the first time in 1997. 'At the beginning of our activity we were engaged in the initiatives of agricultural modernisation. Later on, we introduced programmes which met other needs as well. As there has appeared the challenge of the integration into the EU, we have been implementing programmes which respond to this demand. '270 'Then, [in 1997] there was no informational strategy nor PIS, Program Informowania Społeczeństwa (the Public Information Programme) which would classify the farmers and the inhabitants of villages as one target group [...]. In general, these were pioneer initiatives [...] as regards the dissemination of information on the EU among the inhabitants of villages.'271 At present, the majority of initiatives undertaken by the Foundation pertain, to a greater or lesser extent, to the issues of European integration. According to the FDPA workers, the processes of modernisation of the countryside regions are to adjust Polish villages to the conditions which will be binding after Poland's accession to the EU. 'Not all initiatives can be labelled "Programme of Information on the EU". However, if we take into consideration the training how to raise funds for the sewage plant in a given commune, then, what is really important is the ability to compose the requests exactly the same as those in the EU.'272

Institutional Capability

FDPA employs 19 permanent staff workers and co-operating workers who are engaged in the realisation of specific initiatives. According to the vice-president, the Foundation should employ a greater number of permanent staff workers, however, at present, high labour costs render it impossible. The co-operating staff recruit from experts and trainers who run the training meetings and seminars: 'Foundation employs 19 permanent workers. Apart from that, we have people who are employed just for a specific project.' The specific character of village milieus conditions the selection of trainers, which is dictated by the fact that to hold and run a meeting or a seminar directed to the inhabitants of a village requires interpersonal skills and abilities: 'it is not enough to be a specialist in a given discipline to be successful with such a meeting. [The trainer] should have the right aptitude and certain experience.' The selection of the co-operating workers is perceived

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²⁶⁹ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷⁰ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷¹ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷² An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷³ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷⁴ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

as the key problem in the realisation of the programme *Polish soltys* (*village administrator*) in the European Union. In the course of this programme, a certain method of trainers' and moderators' selection has been elaborated: 'in the beginning we took the advantage of the experts' help – people who know the subject, but not all of them turned out to be good enough. This is a specific kind of work. The experience is really important – the greater the number of similar meetings a lecturer has held, the greater is the success of the next ones.'²⁷⁵

The Foundation has its seat in the centre of Warsaw – five office rooms equipped with computers, telephones, fax, and a photocopier. According to the staff, the office equipment is sufficient to devise and implement any programme. More complicated tasks, such as printing of training or informational materials, are delegated to other institutions. The Foundation not only organises training meetings and seminars, but also co-operates with other organisations whose activity focuses on villages. This co-operation frequently involves the provision of content related support for local organisations: 'we are preparing the programme Village with initiative whose main goal is to encourage local communities to undertake certain activities with the support of local nongovernmental organisations.' Similarly, the programme *Polish soltys* (village administrator) in the European Union also requires FDPA co-operation with local partners, i.e. the districts where this programme is being implemented. 'The co-operation with the districts is more of an expert and content related character. However, we also do the fieldwork, we check what is going on over there. And the districts deal with the organisational aspect of each enterprise. It is the districts that organise the meetings, invite the village administrators. The initiatives undertaken in cooperation with local partners are more likely to comprise considerably larger areas. An additional factor increasing the effectiveness of these activities is the careful selection of the participants of training meetings. This factor is to ensure that the information will be disseminated in local communities.

In the course of the programme implementation the information will be disseminated in 100 rural districts. The vice-president of the Foundation describes the range of programme's influence as follows: 'If we assume that there are 14 million people in Poland living in villages, and that, on average, around 200 people participate in our meetings, and we held 400 such meetings, and we multiply it by these 200 people attending our meetings, it amounts to 8 thousand persons. Of course, it all depends. There are villages where we had 250-300 participants and such where, especially in summer when the farmers are working on their fields, there hardly were 100 or 120 people coming. This is an approximate range of our programmes.' The factor limiting the number of the inhabitants of villages to whom the programme is addressed is the shortage of financial resources of the Foundation: 'Theoretically, if there are grants, there are programmes. But the actual number of such programmes which are externally financed is negligible. If a grant amounts to 30 thousand PLN, as in case of the last series of grants for non-governmental organisations which were distributed on the basis of the competition held by the Office of the Committee for European Integration, we are able to publish a brochure in 5 or 7 thousand of issues, but that is all. No extravagances.'

Another problem to be faced are the rules of project financing by the European Union. '[The EU] is very bureaucratic. There is a drawn-up budget, within which some positions can be changed only to a certain extent, and anything above this limit should have special permission. And we cannot foresee everything. For instance, sometimes we cannot specify whether we will need to stay a night in a given village, or maybe we can just go there early in the morning and come back in the evening, how much the travel will cost, whether it will be enough to take a car, or maybe it would

²⁷⁵ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁷⁶ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷⁷ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷⁸ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁷⁹ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

be most economical if we took a special bus, but such bus has to be rented, which means that the form of payment would be in this case different. In case of the American sponsors, the budget helps to give a sort of an outline of what we intend to do, roughly speaking. Actually, it is quite easy to introduce any changes. Of course, we have to explain why we want certain things to be changed, but, on the whole, the bureaucracy is not that rampant. '280'

Assumptions

In the light of the anxiety of the farmers about the integration, FDPA has undertaken the informational initiatives concerning the European integration. 'Only in 1997, we realised that there is shortage of information on the EU. People have no idea what exactly this integration will bring about. There was and there still is great anxiety among people about this integration, the anxiety which cannot be rationally explained. They just claim that this integration will not serve them any good, and any attempts at coherent conversation were fruitless. We have decided that there is a demand for such an informational programme which would help these people to base their knowledge on accurate information and not on some gossips or political propaganda.²⁸¹ Although no regular, systematic research was conducted, FDPA workers remain in continuous contact with village communities. On the grounds of these contacts the needs of the inhabitants of villages have been identified: 'being involved in the activity in the country, we knew what were the needs of these people. In general, people knew very little about the EU. And although the process of integration was then much advanced, the EU was perceived as something "nobody-knows-what-itis" which "nobody-knows-what-it-will-bring" and how it should be treated." The informational initiatives' main objective is to provide accurate information. However, the Foundation avoids any promotional activities, as it could be perceived as a pro-European propaganda: 'We do not tell people in the villages: "Join the EU because the EU is OK" Instead we tell them not only what advantages they will have from the integration but also what requirements they will have to conform to '283

Forms of initiatives

The information on the European integration is disseminated during the training meetings for the leaders and other people involved in various activities in village communities. These meetings are organised in the co-operation with Związek Powiatów Polskich (the Union of Polish Districts) in the course of the programme Polish soltys (village administrator) in the European Union: 'This programme is realised by the Union in co-operation with its members. They participate in this programme voluntarily. Most frequently, there are the representatives of two, or sometimes three, districts in one place. Starosta (district administrator) invites soltysi (village administrators) from one or more districts. The programme comprises two parts, the seminar and the discussion. The seminar consists of a number of 30-minutes long lectures, each of which concentrates on a given topic. During such meetings the participants get acquainted with the subject, beginning with general issues, such as the presentation of Poland's position in the negotiations concerning agriculture. Then there follows an introduction to the Common Agricultural Policy, based on the presentation of the structural and regional policy of the EU. Finally, there is an overview of the aspects of the development of entrepreneurship in rural areas.' The Foundation's role in the programme is to give Związek Powiatów Polskich (the Union of Polish Districts) support, preparing training materials and providing experts for training meetings. 'This programme [...] is financed by both the representatives of the European Commission in Poland and the Office of the Committee for European Integration. We just help the districts. It is simple: we have experience, we have a whole network of experts. Our role is limited to these published materials, which we had first prepared. We help Związek Powiatów Polskich (the Union of Polish Districts) with the content related aspect of the programme. 284 The co-operation with the local partners constitutes

 $^{^{\}rm 280}$ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁸¹ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁸² An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁸³ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁸⁴ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

the basic way to introduce informational initiatives, at the stage of both draft and implementation: 'We cannot go to the commune and say: "It is me who is organising the meeting. Come here, guys. We will have a chat." Most often, we try to comply with the rule that the meetings which we hold are organised in co-operation with local authorities. They are the host, we only come and ask whether wójt (commune administrator) would be interested in a similar meeting. If not, we ask why. We try to guess what the reason was. In general, if we come and say that we want to organise a meeting concerning the EU and to talk about the chances and advantages, the reaction is rather positive. People are willing to come, to listen, to get to know something. So, there is, of course, local demand. However, it is important to tell these people the truth."

Apart from the informational activity, the Foundation deals with initiatives which are the continuation of educational programmes. As a good example of such activity can serve the programme 'mikro-pożyczkowy' ('tiny credits'), created by the Foundation: 'It is very often claimed that non-governmental organisations just come, say something, and are gone. Thus, there is no continuation. We combine "soft and hard measures". As regards these "soft measures", we try to train people, to help them develop their own entrepreneurial activity, to build the capital of village origin. On the other hand, after they had been educated and prepared, we try to give the opportunity to take the advantage of concrete support. We come and say: "If you meet certain defined criteria, you are able to benefit from our programme 'mikro-pożyczkowy' ('tiny credits').'

Target groups

In the course of the implementation of the programme *Polish soltys* (village administrator) in the European Union a target group was defined according to the rule that if any activity 'concerns everybody, it means that it concerns nobody [...]. You must decide what your programme's target group is. If you are short of time and financial resources, then, you must decide to whom you want to address [your programme].'287 Initially, there were two target groups selected for the programme: the village administrators, who 'undoubtedly [...] are natural leaders of the village community. Logic is as follows: if you get to the leader and provide him with information, there is a chance that this information will be passed further on.'288, second target group consists of 'people who display any initiative in a given village. The invitations were addressed to those people who were at least a little famous within a village. Not necessarily to the leaders, but to people who are widely known — wójt (commune administrator), or agricultural counselling centre. There are entrepreneurs, teachers. Thus, a variety of opinion-making groups in the country.'289

Although target groups were carefully defined, the meetings were open for everybody, in fact, everyone was invited. The organisers hope that local leaders and people involved in some kind of similar activity will pass on the acquired knowledge in their own milieus. This assumption will be verified after the whole programme is completed. Of course, the Foundation, Związek Powiatów (the Union of Districts), and the soltysi (village administrators) themselves ask whether this assumption is correct. One of the soltysi (village administrators) has said: 'I try to absorb as much [information] as possible, but I am afraid that I will not be able to pass on all this knowledge that I obtained, among all these people who I take care of as a soltys (village administrator).' ²⁹¹ Apart from invitations sent individually to particular people 'the information [on planned training meetings] was often distributed by various local people, who were able to do that. Sometimes it was wojt (commune administrator), or a priest in church, but always there were posters put up as

 $^{^{285}}$ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁸⁶ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁸⁷ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁸⁸ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

²⁸⁹ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁹⁰ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁹¹ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

well. Maybe it was not such a widespread action, but still the posters were put up in all strategically important places, such as schools or commune offices. 292

Adjustment to recipients' needs

While preparing the informational initiatives, the Foundation has not conducted systematic research on the recipients' informational needs. Neither it has taken advantage of the research results obtained by other institutions: 'These programmes were too small, with funds too small to undertake a similar action. But, on the other hand, thanks to our constant contact with rural areas, we have always realised what information is really needed. In fact, we have everyday contact with village communities, with farmers. We were able to specify quite accurately the [recipients'] needs in a variety of situations.²⁹³ In consequence, the researchers planning future activities made use of the 'instinct' first-hand knowledge: 'This is that kind of knowledge that is characteristic of people who deal with [the problems of villages]. It was our knowledge, the knowledge of experts who cooperate with us, but, [at the same time] we did not have any collected and catalogued materials.'294 The programme was modified during its implementation on the basis of experiences of people who run training meetings: 'After each training meeting its programme evolved a little bit. It was a brain-storm. A group of people gathered together and they created some preparatory materials. Then, some changes were made, just after these meetings. The verification consisted in our attempts to make the disseminated information as practical as possible.²⁹⁵ Additionally, a method of feedback was used, which was to ensure the adjustment of information to the recipients needs: 'In the beginning, it was just one meeting organised in a given community. And then we realised that the inhabitants themselves did not know what they needed to know, so we decided to hold two meetings in each community. The first meeting was more of a general character, we told them things that we thought they should know. After this first meeting, the participants wrote down some questions in a form of a questionnaire, these questions were to be answered during the second meeting. So, [in other words,] thanks to the first meeting, when they were provided with more general knowledge, they realised what they wanted to know in greater details. The second meeting mainly served to answer their questions. ²⁹⁶

In the course of the training meetings addressed to the inhabitants of villages, 'we realised that the interest of the participants largely weakened each time we talked about things more theoretical, historical, general. They [the inhabitants of villages] were not interested at all in these issues. So, the verification consisted in the selection of most practical information [...]. E.g. we could have talked long hours about the laudable objectives of the CAP, how it would reshape rural areas and villages. But, to be honest, people are not interested in this subject. Towards the end, we concentrated more on an individual farmer, on his specific situation: for example, what would be the advantages of joining the EU for a farmer who has 10 hectares of land and 5 pigs. What kind of co-financing of the EU budget he can obtain and what requirements he will have to fulfil in order to receive this financial aid. The introductory part was limited to an indispensable minimum and we tried to comprise all the general information in additional materials, as an extra reading only for the interested.'297

The contents of the training materials was modified so that they were interesting for the recipients: 'The first edition of this brochure contained the excerpts from the EU history. It turned out that it was a mistake. The farmers were not interested in when the EU was established, how many members it has or what was the evolution of the membership.'298

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²⁹² An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

²⁹⁸ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

Apart from the adjustment of the content of the meetings' programme and training materials to the recipients' needs, the form of these materials was also given a special consideration: In the beginning it was a condensed text, then we tried to divide it into subchapters so that a reader could easily find concrete information in it. We tried to change this scientific language, which was favoured by the experts, into something more understandable for an average reader. So that it was [presented] in the clearest and most casual language possible. Certain things which are obvious for the experts are not such for ordinary people and this is another issue that we tried to explain and develop.'²⁹⁹

The greatest attention was paid to the form in which the training meetings held. According to one of the workers of the Foundation: 'what to say was a piece of cake, whereas how to say it, how to present the subject constituted a real problem.' The authors of these training meetings sought the reason for this in that 'a great number of people who come to these meetings are already sceptical [about the integration]. The truth is that they do not come to get to know whether it will be interesting for them, whether [Poland's] accession to the EU will turn out advantageous for them, but they attend [these meetings] in order to share their fears and anxieties. They come to tell [us] that they do not like [the idea of the integration], that they disagree [about the integration] and to express their negative opinion.'301 That is why 'the form is an important factor on which depends whether or not a similar meeting will be a success. '302 Similarly to the adjustment of the contents of training meetings' programmes, the way of conducting a meeting was improved on the basis of experiences of people running these meetings: in the beginning a pilot research was carried out. 'We treated the first several meetings as a kind of test. We organised these conferences, testing certain matters, checking the reactions to certain issues, the level of interest, the level of perception of these people, how far we can extend the subject. 303 It turned out that the form assumed in the beginning 'was totally inadequate - one hour or two of presentation and then questions and answers. These people simply were not able to sit for two hours and just listen, no matter how interesting the lecturer was. After some time it is obvious that they get bored. But [the duration] is not the only reason: many of these people come to this meeting because they want to complain, share their opinion, their point of view. It is easy to notice that they are overcome by these frustrations and filled with emotions and they do not feel at ease when they have to wait two hours to talk, to speak up. 304 Finally, it has been decided that in the beginning everybody will say what kind of topic is interesting for him/her and depending on this he/she will attend the workshops devoted to either the adjustment of farms, or the development of entrepreneurship, or the cooperation with the local establishment. 305 Sołtysi (village administrators) emphasise the adequacy of such solution: 'during the workshop there were examples of real households. It was shown on a special screen. Everyone could get what he/she was interested in. '306 The form of the training meetings was adjusted ad hoc, in the course of sessions. The participants of the training praised 'first of all that the lecturer had taken into consideration not only one household, which he had earlier chosen and had it all prepared. For instance, he said that "alright, we will take this 15hectare household [as an example]" and then someone suggested that "maybe [we should take] bigger [one]". He did not object [to the idea], he said, "OK. Of course, we can take what you want, because you are here to get the most of it." So, after that we entered into closer, more direct contact with this lecturer, he did not have any rigid work-frame, he just co-operated with those who listened to him. 307

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²⁹⁹ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

³⁰⁰ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

³⁰¹ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

 $^{^{302}}$ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

³⁰³ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

³⁰⁴ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

³⁰⁵ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

³⁰⁶ An interview with soltys (village administrator) – a participant of the programme.

³⁰⁷ An interview with soltys (village administrator) – a participant of the programme.

The seminar part has also undergone certain modifications. Instead of a traditional lecture there was a series of short presentations intertwined with discussions. 'The person who was running such meeting was prepared to touch various issues. The programme of the meeting was not complete, there was an introduction, a presentation. Then, every few minutes there was a break so that the participants could ask questions, to ask for an explanation of certain things, which they did not understand, or for a more detailed analysis of some issue. It was evident that the sooner the more active people could share their anxieties, the easier it was to run the remaining part of the meeting. We believe that it is the most adequate form, which, obviously, requires great skills on the part of the person running the meeting. There are few people who feel comfortable in such role, who can talk and listen to those who come only to shout out their opinions. And this is really difficult. But if we have such person who can run meetings in such a way, then these are the only successful meetings, after which we, the organisers, know that the people who attended the meeting really benefited from that. '308

Such form of the training meetings requires specially trained lecturers. According to the vicepresident of the Foundation 'these lecturers have to combine two features: they have to possess excellent knowledge and the ability to cope with the auditorium. [...] It is difficult to run meetings where the group of the recipients is large and much diversified: village women, typical [village] men who stand in front of a pub, farmers who work hard to earn a living. Or a priest. Very often there is a member of parliament: local deputy or senator from a given region. '309 The participants of the training meetings agree with the above opinion: 'A lecturer should be easygoing, should be able to build a relation with his/her listeners. Because if a lecturer fails to establish such contact, then a lecturer and a listener are in the worlds of their own. And that is why I think that there should be a real selection. Typical professors who sit behind the desk, give a lecture and leave should not be chosen. Only those who feel the subject, who want to teach the others, [to pass on this knowledge] should be selected.'310 The participants of the training meetings claim that the meetings were held by such people, who both knew their subject and could establish good contact with the auditorium: 'all was explained, there were boards [...], she [the lecturer] talked in a very interesting way, it was easy to understand her. If there was anything unclear, we could immediately ask [her] and she went back to the [relevant] board and explained [everything] again. Her voice was so nice and she used simple language, so the listener opened up immediately. This woman was really great.'311

The above quoted statements of the farmers who participated in the training prove that the informational activities were really successful. The participants of the training have been provided with accurate information which will enable them to adopt their point of view on Poland's accession into the EU independently. One of sołtysi (village administrators) has admitted: 'five years ago, I was not in favour of this Union. Although, to be honest, at present I am not either fully convinced, I only know that there is no alternative. We, the Poles,. Have no other option. [...] And this awareness changes the man. If I had not participated in the training, probably, I would now think what I thought earlier, that we should not join the EU. But [the training] has clarified certain issues, certain problems.' 312

After the training, the farmers are able to understand the information covered in the media: 'I knew more or less what it was all about what they said on TV, or on the radio.' Apart from the positive opinions on the training, there are certain issues which raise the participants' anxieties. The farmers treat the information with which they are provided with certain incredulity. They would like to have a guarantee on what kind of conditions of households' functioning they should

³⁰⁸ An interview with one of the FDPA workers.

³⁰⁹ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

³¹⁰ An interview with soltys (village administrator) – a participant of the programme.

³¹¹ An interview with soltys (village administrator) – a participant of the programme.

³¹² An interview with soltys (village administrator) – a participant of the programme.

