THE CHALLENGE OF SOLIDARITY

CIVICUS Civil Society Index Report
for Poland

Marta Gumkowska, Jan Herbst, Justyna Szołajska
& Jakub Wygnański

Warsaw, February 2006

Klon/Jawor Association
CIVICUS – World Alliance for Citizen Participation

FOREWORD

Klon/Jawor Association is a Polish nonprofit organization. The mission of the organization is to provide free access to information on activities of non-government organizations (NGOs) in Poland. Klon has built the largest resource centre for NGOs in the country and one of its most important activities is research on nonprofit organizations, their environment, social economy, volunteering and philanthropy in Poland and creating linkages between the NGOs and academic research activities, as well as initiating and strengthening the debate about civil society in Poland. Well connected with the academic community in Poland and abroad, and holding a significant position in the NGO world in Poland, Klon has the capacity to support the debate on civic engagement in Poland.

The mission and scope of information collected day by day imposes a responsibility to bring all of the data together, draw conclusions about the condition of civil society in Poland and communicate it to third sector actors, public administration, the business sector, the academic world and the public. The CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI) provided a perfect opportunity to integrate all accessible data and transform it, with the involvement of civil society participants, into conclusions that highlight the major characteristics of the Polish third sector and recommendations to develop a preferred policy for the future. The important advantage of the project is that it is supposed to not only serve researchers and policy-makers, but also practitioners in gaining essential knowledge for their work.

After having conducted the CSI in 2005, in the future it will be advisable to transform the CSI into a permanent mechanism of measuring the state of civil society in Poland. Whereas we are not able to make a binding decision concerning our ability to implement the CSI on a regular basis, we think of it as a repeatable mechanism combining different but regular streams of research that will systematically provide data for individual CSI indicators. This will move us closer to what, we believe, would be the most desirable situation, in which everybody has access to the most recent CSI results and analysis. We believe we will succeed in convincing others to accept our proposal as their own.

The international aspect of the project is also very important. Being part of a large team of researchers from over 50 countries enabled us to benefit from their experience and created an invaluable source for comparison, thereby providing a greater chance of understanding our own situation. The CIVICUS CSI project is, at present, the largest research project in this area on a global scale. It is very likely to become an accepted standard for assessing the state of civil society. This requires agreements with the research environment as well as with numerous international institutions that aspire to support civil society (e.g. the EU, UNDP, the World Bank as well as numerous private institutions). Such agreements seem quite likely and, for obvious reasons, will help us to make the CSI a permanent tool for strengthening civil society in Poland.

Urszula Krasnodębska
President of the Klon/Jawor Association and the Klon/Jawor Association's Research Team:
Marta Gumkowska, Jan Herbst, Justyna Szołajska and Jakub Wygnański

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report could not have been developed without the contribution of many individuals and institutions. We would like to thank them all.

The Civil Society Index (CSI) project was supported by the Trust for Civil Society in Central & Eastern Europe and the Stefan Batory Foundation. It was conducted within the Third Sector Program, financed by these organizations.

The team that conducted the project had continuous contact with CIVICUS representative Volkhart Finn Heinrich, who provided recommendations on the various activities undertaken within the project, gave advice in problematic situations and acted as motivator to overcome difficulties. Thank you Finn!

We especially want to thank the members of the National Advisory Group (NAG): Jerzy Bartkowski (Warsaw University Institute of Sociology), Janusz Durlik (Public Opinion Research Centre – CBOS), Piotr Frączak (Civil Society Development Foundation), Piotr Gliński (Civil Society Unit at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Małgorzata Greszta (Responsible Business Forum), Andrzej Juros (Catholic University of Lublin), John Kubiniec (Freedom House), Ewa Kulik-Bielińska (Stefan Batory Foundation), Revd. Mieczysław Puzewicz (Academic Chaplaincy in Lublin), Przemysław Radwan (School for Leaders Association), Maria Rogaczewska (Warsaw University Institute of Sociology), Marek Rymsza (Institute of Public Affairs), Tomasz Schimanek (Academy for the Development of Philanthropy), Krzysztof Stanowski (Education for Democracy Foundation), Łukasz Waszak (Centre for Promotion and Development of Civil Initiatives OPUS), Krzysztof Więckiewicz (Department of Public Benefit at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy) and Anna Wojakowska (Polish-American Freedom Foundation). Thanks to their engagement and support it was possible to adjust the methodology of the project to Polish conditions and to enrich the report with new, interesting data. The NAG also took on the difficult task of assessing the state of civil society in Poland, an assessment that became the basis of the final version of the CSI report.

We would also like to thank the students of the Institute of Applied Social Sciences at Warsaw University: Ewa Bata, Aleksandra Bergier, Iwona Burakowska, Joanna Conder, Emilka Korytkowska, Monika Mazur-Jankowska, Ania Plich, Zuzanna Rojek, Basia Sończyk, Paweł Szymański, Justyna Tymińska, Andrzej Wróbel, Joanna Zielińska and Ania Żuławska for their work with and engagement in the media review.

The internet panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" was a very important and interesting source of information, with 283 representatives of social organizations and other stakeholders that care about the development of civil society in Poland participating in this study. We are very grateful to them for sharing their opinions and observations with us.

While carrying out the project, we succeeded in making use of many sources of information. However, at the end of the day, the crucial moment turned out to be the writing the report, as the results of different surveys and indices were compared and described in an accessible manner. Dominik Butler, PhD student at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, was very helpful during this process, for which we are very thankful.

The full version of the CSI in the badania.ngo.pl service, supplemented by easily accessible data sources, has been prepared by Dagmara Drążewska, to whom we are very grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword 1
Acknowledgements 2
Table of Contents 4
Tables and Figures 5
List of Acronyms 6
Executive Summary 7
Introduction 10

I CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX PROJECT AND APPROACH 12
1. PROJECT BACKGROUND 12
2. PROJECT APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY 13
2.1 Conceptual Framework 13
2.2 Project Methodology 13
2.3 Linking Research with Action 16
2.4 Project Outputs 17

II CIVIL SOCIETY IN POAND 18
1. SPECIFICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY 18
2. THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY 20
3. CIVIL SOCIETY MAP 21

III ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY 24
1. STRUCTURE 24
1.1 The Extent of Citizen Participation in Civil Society 24
1.2 Depth of Citizen Participation in Civil Society 27
1.3 Diversity of Civil Society Participants 28
1.4 Level of Organisation 30
1.5 Inter-Relations within Civil Society 32
1.6 Civil Society Resources 33
2. ENVIRONMENT 37
2.1 Political Context 37
2.2 Basic Rights and Freedoms 41
2.3 Socio-economic Context 43
2.4 Socio-cultural Context 44
2.5 Legal Environment 46
2.6 State - Civil Society Relations 48
2.7 Private Sector – Civil Society Relations 49
3. VALUES 52
3.1 Democracy 52
3.2 Transparency 54
3.3 Tolerance 56
3.4 Non-Violence 58
3.5 Gender Equity 59
3.6 Poverty Eradication 59
3.7 Environmental Sustainability 60
4. IMPACT 63
4.1 Influencing Public Policy 63
4.2 Holding State and Private Corporations Accountable 65
4.3 Responding to Social Interests 67
4.4 Empowering Citizens 68
4.5 Meeting Societal Needs 71

IV STRENGHTS AND WEAKNESSES OF POLISH CIVIL SOCIETY 74
V RECOMMENDATIONS 76
VI CONCLUSIONS 82
APPENDICIES 88
BIBLIOGRAPHY 111

TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

TABLE I.1.1: Countries participating in the CSI implementation phase 2003-2005 12
TABLE II.3.1: Types of CSOs included in the study 22
TABLE III.1.1 Indicators assessing the extent of citizen participation 24
TABLE III.1.2: Participation in chosen kinds of non-partisan political actions in Poland 25
TABLE III.1.3: Indicators assessing depth of citizen participation 27
TABLE III.1.4: Indicators assessing diversity of civil society participants 28
TABLE III.1.5: Indicators assessing level of organisation 30
TABLE III.1.6: Indicators assessing inter-relations within civil society 32
TABLE III.1.7: Indicators assessing civil society resources 34
TABLE III.1.8 Percentage of organizations (associations and foundations) with revenues in particular categories in 2001 and 2003 34
TABLE III.2.1: Indicators assessing political context 37
TABLE III.2.2: Indicators assessing basic rights and freedoms 41
TABLE III.2.3: Indicator assessing socio-economic context 43
TABLE III.2.4: Indicators assessing socio-cultural context 44
TABLE III.2.5: Indicators assessing legal environment 46
TABLE III.2.6: Indicators assessing state-civil society relations 48
TABLE III.2.7: Indicators assessing private sector – civil society relations 50
TABLE III.3.1: Indicators assessing democracy 52
TABLE III.3.2: Indicators assessing transparency 54
TABLE III.3.3: Indicators assessing tolerance 56
TABLE III.3.4: Indicators assessing non-violence 58
TABLE III.3.5: Indicators assessing gender equity 59
TABLE III.3.6: Indicator assessing poverty eradication 60
TABLE III.3.7: Indicator assessing environmental sustainability 61
TABLE III.4.1: Indicators assessing influencing public policy 63
TABLE III.4.2: Indicators assessing holding state and private corporations accountable 65
TABLE III.4.3: Indicators assessing responding to social interests 67
TABLE III.4.4: Trust in charity organizations and public institutions in Poland. CBOS, February 2004 68
TABLE III.4.5: Indicators assessing empowering citizens 69
TABLE III.4.6: Indicators assessing meeting societal needs 71
TABLE III.4.7: Percentage of centres of social aid run by different sectors 72
TABLE A4.1: Disposition of respondents according to the kind of represented institution 109
TABLE A4.2: Disposition of respondents according to the area of activity of the represented institution 109
TABLE A4.3. Disposition of respondents according to voivodeship in which they work 110

Figures

FIGURE 1. Civil Society Diamond for Poland 7
FIGURE III.1: Subdimension scores in structure dimension 24
FIGURE III.2: Subdimension scores in environment dimension 37
FIGURE III.3: Subdimension scores in values dimension 52
FIGURE III.4: Subdimension scores in impact dimension 63
FIGURE VI.1: Civil Society Diamond for Poland 82

LIST OF ACRONYMS

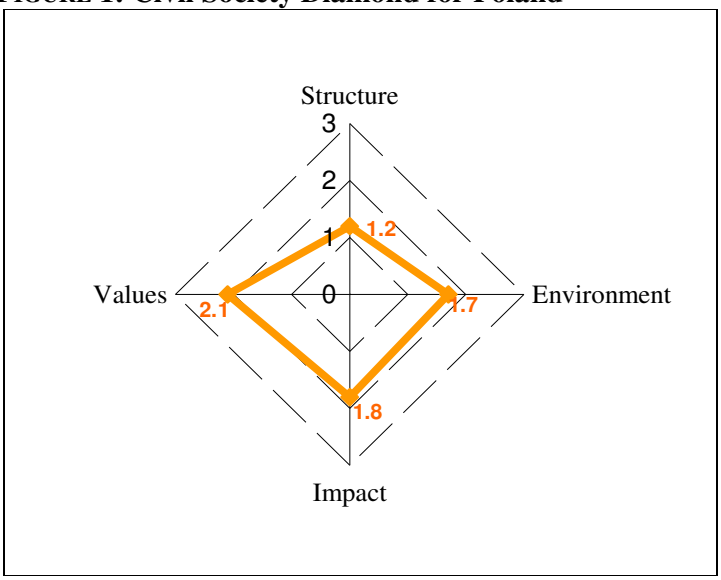
CBOS	Centrum Badania Opinii Publicznej [Public Opinion Research Centre]
CSI	Civil Society Index
CSO	Civil society organisation
EU	European Union
FIP	Stowarzyszenie na rzecz Forum Inicjatyw Pozarządowych [Association for the Forum of the Non-Governmental Initiatives]
FOB	Responsible Business Forum
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GUS	Chief Census Bureau
OSKa	The Information Centre for Women's Organizations
NAG	National Advisory Group
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIK	Supreme Chamber of Control
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This section summarizes the results of the CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI) project in Poland conducted by the Klon/Jawor Association in 2005. It discusses the major findings, points out strengths, weaknesses and recommendations for Polish civil society, as well as shares some ideas about the potential future direction of the CIVICUS CSI project.

The CSI project collected extensive factual material, as well as opinions about civil society from numerous sources. This report gathers research from public opinion research centres (above all CBOS), research on NGOs conducted by the Klon/Jawor Association and statistics on and analyses of different types of civil society organizations (CSOs). Important sources of knowledge about civil society are the opinions of experts, leaders and researchers which were gathered through this project. Among these, the most important are the opinions of the almost 300 civil society leaders that participated in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" and the interpretations and assessments by the National Advisory Group (NAG) of the gathered material. The NAG evaluated the current condition of civil society in Poland by means of 72 indicators that form four dimensions: structure, environment, values and impact. The results of the work of the NAG are depicted in the Polish Civil Society Diamond.

FIGURE 1: Civil Society Diamond for Poland



The diamond shows that the greatest strength of civil society in Poland is the area of values, with regards to both, civil society's internal practice and the promotion of positive values in society as a whole. A significant exception is the lack of concern about transparency, both within CSOs and in public life in general. The external environment for civil society activities was assessed as relatively conducive. High scores were given above all to the legal regulatory domain; while social attitudes favouring the activities of the CSOs, such as trust, public spiritedness and tolerance, received considerably lower scores. The NAG's rating of the impact of civil society's work, such as the social importance of civil society initiatives, was similar to that of the environment, reflecting civil society's moderate overall impact. At the same time, this area combines both a positive assessment of the willingness of civil society to respond to social needs, and a considerably less optimistic assessment of civil society's effectiveness in influencing the activities of the state and private sector. The lowest score was given to the structure of civil society, particularly to the level of citizen's

engagement in supporting CSOs' activities and, more generally, their limited engagement in any kind of public activity.

The assessment of the CSI's values dimension came up with an additional interesting result. The high scores in the values dimension for civil society do not translate into equally high scores for the overall socio-cultural environment in society at large: the indicators scores for values such as trust, public spiritedness and engagement in non-partisan political actions (which are located in other dimensions of the Diamond) are low. In other words, civil society's strong practice and promotion of positive values does not lead to a general prevalence of these values in Polish society overall. This weakens the prospects for creating a strong and sustainable civil society in Poland.

The shape of the Polish Civil Society Diamond is similar to the shape of diamonds in other Central and Eastern European countries in which the project was conducted, such as Bulgaria, Croatia the Czech Republic, Romania and Ukraine. In all of them, the strongest dimension is values. The shape of the diamond in countries outside Central and Eastern Europe (particularly countries where the non-governmental sector has developed for a long time) is characterized by significantly "longer" vectors of structure and impact.

A distinct strength of civil society, revealed by the CSI, is the relatively favourable and improving legal environment for civil society. The last years has brought about significant changes in this area, including the public benefit act that defines the rules of cooperation with the public administration; the creation of the Public Benefit Works Council. Nevertheless the Act on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work requires some amendments and the division of work between the state and NGOs remains the central issue for the non-governmental sector. What is even more important, is the need to initiate an effective mechanism for monitoring changes in the law and how these changes affect the work of CSOs.

Diversity, good internal organization and a fairly good infrastructure of the third sector are other strengths. Nevertheless, it is necessary to further develop the support infrastructure for the non-governmental sector and continue to work on effective mechanisms for the representation of the sector's interests. It is also necessary to educate NGO leaders.

Civil society holds a strong position in defending its essential values, such as democracy, transparency, tolerance, non-violence, gender equity and poverty eradication. On the other hand, among the most prominent weaknesses of civil society are the low engagement of citizens in public affairs, such as involvement in non-partisan political actions and membership of organisations and low public spiritedness (relatively high corruption and low level of trust in others). These negative tendencies, which have strong implications for the third sector, need to be overcome. With regards to breadth of citizen participation in non-partisan political action, suggested activities to be undertaken on the national level can take the form of voter turnout campaigns, monitoring of election promises or proposals of change the election statutes, so as to stimulate voter participation. The role of CSOs in the area of enhancing local community activity is vital. From this perspective, activities aimed at mobilizing local communities and building social capital are especially important. Even if such activities have a mainly local character, they require external support from nationwide organizations as well as the national and regional government.

A further weakness is the insufficient engagement of members in CSOs. The organizations need to increase their involvement in building genuine engagement among their members and

anchor their activities in the local communities. It is necessary to continue the development of an infrastructure that promotes volunteering and matches individuals and organisations interested in volunteering with appropriate opportunities in the respective communities.

Also, the cooperation of CSOs with the public administration is characterized by a number of weak spots. At present, since the basic legal framework for cooperation already exists, the most important task is to create a mechanism to promote good practices and to exert more effective pressure in cases where the public administration disregards its statutory obligations. The second recommendation refers to the insufficient activity of watchdog organizations, whose role should be strengthened. CSOs carry out more and more public tasks, which have led to a change in their income structure. Similarly to other EU countries, the percentage of public funds in organisational budgets is likely to increase in the coming years. One can expect this tendency to be followed by a significant growth of employment in the sector and higher formal standards of work. However, it can also cause the third sector to become excessively similar to other sectors, which will lead to a reduction of its unique features and the marginalisation of organizations that are not "in demand" by the government. Hence, it is necessary to protect the specific, unique features of NGOs in the division of work between the public, private and third sector.

With regards to the relationship with the private sector, corporate social responsibility and non-financial forms of cooperation are becoming increasingly popular. Still, the pace of these changes is unsatisfactory, partially since it seems the infrastructure of the organizations that mediate between the non-governmental community and the business environment is too weak. Another issue is the new 'social economy' paradigm, which entails a serious challenge for the third sector: in order not to become another redistribution mechanism, it needs to develop innovative economic activities with the purpose of reducing social exclusion.

The most frequently mentioned problem for the work of CSOs remains the lack of financial resources. It is necessary to create an appropriate financial infrastructure for the non-governmental sector. Access to public funds, particularly from the EU, is of utmost importance. The procedures for programming, accessing and accounting for these financial resources should be adjusted to the specific character of the non-governmental sector.

Finally, it is necessary to continue to work on issues of self-regulation within the non-governmental sector. This issue is obviously related to the public image of CSOs, an image that, although having improved in the last years, still seems to reflect the Poles' general dislike of institutions.

On many important social issues NGOs are able to generate interesting solutions and prove that these solutions are possible. However, the key challenge today for almost all of these areas is how to scale up these good practices.

The participants of the CSI project appreciated the "organizing power" of the project, which is a good tool to channel dispersed facts, data and opinions to develop a clear picture of the condition of civil society in Poland. We believe that, in the end, the 72 CSI indicators may fulfil an organizing function for a kind of general repository of data on different aspects of civil society.[1]

[1] The Polish report serves as the architecture for such a repository. Each indicator is supplemented with links to the data, reports or publications cited in the text. Visitors are welcome to comment on the data or the analyses of

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the Polish results of the work on the international Civil Society Index (CSI) project, coordinated by the international NGO CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation. The project was conducted in more than 50 countries around the world. The main objective of the CSI is to assess civil society via a participatory approach and to create a momentum for strengthening civil society. These objectives were sought to be achieved through a particular method of gathering and consulting data, designed for the needs of the project, which allowed the integration of existing data into a single research tool. At the same time, it created favourable conditions for a debate during which the collected data is commented on and interpreted by stakeholders of civil society.

The CSI project was conducted using the same methodology and a similar organizational structure in all the countries. In Poland, the national project coordinator was the Klon/Jawor Association. The National Advisory Group (NAG), which was comprised of representatives of civil society institutions, filled a very important advisory function. Also the international CIVICUS CSI research team participated in the implementation of the project by thoroughly elaborating the methodology and then advising the Polish research team in carrying out the research. CIVCUS' main task was to make sure the project was adjusted to the local context of each country, but, at the same time, allowing for international comparisons.

The project was conducted in two main stages. The first stage consisted in collecting data from research centres, databases, publications and other accessible sources, as well as conducting research activities, including active participation by civil society actors. Based on this data, a draft version of the CSI report was developed. In the second stage of the project, the information in the report was interpreted and evaluated by the NAG. The result of these activities was an enormous variety of data, organized according to the logic of the 72 civil society indicators which, together with comments and scores, make up an assessment of the state of civil society.

Structure of Publication

Section I of this publication presents the concept of the CSI project, its origin, research assumptions, methodology and sources of the data used in the project.

Section II contains information about the unique features of civil society in Poland. It opens with a concise history of Polish civil society, then provides an explanation of the definition of civil society adopted in the CSI project and an attempt to place different institutions and informal groups/activities on the map of civil society, which is a graphic presentation of how close different institutions are to the core concept of civil society.

Section III is the main section of this publication, in which the results of the CSI project can be found. It presents data organized according to the 72 indicators, together with comments and scores of the NAG.

Section IV, in which the project is summed up, contains comments about the shape of the Polish civil society "diamond" and an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of civil

---

the report and send updated or new sources on a given topic. The report (in its Polish version) is available at www.badania.ngo.pl.

engagement in Poland. Based on the conclusion of the CSI, recommendations were formulated.

The last section of the report is composed of annexes. The first contains auxiliary questions to the indicators and scales on which one can read the meaning of the scores given by the NAG. Also tables with scores for all the indicators, subdimensions and dimensions that eventually formed the "diamond" can be found here. The remaining annexes present the methodology of the most important research conducted for the needs of the CSI project.

The main sections of this publication are the result of joint work: the outline of the report was primarily prepared by Marta Gumkowska from the Klon/Jawor Association, in some sections with the support of Dominik Buttler, PhD student at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The updated version of the report was supplemented with comments from the NAG, as well as with the scores for the C*ivil Society Diamond.* Other parts have been prepared by the Klon/Jawor Association research team. Jan Herbst is author of Part II: Specifics of civil society in Poland. Part IV "Summary of results and recommendations" is the text of Jakub Wygnański. The description of the Civil Society Index (Part I) was written by Justyna Szołajska.

A specific added value of this project is that it goes beyond the usually adopted scope of studies of the third sector – the activities of associations and foundations. The range of the analysed institutions has been extended to include, among others, employers' organizations, trade unions and church organizations. The CSI is also unique due to the wide range of the assessment – it is a tool of analysis that not only makes it possible to describe the structure of civil society but also to demonstrate the values behind it, the context in which it functions and measures the influence of "the civil sector" in solving social problems. Even though the range of studied issues is exceptionally wide, one can certainly point to certain gaps. The matrix does not exhaust the list of possible factors that define and influence the state of civil society. For example, it does not look at voter turnout. However, overall the wide variety and range of materials collected during the CSI project allow for a complex and multidimensional way of analysing and thinking about civil society.

I CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX PROJECT AND APPROACH

1. PROJECT BACKGROUND

The CSI project was initiated by CIVICUS, an international network of NGOs working worldwide for the development of civil society, especially in places where the rules of participative democracy are violated and the freedom of association is threatened.

Since the late 1990s, CIVICUS has worked on elaborating a method for measuring the development of civil society in the world. In 1997, the New Civic Atlas was published. It described the profile of civil society in 60 countries. Even though the Atlas provided basic data about the features of civil society in the countries in question, the information it contained on different countries and issues was difficult to compare. In the following year, instead of updating the data collected in the Atlas, the decision to develop the CSI was taken. In 1999, the draft Civil Society Diamond was presented for the first time, a tool designed by Helmut Anheier, then the director of the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics. In 2000, a pilot project was started in which 13 countries participated. Based on the evaluation of the pilot phase, an updated project framework was developed. By the end of 2002, CIVICUS began to look for organizations interested in coordinating the CSI in 2003-2005.

