



### Question 1: Most Contacted

- Poland (7%) is amongst the most contacted countries within the EU: Germany (22%), France (13%), the UK (11%), Italy (6%), the Netherlands, Sweden (5%) and Spain (4%)
- It is contacted more often by the Visegrad Four (16%) than by the EU & less often by the Affluent Seven (1%) and the Southern Seven (4%)
- It is contacted more often by Germany (13%), Czech Rep. (20%), Slovakia (21%) and Hungary (29%) than by their country groups & less often by Greece (0%)
- Poland contacts Hungary (18%), Germany (16%), Czech Rep. (13%), the UK (11%), Slovakia (9%), Romania (8%), Lithuania and Sweden (5%) most often
- More often than the Big Six/Visegrad Four Poland contacts the Czech Rep. (13% rather than 3% / -), Hungary (18% rather than 4% / 11%), Lithuania (5% rather than 1% / 2%), Romania (8% rather than 1% / 3%), Slovakia (9% rather than 2% / -) and Sweden (5% rather than 2% / -) & less often than the Big Six/Visegrad Four does Poland contact Germany (16% rather than 22% / -), Italy (0% rather than 11% / -), Netherlands (0% rather than 4% / -), Spain (2% rather than 5% / -), Austria (0% rather than 3% / -), Slovakia (9% rather than - / 16%)

### Question 2: Shared Interests

- Poland (5%) is amongst the countries with which the EU shares most interests: Germany (11%), the UK (7%), the Netherlands, France, Italy and Sweden (6%), Spain and Belgium (5%)
- The Big Six (2%) and the Southern Seven (2%) share less interests with Poland than the EU does & the Visegrad Four (14%) more
- The UK (11%), Sweden (5%), Czech Rep. and Hungary (24%) find Poland more essential than their country groups do
- Poland shares most preferences than the Big Six/Visegrad Four with Hungary (13%), Romania, Estonia (11%), Czech Rep., Germany, the UK, Sweden, Portugal (6%) and Latvia (5%)
- It shares more preferences with Czech Rep. (6% rather than 2%), Estonia (11% rather than 3% / 4%), Hungary (13% rather than 3% / 9%), Latvia (5% rather than 1% / 2%), Lithuania (12% rather than 3% / 5%), Romania (11% rather than 3% / 7%), Slovakia (9% rather than 2% / -) and Sweden (6% rather than - / 2%) & less than the Big Six/Visegrad Four with Belgium (1% rather than 9% / -), France (2% rather than 9% / -), Germany (6% rather than 11% / -), Greece (0% rather than 3% / -), Italy (0% rather than 9% / -), Luxembourg (0% rather than 5% / -), the

Netherlands (1% rather than 6% / -), Portugal (0% rather than 6% / -), Czech Rep. (6% rather than - / 11%) and Slovakia (9% rather than - / 17%)

### Question 3: Most Responsive

- Poland (4%) is amongst the countries the EU finds most responsive: Germany (13%), the Netherlands, France, UK, Sweden (7%), Belgium (6%), Finland, Luxembourg, Spain, Italy and Slovakia (4%) score higher or just as high on responsiveness
- The Visegrad Four (11%) finds Poland more responsive than the EU does & the Big Six (1%) and the Affluent Seven (1%) less
- Sweden (6%), Portugal (6%) and Hungary (22%) find Poland more responsive than their country groups do
- Poland finds Romania (15%), Sweden (12%), Hungary (11%), Estonia (8%), Czech Rep. and the UK (5%) most responsive
- It finds Czech Rep. (5% rather than 2%), Estonia (8% rather than 2% / 5%), Hungary (11% rather than 2% / 5%), Latvia (4% rather than 1%), Lithuania (4% rather than 1%), Romania (15% rather than 3% / 7%), Slovakia (9% rather than 2%) and Sweden (12% rather than 6% / 6%) more responsive than the Big Six/Visegrad Four & Belgium (2% rather than 10%), France (1% rather than 9%), Germany (6% rather than 11%), Italy (2% rather than 7%), Luxembourg (0% rather than 5%), Portugal (0% rather than 5%), Spain (1% rather than 11%), Austria (1% rather than - / 4%), Czech Rep (5% rather than - / 9%) and Slovakia (9% rather than - / 17%) less