³¹³ Ibid.

expect after the integration. The issue of co-financing for the agriculture production meets with the greatest interest. The farmers are afraid that after the EU enlargement there will be shortage of financial resources to co-finance Polish farmers: 'now they have the money, but when six more countries will join, each of them will want the financial help and where they will get the money from? [...] Now they have the resources. The EU farmer has a lot of money and financial help, but when those countries will join, will he [the EU farmer] have the same? Yes, he will have the money, but what about us?'314 According to the respondents, the farmers should have the opportunity to get acquainted with the conditions of the functioning of farms in the Member States. It would help disperse any remaining doubts and dispel the anxieties that the have filled Polish farmers with regard to Poland's accession into the EU: 'we should organise as many visits for our farmers as possible so that they could see with their own eyes what it is like over there, [in the EU]. [The situation] over there is good, but we are not lagging behind them [the EU farmers], we can easily keep up with them in the competition. But first of all we should go there. Perhaps, we, the farmers, cannot afford it, but still we should [try] organise as many trips to the western Europe as possible, we should go and see how it really looks like. Moreover, the participants claim as follows: 'the amount of materials prepared for such meetings is not sufficient. You know, these meetings are originally directed to soltysi (village administrators) but when such a soltys (village administrator) comes back home, in the country, he should have a few copies to give them out to his neighbours, the farmers, to those who are interested, of course, as not everybody is interested, but still he should give it out. It is all different, for instance, just to listen to me or to look through [some materials for further reference]. '316

Moreover, apart from the materials, soltysi (village administrators) expect a greater number of training meetings which would be addressed not only to the leaders but also to wider group of village communities. As soltysi (village administrators) have said: 'training meetings should be held for larger audience. [...] It should not be directed only for soltysi (village administrators) or other leaders, but for the farmers in general. Direct contact with a lecturer is very important, the reception is different. If someone else comes later on and even if he repeats the same things, it still will be something different.'317

Conclusion

The characteristic feature of informational initiatives undertaken by FDPA is high effectiveness as regards the information dissemination among target groups. The methods of information dissemination elaborated in the course of the training permitted for the effective implementation of informational campaign in rural areas, which constitute a specific target group. Factors conducive to the effectiveness of the undertaken initiatives are as follows: the FDPA's long-standing experience in the work within rural areas, co-operation with the authorities, local milieus and with Związki Powiatów (the Unions of Districts), careful selection of the lecturers, and adjustment to the needs and expectations of the recipients of the information. The Foundation has adopted the strategy of co-operation with various partners at both central and, even more extensively, local level. This kind of attitude considerably increases the scope and range of the initiatives as well as ensures, with the help of the local partners, the support, which is especially needed in rural areas. The vice-president of the Foundation has said: 'the implemented programme constitutes part of PIS. Financing institutions, thus, both the Delegation of the European Commission in Poland and the Office of the Committee for European Integration, claim that Związek Powiatów (the Union of Districts) is the right institution to implement such programme. And this programme is, in fact, realised by Związek (the Union). [...] We, the Foundation, are much satisfied with this cooperation. 5318

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ An interview with the vice-president of the FDPA.

FDPA envisages the possible development of the programme so that the informational initiatives would comprise the communes as well: 'In general, I have always claimed that similar programmes, such as PIS, should be tackled methodically. I think that it would be an ideal situation, if we could gather a group of 40-50 tutors, who would possess not only the subject-related knowledge but also the socio-technical knowledge – how to run such a meeting. And I would like these people to constitute the core of our initiative, who would run similar meetings, especially, if they are to be directed to vast masses of recipients and if we want to address the communes as well.'319

List of analysed documents

- (1) Polish village in the New Europe, (2000) Warsaw: FDPA
- (2) "Polish agriculture and the European Union" seminar materials, in: *Polish soltys (village administrator) in the European Union*, (2001) Warsaw: FDPA
- (3) "Polish village and agriculture and the European Union" seminar materials, in: *Polish soltys* (village administrator) in the European Union, (2001) Warsaw: FDPA
- (4) "Common Agricultural Policy", in: *Polish soltys (village administrator) in the European Union*, (2001) Warsaw: FDPA
- (5) "Structural policy and the EU pre-accession co-financing" seminar materials, in: *Polish soltys* (village administrator) in the European Union, (2001) Warsaw: FDPA

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(6) FDPA – Information on the FDPA activity, (2000) Warsaw: FDPA.

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³¹⁹ Ibid. PE 323.195

Appendix 3

EUROPEAN ISSUES IN PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

Early research of European issues

European issues have become a subject of interest of Polish public opinion research centres almost immediately after the fall of communism. The two public opinion research centres operating at that time - CBOS, which belonged to the government, and OBOP, which operated out of the state-run Polish Radio and Television, have taken them up practically at the same time.

In February 1990, the annual CBOS poll on issues associated with international policy and Poland's place in the world included the following question: "Should Poland be trying to become an EEC member?". The question was asked in the context of an evaluation of Polish participation in CMEA and attitude toward a possible dissolution of that organisation, and belonged to a block of questions that also included the attitude toward the Warsaw Pact and Poland's potential attempt to join NATO.

OBOP approached this matter somewhat differently. It studied Poles' interest in the advancing integration of Western Europe, their fears and expectations with respect to the possibility of the unification of the entire Europe and whether they considered themselves "European".

Quantitative summary of research conducted in 1992-2000

The interest in integration issues has intensified after the signing of the Association Treaty between Poland and EEC in December 1991. In 1992, the largest Polish public opinion research centres have conducted 11 studies relative to these issues.

Organisation	Number of studies			Number of studies per year								
	Total	Including		1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
		Self- financed ³²⁰	Commissioned ³²¹									
CBOS	39322	23	16	4	2	4	4	2	4	8	6	5 ³²³
TNS OBOP	22^{324}	11	11	1	2	1	1	1	5	4	3	4
Pentor	44 ³²⁵	9	35	6	6	2	3	3	1	5	8	10
PBS	20	-	20	-	-	4	1	3	1	2	4	5
Total	125	43	82	11	10	11	9	9	11	19	21	24

Between 1993 and 1997, European issues were being taken up by the four largest research centres approx. 10 times per year. Since 1998, there has been a visible increase, almost doubling, of the presence of European issues in public opinion research. In total, between 1992 and 2000, European issues were the subject of studies conducted by the four largest public opinion research centres 125 times. They have been also taken up by other research centres, particularly recently. Leading in

³²⁰ Within the framework of statutory or promotional operations.

³²¹ Or co-financed.

³²² Incl. three comparative international studies.

³²³ Incl. one using the FGI method.

³²⁴ Incl. one conducted as part of an international project involving 11 candidate states.

³²⁵ Incl. 10 international comparative studies, nine of which were conducted as part of the Euro-Barometer.

this area is Demoskop, which has been commissioned in 1999 by UKIE (Office of the Committee for European Integration) to conduct a series of regional studies and (since 2000) monthly measurements of the national attitude to integration or opinions concerning specific matters associated with accession negotiations.

Research types and samples

Out of a total of 125 studies concerned with European issues, 116 have been questionnaires based on samples representing the *entire Polish population*. ³²⁶

Five questionnaire studies were conducted using *selected representative groups* whose attitude to integration was for various reasons particularly significant. These were:

- A CBOS study commissioned by Instytut Spraw Publicznych (Institute of Public Affairs), including the following polls:

*Peasants and rural residents*³²⁷ - justified by the fact that the preparation of domestic agriculture for Poland's membership in the European Union is one of the most important and complex issues, and that peasants constitute the only social group dominated by opponents to integration;

Roman Catholic priests³²⁸ - owing to the influence and authority of the Roman Catholic Church in society;

Managers in banks and companies with Polish and foreign capital³²⁹ - in the context of adapting the banking system to the requirements of integration; *Teachers*³³⁰.

- A study conducted by OBOP: *Small business managers*³³¹.

In addition, there were four in-depth qualitative studies conducted using the *Focus Group Interview* method: one at CBOS (concerning problems associated with the introduction of EU environmental standards in Poland) and three at Pentor (two concerning the sources of knowledge about the European Union and one in which opinions expressed by proponents and opponents of integration were confronted with each other).

Study initiators and principals

CBOS initially operated as a governmental institution. Then, already as a public organisation, it studied European issues mainly within the framework of its own projects, but also accepted commissions from other interested parties. At OBOP, which has become a commercial company only recently after having operated as part of the public radio and television, European issues were studied both as part of its own projects and on commission (in a 50/50 proportion). Pentor, which has been a private enterprise from the beginning, was involved mainly in commissioned studies,

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³²⁶ CBOS and PBS studies used samples representative of the population aged over 18, Pentor - over 15, OBOP (since 1998 - TNS OBOP) in 16 cases - over 15, in the remaining five - over 18. CBOS, OBOP and Pentor selected national samples at random; PBS until June 2000 used the random/quota selection method, since July 2000 - random method. The assumed size of national samples ranged between 1000 and 1500 respondents.

³²⁷ Random sample of rural residents and quota sample of peasants.

³²⁸ Random sample of Roman Catholic parishes.

Targeted sample of 61 banks and companies.

Random sample of schools.

³³¹ Random sample of small businesses.

but it also studied European issues as part of its own regular "attitude gauge" maintained for promotional reasons. PBS conducted only commissioned studies.

Studies were being commissioned mainly by Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej (Office of the Committee for European Integration), which until mid-1990s operated as Biuro Pełnomocnika Rządu ds. Integracji Europejskiej (Office of the Governmental Representative for European Integration), *Rzeczpospolita* daily newspaper (which, since 1994, annually commissioned between one and four studies relative to European integration), Instytut Spraw Publicznych and Telewizja Polska (Polish Public Television). Sporadically, studies associated with the integration topic would be commissioned by other institutions, such as Instytut Badań nad Podstawami Demokracji (Democratic Foundation Research Institute), scientific centres, newspaper and magazine editorial boards, etc.

International comparative studies

The longest running regular comparative international study in Poland (since 1992) is the "Euro-Barometer", the Polish segment of which is executed by Pentor.

In 1999, CBOS initiated a comparative study of the attitude of the Polish, Hungarian and Czech societies to integration. This study is executed jointly with the TA'RKI Research Centre in Budapest and IVVM Research Centre in Prague. It was joined in 2000 by Lithuania and Ukraine (VILMORUS Research Centre in Vilnius and KIIS Centre in Kiev respectively). Initial results of the study constituted the topic of a conference organised in 2000 by Central European Research Group at the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Since 1999, Instytut Spraw Publicznych is involved in a research project entitled "Reciprocal Perceptions of Poles and Residents of the European Union". As of the end of 2000, the following studies have been completed: Poland/Austria, Poland/Germany, Poland/Sweden, Poland/Spain and Poland/ France.

Moreover, in 1999, Pentor had participated in an international research project on European issues, whereas in 2000, TNS OBOP conducted a proprietary international TNS research project in the 11 countries aspiring to membership in the EU (coordinator: TNS Factum in Prague).

Topic areas

Public opinion studies dealing with "European" issues encompassed a wide range of topics. Among them were research projects dealing directly with various aspects of integration issues, as well as projects in which European issues constituted one of the aspects of the researched theme. Principal topics of these studies:

- A. Support for integration. This has been the most frequent topic of research. Questions relative to this area have been regularly asked by all research centres. In the first years of the decade, the questions were usually general "Should Poland pursue a path of integration with the European Union?" Subsequently, they were made more specific and concerned a potential preaccession referendum and how the respondents would vote at it.
- A1. Up to 1998, the support for integration was often studied together with the support for the idea of Poland joining NATO as part of a broader issue of *Poland joining Western economic, political and military institutions*.

- B. Anticipated and desired pace of integration. The following aspects of this issue have been studied: opinion of the distance dividing Poland and the EU, forecasted date of full integration, and perception of the dilemma of whether integration should take place as quickly as possible with a view to inducing economic development and modernisation, or only when the Polish economy achieves a standard comparable with that of the European Union.
- C. Consequences of integration. This has been the broadest topic area next to the support for integration and most often studied. It is often researched in the context of "fears and hopes". Studied issues:
- C1. Forecasted consequences in the context of particular *aspects of life*:
- *economy* particularly agriculture and food supply, industry and, hence, the labour market (threat of the collapse of enterprises and of growing unemployment; but also interest in taking up jobs in EU member-states), attitude toward and anticipated consequences of the inflow of foreign capital. Also its consequences for domestic trade, etc.;
- broadly understood culture customs, level of religiosity, lifestyle;
- C2. Anticipated consequences for particular *social and professional groups* "Who will profit and who will lose out?";
- C3. Anticipated consequences with respect to personal fears and hopes;
- C4. Evaluation of the consequences of introducing *customs and visa regulations on Poland's eastern border* as a result of it becoming the eastern border of the European Union;
- C5. Fears associated with *free trade in land* and real estate;
- C6. Attitude toward other consequences of integration: adaptation of Polish *legal regulations* to EU standards, knowledge of the European Tribunal, impact of integration on *environmental protection*, etc.
- D. *Interest* in and *awareness* of matters associated with integration; information sources;
- E. Issues associated with accession *negotiations*: confidence in Polish negotiators and evaluation of their performance, opinions concerning interim, protection and adaptation periods;
- F. Perception of integration in categories of *interests* for Poland, for current EU member-states and for the EU as a whole;
- G. Perception of integration as an *element of Polish domestic policy*: image of politicians and political parties, place of integration in political programs;
- H. Other issues such as the perception of Poland's place in an unified Europe, self-stereotype of a Pole versus his stereotype of an European, knowledge of and stereotypical opinions about EU member states and their residents.

Conclusions

Integration issues have been present in public opinion research since the beginning of last decade, but only the start of accession negotiations in 1998 has caused a significant growth of the number of public opinion studies conducted in this area. This growth has resulted mainly from the government and other political institutions needing an increasing amount of information relative to social opinions and attitudes with respect to integration, and, on the other hand, from a growing interest in these issues by public opinion itself and the media.

Appendix 4

EUROPEAN INITIATIVES CARRIED OUT BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS. MAIL SURVEY REPORT

The poll questionnaire concerning European initiatives carried out by NGOs was sent by electronic mail, regular mail and fax in late March of the current year to 264 NGOs engaged in such undertakings. Seventy-nine questionnaires were returned, giving a 29.9% response rate.

The questionnaire consisted of two sections. The first section dealt with basic information about NGOs involved in European initiatives in Poland (their legal status, year of establishment, number of employees and collaborators, and budget for the year 2000). The second part of the questionnaire provided for a description and characterisation of these undertakings and their target groups. The resulting data will be presented here in that order.

DESCRIPTION OF NGOS INVOLVED IN EUROPEAN INITIATIVES

Legal status

A decisive majority of NGOs that responded to the poll has a legal status of association or foundation. Out of 79, almost one half are associations, one third - foundations and 3.8% - church organisations.

Year of establishment

Most of these NGOs were established after 1989, hence during the period of systemic transformations. More than one half were established within the first six years of that period (30.3% at its initial stage - between 1989 and 1991, and 25.3% - between 1992 and 1994). The falling rate of the establishment of NGOs carrying out European initiatives seems to be confirmed by the fact that the further 19% were established between 1995 and 1997, and only 8.9% in the past three years, i.e. between 1998 and 2000. Only 11.4% were established before 1989.

Number of employees, collaborators and volunteers

According to poll results, more than one third of NGOs involved in European initiatives (36.7%) are not permanently staffed. In most of those that are, the number of permanent employees does not exceed 10. Although NGOs that provide permanent employment total 46.8% of the polled sample, a decisive majority thereof employs a rather small number of people, i.e. up to five.

Most polled NGOs have permanent collaborators (78.5%) and use volunteers (65.8%). However, as a rule, the number of permanent collaborators does not exceed 10 and only nine polled NGOs declared having more than 50. As for NGOs using the assistance of volunteers, close to one fourth uses no more than 10, one third - from a dozen or so to 50 and 13.9% - more than 50.

Budget in the year 2000

Thirty percent of polled NGOs did not provide the amount of their budget for the year 2000. Out of those that did provide it, one quarter stated that the budget did not exceed PLN 100,000 and 11.4% declared that it exceeded PLN 1,000,000.

Table 1. Year 2000 budget

Amount	No. of responses	Percentage
1. Up to PLN 10,000	9	11.4
2. PLN 10,001-100,000	12	15.2
3. PLN 100,001-500,000	20	25.3
4. PLN 500-001-1,000,000	5	6.3
5. Over PLN 1,000,000	9	11.4
6. No response	24	30.4
Total	79	100.0

This indicates that approx. every fourth NGO carries out European initiatives in Poland on a relatively small budget, whereas 10% have significant resources available for these activities.

CHARACTERISATION OF EUROPEAN INITIATIVES AND THEIR TARGET GROUPS

Dynamics

The data indicates that a decisive majority of 79 polled NGOs (93.7%) carried out European initiatives in the year 2000, most also carried them out in 1999 and 1998, and slightly more than one half during the earlier period, i.e. prior to 1998.

In turn, it may be concluded on the basis of the number of completed initiatives that over 40% of polled NGOs have organised one or two European initiatives in the past three years. The percentage of NGOs that have carried out between three and five initiatives (least frequently in 1998) was somewhat lower. The smallest percentage by far was that of NGOs which have carried out between 11 and 20 initiatives. Whereas before 1998, contrary to the 1998-2000 period, most NGOs have carried out European initiatives three to five times a year (44.2% of responses).

Table 2. Number of completed European initiatives

Year	No. of initiatives			
	1-2	3-10	11-20	21 and up
1. 2000 74 NGOs = 100%	41.9	36.5	10.8	10.8
2. 1999 66 NGOs = 100%	45.4	39.4	6.1	9.1
3. 1998 57 NGOs = 100%	45.6	31.6	19.3	3.5
4. Earlier 43 NGOs = 100%	25.6	44.2	20.9	9.3

A comparison of the number of initiatives carried out in the past three years with that of earlier years indicates that, in the past, a smaller number of NGOs carried out a larger number of initiatives per year. Currently, NGOs most often carry out one or two European initiatives per year, with about 40% of their activities falling into that bracket. The data also shows that the largest number of initiatives carried out in the year 2000 was 40.

TYPES OF INITIATIVES AND THEIR EVALUATION METHODS

Most initiatives carried out by polled NGOs consisted of training sessions and workshops (69.9% of all responses). However, the full list of examples of completed European initiatives also includes much more spectacular undertakings, such as "sport rallies" (5.1% of responses). The results, provided in a descending sequence of the number of responses, are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Types of completed European initiatives

Type of initiative	No. of responses	Percentage*
1. Training sessions, workshops	55	69.6
2. Lectures	45	57.0
3. Debates, discussion meetings	41	51.9
4. Seminars	38	48.1
5. Bound publications (books, brochures,	37	46.8
lecture summaries)		
6. International conferences	32	40.5
7. Cultural events (exhibitions, happenings, etc.)	31	39.2
8. Domestic conferences	30	38.0
9. Quizzes about the European Union	26	32.9
10. Fliers, posters	22	27.8
11. Other activities	36	45.6

^{*} N=79=100% - the percentage does not total up to 100 because respondents were asked to indicate all types of completed activities.

Lectures, followed by debates and discussion meetings, occupy the second and third place on the list of activities most frequently held by polled NGOs, after training sessions and workshops. When the next position on the list - seminars - is added to these activities, then it becomes clear that the decisive majority of undertakings carried out by polled NGOs consisted in activities that led to acquiring or perfecting specific skills (training sessions and workshops), or academic type activities meant to transmit knowledge and exchange opinions (lectures, debates and discussion meetings, seminars). These undertakings were accompanied by publishing activities (particularly bound publications but, to a smaller degree, also print-outs), conferences (both international and domestic), as well as various types of cultural events and competitions about the European Union. This is confirmed by a decisive majority of responses belonging to the "other activities" category. Out of these, 16.4% refer to their undertakings as endeavours aimed at increasing the knowledge of the European Union among the youth, and 17.7% - as endeavours aimed at educating unspecific target groups (but using specific methods, such as setting up reading and information centres, and organising educational fairs and radio shows).

In turn, within the types of activities mentioned above, most frequent ones were again "training sessions and workshops" (49.4% of the total). However, the percentage share of this category within all responses has dropped by 20 percentage points compared to results shown in Table 3. As shown in Table 4, this trend is also characteristic of other activities classified as "carried out most often" and may be used as an argument in favour of the claim that almost any activity carried out by polled NGOs is (or could be) viewed as an European initiative, although this is not necessarily the case.