TABLE I.1.1: Countries participating in the CSI implementation phase 2003-2005[2]

1. Argentina	19. Germany	38. Palestine
2. Armenia	20. Ghana	39. Poland
3. Azerbaijan	21. Greece	40. Romania
4. Bolivia	22. Guatemala	41. Russia
5. Bulgaria	23. Honduras	42. Scotland
6. Burkina Faso	24. Hong Kong (VR China)	43. Serbia
7. Chile	25. Indonesia	44. Sierra Leone
8. China	26. Italy	45. Slovenia
9. Costa Rica	27. Jamaica	46. South Korea
10. Croatia	28. Lebanon	47. Taiwan
11. Cyprus[3]	29. Macedonia	48. Togo
12. Czech Republic	30. Mauritius	49. Turkey
13. East Timor	31. Mongolia	50. Uganda
14. Ecuador	32. Montenegro	51. Ukraine
15. Egypt	33. Nepal	52. Uruguay
16. Fiji	34. Netherlands	53. Vietnam
17. Gambia	35. Nigeria	54. Wales
18. Georgia	36. Northern Ireland	
	37. Orissa (India)	

In Poland, the Klon/Jawor Association coordinated the CSI project in 2003-2005.

[2] This list encompasses independent countries as well as other territories in which the CSI has been conducted, as of May 2006.

[3] The CSI assessment was carried out in parallel in the northern and southern parts of Cyprus due to the de facto division of the island. However, the CSI findings were published in a single report as a symbolic gesture for a unified Cyprus.

2. PROJECT APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Conceptual Framework

How to define civil society?

In the CSI project, civil society is defined as "the arena, *outside* of the family, the state, and the market where people associate to advance common interests". However, the authors of this definition realize that in practice the theoretical boundaries between civil society, state and private sector often turn out to be unclear. To avoid this vagueness, members of civil society are defined according to *what they do* and not who they are (e.g. what legal status they have). As a result of this approach, the national project coordinators play a strong role in determining the scope of the civil society sphere in their country.

How to conceptualise the state of civil society?

The state of civil society is analysed through **72 indicators**[4] organized into **four** dimensions, graphically represented in the C*ivil Society Diamond*. The dimensions are:[5]

- **Structure –** covering the "breadth" and "depth" of civil society, among other things manifested in how well represented and integrated the sector is in society as a whole, the level of institutional and non-institutional civic activity, the intensity of the relationship between the actors of civil society, as well as the resources of the sector.
- **Environment** –describing the influence of external conditions (social, political, legal and cultural) on civil society, as well as the relationship between civil society and government and private sectors.
- **Values –** describing the values and principles represented in the sector; it assesses to what extent the sector supports, promotes and protects democratic values and norms.
- **Impact –** looking at the actual impact of civil society on society at large, including advocacy, watchdog, empowerment and service provision roles by CSOs.

2.2 Project Methodology

The CSI project first gathers extensive data from various sources of information and then uses a participatory approach to interpret and analyse the results. A research team of the Klon/Jawor Association, in cooperation with researchers and experts, prepared the draft CSI report, which was based on existing data as well as surveys conducted specifically for the purpose of assessing the state of civil society in Poland.

2.2.1 Data collection. The CSI project seeks to utilize the largest possible number of sources of knowledge and information about civil society. In order to achieve this goal it was necessary both to review existing publicly available data, such as legal instruments, widely available databases of organizations, studies conducted by Polish academic and research centres, think tanks, as well as international studies, such as "World Value Survey" or "Global Barometer" and indices, such as "Transparency International Corruption Perception Index" or "Freedom House Political Rights Index", and to conduct additional surveys specifically designed for this project.

[4] A list of the indicators – described and with evaluation scales – can be found in Appendix 1.

[5] The idea of the diamond is explained in part 2.3.2, and an analysis of the civil society diamond in Poland can be found in part IV, when summing up the results of the project.

These specific studies included a media **review** which consisted of a systematic observation of selected media (printed and electronic) using standardized methods to measure the quantity, structure and content of information concerning civil society organizations (CSOs).[6] Also, a **panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005"** was conducted, whose main purpose was to include the actors of civil society in the assessment process. The study replaced the regional consultation recommended in the CSI methodology.[7] Even if the adopted method (described in detail below and in Appendix 3) did not leave much room for discussion, the panel could be used as a quick tool for gathering opinions on the issues important for the third sector and its environment. Another important merit of the panel study is the possibility to return to a chosen group of experts in order to repeat the questions asked during the CSI project in order to detect any changes.

The most frequently used sources of information in the CSI report are described below.
Polish studies:

- **"Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004"** – a survey directed by the Klon/Jawor Association and conducted by the Centre for Scientific Research of the Polish Sociological Association between 15 June and 30 September 2004, on a representative, stratified random sample of 950 associations and foundations, using a questionnaire-based interview method.
- **"Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2004"** – a survey of the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association, carried out by SMG/KRC A Millward Brown Company from 2-5 November 2004, on a random, representative sample of 1,005 adult Poles.
- **"Business Organizations and Employers' Organizations"** – a report based on the data acquired within a larger research project carried out from August to October 2004, for the needs of the expert evaluation, "Demand of the Non-Governmental Organizations for Training, Advisory Services and External Sponsoring"; a survey conducted through telephone interviews (CATI) on a stratified random sample of 1093 NGOs.[8]

[6] Methodology and conclusions of the media review are described in Appendix 2.
[7] The methodology of the survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" is described in Appendix 3.
[8] For the needs of the above mentioned research project, an operational definition of the non-governmental sector was adopted. The non-governmental sector thus includes those private sector nonprofit organizations in the "Register of Associations, Other Types of Voluntary and Professional Organizations, Foundations and Public Institutions of Social Service", kept in the "National Court Register", that were created in accordance with:

- The 7 April 1989 Law on Associations (Journal of Laws of 2001, No. 79, item 855);
- The 6 April 1984 Law on Foundations (Journal of Laws of 1991, No. 46, item 203);
- The 30 May 1989 Law on Economic Chambers (Journal of Laws of 1989, No 35, item 195, with further modifications);
- The 22 March 1989 Law on Handicraft (Journal of Laws of 1989, No 17, item 92, with further modifications)
- The 23 May 1991 Law on Entrepreneurs' Organizations (Journal of Laws of 1991, No 55, item 235),
- The 30 May 1989 Law on Professional Self-Governing Units of Some Transactors (Journal of Laws of 1989, No 35, item 194),
- The 23 May 1991 Law on Employers' Organizations (Journal of Laws of 1991, No 55, item 235)

In order to ensure comparability with other studies, the following types of institutions were excluded from the concept of non-governmental organizations in the survey: church organizations (church units and religious units that have religious and structural functions), the Voluntary Fire Brigades, trade unions, political parties, sports

- Results of public opinion polls (CBOS and TNS OBOP).
- **"Social Diagnosis 2005"** – a study conducted on 3,858 households with 12,738 members and 8,790 individual respondents, elaborated by the Council for Social Monitoring and carried out by the Polish Sociological Association.
- **"Situation of Civil Society in 2005"** – a panel survey conducted by the Klon/Jawor Association on a non-random sample of 283 people interested in civil activity: social practitioners, social leaders, scientists, decision-makers, representatives of the public administration and journalists.
- **Media review** – research conducted in 2004 within the CSI project. During the research both printed and electronic media were monitored: seven national newspapers representing different word-views ("*Gazeta Wyborcza*", "*Rzeczpospolita*", "*Życie*", "*Trybuna*", "*Nasz Dziennik*", "*Fakt*", "*Gazeta Prawna*"), five television news programmes from different TV stations (*Teleexpress* and the main edition of *Wiadomości* on Channel 1 of the Polish Television, *Panorama* on Channel 2 of the Polish Television, *Kurier* on Channel 3 of the Polish Television (regional), and the main edition of *Fakty* on TVN) and three morning radio news programmes (on Channels 1 and 3 of the Polish Radio and Tok.Fm).

International studies:

- **World Value Survey** 1999 – a survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) on a representative sample of 1095 adult Poles, supervised by Prof A. Jasińska-Kania at the Warsaw University Institute of Sociology.
- **European Social Survey** 2002/2003 – in Poland conducted by the Centre for Social Studies at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences.
- **NGO Sustainability Index** 2003 and 2004 – conducted jointly by the American organizations Freedom House and USAID since 1997 in 28 Central and Eastern European, as well as Eurasian countries. The NGO Sustainability Index was based on statements of experts during a panel discussion.

2.2.2 Data aggregation. One of the most important benefits of the CSI is the so-called Civil Society Diamond. It illustrates the assessments of the NAG according to four main dimensions of civil society, graphically represented as the diamond's extremities. A score located near the centre of the diagram means the state of civil society is weak, while a score further away from the centre indicates a better state.

The Civil Society Diamond is created based on 72 indicators, organized into the four dimensions. The indicators are scored by the NAG based on the collected factual material.[9] Each indicator is measured on a 4-point scale (formulated by a CIVICUS team), where 0 is the most negative score and 3 the most positive. Each NAG member assigned scores for each indicator. Next, averages were calculated and the numbers were rounded. The score of the

---

clubs, parents' associations, parent-teacher organizations, social committees as well as social organizations working on the strength of separate regulations (the Polish Hunting Association, the Polish Allotment Holders' Association, the Country Defence League, the Polish Red Cross and the agriculture self-government organizations). In the survey Non-governmental organizations were defined as having the legal form of either associations and unions of associations; foundations; economic self-government organizations (economic chambers); professional self-government units (guilds, craftsmen chambers, commerce unions and service unions, but not organizations in which membership is compulsory); or employers' organizations.

[9] The members of the NAG are listed in Appendix 1.

subdimensions were given by the average value of the indicators contained in each of them and the final scores of the four dimensions were composed of averages of the subdimensions.

Before the scores were assigned to each indicator, a discussion took place, in which the presented research material was interpreted. The discussion also offered an opportunity to complement the data and give additional examples of activities of CSOs, which broadened the report. Comments of the NAG members were also included in the report.

2.3 Linking Research with Action

The CSI is an action-research project, with the main objective of empowering civil society actors. The specific methodology of the CSI consists in combining data collection with an active interpretation of the results by stakeholders. The collection and systematization of mostly scattered data on civil society is itself an important innovation. But it is even more important to collect opinions, assessments and comments of the civil society actors, since this creates favourable conditions for self-reflection and analysis. The data interpretation process in Poland was decentralized and was conducted by means of consultation with numerous stakeholders and experts in the country.

From the very beginning of the project, the idea and implementation of the Civil Society Index was discussed with a group of experts grouped as the National Advisory Group (NAG). The NAG was composed of representatives of NGOs, public administration, the Church and academic circles. Thanks to their diverse experiences, it was possible to gather knowledge and opinions on different aspects of civil society. Specifically they gave input in the definition of civil society in Poland, commented on the methodology and delivered some data sources. In the final stage, the NAG conducted the process of an assessment of the state of civil society in Poland.

The second most important element of the consultations was a panel conducted with a sample of 283 people engaged and interested in civil activity: social practitioners, social leaders, scientists, decision-makers, representatives of the public administration and journalists. The main criterion for selecting the participants was the diversity of sectors and ideas. This large group of civil society actors shared their opinions on a broad range of issues. They commented on a number of current problems and events, on the environment of civil society activities, assessed the condition of civil society organisations and gave their opinion on civil engagement. The panel also revealed challenges and threats for civil society in Poland, as perceived by its actors. This research activity enabled the involvement of a large and diverse group of civil society representatives in the process of assessing of civil society in Poland.

Before the project was completed and the final report published in Polish, some CSI results were presented through NGO information channels. In the mid phase of the project, an article about the CSI was published on the Internet information service of the www.ngo.pl portal. Also, two articles were published in the printed NGO newspaper gazeta.ngo.pl: one summarised the analysis of the media results and the other informed the public about the conclusions of the project. At the end of the project, a group of researchers and academics working in the field of civil society were presented with the idea of creating an online repository of data and analysis based on the architecture of the CSI.

The main event promoting the project results and inviting the active participation in the development of the project is planned for May 2006. The conference will be accompanied by the promotion of the publication of the Polish CIVICUS CSI report and the online version of

the report in the Polish NGO portal, which will launch the data repository and enable visitors to comment on the gathered data, conclusions and recommendations.

2.4 Project outputs

The implementation of the CSI in Poland delivered a variety of products and outputs, such as:

- A comprehensive country report on the state of civil society;
- A list of key recommendations, strategies and priority actions for strengthening civil society in Poland, developed by a broad range of stakeholders;
- A website in Polish, containing the report, enriched by probably the largest repository of data sources (accessible for free) in the country. A wide range of visitors engaged and interested in the civil society issues can comment on the results and add new data sources;
- Several in-depth reports on the research (e.g. the media review) and consultations conducted as part of the CSI project and
- Several publications presenting the particular parts of the project in the NGO media.

II CIVIL SOCIETY IN POLAND

1. SPECIFICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Poland has a long tradition of social movements, yet their importance has changed throughout history. During the period of the Partitions of Poland (1795-1918), associations and foundations played an important role in maintaining Polish identity and culture. Charity and philanthropy were perceived as a patriotic duty. The organizations' authority and position, as well as the fact that they had a reliable institutional base was extremely important during the first years of independence in the 1920s, since they strongly supported the emerging state structures, especially in the domains of social welfare, education and health care.

During the Second World War's German occupation, organizations were banned. Nevertheless, self-help movements, both secular and religious, undertook clandestine activities, and thus became part of the underground resistance movement. After the Second World War, during the communist period, the sphere of social activity became subjected to a high degree of state control. Many organizations were banned, and the remaining organizations were kept under strict political and administrative surveillance. The existence of associations, foundations and other civil initiatives was at odds with the ideology of centralism and one party rule. The authorities interfered in the activities of the organizations, set their aims and influenced their personnel policy. Based on this "top-down management", the organizations were used to accomplish the goals of the communist state and, at the same time, legitimized it through a wide, often 'coercive', mass membership. The best example of this paradox was the obligation to do voluntary work. However, the lack of independence and self-governance among these communist organisations discouraged the citizens from establishing any grassroots initiatives.

The situation changed completely after 1989, due to the culmination of past experiences, above all the tradition of pro-independence activities, strengthened by the experience of CSOs' engagement in political opposition in the 1970s and 1980s, and in particular by the strong impetus of the "Solidarity" social movement. In this context one also has to mention the important role of the Catholic Church and of the laypeople involved in it, which not only promoted charity, but were also involved in political and educational activities.

In the early 1990s, after almost 50 years of communism and decades of creating so-called "underground society" structures, civic activities had strong political connotations. Thus, the organizations' activities were often an extension of, or complement to, political activities. It is worth remembering that the right to freedom of association (that resulted in the Act on Associations) was part of the agreements of the Round Table talks between the communist regime and the civic movement.

The beginning of the activities of civil organizations in the new free Poland was turbulent. The numerous and, admittedly, chaotic activities blurred the boundaries between the goals of the NGOs, political movements, trade unions, media and local government representatives. What they all had in common was a will to create something new and an overwhelming feeling of being part of a historic and important process. Very quickly, however, different roles were assigned.

Around 1990-1991 the paths of the participants in these events began to diverge, and certain aspects of this process have continued to today. Some NGO activists and pioneers became members of the government or leaders of political parties. Many local activists were elected to local government bodies. Others went over to the new, independent media that had emerged after liberation from censorship. While an enormous number of NGOs formed and were registered, they did not have an easy start. The increase in the number of NGOs combined with limited access to financial resources caused the individual survival strategy to dominate NGOs.

Since the mid-1990s, the development of the non-governmental sector has slowed down. The strategy of the NGOs' activities has also slowly changed. This does not mean, however, that the individual survival strategy is no longer dominant. The number of NGOs has not increased as rapidly as in the early transformation phase. Different formal and informal agreements between organizations have been formed, which have managed to support the member organizations and represent their interests in relations with other institutions. In the non-governmental community, a debate has begun on how to appropriately represent the sector as a whole. This led to the creation of the National Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations in 2004.

The infrastructure of the third sector is developing further and many training, consultancy, information and research centres have been established in recent years. Similar to what has happened in other democratic countries, the non-governmental sector in Poland is redefining its relations with state institutions. The NGOs more frequently abandon the role of opponents of the administration structure to become its partner and share the responsibility for public tasks.

A symbolic turning point in the process of transformation of mutual relations was the inclusion of the principle of subsidiary in the preamble of the new Polish constitution in 1997. The following year, the work on the draft Act on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work was initiated. It was concluded only on 20 May 2003, when the President signed the Act.

The dynamic development of the non-governmental sector is one of the most important achievements of the Third Republic. Still, it must be stressed that, in the opinions of many observers, reflecting on the state of civil society in Poland, this achievement is not reflected in other forms of civil activity or in any profound change in the mentality of Polish society. Commentators on Polish democracy see the associational activities of Poles as an isolated phenomenon with an "enclave" character.[10] Such opinions seem justified, as they are confirmed by the research results on the social profile of people involved in NGO activities, which reveals an exceptionally high level of education as well a strong historical continuity between today's NGO professionals and the activists involved in the democratic underground movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Today, one in three of these former activists claim they are involved in the activities of CSOs, and two out of three do regular work for organizations.

Another way of justifying the thesis about the uniqueness of the NGO sector (as compared to the rest of Polish society) is by contrasting it with the results of public opinion polls and statistics concerning other forms of social activity in Polish society. These indicate that the classic expression "social vacuum", that was coined in the beginning of 1970s and refers to the arena between family and state in Poland, remains valid, despite the development of the

[10] cf. e.g. W. Morawski. (2000) Zmiana instytucjonalna. Warszawa, PWN.

non-governmental movement. This is especially visible in international comparisons of civil activity in the public sphere or public opinion. The European Social Survey shows that the percentage of Poles that participate in legal and illegal demonstrations or declare having contact with politicians or civil servants on different levels is the lowest in Europe. Poles are also last among the European societies when it comes to the level of trust in other people and public institutions. This crisis of the public sphere in Poland is also exposed by more direct statistics than those of the public opinion polls. Of the eligible voters in Poland, 40% participated in the 2005 parliamentary elections (6% less than in the previous elections). Only one in two eligible voters participated in the presidential elections that were conducted two weeks later (10% less than five years earlier). Forty-four percent of citizens took part in the last local elections (in 2002). Contrary to all other elections, the voter turnout was higher in rural areas than in the cities. The low participation in collective decision-making also manifested itself in the 2003 European Union (EU) accession referendum, when the turnout was 58%. Moreover, it should be noted that, in order to increase the turnout, the referendum was held during two days. An even worse image is revealed when analysing the data concerning the 2004 elections to the European Parliament, only one in five eligible voters participated (21%).

This data shows that Poles trust each other, participate in politics and take interest in public affairs at a rather modest level. In this context, the positive development of the Polish non-governmental sector seems somewhat like a miracle. To understand it one must be aware of the historical and cultural context that shaped the present model of collective activity and influenced the way of thinking about civil society in Poland.

2. THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

First, it is worth mentioning that the public sphere in Poland is "torn" by the long-lasting opposition of the sphere of social self-organization to a hostile state. This opposition was formed in the 19th century during the partitions of Poland, when associational activities became an instrument of national emancipation for the Poles. In almost every domain of public activity (e.g. economic self-help, educational and cultural activities as well as religious activity) the national identity and the defiance of the hostile system of government became important factors in stimulating the people to undertake voluntary activities. This chasm between state and society, which in the Polish case also meant a chasm between "us" and "the others", became the basis for the development of a unique concept of citizenship, identified as "organic work" for an ideal, imagined community and against, or as an alternative to, the imposed legal and institutional order.

The experience of the Second World War, during which the social activity of the Poles was channelled into the structures of the Underground State, can be treated as the next stage of this process. It culminated in the "underground society" and Solidarity, both structures of the democratic opposition movement in communist Poland, thanks to what Andrew Arato referred to as the concept of civil society being put back on the political agenda. Facing a complete appropriation of the public sphere by the state, Polish intellectuals, similarly to the dissidents of other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, adopted a concept of civil society defined as a moral and pre-political community, a vision of the "underground society", not so much opposed to the state as existing alongside it. In this concept, the sphere of civic activity became completely "socialized", separated from politics and the market. It is in this form that the concept is used in today's discourse on Polish civil society, although the variety of approaches makes it impossible to generalize. It is worth noting that the institutional basis for

the social movement, in which the Polish debate on civil society began, was provided by employees' organizations, NSZZ Solidarity and Catholic Church structures – all institutions whose inclusion as part of civil society is still under ongoing an intensive debate. The demand for autonomy of civic activity during the communist period represented a longing for freedom, even though Western democracies, which were inspired by the Solidarity revolution, might have seen this differently due to their own problems of declining engagement in politics.

Still, this demand for autonomy has had an overwhelming influence on the Polish debate about civil society since 1989. It is most commonly used when referring to the sphere of social activity, which is aimed at working towards the common good, understood as good for others and not for oneself. This reservation is important, since it reveals certain doubts about the extent to which initiatives oriented towards meeting group interests or combining social goals with economic or political ones fit into the arena of civil society. In the last few years, a certain change on this issue has been noted, along with the development of the Polish non-governmental sector, its gradual "economization" and the development of its relations with the public administration. It has become clear, and Western theoreticians already drew attention to it in the beginning of the 1990s, that in contemporary democracies it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to draw a clear line of demarcation between what is civil and what is "political", "economic" or "private". Along with the spreading of this view, there is a renewed interest in social initiatives that, until now, in spite of a long and rich tradition in Poland, have been on the margins of the civil society debate. Referring to the "arena" metaphor of civil society used in the CSI methodology, one can say that the space for civil society in Poland seems to be increasing. There is a returning interest in collective activities and institutions that combine social goals with economic and/or political functions, such as economic self-governance organizations, social economy enterprises or local self-governments. This debate was also taken up during the NAG meetings and is reflected in the comments on the "civil society map", described below.

3. CIVIL SOCIETY MAP

Even though the CSI methodology proposes to identify the initiatives that make up civil society according to their *function* and not their legal *form* or formal status, in the opinion of the Polish NAG, the CSI project mainly looks at civil society **organizations.** Whereas it also examines the larger context of their activities, it does not include other forms of civic activities, such as voting. This conception provoked a lively discussion during the first NAG meeting. In a country where CSO activities are perceived as an "enclave" phenomenon, and where one of the fundamental problems of NGOs is the lack of a social base, such a conception of civil society seems dangerous for the debate about the state of civil society. As some NAG members pointed out, civil society should neither be reduced to the non-governmental sector, which was how the solutions proposed by the CSI were interpreted, nor to the larger sphere of organized social activity. Their position was not only grounded in the conviction that in Poland it is particularly difficult to discuss the state of civil society solely on the basis of data about organized manifestations, but also related to their belief in the importance of activities not directly connected to NGOs, such as political participation. The structure of the CSI project and its operationalisation, especially in the values and environment dimensions, were discussed in this context. NAG members pointed out that there was a lack of indicators concerning the individual dimension of civil activity and attitudes important for the state of civil society, or that such indicators were misplaced.

The doubts about equating civil society with the activities of NGOs can be explained by two types of differences between the NAG members and the CSI methodology. The basic difference concerns the degree to which the concept of civil society, apart from representing actual social processes, also stands for a defined axiological project, whether it is an "adjective" or a "noun". In the first case the concept's *designatum* is society as a whole, not only one of its parts, and those who study it are particularly interested in analysing to what extent it is characterized by "civil-ness". This approach opens up the possibility to think in normative terms. A civil society is "better" than a "non-civil" society, since features, such as tolerance and openness are ascribed to it. The definition of civil society adopted in the CSI project is closer to a "noun". It is supposed to be "the arena, *outside* of the family, the state, and the market where people associate to advance common interests", meaning an area of social activity, not identical with society as such, that does not have to comply with the axiological premises of "civil-ness", which however, does not mean they are considered insignificant, since the question of values constitutes an important part of the CSI.

Objections to the CSI's perspective, when describing civil society, were reflected during the discussion about the list of entities to be considered part of civil society in accordance with the CSI methodology. In the initial proposal, the concept was to cover the organizations listed in table II.3.1.