### Question 4: Most Disappointing

- Poland (10%) is amongst the countries the EU is most disappointed in: UK (13%), Hungary (11%), France, Germany (9%), Greece (8%) Austria (6%), Italy and the Netherlands (5%)
- The Affluent Seven (14%) find Poland more disappointing than the EU does & Visegrad (2%) less
- France (14%), Germany (18%), Sweden (26%) and Czech Rep. (7%) are more disappointed in Poland than their country groups are & Denmark (11%), the Netherlands (11%) and Portugal (2%) less
- Poland is most disappointed in France (16%), Germany (11%), the UK (10%), the Netherlands, Greece, Austria and Belgium (9%)
- It is more disappointed in France (16% rather than 9%), Germany (11% rather than 9%), Greece (9% rather than 6%), Italy (10% rather than 5% / 6%), the Netherlands (9% rather than 6% / 6%) and Belgium (7% rather than 2% / 3%) than the Big Six/Visegrad Four is & less in Hungary (3% rather than 10%), Slovakia (1% rather than 4%), the UK (10% rather than 15%), Germany (11% rather than - / 17%), Luxembourg (1% rather than - / 4%) and Sweden (1% rather than - / 4%)

### Question 5: Ranking Big Six on Overall EU Policy

- There is no consensus in the EU about the rank of Poland as regards the influence of Big Six members on EU overall policy (rank 4 by 21%, rank 5 by 37%, rank 6 by 33%)
- There is no consensus about the rank of Poland in the Big Six (rank 5 by 42%, rank 6 by 39%), the Affluent Seven (rank 4 by 24%, rank 5 by 36%, rank 6 by 32%), the Southern Seven (rank 5 by 38%, rank 6 by 41%) and the Visegrad Four (rank 4 by 22%, rank 5 by 38%, rank 6 by 31%)
- Unlike their country groups, there is consensus in France about Poland ranking 5<sup>th</sup> in France (57%) and about Poland ranking 6<sup>th</sup> in Czech Rep. (50%)
- There is consensus in Poland about Germany ranking 1<sup>st</sup> (100%), about France ranking 2<sup>nd</sup> (81%) and about Italy ranking 4<sup>th</sup> (50%)
- There is no consensus in Poland about the influence of the UK (rank 2 by 19%, rank 3 by 42%, rank 5,6, by 15%), Spain (rank 4 by 23%, rank 5 by 31%, rank 6 by 46%) and Poland (rank 5 by 42%, rank 6 by 35%)
- There is a higher degree of consensus in Poland about Germany ranking 1<sup>st</sup> than in the Big Six/Visegrad Four (100% rather than 94% / 97%) and about France ranking 2<sup>nd</sup> (81% rather than 69% / 77%). Like in Poland, there is no consensus in the the Big Six/Visegrad Four about the influence of the UK and Poland. Unlike in Poland, there is consensus (50%) in the Visegrad Four about Spain ranking 6<sup>th</sup>.

### Question 6: Ranking Big Six on Fiscal Policy

- There is consensus (58%) in the EU about Poland having been the least influential member of the Big Six on EU fiscal policy
- The degree of consensus about Poland ranking 6<sup>th</sup> is lower in the Affluent Seven (52%) than in the EU & higher in the Southern Seven (60%) and the Visegrad Four (63%)
- The degree of consensus about Poland ranking 6<sup>th</sup> is higher in Germany (64%), Italy (65%), Poland (80%), the Netherlands and Finland (60%) than in their country groups & lower/absent in France (50%), the UK (15%) and Hungary (42%)
- There is consensus in Poland about Germany ranking 1<sup>st</sup> (96%), France ranking 2<sup>nd</sup> (76%), Spain ranking 5<sup>th</sup> (52%) and Poland ranking 6<sup>th</sup> (80%)
- There is no consensus in Poland about the influence of Italy (rank 3 by 48%, rank 4 by 44%) and the UK (rank 2 by 16%, rank 3 by 20%, rank 4 by 16%, rank 5 by 32%)
- There is a higher degree of consensus in Poland about Germany ranking 1<sup>st</sup> than in the Big Six/Visegrad Four (96% rather than 91% / -), about France ranking 2<sup>nd</sup> (76% rather than 57% / 68%) and about Poland ranking 6<sup>th</sup> (80% rather than 58% / 63%). Like in Poland, there is no consensus in the Big Six/Visegrad Four about the influence of Italy and the UK. Unlike in Poland, there is no consensus in the Big Six/Visegrad Four about Spain ranking 5<sup>th</sup> (rank 4 by 34% / 38%, rank 5 by 38% / 43%)

### Question 7: Ranking the Big Six on Foreign and Security Policy

- There is no consensus in the EU about the influence of Poland as regards the influence of Big Six members on EU foreign and security policy (rank 4 by 27%, rank 5 by 25%, rank 6 by 33%)
- There is no consensus about the influence of Poland in the Big Six (rank 4 by 26%, rank 5 by 28%, rank 6 by 32%), Affluent Seven (rank 4 by 26%, rank 5 by 30%, rank 6 by 34%), Southern Seven (rank 4 by 1%), rank 5 by 28%, rank 6 by 36%) and Visegrad Four (rank 3 by 19%, rank 4 by 30%, rank 5 by 21%, rank 6 by 26%)
- There is no consensus in the individual member states about the influence of Poland
  