Table 4. Types of most frequent European initiatives

	Type of initiative	No. of responses	Percentage*
1.	Training sessions, workshops	39	49.4
2.	Debates, discussion meetings	21	26.6
3.	Seminars	18	22.8
4.	Lectures	17	21.5
	International conferences	17	21.5
	Bound publications (books, brochures,		
	lecture summaries)	17	21.5
5.	Quizzes about the European Union	15	19.0
	Domestic conferences	15	19.0
	Cultural events (exhibitions, happenings)	15	19.0
6.	Fliers, posters	4	5.1
7.	Other activities	18	22.8

^{*} N=79=100% - the percentage does not total up to 100 because respondents were asked to indicate three types of activities carried out most often.

In any case, next to the dominating category "training sessions and workshops", the most frequent activities carried out by polled NGOs were debates and discussion meetings, as well as seminars. The fourth position was shared by lectures, international conferences and publishing endeavours, followed by quizzes about the EU, domestic conferences, and cultural events.

According to 79.7% of respondents, these activities were usually subject to evaluation. Most often it was done in the form of verbal comments made to event organisers by participants therein. However, the data shown in Table 5 proves that there were other forms of evaluation.

Table 5. Methods of evaluating initiatives

	Method	No. of responses	Percentage*
1.	Talk with participants	54	68.4
2.	Handing out evaluation sheets to participants	39	49.3
3.	Gathering opinions expressed in the media	35	44.3
4.	Growing number of people interested in	8	10.1
	participating		
5.	Evaluation conducted by a third party	6	7.6

^{*} N=79=100% - the percentage does not total up to 100 because respondents were asked to indicate all types of evaluations conducted.

Other methods included written evaluations provided directly by participants or of gathering opinions about specific initiatives expressed in the media. The data indicates that least popular among NGOs involved in European initiatives were evaluations conducted by persons not involved in their activities.

TARGET GROUPS AND REACH OF EUROPEAN INITIATIVES

European initiatives were most often and primarily addressed to school children and, to a lesser degree, to students and "everybody that was interested".

Table 6. Groups targeted by European initiatives

Target group	No. of responses	Percentage*
1. School children	53	67.1
2. Students	31	39.2
Everybody that is interested	31	39.2
3. Farmers	23	29.1
4. Teachers, scientists	22	27.8
5. Regional government employees	12	15.2
6. Journalists	10	12.7
7. Entrepreneurs, managers	9	11.4
8. Non-governmental organisations	8	10.1
9. Other	20	25.3

^{*} N=79=100% - the percentage does not total up to 100 because respondents were asked to indicate all groups targeted by their initiatives.

As shown by responses in Table 6, other groups targeted by these initiatives included representatives of specific social and professional milieus: farmers, teachers and scientists, regional government employees, journalists, entrepreneurs and managers, and NGO employees.

The data also indicates that the reach of these initiatives was most often local and regional (in 59.5% and 57.0% of cases respectively). The difference in the percentage of responses indicating initiatives with an international and national reach was even smaller - 32.9% for the former and 32.6% for the latter.³³²

Main objectives of European initiatives and methods of ensuring the efficacy of their execution

When describing the main objective of their initiatives, respondents pointed first and most often to education, then to transmittal of information about European integration and finally to promotion of European integration. When looking at the listed types of activities - those carried out "in general" and "most often" - it seems that they correspond to their stated objectives. However, it turns out that the evaluation of the efficacy of these activities, measured by the extent to which their objectives are met, is somewhat different in the experience of polled NGOs.

Table 7. Evaluation of the efficacy of European initiatives

	Activities indicated as effective	No. of responses	Percentage*
1.	Training sessions, workshops	59	74.7
2.	Debates, discussion meetings	40	50.6
3.	Bound publications (books, brochures,	35	44.3
	lecture summaries)		
4.	Cultural events (exhibitions, happenings, etc.)	32	40.5
	Quizzes about the European Union	32	40.5
5.	International conferences	28	35.4
6.	Seminars	26	32.9
7.	Lectures	22	27.8
8.	Fliers, posters	12	15.2
9.	Other activities	22	27.8

^{*} N=79=100% - the percentage does not total up to 100 because respondents were asked to indicate all activities that had best met their objectives.

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³³² The percentage does not total up to 100 because respondents were entitled to provide several answers.

According to this data, training sessions and workshops were considered most effective. They were followed by debates and discussion meetings, whereas other activities did not reach the 50% threshold of responses.

The youth - school children and students - constitute the principal target group of European initiatives. In turn, the main objective of these initiatives is education and transmittal of information about European integration. Therefore, the partial discrepancy between responses to questions regarding all types of initiatives, most frequent initiatives and initiatives evaluated as most effective should not be surprising. The differences registered by the poll are essentially based on an a shift in the position occupied by a given type of activity in each response. The list of undertakings evaluated as most effective is headed by undertakings particularly appealing to the imagination of young people. As it turns out, next to training sessions and workshops as well as debates and discussions, these are first and foremost books, cultural events, and quizzes. Activities such as lectures and seminars fall behind. This is also illustrated by responses included in the "other" category. Indeed, almost one half of these responses refer to activities such as "youth camps", "rallies", or "cross-border events", which from the viewpoint of young people may seem much more interesting than lectures and seminars.

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN EUROPEAN INITIATIVES

Out of 79 polled NGOs, 57 provided numbers of participants in undertakings organised in 1998/2000. These numbers show that initiatives involving less than 100 participants were only sporadic, as were initiatives involving more than 10,000 participants (5.3% of responses in both cases). On the other hand, percentages of responses indicating between 101 and 500 participants, between 501 and 1000 participants, and between 1001 and 5000 participants were almost equal to one another.

Table 8. Number of participants in European initiatives

Number of participants	No. of responses	Percentage
1. up to 100	3	5.3
2. from 101 to 500	15	26.3
3. from 501 to 1000	15	26.3
4. from 1001 to 5000	16	28.1
5. from 5001 to 10,000	5	8.7
6. over 10,000	3	5.3
Total	57	100.0

Respondents were also asked to evaluate the size of the group that participated in initiatives repeatedly. Out of 79 NGOs, 11.4% stated that in their case there was no such group. The next 29.1% found it impossible to estimate the size. But estimates provided by 45 NGOs indicate that the circle of people participating in activities repeatedly rarely exceeded 100 and, to a lesser extent, between 101 and 500. It is interesting to note that 11.1% of polled NGOs stated that the number of people who have taken part in their activities several times exceeded 1000.

Table 9. Size of the group repeatedly participating in European initiatives

Repeat participants	No. of responses	Percentage
1. up to 100	19	42.2
2. from 101 to 500	16	15.6
3. from 501 to 1000	5	11.1
4. over 1000	5	11.1
Total	45	100.0

FUNDING SOURCES

Funds directed by polled NGOs toward European initiatives came mainly from European Union and Polish government institutions. To a lesser extent, the activities were carried out with funds provided by NGOs, local governments and other sources. As shown in Table 10, the sequence of the largest sponsors is also the sequence of institutions and organisations to which polled NGOs have been applying for funds required to conduct their European activities.

Table 10. Current and potential sponsors of European initiatives

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Institutions funding European initiatives		Institutions most often asked to fund European			
			initiatives	ļ •	
1. EU institutions	45	57.0%	1. EU institutions	34	43.0%
2. Central government	44	55.7%	2. Central government	28	35.4%
3. NGOs	38	48.1%	3. NGOs	26	32.9%
4. Other	34	43.0%	4. Other	10	12.7%
5. Local governments	32	40.5%	5. Local governments	13	16.5%
6. Private sponsors	23	29.1%	6. Private sponsors	10	12.7%

^{*} N=79=100% - the percentage does not total up to 100 because in both cases all institutions were indicated.

The data also indicates that 43% of polled NGOs have never been funded by EU institutions, 44.3% - by central government institutions, 51.9% - by NGOs, 59.5% - by local governments, and 70.9% - by private sponsors.

Those NGOs which used funds provided by EU institutions were most often supported by PHARE (32.9% of all responses in this category) and, three times less often, by the European Commission, Cooperation Fund, the Youth for Europe program and other institutions already mentioned in this context, such as the Council of Europe.

In turn, those polled NGOs which were financially supported by central government institutions most often, and almost equally often, used the assistance of Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej (Office of the Committee for European Integration) and individual government ministries (respectively 29.1% and 26.6% of all responses in this category). Among non-governmental organisations, the most frequently mentioned was the Batory Foundation (27.8% of all responses), followed by the Schuman and Adenauer Foundations (8.9% and 7.6% of all responses respectively). It should be added that the three foundations mentioned above did not exhaust the long list of non-governmental organisations that funded or co-funded European initiatives carried out by polled NGOs. The list contains 24 organisations of this type, but others than the indicated three were mentioned only sporadically.

DIFFICULTIES ASSOCIATED WITH CARRYING OUT EUROPEAN INITIATIVES

A quality/type analysis of responses describing most frequent difficulties associated with carrying out European undertakings enables to divide them into four groups. The first group consists of difficulties associated with the shortage of available funds, the second - lack of interest, the third poor communication, and the fourth - insufficient experience.

The first group, most numerous by far, contains responses in which difficulties associated with carrying out European initiatives are mostly associated with financial problems. Shortage of money, continuous problems with getting funds, difficulties in obtaining funding, limited operating resources³³³ - these are typical responses exemplifying problems most often faced by NGOs involved in European initiatives. Within this group of responses, next to brief and laconic statements there were also comments attempting to elaborate on the causes of these financial troubles. It turns out that difficulties with funding were most often caused by delays in payments of successive subsidy instalments, funding instability, the mess associated with getting funding from the EU, which in turn was a consequence of the absence of proper procedures, overly complicated terms of granting financial assistance which are ill-adapted to Polish reality, government institutions messing things up when handling European funds, or continued excessive interference by government officials in the implementation of projects, combined with their total ignorance of actual needs. Statements quoted here seem to indicate that, in the experience of polled NGOs, a significant share of their financial problems was a consequence of a badly functioning bureaucracy and, at least in part, unclear terms of directing public funds to this type of activities.

Responses belonging to the second group blamed the difficulties associated with carrying out European initiatives on the lack of interest in the broad meaning of the term demonstrated by both potential recipients and sponsors of these undertakings. As it turns out, these undertakings evoked little interest among students and teachers or relatively low interest... among members of our association and other potential participants. It also happened at times that organisers met with an absence of interest among participants or their undertakings were accompanied by an absence of interest among a portion of the population. At times it was not the absence of interest that was the main problem but a negative attitude of the participants themselves, particularly in rural settings, where some farmers came to training sessions with their mind made up as to integration with the European Union being a plot the organisation had devised to destroy Polish agriculture. Moreover, potential sponsors of European initiatives - state institutions, public agencies or local governments - demonstrated a lack of interest in or a downright dislike of European issues.

Sometimes difficulties associated with carrying out European initiatives were a consequence of the absence of specific information, shortage of reliable information on the topic of European integration, lack of access to information materials or lack of appropriate materials published in Polish. Once these comments are broadened by those which make a direct connection between these difficulties and the language barrier, then it becomes obvious that they were a consequence of poor communication.

Finally, as indicated by responses belonging to the fourth group, difficulties also resulted from the inexperience of organisations that carried out European initiatives. On one hand, this inexperience refers to both inexperience in fundraising and inexperience in finding foreign partners. On the other, it is expressed, for example, in the difficulty of finding specialised instructors or inability to convince service recipients of the indispensability of adapting to EU requirements. Let us hope that organisations carrying out European initiatives quickly acquire the latter ability for the sake of us all.

³³³ Italics indicate directly quoted statements provided by respondents to the poll. PE 323.195

SUMMARY OF POLL RESULTS

- 1. Most organisations participating in the poll were associations or foundations established between 1989 and 1994. As a rule, they had few staff positions but used permanent collaborators and assistance of volunteers.
- 2. Most NGOs that have been involved in European undertakings in the past three years have carried out one or two initiatives per year. These initiatives consisted predominantly of training sessions and workshops, followed by academic-type activities such as lectures, debates, discussion meetings and seminars. Most of the time they were subject to evaluation in the form of opinions transmitted to organisers by participants either orally or in writing.
- 3. Groups targeted by initiatives that most often had a local or regional reach primarily included school children, then students and finally "all interested" individuals. Farmers and teachers were targeted somewhat more often than other social and professional groups.
- 4. Principal objectives of European initiatives were associated firstly with education, secondly with transmittal of information about European integration and thirdly with promotion of European integration.
- 5. The number of participants in European initiatives was only rarely lower than 100 and as rarely exceeded 10,000. Most often it fell into the 100-5000 bracket. Most NGOs had a group of repeat participants in their European initiatives, but their number usually did not exceed 100.
- 6. Financial resources put toward European initiatives most often came from European Union and government institutions, as well as NGOs. This was also the sequence of organisations and institutions to which polled NGOs applied for funding required to conduct their European undertakings. At the same time, close to one half of these NGOs have never used grants from EU or government institutions, and a little over one half have never used NGO grants.
- 7. Difficulties most often encountered in carrying out European initiatives resulted first and foremost from the shortage of appropriate financial resources, followed by the lack of interest among potential participants, poor communication and, finally, inexperience of a certain proportion of organisers of these activities.

Appendix 5

Public awareness and information needs concerning Poland's integration with the European Union.

REPORT FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE IN POLAND

Warsaw, 2001

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MAIN RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Knowledge of the integration of Poland into the European Union

The Poles assess their own state of knowledge of the integration of Poland into the European Union (EU) as very poor. Over ³/₄ of Poles (75 %) admit that their present information on the subject is far from being satisfactory, and only 17 % claim that it is quite sufficient. This negative evaluation can be warranted by the fact that the comprehension of the EU terminology covered by the media is more than modest. Whereas the majority of Poles declare that they have heard of concepts such as, *Common Agricultural Policy*, "free transfer of goods, services, people, and capital", or "direct subsidies for farmers" (although only one in five of the respondents claim that they understand the actual meaning), the same majority admit that they are not familiar with terms such as, "Schengen Treaty", "acquis communautaire", and "information society". Half of the Poles are not aware of the exact number of member states, and almost half do not know where the European Commission has its head office.

The level of information on the EU and its functioning is not proportionate to the support for integration. Both the supporters and the opponents of the integration have the same level of knowledge of this subject. At the same time, those who have already adopted a certain view on the integration (either positive or negative) are much better informed on the subject than those who have not decided yet what their vote would be in a referendum or those who would not vote at all.

Social interest in the integration issues

The social interest in Poland's integration into the EU seems to be relatively small, and although over the past few months the most controversial issues have been debated, the interest has not considerably grown since last year. Only half of the respondents seem to be interested in the integration issue, and only 10 % of the interviewed declare deep interest in the subject. The remaining 40 % admit that their interest is infinitesimal.

The level of social interest in the integration issue is crucial for the turnout in the future Referendum of Accession. 13 % of the respondents who are interested in the EU integration, 39 % of the interviewed who are slightly interested, and 73 % of those who are not interested at all refuse to participate in the Referendum.

It is evident that people who already know how they will vote in the future referendum, either for or against Poland's integration into the EU, are far more interested in the subject than those who still have not made up their minds or those who have refused to participate in the referendum at all. Furthermore, the supporters of Poland's membership of the EU seem better informed and more keenly interested in the integration issue than its opponents. Thus, it can be expected that it will be more difficult to pass the relevant information to the group of opponents than to the supporters.

The interest in Poland's membership of the EU follows from the belief that it will greatly affect both the overall socio-political situation of the country and the personal situation of Polish citizens. The lack of interest in the EU integration follows from the lack of identification with the politicians and the political aspect of life. People not paying attention to the European integration argue that it partly results from their lack of interest in politics as such and partly from the belief that they have no influence on the nature and character of the integration. This last argument seems to hinder most people from the even slightest manifestation of their interest, such as active participation in the Referendum of Accession.

One of the signs of interest in the integration issue are frequent discussions on this subject among family members, friends, colleagues, and neighbours. The fact that this topic can be found in informal conversations demonstrates, even more clearly than direct declarations, that a number of people are lively interested in this issue. 46 % of the respondents claim that they frequently talk about the EU integration; as much as 80 % of those who declare that they discuss the problem with other family members and friends did this during last month.

The lack of interest in political issues of a significant part of the Polish public opinion remains a significant obstacle to the popularisation of the knowledge on integration. It is therefore important to bring integration closer to the sphere of everyday experience by pointing out its concrete consequences for Poland and the Poles.

THE SENSE OF BEING INFORMED ABOUT THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The Poles assess the level of their own knowledge concerning the European integration as being relatively poor. Only one in five of the Poles feel well-informed (18 %), 2/3 of the respondents feel ill- or even extremely ill-informed, and only 14 % declare that they have no knowledge on the subject.

The sense of being informed about integration issues depends on the intensity of interest in the topic. The greater interest in Poland's accession to the EU, the better-informed the respondents feel. However, a great number of people declaring keen interest in the integration (who are, presumably, more active in their search for the information) claim poor and rather skimpy knowledge of the subject. It means that even these people who are willing to broaden their knowledge of this issue not always find it easy to gain adequate and sufficient information on Poland's future membership of the EU.

The feeling of being well-informed encourages in the first place the willingness to take part in the referendum of accession, and in a lesser degree the support for integration. 14 % of those who are well-informed, 29 % of those ill-informed, and as much as 70 % of those who feel a complete lack of relevant information, refuse to take part in the referendum. Among the well-informed prevail the supporters of integration, whereas among the ill- or not informed the proportion between the supporters and opponents is equal. It follows that only a sense of having a good knowledge of integration issues is conducive to the support for Poland's membership of the EU.

ASSESSMENT OF THE INFORMATION ABOUT EU INTEGRATION IN THE MEDIA

The poor knowledge of the issue of integration is due not only to scant interest of the society in Poland's membership of the EU, but also to an inadequate performance of the institutions which should widely disseminate information on the subject, i.e. the media.

Only one in four among the Poles are satisfied with the amount of information on the integration issue covered by the media. More than every second person (51 %) complain about the scarcity of relevant information, whereas only a few respondents (3 %) complain about the excess of the information on Poland's accession to the EU. However, both supporters and opponents of the European integration (i.e. the people who are directly interested in the problem and whose demand for the factual and exhaustive information is the greatest) report the insufficiency in reliable and satisfactory information on this issue. By contrast, people not interested in European integration seldom complain about the lack of adequate and sufficient information.

Opinions on the quality of information about Poland's membership of the EU are divergent, both critical and favourable, but the former are prevalent. The clarity of information is criticised most frequently; over half of the respondents (51 %) claim that the relevant information in the media is unclear and inaccurate. More than 2/5 of the interviewed question its credibility and reliability, further 2/5 find it boring and uninteresting. The quality of the available information is criticised more frequently by the opponents of the European integration than its supporters.

The critical attitudes towards the integration issue point to the urgent need for improvement in both quality and availability of relevant information, so that those interested could broaden their knowledge of this subject.

ACTUAL AND FAVOURED SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE INTEGRATION ISSUE

The main source of information is television. TV programmes are widely accessible, making the information available even for people less interested in EU integration. TV programmes constitute the main source of information for 89 % of the respondents, while 79 % of the interviewed prefer to obtain the relevant information through TV. The remaining reported sources of information are in turn: radio, press, brochures, and various educational meetings.

The analysis concerning the favoured sources of information on Poland's membership of the EU shows that the TV and radio information should be complemented with more detailed and comprehensive programmes fully devoted to integration issues. 12 % and 37 % of the respondents claim that TV programmes constitute their basic and favoured, respectively, sources of information. As much as 2/3 of the interviewed point that they would be interested in a new cyclic TV programme covering the issues of the EU integration. The same can be said about radio programmes, which constitute the source of information on this topic for 9 % of the respondents. 18 % of the interviewed would like to gain the relevant information through radio programmes.

The information covered by the press meets the needs of the society: as much as 45 % and 43 % of the respondents recognise the press as the main, and as the favoured source of information on the EU integration, respectively. Although the general interest in the magazines devoted to European issues is realtively small, the demand for them is still higher than the supply, which means that such magazines should be made more broadly accessible.