TABLE II.3.1: Types of CSOs included in the study

1. religious organizations;
2. trade unions;
3. advocacy organizations (e.g. for peace, human rights and consumers' rights);
4. service organizations (e.g. organizations that support local development, healthcare organizations and social welfare organizations);
5. educational, training and research organizations (e.g. think tanks and private schools),
6. non-governmental media;
7. women's organizations;
8. student and youth organizations;
9. self-help movements and organizations working for marginalized groups (e.g. poor, homeless, refugees, etc.);
10. professional self-governments, professional chambers, guilds and employers' organizations;
11. local communities and organizations (e.g. parent-teacher organizations, neighbourhood organizations and self-help groups);
12. business organizations (e.g. cooperatives, credit companies and mutual insurance companies);
13. ethnic and traditional organizations;
14. environmental organizations;
15. arts and culture organizations;
16. sports, tourism and recreational organizations;
17. grant-giving organizations;
18. political parties;
19. organizations, networks and federations that support other organizations;
20. social movements.

The NAG members' position on this definition was not unanimous. Some were inclined to think it was too broad, while others mentioned institutions that in their opinion were unjustly included. Doubts were also raised about the absence of territorial self-government units, such as *sołectwa* and local governments, media (not only nonprofit) and entities of the commercial sector among the listed actors. It was argued that entrepreneurship is a kind of activity that also has an important place in the debate on civil society. Since these voices were not dominant, it was decided to place these entities outside of the CSI framework.

Doubts of other NAG members concerned treating business organizations as CSOs, the same applies to trade unions, which are not only regarded as employees' organizations in Poland,

but also as politically active institutions, due to their particular role in the political transformation. This is especially true for NSZZ Solidarity and Solidarity 80. It should be emphasized that, according to the dominant interpretation in Poland today, political institutions are not considered an element of civil society. This should probably be treated as a legacy of the times of schism between the official political system and the oppositional civil society. For this reason, many NAG members found it problematic to compare the institutions that unquestionably are part of civil society, such as public benefit organizations or, more generally, NGOs, with political parties. The parties, institutions whose activity is determined by the logic of power, aroused even greater controversy among the NAG members than the trade union movement that, in the end, was the cradle of the revival of the debate on civil society. Still, these objections were finally decided in favour of the methodology proposed by CIVICUS. However, it should be noted that some research tools used to collect the data for the CSI report, such as the so-called expert panel, did not allow a strict compliance with the definition, since they mainly reflected the respondents' own convictions about the extension of the concept of civil society organizations.

The presence of religious organizations on the list of CSOs also provoked some discussion. Even though there is no doubt that the structures of the Catholic Church, which is dominant in Poland since more than 90% of Poles are Catholic, were the basis for the development of various forms of social activities during many centuries and had fundamental significance for the creation of civil society structures during the communist period, there are those who believe that the Church and initiatives related to it should not be treated as "civil" structures. Different arguments were put forward, from those based on the results of studies that show a negative correlation between Catholicism and civil activity (e.g. Putnam), to theoretical positions that speak of a contradiction between the Catholic Church's teachings and the spirit of civil participation or draw attention to the closed "corporative" character of church institutions.[11] Traditionally, the paradigm of the study of civil society in Poland focused on secular institutions. This was reflected in the research of the Klon/Jawor Association, in which religious organizations, except the nearly 250 "non-confessional" initiatives, were treated as different from other NGOs and excluded from the sampling frame. This decision was motivated by practical reasons, including the ephemeral nature of social initiatives in the parishes and difficulties in reaching respondents. Considering the historical significance of the Church for the development of civil society in Poland, and the high number of social initiatives at present carried out within its structures, it seems irrational to omit them from the discussion concerning the state of civil society in Poland; especially if the concept is described as a "noun" and the principles that guide the institutions that are part of it are not defined. For this reason, with the NAG members' consent, it was decided that the Catholic Church organizations, as well as the structures of other religions, should be treated as CSOs.

[11] cf. e.g. M. Król (1993), Między korporacją a społeczeństwem obywatelskim, in: B. Markiewicz (ed.), Obywatel – odrodzenie pojęcia, Warsaw: IFiS PAN, p. 111.

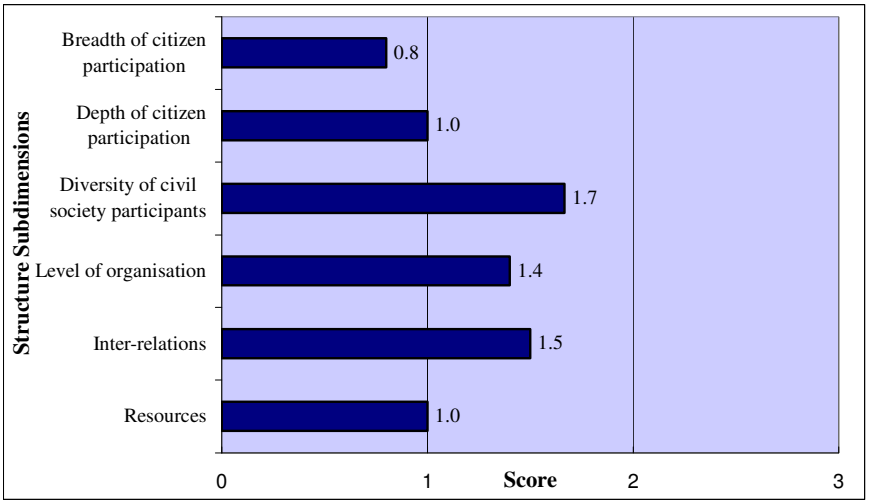
III ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

This section presents information and data collected during the CSI project implementation. It includes analyses of individual indicators, subdimensions and dimensions. This section is divided along the four dimensions of the CSI diamond: Structure, Environment, Values and Impact. The narrative part of each of the 72 indicators provides all available data gathered in this project, as well as interpretations and comments given by the NAG experts. Each dimension and subdimension section is supplemented by a graph or a figure presenting the scores results. Appendix 1 provides descriptions for all subdimensions and indicators and scales, on which particular indicators received scoring.

1. STRUCTURE

This section presents the Structure dimension: the size, strength and vibrancy of civil society, described and analysed in terms of human resources, organizational and economic features. The score for the Structure dimension is **1.2,** indicating a medium sized civil society. Figure III.1 provides the scores for six subdimensions of the Structure dimension.

FIGURE III.1: Subdimension scores in structure dimension



1.1 The Extent of Citizen Participation in Civil Society

This subdimension looks at the extent of various forms of citizen participation in Polish civil society. Table III.1.1 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.1.1 Indicators assessing the extent of citizen participation

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.1.1	Non-partisan political action	1
1.1.2	Charitable giving	2
1.1.3	CSO membership	0
1.1.4	Volunteer work	1
1.1.5	Community action	0

1.1.1 Non-partisan political action. The 2002 European Social Survey provided data concerning citizen participation in different kinds of non-partisan political actions. The data

in table III.1.2 shows that Poland is definitely placed below the European average in all the selected categories of activities. A more accurate comparison of data from all the studied counties indicates that the percentage of citizens that takes part in legal and illegal demonstrations or declares having contact with politicians and civil servants on different levels is the lowest in Europe.[12] In 2003 and 2004, a similar question was raised during the research of SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association. The study revealed that the percentage of Poles engaged in such activities has remained stable. In total, in 2004, 13% of Poles claimed they had undertaken one of the below mentioned activities.

TABLE III.1.2: Participation in chosen kinds of non-partisan political actions in Poland

	Research of SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association		**2002 European Social Survey**	
Have you… (positive answers in per cent)	**2004**	**2003**	**Poland**	**European average**
Contacted a politician or civil servant on national or local level?	5.4	6.6	9.6%	16.1%
Signed any petition?	7.8	9.5	7.1%	23.4%
Attended any legal public demonstration?	1.9	2.6	1.4%	7.2%
Participated in any illegal protests?	0.3	1.3	0.2%	1.1%

Information about the most indirect form of participation of Poles in politics – voting in the elections – is an important complement to this data. Also in this regard Poland definitely diverges from the countries of Western Europe. 40.6% of the eligible voters in Poland participated in the last parliamentary elections, in 2005. Compared to the previous elections, the participation had decreased considerably (in 2001 it was 46%). A significantly higher voter turnout was recorded in the 2000 presidential elections – 61% of the voters participated. 44% of the citizens took part in the last local elections in 2002. Contrary to all other elections, the voter turnout was higher in rural areas than in the cities. The low participation in collective decision-making also manifested itself in the 2003 EU accession referendum when the turnout was 58%. Moreover, it should be noted that, in order to increase the turnout, the referendum was held during two days. An even worse image is revealed when analysing the data concerning the 2004 elections to the European Parliament – only one in five eligible voters participated (21%).

1.1.2 Charitable giving. In 2004, 39.2% of adult Poles claimed they had donated money or goods to an NGO, social or religious movement during the previous year. This is 6% more than in 2003 when 33.4% of Poles declared they had given financial or material support to organizations and social movements.

Financial support to organizations or social movements does not include the most frequent form of charity in Poland – the offertory (it can be discussed, however, if this can be treated as charity, although part of the money certainly goes to such objectives). In the research of

[12] The first edition of the European Social Survey was conducted between 2002 and 2003, on a representative sample of citizens in 23 European countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxemburg, Germany, Turkey, Italy, Slovenia, Sweden, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway, Holland, Ireland, Greece, United Kingdom, Finland, Spain, Czech Republic, Israel, Poland and Hungary.

SMG/KRC and the Klon/Jawor Association from 2004, the respondents were asked if they had donated any money to the Church/religious associations (in the form of offertory, ministry charges etc.), or if they had dedicated time to or worked for them (for free) during the previous year. When the question was formulated this way, 66% of the respondents declared giving support. According to data from the Institute of Catholic Church Statistics 77% of Poles claimed they donate money during offertory, while 70% donated money to the construction or renovation of churches (this research did not use the phrasing "in the last year", hence the difference). When assessing the level of philanthropy in Poland, data concerning the Church should be left aside, even if the financial support of the donors might be regarded as charity. This is due to the fact that such donations in most cases are destined for the churches' confessional activity or to maintaining the Church as an institution, and not related to any form of active association of citizens that aims at achieving common goals.

1.1.3 CSO membership. According to research conducted in 2004 by SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association on a representative sample of adult Poles, 20.3% claimed they belonged to a NGO, social or religious movement, trade union, self-help movement, etc. Another study ("Social Diagnosis 2005") indicated that 12.3% of Poles were members of organizations, associations, political parties, committees, councils, unions or religious groups (such a wide variation between the results of the two studies stems from methodological differences: in "Social Diagnosis 2005" the question concerned membership of "organizations, associations, political parties, committees, councils, unions or religious groups" without further defining or exemplifying the kind organization; while in the research of the Klon/Jawor Association the respondents were asked about membership of particular kinds of organizations divided according to 22 areas and specific forms of activity). When comparing the percentage of declared membership over the years (from the beginning of the 1990s) a downward trend is noted. This is most evident in case of trade union membership. Public opinion polls conducted regularly by CBOS show that since 1991 the number of members in trade unions has decreased by half. In the beginning of the 1990s, 18% of the adult population declared union membership. From 1991 to 1995, the number declined rapidly and between 1995 and 1999, it remained stable. The next period of decrease in union membership was from 1999 to 2001. In the last years, the number has stabilized at a low level – in 2002, 7.5% of the adult Poles, for example 18.2% of the working population belonged to trade unions. However, only about 4% of the respondents claimed they participated in the work of trade unions, i.e. were not only members (CBOS). At the same time, one should stress that the percentage of Poles that claimed they belonged to trade unions was significantly lower (2.3%) in the research of SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association from 2004. This might be explained by methodological differences, but it can also lead to conclusions concerning the importance of the membership of a given organization for its members. Membership of some organizations, especially larger ones, is for many members a mere formality about which they often forget. This results in complete passiveness and neglect of such basic member obligation as paying fees. The NAG pointed out that the results of qualitative studies on social activity in local communities lead to the conclusion that membership that requires real engagement is considerably less common than declared and amounts to 5-10%. It is therefore worth analysing associations' statements concerning level of activity of their members. These indicate that 30% of all members of associations in Poland are completely passive – they do not pay fees, appear in general meetings or maintain contact with the organizations (the NAG emphasised that this rate seems to be even higher in reality). What is the level of activity of the remaining 70%? Only 30% actively participated in the activities of the organizations, dedicated their time to them or worked for the organizations. The remaining 40% limited

their activity to paying fees (according to the organizations' answers, about 65% of the members pay fees) and maybe participated in general meetings.

1.1.4 Volunteering. In 2004, 18.3% of adult Poles claimed they had dedicated time (without charging) to NGOs, groups, associations, or social or religious movements during the previous year. This means an increase by 8.3% in relation to 2001. The biggest increase in the level of volunteering was observed between October 2002 and June 2003. Since then, the tendency has continued, even if the increase in the number of volunteers is definitely smaller. According to the organizations (associations and foundations), volunteers (who are not members of the organizations) participate in the work of half of them (44.4% in 2004 and 47% in 2002). In 2004, half of the organizations that cooperated with volunteers had fewer than 10 volunteers, 27% had between 11 and 30, and 5% more than 100.

1.1.5 Community action. According to the results of the research "Social Diagnosis 2005", almost one in five Poles (19%) had taken part in some kind of a public gathering during previous year. Country dwellers and farmers participated significantly more frequently – 21.4% and 38% respectively – than city dwellers. Less than half (39%) of the 19% that participated in a public meeting in the previous year took the floor. The countryside is an environment in which such forms of social life as public meetings about local and professional issues are still in use. The same research showed that, during the previous three years, 13.5% of the respondents took part in local community activities (within the local administration, housing estate or town).

1.2 Depth of Citizen Participation in Civil Society

This subdimension looks at the depth of various forms of citizen participation in Polish civil society. Table III.1.3 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.1.3: Indicators assessing depth of citizen participation

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.2.1	Charitable Giving	1
1.2.2	Volunteering	2
1.2.3	CSO membership	0

1.2.1 Charitable giving. Although the number of donors has increased (cf. 1.1.2), the amount of money donated to NGOs has unfortunately not grown. The research of SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association conducted in 2004 on a representative sample of adult Poles indicates that the average amount of a single donation to the organizations was slightly over 100 zlotys in the previous year (103 zlotys in 2004, compared to 101 zlotys in 2003), which represented 0.3% of the average wage in the national economy in 2004 (that according to GUS – the Central Statistical Office – was 2,289 zlotys gross). At the same time, half the donors supported the organizations with less than 50 zlotys, every third donated between 50 and 200 zlotys, and, in 3% of the cases, the amount was over 400 zlotys. The survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004" conducted on a representative sample of 950 foundations and associations, showed that 40% of the organizations benefited from donations from private individuals in 2003, but these donations constituted only 4.7% of the sector's entire financial reserves.

Even though the possibility to allocate 1% of the income tax to a public benefit organization does not qualify as charity (but rather as decentralization of the redistribution of wealth), it is worth mentioning. In 2004, 80,000 taxpayers, i.e. about 0.25% of adult Poles – 0.35% of all

taxpayers, used the 1% allocation option (in total, they allocated slightly more than 10 million zlotys). Data from the Ministry of Finance, published in mid-2005, showed that the amount allocated through the 1%-mechanism increased in its second year of existence and amounted to 41,616 thousand zlotys.

1.2.2 Volunteering. An analysis of data on the time that volunteers dedicated to charity work in the last year proves that volunteering is not only becoming a more and more widespread phenomenon, but also more and more established (even if the reasons for this situation and the motives of the volunteers are e.g. unemployment among graduates). The research of SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association conducted in 2004 on a representative sample of adult Poles, showed that the percentage of those who claimed they had dedicated more than 50 hours to volunteer work in the previous year had increased in comparison with 2003 (as well as with 2002 and 2001) – in 2004, this group constituted almost 30% of all volunteers (in 2003 – only 13.7%, in 2002 – 18% and in 2001 – 20.7%). Data about the number of hours that the volunteers worked per month confirms the conclusion that volunteer engagement is increasing – in 2004, 22.7% of the volunteers worked more than 5 hours. This was an increase of 9.5% compared to 2003. On average, the volunteers worked 6 hours per month in 2004.

1.2.3 CSO membership. The NAG emphasized that membership of organizations is a weak measure of the development of the sector in Poland. This might be the reason why the research institutions more frequently ask about work in organizations than about mere membership. The study "Social Diagnosis 2005" – according to which 12.3 % of Poles declared membership of organizations, associations, political parties, committees, councils, unions or religious groups (cf. 1.1.3 for differences in the results between this study and the study of the Klon/Jawor Association) – reveals that about 22% of the members declare affiliation to more than one organization. When asking about the membership of specific kinds of organizations, the percentage of volunteers claiming to work for more than one organization increases – according to the study conducted by the Klon/Jawor Association they constituted 29% of all volunteers.

1.3 Diversity of Civil Society Participants

This subdimension examines the diversity and representativity of the civil society arena. It analyses whether all social groups participate equitably in civil society or whether there are any groups which are dominant or excluded. Table III.1.4 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.1.4: Indicators assessing diversity of civil society participants

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.3.1	Representation of social groups among CSO members	2
1.3.2	Representation of social groups among CSO leadership	2
1.3.3	Distribution of CSOs around the country	1

1.3.1 Representation of social groups among CSO members. The factor that probably most diversifies the participation in NGOs in Poland is education. This was confirmed by the results of the survey "Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2004" – the higher the education, the bigger the inclination towards membership, volunteering and philanthropy. This tendency has remained stable in surveys for some years. Among the respondents with higher education, 13% more dedicated their time to social work for free than respondents without higher education, 9% more supported the organizations financially and 8% more were members of

organizations. From the results of the research one can also make out differences in membership and philanthropy between groups with different income (even if not so clearly as in the case of education) – in the highest income group, the percentage of members and donors was the largest, although it seems this regularity originated from the higher education of those with higher income. No significant difference between cities and rural areas in the percentage of volunteers or members was recorded in the survey (except in the largest metropolises, where the percentage was significantly higher).

- The NAG emphasized that the CSOs mainly represented active environments, while the participation of excluded environments was marginal. This is however, not unambiguously confirmed by empirical data. Still, it seems the groups that are victims of the rapid transformations in Poland – inhabitants of areas of former state-owned farms, long-term unemployed and welfare recipients – were underrepresented in the CSOs.

1.3.2 Representation of social groups among CSO leaders. Similarly to the members, also the leaders of the CSOs were more frequently people with higher education. According to the results of the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", over half (61%) of the members of the organisations' boards had higher education. Slightly fewer had higher education among paid employees – 59%. This tendency has been confirmed by many sociological studies in Poland, among others "Social Diagnosis 2005". They show that people with higher education more frequently filled some kind of function in an organization, were leaders, and participated and took the floor at meetings. The strong male predominance in the organizations' management is striking – only one in three members of the boards were women. This disproportion is even more visible due to the fact that among the organizations' employees women were in the majority. Similar conclusions concerning the features of the CSO leaders can be drawn from the results of the already quoted research "Social Diagnosis 2005". The respondents that claimed to be organizers of local public benefit activities were more frequently men than women. These obvious relations should not obscure the fact that all the important groups and minorities in Poland (religious, sexual or ethnic) have the right to freely associate and choose their representatives, and that they exercise this right. Even though there are no limits for creating representation of particular social groups, the NAG emphasized that the role of their leaders as exponents of public opinion is too small.

1.3.3 Distribution of CSOs around the country. A very important factor that diversifies the organizations is the size of the town in which they operate. There is a clear relation between the location of the associations and foundations on the one hand, and their potential as well as the object and range of their activities on the other. Accordingly, the difference does not only consist in the fact that there are more organizations in the cities, but also that the organizations that operate in cities are larger, richer and work on a larger scale. The proportion between five types of locations, divided according to the number of inhabitants and their administrative role, are as follows: small towns and rural areas (27% of the organizations), towns with up to 50,000 inhabitants (14%), cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants (19%), voivodeship capitals (28%) and Warsaw (12%). It should be noted that, in the case of other types of organizations such as associations of economic nature, the Voluntary Fire Brigades or social committees, the relationship between the level of urbanization and the commonness of organizations is the reverse.

In addition, differences within the non-governmental sector are related to differences between the regions in Poland.

- Mazowieckie voivodeship has the highest number of registered organisations (especially Warsaw) – almost 10,000 associations and foundations. In this voivodeship, also the number of organisations per 10,000 inhabitants is the highest – 18.75 organisations.
- Other areas with a high number of organisations per 10,000 inhabitants are: Pomorskie (16.42 organisations), Dolnośląskie (15.09), Warmińsko-mazurskie (14.89), Lubuskie (14.82) and Małopolskie (14.60).
- In Opolskie voivodeship, the number of registered organisations is the lowest – only slightly above 1,000. Also the number of organisations per 10,000 inhabitants is one of the lowest – 10.69.
- In Świętokrzyskie and Lubuskie voivodeships there are also fewer than 1,500 registered associations and foundations, and the number of organisations per 10,000 inhabitants in Świętokrzyskie is the lowest – 10.30.

1.4 Level of Organisation

This subdimension looks at the extent of infrastructure and internal organisation within Polish civil society. Table III.1.5 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

Table III.1.5: Indicators assessing level of organisation

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.4.1	Existence of umbrella bodies	1
1.4.2	Effectiveness of umbrella bodies	1
1.4.3	Self-regulation within civil society	1
1.4.4	Support infrastructure	2
1.4.5	International linkages	2

1.4.1 Existence of umbrella bodies. In 2004, 36% of the organisations belonged to different kinds of branch, regional and national federations, agreements and unions, which is 6% more than two years earlier. 25% of the organisations wanted to belong to such structures, while 21% stated they did not. 17% had no opinion. According to the NAG, such a result is not quite satisfying and reflects a weak cooperation capacity among the Poles. A high level of federalization characterized business and employers' organizations, even though the membership of such higher structures is voluntary according to law. More than 56% of the studied organizations were members of to NGO agreements or federations. The local organizations created agreements and federations on voivodeship level e.g. the Regional Economic Chambers; the majority of the chambers belong to the National Economic Chamber.

1.4.2 Effectiveness of umbrella bodies. There are at least 200 different regional and branch federations of NGOs in Poland. In the end of 2003, the Federation of Polish Non-Governmental Organizations (OFOP) was created. At the moment, 130 organizations belong to it. According to the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", 23% of the organisations claimed they were familiar with organisations that represented the interests of the entire sector. Another 10% of the organizations claimed to know organizations that sought to undertake such activity, but considered them inefficient. Almost as many were able to name organisations representing a given region (another 8% claimed to know organizations that sought to undertake such activity, but considered them inefficient), considerably more – 37% – knew organisations that represented the interests of organisations operating in a given branch (another 10% claimed to know organizations that sought to

undertake such activity, but considered them inefficient). Despite the fact that the organizations engage little in umbrella structures, the NAG assessed the activities of the federations as good. It pointed out that the effectiveness of the so-called infrastructure seemed to be higher than its representativeness.

1.4.3 Self-regulation within civil society. Already in the mid-1990s, representatives of the Polish non-governmental sector recognised the need for creating an ethical code, which would serve as a manifesto of common values and, at the same time, as a response to the abuses that appear on the margins of the sector. In 1997, at the First Polish Non-Governmental Initiatives Forum, a document was adopted that contained seven basic guidelines, the so-called Charter of Codes of the Non-Governmental Organizations. Since then, the Association for the Non-Governmental Initiatives Forum has spread the principles present in the charter, e.g. it carries out the campaign "Be transparent! Publish an annual report!" Nevertheless, according to the study "Charter of Codes of the Non-Governmental Organizations – an analysis of regulations and practices" created at the request of the Association for the Non-Governmental Initiatives Forum, the Charter did not live up to their expectations because of the prolonged work on the Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act. A study conducted in 2002 revealed that 72% of the organizations had never heard of the existence of the Charter. Still, one should emphasize that, at the moment, another attempt to confront the problem of self-regulation in the non-governmental sector is being made. Apart from the Charter of Codes of the Non-Governmental Organizations, two other "branch" documents have been created to define the rules of operation of environmental and watchdog organizations. The self-regulation issue was discussed during the 4th All-Polish Forum for Non-Governmental Initiatives in September 2005.

The NAG members were dissatisfied with the state of the organizations' work on the code of ethics. They emphasized that civil honesty is not a strong feature of the Poles, and that more could have been expected after 15 years of development of a free civil society.