- There is consensus in Poland about Germany ranking 1<sup>st</sup> (76%) and Spain ranking 6<sup>th</sup> (56%)
- There is no consensus in Poland about the influence of France (rank 2 by 44%, rank 3 by 32%), the UK (rank 2 by 32%, rank 3 by 40%), Italy (rank 4 by 48%, rank 5 by 49%) and Poland (rank 3 by 20%, rank 4 by 28%, rank 5 by 20%, rank 6 by 28%)
- There is a lower degree of consensus in Poland about Spain ranking 6<sup>th</sup> than in the Visegrad Four (56% rather than 59%) and a higher degree than in the Big Six (56% rather than 50%). Like in Poland, there is no consensus in the Big Six/Visegrad Four about the influence of the other Big Six members

### Question 8: Ranking the Affluent Seven

- There is no consensus in Poland about the influence of any of the Affluent Seven members on EU policy: the Netherlands (rank 1 by 48%, rank 2 by 28%), Sweden (rank 1 by 36%, rank 5 by 16%, rank 6 by 24%, rank 7 by 16%), Denmark (rank 3 by 20%, rank 5 by 16%, rank 6 by 24%, rank 7 by 17%), Finland (rank 3 by 12%, rank 5 by 20%, rank 6 by 12%, rank 7 by 28%), Belgium (rank 2 by 12%, rank 3 by 16%, rank 6 by 16%, rank 7 by 20%), Luxembourg (rank 4 by 20%, rank 6 by 16%, rank 7 by 17%) and Austria (rank 4 by 20%, rank 5 by 32%, rank 6 by 20%, rank 7 by 16%)
- Unlike in Poland, there is consensus (57% / 52%) about the Netherlands ranking 1<sup>st</sup> in the Big Six/Southern Seven. Like in Poland there is no consensus in the Big Six/Visegrad Four about the influence of the other Affluent Seven members

### Question 10: Essential Partners on Foreign and Development Policy

- Poland (5%) is amongst the EU's most essential partners in foreign and development: Germany (12%), France (10%), the UK (8%), Sweden (7%), Italy (6%), Spain, Austria, Belgium (4%) score higher or almost as high
- The country groups do not find Poland more or less essential than the EU does
- The UK (9%) and Czech Rep. (12%) find Poland more essential than their country groups do
  
- Poland finds Germany (12%), Czech Rep. (10%), Hungary, Slovakia, the UK (9%), Sweden (8%), Lithuania (7%), Latvia, Estonia (6%) and Romania (5%) the most essential partners in foreign and development policy

- It finds Czech Rep. (10% rather than 3% / -), Estonia (6% rather than 2% / 3%), Hungary (9% rather than 2% / 5%), Latvia (6% rather than 1% / 3%), Lithuania (7% rather than 2% / 4%), Romania (5% rather than 2% / 2%) and Slovakia (9% rather than 2% / -) more essential than the Big Six/Visegrad Four do & Austria (1% rather than 4% / -), Belgium (0% rather than 5% / -) and the Netherlands (1% rather than 6% / -) less

### Question 11: Essential Partners on Security and Defense Policy

- Poland (8%) is amongst the EU's most essential partners in security and defense policy: Germany (13%), France (11%), the UK (10%), Italy (6%), the Netherlands and Sweden (4%)
- The country groups do not find Poland more or less essential than the EU does
- The UK (14%), France (9%), Germany (10%), Hungary (13%) and Czech Rep. (15%) find Poland more essential than their country groups do
- Poland finds Germany (17%), the UK (13%), France (9%), Sweden (8%), Romania, Hungary (7%), Estonia, Latvia (6%) and Lithuania (5%) the most essential partners on Security and Defense Policy
- It finds Estonia (6% rather than 3% / -), Germany (17% rather than 13% / 13%), Hungary (7% rather than 2% / 4%), Latvia (6% rather than 3% / -), Romania (7% rather than 2% / 4%), Slovakia (4% rather than 1% / -), Sweden (8% rather than 4% / 4%) and the UK (13% rather than 10% / 10%) more essential than Big Six/Visegrad Four do & Austria (0% rather than 3% / 3%), Belgium (1% rather than 4% / -), France (9% rather than 12% / -), Czech Rep. (4% rather than - / 8%) and Slovakia (4% rather than - / 9%) less