The research demonstrated that various brochures, fliers, and other guides pertaining to the EU integration should be assigned greater roles than they have been so far. At present, 7 % and 24 % of the respondents consider brochures as the main and the preferred source of information, respectively.

Furthermore, direct ways of obtaining relevant information should be made more accessible, such as: meetings, workshops, and seminars, as again the demand exceeds the supply. Only 5 % of the respondents have attended a similar seminar or meeting, whereas every fourth would like to participate in a similar workshop but there have been no such opportunity.

CREDIBILITY OF THE INSTITUTIONS INFORMING ABOUT EU INTEGRATION

Planning an educational campaign on the integration issues, it would be advisable to take into consideration the credibility of institutions disseminating the information on this subject. Moreover, it should be taken into account that particular sections of society should be accessed through different institutions, as the trust they enjoy and the respect they are paid vary from group to group.

According to public opinion, it is the institutions not linked to the EU and to the political aspect of life which are most reliable and at the same time most entitled to disseminating the relevant data and information. The respondents have enumerated among similar institutions and organisations the mass media, academic institutions and schools, as well as agricultural chambers and agricultural advisory centres. Similarly, the Church seems to play a special role here, and although it is relatively rarely perceived as the favoured source of information on the integration issue, it is certainly considered to be quite credible, especially among certain social groups.

However, it does not mean that the governmental institutions specialising in the EU issues or the EU institutions in Poland have no function. However, they should exert great impact on the selected groups of opinion-makers, such as managers, intelligentsia, people with university degree, and private entrepreneurs. Among these groups EU institutions enjoy the highest level of confidence.

ASPECTS OF EU INTEGRATION WHICH MEET WITH THE GREATEST INTEREST

The educational campaign should concentrate on the most crucial issues concerning Poland's membership of the EU. Simultaneously, it should be emphasised that the social interest in this respect is not limited to the possible advantages resulting from the integration but also comprises the related challenges. The main areas of interest focus on the socio-economic effects of the EU integration and the Poles' future rights. The most important issue is that of the effect which the EU integration will have on the level of unemployment in Poland as well as on the conditions and opportunities of employment for the Poles in other member states. Moreover, the Poles would like to know more about the situation of Polish agriculture once in the EU and about the effect the integration will exert on their living conditions and the level of their earnings. The question of land purchase in Poland by EU citizens seem to be missing from the list of EU-related issues concerning the Poles. Similarly, relatively few people are interested in the broader cultural aspects of the European integration – its impact on the social status of women, the position of the Catholic Church and other religious groups.

The attitude towards EU integration and towards Poland's membership of the EU varies across different socio-demographic and occupational groups, and thus reflects what is most important for the particular sections of society. The younger the respondent is, the more interested he/she is in the effects of EU integration on the level of unemployment and employment opportunities for the Poles in other member states. The future of Polish agriculture causes concern mostly among Polish farmers, people employed on farms, and among the inhabitants of Polish villages in general, whereas the development of Polish economy after joining the EU constitutes a matter of greatest interest for private entrepreneurs'

INTRODUCTION

The survey conducted by the Institute for Public Affairs for the Representative Office of the European Commission in Poland was performed throughout Poland by Pracownia Badań Społecznych (Social Studies Center) on 19-20 May 2001. Its purpose was to establish the level of knowledge about the European Union, interest and degree of information among Poles on the subject of Poland's integration with the organization. The following detailed issues were addressed:

- participation and declarations regarding voting in a possible referendum on Poland's accession to the European Union
- knowledge about the European Union
- level of interest in matters related to Poland's integration with the European Union
- motives for interest in Poland's integration with the European Union
- motives for interest in European issues and indifference towards them
- evaluation of the level of knowledge about Poland's integration with the European Union
- assessment of the information about integration available in the media
- most important sources of information about integration
- preferred sources of information about integration
- credibility of the institutions which disseminate information about integration
- the most important spheres of interest in integration issues

PARTICIPATION IN THE REFERENDUM AND LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR INTEGRATION

62% of those polled intend to participate in the referendum on Poland's accession to the European Union, while only 34% declare that they will certainly participate. Although in all democratic countries a portion of the citizens distance themselves from public issues and abstain from elections and plebiscites, the percentage of persons who currently intend to participate (especially firm participants) must be considered relatively low. It is even slightly lower than a year ago when 67% of those polled declared participation in the referendum (and 38% were certain).

Table 1. Declarations regarding participation in the referendum on integration (per cent)

Would you participate in	a referendum on Poland's acco	ession to the European Union if it were to be
held next Sunday:		
	June 2000	May 2001
Certainly yes	38%	34%
Probably yes	31%	28%
Probably not	16%	15%
Certainly not	11%	17%
Difficult to tell	4%	5%

It may be assumed that as the perspective of joining the European Union becomes shorter the numbers of those willing to participate in the referendum will grow. Usually, the closer the voting day in an election or referendum, the greater the public awareness and more numerous declarations of participation. The referendum on integration is still fairly distant in time and is even unknown when and whether it will take place, thus it fails to arouse lively emotions. Moreover, the question of integration is only becoming a politically contentious issue. However, this does not change the fact that for the time being all the key political forces in Poland declare their support for integration policy.

The declarations of those polled must be treated carefully also for the reason that normally actual participation in elections is lower than expressed declarations. In both the referenda held so far in the III Republic (about universal appropriation and approval for the constitution) it did not exceed 50% event though many more of those eligible expressed their intention to participate. The failure of both the referenda held so far (considering the high rate of abstention) does not prejudice the level of participation on the integration referendum. At the present stage declarations of participation should be treated more as an indication of interest in integration issues or a measure of civic attitude than a forecast of participation in voting.

The persons who declare their intention to participate in the referendum (60%) are predominantly in favour of Poland joining the European Union, while 24% of those

polled wish to vote against integration. During the last year support for Poland's membership in the Union fell by 7 percentage points. At the same time the number of opponents of integration grew by 6 points. This means that the number of integration supporters who intend to support it in the referendum in the entire society fell from 49% in June 2000 to 40% at present (May 2001). The percentage of opponents over the same period grew from 13% to 16%.

Table 2. Declarations of persons who intend to participate in the referendum regarding the manner of voting (per cent)

How would you vote in such a referendum:					
	June 2000	May 2001			
In favour of Poland joining the European Union	67%	60%			
Against Poland joining the European Union	18%	24%			
Difficult to tell	15%	16%			

Table 3. Declarations of all those polled regarding their participation and manner of voting in the referendum (per cent)

Participation and manner of voting in an integration referendum	June 2000	May 2001
Persons voting in favour of Poland joining the EU	49%	41%
Persons voting against Poland joining the EU	13%	16%
Persons who declare abstention from the referendum	27%	32%
Persons undecided about whether and how they will vote	11%	10%

Declarations of those polled regarding their participation and voting in the accession referendum are primarily differentiated by age and social status (education, professional and social group).

Table 4. Declarations regarding the participation and voting in the integration referendum by education (per cent)

,	Declarations regarding participation and voting in the integration referendum					
	In favour of	Against Poland	Difficult to tell, do	Will not		
Education	Poland joining the	joining the	not know yet	participate in the		
	European Union	European Union		referendum		
Elementary	29	16	14	41		
Vocational	40	17	10	34		
Secondary	52	16	9	23		
Higher	61	14	6	19		

Table 5. Declarations regarding participation and voting in the integration referendum by age (per cent)

	Declarations regarding participation and voting in the integration referendum						
	In favour of	Against Poland	Difficult to tell, do	Will not			
Age	Poland joining the	joining the	not know yet	participate in the			
	European Union	European Union		referendum			
18-24 years	55	12	11	22			
25-39 years	44	19	9	28			
40-59 years	41	14	13	32			
Over 59 lat	27	19	9	45			

Integration enjoys most support among persons with secondary and higher education and young people (under 24). The most unlikely to support it in an accession referendum are persons with elementary education and elderly people (over 59). Among social and professional groups the most frequent to vote for Poland joining the Euoropean Union are higher ranking officials and professionals (66%) as well as secondary school and university students. Supporters of integration are least frequently found among farmers and persons employed on farms. These are the groups where declarations of rejection (27 and 36% respectively) are more frequent than support in the referendum (24 and 29% respectively).

Moreover, the older and the less educated the respondents and the lower their social status, the more declarations of abstention from the referendum. For the sake of comparison 14% of high ranking officials and professionals do not intend to vote, 18% of white collar workers, and as many as 49% of the unemployed and 41% of farmers.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN UNION

Those polled give a decidedly negative opinion about the level of their own knowledge about integration. Only 17% of those polled believe at "for today" they possess sufficient knowledge of the subject. On the other hand nearly one third (30%) of those polled believe that "for today" their knowledge of integration is insufficient and nearly half (46%) describe it as "probably insufficient".

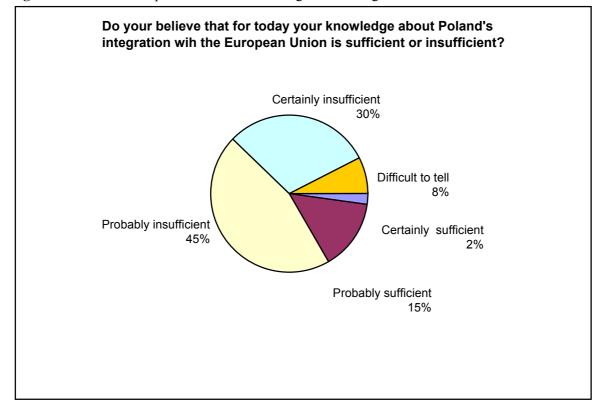


Fig.1 Assessment of respondent's own knowledge about integration

The assessment of current knowledge about integration rises systematically alongside the level of education of those polled. Only one in ten of those polled (11%) with elementary education is satisfied with their level of knowledge, one in seven (15%) with vocational education, one in five (22%) with secondary education and one in three (33%) with higher education. Another differentiating factor seems to be age – the line here is around 40 years. Below that line every one in five believes his level of knowledge to be sufficient, above it one in eight.

Supporters of integration evaluate their level of knowledge higher than its opponents. The difference in assessment of ones own knowledge about integration seems greater between the supporters of integration and those undecided on how to vote as well as those who declare abstention. However, this consists only in the fact that those polled in the latter two groups are more likely to be unable to decide whether their level of knowledge is satisfactory or not than those with a clear, positive or negative, attitude.

Table 6. Attitude towards integration and the assessment of ones knowledge on the subject (per cent)

	Attitude towards integration			
Do you consider your knowledge about Poland's integration with the European Union sufficient or insufficient for today?	Supporters	Opponents	Undecided	Not intending to vote
	Per cent			
Sufficient (certainly + probably)	22	15	11	12
Insufficient (certainly + probably)	75	81	78	73
Difficult to tell	3	4	11	15

Regardless of possessed knowledge about integration those polled assessed their awareness of seven concepts and terms related to the governing principles of the European Union which are frequently found in mass media. This was aimed at determining both acquaintance as well as understanding of their meaning.

Table 7. Awareness of concepts related to the operation of the European Union (per cent)

	Have you heard it and do you know what it means or not?					
Concept	Heard and	Heard but am	Heard but	Never heard	Difficult	
	know what	not sure what it	do not	this concept	to tell	
	it means	means	know what			
			it means			
Common Agricultural Policy	22	33	20	20	5	
Free movement of goods,	20	29	20	26	5	
services, persons and capital						
Direct subsidies for farmers	18	27	23	26	6	
Structural funds	8	17	23	46	6	
Information society	8	11	14	55	12	
Schengen Agreement	4	6	14	68	8	
Acquis communautaire	2	3	6	79	11	

Those polled seem to be to a certain extent acquainted with three terms, "Common Agricultural Policy", "free movement of goods, services, persons and capital" and "direct subsidies for farmers". Only one in five had never heard about the Common Agricultural Policy, and one in four about the free movement of goods, services, persons and capital. About one in five of those polled declares that he knows what these terms mean. The remaining terms are completely unknown to from slightly more than half (55% for the information society) to nearly four fifths (79% for acquis communautaire). It is particularly noteworthy that over two thirds (68%) replied that they never heard about the Schengen Agreement, even thought the absence of the visa requirement is frequently made use of and has been applied to Poland as a result of that agreement.

The knowledge of individual terms depends, obviously, on the level of education of those polled. Hence farmers belong to the group with the lowest awareness of the terms which refer to the principles that apply directly to them. Every one in three never heard the term "direct subsidies for farmers", and nearly as many (31) never heard about the "Common Agricultural Policy".

Moreover, the knowledge of terms such as "free movement of goods, services, persons and capital", "structural funds" and "information society" is progressively higher among the younger respondents while the awareness of the remaining four terms does not depend on age.

Those polled who have a declared attitude towards integration, are supporters or opponents of it, have a more or less equal level of knowledge about the governing principles of the European Union. Persons who are undecided about how to vote are less well informed, while those who intend to abstain from the integration referendum have the least knowledge. Therefore it cannot be concluded that opposition to Poland joining the European Union arises from ignorance of the governing principles of the Union. On the other hand lack of knowledge is often combined with lack of decision or indifference towards integration.

Table 8. Attitude towards integration and knowledge of the terms related to the operation of the European

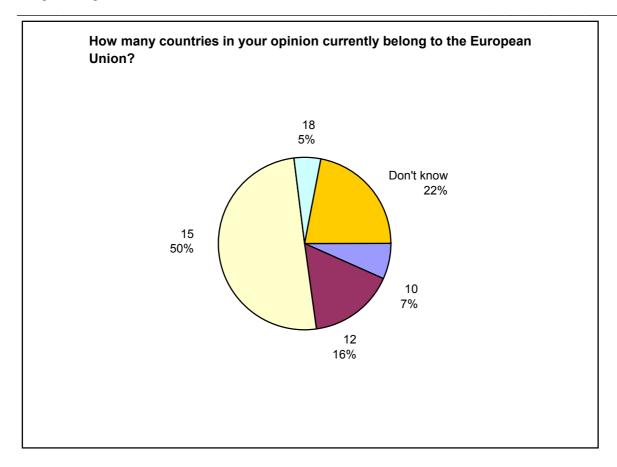
Union (per cent)

Avianda damanda internation									
	Attitude	Attitude towards integration							
	Supporte	rs	Opponer	nts	Undecide	Undecided		Not intending to	
							vote	_	
Term	Know	Never	Know	Never	Know	Never	Know	Never	
	what it	heard the	what it	heard	what it	heard the	what it	heard	
	means	term	means	the term	means	term	means	the term	
Common	27	14	25	13	18	22	15	30	
agricultural policy									
Free movement of	28	19	19	19	19	25	12	39	
goods, services,									
persons and capital									
Direct subsidies for	22	19	21	19	19	29	11	36	
farmers									
Structural funds	11	35	9	45	6	46	5	60	
Information society	12	48	7	54	6	52	3	65	
Schengen	6	61	5	65	1	73	1	77	
Agreement									
Acquis	3	78	1	79	1	80	1	80	
communautaire									

Knowledge of the European Union was also investigated by means of three quiz questions: "How many countries currently belong to the EU?", "Which of the countries (of the five mentioned in the questionnaire) do not belong to this organization?", and "Where is the seat of the European Commission located?"

The question about the number of countries belonging to this organization was answered correctly by 51% of those polled (71% in the group with higher education, 40% with elementary). Slightly more than one in five of those polled (22%) replied that they do not know how many countries currently belong to the European Union and the rest gave incorrect answers.

Fig. 2 Number of countries currently belonging to the European Union



A relatively large group of those polled (42%) know that Switzerland is not a Union member. However, the fact that Norway is not a European Union country is much less well known – only one in five pointed to Norway as a non EU country. Every one in three (31%) replied "don't know" to the question, and Austria (9%), Spain (6%) and Great Britain (4%) were also indicated.

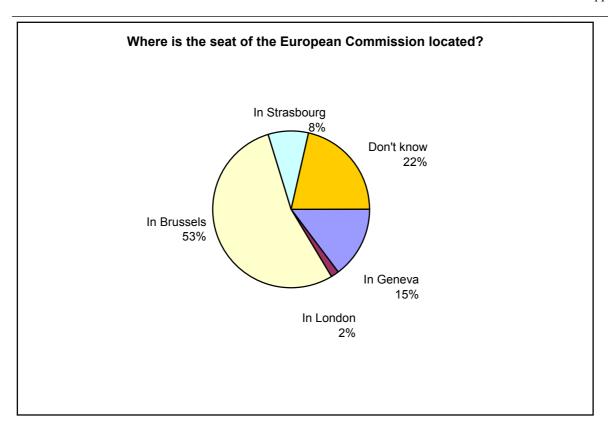
Table 9. Countries which do not belong to the European Union (per cent)

Which of the countries listed below do not belong to the European Union? ³³⁴	
Switzerland	42%
Norway	20%
Austria	9%
Spain	6%
Great Britain	4%
Difficult to tell	
	31%

The seat of the European Commission was correctly indicated by half of those polled (54%)

Fig. 3 Seat of the European Commission

³³⁴ The sum of percentages exceeds 100 because those polled could give more than one answer to the question PE 323.195 164



The knowledge of Polish society about the European Union is hardly impressive. In particular the ignorance about the seat of the European Commission is noteworthy in a situation when in all news and published information about European issues the word "Brussels" is used almost synonymously with the Union.

An index of correct answers has been compiled on the basis of responses to the three questions.

Table 10. Index of knowledge about the European Union

Number of correct answers	
0	23%
1	23%
2	24%
3	25%
4	5%

Only one in twenty of those polled was capable of indicating all the correct answers while four times as many could not point to a single one, despite the fact that the questions referred to relatively simple matters. This result can be interpreted as a measure of ignorance of "European" matters. It seems however to be a symptom of a more general phenomenon which does not only relate to issues connected with Poland's integration with the European Union. It seems to rev eal a low degree of interest and hence knowledge of concrete issues, the entire sphere of international policy, everything that goes beyond domestic problems which are treated as directly influencing people's standards of living. It also shows the wide range of the attitude characterized by distance from not only Union matters but all international information in general. If this intuition is correct, it would indicate a low level of conviction that the question of "integration" is anything more than an issue of "pure" international politics.

A comparison of the index of knowledge with the attitude towards integration yields very interesting results.

Table 11. Index of knowledge about the EU in groups differentiated by their attitude towards integration (per cent)

	Index of kn	Index of knowledge (number of correct answers)				
Attitude towards integration	0	1	2	3	4	
Supporters	14	22	27	31	7	
Opponents	12	20	26	36	6	
Undecided	32	31	16	17	4	
Passive	37	24	21	16	2	

As in the case of knowledge of terms connected with the functioning of the European Union, the supporters and opponents of integration do not differ substantially from each other with respect to their knowledge about selected facts of the European Union. On the other hand the persons who are undecided about how to vote in a possible referendum and those who do not intend to participate in it are characterized by a much lower level of knowledge.

The state of knowledge of the Polish society about matters related to Poland's integration with the European Union is meager – both subjectively – based on one's own assessment, as well as objectively – based on the knowledge of the terms used by the media which refer to the operation of the Union as well as certain basic facts such as the number of members and seat of the governing bodies.

At the same time the results of the survey indicate that persons who have a clear opinion, be it positive or negative, on Poland's integration with the Union are much better informed than others, but do not differ from each other with respect to the level of knowledge. Hence opposition to integration is not derived from ignorance. Ignorance on the other hand is connected with lack indecision as to what position to take in the referendum, and with an unwillingness to participate in it.

INTEREST IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION ISSUES

The accession of Poland to the European Union shall define the country's future for several decades. Considering the importance of this project public interest in the issue must be perceived as insignificant. Only about half of those polled express any interest in the matter of Poland's joining the European Union, while only one in ten claims to have a keen interest in the subject. The remaining 40% of those polled display only a slight interest.

The degree of interest in integration has not changed over the last year.