1.4.4 Support infrastructure. According to the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004" conducted on a representative sample of NGOs, 1.4% of the NGOs claimed their main area of activity was "support for institutions, non-governmental organisations and civil initiatives", which means their number can be estimated at 400-650 institutions. In 2004, another study ("Map of Infrastructure of the 3rd Sector") was carried out at the request of the Pro Bono Foundation, in which two criteria were formulated in order to identify organizations that support infrastructure: 1. An important part of their activity must consist in supporting other NGOs (but not public institutions, which is a considerable difference from the description of the organizations' fields of activity in the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004"); 2. The activities of the organizations cover at least an entire voivodeship. 83 organizations that met these criteria were identified in the study. It should be stressed, though, that the CSOs receive support not only from other organizations specialized in this area, but also from representatives of other sectors – local governments are of special importance here (e.g. when it comes to local and factual support).

The majority (65%) of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" judged the quality and the range of the infrastructure of support (informing, organizing training courses and counselling) for the development of the non-governmental sector as good or very good; 20% of respondents were of the opposite opinion (they considered the infrastructure bad or very bad). The infrastructure of the third sector came out relatively well in the cyclic survey "NGO Sustainability Index", although some deterioration has occurred in

recent years – while in 2003 experts gave it the rating of 1.9, in 2004 it received 2.9.[13] Despite this quite optimistic data, some of the NAG members had doubts regarding the infrastructure and drew attention to an overlap between the umbrella and support functions, as well as to the problems of transparency resulting from this overlap.

1.4.5 International linkages. The percentage of organisations that declared affiliation to foreign or international agreements has practically not changed – in 2004 they made up 11% of all organizations (while 9% in 2002). 39% of the organisations wanted to enter a foreign or international agreement, yet, only 5% declared they had already found the right structure. Among the business and employers' organizations the rate of membership of international networks continued on a 7% level.

When analysing the differences in the level of claimed membership of foreign or international federations compared to the size of the location, the tendencies from 2002 are confirmed: in Warsaw, 28% of the organization were members of international structures; in the voivodeship capitals – 14%; while among the organizations in small towns and rural areas – only 3.5%. One can suspect that it is precisely because of the special status of Warsaw that the membership of international agreements was more widespread in the central region (Mazowieckie and Łódzkie voivodeships), where it was declared by 16% of the organizations, while in other regions it was on a level of about 10%. 4.6% of the organizations benefited from financial support from foreign organizations in 2003; revenues from this source constituted 4.1% of the sector's total revenues. One in four NGOs in Poland claimed it had relations with organizations from EU counties in 2004, but for 10% this contact was sporadic or very rare, another 10% had contact with their foreign partners "from time to time", while only 5% claimed they had regular and frequent contact. 14% of the organizations had relations with organizations from non-EU countries in 2004, from which 8% had sporadic contact and only 2.5% regular and frequent contact. Representatives of the non-governmental sector considered their international contacts insufficient – 55% mentioned NGOs from other EU counties among the institutions with which they would like to have more contact. Similarly to the case of membership of international networks and federations, the frequency of contact with organizations from EU countries was influenced by the size of the location in which the organization had its seat. A lack of such relations was declared by more than 80% of the organizations in small towns (up to 50,000 inhabitants) and rural areas, 79% in cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, 69% in the voivodeship capitals and 59% in Warsaw.

1.5 Inter-Relations within Civil Society

This subdimension analyses the relations amongst civil society actors in Poland. Table III.1.6 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.1.6: Indicators assessing inter-relations within civil society

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.5.1	Communication between CSOs	1
1.5.2	Cooperation between CSOs	2

1.5.1 Communication between CSOs. During a study of a representative sample of associations and foundations, the organizations were asked about the frequency of their relations with different institutions and environments. Other non-governmental organisations

[13] On a scale of 1-7, where 1 stands for the highest stability and survival capability and 7 for the lowest.

– natural allies of the organisations, one would think – turned up somewhat more rarely among their partners than local authorities and public institutions. 22% of the studied organisations had frequent and regular contact with other non-governmental organisations; another 25% had contact from time to time.

At the same time, when listing sources of information, 22% of the organizations claimed that, in order to obtain the data necessary for the organization's activity, they frequently contacted other organizations (not specialized in supporting organizations but willing to share information), while 19% contacted organizations/institutions that specialized in providing other organizations with technical support and information.

1.5.2 Cooperation between CSOs. As much as 30% of the organizations claimed they did not have relations with other organizations, 13% of the organisations had come into conflict with other organisations in the previous two years (the same proportion claimed they felt there was a problem connected to lack of cooperation or to conflicts within the non-governmental community).

The majority (60%) of the NGOs regarded their own cooperation with other NGOs as good. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" were less enthusiastic when assessing this aspect of civil society – although 36% regarded the level of cooperation (capacity to cooperate in order to accomplish common objectives) as satisfactory, 26% considered the cooperation within the sector to be bad. The NAG sought the reasons for the problems with cooperation in the lack of resources and the atomisation of society. The majority of the organizations claimed they found the benefit from cooperating more important than the potential problems related to it, even in the context of competitions for the limited amount of financial resources (although 40% the respondents claimed that, since resources were scarce, one should above all apply for financial means for the own activities and not for joint activities). In any case, competition from other NGOs was not a serious problem for the studied associations and foundations – only 16% had sensed it during the previous two years. The problem of competition was perceived in a different way by the business and employers' organizations – in spite of intense cooperation within agreements, every fifth organization saw another NGO as its biggest competitor. On the other hand, the cooperation between trade union offices was often problematic – the higher the level of the organizations, the more difficult to cooperate. The reason for this lies not only in political conflicts, but also in the competition between the trade unions. The situation is different on the workplace level – available data shows that the cooperation model is dominant here: trade unions prefer to cooperate and frequently confront the employers together.

In sum, the cooperation within Polish civil society is developing rather *within* its different sub-sectors than *between* them – it is easy to give examples of common initiatives and undertakings within a strictly defined third sector (associations and foundations). Despite the problem of competition, cooperation between business and employers' organizations exists, and, as trade unions become more and more depoliticised, different kinds of coalitions are also here more frequently created. Even so, examples of cooperation between different sub-sectors are still rare.

1.6 Civil Society Resources

This subdimension examines the resources available for civil society organisations in Poland. Table III.1.7 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.1.7: Indicators assessing civil society resources

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
1.6.1	Financial resources	1
1.6.2	Human resources	1
1.6.3	Technical and infrastructural resources	1

1.6.1 Financial resources. Financial resources of most CSOs are neither large nor stable. The revenues of half the organisations did not exceed 13,000 zlotys in 2003. This was 6,000 zlotys less than in 2001. The chart below makes it easier to compare the revenues in 2001 and 2003; it presents the percentage distribution of organisations, with regard to determined ranges of revenues in 2003 and 2001. From the chart it can be concluded that a slight deterioration in the organisations' financial situation occurred between the two years.

TABLE III.1.8 Percentage of organizations (associations and foundations) with revenues in particular categories in 2001 and 2003.

	Percentage of organizations in year	
Organizations' revenues in zlotys	2001	2003
0 to 1,000	15,3%	21,6%
1,000 to 10,000	26,6%	26,0%
10,000 to 100,000	35,6%	31,4%
100,000 to 1 million	17,5%	17,4%
1 to 10 million	4,5%	3,4%
over 10 million	0,4%	0,2%

The organisations were above all negative towards their financial situation – only about 20% estimated it as good and less than 30% were satisfied with the state and level of their equipment. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" presented slightly more diversified opinions on this issue. They were divided in their opinions concerning "the accessibility to financial resources from which civil society organizations can benefit" – 43% believed it was insufficient, just as many (43.5%) were of the opposite opinion. At the same time, this is the area that the largest percentage of the respondents (28%) mentioned as one requiring improvement in the nearest future.

The entrepreneur and business organizations have a better financial situation than associations and foundations. In 2003, only every fifth such organization had annual revenues that did not exceed 10,000 zlotys, while nearly 64% declared annual revenues of less than 100,000 zlotys. The revenues of one third of the organizations were within the range of 100,000 to 1 million zlotys. Slightly more than 5% had annual revenues below 1000 zlotys, and 4.5% above 1 million zlotys. Still, the entrepreneur and business organizations felt their financial problems were one of the most discernible barriers to developing the organization.

1.6.2 Human resources. During the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", data was collected about those who actively participated in the work of the organizations. The research suggests that only every third organisation employed paid staff (33.2%). In the majority (about 70%) of the organisations that employed paid workers, the number of employees did not exceed 5 persons. A little over 1% of the organisations employed more than 20 people. Who worked in the remaining organizations, those that did not have employees? Mostly members – half of the associations had less than 42 members, while every fourth had more than 90. Volunteers (i.e. not members of the organisations) supported the activities of 44.4% of the organisations.

It seems such a level of employment of paid staff and engagement of volunteers and members was not sufficient to accomplish the organizations' objectives – the second most frequently reported problem (declared by 53.8% of the organisations) turned out to be a lack of people willing to work altruistically for the organisation, another still unanswered question is to what extent the organizations actively looked for persons that could support their activities. The international study on the nonprofit sector coordinated by the John Hopkins University is worth being mentioned. The project was conducted in about 35 countries and analysed the share of employment in the sector (paid and volunteer) in each country. The results show great differences between countries, also within Europe – the highest percentages were recorded in such countries as the Netherlands (14.4%), Belgium (10.9%) and Ireland (10.8%), while the lowest in countries as Slovakia, Poland and Romania (0.8%).

At the same time, the great majority of the organizations (86%) that participated in the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004" considered their own employees competent or very competent. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" were of a similar opinion – 74% regarded the factual knowledge and competence of their employees as one of the organization's strong point, somewhat fewer (57%) saw their administrative-procedural skills as a strong point. Good preparation, especially factual, is confirmed by data on the education of those engaged in the organizations.

According to statements of business and employers' organizations (presented in the report "Business Organizations and Employers' Organizations") the least perceived barriers in the development were related to the quality and quantity of human resources. These organizations relied mostly on unpaid work of the organizations' members (47%) and volunteer work (27% of the people that work for an average organization were volunteers – not members of the organizations). Every tenth person employed by a business and employers' organization worked full-time, while 3% worked part-time. 13% of those employed by the organizations had other kinds of contracts, such as freelance or specific task contracts.

The business organizations and employers' organizations have 211 members on average, yet, half of the studied units are medium-sized – they have no more than 99 members (natural persons and/or business entities). On average, 8 volunteers (not members) work in each organization. Still, at least half the organizations of this type do not at all benefit from volunteer work. On the other hand, there are organizations that cooperate with as many as 350 volunteers. The average organization employs three full-time workers; however, half the studied organizations have no more than two full-time employees.

1.6.3 Technical and infrastructural resources. 60% of the organisations declared they used one or more computers in their work – 31% used one, another 23% 2-5, and 3% more than 10. Three fourths of the organisations that used computers also had access to the Internet in their office. Almost every third organisation used the Internet on a daily basis, another 15% a couple of times a week, while only 35% of the organisations used the Internet less than a few times a month or did not use the Internet at all.

Among the business and employers' organizations even more had a computer at their disposal – almost 83% of the respondents. Half of them had up to two computers. On average, each organization had four computers. A similar percentage (77.5%) owned a photocopier. Still, every tenth organization (9.4%) did not have any of the above-mentioned

equipment at their disposal. The IT-index in the business and employers' organizations is also relatively high – 60.1% use broadband, another 16.4% use a modem to connect to the Internet.

Conclusion

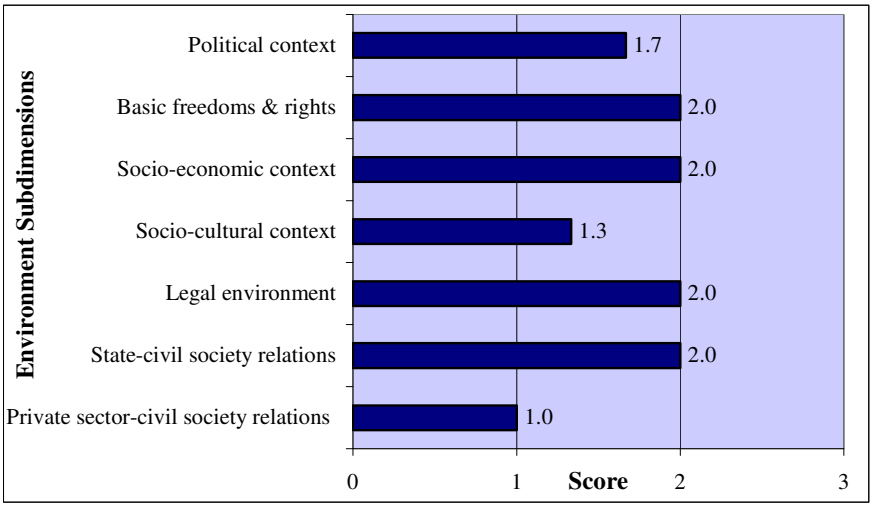
The structure of civil society is the dimension that received the lowest score. The worst scores were given to the level of citizen engagement in supporting CSOs' activities and, more generally, their engagement in public activities. These phenomena are currently at low levels, but slowly increasing in Poland. NGOs have, for many years, admitted that one of the basic challenges they face is the lack of citizens willing to selflessly support their activities. Generally, a limited and decreasing interest in public affairs is one of the most important weaknesses of Polish public life, which is also apparent in the low voter turnout. It is sad that in the latest parliamentary elections only half of Poles exercised their right to vote. One of the weakest components of civil society's structure is its resources, particularly the lack of sustainable financial resources. This problem takes different forms in different types of organizations. In some cases it is a question of basic resources for activities, while in other cases it is a matter of access to resources, and in still others it is a matter of financial fluidity and the so-called match funding required to receive larger grants, in particular from the EU funds.

As to the diversity and representativity of the civil society arena, CSOs in Poland represent mainly active citizens, while the participation of marginalized groups (mainly victims of political and economic reforms after 1989 in Poland) is very low. Nevertheless all the important minority groups - religious, sexual and ethnic - have the right to freely associate and choose their representatives. There is an evident predominance of men at CSO management level, although women are in the majority among the organizations' employees. The analysis of the geographical spread of CSOs indicates that there are more organizations in the cities, but also that the organizations that operate in cities are larger, richer and work on a larger scale. In 2004, 36% of the organisations belonged to different kinds of regional and national federations and unions, which is perceived to be at an unsatisfactory level. Despite this fact, the effectiveness of the sector's infrastructure has been assessed better than its representativeness. Self-regulation is not a strong side of the third sector - a study conducted in 2002 revealed that 72% of organizations had never heard of the existence of the Charter of Codes of the Non-Governmental Organizations. A positive trend is that two "branch" documents have been created to define the rules of operation - for environmental and watchdog organizations. Cooperation within Polish civil society is developing rather *within* its different sub-sectors than *between* them. Despite the fact that 30% of the organizations claim they do not have relations with other organizations, the majority of organizations declare to find the benefit from cooperating more important than the potential problems related to it.

2. ENVIRONMENT

This section presents the Environment dimension, understood as the political, social, economic, cultural and legal environment in which civil society functions. The score for the Environment dimension is **1.7**. Figure III.2 provides the scores for seven subdimensions of the Environment dimension.

FIGURE III.2: Subdimension scores in environment dimension



2.1 Political Context

This subdimension examines the political situation in Poland and its impact on civil society. Table III.2.1 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.2.1: Indicators assessing political context

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.1.1	Political rights	3
2.1.2	Political competition	2
2.1.3	Rule of law	1
2.1.4	Corruption	1
2.1.5	State effectiveness	2
2.1.6	Decentralisation	1

2.1.1 Political rights. In Poland, suffrage is universal for citizens of 18 years of age or over, i.e. they have right to choose their representatives in free and independent elections. The constitution guarantees the freedom of association, also with political parties (art. 11), and the freedom of creating and operating trade unions, socio-professional agriculture organizations, associations, civil movements as well as other voluntary associations and foundations (art. 12), except organizations whose aims or activities contradict the constitution or other laws, by e.g. adopting the principle of absolute obedience of the members, invoking totalitarian methods and practices of Nazism, fascism or communism, propagating racial and national hatred etc. In general, one can thus say that, since 1989, the citizens of Poland have enjoyed full freedom. Nevertheless, some members of the NAG pointed out a few small limitations resulting from the present shape of the elections statute, which favours the creation of coteries. The lack of democracy within political parties creates a problem also for the system as a whole. The international organization "Freedom House", which examines the level of

political rights in the world, gave Poland a score of 1 (free country) in a study conducted in 2004. [14] In addition, when asked to assess the state of the development of civil society, a decisive majority (70%) of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" acknowledged that democratic election procedures were followed. The NAG drew attention to the insufficient level of civil awareness (the most recent example of this is the very low frequency – lowest in the history of free Poland – in the 1st round of the presidential election of 2005) and they saw a necessity for education within this area.

2.1.2 Political competition. In the fourth term of the Polish parliament there were seven parliamentary clubs, one parliamentary circle and six deputy circles, which represented the entire political spectrum from left to right. It should be stressed, though, that the division between left-wing and right-wing parties was symbolic to a high degree and the programme of one party could have leftist and rightist traits in different areas (economic, political and cultural).

Political parties or coalitions, which in the parliamentary elections gained at least 3% and 6% of the votes respectively, can receive subvention from the state budget for their statutory activities. The amount of the subvention is proportional to the number of gained votes. Other financial resources of the parties are, among other things, inheritances and bequests, gifts, membership fees, earnings from possessions and bank loans. When defining the level of institutionalization of the parties, one should pay attention to the following features of the fourth term parliament: many recently formed parties are represented in the parliament – among the political formations elected in 2001, almost half did not exist in 2000. During the fourth term, many members of parliament (including the leading political figures) changed party and new parliamentary groupings and circles were formed. Therefore, many parties did not create a developed member structure and, consequently, the voters scarcely identified with the groupings. The level of competition between Polish parties can be considered high, especially between the centre-right and right wing parties. Only two parties (both left-wing: SLD – the Democratic Left Alliance and PSL – the Polish Peasant's Party) were represented during the first four parliament terms since the first free elections in 1989, while four of seven main political formations were represented for the first time in the fourth term parliament.

The lack of both a strong party-voter relation and tough competition on the political arena causes Poles to have rather changeable electoral preferences. This can be illustrated by the index of net fluidity (changeability).[15] In 1993, it amounted to 34.9%, which means more than one third of the citizens voted for different parties than in the previous elections. In 1997 the index value fell to 22.1% and in 2001 it increased to almost 50%.[16] The NAG interpreted

[14] On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is given to countries with the highest level of political rights and 7 to countries with the lowest level. The given score is based on the opinions of experts that refer to secondary sources of information (such as reports from the media and NGOs) as well as primary sources (such as visits or contact with persons in the country in question). The score depends on the answer to 10 questions grouped in 3 categories: the election process, political pluralism and the functioning of the government.

[15] A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, J. Sroka. (2003) "System partyjny w Polsce", in: A. Antoszewski, P. Fiala, R. Herbut, J. Sroka (eds). Partie i systemy partyjne Europy Środkowej. Wrocław, Wrocław University Press, p. 138.

[16] cf. D. Caramani. (2005) Electoral Challenge in a Multi-Level Arena: Party Competition Between National and European Elections, 1970s – 2000s. University of Birmingham. Presented at the "New Challenges for Political Parties and Representation" Conference, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (May, 6-7 2005). < http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/euc/PDFs/2005%20Papers/Caramani.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

the changeability of preferences rather as a sign of development than a flaw. It means the voters are not only guided by the party affiliation of the candidates in their choices, but also consider the programme, efficiency and personal features of particular politicians. This gives a chance for new and evolving parties.

2.1.3 Rule of law. In Poland, the courts exercise the independent judiciary (courts of general jurisdiction, administrative courts and military tribunals). The Supreme Court, the independent Constitutional Court and the State Tribunal head them. The courts of general jurisdiction have a three level structure: district courts, regional courts and courts of appeal. Courts' and tribunals' independence and autonomy from other forms of authorities is guaranteed by the Polish constitution (art.173). The constitution also contains other fundamental rules about the organization and functioning of courts, such as the division into different instances, the principle of participation of citizens in exercising the judiciary, the principle of open trials and law-bound verdicts, the right to an attorney, the right to a fair trial and the presumption of innocence.

However, the letter of the law does not necessarily translate into rule of law. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" assessed the functioning of the legal system and the judicial independence. As much as 67% were of the opinion that two indispensable conditions for the development of civil society – the rule of law and the trust in its representatives – were not fulfilled in Poland. Only 47% of the participants in the panel survey considered the courts independent (32% were of the contrary opinion). The public was even more severe when evaluating the judiciary. According to research of CBOS (from February 2005), 61% of the respondents assessed the work of the courts as bad, 50% and 29% respectively had the same opinion about the prosecutor's office and the police. In addition, 60% of Poles did not trust the courts and 36% – the police (CBOS, February 2004). The 2002 European Social Survey presented similar results, and, furthermore, showed that 10% of the citizens had no trust in the Polish legal system whatsoever. This percentage was the same as in Slovenia and Belgium and the highest among the 20 studied European countries.

At the same time, the Poles claimed they respected the law – 92% of respondents completely or rather agreed that "the law should always be obeyed", while less than 3% answered they were of the contrary opinion. This, together with Hungary, Italy and the Czech Republic, was the lowest recorded percentage in the study.

On July 30, 2002, Poland closed the EU accession negotiation chapter on the judiciary and internal matters, which harmonizes the Polish law in these domains with community solutions. In 2004, the organization Freedom House gave the Polish legal system (the constitutional, legislative and judicial framework) a score of 1.5 (on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is the best). Despite the positive general rating, the attention was given to the most important weakness of the Polish judiciary: the excessive number of cases in relation to the efficiency of the courts resulting in delays in legal proceedings, the low trust in the courts from the society, and the overcrowded penal institutions.

2.1.4 Corruption. According to a report from the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO), corruption is a menace to many areas of Polish society and poses a danger to the future development of the country. Corruption Perception Index based on research of Transparency International (from October 2004) confirmed this opinion. In the ranking

created in accordance with the CSI, Poland was rated 67th out of a total of 146 countries with a score of 3.5.[17] This is undeniably the worst result among all EU the member states.

Resent years have been full of corruption scandals involving civil servants, what has left traces in public opinion. The result of a study conducted by CBOS (in June 2004) proved that Poles generally believed corruption existed. As much as 95% of the polled regarded it as a serious problem in the country. About 77% of the respondents were convinced that many civil servants profited personally from their position.

The results of the international public opinion survey Global Corruption Barometer (in December 2004) also reveals a lack of trust in public institutions.[18] Among all sectors and institutions in Poland, political parties were considered the most corrupt with the score of 4.2 (on a scale of 1 to 5, where "1" is an institution/sector completely free from corruption and "5" a highly corrupt), together with the judiciary/legal system (4.0) and the parliament (4.1). Poles believed that corruption was a long-term phenomenon, 60% of the respondents thought the level of corruption in the country would increase or remain the same in the following three years. Only 11% of the respondents believed that the level of corruption would decrease in the near future.

2.1.5 State effectiveness. In a World Bank study from 2004 on state effectiveness, Poland received the score 66.8 on a scale of 1 to 100.[19] This means that a lower level of state effectiveness characterized 66.8% of the studied countries, whereas 33.2% of the studied countries had a higher level of state effectiveness.

The apparent optimistic meaning of these results can prove misleading. According to data from Social Diagnosis 2005, about 60% of Poles that during the last years ran an errand at a government office came across difficulties that made it impossible to quickly and efficiently finalize it, and another 15% claimed they had encountered such difficulties frequently. This means that only one in four people did not encounter any difficulties in the government office. More than half the respondents (52%) confirmed that, in order to do the errand, they had to use contacts or "other means", and 7% of these claimed they had to do it frequently. Furthermore, 55% of the respondents (from those that during the previous month had gone to a government office) agreed with the statement that while running the errand they had felt humiliated and helpless (8.3% had felt it frequently).