### Question 12: Essential Partners on Economic and Social Policy

- Poland (4%) is amongst the EU's most essential partners in economic and social policy: Germany (13%), France (9%), the Netherlands (7%), Sweden (6%), Italy (5%), Spain, the UK, Finland, Belgium and Austria (4%)
- The Visegrad Four (8%) finds Poland more essential than the EU does
- Germany (6%) and Czech Rep. (16%) find Poland more essential than their country groups do & UK (0%) less
- Poland finds Germany (21%), Latvia, Lithuania, Czech Rep., France (7%), Estonia, Romania and Slovakia (5%) the most essential partners in economic and social policy
- It finds Czech Rep. (7% rather than 1% / -), Estonia (5% rather than 2% / -), Germany (21% rather than 12% / 16%), Hungary (10% rather than 2% / 5%), Latvia (7% rather than 2% / 4%), Lithuania (7% rather than 2% / 3%), Romania (5% rather than 2% / -) and Slovakia (5% rather than 2% / -) more essential than the Big Six/Visegrad Four do & Austria (0% rather than 4% / 6%), Belgium (2% rather than 6% / -), Finland (0% rather than 3% / -), France (7% rather than 10% / -), Greece (0% rather than 3% / -), Ireland (0% rather than 3% / -), Italy (0% rather than 7% / -), Luxembourg (0%), Netherlands (2% rather than 7% / -), Spain (0% rather than 5% / -), Slovakia (5% rather than - / 8%) less

### Question 13: Essential Partners on Fiscal Policy

- Poland (2%) is not amongst the EU's most essential partners in fiscal policy: Germany (17%), France (10%), the Netherlands (7%), UK, Italy and Finland (5%), Spain, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Belgium (4%)
- The Visegrad Four find Poland more essential than the EU does
- Czech Rep. (11%) finds Poland more essential than the Visegrad Four does
  
- Poland finds Germany (20%), Hungary (15%), Czech Rep., Sweden (10%), France (9%) and Romania (5%) the most essential partners in fiscal policy
- It finds Czech Rep. (10% rather than 1% / 7%), Germany (20% rather than 13%), Hungary (15% rather than 2% / 5%), Romania (5% rather than 1%), Sweden (10% rather than 3% / 4%) and France (7% rather than - / 4%) more essential than the Big Six/Visegrad Four do & Austria (0% rather than 5% / 4%), Belgium (0% rather than 6%), Finland (0% rather than 4%), France (7% rather than 11%), Ireland (0% rather than 4%), Italy (0% rather than 4%), Luxembourg (0% rather than 5%), the Netherlands (2% rather than 7%), Portugal (0% rather than 3%), Spain (0% rather than 4%), Germany (20% rather than - / 24%) and Slovakia (2% rather than - / 9%) less

### Question 14: Commitment to Deeper Integration

- Poland (1%) is not amongst the EU's members most committed to deeper integration: Germany (13%), Belgium (12%), Luxembourg and France (11%), Italy (8%), Spain (6%), Portugal (5%) and the Netherlands (4%) score higher
- The country groups do not find Poland more or less integration minded than the EU does & the individual countries do not find Poland more or less integration minded than their country groups do
  
- Poland finds Germany (16%), Belgium, Luxembourg (13%), the Netherlands (7%), Italy (6%) and Spain (5%) most committed
- It finds Germany (16% rather than 13% / -) and the Netherlands (7% rather than 3% / -) more committed to European integration than the Big Six/Visegrad Four do & Portugal (3% rather than 6% / -) and Spain (5% rather than 8% / -) less
- Poland (1%) finds itself not more or less committed than the EU does

### Question 15: Importance of Coalitions

- Poland finds coalitions very (72%) and fairly (24%) important, 4% of the respondents finds coalitions neither important nor unimportant (4%)  
It attaches more importance to coalitions than the Big Six does (of which 69% finds coalitions very important, and 28% fairly important) and less than the Visegrad Four (of which 78% finds coalitions very important, and 21% fairly important)

## Question 16: Preferred Actor Level

- Poland prefers to work with all member states on: Russia policy (82%), Ukraine policy (77%), Single market, Energy policy (73%), Syria policy (68%), Defence structures (59%), MENA policy (55%) and China policy (50%)
- Poland prefers to work on a national level on: Social policy (50%)
- A relatively big minority of Polish respondents prefers to work on a national level on: Immigration and asylum policy (41%), Justice and home affairs (36%), Climate policy (32%), China policy, Border policy and coast guard (18%), Foreign and security policy and Syria policy (14%)
- There is a relatively big minority of Polish respondents that prefers to form a coalition on: Development and assistance policy (46%), Justice and home affairs (45%), Border police and coast guard (41%), Foreign and security policy (41%), Defence structures (36%), Immigration and asylum policy (36%) and China policy (32%)

**RETHINK: EUROPE** *an initiative of*



STIFTUNG  
MERCATOR