Table 12. Interest in integration issues (per cent)

Are you interested in matters concerning Poland's integration (accession) to the European Union?						
June 2000 May 2001						
Very interested	7	10				
A little interested	41	40				
Not really interested	31	30				
Completely uninterested	19	18				
Difficult to tell	2	2				

If we look at the social and demographic features of those polled interest in integration is connected primarily with education. The higher the education the more frequent the declarations of interest in the subject. Over three quarters of persons with higher education and nearly 2/5 of those polled with elementary education declare an interest. Such huge differences in the level of interest in integration on account of education is a result of the fact that education is a strong factor in determining the level of interest in politics and public life in general. Better educated persons usually have a greater interest in politics and display a higher level of civic activity. Among social and professional groups high ranking officials, professional and white collar workers display the highest level of interest, while qualified workers, trade and services employees and farmers are the least interested.

Table 13. Interest in integration and education (per cent)

1 4010 101 111101001 111 1	Tuble 10: Interest in integration and education (per cent)							
	Are you inte	Are you interested in matters concerning Poland's integration (accession) to						
	the E	the European Union?						
Education	Very	Very A little Not really Completely Difficult to tell						
	interested interested uninterested							
Elementary	8	30	32	28	3			
Vocational	8	39	33	19	1			
Secondary	14	51	25	8	2			
Higher	19	57	20	3	1			

The level of interest in integration is vital for the participation in the future accession referendum. Not more than 13% of those polled who express an interest in integration declare abstention from the referendum, while a significant portion of those not really interested (39%) will abstain and a vast majority (73%) of those completely uninterested.

Taking as a starting point the declarations of those polled regarding participation in the referendum and their manner of voting it may be stated that most of those who do not intend to participate are not interested in integration, and nearly half of those who are not certain how they will vote. Supporters of Poland's membership in the European Union are slightly more interested in these matters than its opponents. More difficulties may thus be expected in reaching the opponents of integration with information on the subject than in the case of supporters.

Table 14. Declarations regarding participation and voting in the integration referendum and interest in integration issues (per cent).

	Interest in integ	gration issues	
Declarations regarding participation and voting in an	Yes	No	Difficult to tell
integration referendum			
In favour of Poland joining the European Union	71	28	1
Against Poland joining the European Union	61	38	1
Difficult to tell, don't know yet	47	49	4
Will not participate in the referendum	20	77	3

Interest in integration issues to a large extent is derived from a conviction that it will have important consequences both on a national as well as personal level. Persons who declare an interest in the question of Poland's joining the European Union definitely more often justify it by stating that integration will have a great influence both on the situation in the country as well as on their own life. 2/5 of those polled pointed to each of these two reasons. More, one in every five of those polled is interested in integration because of its expected results for his place of employment, company or farm. Similarly, one in every five believe that it is their civic duty to be interested in integration. The same number explain their interest in integration by the fact that they would like to benefit from the rights vested on the Poles by membership. The smallest group (7%) motivate their interest in integration by the wish to make the right decision while voting.

Table 15. Motivation for interest in integration (per cent)

cate two main reasons
45%
42%
22%
21%
21%
10%
7%
3%

The conviction that Poland's entry into the European Union will have an influence on the situation in the country as well as on people's standard of living are the two most often quoted reasons for interest in integration among nearly all social and demographic groups. Workers and agricultural labourers are an exception here, they are most interested in the future of their farms in the Union, as well as private entrepreneurs, who most of all wish to know what lies in stall for their business after integration and would like to benefit from the same rights as other Union citizens. Elderly people (over 59), old age and sick pensioners, are less frequently convinced that integration will have any impact on their life, they more often admit that interest in integration is a civic duty and is a consequence of their interest in politics in general.

A lack of interest in the integration process is to a large extend an expression of a distant attitude towards the entire political sphere. Persons who are not interested in European integration explain their indifference most often generally by a lack of interest in politics (36%). More than one in four of those polled (27%) agreed that integration is an issue in the domain of politicians and not ordinary people. These opinions are very disturbing because they reflect a feeling of political alienation, lack of identification with political elites and their goals. This approach can in consequence lead to a rejection of the integration process. The following were among the reasons for a lack of interest in Poland's accession to the European Union that were most often indicated:

Table 16. Motives for a lack of interest in integration (per cent)

Why are you not interested in Poland's joining the European Union? Please indicate not more than			
two main reasons.			
I am not interested in politics in general.	36		
Politicians will decide about integration anyway, ordinary people will not			
have any influence.	27		
I have no time to take an interest, I have more important problems.	25		
These matters are too difficult for me to understand.	20		
It is too early to take an interest in integration because it will be a long time			
before Poland joins the European Union.	12		
Poland's accession to the European Union will not have an important			
influence on my life.	10		
Poland's accession to the European Union will not cause any major changes			
in the country.	4		
Difficult to tell.	6		

The motives for a lack of interest in issues related to Poland's accession to the European Union are differentiated by age and education. Persons with the lowest level of education and over 59 years old are more likely to indicate a lack of interest in politics and inability to understand integration matters. Better educated and younger respondents (up to 24 years old) relatively more often point to the fact that ordinary people have no influence on the integration process and the distance time frame.

The presence of integration as a subject of people's conversations with their family, friends, colleagues and neighbours may be one of the indicators of interest in integration. While declarations on participation in a possible referendum on the subject may be considered to reflect civic attitudes, the willingness to discuss Poland's accession to the European Union in every day, informal chat in a more distinct manner may be an indication of emotional involvement. The former may be considered as an element of public discourse, while the latter of private discourse.

The percentage of those polled who admit they occasionally discuss integration with family and friends is lower that the percentage of persons who intend to vote in the accession referendum. Poland's entry into the European Union is therefore a subject for conversation for less than half (46%) of those polled.

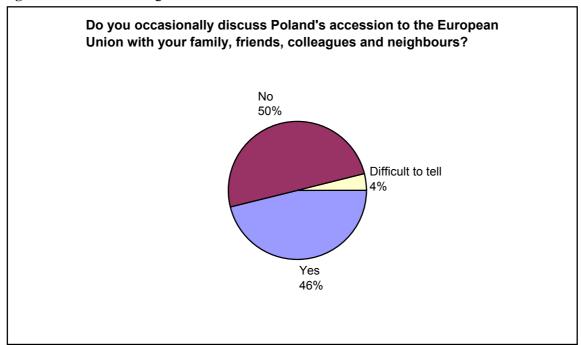


Fig. 4 Discussions on integration.

More men than women discuss integration. Higher education and social status favour such discussions. 39% of those polled with elementary education and 64% with higher education talk about Poland joining the Union with their family and friends. Among social and professional groups high ranking officials, professionals, white collar workers, private entrepreneurs and secondary school and university students discuss the subject. The least frequent to talk about integration are unskilled workers, trade and services employees, as well as persons who are professionally passive such as unemployed, pensioners and housewives.

Table 17. Discussions	on integration	and education	(per cent)

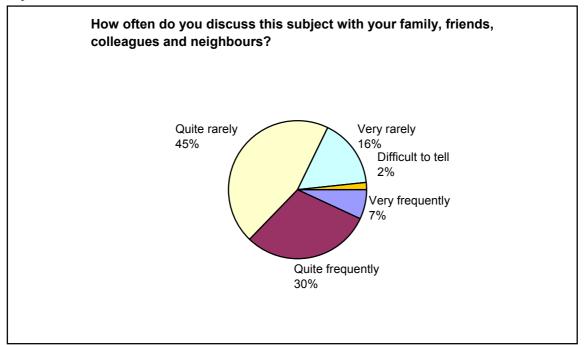
	Do you occa	Do you occasionally discuss Poland joining the European Union with				
	your	your family, friends, colleagues and neighbours?				
Education	Yes	No	Difficult to tell			
Elementary	39	56	5			
Vocational	43	53	3			
Secondary	53	42	5			
Higher	64	34	3			

The question of integration is most likely to cause emotional involvement among those who intend to reject this idea in the referendum. The subject of Poland's planned accession to the European Union is more likely to be raised in private conversations by opponents (62%) rather than supporters (55%) of integration. This is despite the fact that declarations of interest in integration are more frequent among its supporters than among opponents.

Issues related to Poland's future membership in the European Union are least likely to be the subject of reflection and comment among persons who declare their intention to abstain from the referendum on this matter (26%).

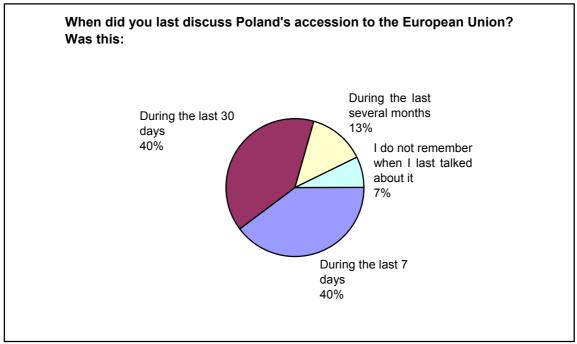
Persons who discuss integration with their family and friends admit most often, that it does not happen frequently. In general 61% of those who mention the subject in private conversation do it infrequently and 37% frequently.

Fig. 5 Frequency of conversations about integration. Declarations of persons who occasionally discuss the subject in informal conversations.



In spite of the fact that most of those polled who occasionally discuss the subject declare that they do so rarely, as many as 40% of them participate in a conversation on the subject during the week before the poll, while a further 40% during the last month. Only 13% talked about integration during the last several months while 7% do not remember when they did so.

Fig. 6 Date of last conversation about integration. Declarations of persons who occasionally discuss the subject in informal conversation



Generally speaking the subject of Poland's accession to the European Union referred to the largest extent to social and economic issues.³³⁵

Three motifs were decidedly the most frequent. These were the ability to find employment in European Union countries, the situation of Polish agriculture and perspectives for its development in integrated market conditions and the advantages of membership for Poland and for Poles. Each of these issues were discussed among family and friends by at least one in five of those polled. Moreover, quite frequently the conversations and comments centered around the level of wages and prices, the effects of integration for household budgets (8%), anxieties caused by integration (6%), purchase of land by foreigners (6%), the overall situation of the Polish economy after joining the union (5%), the time and conditions for membership (6%). Such issues as transition periods in adapting the Polish legal system to the Union law and their consequences, Poland's insufficient preparation for membership and the costs of integration were mentioned less frequently.

The subjects of conversations about integration. Declarations of persons who occasionally discuss the subject in informal conversations.

Table 18. Discussions on integration (per cent)

What exactly did you talk about when you last discussed Poland's accession to the European					
Union?					
Ability to find employment in European Union countries,					
unemployment in Poland.	22				
The situation of Polish agriculture and its future in the Union. Benefits	18				
of integration for Poland and Poles in general.	18				
Generally – the advantages and disadvantages of integration	12				
Prices, wages, family finances after joining the Union.	8				
Date and conditions for admitting Poland into the Union.	6				
Purchase of land by foreigners	6				
Anxieties connected with Poland's accesstion to the Union:					
exploitation, fall of living standards etc.	6				

³³⁵ Respondents answered an open question, not choosing an answer but formulating it by themselves.

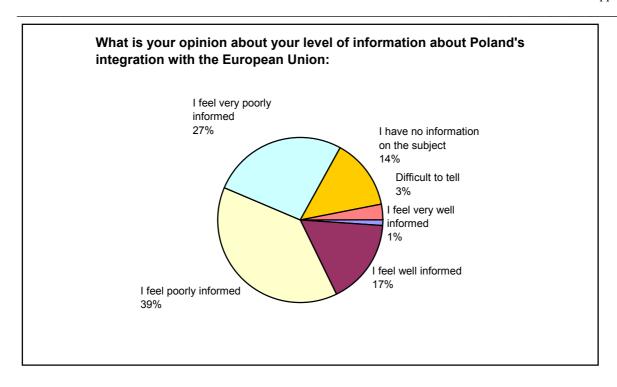
Situation of the Polish economy after Poland's accesstion to teh Union.	5
Transition periods, adjustment, closing of Union markets, Union	
norms.	3
Poland's insufficient preparation for Union membership.	2
Costs of integration	1
Other issues	11
Difficult to tell, cannot remember	5

The subjects of conversations about integration are connected with the interests of those polled related to their everyday life. The younger the respondents the more often they raised the subject of employment in one of the Union countries. Most recently one in every three persons under 24 discussed this subject and only one in ten of those over 59. Moreover, better educated respondents (secondary and higher education) discussed this topic slightly more often than those who completed their education at the elementary level. Those who were not working, but not unemployed, talked about it particularly frequently – students, but also housewives, as well as traders and craftsmen. Unemployed persons discussed the ability to find employment in the European Union even less frequently than average – they probably consider their own employment outside Poland after it joins the organization quite unlikely. Farmers were definitely the ones who most often discussed the future of Polish agriculture in the Union among their family and friends, even more often than the average for the rural population.

Information about integration—assessment and postulates Feeling of being informed about integration

Being informed about the process of integration is a necessary condition for the correct preparation of a society for European Union membership. Only knowledge about the consequences and principles of integration will make it possible for Poles to take full benefit of the rights to which they will be entitled after joining this organization. A responsible and conscious decision during the referendum on Poland's accession to the Union also requires a good knowledge of the subject. Nonetheless, the majority of Poles consider their level of information on integration as definitely poor. Less than one in five of those polled feels well informed on the matter (only 1% feel very well informed). Two thirds of those polled consider themselves badly informed and 14%, according to their own statements, have no knowledge on the matter.

Fig. 7 Information about integration



The feeling of being informed about integration is connected with age, and most of all with education and the social and professional status of an individual. The younger and the better educated the respondent, the higher his assessment. In the youngest age group (under 24) the level of information about issues connected with Poland's accession to the European Union gets the highest scores, one in every four, while among the over 59 the percentage is half of that, 12%. 5% of young people do not possess any information on the subject and 27% of those polled over 59. 36% of those polled with a higher education feel well informed about integration (the highest percentage among the analyzed social and demographic groups) and three times fewer (12%) respondents with elementary education. Very few persons with higher education admit to no information at all on the subject (1%) and nearly one in four of those polled (23%) with elementary education. In the social and professional groups the high ranking officials, professionals, white collar workers, entrepreneurs and secondary school and university students have a high opinion of their level of information. The least informed are unskilled workers, farmers and housewives. The differentiation of the feeling of being informed about integration by the social and demographic features of those polled do not alter the fact that in all the discussed groups poor assessments dominate even among the most satisfied with their level of information.

The feeling of being informed about integration issues is connected with the level of interest in those matters. The higher the level of interest in Poland's accession to the European Union, the greater the feeling of being well informed. All the more disturbing therefore that even persons who are relatively more interested in integration to a large extent feel insufficiently informed about it. This means that even people who wish to expand their knowledge do not always find the amount of information on Poland's future Union membership which suits their needs.

Table 19. Feeling of being informed about integration and interest in the subject. (per cent)

	Feeling of being informed about integration					
Interest in integration	Feel we	ell Feel	poorly	Have	no	Difficult to tell
matters	informed	informe	ed	information	on	
				the subject		
Very interested	49	47		2		2
A little interested	25	72		2		1
Not really interested	8	79		10		4
Completely uninterested	3	41		53		3
Difficult to tell	8	56		18		19

It is often assumed that more information about matters connected with Poland's future membership in the European Union indicates a higher degree of support for integration. Is this really the case? It may only be concluded with a certain degree of approximation by analyzing the declarations regarding the manner of voting in the accession referendum by three groups differentiated by their (subjective) feeling of being informed about integration. First it must be stated that the lower the feeling of being informed about integration the more frequent the declarations on abstention from voting. 14% of those who feel well informed to not intend to vote, 29% of the poorly informed and as many as 70% of those who (according to their own assessment) have no information. Declarations regarding voting in the referendum indicate that although among the well informed supporters of integration are the most numerous group, the number of supporters and opponents among the poorly informed and uninformed seems to be very similar. (In both groups there seems to be an equal number of supporters and opponents of integration despite the fact that proportionately the number of the least educated and older people, usually most infrequent supporters of integration, seems to be highest in the latter group). This indicates that only a feeling of being well informed about integration seems to foster support for Poland's membership in the European Union. The feeling of being poorly informed on the subject seems to favour declarations of participation in the referendum but not of support for integration.

Table 20. Feeling of being informed about integration and declarations regarding participation and manner

of voting in the referendum (per cent).

	Declarations of participation and voting in the integration referendum			
Feeling of being infor	In favour of	Against Poland	Difficult to tell,	Will not
about integration	Poland joining	joining the	don't know yet	participate in the
	the European	European Union		referendum
	Union			
Feel well informed	63	16	7	14
Feel poorly informed	41	18	12	29
Have no information or	15	6	9	70
subject				
Difficult to tell	17	17	13	53

EVALUATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT INTEGRATION IN THE MEDIA

From the moment Poland started to negotiate its accession to the European Union issues connected with integration are regularly presented in the media. Recently in particular, when talks were held about the subjects which arouse the most emotion and controversy; the ability for Poles to freely seek employment abroad, the right of the citizens of the Union to buy land in Poland, and the date of Poland's admission to the European Union was a constant subject of speculation, the Union was constantly present in newspaper headlines and television.

It is not surprising therefore that most of those polled (a total of 58%) have met with some kind of information about integration in the media during the month preceding the survey, while 41% of those during the last week before the poll. 13% of those polled have never encountered any information about Poland's membership in the Union, according to their own declarations. Almost one in four (24%) of those polled, although admitting to hearing such information, do not remember when this took place.

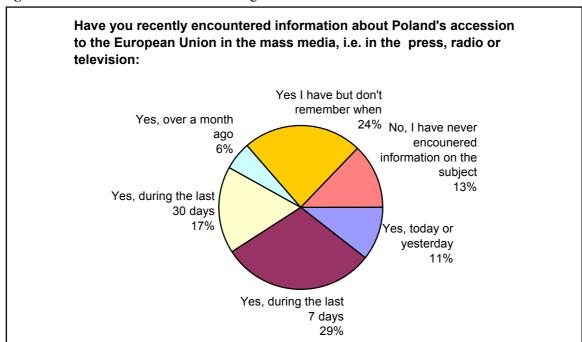


Fig. 8 Contact with information about integration

Contact with information about integration is a function of interest displayed in the subject. The higher the interest in Poland's accession to the European Union the shorter the time since contact took place with information about it. During the month preceding the survey 82% of those polled who are very interested in the question of Poland's membership in the European Union have encountered information about integration, and 29% of those who are totally uninterested. 15% of those very interested have never encountered any news about integration in the media or they do not remember when they did, and 2/3 (65%) of those completely uninterested.

Table 21. Contact with information about integration and interest displayed in the subject. (per cent)

Table 21. Contact with information about integration and interest displayed in the subject. (per cent)						
	Have you recently encountered information about Poland's accession to the					
	European U	Union in the	mass medi	a?		
Interest in	Yes,	Yes,	Yes,	Yes,	Yes I have but I	No, I have never
integration issues	today or	during	during	over a	do not remember	encountered any
	yesterday	the last 7	the last	month	when	information on
		days	30 days	ago		the subject
Very interested	21	40	21	5	6	9
A little interested	13	44	20	6	13	6
Not really	8	20	17	5	36	13
interested	interested					
Completely	5	13	11	6	35	30
uninterested						
Difficult to tell	10	17	8	2	47	17

The free opinions of respondents who have encountered information in the media about Poland's accession to the European Union about the content of that information accurately reflect the scope of individual issues covered by the most recent news about the integration process in the press, radio and television. Three issues came to the forefront in the period immediately preceding the survey: the ability for Poles to take up employment in Union countries (16% of indications), the date for Poland's entry into the European Union (15%) and the situation and perspectives for Polish agriculture in the integrated market (14%). A fairly large percentage of respondents (9%) remember information about the purchase of land in Poland by foreigners.

³³⁶ Respondents answered an open question, not choosing an answer but formulating it by themselves.

Moreover, respondents fairly frequently indicated information related to transition periods and acceptance of entire legal solutions resulting from acquis communautaire as well as the degree of Poland's preparation for membership in the European Union. More than one in three of those polled do not remember what exactly the media information about integration referred to . The percentage of "I don't remember" answers is progressively higher the longer the time elapsed from the last contact with information about integration. The degree of interest or indifference to the problem also has an influence on the ability to remember the content of the information heard. The content of information was much more likely to

elude those who are not interested in integration (51%) than those who are interested in it (20%). An important influence on remembering is exerted by the clarity and communicativeness of the message. Both these factors, a smaller interest in the subject of integration and smaller ability to comprehend the content of information, may explain the fact that people from the elderly age group (over 59) and those with elementary education found it the most difficult to recall the content of information. Among social and professional groups the same applied to unskilled workers, farmers and pensioners.