Apart from objective data, an important element in evaluating the efficiency of state institutions is the way they are perceived. According to the 2002 European Social Survey, 81% of the respondents declared they were rather dissatisfied with the state of the economy

[17] The ranking was based on a study of the opinion about the level of corruption in different countries. The Corruption Perception Index was created according to the results of independent studies of a dozen institutions such as the World Bank, Freedom House, Columbia University and the World Economic Forum. Each study gathered opinions of managers, representatives from the business world, national and foreign experts, local correspondents, journalists or others, depending on the objective of the particular study. The Corruption Perception Index is expressed on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 stands for the highest, and 10 for the lowest rate of corruption.

[18] The Global Corruption Barometer is a worldwide public opinion survey about the experience of corruption, perception of corruption and expectations regarding the level of corruption in the future.

[19] This grading system was elaborated in accordance with the results of about a dozen research projects. State effectiveness was defined according to the answers to questions about the quality of public services, competence of civil servants, quality of bureaucracy, independence of public services from political pressure and credibility of the government's commitment to its policies.

in Poland, and only 7.5% were rather satisfied – a lower percentage was only registered in Portugal. Over half the respondents were dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Poland. This was the worst result among the 20 studied countries. Opinions about the educational system were quite symmetrically disposed – 40% had a rather bad opinion about it and 40% a rather good. Health services were assessed as worse – 61% had a negative opinion about it. More than 22% of the respondents claimed that at least one person from their household had fallen victim to an assault or burglary in the previous five years. This percentage did not differ significantly from the average of the 20 studied European countries. Over 27% of the respondents admitted they did not feel safe walking alone after nightfall in their own neighbourhood, which was one of the worst results in Europe.

The citizens' opinion about public institutions is another indicator of state effectiveness. For some time, Poles have had a negative view of the work of the *Sejm* (parliament) and the Senate. According to a study conducted by CBOS in February 2005, 79% of the respondents were not satisfied with the activities of the members of parliament. The work of the senators was negatively evaluated by 61% of those polled. The respondents were satisfied with the President, even though the positive opinion had decreased from 65% to 56% since the year before. The relatively positive view of the work of local authorities in the last research (slightly above 50% were of positive opinion) has remained unchanged for a long time.

2.1.6 Decentralization. In Poland, there are three levels of administrative divisions: communes (*gminy*), districts (*powiaty*) and voivodeships. All the units of local government have their own budgets. Their revenues come both from the own unit and the state budget. In 2003, the share of expenses of local governments in the whole of the expenses of the public sector amounted to around 22% (according to data from the Chief Census Bureau and the Ministry of Finance).[20] The decentralization of power – an indispensable condition for the development of civil society – was considered satisfactory by 43% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" and not satisfactory by 36%.

Nevertheless, the NAG emphasized that resources from the state budget transferred to local governments (subventions) are so undetermined that it becomes practically impossible for the local governments to independently define the objectives of their financial policy. Thus, when assessing the level of decentralization one should also consider its "quality".

2.2 Basic Rights and Freedoms

This subdimension examines to what extent basic freedoms are ensured by law and in practice in Poland. Table III.2.2 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.2.2: Indicators assessing basic rights and freedoms

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.2.1	Civil liberties	2
2.2.2	Information rights	2
2.2.3	Press Freedom	2

2.2.1 Civil liberties. Basic liberties and human rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Poland. Law protects human liberty; women and men have equal rights in family, political, social and economic life. The constitution guarantees fundamental liberties

[20] The expenses of the public sector consist mainly of expenses from the state budget, the local budgets (communes, districts, and voivodeships), special funds and the National Health Fund.

to Polish citizens belonging to national or ethnic minorities, including the freedom to maintain their identity. It also ensures the freedom of association, as well as the freedom to create and be active in political parties, provided their aims or activities are in not conflict with the constitution or other laws. Furthermore, the constitution guarantees the right to associate with trade unions, which have the right to organize strikes as well as negotiate and conclude collective bargaining agreements.

In the research on the year 2004, the international organization Freedom House, which examines the level of civil liberties, awarded Poland a score of 1 (on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is the best and 7 the worst) – state that guarantees respect for civil liberties.[21] Also the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" did not doubt that Polish citizens were guaranteed basic civil liberties. 96% believed the condition of freedom to create and work within organizations was fulfilled in Poland, 93% confirmed the existence of the freedom of expression and 87% the freedom of association, although in the last case the percentage of those who chose the answer "it *definitely* exists" was smaller.

2.2.2 Information rights. In Poland, the right to receive information about the activity of public institutions and public servants is guaranteed by the constitution (art.61) and by the Law on Access to Public Information (from September 6, Journal of Laws of 2001, no. 112, item 1198). Research conducted by the Adam Smith Research Centre, in 2003, shows that this law is not respected. The inquirers paid anonymous visits to offices in Warsaw asking for information that they according to law had the right to receive.[22] In 43% of the institutions they did not receive answer to any of the 12 questions and only 22% of the offices answered to all of them. On average, they managed to receive an answer to every third question. Moreover, only 27% of the civil servants demonstrated any knowledge of the laws in question. The research of the Klon/Jawor Association within the project Cooperation Barometer 2004 gave similar results. The association sent a request for information about the basic forms of cooperation with NGOs to all communal authorities. In total, 1000 answers were received, which means that about 60% of the local authorities ignored the regulations of the Law on Access to Public Information. What indicates that the Law on Access to Public Information may work better than demonstrated in the research, is that over half (57%) the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered this condition for development of civil society fulfilled.

According to the Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act (from June 24, Journal of Laws of 2003, no. 96, item 873), the public radio and television should enable public benefit organizations to broadcast free information about their activities (art. 26). At the moment it is hard to determine what impact this regulation will have in reality. According to the NAG, the fact that the access to information is not enforced stems from the citizens' distrust in the mechanism. In addition, civil servants' incompetence often blocks the flow of information.

[21] The given score is based on the opinion of experts that refer to secondary sources of information (such as reports from media and NGOs) as well as primary sources (such as visits or contact with persons in the country in question). The score depends on the answer to 15 questions concerning the level of civil liberties, grouped in 4 categories: freedom of religion and expression, freedom of association, rule of law, as well as individual freedom and rights.

[22] Inquirers from the Adam Smith Research Centre paid an anonymous visit to 108 offices in Warsaw, including national (such as ministries and courts), regional and tax offices, as well as hospital, schools and universities, police stations, prosecutor's offices, etc. They asked about their budget, assets, employment and the knowledge of the Law on Access to Public Information.

2.2.3 Press freedom. In a study of the level of independence of the media, conducted by the organization Freedom House, Poland was given a score of 20 (in 2004), which indicates that the media are considered free.[23] Media freedom is guaranteed in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (art. 14). More than half (60%) of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered media in Poland to be rather independent.

Nevertheless, when evaluating the media freedom, one has to remember that different kinds of media are subject to different types of control and can have different types of owners. This may, in turn, cause differences in level of independence. The press is considered the most independent medium. There are 5400 titles on the press market (the biggest national newspapers are all owned by private publishers, regional and local press are in some cases also published by local authorities or NGOs). Radio and TV stations in Poland are slightly less independent than the press because of the role of the National Broadcasting Council (KRRiT – radio and TV stations need its concession to broadcast). The National Council is a state organ of control that "shall safeguard the freedom of speech, the right to information as well as safeguard the public interest regarding radio broadcasting and television". The council can issue regulations and, in individual cases, adopt resolutions. The *Sejm*, Senate and the President of the Republic appoint the members of the council. Although members of political parties and trade unions are not permitted to have seats on the National Broadcasting Council, it has been susceptible to political pressure in the last years.

The NAG presented a number of critical remarks concerning the media freedom in Poland. Their comments confirmed what had been emphasized in the paragraph above. The attention was drawn to the pathological process of licensing radio and television, as well as to the significant influence of large media companies on the media, in particular on the local media. The dependence of the press on foreign capital was also discussed.

2.3 Socio-economic Context

This subdimension analyses the socio-economic situation in Poland. Table III.2.3 shows the respective indicator score.

TABLE III.2.3: Indicator assessing socio-economic context

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.3.1	Socio-economic context	2

To operationalise the concept of 'socio-economic environment', eight indicators were selected, which represent the different means through which the socio-economic context can potentially impact on civil society: 1) Poverty; 2). Civil war; 3) Severe ethnic or religious conflict; 4) Severe economic crisis; 5) Severe social crisis; 6) Serious socio-economic inequities; 7) Illiteracy and 8) Lack of IT infrastructure.

For each of these indicators are a specific benchmark was defined which indicated that the respective indicator presents a socio-economic barrier to civil society. The benchmarks and data for these eight indicators for Poland are presented below:

[23] The study of the level of freedom of the media is based on an analysis of three areas that have influence on their independence: the legal environment (e.g. an analysis of legal regulations concerning the freedom of speech, the size of fines for defamation of character etc.), the economic environment (e.g. the structure of media proprieties, the costs of starting up activity etc.) and the political environment (e.g. politicians' influence on the content of presented information). The score is based on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 stands for the highest level of media freedom and 100 for the lowest. A value between 0 and 30 represents a country with free media.

1) Widespread poverty - do less than 40% of Czechs live on less than 2 US$ a day? In 2003, 11.7% of the population lived below subsistence level in Poland (Chief Census Bureau). The average subsistence level in 2003 amounted to between 288 and 354 zlotys per person monthly (depending on the kind of household), i.e. more than $ 2 a day.
2) Civil war - did the country experience any armed conflict during the last five years? There has been no military conflict in Poland since World War II.
3) Severe ethnic or religious conflict? Lately there has been no serious ethnic or religious conflict in Poland.
4) Severe economic crisis – is the external debt more than the GDP? Poland is not in a serious economic crisis. The foreign debt is lower than the GDP. In 2004, the foreign debt amounted to 43% of the Polish GDP.
5) Severe social crisis? There has been no serious social crisis in Poland in the last years.
6) Severe socio-economic inequities, i.e. is the Gini-coefficient > 0.4? The Gini coefficient in Poland is about 0.3. The value of the coefficient reveals a relatively high degree of economic inequality, it does, however, not exceed 0.4.
7) Pervasive illiteracy - are more than 40% of the adult population illiterate? Illiteracy is a marginal phenomenon in Poland.
8) Lack of IT infrastructure – are there less than 5 IT hosts per 10.000 inhabitants? Poland has a relatively well-developed IT network – in 10,000 inhabitants there are about 203 hosts.

Considering the above-mentioned premises, one should point out that the socio-economic conditions in Poland do not constitute a serious obstacle for the development of civil society.

According to the NAG, the indicators that the assessment of the socio-economic situation is composed of do not apply to Polish conditions. The members of the NAG believed the socio-economic context had significant negative influence on the development of the non-governmental sector in Poland, which is however, not captured by the above-mentioned indicators, since they are inadequate to the Polish context (e.g. they do not take the realities of the post-communist countries into account – the Stalinist period in Poland and the related lack of economic continuity).

2.4 Socio-cultural Context

This subdimension examines to what extent socio-cultural norms and attitudes are conducive or detrimental to civil society in Poland. Table III.2.4 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.2.4: Indicators assessing socio-cultural context

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.4.1	Trust	1
2.4.2	Tolerance	2
2.4.3	Public spiritedness	1

2.4.1 Trust. Public opinion polls conducted in the last years (Social Diagnosis 2005 and the CBOS report "Trust in the Public and Private Sphere", from 2004) showed that about 80% of Poles believed that "one should be very cautious in relations with others". 10-20% of Poles were of the contrary opinion and believed that "generally speaking one can trust most people"; according to Social Diagnosis 2005, 10% of Poles agreed with such a formulation (in this poll, 10% could not answer), while according to the results of CBOS in 2004, this rate amounted to 17%. The international European Social Survey shows that Poles have the

lowest level of trust in others among all the studied countries (23 European countries and Israel). The Social Diagnosis poll from 2005 reveals that trust in others does not depend on gender or vary with age. It does, however, depend on social features: trust clearly increases with education and income. There were no significant differences in trust between rural areas and cities, although large cities (above 500,000 inhabitants) clearly differed positively from all other areas. At the same time the great majority of Poles had trust in their immediate family (86% definitely, 12% rather), their more distant family (47% definitely, 40% rather), their daily co-workers (26% definitely, 53% rather) and neighbours (26% definitely, 48% rather).

2.4.2 Tolerance. The report "Opinion of Citizens of Central European Countries about Emigrants and Refugees" (CBOS 2004) shows that Poles are more open towards immigrants than citizens of the other countries of the Visegrad group. 62% support the principle of open borders to immigrants.

The Poles' positive attitude towards immigrants was confirmed by the results of the European Social Survey, which showed that, even in comparison with citizens of other European countries, Poles claimed they were relatively open in this regard. 29% of Poles wanted to limit the number of immigrants allowed settling in the country when it comes to immigrants of the same race/ethnic group as the majority in the country (4% believe they should not at all be allowed to settle). 37% wished to limit the number of immigrants of other races/ethnic groups than the majority in the country (8.5% believed they should not be allowed to settle at all). The percentage of citizens who wanted to limit the number of arriving immigrants was definitely lower only in 4 or 5 of 20 studied European countries. It is unclear, though, whether this attitude proves a higher tolerance in Poland or rather illustrates the fact that Poles definitely have less contact with immigrants. The World Value Survey showed that 18% of Poles would not like to have a person of another race as neighbour, for a Muslim the percentage is 25% and the same for immigrants.

"The other side" of the tolerance of Poles is revealed by their attitude towards the rights of sexual minorities. According to the results of the 2002 European Social Survey, 31% of Poles disagreed with the statement that "gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish" (this is one of the highest percentages in Europe, a similar percentage was registered only in Hungary and Greece). Also, according to research of the World Value Survey, the Poles, when asked about people they would least want as neighbours, appointed homosexuals – 55% of the respondents did not want a homosexual for neighbour. Nevertheless, the tolerance index, based on the results of World Value Survey, amounts to 1.7 for Poland on a scale of 0 (the highest degree of tolerance) to 5 (the lowest degree of tolerance).

2.4.3 Public spiritedness. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" were very severe when judging the spiritedness of Polish society in public matters, expressed in respect for the law and readiness to carry the burdens imposed by law – e.g. taxes. Almost 80% of the respondents deemed this feature, only to a low or very low degree, characteristic of Poles (they chose the scores 0, 1 or 2, on a scale of 0 to 6, where 0 means "not at all" and 6 "to a high degree").

The Poles' declared lack of approval for dishonesty in the public sphere does not prove the participants in the survey wrong; however, one should note that the public spiritedness index, based on the results of World Value Survey, amounts to 2 for Poland on a scale of 0 (the

highest degree of public spiritedness) to 10 (the lowest degree of public spiritedness). According to the World Value Survey, 60% of Poles believed that tax frauds could never be justified, while another 32% were inclined to believe they could rather not be justified, 7% were of the opposite opinion. According to data from the Ministry of Finance, the tax collection index was 95.4% in total at the end of 2004, compared to 93.9% in the previous year. The index amounted to 94.2% in the case of goods and services tax, 96.7% in the case of income tax from private individuals and 97.0% in the case of income tax from other legal entities (compared to 90.6%, 96.8% and 94.4% respectively in 2003) – according to the Chief Census Bureau's "Information about the Socio-Economic Situation in the Country", from February 2005. Moreover, the World Value Survey demonstrates that 53% of Poles would never justify benefiting from the social security system when not entitled, 39% would rather not justify it, while only 7.5% were willing to justify such behaviour. Yet these figures seem little convincing when considering the knowledge of how widespread this practice is in Poland.

Commenting on the above data, the NAG drew attention to the fact that most the opinions gathered by World Value Survey are merely statements and do not reflect the behaviour of the citizens.

2.5 Legal Environment

This subdimension examines the legal environment for civil society and assesses to what extent it is enabling or disabling to civil society. Table III.2.5 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.2.5: Indicators assessing legal environment

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.5.1	CSO registration	2
2.5.2	Freedom of CSOs to criticise the government	2
2.5.3	Tax laws favourable to CSOs	2
2.5.4	Tax benefits for philanthropy	2

2.5.1 CSO Registration. The main problem related to the registration of CSOs is not only lack of uniformity, but also a significant inconsistency between different Register Courts' adjudications. Moreover, from time to time, regulations and their interpretations are modified and new regulations are issued. This, considering the limited access to lawyers, makes life difficult for already existing organizations and might be an obstacle in the creation of new ones. As of the beginning of 2001, newly established associations and foundations must register at the National Register Court. Organizations established before that time must also re-register at the Court. According to research of the Klon/Jawor Association, over half the organizations had registered by the end of August 2002. This shows that the registration procedure did not pose any significant problems as had been previously feared. However, in 2002, more than 50% of the organizations experienced problems related to the registration procedures at the National Register Court to a medium-high or high degree. They complained about such barriers as lack of official instructions concerning applications, judges' refusal to give assistance, and inconsistent court decisions. Recent problems with registrations have been related to the status of public benefit organizations introduced by the Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act. Nevertheless, 71% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered the legal conditions for the creation and work of NGOs to be good; moreover, 24% claimed it was this area that had improved the most during the previous year.

2.5.2 Freedom of CSOs to criticise the government. Freedom of opinion on public matters is legally guaranteed to organizations. They may express criticism of any activity of the public authorities – a right they frequently exercise, but often with limited effect. It should be also noted that many local NGOs are vitally dependent on local government decisions to grant subsidies or premises. In consequence, they are often entangled in silent networks of dependencies, what makes it hard for them to maintain an independent position, and also gives rise to clientelism. Considering this risk, the formation and activity of various alliances between organizations are especially important, for they are in better and safer position to defend the interests of NGOs and to speak for them. An example of such a coalition is the Federation of Polish Non-Governmental Organizations (OFOP), that during its first one and a half year of existence carried out a couple of interventional campaigns that consisted in writing letters to the authorities, above all concerning the lack of NGOs in different kinds of working groups and consultative bodies. At the moment, OFOP is implementing a project aimed at strengthening the already existing and elaborating new, permanent mechanisms of consultancy and cooperation between NGOs, their representatives and coalitions in order to effectively advocate systemic and legal solutions favourable to the sector.

The NAG strongly emphasized that, even if law guarantees the possibility of advocacy and criticism towards the government, there are some limitation in practice. These are a consequence of the organizations' dependence on public funds, and may also be related to the client relationship both on local and national level. A poorly developed social dialogue constitutes another problem that leads to the lack of government response to criticism.

2.5.3 Tax laws favourable to CSOs. NGOs are obliged to pay income tax as well as goods and services tax in the same way as other entities. Yet, the majority of the organizations do not pay income tax. This is due to the fact that the law on income tax from legal entities provides a long list of exemptions concerning different kinds of activities. Public benefit organizations have the right to a special income tax exemption. They are entitled to more exemptions than other organizations: they have exemption from tax on income destined for any of their statutory activities and not only those defined by the tax regulations.

According to the NAG, the main problem of the tax system in Poland (like in other countries of the former Communist bloc) is the frequently changing tax law as well as unclear and contradictory regulations, which bring about serious difficulties for a stable functioning of the NGOs. Another mentioned issue was tax officials' latitude in interpreting laws. Their arbitrariness and mistakes sometimes have tragic consequences for the organizations; it can e.g. lead to collapse of their economic activity.

2.5.4 Tax benefits for philanthropy. In 2003, in view of budgetary difficulties, the Ministry of Finance presented several proposals aimed at eliminating most of the tax allowances from the taxation system. Tax allowances important for the NGOs' activities were also threatened. As a result of an extensive campaign conducted by the NGOs (an open letter against the governmental plans was signed by some 1000 organizations), the then existing income tax exemption for grants and subsidies was retained, to the advantage of the third sector. Unfortunately, the sum of donations deductible from a natural person's taxable income was reduced – the former percentage arrangement (10-15% of the income) was replaced with a fixed amount (350 zlotys). After intense efforts of NGO representatives, the percentage arrangement was reintroduced in 2005. However, it was set on a significantly lower level – up to 6% of the income. The maximum amount of donations deductible from legal entities is

10% of the income. Even though the tax system is changeable, the situation seems to be improving.

2.6 State - Civil Society Relations

This subdimension describes and assesses the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the Polish state. Table III.2.6 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.2.6: Indicators assessing state-civil society relations

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.6.1	Autonomy of CSOs	2
2.6.2	Dialogue between CSOs and the state	2
2.6.3	Support for CSOs on the part of the state	2

2.6.1 Autonomy of CSOs. In general, the extent of supervision from public administration does not present too much of a burden; in fact, audits are performed quite rarely. But when they are, they tend to be painful and awkward. Representatives of the organizations point out that auditors from the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) often abuse their powers and audit not only the way public resources are spent, but all the activities of the organizations. At the same time, the opinion that public money is spent without proper control is quite common. In fact, it is an objection that should be raised to the decision-makers responsible for administering these resources, i.e. the public administration, and not the NGOs.

According to the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005", neither lack of autonomy nor of independence constitutes a serious problem for the CSOs. 76% of the respondents regarded the organizations' level of the independence as sufficient. On the other hand, the NAG emphasized that the organizations are financially dependent from the state and thus easily subject to interference. In this situation, the state serves as a treasurer rather than police. Autonomy, understood as freedom of activity, depends to a high degree on finances and the condition of the infrastructure, and is therefore limited as a result of frequent legal changes.

2.6.2 Dialogue between CSOs and the state. Last year, several dozens of the so-called social dialogue institutions emerged in Poland. The creation of such bodies is not always a sign of awareness of the role of the third sector, but rather the result of lobbying by the organizations or of requirements imposed by the European Union. It is true, however, that the representatives of the third sector have frequently been offered seats in different kinds of consultative bodies. The Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act established the Public Benefit Works Council – an advisory and supportive body to the Ministry of Social Policy. Its tasks included, among other things, to: express opinions on issues concerning the application of the Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act; express opinions about government draft legal acts concerning public benefit activity and volunteering; provide support and express opinions in cases of disputes between institutions of public administration and public benefit organizations; and, in cooperation with NGOs, create mechanisms for informing about the standards for conducting public benefit activity and about cases of breaches of these standards.

In the first half of 2005, the National Development Plan – a programme for socio-economic development in Poland for the years 2007-2013 – was subject to public consultation, to which the government also invited NGOs. The NGOs participated in the discussion about the parameters of this document and presented their opinions. After the conclusion of the

consultation process, a reoccurring theme of commentaries concerning the public consultation was that it should be considered a beginning of both the work on the policy programme for 2007-2013 and a new stage in the mutual relations between public administration and NGOs, in which public consultations is an obvious trait.

The relationships between trade unions and public administration, local government or entrepreneurs are defined by the Polish constitution: "a social market economy, based on the freedom of economic activity, private ownership, and solidarity, dialogue and cooperation between social partners, shall be the basis of the economic system of the Republic of Poland." Social partners are understood as organizations representing employees and employers. The institution where the social dialogue on national level takes place is the Trilateral Commission, which is supposed to help social partners to actively articulate their interests to the public authorities in an organized way and in conformity with the legal order. The Trilateral Commission also takes care of the social and economic policies of the state, work relations as well as salaries in the public sector, and gives opinions on the draft budget. On the voivodeship level, social dialogue commissions provide formal contacts between trade unions and local governments, employers or government representatives (voivodeship governors). At present, such commissions operate in all voivodeships. Analysts of the social dialogue in Poland draw attention to the superficiality of the formal social dialogue institutions. Instead, informal agreements between trade unions and employers (especially public ones) on the one hand, and trade unions and political parties on the other hand, play an important role.

The NAG stressed the weakness and instability of the dialogue mechanisms as well as their poor quality. Social dialogue is, according to the NAG, top-down based and superficial, while civic dialogue, particularly where it has financial consequences is inexistent (this is confirmed by the fact that only about 50% of the communes adopted the Annual Cooperation Programme in 2005). Attention has been drawn to the fact that the problem does not lie in the degree of engagement of the organizations, but in the too narrow group of institutions with which they have contacted. The dialogue mechanism does not work in all government departments; the significance and influence of the dialogue depends on the will of the head of the office in question to cooperate with organizations.