Table 22. Remembered content of information about integration in the media. Answers of respondents who encountered information about it in the media. (per cent).

respondents who encountered information about it in the media. (per cen	/				
Please try to recall what exactly that information was about? What was said or written about					
integration?					
Employment of Poles in European Union countries, free movement of					
labour in the Union.	16				
Date for Poland's accession to the European Union.	15				
Situation and perspectives of Polish agriculture in the European Union	14				
Free purchase of land for foreigners in Poland.	9				
Protective and transition periods in adapting Polish law to the Union					
legislative system	7				
Degree of Poland's preparation for membership in the European Union.	6				
Generally - Poland's integration with the Union and pertinent	6				
negotiations					
Conditions for Poland's entry to the European Union.	4				
Opening of borders, Union markets, free trade	4				
Advantages and disadvantages of Poland's membership in the	3				
European Union	2				
Aid, subsidies, Union funds for Poland	2				
Union norms					
Environment protection, Union requirements in this respect	1				
Other issues related to integration	8				
Difficult to tell, cannot remember	35				

In order for information about the principles, aims and results of integration to reach the widest possible social circles it is necessary to provide not only a sufficient amount of information, so that even those who are not keenly interested in the enlargement of the Union have a chance to come across it, but also to make sure that it is of sufficient quality – interesting, clear and reliable. At the same time the majority of those polled are critical about both the quantity as well as quality of available information.

Only one in four of those polled is satisfied with the quantity of information about integration provided by the mass media. More, every second person polled believes that the media provide insufficient information about Poland's accession to the European Union. Conversely, only very few (3%) complain about a flood of information.

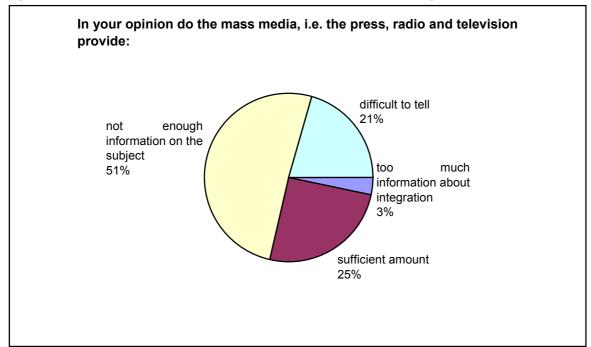


Fig. 9. Assessment of the amount of information about integration available in the media.

The assessment of the amount of information on the subject of integration in the media is connected not so much with the social and demographic features of the respondents as, primarily, with their subjective needs in this respect.

The feeling of a lack of sufficient information about integration in the media is found mainly among persons who are interested in the subject in general, that is those whose subjective need for information is the biggest. However, a large group (45%) of those polled who declare that they are not too keenly interested in Poland's future membership in the Union notice the shortage of information on the subject. Persons who are not interested in the matter are the least likely to complain about insufficient information.

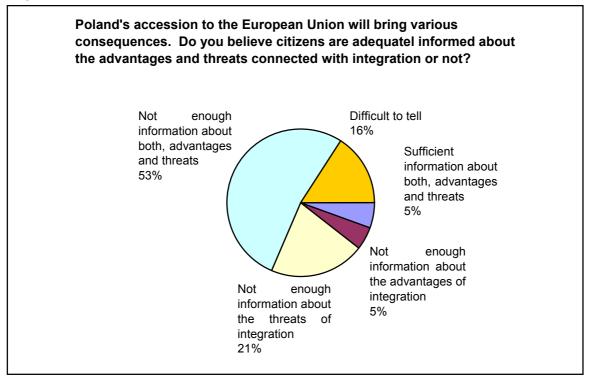
Table 23. Interest in integration and the assessment of the amount of information available in the media. (per cent)

	In your opinion do the mass media, i.e. the press, radio and television			
	provide:			
Interest in integration	Too much	ufficient amount	Not enough	Difficult to tell
issues	information		information on	
	about integration		the subject	
Very interested	2	27	60	11
A little interested	2	24	64	9
Not really interested	2	29	45	24
Completely uninterested	8	21	26	46
Difficult to tell	0	35	32	33

The amount of available information about integration receives relatively highest scores from persons who feel well informed on the subject. Nearly half of them (46%) believe that the amount of information is sufficient. However, a large portion of this group (40%) notices a shortage of information about Poland's future membership in the European Union.

The majority of respondents (53%) believe that citizens are not sufficiently informed about both the advantages as well as threats connected with Poland's accession to the European Union. The remaining persons believe that not enough is said about possible negative implications of integration (21%) relative to its positive results (5%). The lack of symmetry in the assessment which is based on greater emphasis on shortage of information about threats which accompany integration indicates the existence of a great deal of anxiety and doubt about the process, for which no adequate answer is available.

Fig. 10 Assessment of the amount of information about the advantages and threats connected with integration



The feeling of shortage of information about both the advantages as well as threats posed by Poland's accession to the European Union dominates among all the social and demographic groups, both supporters as well as opponents of integration.

The opinions of persons who themselves feel well informed about Poland's future membership in the European Union seem to be particularly interesting. Although they are more often than average pleased with the amount of available information (15%), but similarly to those polled whose evaluation of their own level of information is not so high, they predominantly believe that information is lacking both about the negative as well as positive effects. Moreover, more often than others they complain about sufficient information about threats posed by the process of integration (27%).

Opinions about the quality of available information about issues related to Poland's membership in the European Union are predominantly critical. Their clarity gets the lowest scores. More than half of those polled (51%) believe that the information about integration presented in the media are unclear and incomprehensible. A large group had reservations about their reliability and credibility, and believed them to be boring and uninteresting.

Fig. 11 Evaluation of the clarity of information about integration presented by the media

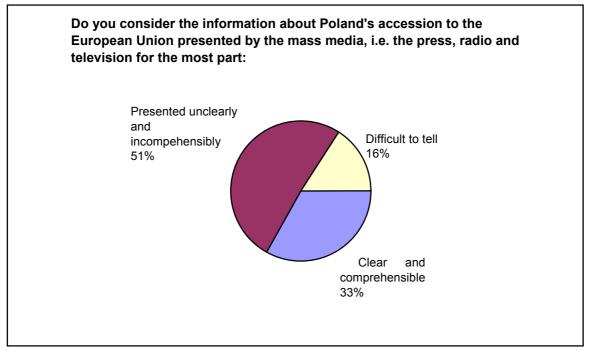
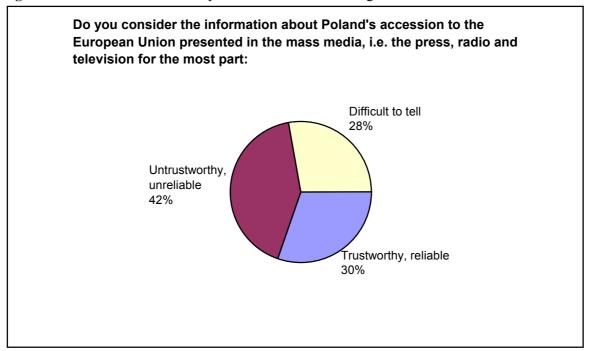


Fig. 12 Assessment of the reliability of information about integration in the media



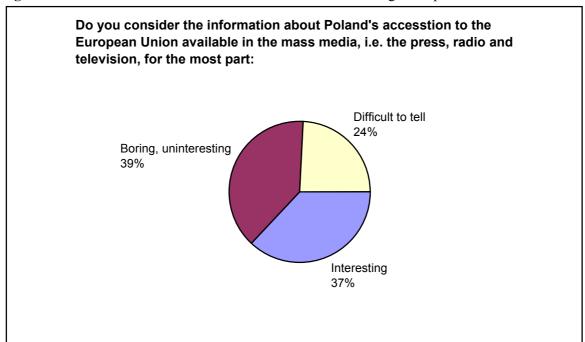


Fig. 13 Assessment of the attractiveness of information about integration presented in the media.

An evaluation of the information about integration available in the mass media is connected with the level of interest in the subject and being informed about it. Generally speaking the higher the interest and one's own assessment of being informed about integration, the higher the evaluation of information presented in the media.

Supporters and opponents of Poland's accession to the European Union differ substantially in their opinions on the subject. Persons who intend to support integration in the referendum give a higher score to the information in the media. Most of them believe that it is interesting and credible. Clarity and comprehensibility is relatively lower in their opinion. Opponents of Poland's accession to the European Union are usually critical about how the media inform about integration in all the surveyed aspects. In every case only about one in four is satisfied with their quality.

Table 24. Assessment of the clarity of information about integration in the media and attitude towards

integration (per cent).

	Assessment of the clarity of			
	information about integration in the			
	media:			
Declarations regarding participation and voting in the	Presented	Presented	Difficult	to
integration referendum	,	unlearly and	tell	
	comprehesibly	incomphrehensib		
		ly		
In favour of Poland joining the European Union	45	47	8	
Against Poland joining the European Union	27	63	11	
Difficult to tell, don't know yet	26	54	20	
Will not participate in the referendum	23	50	26	

Table 25. Assessment of the reliability of the information about integration presented in the media and

attitude towards integration (per cent)

attitude to wards integration (per cent)						
	Assessment of the informat					
	integra	tion in the media:				
Declarations regarding participation and voting in the	Trustworthy,	Untrustworthy,	Difficult to			
integration referendum	reliable	unreliable	tell			
In favour of Poland joining the European Union	47	33	21			
Against Poland joining the European Union	24	58	18			
Difficult to tell, don't know yet	20	42	39			
Will not participate in the referendum	16	46	38			

Table 26. Assessment of the attractiveness of information about integration presented in the media and

attitude towards integration (per cent)

	Assessment of the information				
	integra	tion in the media	•		
Declarations regarding participation and voting in the	eclarations regarding participation and voting in the Interesting Boring,				
integration referendum		uninteresting	tell		
In favour of Poland joining the European Union	56	30	15		
Against Poland joining the European Union	26	49	25		
Difficult to tell, don't know yet	29	36	35		
Will not participate in the referendum	22	45	33		

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT INTEGRATION

Television is the most popular medium and by far the most frequent source of information about issues connected with Poland joining the European Union. TV programs were indicated by a total of 89% of those polled. The greatest role in the dissemination of knowledge about integration is played by news and information programs, as many as 85% of those polled pointed to them as one of the five main sources of information about integration. Definitely fewer respondents learn about Poland's future membership in the European Union by means of other TV shows, primarily programs devoted to integration (13%) and programs addressed to various social and professional groups, eg. farmers (7%)

 Table 27. Current sources of knowledge about integration (per cent)

Where do you primarily get your information about Poland's accesstice. Please point to no more than five possibilities.	n to the Euro	pean Union?
	89	
A. Television (total)		
News and information broadcasts	85	
Programs devoted to integration	13	
Programs addressed to various groups eg. farmers, young people etc.	7	
Other television programs	1	
B. Radio (total)		53
News and information broadcasts	49	
News and information broadcasts	9	
Programs addressed to various groups eg. farmers, young people etc.		
Other radio broadcasts		2
	0	
	45	
C. Press (total)		
National dailies	27	
Regional and local press	21	
Magazines devoted to social and socio-political issues		6
Magazines addressed to various groups e.g. farmers, young people etc.		2
Magazines devoted to Poland's integration with the European Union		1
Other magazines		1
D. Other publications (total)		12
Brochures, information leaflets, leaflets about integration		7
Books		2
Documents, publications connected with your employment		1
Internet		2
E. Meetings, seminars, training (total)		4
Meetings, seminars, training devoted to integration		2
Meetings with representatives of the government, MPs, senators		1
Seminars, training related to your employment		1
Information obtained in the church, at parish meetings		1
Conversations with family, friends, neighbours		7
Other sources		1
I am not interested in the subject		6
Difficult to tell, don't remember		2

The second most important source of information about integration consists in radio broadcasts. A total of 53% of those polled pointed to them. As in the case of television most persons learn about integration issues from radio news and information services (49% of those polled). Specially dedicated broadcasts seem to be far less significant for popularizing knowledge on the subject of integration. 9% of those polled pointed to them among the most important sources of information about Poland's accession to the European Union. Radio broadcasts addressed to individual social and professional groups seem to have marginal significance for disseminating knowledge about integration. Only 2% of those polled pointed to these.

The third most valuable source of information about Poland's membership in the European Union is the press. Various types of newspapers and magazines were mentioned by a total of 45% of those polled. Information about integration is provided mainly by the national dailies (27% indications) and, mentioned only slightly less frequently, (21%) regional and local newspapers. Magazines devoted to socio-political issues seem to contribute less to popularizing knowledge about integration. Only 6% of the total number of persons polled indicated them. The least significant from the point of view of disseminating knowledge about Poland's accession to the European Union seem to be, as far as the press is concerned, magazines addressed to various social and professional groups (2%) and magazines devoted to integration (1%).

Among other publications the most impact in informing about integration seems to be made by various types of information leaflets. They constitute one of the most important sources of knowledge about Poland's membership in the European Union for 7% of those polled. Only a very small percentage learns about it from books (2%), through the Internet (2%) and documents and publications connected with their work.

A very small portion of those polled (a total of 4%) get their information about questions connected with Poland's accession to the European Union directly, during meetings, seminars and training sessions devoted to integration, meetings with politicians, training for work. Information on the subject obtained from the church or during parish meetings seems to be very rare indeed. More often than from formal meetings those polled get their information about integration from informal meetings and conversations, in family circles, from friends and neighbours (7%). The phenomenon of exchanging knowledge about integration during direct, informal conversations and meetings, although quite infrequent and perhaps not very reliable as regards the quality of information obtained, must generally be considered a positive development. It reflects a real interest in integration matters and an emotional involvement in the subject.

Sources of information about the problems of Poland's future membership in the European Union are connected primarily with the education of those polled. Higher education fosters the use of diversified sources of integration not necessarily available on a mass scale. The higher the education of those polled, the more often they get their information about Poland's accession to the European Union from television and radio programs devoted to integration, from radio news services and most of all from national newspapers. Moreover, better educated persons are more likely to use less popular sources of information about integration and learn about it from sociopolitical magazines, the Internet, brochures and information leaflets, publications and training related to their employment, as well as from meetings, seminars and training sessions devoted to Poland's future membership in the European Union. Higher education also fosters obtaining information on the subject from conversations with family, friends, neighbours or colleagues at work.

From the point of view of sources of information about integration young people, under 24 and mainly secondary school and university students, seem to be similar to those with higher education.

As the better educated respondents they are more likely than average to use less popular sources of knowledge on the subject: socio-political magazines, brochures, information leaflets about integration, books, the Internet and meetings, training sessions and seminars connected with integration (particularly students). They are slightly more likely than average to get information from conversations with families, friends and colleagues.

Table 28. Current sources of information about integration among persons with higher and elementary education (per cent).

Thirmait	Elementem
-	Elementary education
graduates	education
94	86
89	83
22	9
7	6
2	1
74	47
65	43
14	7
3	1
1	0
74	32
53	18
	16
	4
	2
2	0
2	0
25	9
12	6
2	1
6	1
6	1
11	3
5	2
	1
4	0
2	0
10	6
	1
1	1
0	9
	graduates 94 89 22 7 2 74 65 14 3 1 74 53 19 17 2 2 2 25 11 2 4 2 4 2

Generally speaking the hierarchy of preferred sources of information about integration corresponds to the hierarchy of sources from which those polled actually get their information on the subject. They would like to obtain information about integration primarily from the television (79%), particularly from information programs (60%), less frequently from programs devoted especially to the subject of integration. A relatively low percentage of respondents were interested in obtaining knowledge from programs addressed specifically to social or professional groups (8%).

The second preferred source of information about integration is the radio (indicated by a total of 47% of those polled): primarily radio information programs (33%) and, less frequently, broadcasts devoted to the issue (18%). Only a small percentage of those polled (4%) wished to get their knowledge mainly from programs addressed to specific social and professional groups.

Persons who wish to learn about matters concerning Poland's accession to the European Union from the press are nearly as numerous as those who prefer the radio (a total of 43%) – they mainly mention national dailies (23%) and local and regional press (18%). Interest in getting information from socio-political magazines is far smaller, as is interest in magazines devoted to Union and integration issues (5% each), and papers addressed to specific groups of readers e.g. young people (3%).

Other publications (a total of 29%) constitute a potentially important source of information about integration, and these are mainly leaflets and information brochures. They are the preferred source of information for nearly one in every four of those polled (24%). Other publications, such as documents related to employment, Internet publications and books are preferable to a small number of respondents (2-3% in each case). Meetings of various types, training and seminars are least frequently mentioned as preferred sources of information (a total of 12% of those polled), primarily connected with integration (7%), and meetings with politicians (5%), very infrequently training connected with work (2%) and parish meetings (1%).

Only a small percentage of those polled would be interested in learning about integration from their family, friends and neighbours.

 Table 29. Preferred sources of information about integration (per cent)

From where would you prefer to obtain your knowledge about matters con	cerning Polan	d's accession
to the European Union? Please indicate not more than five possibilities.	70	
A. Television (total)	79	
News and information services		60
Programs specially dedicated to integration	3	
Programs addressed to various groups e.g. farmers, young people	8	
Other television programs	0	
B. Radio (total)		47
News and information services	33	
Programs specially dedicated to integration	18	
Programs addressed to various groups e.g. farmers and young people.		
Other radio broadcasts		4
	0	
	43	
C. The press (total)		
National dailies	23	
Regional and local press	18	
Magazines devoted to socio-economic issues		5
Magazines addressed to various groups e.g. farmers, young people etc.		3
Magazines dedicated to Poland's integration with the European Union		5
Other magazines		0
		29
D. Other publications (total)		
Brochures, information leaflets about integration		24
Books		2
Documents, publications connected with your work		3
Internet		3
		12
E. Meetings, seminars, training (total)		1,2
Meetings, seminars, training devoted to integration		7
Meetings with government officials, MPs, senators		5
Seminars, training related to your work		2
Information obtained at church, parish meetings		1
Convergations with family friends weighbours		2
Conversations with family, friends, neighbours		3
Other sources		1
Not interested in the subject		8
-		
Difficult to tell, don't remember	5	

Generally speaking the higher the education of those polled the greater the need for diverse knowledge about integration from various sources. University graduates are more likely than other respondents, mainly those with elementary or vocational education, to be interested in obtaining information about integration from all types of media – press, radio, television. In the offer of electronic media they would prefer to search for programs specifically dedicated to integration. Those polled with higher education are twice as likely as those with elementary education to obtain their knowledge from the press, mainly from national dailies but also from local and regional press. They are also more frequently interested in getting information on the subject from periodicals specially devoted to it and generally socio-political magazines. They are less likely to want to learn about integration from magazines addressed to specific social and professional groups.

The higher the education the more frequently expressed the need to use publications other than the press, that is all types of brochures, information leaflets etc. Higher education seems to foster obtaining information about integration from the Internet (although in the best educated group it is not quoted as the most frequently preferred source of information), and publications connected with work. The higher the education the greater the willingness to participate in various types of meetings, seminars and training sessions; devoted to integration, meetings with politicians and training connected with work.

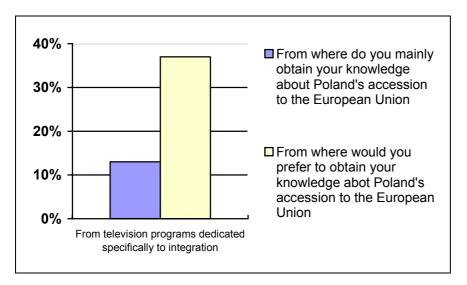
Secondary school and university students and generally young people, under 24, are more likely to be interested in the less popular and not so often postulated sources of information about integration such as publications other than the press and meetings, seminars and training (apart from publications and training connected with work). Moreover, they are relatively more often than average likely to obtain knowledge about integration from television programs addressed to specific social groups.

Table 30. Preferred sources of information about integration among university graduates and persons with elementary education (per cent)

From where would you prefer to obtain knowledge about Poland's accession to the European Union? Please indicate not more than five possibilities. Graduates Elementary education 74 85 **Television** (total) News and information services 59 55 Programs dedicated to integration 51 31 Programs addressed to specific groups e.g. farmers, young 7 12 people Other television programs 0 58 40 Radio (total) News and information services 37 29 Programs dedicated to integration 29 12 3 4 Programs addressed to specific groups e.g. Farmers, young people etc. 0 Other radio broadcasts 64 32 Press (total) National dailies 34 19 Regional and local press 23 16 Magazines devoted to socio-political issues 2 Magazines addressed to specific groups e.g. farmers, young 4 people etc. Magazines devoted to Poland's integration with the European 13 1 Union Other magazines 0 0 45 24 Other publications (total) Brochures, information leaflets about integration 34 22 **Books** 5 3 7 2 Documents, publications connected with work Internet 8 1 21 8 Meetings, seminars, training (total) Meetings, seminars, training devoted to integration 10 4 Meetings with government officials, MPs, senators 8 3 Seminars, training connected with your work 4 1 2 Information obtained in church, parish meetings 1 Conversations with family, friends, neighbours 2 3 Other sources 0 1 Not interested in the subject 3 11 3 Difficult to tell, don't remember

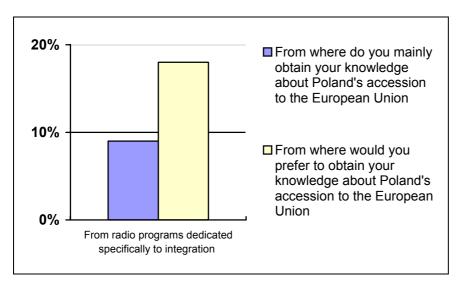
The discrepancy between expectations and actual sources of information about integration indicates which are not sufficiently exploited so far and at the same time have most potential in popularizing knowledge on the subject. The comparison demonstrates that although television is and should remain the main medium which provides information about integration, its offer in this respect, considering social demand, should be significantly expanded by programs devoted to the issues of European integration. So far television news and information programs constitute one of the main sources of information for 85% of those polled, while only 60% of them wish this to be the case. Three times fewer persons currently draw their knowledge from television programs devoted specifically to integration than would like to.

Fig. 14 Current and preferred sources of information about integration – television programs devoted to integration issues



The same applies to the radio. At present radio information services are among the main sources of information about Poland's accession to the European Union for 49% of those polled, while 33% of them would actually wish to learn about the issue from this medium. Radio broadcasts devoted specifically to integration are the main source of information for half the number of respondents who would like to use it.

Fig. 15 Current and preferred sources of information about integration - radio broadcasts

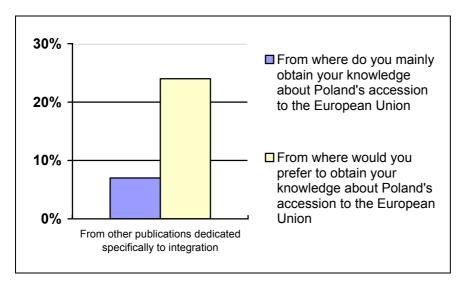


The discrepancy between reality and expectations with regard to the ways of obtaining information about integration by means of electronic media indicates a need for better and more comprehensive information on the subject, which cannot obviously be found in information services and programs.

The current ability to satisfy demand for information by the press corresponds to public expectations. This is a source of information about Poland's future membership in the European Union for 45% of those polled, while 43% would like to have this opportunity. Nonetheless magazines devoted to integration should be made more accessible, interest in those although globally rather small (declared by 5%) of those polled is still larger than the current scale of utilization (1%).

Among publications other than the press brochures and all types of information leaflets should play a significantly greater role in informing about integration than they do now.

Fig. 16 Current and preferred sources of information about integration – brochures and leaflets about integration



Interest in direct methods of obtaining information about integration such as meetings, training and seminars also exceeds their current level of accessibility. A larger percentage of respondents than so far would wish to obtain knowledge about integration by participating in meetings, seminars and sessions devoted to the subject and by meeting politicians: government representatives, members of parliament, senators. At present only few consider these to be the main sources of information (1%), while they are preferred by 7 and 5% of those polled respectively.

The above comparison of actual and postulated sources of information about integration indicates which forms of popularizing knowledge on the subject should be emphasized. On the other hand the indication of main and preferred sources of information do not reveal how many people would like to make use of each of them. This may only be determined by asking a separate question referring to the specific form of disseminating knowledge about integration.

An estimation of the scale of potential interest is all the more interesting in case of that method of informing which possesses relatively the highest potential of popularizing knowledge about integration – television programs devoted to the issue. As a reminder, they constitute the main source of information about integration for 12% of those polled, while 37% would prefer to use them. Potential interest in obtaining information about Poland's future membership in the European Union in this way is even greater. Two thirds of those polled declared that they would be personally interested in seeing a new program series devoted specifically to European integration on television.

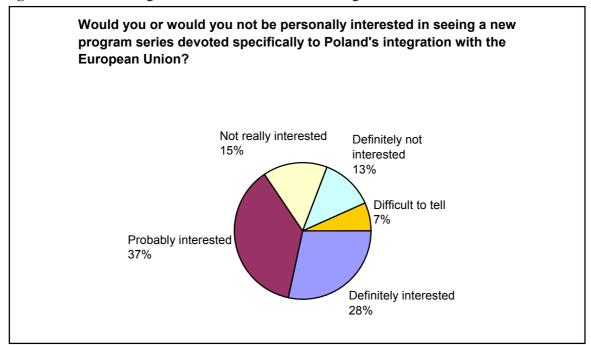


Fig. 17. Interest in seeing a new television series about integration

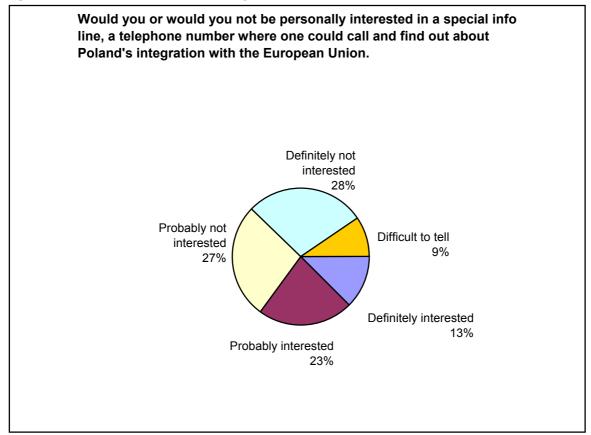
Interest in this type of program, although varies from one social and demographic group to another, is predominant in all. This type of program would be of more interest to men (73%) rather than women (58%). The higher the education the more often respondents tend to express the demand for a new series about integration. 58% of those polled with elementary education would be personally interested in such a broadcast and 79% with higher education. Among social and professional groups the most likely to watch it are, according to their own declarations, high ranking officials, professionals and private entrepreneurs (79%) each. The groups least interested in this type of program are persons over 59 (47%), pensioners (52%) and unskilled workers (51%).

Persons who already feel well informed on the subject are potential viewers of this type of program series. 84% of those who consider themselves well informed about integration, 70% who consider themselves poorly informed and only 24% of those who have no information on the subject. This means that although persons who feel poorly informed about integration really experience a need to broaden their knowledge, the majority of those polled who are not at all informed do not wish to be so. The ability to reach this group with information by means of the most popular medium, television, also seems to be limited.

Supporters of integration (81%) are slightly more likely to expect the creation of a program series about integration than its opponents (75%). The majority of both groups declare an interest in such a program, as well as persons who are undecided about how they would vote on the matter (65%). Those who do not intend to participate in the referendum are also the least interested in seeing the creation of such a program (42%).

One of the possible ways of disseminating knowledge about the issues of Poland's accession to the European Union is the creation of a special info line, a telephone number where information on the subject would be available. 35% of those polled would personally be interested in such a solution. Most of the respondents (56%), as shown in their declarations, would not use such an info line. Making telephone calls certainly requires a greater level of interest in these problems as well as a proactive approach to obtaining knowledge than watching TV shows devoted to the subject, hence interest in such an info line is half as large as that in seeing a new program.

Fig. 18 Interest in an info line about integration



The younger the age of the respondents the more frequently they expect the creation of an info line for those interested in Poland's future membership in the European Union. 43% of young people, under 24, would like it, while only 20% of those over 59. Those with secondary and higher education would like the creation of an info line slightly more frequently than average, (42%), those with elementary education less so (29%). In individual social and professional groups potential users would most frequently be professionals (45%), private entrepreneurs (40%), secondary school and university students (46%), and last of all unskilled workers and pensioners (25%). Interest in an info line about integration seems not to be related to income.

Interest in the creation of an info line seems to be higher where those polled consider themselves to be well informed about integration. 53% of those polled who consider themselves well informed would like it to be established, 35% of those who feel poorly informed and 16% of those who claim not to have any information on the subject. Thus the info line would be used primarily by those who already possess a certain degree of knowledge about integration.

Supporters of integration are more likely to use the info line (45%) than its opponents (32%) and persons who are still uncertain about how to vote (35%). Respondents who declare abstention from the referendum on Poland's accession to the European Union are the least likely to use the info line.

One of the most valuable, although less popular, sources of information about integration consists in meetings, seminars and training. One in every twenty Poles participated in them, according to the declarations of those polled.

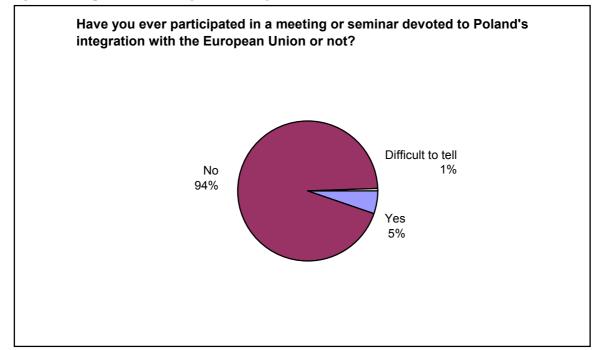


Fig. 19 Participation in meetings about integration

Participation in meetings devoted to integration is differentiated primarily by education and to a lesser extent the age of those polled.

The highest level of participation in meetings about integration is seen among people with higher education. One in every five took part in various types of meetings, training sessions and seminars about Poland's future membership in the European Union. Among the less educated the percentage of participants in meetings about integration did not exceed 6%. This form of obtaining knowledge about integration is relatively more popular among younger people, including, and predominantly, students. 10% of those polled under 24 participated in such meetings, 14% of secondary school and university students. Among social and professional groups the highest level of participation in meetings about integration is observed among high-ranking officials, professionals (18%) and white collar workers (11%). It is noteworthy that state employees were more likely to participate in them (13%) than those employed in other sectors.

Persons who participated in a meeting about integration feel decidedly better informed about it than those who had no such opportunity.

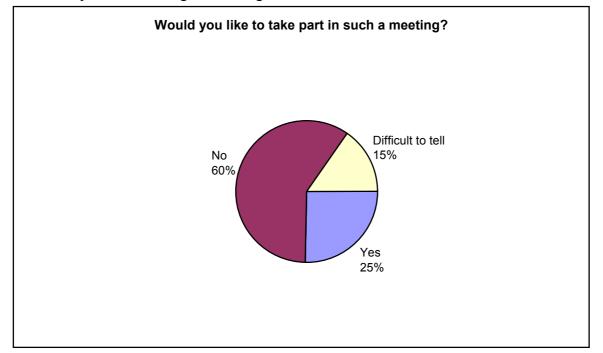
Table 31. Participation in a meeting about integration and feeling of being informed on the subject. (percent)

(percent)				
	Being informed a	bout integration		
Have you ever participated	I feel well	feel poorly	I have no	Difficult to tell
in a meeting or seminar	informed	nformed	information on	
about integration with the			the subject	
European Union or not?			-	
Yes	47	46	3	4
No	16	67	14	3
Difficult to tell	12	36	36	17

Interest in participating in meetings about integration is a few times higher than the current level of

participation in them. One in every four of those polled who never used this opportunity to gain knowledge about integration declares a willingness to do so.

Fig. 20 Willingness to participate in a meeting devoted to integration. Statements of persons who never took part in a meeting about integration



Persons interested in participating in a meeting about Poland's accession to the European Union are found primarily in those social and professional groups which have so far used these means to broaden their knowledge, that us the younger and better educated respondents. Those polled under 24 are therefore most likely to wish to participate in such a meeting (32%), particularly secondary school and university students (37%) and persons with secondary (33%) and higher (36%) education.

In professional groups owners of private businesses stand out clearly, 43% of them are interested in participating.

As in the case of other forms of obtaining knowledge about integration the wish to take part in a meeting devoted to the subject is declared mostly by persons who feel well informed anyway (38%), less frequently persons who consider themselves poorly informed (28%), and least frequently those polled who have no information on the subject (7%).

One of the forms of informing about integration, which arouses considerable public interest, is the distribution of leaflets and information brochures on the subject. They should be found in places where everyone who may be interested could have easy access to them. Only this guarantees that they will fulfill their role and find their way also to those less active in seeking information about integration. Those polled considered the post office (38%), grocery shop (33%) and specialized information points (28%) to be such places. Municipal offices and town halls were indicated fairly frequently (20%), as well as schools (165). One in every eight of those polled believes that leaflets should be available primarily at the office of the village counsel. Places, which ensure easy access to brochures of this type such as the church, local health center (7% each) were mentioned less frequently. Very few persons would support the distribution of integration leaflets at railway stations (4%) and at the doorstep (2%).

Table 32. Preferred places of distributing leaflets about integration (per cent)

Health center, clinic Railway and bus station

Other places

Should be delivered to the doorstep

Difficult to tell, don't remember

One of the possibilities of increasing the level of knowledge about integration is ensuring full access to free leaflets and brochures about these issues. Where in your neighbourhood should such leaflets be distributed so that every interested person could have easy access? Please choose not more than three possibilities from the list below. Post office 38 Grocery store 33 Special information point 28 Municipal office/town hall 20 School 16 Village council 12 Church

Distribution channels for integration leaflets should be adjusted to the size of the venue and the predominant life style. Inhabitants of rural areas would like to find such brochures and leaflets primarily in their grocery store (44%), then at the post office (34%), village council (27%) and municipal office (20%). Inhabitants of cities regardless of their size most frequently mentioned the post office (39% in large cities and 43% in smaller ones) as the most appropriate place for distribution of leaflets. Inhabitants of large cities, with population over 200 000, indicated shops (35%), special information points (32%) and much more rarely schools (19%). In small and medium size towns such places as, apart from the post office, special information points, town hall, grocery store and school were mentioned.

CREDIBILITY OF INSTITUTIONS INFORMING ABOUT INTEGRATION

These surveys have demonstrated that only one in five Poles considers himself well informed about Poland's integration with the European Union. At the same time one in four feels he does not possess any information on the subject. This is despite the fact that recently the subject of European integration in the broad sense is constantly present in the media, there exist specialized institutions established in order to inform the public about integration and its implications. This state of affairs illustrates the need to research the need for information among the public in greater detail, as well as the preferences of various social groups with respect to the manner of obtaining information. The credibility of the institutions involved in distributing information about European integration in the eyes of the recipients of this information is also of primary importance.

In our investigations of this subject we have differentiated eleven institutions involved in distributing information about integration and its implications. Those polled stated which of these institutions they consider to be the most appropriate for distributing information about integration, and then, regardless of which were considered the most appropriate, the most credible ones were indicated.

The most desirable source of information about information is the mass media. This is probably a result of general access to them. Those polled replied who in their opinion should most of all be involved in informing about integration, and they certainly took into account whether they have easy access to that source of information. Specialized outposts established by the authorities are also among the potentially significant institutions for distributing information. On the other hand

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the agencies of the European Union which are active in Poland are considered appropriate for distributing this information much less frequently than government agencies, and slightly less frequently than local authorities and academic and educational institutions. Other institutions involved in popularizing knowledge about integration have a very small number of supporters. It is worth noting that political entities, members of parliament, political parties, are very rarely indicated as appropriate bodies for informing the public about integration issues.

Table 33. Preferred institutions for informing about integration (per cent)

Rank	Who in your opinion should be primarily involved in informing the public about Poland's integration with the European Union and its implications? Please indicate	%
	not more than three possibilities from the list below.	
1	Mass media (press, radio, television)	84
2	Government institutions (e.g. centers of European information established by the government)	31
3	Local authorities	21
4	Scientific institutions, schools	19
5	European Union agencies in Poland	15
6 – 7	MPs and senators	9
6 – 7	Agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers	9
8	The church and affiliated organizations	6
9	Political parties	5
10 - 11	Trade unions	4
10 - 11	Professional associations and organizations	4
	Other	1
	Difficult to tell	7
	Nobody	0

Informing about integration by specialized government agencies is particularly often indicated by persons with a higher education (46% in this group) and most of all by high ranking officials and professionals (54%) as well as private businessmen and people working for their own account (52%). Persons with elementary education (25%) and pensioners (26%) as well as rural inhabitants (23%), particularly farmers (20%) and unskilled workers (20%) are much less likely to mention them. Outposts of the European Union active in Poland are preferred mainly by persons with higher education (36%), high ranking officials and professionals (35%) and private businessmen and persons working for their own account (43%), and much less frequently by persons with vocational training (14%), secondary education (15%) and elementary education (11%), as well as rural inhabitants (10%). These institutions are considered appropriate for informing about integration in a minor degree by the elderly and pensioners (5%) and farmers (3%).

Agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers are by their very nature preferred by the rural population (19%) and particularly frequently by farmers (30%).

The church and organizations affiliated with it are considered appropriate entities for informing about integration very infrequently. However, it must not be overlooked that nearly one in eight of those polled (13%) of those over 59 prefers this source of information, one in every nine farmers (11%) and pensioners (11%).

It must be noted that preferences of farmers with regard to the institutions and sources of information about integration are the most likely to diverge from the preferences of other social groups. Apart from the mass media which are mentioned by all groups more or less equally, farmers place agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers first, then government agencies and local authorities which are mentioned side by side (20% each) the church and organizations affiliated to it (11%), scientific organizations and schools (9%).

Certain differences of preference are also noticeable among supporters and opponents of Poland's membership in the European Union. Opponents of integration are less than supporters likely to believe that European Union agencies in Poland should be involved in informing about integration. On the other hand they are more likely to indicate local authorities, agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers. This is probably due to the fact that farmers constitute a significant group of opponents of integration.

Table 34. Attitude towards integration and preferred institutions which should inform about it (per cent)

Tuble on Theread to wards meeg	Attitude towards integration							
Who should be primarily involved in informing the public about Poland's integration with the European Union and its implications?	Supporters	Opponents	Undecided	Do not intend to participate in the referendum				
Mass media	90	88	88	72				
Government institutions, e.g. centers of European information established by the government	36	38	25	25				
MPs and senators	10	10	7	9				
European Union agencies in Poland	19	11	11	13				
Local authorities	19	30	26	17				
Political parties	5	4	7	4				
Trade unions	3	5	9	4				
Professional associations and organizations	5	5	3	2				
The church and affiliated organizations	6	7	6	5				
Scientific institutions, schools	22	18	18	16				
Agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers	7	13	10	8				
Difficult to tell	4	2	5	14				

The preferences of the persons who are uncertain of their position towards integration are more similar to those of its opponents than supporters. The undecided, like opponents of integration, are less likely than its supporters to believe European Union agencies to be appropriate sources of information, and more likely to prefer local authorities. They differ from both supporters as well as opponents in that they are less likely to believe specialized institutions connected with the government to be appropriate sources of information.

Respondents who declare the intention to abstain from the referendum on Poland's accession to the European Union most frequently do not know who should be involved in popularizing knowledge of the subject.