2.6.3 Support for CSOs on the part of the state. Domestic public resources (local and national) constituted the largest individual part of the revenues of the whole sector in 2003 – almost 30%. Forty-seven percent of the associations and foundations benefited from local public resources in 2003 – an important financial source, especially for small local organizations from small towns and rural areas. Nineteen percent of the organizations received government subsidies. Public financial resources were significantly less important for business and employers' organizations. The trade unions count workplaces as one of their main sources of income and are therefore, when active within public institutions, indirectly funded by public financial resources.

2.7 Private Sector – Civil Society Relations

This subdimension describes and assesses the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the private sector. Table III.2.7 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.2.7: Indicators assessing private sector – civil society relations

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
2.7.1	Private sector attitude to Civil Society	1
2.7.2	Corporate social responsibility	1
2.7.3	Corporate philanthropy	1

2.7.1 Private sector attitude to Civil Society. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" assessed the influence of private companies and the business environment on the development of civil society: 46% considered it generally positive and stimulating, 30% regarded it as neutral, while 16.5% perceived the influence of the private sector as rather negative and harmful.

The frequency of contact between the private and non-governmental sector can serve as an indicator of the attitude of business representatives towards the CSOs. The majority of the associations and foundations have sporadic relations with the business environment. 70% of the organizations claimed they had such relations in the previous year, yet only 12% had it regularly. Still, it should be emphasized that there was a clear change in relation to 2002 when only slightly more than half the organizations had any such relations. Business and employers' organizations have deeper and more systematic relations with the business environment, what, considering their business related activities, is quite obvious. This does, however, not mean the cooperation is only successful. Every fifth organization considered commercial companies its principal competitor. On the other hand, according to studies of the Responsible Business Forum, only 30% of Poland's largest companies realize social aims.

2.7.2 Corporate social responsibility. The concept of corporate responsibility was familiar to two-thirds of the representatives of the studied companies.[24] The great majority of the respondents (77%) believed that the NGOs could contribute to the development of the social responsibility programmes. The promoters of ethical business were above all companies with foreign capital that, since used to work in the more developed civil societies of western countries, had introduced the same procedures in Poland. Socially responsible firms were mostly engaged in financial and material support; joint projects with NGOs were relatively uncommon (one-fourth of the companies were involved in such projects). At the same time, for two-thirds of the firms, cooperation with NGOs aiming at developing a social partnership was considered important or very important. However, one cannot expect to be able to draw conclusions about the general attitude of Polish companies towards NGOs and social responsibility only from the results of research on the largest companies – the larger the company, the more responsible it tends to be. Foreign companies are most experienced when it comes to ethical conduct. Public enterprises with national capital are worse in this regard. If companies act ethically or not, also depends on their line of business. Trust plays a central role in some businesses, e.g. in the financial. That is why banks declared the need to follow ethical norms.

In Poland, one of the main (albeit not the only) promoter of the idea of corporate responsibility is the Responsible Business Forum, which focuses its activity on four areas: promotion of corporate responsibility, support for firms in implementing the rules of corporate responsibility, development of joint actions on behalf of society, as well as analyses and development of corporate responsibility in Poland. It should be stressed that the

[24] According to research conducted on 170 firms, selected among the 500 largest companies (according to a report of the newspaper Rzeczpospolita). Results of the research were presented in a Responsible Business Forum (FOB) report: "500 Managers and Corporate Responsibility. Knowledge – Attitudes – Practices".

participants are themselves business representatives, which makes it possible to act within the business environments, so to speak. The award "Benefactor of the Year" has been granted for eight years in a competition organized by the Academy for the Development of Philanthropy to express gratitude towards entrepreneurs that support organizations. At the same time, the award has a promotional function.

2.7.3 Corporate philanthropy. Grants from firms and institutions constituted 7% of the non-governmental sector's total revenues in 2003, with 39% of the organizations benefiting from them. According to a study of small and medium large enterprises from 2000, 18% of such firms had made donations to some kind of charity. On the other hand, a study of the Responsible Business Forum from 2002 shows that about 75% of the studied companies were socially engaged by providing financial support to the average amount of 1.2% of their annual revenues (at the same time, more than half the companies donated less than 1%).

Social actions, organized by business environments, promoting corporate social responsibility have also brought about notable effects. According to estimates of the Business Centre Club, the entrepreneurs associated in this club have allocated 38 million zlotys since 2004 to social aid (above all through NGOs) within the social action "Share the Success".

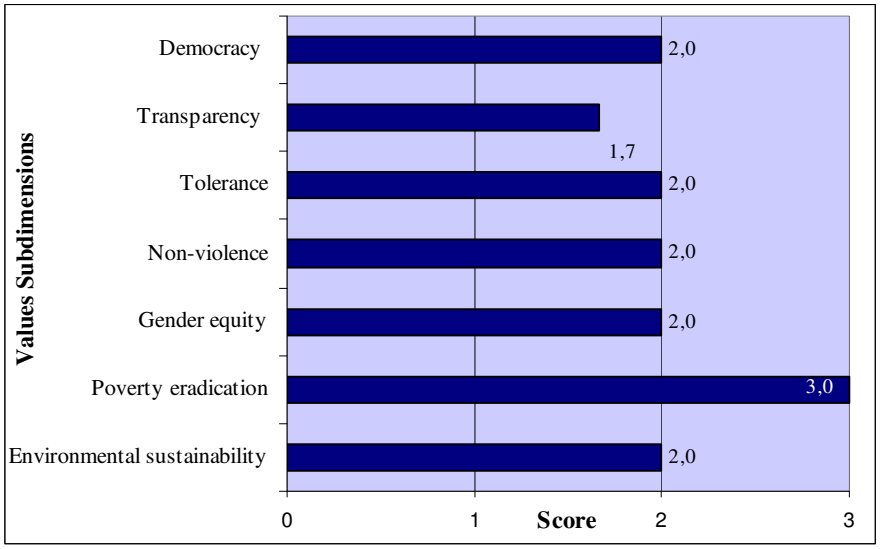
Conclusion

Civil society's external environment in Poland is rather conducive for its work. The majority of indicators describing the institutional aspects of the political and legal environment show a relatively good condition. In the last few years the legal environment has improved significantly. However, the socio-cultural context for civil society received relatively negative assessments. This was especially the case for features such as societal tolerance, mutual trust and so-called public spiritedness. In particular the latter two are not too common in Poland. However, since these attitudes are necessary for the generation of social capital, they constitute important favourable conditions for civil society, but their low level hampers the development of a mature civil society in Poland. Thus, the issue of socio-cultural norms and foundations for civil society requires enormous, long-term work.

3. VALUES

This section presents the Values promoted and practiced by the Polish civil society. The score for the Values dimension is **2.1,** which is the highest note among all dimensions in Poland. The Figure below provides the scores for seven subdimensions of the Values dimension.

FIGURE III.3: Subdimension scores in values dimension



3.1 Democracy

This subdimension examines the extent to which the Polish society actors practice and promote democracy. Table III.3.1 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.3.1: Indicators assessing democracy

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.1.1	Democratic practices within CSOs	2
3.1.2	Civil society actions to promote democracy	2

3.1.1 Democratic practices within CSOs. According to law, associations are democratic structures. The general assembly of all members is the legislative body of associations. All decisions are taken in the form of resolutions, which are endorsed by a simple majority, absolute majority or qualified majority. The members have voting right, the right to be elected to their association's board and are obliged to actively participate in the work of accomplishing the aims of the association. The minimal level of activity is participation in the general assembly, as well as in the election to the board (i.e. the executive body) and the audit committee (i.e. the monitoring body). A study of associations conducted by the Klon/Jawor Association in 2004, revealed that in 67% of the associations the general assembly is held at least once a year, and in 75% of the cases the majority of the members took part in it.

In 2002, 93.7% of the organizations claimed they were characterized by democratic internal procedures that gave the possibility for all members to decide about the organization's activities and the way it was managed.

Also the majority of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" found the CSOs in Poland to be characterized by democratic rules of management – 61% considered the rules to be working well or very well (14% claimed they worked badly).

At the same time, the result of a study of the non-governmental sector conducted in 2004 indicates that the organizations may take their internal democratic structure for granted, not requiring confirmation or further efforts. When, from a list of values, choosing the most important ones for the work of the organization, "only" 31.6% of the organizations selected "democratic structure, i.e. common decision-making". Similarly, common decision-making is not a typical feature for the non-governmental sector as a whole according to the organizations – when selecting values characteristic of the sector, only one organization in ten opted for "democratic structure". Still, not even 6% considered this value neglected in the Polish non-governmental sector.

Another issue is whether the democratic procedures of decision-making, according to the law on associations, exist in practice or on paper only, and whether the members actually have influence on crucial decisions concerning the organization's activities and to what extent they are encouraged to join these activities (especially in organizations with paid staff). Research shows that at least 30% of all the members of associations do not at all use the possibility to influence the associations' activities and do not attend the assemblies. Only 30% of the members actively participate in the organizations' activities.

The member of the NAG emphasized that many organizations function mainly due to the engagement of their charismatic leaders, which results in a little democratic model of operation and management. They even spoke about a hierarchic feudal structure of dependence.

3.1.2 Civil society actions to promote democracy. Poles appreciate the positive contribution of the CSOs in building democracy – in 2004, 55.5% of the adult citizens, i.e. slightly more than the 52.5% in 2003, agreed with the opinion that "without the social institutions there would be no well functioning democratic system" (according to the survey "Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1%" from 2003 and 2004, conducted by SMG/KRC, Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association).

According to the results of research carried out on a representative sample of associations and foundations, 5% of the organizations declared they worked for "protection of human rights and freedoms, protection of minorities, ensuring equal opportunities or promoting democratic values". The following groups can be distinguished among organizations promoting democracy: 1. organizations that work for the development of democracy in non-democratic (or not fully democratic) countries, e.g. the Foundation for Education for Democracy, the East European Democratic Centre and Democratic Society East; 2. organizations that work for human rights, e.g. the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights or the Citizens' Education Centre; 3. organizations that work to protect the rights of certain social groups (minorities) or for equality of opportunities, e.g. the Women's Rights Centre or the Information Centre for Women's Organizations (OŚKa), that promote larger participation of women in public life; 4. organizations that work for democracy on the local level, e.g. the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, that works in the whole of Poland through a network of units to support local democracy and self-government; 5. Organizations that work for concrete solutions related to the functioning of democracy as a political system, e.g. the Polish National Movement for Single-Seat Electoral Constituencies.

When evaluating the effectiveness of CSOs in promoting democracy, the great majority of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" (84%), considered them rather effective, even though only 15% of these considered them "very effective".

3.2 Transparency

This subdimension analyses the extent to which the Polish society actors practice and promote transparency. Table III.3.2 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.3.2: Indicators assessing transparency

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.2.1	Corruption within civil society	2
3.2.2	Financial transparency of CSOs	1
3.2.3	Civil society actions to promote transparency	2

3.2.1 Corruption within civil society. A study of the Poles' experience of corruption, conducted within the Anti-Corruption Program in June 2004, reveals that 15% of the respondents admitted they had given a bribe at some point; the percentage was highest among the self-employed – 25%.[25] In addition, 23% of the respondents claimed they personally knew a person that had taken bribes; this percentage was highest among representatives of managers and intellectuals – 52%.

The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" were asked to give their opinion about how often corruption occurred within the CSOs (giving or accepting bribes in exchange for different kinds of privileges/favours etc.). Of the respondents that answered this question (as much as 15% decided they were unable to answer) a majority regarded corruption as a rather rare phenomenon – on a 7-point scale, where 0 stands for very rare and 6, very common, 62.5% of the respondents selected scores from 0 to 2 (although only 9% picked 0, i.e. considered this kind of phenomenon very rare). 15% believed that corruption occurred frequently among NGO and 22.5% chose more moderate answers (in the middle of the scale).

Nepotism (employing staff or appointing leaders, not on the basis of merits, but through personal relationship or family relation) was considered a more common phenomenon. Using the scale above, 45% of the respondents regarded nepotism as a common phenomenon among CSOs (4% considered it very common) and 36% considered it rare (2% very rare).

The survey "Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2004" provides data about how Poles estimate the frequency of this kind of phenomena among NGOs. In 2004, 57% of adult Poles agreed with the opinion that "abuse and self-interest are common in civil society organizations". This was less than in 2003, when 63% of the respondents were of this opinion. Still, more than half the Poles saw the organizations as full of scams. At the same time, CSOs were regarded as one of the least corrupt among all sectors and environments. This fact was demonstrated by the results of an international public opinion poll carried out within the project Global Corruption Barometer (from December 2004).[26] Religious organizations and NGOs were considered the least corrupt among the evaluated public

[25] cf. A. Kubiak. (2004) Opinia publiczna i posłowie o korupcji – raport z badań. Warszawa. http://www.batory.org.pl/doc/opinia_korup.pdf [Accessed 17 March 2006].

[26] The Global Corruption Barometer is an international study of public opinion on the level of corruption, perception of corruption and expectations regarding the level of corruption in the future.

institutions (3.1 and 3.3 respectively, on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 stands for "not at all corrupt institution/sector" and 5 – "highly corrupt").

The NAG drew attention to the fact that the problem does not consist in corruption as such, but in conflicts of interests, nepotism and unclear legislation. It also happens that the legal form of NGOs is used to conduct dishonest activity. The problem here lies in insufficient control from the part of the state.

3.2.2 Financial transparency of CSOs. According to law, foundations have an obligation to present a report on their activities to the adequate administrative body, but not all fulfil it (this obligation does not concern associations, unless they have the status of public benefit organization). To the knowledge of the NAG, only one out of four foundations presented their reports in the right ministry. In September 2005 (five months after dead-line) only 30% of the public benefit organizations had presented the appropriate documents. In a research on the non-governmental sector conducted in 2002, 68% of the organizations claimed to prepare an annual report on their activities each year (75% of the foundations and 66% of the associations), another 15% claimed to prepare reports, but not regularly – not each year.

Nevertheless, even though two-thirds of the organizations claimed to prepare annual reports, the access to them might turn out to be limited. 34% of the organizations store their reports on a computer only and 54% have them stored in a small number of photocopies. It seems that the choice of these two forms of storing annual reports is not merely a result of a lack of possibilities and funds, but also of the organizations' decisions about who should have access to the reports. 45% of the organizations are willing make their reports available to all interested and 24% to those who give a "sufficiently good reason" (in both cases one can read the report in the seat of the organization). 42% of the organizations claim they actively distribute their annual report. However, the reports are above all directed to financial institutions, to tax offices (they probably mean balance sheet and not annual report) and to other branches of the own organization – mainly to the board of directors and, to a lower degree, to members of the organization. Unfortunately, the reports are hardly ever presented to e.g. cooperating organizations or the target group.

The issue of report preparation was not thoroughly studied in 2004, but transparency was put on the list of values whose significance the organizations were asked about. Only less than 17% of the respondents selected it as one of the most important from the point of view of the organizations activities, placing it on the 12th position on a list of 16 values from which the organizations could chose. At the same time, only 3.5% considered the transparency unimportant from the point of view of their activities. It seems, though, that the organizations were aware of the fact that there was still much to do in this regard – when assessing the whole non-governmental sector, only 7% claimed that transparency and openness were characteristic of it and 17% judged this to be the least distinctive feature of the sector. Also the NAG emphasized that annual reports are less common than studies indicate.

The transparency of CSOs (including financial transparency) was considered fairly high by the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005". When summing up this aspect of the organizations' situation, 57.5% considered it rather good, even though most opinions were not completely positive: on a scale of -3 to +3, where -3 stands for "complete lack of transparency" and +3 for "completely transparent". The majority of answers (68%) were placed around the middle of the scale (-1, 0 or +1).

3.2.3 Civil society actions to promote transparency. There are a few large organizations in Poland working for transparency in public life. Two of these are the Stefan Batory Foundation and the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights that, since 2000, carry out the Anti-Corruption Program and, together with the Foundation for Social Communication, the Centre for Citizenship Education and the School for Leaders Association form the NGO Coalition against Corruption. Two other organizations are the Polish section of Transparency International that monitors corruption, and the Press Freedom Monitoring Centre that works for media freedom – an indispensable condition for the transparency of public life.

The CSOs have launched several larger campaigns to promote transparency. In 2000, the educational campaign "Corruption. You don't have to give, you don't have to take part in it" directed to public opinion was launched within the Anti-Corruption Program. At the moment, the project's activities are focused on monitoring authorities on national and local level through the campaign "Transparent Poland" propagating transparent rules in the work of the communal councils. The project was initiated and carried out in cooperation with Agora S.A. (the editor of Gazeta Wyborcza, thanks to which the project received much media attention) and with the Polish-American Freedom Foundation. The majority (58%) of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered the CSOs to be efficient in their actions to prevent corruption, although, at the same time, 20% claimed the organizations' activities in this field were rather inefficient. Also the public recognized the positive role of the CSOs in controlling the authorities. In 2004, 50% of adult Poles agreed with the statement: "the civil society organizations fill the important function of keeping an eye on the authorities". The issue of promotion of transparency among organizations – through the Charter of Codes of the Non-Governmental Organizations and the action "Be transparent! Publish an annual report!" – has been described above, in 1.4.3.

3.3 Tolerance

This subdimension examines the extent to which the Polish civil society actors and organisations practice and promote tolerance. Table III.3.3 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.3.3: Indicators assessing tolerance

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.3.1	Tolerance within the civil society arena	2
3.3.2	Civil society activities to promote tolerance	2

3.3.1 Tolerance within the civil society arena. The participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" were asked to assess the importance of movements and groups within civil society that are openly intolerant. The majority of the respondents (55%) believed that openly intolerant groups had moderate significance (on a scale of 0 to 6, where 0 means no significance and 6 means great significance, they chose 2, 3 or 4), 23% claimed these movements had no or little significance (scores 0 and 1), while 13% believed they had big or very big significance (scores 5 and 6). Such a disposition of answers shows that the phenomena of open intolerance and discrimination are not as marginal in civil society in Poland as one might have expected. Examples of such groups and organizations are All-Polish Youth and the National-Radical Camp. These organizations do not seem very significant as regards the number of members. Nevertheless, their activities, due to their radicalism, attract much attention in the media. Lately, they became notorious for having organized a counter-demonstration to the so-called Equality Parade (a demonstration

organized by the gay and lesbian environments) and a march to commemorate the so-called Myślenice invasion – an extremely anti-Semite event. The NAG members had problems with assessing this aspect of civil society. During the meeting they emphasized that there are intolerant groups and movements in Polish civil society (even if they do not really have significant power), and they are neither ostracized nor isolated. "Tolerance and openness" was found on the list of values from which the studied NGOs participating in the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004" could pick the most and least important from the point view of their activities. 22% of the organizations considered tolerance the most important value (which placed it on the 8th position among 16 values when ordering them from the most to the least important), while 6% regarded it as the least important in their work (which also placed it on the 8th position on the list of least important values). The majority of the organizations also claimed tolerance was not a value that characterized the entire third sector – it was mentioned only by 13% of the organizations (9th position on the list of values that best describe the sector), but it was also rarely selected among the least characteristic values of the sector – 6.5% of the organizations were of this opinion (13th position on the list of values that the sector lacks).

3.3.2 Civil society activities to promote tolerance. Even though the participants in the survey did not consider the importance of openly intolerant groups in Polish civil society to be marginal (cf. 3.3.1), they clearly appreciated the effectiveness of the organizations' activities aimed at promoting tolerance. 52% judged these activities to be efficient, 44% considered them more or less efficient, while only 2% regarded them inefficient.

In the database of the NGOs at the portal www.ngo.pl there are more than 200 organizations that refer directly to the idea of tolerance in their mission, although certainly not all of them work actively for the promotion of tolerance. On the other hand, many NGOs that carry out activities, such as civil education, international volunteering or development of dialogue between cultures and nations, support the development of tolerance, even if the leaders of the projects do not directly refer to it.

There are organizations in Poland whose main objective is to fight racism and intolerance, and that are visible in the public discourse, e.g. the Never Again Association – the editor of the magazine "Never Again" which condemns all acts of racism and intolerance (in the last 8 years at least 320 texts concerning the Association's activity were published in national, foreign and local press, and in books); the Open Republic Association Against Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia (last year, this association carried out about 10 interventional actions e.g. by writing open letters to the media, but also by taking legal action); and Forum For Dialogue Among Nations. Other CSOs that work to promote tolerance most commonly represent the interests of different movements and groups that are discriminated in Polish society – refugees, handicapped persons, national and religious minorities as well as homosexuals. This does not mean that their activities are limited to combating discrimination and intolerance only towards these groups. Examples of cyclic events aimed at promoting tolerance and human rights, are e.g. Refugee Day and Week against Racism organized by CSOs such as the Polish Humanitarian Organization, the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, the Villa Decius Association, the Christian Culture Foundation, the One World Association, the Never Again Association, the Polish Anti-Nazism Group and the Refugee Association in Poland. For some years now, organizations related to gay and lesbian environments (such as Campaign against Homophobia, Lambda, the Polish section of the International Lesbian and Gay Cultural Network, and Lesbian Agreement) have organized the Equality Parade in Warsaw, which has become very disputed especially since it was banned by the city

authorities. Activities that strengthen the community and create tolerance are also worth mentioning. Examples of such activities are the Polish Humanitarian Action (PAH) and Caritas engagement in Beslan and former Yugoslavia, and the action "sponsor child". Even if these organizations, according to the NAG, are the leading powers among the CSOs and commonly known, they do not have significant public support.

3.4 Non-Violence

This subdimension describes and assesses the extent to which the Polish civil society actors and organisations practice and promote non-violence. Table III.3.4 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.3.4: Indicators assessing non-violence

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.4.1	Non-violence within the civil society arena	2
3.4.2	Civil society actions to promote non-violence	2

3.4.1 Non-violence within the civil society arena. The majority of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" (65.5%) considered the importance of groups and movements that use violence to demonstrate their arguments to be small in Polish society. Yet, one should not underestimate the fact that 20% of the respondents regarded the importance of such movements in Polish society as large. The only cases of use of violence in civil society that have appeared in the media (according to the media review project, conducted for the need of CSI, in accordance with CIVICUS methodology) were related to protests of farmers and representatives of the *Samoobrona* party (Self-defence) against the changes in the Law on the Agriculture Social Insurance Fund and for the acquittal of some farmers accused of beating a policeman during a blockade in 2003. From time to time, demonstrations in Poland have led to violence. Most recently, in August 2005, a miners' demonstration against an amendment in the pensions act, in which 37 policemen and 7 miners were injured, took place in Warsaw.

3.4.2 Civil society actions to promote non-violence and peace. CSOs in Poland have carried out a series of actions aimed at preventing violence, especially against children. The most well-known social campaigns have been: "Child in the Web" (which draws attention to the threats presented by the presence of paedophiles on the Internet and conducts education on safe use of the Internet), "Childhood Without Violence" (organizers: State Agency for Preventing Alcohol Related Problems, Nobody's Children Foundation and the Nation-wide Emergency Service for Victims of Domestic Violence – "Blue Line"; duration: throughout 2001; in connection to this action a coalition of organizations and institutions with the common aim to stop the violence against children was created; at present, 830 organizations, institutions and private individuals all over Poland belong to the coalition) and "Bad Touch" (which is concerned with the difficult subject of sexual abuse of children). In addition, Amnesty International, the Women's Rights Centre and the Information Centre for Women's Organizations (OŚKa) regularly organize the campaign "16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence" (celebrated in the whole world from November 25 to December 10).

Particularly severe acts of violence (e.g. homicides) make citizens organize themselves, often without the mediation of CSOs, in e.g. Silent Marches. From the mid-1990s, people from all over Poland have protested in this way against crimes committed in their communities – towns, neighbourhoods, schools or workplaces.

3.5 Gender Equity

This subdimension analyses the extent to which the Polish civil society actors practice and promote gender equity. Table III.3.5 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.3.5: Indicators assessing gender equity

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.5.1	Gender equity within the CS arena	2
3.5.2	CS actions to promote gender equity	2

3.5.1 Gender equity within the civil society arena. According to the studies of the Klon/Jawor Association, the organisations were most frequently headed by men, only one third of the organisations were headed by women (they constituted 32% of the board members): in 28% of the boards of directors there were no women whatsoever, in another 43% of the organisations women were in the minority on the board, whereas 8% of the organisations declared that their board consisted exclusively of women. When it comes to the proportion between men and women among the organisations' employees, things look very different. Women constituted 64% of the people employed in the sector. In almost every third organisation (32%) employing paid staff, there were only female employees. The organisations that employed only men were half as many (15%). It seems the participation of women is higher in religious organizations and school related activities.

3.5.2 Civil society actions to promote gender equity. In the database of the Information Centre for Women's Organizations (OŚKa), there are 365 organizations with 33 different scopes of activity. These are not only women's organizations, but also other organizations conducting activities and/or projects on behalf of women – foundations, associations and informal groups as well as gender study centres and research institutes. Most of them carry out activities aimed at educating and granting equal rights for men and women (167 and 157 organizations respectively). The following most common activities are aimed at women in politics (94) and counteracting violence against women (91). There are 48 feminist organizations.

Women's organizations in Poland organize diverse actions to promote gender equity: training courses, workshops, meetings, publications, social campaigns directed to the public opinion as well as advocacies. Large projects accomplished recently are, among others: the educational campaign "Equation for Equality" (the creation of an Internet service dedicated to the issue of equality and a series of workshops in the whole county); a pilot project within which a network of local plenipotentiaries concerned with the issue of equal status for men and women was created in the communes and districts of the Śląskie and Opolskie voivodeships; as well as the regional project "Women to the European Parliament".

The NAG drew attention to the fact that activities related to promotion of gender equity are common owing to the national and EU policy, as well as the financial support for such programmes. The limited interest on the part of Polish society was considered to be the reason behind the limited impact of, or rather, weak response to these actions.

3.6 Poverty Eradication

This subdimension examines to what extent the Polish civil society actors promote poverty eradication. Table III.3.6 presents the indicator score.

TABLE III.3.6: Indicator assessing poverty eradication

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.6.1	CS actions to eradicate poverty	3

3.6.1 Civil society actions to eradicate poverty. In the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", 8% of the organizations claimed they helped people in extreme poverty. Church organizations are very important support centres for the poor. A study of parish priests conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs shows that charity is done in 74% of all parishes in Poland: most frequently in cities (90%) and towns, while less frequently in rural areas (62%). Secular and religious organizations run soup kitchens for the poorest and night shelters for the homeless (e.g. the Bread of Life Fellowship that runs 7 institutions for the homeless in Poland or St. Brother Albert's Aid Society that runs 67 shelters and dosshouses for the homeless); redistribute food and cloths (e.g. the Federation of Polish Food Banks or the Polish Red Cross); give supplementary food to schoolchildren (the most well known campaign against poverty is probably "The Wooden Puppet Programme" conducted by the Polish Humanitarian Organization due to which, during the 5 last years, 5,000 children have received free meals at school); and conduct scholarship programmes for schoolchildren from poor families (e.g. Stefan Batory Foundation which, in cooperation with 38 local organizations from all over Poland, have granted monthly scholarships of 100 zlotys to about 1,300 able pupils from poor families every year for last five years, or the Work of the New Millennium Foundation that grants scholarships for able youngsters from poor rural areas – at present, there are 1,200 scholarship holders). Polish grant-giving foundations organize competitions for projects aimed at counteracting poverty, such as "Rural Poverty – we know how to fight it" conducted since 2001 by the Rural Development Foundation. Every year a couple of hundred projects are submitted to the competition, from which about 20 are awarded. A number of major charity organizations that enjoy substantial social support, such as Caritas and the Polish Red Cross, work on a large scale both in Poland and in countries affected by disasters.

In 2001, the Movement against Social Helplessness was initiated in connection with the Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection office. It aims at "stimulating activity and cooperation among organizations, environments and persons with high civil sensibility in order to solve the problems of different social groups; strive for elimination of the reasons of marginalization; and last, but not the least, inspire initiatives that have a chance of contributing to reducing deprived areas". The Civil Declaration that presents the goals of the movement has been supported by over 200 representatives of NGOs and private individuals that sympathize with the ideas of the Movement against Social Helplessness.

The NAG estimated that the organizations' activities aimed at counteracting poverty have strong public support and are commonly known, at the same time, emphasizing that civil society is, by definition, not the leading force in this area, since, like in all developed countries, it is the task of the state to redistribute financial means to marginalized groups. The non-state redistribution will never reach a comparable scale.

3.7 Environmental Sustainability

This subdimension analyses the extent to which the Polish civil society actors practice and promote environmental sustainability. Table III.3.7 presents the indicator score.

TABLE III.3.7: Indicator assessing environmental sustainability

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
3.7.1	Civil society actions to sustain the environment	2

3.7.1 Civil society actions to sustain the environment. The environmental movement has a long history of about 25 years in Poland. It has from the beginning had a large internal diversity, but, at the same time, a strong identity. Observers of the movement talk about a crisis in the end of the 1990-ies. Nevertheless, the environmental "sub-sector" is characterized by a strong, distinct identity compared to the non-governmental sector as a whole. The survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004" showed that, for 3.6% of the organizations, environmental protection was their main area of activity, while another 16% claimed to conduct some environmental activities. From these, 3% worked for the reduction or control of pollution and for recycling, 4% for the protection of natural reserves, 6% for the protection of the natural environment, 3% for the protection and care of animals, and the largest part, 8.5%, worked with education within ecology and promotion of environmental sustainability. In 2000, the *Asocjacje* Association conducted the study "Polish Environmental Movement 2000", in which more than 1,000 environmental initiatives and almost 800 organizations that work for the protection of environment were identified.

The Polish Green Network is one of the organizations that work for environmental education. It is a nationwide union of 8 associations and foundations, which, among other things, encourages conscious and responsible consumer decisions (through the campaign "Buy Responsibly") and work with monitoring of international financial institutions. Similar activities are undertaken by *Klub Gaja* Association (member of the Polish Green Network) that for a dozen years or so has conducted environmental activity by means of such campaigns as "an Animal is Not a Thing" (that includes actions against transport of living horses and the use of wild animals in circuses) and "Vistula Now". The international environmental organizations Greenpeace and WWF also operate in Poland (in total they conduct 10 projects in Poland related to the protection of rivers, forests and the climate as well as to the promotion of sustainable development and traditional, environmentally friendly agriculture). Unfortunately, the activities of the environmental organizations do not receive much public support and are not commonly known – the media focus on presenting the malfeasances of a few organizations.

Conclusion

The values dimension received the highest score of the four dimensions in the Polish CSI, similarly as in other Central and Eastern European countries, in which the project was conducted. The CSI results indicate a relatively strong position of NGOs as defenders of positive values such as democracy, transparency, tolerance, non-violence, gender equity and poverty eradication. One exception is the lack of concern regarding transparency issues, within organizations, as well as, society in general. It is important to also remember that CSOs monitor the transparency of public finances and the observance of democratic rules in public life. However this does not mean they themselves are financially transparent and democratic. Certainly there is a necessity to improve the quality of management within CSOs.

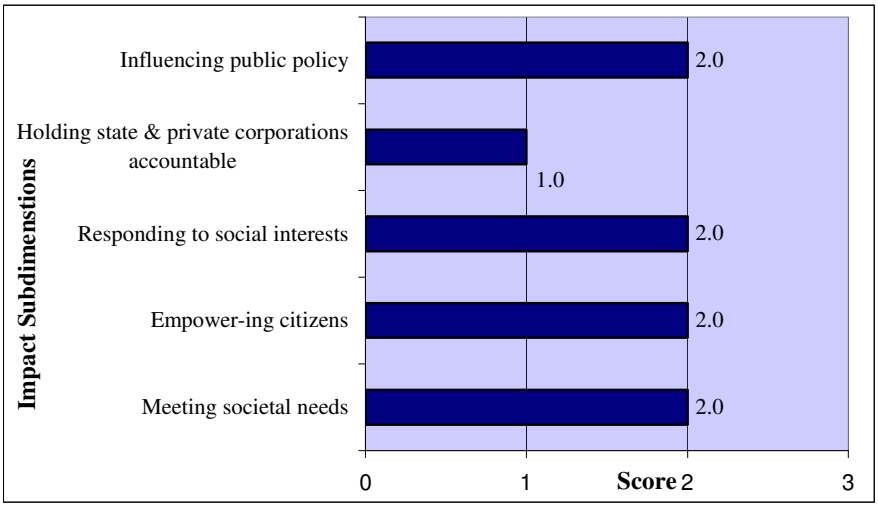
What is paradoxical about the Polish CSI is that the high scores in the values dimension are not reflected in data about the extent to which the basic values that form a democratic society are applied in practice (see socio-cultural norms under environment). It is worth emphasizing

that the indicators that make up the values dimension above all refer to the values practiced and promoted by NGOs, such as democratic procedures, transparency, tolerance and gender equity. This dimension received the highest score, which certainly proves that the stakeholders of organizations care about values. From this perspective, democratic values constitute a motivation for the activity and identity of the third sector. However, the values that are widely applied in society, which are the building blocks of social capital, and which are indispensable to the creation of a strong civil society are examined, the score would not be as high.

4. IMPACT

This section presents the extent to which civil society in Poland is active and successful in fulfilling several essential functions in society and politics. The score for the Impact dimension is **1.8**. The Figure below provides the scores for five subdimensions of the Impact dimension.

FIGURE III.4: Subdimension scores in impact dimension



4.1 Influencing Public Policy

This subdimension describes and assesses the extent to which the Polish civil society is active and successful in influencing public policy. Table III.4.1 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

Table III.4.1: Indicators assessing influencing public policy

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.1.1	Social policy impact	2
4.1.2	Human rights impact	2
4.1.3	Impact on national budgeting process	2

51% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered the CSOs efficient in influencing the structure of laws and systemic solutions, 20% were of the opinion that they were inefficient, while another 19% chose the more moderate answer "more or less efficient". Although at first sight it might seem this area was considered to work relatively well, the largest percentage of the participants in the survey (39%) claimed it was particularly in this area that the organizations were definitely too inactive.

From analysing the media one can learn about, not necessarily effectiveness, but certainly the level of activity in undertaking actions aiming at, directly or indirectly, influencing social policy. Already at first sight it is evident that the organizations and civil activities most frequently appear in the media in the context of different protests, petitions and campaigns, i.e. diverse kinds of advocacy activities. 15% of the analysed texts concerned marches, petitions, civil disobedience, protests, demonstrations, lobbying or rallies. Another 6% of the information focuses on the labour market, which in practice means articles concerning strikes at workplaces. The results of the analysis of the types of organizations that most frequently

appear in articles were very similar – organizations that work within advocacy took the first position (15%) while trade unions were second (7%).

The large percentage of articles dedicated to the organizations' advocacy activities is certainly related to the character of the analysed media – it is precisely countrywide newspapers, considered to be opinion-forming, that this kind of activities are normally addressed to. Even though we do not know what part of actually undertaken activities succeeded to echo in the media, such a significant presence in the analysed material should be considered a success for the responsible environment. What kind of environment are we talking about? Its most important constituent is, as already mentioned, trade unions. Other authors of protests and appeals are more scattered and are not easily classifiable – they are e.g. parents protesting against closing of schools; some journalists defending their colleague convicted for offence against a civil servant; feminists or representatives of sexual minorities who demand liberalization of the law concerning abortion and the right for homosexuals to register their relationships on the one hand, and those who are against abortion and do not want homosexuals to demonstrate their sexual preferences on the other hand. There are also such concrete cases as the change of a bus itinerary introduced on the demand of the residents of the institution for blind people in Laski, and such idealistic as anti-globalisation slogans.

Overview studies on civil society's policy impact:

Three examples of non-governmental activities aimed at changing the systemic solutions in the field of social policy, human rights and the planning of the state budget are presented below. The examples were selected according to CIVICUS guidelines in such a way that a presentation of only successful actions was avoided.

4.1.1 Social Policy Impact. An area in which the CSOs work particularly actively in order to change the law is that of social aid. That is why, as an example of such activities, we have chosen the history of the work on the law on social employment and its implementation. This law defines the rules of social employment, by, among other things, stipulating the creation of the Centres for Social Integration – institutions aimed at accomplishing tasks related to professional and social reintegration of socially excluded individuals. The project of the law was created in cooperation with organizations that work with aid for excluded individuals. From the very beginning the project has aroused much controversy among these organizations. Mainly institutions and organizations that work to prevent alcoholism, principally accused of being an unauthorized, attacked it and groundless tentative to take over the financial resources currently reserved for alcohol prevention. Because of contradictory opinions (resulting from the particular interests of different groups), the project was submitted to a larger environment for consultation. In the end, the law was accepted by the parliament in its original version, but with at least one and a half year of delay. 24 organizations that already before the creation of the law had worked to help people threatened by social exclusion and that, because of their experience, supported the creation of the law, founded the Nationwide Association for Social Employment in 2004. The association was invited to do a pilot programme of the law, which included the creation of a dozen Centres for Social Integration. What is interesting is that, despite the significant role of the organizations in the elaboration of the Centres for Social Integration concept, a field unit of the local authorities created the first Centre for Social Integration in Poland. The creation of the following ones confirmed that the social aid centres were the most interested and at the same time had the largest capacity (financial and in the form of office space etc).

4.1.2 Human rights impact. Many of the Polish NGOs' activities are aimed at educating in the domain of civil rights and promoting human rights. These activities most commonly concentrate on public opinion and media and definitely more rarely on decision-makers, although also such activities are undertaken. The Helsinki Federation for Human Rights monitors the law-making process (both of legal statutes and of directives or orders issued by the government or different ministers); a task that consists in observing the changes that can have influence on respecting rights and freedoms. The Federation is invited to give consultation about the drafts legal acts. Nevertheless, twice in the last two years the parliament passed a law even though the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights believed it could threaten fundamental rights. In these cases, the Federation presented its opinion to the President of Poland with the request that he would veto the law or present a legal question to the Constitutional Tribunal. In 2004, the President directed a question concerning the constitutionality of a law, which significantly limited the freedom of assembly to the Constitutional Tribunal on request of the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, the Polish Section of International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International and the Green Party.

4.1.3 Impact on national budgeting process. The Public Benefit Works Council is the body, whose activities best fulfil the criteria of influencing the national budgeting process in Poland. Since its creation in 2003, it has undertaken a series of advocacy activities. It participated in negotiation with the Ministry of Finance, which resulted in an agreement to return to the percentage arrangement (6%) – instead of the fixed amount (350 zlotys) – of donations deductible from the private individual's taxable income. The council has also had important influence on the creation of programming mechanisms and the supervision of the European Funds. In total, it recommended about 200 representatives of organizations for the participation in different kinds of collegial bodies connected to the European Funds. As a result of the council's activities, the Civic Initiatives Fund was created. The representatives of the Council also participated in the work on the first draft of the National Development Plan for 2007-2013, in which the Civil Society Operational Program was proposed (it was to be implemented in 2007-2013, initially an amount of about 800 million Euros was assigned to it).

4.2 Holding State and Private Corporations Accountable

This subdimension analyses the extent to which the Polish civil society is active and successful in holding the state and private corporations accountable. Table III.4.2 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.4.2: Indicators assessing holding state and private corporations accountable

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.2.1	Holding the state accountable	1
4.2.2	Holding private corporations accountable	1

4.2.1 Holding the state accountable. 48% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered the CSOs efficient in monitoring the work of public administration. In the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", 11.5% of the organizations claimed that "participation in debates (or alternatively disputes) with public administration on different levels e.g. participating in or organizing open public debates, campaigns, protests, petitions and so forth" was one of their three most important forms of activity. It seems, however, unlikely that actually so many organizations carry out watchdog activities as a part of their statutory activity; one can rather suspect that the organizations undertook such activities in response to ensuing situations. It is known from

other sources that the organizations that have as objective to monitor the authorities are still few in Poland. The organizations frequently depend on local public resources and thus do not want to take the role of inspectors and potential critics. This is confirmed by the results of the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005", in which 37% of the respondents selected "monitoring of the work of the public administration" as one of the domains in which the organizations were definitely too inactive. It should be stressed, though, that, owing to the impulses of private foundations, more and more has happened within this area in the last years. Since 2001, the NGO Coalition has carried out a project consisting in monitoring the realization of election promises concerning the fight against corruption. Another task of the Anti-Corruption Program was to monitor the financial sources and expenses of the electoral committee of the candidates running for the presidency of the Republic of Poland in the 2005 election. Also the project "Local Civic Groups" is aimed at supporting society's control of authorities. A network of about 20 Local Civic Groups that monitor the activities of local authorities was created within this project. Local stakeholders, trained within this programme founded the Association of Leaders of Local Civic Groups, which continues the activities for transparency in public life on the local level. Also the environmental organizations monitor the financial activity of state institutions, one example is the Polish Green Network that runs a programme for monitoring international financial institutions. The Klon/Jawor Association also makes considerable efforts to monitor public funds, its studies are even larger – they concern all kinds of cooperation, financial and other, with NGOs. Since 1996, monitoring campaigns of the cooperation on national and regional level have been conducted four times, and on the local level – every second year since 2000.

During the last two years, a few competitions for watchdog actions have been announced: the Open Society Institute has offered subsidies for projects in the domains of access to information, transparency of public expenses and transparency of decision-making; the European Commission and the DG of Justice and Home Affairs in the European Parliament have announced a competition that is to support watchdog organizations; within the programme of the Stefan Batory Foundation "Watchdog Organizations: social responsibility in public life", organizations could apply for subsidies for projects aimed at acquiring and disclosing information about improprieties in the work of public institutions, and at eliminating improper practices, improving the law or changing the policies of the institutions.

The citizens recognize the positive role of the CSOs in controlling the authorities. In 2004, 50% of adult Poles agreed with the statement "civil society organizations fulfil the important function of keeping an eye on the authorities".

4.2.2 Holding private corporations accountable. A group of organizations is aimed at promoting the idea of socially responsible business: Responsible Business Forum, Academy for the Development of Philanthropy, Foundation for Social Communication and the Volunteering Centre Association (the programme "Business Volunteering"). In April 2005, the Polish CSR Council was created on initiative of, among others, the Responsible Business Forum. It aims at preparing a long-term strategy for promoting and implementing corporate responsibility. It seems Polish organizations make less to monitor the work of the private sector than that of public administration. This impression is confirmed by the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" – only 28% considered the organizations' efforts in this domain efficient, while 36% regarded them as inefficient.

Trade unions can, to a limited degree, monitor companies' finances. Nevertheless, they definitely more frequently operate in public workplaces (including budget-financed) than in

private companies. In state and public institutions union members constitute two-fifths of all employees, and in companies with mixed capital less than one-fifth, while in private companies only a very small percentage of employees belong to a union. This might be why battles against private employers are fought by individuals without the mediation of organizations, as did the employees of the *Biedronka* chain of supermarkets (however, as the first individual law suits were filed against the chain, and as more and more frequent protests from the employees against the violations of their rights were heard, the Association of Victims of Jeronimo Martins was created).

According to the NAG, the monitoring of private companies by CSOs only indirectly concerns their finances and it is difficult to find an organization that has such an objective in its statute. Such activities are however, undertaken by the media, e.g. the nationwide newspaper Rzeczpospolita that each year publishes the financial results of the largest companies in Poland. The NGOs mostly monitor corporate responsibility in the broadest sense.

4.3 Responding to Social Interests

This subdimension analyses the extent to which the Polish civil society actors are responsive to social interests. Table III.4.3 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.4.3: Indicators assessing responding to social interests

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.3.1	Responsiveness	2
4.3.2	Public trust in CSOs	2

4.3.1 Responsiveness. 74% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" judged the effectiveness of the CSOs' activities to be a strong point of the sector. Unfortunately, in studies conducted on representative samples of adult Poles, the percentage of those who believed that "civil society organizations generally have little influence on solving the important social problems in Poland" did not change between the years of 2003 and 2004 – 52% of the citizens agreed with this statement in both studies, while only one in five did not. The role of the CSOs was more often appreciated in the local environment – one adult Pole in three agreed that "civil society organizations solve important social problems in my neighbourhood." The public seemed more conscious about the role of trade unions – according to the 2002 European Social Survey, 82.5% of Poles agreed with the statement that employees need strong trade unions to protect working conditions and the level of salaries. Still, at the same time, the majority (60%) of the employees in workplaces where trade unions were active did not believe that the trade union would take their opinion into consideration, while only 19% believed they could. At the same time, 55% were of the opinion that it was difficult for the trade union to have influence on their working conditions.

Issues of unemployment and security are, according to the NAG, insufficiently advocated by the organizations.

4.3.2 Public trust in CSOs. Commentators of public life in Poland have for some time now stressed that the citizens have distanced themselves from the public sphere. Yet, according to the results of research conducted by CBOS in February 2004, this does not significantly influence the trust in charity organizations. As shown in the table below, from 82% to 86% of Poles claimed to trust the Great Orchestra of the Christmas Charity, Polish Red Cross and Caritas (the highest level of trust among all kinds of institutions, cf. 2.4.1). For comparison,

56% of Poles trusted the police, 21% the government, 53% the local authorities and 35% large companies (CBOS, February 2004). According to studies conducted in 2003 and 2004 by SMG/KRC, the Klon/Jawor Association and the Volunteering Centre Association in Warsaw, 75% of Poles trusted at least one type of CSO (respondents were asked about trust in particular kinds of organizations, according to area of activity, without mentioning concrete names). 66% of respondents could not indicate any kind of organizations they would not trust.

The level of trust in public institutions has equally great importance for the development of civil society in Poland. For some time now, commentators of public life in Poland have drawn attention to the fact that the citizens distance themselves from the public sphere. The level of trust in public institutions representing the legislative and executive power – government, Sejm and Senate – has been very low for a long time and is still decreasing. In February 2004, only 21% of Poles had trust in them and for 67.5% they aroused mistrust. Such a low degree of trust in these institutions is expressed in (or rather results from) the opinion that Poles have about them. In February 2005, more than three-fourths of Poles were negative towards the work of the members of parliament and only 11% spoke favourably of them. The Poles' opinion about the President was more positive – he met the approval of more than half the citizens (56%); 34% disapproved of him. The Poles' negative opinion about the key institutions for the image of the public sphere influenced the attitude towards the state as such, and the trust in institutions in general. Still, there were areas of public life that were highly trusted by society. The great majority of Poles had trust in the army and the Church (75% each). This trustful attitude was also common towards the United Nations (62%), NATO (59%) and, to a lower degree, the EU (46%) as well as the police, television and local authorities. Charity organizations (in the study, particular organizations were mentioned by name – the Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity, Polish Red Cross and Caritas) received the highest level of trust – 82-86% of Poles trusted them.

TABLE III.4.4: Trust in charity organizations and public institutions in Poland. CBOS, February 2004.

Trust in:	Percent of Poles having trust in particular institutions in 2004
Great Orchestra of the Christmas Charity	86%
Polish Red Cross	82%
Caritas	84%
Police	56%
Local authorities	53%
Large companies	35%
Government	21%

The NAG members estimated the organizations' potential as large, but some of them were of the opinion that this potential is not sufficiently used in social and political life.