While indicating an entity as an appropriate institution for informing about integration access to it is taken into account, which is a function of the range of its activity. On the other hand the conviction whether or not informing about integration belongs to the tasks of that institution also plays a significant part. The second aspect is connected with the assessment of the credibility of the institution as one that disseminates knowledge about integration, but is not identical with it. For this reason special attention must be paid to directly stated assessments of credibility of individual sources. It is interesting how many people express trust ("uncertainty " or "probably") to each of the institutions covered by the survey and how strong that trust is. In order to define the degree of trust in each of these institutions, a scale of trust in institutions which disseminate information about integration was construed, on the basis of declarations of those polled.

It was created by aligning a numerical value from on a scale from 1 to 4 ³³⁷ to the substantive replies of those polled (excluding "difficult to tell"). The higher the value achieved by a given institution on this scale the greater the degree of trust expressed in it. Values below 2 on the scale below demonstrate that a given institution arouses distrust rather than trust.

Table 35. Trust in institutions which distribute information about integration

Table 35. Trust in institutions w	nich distribi	ite informati	on abou	integration				_				
How trustworthy do individual	Trustworth	У		Untrustwo	Untrustworthy			Untrustworthy			Averag	ge
institutions which disseminate							to tell	on	the			
information about Poland's								scale	of			
integration with the European								trust				
Union seem to you?			_									
	Certainly	Probably	Total	Probably	Certainly	Total						
Mass media: press, radio,	16	50	66	19	5	24	9	2,85				
television												
Scientific institutions, schools	15	42	57	14	6	20	23	2,88				
Government institutions (e.g.,	6	33	39	30	11	41	20	2,42				
centers of European												
information established by the												
government)												
The church and affiliated	9	28	37	22	21	43	20	2,30				
organizations												
Agricultural chambers,	5	29	34	16	9	25	41	2,52				
farming advisory centers												
EU agencies in Poland	5	29	34	21	11	32	34	2,42				
Local authorities	3	29	32	30	14	44	24	2,29				
Professional associations and	2	24	26	24	15	39	35	2,20				
organizations												
Trade unions	3	22	25	29	18	46	29	2,13				
MPs and senators	3	17	20	39	26	65	15	1,95				
Political parties	2	14	16	34	31	65	19	1,85				

The media which are most frequently considered to be the appropriate institutions to inform the public about integration at the same time inspire trust in the largest number of those polled. Scientific institutions and schools are equally frequently considered to be as trustworthy as the media, although they are much less often the preferred source of information. The degree of trust in them is the same as in the media. Other significant discrepancies between postulates regarding informing institutions and their credibility consist in the high position in the ranking of trust of the Catholic church, which is very rarely pointed to as a preferred source of information. Hence the conclusion that the Catholic church is not expected to inform about integration and its implications, but when it does so, this information is treated as trustworthy.

It must also be noted that among the least trustworthy institutions with respect to information about integration are entities which are directly associated with politics: members of parliament and political parties.

 $^{^{337}}$ 1 – certainly does not seem trustworthy to me, 2- does not seem very trustworthy, 3 – probably trustworthy, 4 – definitely trustworthy

Table 36. Preferred institutions which inform about integration and their credibility.

Institutions	Place among other institutions with respect to:					
	Preferences	Percentage of	Degree of trust			
		persons				
		declaring trust				
Mass media	1	1	2			
Government institutions (eg. European	2	3	4 - 5			
information centers established by the						
government)						
Local authorities	3	7	7			
Scientific institutions, schools	4	2	1			
European Union agencies in Poland	5	5 - 6	4 - 5			
MPs and senators	6 - 7	10	10			
Agricultural chambers and farming advisory	6 - 7	5 - 6	3			
centers						
The church and affiliated organizations	8	4	6			
Political parties	9	11	11			
Trade unions	10 – 11	9	9			
Professional associations and organizations	10 – 11	8	8			

Trust in the mass media is more or less equal among all social groups. On the other hand trust in other important institutions is more diversified.

Government institutions are most trusted by high ranking officials and professionals. Over half of that group (56%) expresses trust in information about integration publicized by them, while the strength of trust is expressed by the average of 2.69. These agencies are least trustworthy for farmers and the rural population, only 26 and 30% respectively trust the information about integration from this source (the average on the scale of trust is 2.25 and 2.26 respectively). At the same time they are relatively most trustworthy for inhabitants of large cities (50% trust them, the average on the scale of trust is 2.59). The degree of trust in scientific institutions and schools concerning integration is highest among secondary school and university students (65%, the average on the scale of trust 3.11). Moreover, 64% of private entrepreneurs trust them, but the scale of trust in this group is lower (average on the scale of trust 2.96). The least credibility in this group of institutions is expressed by representatives of high ranking officials and professionals, every second of them tend to trust these institutions and the strength of trust is measured by an average of 2.62..

The credibility of European Union agencies in Poland as institutions which inform about Poland's integration with the European Union is highest among students, 55% of those polled in this group trust them, with the average on the scale of trust of 2.63. Private entrepreneurs express a similar level of trust here (average of 2.61 on the scale), but in this group declarations of trust are less frequent (43%). The credibility of European Union agencies is definitely lower among farmers. Only 16% of this group trusts them, while the average on the scale of trust is 2.05, which means that they are considered as much trustworthy as untrustworthy. Regardless of that the credibility of European Union agencies is higher the higher the education of those polled. One in every four of those polled with elementary education trusts them (23% and average on the scale of 2.29), while every second one with higher education (average 2.63).

The credibility of local authorities, similarly to EU agencies, increases with the level of education. Trust in them in relation to distributed information is declared by 28% persons with elementary education (average on the scale of trust is 2.23) and 42% with higher education (average 2.33). In social and professional groups the level of trust in local authorities as a source of information about integration is more or less uniform. Private entrepreneurs tend to express decidedly less trust in them, only 225 (average on the scale of 2.12).

The church and affiliated organizations inspires the most trust as a source of information about Poland's integration with the EU among women who are not working. Every second one of them (50%) declares trust in this respect in the church and organizations affiliated to it, while the strength of trust is expressed on the scale by the number 2.65. Private entrepreneurs are the other extreme here, only 20% express trust in this source of information, while the average on the scale is 1.74, which means that distrust dominates.

The credibility of agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers is relatively undifferentiated. They inspire trust primarily in farmers (48%, average on the scale of trust of 2.67), and relatively least in high ranking officials and professionals, only one in every three of those polled in this group trusts them (32%, average 2.47).

Supporters and opponents of integration usually vary between each other in the assessment of the credibility of individual sources of information, as do those who do not intend to participate in the vote.

Table 37. Attitude towards integration and preferred institutions which publicize information on the subject

How credible do you consider the individual institutions which distribute information about Poland's integration with the European Union?	Supporters Opponents Undecided Not intending to							
	11						vote	C
	%*	average**	%	average	%	average	%	average
Mass media	79	3.00	70	2.83	60	2.80	51	2.66
Government institutions, eg. government founded centers of European information	55	2.61	34	2.26	27	2.35	26	2.23
MPs and senators	29	2.13	14	1.72	14	1.96	14	1.82
European Union agencies in Poland	46	2.65	27	2.17	26	2.41	23	2.23
Local government	43	2.44	33	2.22	25	2.28	21	2.12
Political parties	24	2.00	11	1.69	10	1.73	12	1.74
Trade unions	30	2.21	23	2.06	27	2.19	17	2.02
Professional associations and organizations	30	2.29	23	2.10	27	2.35	20	2.06
The church and affiliated organizations	39	2.35	40	2.31	30	2.32	34	2.24
Scientific institutions, schools	65	2.94	58	2.83	53	2.93	50	2.78
Agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers		2.54	36	2.47	35	2.73	30	2.45

^{*} percentage of persons who declare trust, **average on the scale of trust (strength of trust)

The general tendency which can be observed here is hardly surprising. The supporters of Poland's membership in the European Union are characterized by a greater degree of trust in the institutions covered by the survey which inform about integration than its opponents, as well as uncertain persons who do not intend to vote in the referendum on the subject. However, there seem to be a few exceptions to this general rule and they are certainly worth examining because they may lead to important conclusions for the entire information campaign. Agencies of the European Union in Poland, and to a lesser degree government founded institutions as well as local authorities are credible sources of information primarily for those who already favour integration, but much less

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credible for opponents and those who have reservations about integration. Among the latter agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers (as far as farmers are concerned) and the church and affiliated organizations seem to enjoy most credibility.

THE MAIN AREAS OF INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT OF INTEGRATION

The process of informing about integration should lead to obtaining answers to the key questions, problems and doubts connected with Poland's future membership in the European Union. In order to identify the main areas of interest of those polled without suggesting or imposing any categories of thinking about integration they were requested to define what they would like to learn about it. The list of mentioned issues forms a sort of hierarch of their public importance.

The main areas of interest relate to the socio-economical implications of integration³³⁸. The most important issue according to public opinion is the impact of integration on the level of unemployment in Poland and the ability for Poles to seek employment in European Union countries, which is connected with it. 28% of the answers of those polled referred to this topic. The second most important issue is the situation of Polish agriculture within the European Union, including whether it will function along the same principles as agriculture in other Union countries. It is worth noting that with respect to the two issues which are most important for Poles as regards integration the key decisions have not been made so far. Taking into account the social significance of both it can be assumed that their resolution, and whether it is going to be presented as a success or failure of the Polish negotiators, will influence the final degree of public approval for integration.

The third issue raised by 12% of those polled is the impact of integration on the Poles' standard of living. Among the issues most frequently mentioned in this context, aside from the general advantages and disadvantages of membership in the European Union, the following were most visible: implications of integration for the Polish economy (8% of answers) and the influence of integration on the level of wages (5%).

It is surprising that the issue of free purchase of land in Poland by foreigners was not among the issues which aroused most interest. Only 4% of those polled mentioned it. The same number of persons is interested predominantly in the influence of integration on the system of education in Poland and the future of Polish youth in European Union.

The relatively small number of answers related to the liberalization of trade in land may seem surprising because as is illustrated by other surveys, the acceptance by Poland of the principle of free land trade which is paramount in the Union arouses objections among most of the Polish society. Taking into account that this issue is relatively less important than for instance the impact of integration on the level of unemployment, Poles' ability to seek employment abroad, the situation of Polish agriculture and the standard of living after accession to the Union, it may seem that possible concessions by Polish negotiators with respect to transition periods for the purchase of land in Poland by citizens of the Fifteen will not cause general discontent, provided that the overall socio-economic situation in the country will improve, especially the condition of agriculture and general standard of living.

The following were indicated among other issues which the respondents wish to learn more: the situation of pensioners after accession to the European Union, the influence of integration on Poland's trade with other Union countries, the health care and social security system, and Poland's role in the European Union. Each of these issues was indicated by 3% of those polled.

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³³⁸ Respondents answered an open question, they did not choose an answer but formulated their own.

The answers least frequently related to such issues as the current status of accession negotiations (2%), environment protection and protection against crime after joining the European Union (1% each).

Table 38. Main areas of interest in integration topics – open question (per cent)

What exactly would you like to know about Poland's accession to the European	
what exactly would you like to know about I orang 3 accession to the European	omon:
Influence of integration on the level of unemployment and ability and	
conditions of seeking employment in the European Union.	28
The situation of Polish agriculture after Poland's accession to the European	16
Union	12
Influence of integration on the standard of living in Poland	
Costs and threats connected with integration	9
Situation of the Polish economy after joining the European Union	8
Advantages of integration	7
Level of wages after Poland's accession to the European Union	5
Ability and conditions for foreigners to purchase land in Poland	4
The future of Polish youth in the European Union	4
Influence of integration on the education system and schools	4
Situation of pensioners in the European Union	3
Influence of integration on the health care system	3
Influence of integration on trade between Poland and the European Union,	
prices of goods	3
Influence of integration on the social security system, social issues	3
The role, of Poland in the European Union, its importance	3
Poland's negotiations with the European Union	2
Influence of integration on environment protection	1
Influence of integration on protection against crime	1
Other issues	8
Don't want to know anything, not interested	9
Difficult to say	10

The importance assigned by respondents to the above mentioned issues of Poland's accession to the European Union varies between social, demographic and professional groups and reflects the problems most important for them. The younger the age of those polled the greater the interest in the influence of integration on the level of unemployment and ability for Poles to seek employment in Union countries. This issue is raised by about half of all young people polled, under 24 (49%), and 13% of those over 59. Persons employed in state owned enterprises, students and the unemployed are relatively more likely to wish to learn something about it.

The future of Polish agriculture within the European Union is most important for the farmers (32% of them mentioned this subject), farms employees and the rural population in general (25%).

The development of the Polish economy after Poland joins this organization is the subject of interest for owners of private enterprises and companies (23% mentioned it).

Information about the future situation of pensioners is desirable primarily for persons over 59 (11%), pensioners and housewives (9% each).

The impact of integration on the education system and schools is relatively the most important for persons with higher education (13%), young people – under 24 (9%), and mainly for secondary school and university students.

The above results are confirmed by the results of closed questions ³³⁹. The most important issues connected with Poland's future membership in the European Union are, according to public opinion, those which relate to the socio-economical implications of integration. The most frequent declarations of interest referred to the influence of integration on the scale of unemployment (63%), material standard of living, level of wages and prices in Poland (52%). Among the most frequently mentioned although on a smaller percentage scale were the situation of Polish agriculture after accession to the European Union (43%) and the costs of adapting the legal system and the economy to Union standards and requirements (29%). The following places were occupied by issues such as the limitation of Poland's sovereignty, the ability for foreigners to purchase land in Poland and the consequences of integration for environment protection.

Table 39. Main areas of interest in integration topics – closed question (per cent)

Table 37: Wall areas of interest in integration topies closed question (per cent)		
Please chose not more		
63		
52		
34		
29		
21		
15		
15		
10		
7		

Among other issues which go beyond the socio-economical and financial implications of integration the greatest interest is aroused by the future rights of the Polish people: the ability to seek employment abroad(48%), general rights and duties in united Europe (35% and the impact of integration on labour rights, protection of employees (34%). A large percentage of those polled would like to know the effects of integration on Poland's international position (28%) and for the operation of the system of justice (265). The three issues which were pointed out least often were the impact of integration on the protection of consumers (15%), the situation of women (13%) and, by far the least interesting, the effects of integration for the Catholic church and other religious groups (6%). The order of indications, primarily the low positions of the issues related to women and religion in united Europe, reflects indifference to the cultural aspect of integration.

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³³⁹ Respondents chose provided categories of answers.

Table 40. The main areas of interest in integration topics – closed question (per cent)

Please indicate which other issues you would like to learn about. Please indicate	ate not more than three
issues from the list below.	
The opportunities, conditions for Polish people to seek employment in Union	48
countries	
Rights and duties of the Polish people in united Europe	35
The influence of integration over labour rights and protection of employees	34
International situation of Poland after joining the European Union	28
Influence of integration over the operation of the system of justice and	
protection against crime	26
Influence of integration on protection of consumers (purchasers of goods and	15
services)	
Influence of integration on the situation of women, their equal rights	13
Influence of integration on the situation of the Catholic church and other	
religious groups	6
Difficult to tell	14

An analysis of the socio-demographic differentiation of the interests of those polled confirms previous findings and makes them more precise.

The question of the size of unemployment in Poland after entry into the European Union belongs to those issues which are perceived as the most important and interesting among all social and professional groups. Even groups which are relatively less interested in the issue, persons over 59 and farmers, it received a large percentage of indications (49 and 45% respectively). Interest in the opportunities and conditions of employment in the Union countries is more diversified: the younger and better educated the respondents the more interest. The issue of employment opportunities in the European Union is mentioned among the most important matters by 68% of young people, under 24, and 25% of those over 59, 61% of persons with higher education and 38% with elementary education. Among individual social and professional groups students (77%) indicated it most frequently and pensioners relatively less frequently (31%), farmers 31% and unskilled workers 38%./

Farmers (74%) and the rural population (51%) would most like to learn about the influence of integration on Polish agriculture. Interest in this issue grows with the age of respondents.

The effects of integration for the operation of Polish enterprises is the most interesting subject for private entrepreneurs (37%).

The cost of adjusting the law and economy to Union requirements and limitations of Polish sovereignty are topics of interest the higher the education of the respondents. In professional groups high ranking officials, professionals and white collar workers as well as private entrepreneurs.

The question of the terms of purchase of land in Poland by the citizens of Union countries, like the impact of integration on labour rights and protection of consumers is relatively the most frequent subject of interest for private entrepreneurs.

The effects of integration for environment protection is of most concern to students (13%).

The effects of integration will be felt throughout the country, on a regional scale, in all towns and villages, enterprises and businesses as well as in the lives of individuals and their families. For this reason full information about the effects of Poland's membership in the European Union should take into account changes at all these levels: both on the level of the country as well as the regional and local level, in businesses and private lives of people and their families.

Respondents would like to be informed about the effects of integration primarily on the national scale (455) and for themselves and their families (41%). Only slightly fewer respondents (37%) would be interested mainly in the development perspectives for their region. Relatively fewer still would like to know about the threats and opportunities connected with integration for their town or village (27%) and place of employment (14%).

Table 41. Level of interest in integration issues (per cent)

My place of work / farm

Difficult to tell

Poland's integration with the European Union will have consequences not only for the entire country but also for individual regions, sectors of the economy etc. What would you most like to learn about? Please indicate not more than two possibilities. I would like to be informed about the effects of integration for:

Poland – the country as a whole

Me and my family

My region

The town/village I live in

27

The effects of integration for Poland are relatively most interesting for persons with higher education and secondary education (59 and 56% respectively), high ranking officials and professionals (60%), white collar workers (57%) and owners of private businesses and companies (545). Persons with higher education (47%) but also the unemployed (47%) are also the most likely to wish to know about the effects of integration for their region.

The opportunities and threats connected with Poland's accession to the European Union for their town or village are the subject of interest primarily for the inhabitants of small towns, under 50 thousand population (33%). In individual social groups this issue is relatively most interesting for private entrepreneurs (33%) on the one hand and the unemployed (38%) on the other. More often than average they were also indicated for those over 59.

The effects of integration for their places of work and farms are most interesting for farmers (34%) and persons employed on farms (545) as well as owners of private enterprises (23%).

The question of the influence of Poland's membership in the European Union on the life of the individual respondent and his family gained a similar, high percentage of answers in all the socio-demographic groups. Housewives are the most interested in this aspect of integration (58%). Summing up it seems that the Polish people generally have a bad opinion on the level of their own knowledge about integration. The reasons for this are attributable both to the citizens themselves, but also to the social institutions which are responsible for popularizing information on the subject. A significant barrier for disseminating knowledge about integration is the lack of interest of large sections of the society in the issues connected with Poland's participation in the European Union. On the other hand even those interested in integration do not find sufficient information. A change in this regard requires the improvement of the system of transmission of information about integration. Both an increase in the volume of information as well as better quality are needed.

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The main source of information is and should remain the television. Its information programs are viewed by the general public and enable information to reach those who are less interested in Poland's future membership in the European Union. The remaining sources of information stipulated by the public are respectively the radio, press, brochures and meetings devoted to the subject. Informing about integration by electronic media: television and radio cannot be limited to transmitting information about it in programs and information services. Information on the subject should increasingly be supplemented by detailed and comprehensive information in programs specifically dedicated to integration. Magazines devoted to integration should be more available – interest in these, although small is higher than the current scale of use. Brochures and leaflets as well as various types of information manuals should play a greater role. Access to direct methods of informing should also be increased, such as meetings, training sessions and seminars.

In designing an information campaign about integration the credibility of various social institutions which publicize information should be taken into account. The individual social segments should be reached through the means of various institutions which are perceived as trustworthy. The institutions which seem to be preferred on account of their credibility which are aimed at disseminating knowledge about integration are those which are considered "neutral", not connected with the European Union or, more significantly, politics. These are primarily the mass media, scientific organizations and schools, and as far as farmers are concerned, agricultural chambers and farming advisory centers.

The information campaign about integration should provide answers to the key questions related to Poland's future membership in the European Union. The main areas of interest in the subject of integration are connected with its socio-economic implications and the future rights of the Polish people. The crucial issue in public opinion is the impact of integration on the level of employment in Poland and the opportunities and conditions for seeking employment in the European Union countries. Moreover, respondents would like to know more about the situation of Polish agriculture within the European Union as well as the influence of integration on material living standards and level of wages after Poland joins this organization.