4.4 Empowering Citizens

This subdimension describes and assesses the extent to which the Polish civil society is active and successful in empowering citizens, especially traditionally marginalized groups, to shape decisions that affect their lives. Table III.4.5 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.4.5: Indicators assessing empowering citizens

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.4.1	Informing/educating citizens	2
4.4.2	Building capacity for collective action and resolving joint problems	2
4.4.3	Empowering marginalized people	2
4.4.4	Empowering women	2
4.4.5	Building social capital	2
4.4.6	Supporting/creating livelihoods	2

4.4.1 Informing/educating citizens. CSOs in Poland carry out informational activities in different forms and within diverse thematic areas. In part 3 of this study, some social campaigns conducted by the organizations were mentioned. Still, this is not the only area the organizations are involved in – it is sufficient to recall the preventive campaigns in the field of health protection (as "Stop Smoking"), ecologic campaigns and actions (as "Cleaning Up The World" or "The Earth's Day") or activities directed to educational institutions (e.g. "A School with Class"). In the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004" 26% of the organizations claimed that "mobilizing and educating the public to support the organizations' activities, conducting social campaigns and so forth" were one of their three most important forms of activities. Another important type of activity is consultancy. A network of Citizens Advice Bureaus (29 centres in the whole of Poland) was created to provide the citizens with help concerning their rights (in 2003, 32,000 pieces of advice were given). The Legal Clinic Foundation conducts similar activities. These are important considering the limited access to legal advice in Poland. There are also organizations that defend consumer rights such as the Polish Consumer Federation (a network of 49 local clubs), which provides free advocacy and legal help in the area of consumer rights and complaints. Statistics from the Federation show than, only in 2004, the members of the federation gave 5,101 written pieces of advice, 42,547 oral pieces of advice and 67,830 pieces of advise and interventions by telephone; they wrote 695 law suits; filed 218 law suits; participated in 457 trials in courts of general jurisdiction and in 698 trials in consumer courts of conciliation; and mediated in 446 cases.

The organizations offer counselling to refugees, unemployed people, handicapped people, parents, sick people and other groups, as well as to citizens that want to found an organization. Another way of conducting educational activities is by diverse forms of publications (10% of the organizations claim they publish magazines, bulletins and the like on subjects related to their mission), as well as specialist websites or training courses. 78% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" considered the organizations to be effective in educating and informing citizens about their rights.

4.4.2 Building capacity for collective action and resolving joint problems. 77% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" regarded the CSOs as efficient in mobilizing the local community and creating conditions for self-help organizations at the local level. According to the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", 9% of the organizations claimed they conducted activities such as mobilization of local communities, neighbourhood actions and self-help. One could say that what really mobilizes people are problems and not formal organizations. There are some situations that more often than others mobilize people to create self-help groups, e.g. children's diseases, the close down of local schools and nurseries or lack of roads. Nevertheless, the activities of organizations supporting the self-organization process should be appreciated. Examples are the activities of: the Educational Initiatives Centre that within

the program "Small Schools" supports local communities in preventing schools from closing down; the Centre for Civil Education that aims at stimulating schoolchildren; and the Academy for the Development of Philanthropy that brought about the creation of the first local funds in Poland and is now supporting the creation of others.

According to the study "Social Diagnosis 2005", social activities were most frequently organized by "someone from the local authorities" (22% of the answers) or priests/parishes (18%). Teachers and schools were mentioned by 12.5% of the respondents, while social organizations and associations by 10.5% of the respondents; 2-3% mentioned local businessmen and journalists. According to 21.5% of the respondents "nobody does anything for public benefit" in their local community.

4.4.3 Empowering marginalized people. Empowering marginalized people is a very important field of the activity of CSOs. Marginalized people have, probably everywhere, a special place among the recipients of the organizations services. According the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004", 8% of the organizations claimed they helped people in extreme poverty, 11% – handicapped and sick persons, 6% – addicts, 2.3% – homeless (in addition it should be noticed that all the tasks related to helping the homeless have been taken over by the organizations), 1% worked with refugees, and 1% with prisoners and people that were released from prison. The Church and church organizations are very important in empowering marginalized people. Help, understood as the provision of different kinds of services is, of course, not synonymous with empowering. However, the organizations are becoming more and more aware that it is better to, as far as possible, offer a fishing rod and explain how to use it than to offer a fish. An example is the organizations federated in the All-Polish Association for Social Employment, which, even before the creation of the law on social employment, had conducted a series of activities in this domain (cf. 4.1.1.). The Federation for Social Inclusion should also be mentioned. It embraces 20 organizations that aim at counteracting social marginalization and focus their activities mostly on helping children.

4.4.4 Empowering women. Poland has an estimated 300 women's organizations. The largest and one of the oldest women's organizations is the Rural Housekeeper's Association network – there are more than 850,000 women in nearly 26,000 housekeeper's associations. The tradition is 130 years old and covers 65% of all villages. This is the only rural women's organization.[27] Their membership figures vary. The Information Centre for Women's Organizations (OŚKa), carries out initiatives that support women's organizations and initiatives, promotes the participation of women in public and social life, and provides information and data for all those interested in feminism and the situation women in Poland and around the world. According to the database of the Information Centre for Women's Organizations, women from the whole of Poland can count on support from: employment offices, support groups for women, training courses, legal advisors, health advisors and telephone help lines. Another women's organization is the Polish Women League, which is one of the largest organizations in Poland in terms of the number of members and has a very developed structure. The Polish Women League conducts a wide rage of activities: information, training courses, conferences, publishing houses, charity actions, legal counselling, professional consultancy and economic activity.

[27] Wilkin, Jerzy ed. (2002) Polska Wieś. Raport o stanie wsi. Warszawa, FDPA.

One may say some areas are almost entirely dominated by women, as e.g. the Universities of the Third Age, which are the system of higher education for elderly people (there are about 30 in Poland). Another example is agro-tourism, which is often initiated by women.

4.4.5 Building social capital. Based on the results of the World Values Survey in 1999 one can claim there is a relationship between the level of trust in people and the engagement in CSOs, even if it is not very strong. According to the study "Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2005", 65% of the volunteers and 56% of all Poles definitely agreed with the statement "I usually assume that people that I meet are honest and have good intentions".

4.4.6 Supporting/creating livelihoods. 16% of the NGOs (foundations and associations) conducted economic activity and 5% of the organizations functioned as employment offices and worked for professional mobilization according to the results of the survey "Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004".

Above we have quoted examples and data on the organizations' activity for professional mobilization of marginalized people (4.4.3) and women (4.4.4). We can now present some more examples. The foundation "Fountain House", which has been operating for some years, implements programmes aimed at helping mentally ill to return to the labour market. The Hamlet Foundation in Krakow has a similar objective; it gives the opportunity for mentally ill to work in a hotel run by the organization. Numerous organizations train and mobilize physically or mentally handicapped people, e.g. the Fuga Mundi Foundation and the Open Door Association.

What proves a certain experience of the CSOs in this area is the fact that 750 applications for subsidies from the programme IW Equal (which promotes new ways of solving problems of discrimination on the labour market) were submitted. 107 projects were accepted in the end. Most applications, as much as 64% of those selected, were submitted by NGOs.

4.5 Meeting Societal Needs

This subdimension examines the extent to which the Polish society is active and successful in meeting societal needs, especially those of poor people and other marginalized groups. Table III.4.6 summarizes the respective indicator scores.

TABLE III.4.6: Indicators assessing meeting societal needs

Ref. #	Indicators	Score
4.5.1	Lobbying for state service provision	2
4.5.2	Meeting societal needs directly	2
4.5.3	Meeting the needs of marginalized groups	2

4.5.1 Lobbying for state service provision. The principle of subsidiarity, written down in the Polish constitution, states that problems of citizens should be solved at the level closest to them and by the closest community (e.g. organizations). Also the Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act refers to the subsidiarity by introducing principles of cooperation between the public administration and the NGOs such as: independence, partnership, effectiveness, honest competition, openness and precisely subsidiarity. The act also organizes the procedures of appointing organizations for and supporting the realization of public tasks – it introduces the obligation to announce competitions in which the organizations and the institutions of public administration can participate. This enables the organizations to compete for the opportunity to implement tasks on the same premises as the public

institutions. Both the constitutional regulation that introduces the principle of subsidiarity and the act are a result of the organizations' efforts and should be treated as a success. Nevertheless, in practice, the administration is still very unwilling to share the public tasks with the organizations. 39% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" claimed that the principle of subsidiarity was not respected in Poland. Public financial resources constitute 30% of the non-governmental sector's revenues, while in the European Union they constitute, on average, more than 50%. At the local level, the organizations undertake activities aimed at changing this situation, e.g. by elaborating standards of services or lobbying for the inclusion the organizations in the process of creating cooperation programmes. Still, there is a lot left to do. In 2004, half of the communes did not fulfil their obligation of accepting the cooperation programme. Both the signing of long-term contracts with organizations and joint applications of organizations and public institutions for competitions are still rare. According to the NAG, the reasons for this situation lie in the administration's reluctant attitude towards the third sector. The inefficiency is rather related to this attitude than to the functioning of the sector.

4.5.2 Meeting societal needs directly. 71% of the NGOs claimed they had provided services to members, charges or clients of the organization during the previous two years, and for 64% this was one of three most important statutory activities. The services provided by NGOs had very diversified profiles. This diversity of forms and areas of activity is one of the reasons why it is difficult to estimate the actual significance of the services provided by the organizations. Nevertheless one can quote at least fragmentary data. In 2001, the Klon/Jawor Association examined 1,603 social institutions working on behalf of the citizens of Warsaw. The study included Centres of Social Aid, NGOs and units of the market economy (e.g. "milk bars"). As shows Table III.4.7, the majority (57%) of the 1,603 studied social aid units were run by the non-governmental sector, i.e. by associations and foundations.

TABLE III.4.7: Percentage of centres of social aid run by different sectors

Sector	Number of social aid units in Warsaw	Percentage
NGOs	908	57
Local administration	405	25
The Church/religious orders	107	7
Cooperative sector	68	4
Private sector	61	4
National administration	34	2
Other	20	1
TOTAL	1603	100

There are fields in which the state is almost completely inactive and the majority of services are provided by organizations. The standing example is the activities for the homeless that are almost completely "monopolized" by the organizations, e.g. in Warsaw and neighbouring districts the problem of homelessness is to more than 90% attended to by the Catholic Church organizations, religious associations, foundations and associations.

Still, as the sector develops, the need to raise the quality of provided services becomes more evident. Organizations are too often unaware of the demand for their services (e.g. because they rarely charge for their services, do not analyse their clients' needs and often do not even record the services). That is why they often cannot respond to changes in demand or draw any conclusions about the quality of their services.

4.5.3 Meeting the needs of marginalized groups. A CBOS public opinion poll shows that almost one-third of Poles (32%) believe that those who do not manage in life can count on the support from CSOs. [28] This means that more citizens think that they can count on the help of the organizations than on the help of state institutions and local authorities (selected by 29%). The fact that 27% of the respondents believe that the needy can neither count on public institutions nor on the NGOs is unsettling. The provision of social services to discriminated and marginalized groups is considered an area in which the CSOs are efficient, by 84% of the participants in the panel survey "Situation of Civil Society in 2005" (and even very efficient according to 22% of the participants). Still, it is difficult to draw a comparison between the efficiency of the activities of the CSOs and of the state, since they often work in different areas and adopt different standards of provided services. One may say, though, that the efficiency of the organizations' activities can be assessed through the public opinion. 58% of Poles believe the organizations provide their services more efficiently than the public administration ("Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2004"). This relatively good result may be caused by the common conviction that the public administration is very inefficient. Thus, we deal with a negative background on which the NGOs appear as better. Even quoting "hard" data that would enable a comparison of the efficiency of the state and the CSOs in providing services seems to be impossible, the role of the two sectors is, according to the NAG, a function of available means and not only a function of their abilities. This means that even if CSOs deliver services more efficiently, they will never reach the scale of operations of the state, whose budget is incomparably higher.

Conclusion

The overall score of the impact dimension of Polish civil society is not particularly high, but reflects the sector's moderate impact, which is consistent with the common perception about the weakness of civil society in Poland. At the same time, this result consists both of positive assessments, of the willingness of civil society to respond to social needs, and of considerably less optimistic data on the effectiveness in influencing activities of the state and private sector. In general, the challenge for all of the activities encompassed by the impact dimension is to increase their scale and particularly, to increase the sector's influence on holding the state and private sector accountable. In many important social issues NGOs are able to generate interesting solutions and prove that these solutions are possible.

[28] Conducted by CBOS "Opinie o pomocy społecznej ze środków publicznych" in 2004.

IV STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF POLISH CIVIL SOCIETY

This section presents the most distinctive strengths and weaknesses of civil society in Poland revealed by the CSI. These are the civil society topics that evoked the most discussions among the NAG. .

Strengths of civil society:

Freedom of action of civil society is guaranteed by the constitution. The **legal environment governing civil society's activities is relatively favourable** and has improved significantly in the last few years. In 2003, the Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Act was passed. It provides the legal basis for the functioning of NGOs. Generally speaking, the present law creates favourable conditions for registering organizations and encourages philanthropy and volunteering. The legal framework and the practice of cooperation between NGOs and the public administration have improved, as a result of this new law, the appointment of the Public Benefit Works Council and the increased presence of NGO representatives in different types of social dialogue bodies.

The third sector, in the broadest sense of the word, is **rich in diversity, internally well organized and has a fairly good infrastructure at its disposal**. Thirty-six percent of organizations belong to branch, regional or national federations, agreements and unions. At the end of 2003, the National Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations was created. It unites 130 organizations from all over Poland.

The results of the CSI reveal a relatively strong position of the NGOs as **defenders of the values essential for civil society**, such as democracy, transparency, tolerance, non-violence, gender equity and poverty eradication. Nevertheless, one must remember that the fact that the organizations protect these values does not necessarily mean they apply them and there is certainly need to improve the quality of the management of the organizations.

Weaknesses of civil society:

The weakest aspect of civil society in Poland is **the engagement of citizens in public affairs**. The level of involvement of Poles in non-partisan political actions is very low. The European Social Survey from 2002 shows that Poland is definitely below the European average in all the selected categories, and, in some, it is even last. Also the membership of organizations is small. The percentage of Poles that belong to at least one CSO varies between 12.3% and 20.3% depending on the study. The NAG estimates the real level of participation in organizations to be even lower.

Also the **public spiritedness** is assessed to be low. Polish society is quite corrupt. According to Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index from 2004, Poland takes 67th place, which is lower than neighbouring countries, including the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania and Slovakia. A very weak point of Polish society is the level of trust between people. According to the European Social Survey, the level of trust in others is the lowest in Poland among all the studied countries (23 European countries and Israel).

When it comes to the problems experienced by the organizations themselves, a serious challenge is **a lack of people willing to selflessly support their activities**. The Research of the Klon/Jawor Association shows that only 30% of organizations' members are actively involved in the organizations' activities. This proves that the engagement of members is insufficient and that the organizations' activities are not deeply rooted in the local environments.

Another visible weakness of the non-governmental sector concerns **the watchdog function of organizations**, both in relation to the public administration and to the private sector. In the CSI, one can find tough assessments of the decentralization of the state, its efficiency and of the trust in its officials. In the Polish context, it appears that the problem is not whether political rights exist, but rather if citizens and the public administration exercise and respect them, in particular it concerns such issues as access to public information. This demonstrates that the activities of the watchdog organizations are insufficient.

V RECOMMENDATIONS

The CSI makes it possible to synthetically organize knowledge about the individual dimensions of civil society. Each score indicates very civil society does 'little – much' or 'badly' – 'well' in the specific area. In this sense, each indicator makes it possible to formulate recommendations for a given area. This section, however, limits itself to making those recommendations which are believed to be the most relevant, especially from the point of view of NGOs. In order to structure the recommendations, they are organized along the dimensional analysis in the previous sections of the report.

Structure:

Recommendations concerning the structure of civil society, as understood in the CSI are presented first, focusing on the indicators of the structure dimension. The breadth of citizen participation in non-partisan political action is the first recommendation raised. Unfortunately, at this point one has to admit that a limited and decreasing interest in public affairs is a primary weakness of the Polish political life. This lack of interest can take different forms, not necessarily related to the activities of NGOs. Voting is of course the most fundamental activity of this kind, and only half of the eligible voters exercise their right to vote. The democratic deficit and increased longing for a strong-arm regime seem to be a serious challenge for the young Polish democracy. The NGOs **can and should address these tendencies. On the national level, this can take the form of voter turnout campaigns, monitoring of election promises or proposals of systemic transformations in the election statute to stimulate voter engagement**.

Public activeness is, however, more than just voting, it also includes interest in local community issues. The role of organizations is vital in this area, since they are the first to initiate local activities. From this point of view**, activities aimed at mobilizing local communities and building social capital are especially important**. Even if such activities have a mainly local character, they **require external support from nationwide organizations as well as the national and regional government. It is extremely important that the authors of the National Development Strategy for 2007-2013, currently being prepared, share this view and consider the support for development of social capital in Poland to be an important part of the country's development**.

Membership of NGOs, as well as charity and volunteering, are specific forms of participation in public affairs. These phenomena are currently low, but slowly increasing in Poland. The NGOs have admitted for many years that one of the basic challenges they face is the lack of individuals willing to selflessly support their activities. **Organizations must therefore increase their involvement in building genuine engagement among their members and anchor their activities in the local communities**. Simply speaking, it is essential that organizations, especially associations, acquire a bona fide associational structure. For example, their activities could be based on the social activity of their members. Also when it comes to volunteering there is much left to do. **It is necessary that the development of an infrastructure that promotes volunteering and serves as an agency for matching offers is continued and becomes more dynamic**. It is also important to develop specific "branch" forms of volunteering. This is particularly important for student volunteering, volunteering within business environments and senior volunteering. Volunteers from each of these groups have slightly different motivations and get involved in different ways. The situation is similar

when it comes to charity, which changes very quickly in both scale and form. Using the terminology of the CSI, the breadth of volunteering is small in comparison to the countries that Poland aspires to be like. The "depth", such as the amount of time devoted to volunteering, is also currently lower than Poland aspires for it to be, even though this indicator received a high score in the CSI. The situation is similar when it comes to charity, which unfortunately too often takes ritual forms related to the "seasonal" campaigns promoted by the media. Although the 1% allocation cannot be considered a direct form of charity, it may indirectly support the development of charity. The range of citizen involvement in this mechanism is still narrow, but we must trust that the joint efforts of organizations and the media and the likely simplification of the formal aspects of the allocation mechanism will soon contribute to a significantly larger popularity of this form of charity.

Considering the relatively good legal environment encouraging charity and volunteering, possible **efforts should focus on long-term work for a change in public attitudes**. This work should not only be conducted among mature citizens, but also become a part of the universal education of young people.

The non-governmental community in Poland is, in the opinion of external observers, relatively well organized and internally integrated, especially compared to other former communist countries. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to **develop the so-called support infrastructure for the non-governmental sector, mostly through increased access to and range of rendered services, and further work on the mechanisms of common representation of the sector's interests, particularly to further crystallize the federalization process in the non-governmental community**.

It is also necessary to educate NGO leaders. First, because change of leadership is natural, or should be, particularly in a sector that is supposed to uphold the principles of democratic management. Second, NGOs more and more frequently involve themselves in complex undertakings that not only require genuine motivation, but also unique, specialized skills. The process of professionalizing the sector is inevitable. However, the balance between spontaneity and technical standards, as well as between volunteering and paid employment should be maintained if this process is to bring about more favourable than harmful effects. That is why it is necessary to support unique and diverse programmes for educating leaders, based both on formal and informal education.

In the last years, access to information, important for the work of the non-governmental sector, has improved. This progress can partly be explained by the general development of technological, in particular increased access to the Internet. The effort to better organize information has also played an important role. The merit of the portal www.ngo.pl deserves particular attention. According to research, it is a standard source of information for every third organization. Access to information is an indispensable, but not the only, condition for good communication within the non-governmental community. Communication is in turn an indispensable condition for cooperation within the sector, and, thereby, for agreements on joint activities and standards that apply to these activities. This is worth emphasizing, since cooperation between NGOs is not only a good custom but also a necessity resulting from the increasing complexity of the projects. **The capacity to work in complex cooperation arrangements, which often go beyond the non-governmental sector and encompass partnerships with local government and the private sector, becomes an increasingly important skill**.

It is also necessary to complete the work on the issues of self-regulation within the non-governmental sector that was started by the FIP more that 10 years ago. This concerns the promotion of the principles of the so-called Charter of Codes of the Non-Governmental Organizations, in particular. This issue is obviously related to the public image of the NGOs. It is an image that, although having improved in the last years, still seems to reflect the Poles' general dislike of institutions.

The most frequently mentioned problem for the work of organizations remains the lack of financial resources. One can question whether this is really the most important problem, yet its seriousness cannot be denied. It takes different forms in different types of organizations. In some cases it is a question of existence of basic resources for activities, in other cases, the matter of access to these resources or the challenge of raising matching funding required in order to receive larger grants, in particular from EU funds. Other problems include the limitations on the types of costs for which it is possible to receive financial support and difficulties in building a sufficiently diversified, and thus secure, structure of financial sources. It is necessary to **create an appropriate financial infrastructure for the non-governmental sector**. Access to public funds, particularly those from the EU, which will probably increase in the future, is of utmost importance. **The procedures for programming, accessing and accounting for these financial resources should be adjusted to the specific character of the non-governmental sector**. It is particularly important that access to these funds is not reserved for large quasi-private or quasi-public structures. Much in this area depends on the National Strategic Reference Framework currently being prepareds.

Environment:
The next area analysed in the CSI, and the subsequent recommendations, pertain to the external environment of civil society. In regard to the political context, it seems the problem is not whether political rights exist, but whether citizens and public administration exercise, implement and respect these rights, such as ensuring access to public information. This issue has not only been abandoned because of the public administration's neglect, but also as an indirect result of the lack of civil initiatives aimed at campaigning for freedom of information. The CSI also reveals problematic findings regarding the degree of state centralization, state efficiency and levels of public trust in state officials, as well as the level of corruption. The above-mentioned statements translate into the recommendation that **the role of watch-dog organizations that defend the effectiveness and integrity of the state's activities should be extended**. In other words, **there is a necessity for civil society to ensure that the principles of good governance are developed and observed**.

The socio-cultural context of the organizations' activities received relatively negative assessments. This was especially the case for such its features as tolerance, mutual trust and public spiritedness. In particular, the level of trust and public spiritedness is quite low in Poland. **These norms require concerted long term efforts for their development, not only on the part of the non-governmental community, but also by society at large**. The necessity of supporting activities aimed at building social capital was also mentioned. It is worth noting that the above-described features are two of the three usually distinguished dimensions of social capital. **It is especially important for trust in public authorities to be restored**. However, it is not possible to achieve this goal through administrative measures. **The involvement of NGOs is indispensable, even though it is difficult to achieve since it seems the majority of the organizations does not have a high opinion of the state**.

While this is not unique to Poland, **the appropriate division of labour between state and NGOs remains the central issue for the non-governmental sector**. The last years brought about significant changes in this area. Improvements included: the public benefit act that defines the rules of cooperation with the public administration; the creation of the Public Benefit Works Council and the very numerous presence of NGO representatives in different types of social dialogue bodies. It also seems that the need to cooperate with organizations is no longer questioned. However, the concrete form of cooperation remains problematic. Paradoxically, the rules of cooperation have been less clear on the national level than on the regional level in the last years, which is sue to the fact that they are not covered by statutory regulations.

Both the number of tasks handed over to the organizations and the corresponding financial support are increasing. Long-term contracts are becoming more common. The Civic Initiatives Fund has been created on the national level and it is hoped that it will continue to operate in the years to come. At present, since the basic legal framework for cooperation already exists, **the most important thing is to create a mechanism to promote good practices as well as to exert more efficient pressure in cases when the public administration disregards its statutory obligations**.

The fact that organizations carry out public tasks has led to a change in organizations' income structure. Similarly to what happens in the EU, the percentage of public funds in the budget of organizations will probably increase in the coming years. On the one hand, one can expect this tendency to be followed by a significant growth of employment in the sector and higher formal standards of work. On the other hand, however, it can cause the third sector to become too similar to other sectors, which will lead to a reduction of its unique features and marginalization of organizations that are not "in demand" by the government. This is why **it is necessary to protect the specific, unique features of NGOs in the division of roles and work**. Reduction, or self-reduction, to the role of executor of the ideas of the government is a blind alley in which the question appears of why to use the help of organizations at all, if their activities are no different from those of the state or private sector. That is why a system of complementary partnership should be developed, where there is room for the competences of each sector and where no one dominates the others. It is not easy to maintain such a balance, but it would certainly be favourable if the non-governmental sector made an effort to maintain not only the role of service provider but also of a subject that defines social needs, such as an advocacy function.

The new paradigm of the organizations' activities based on the concept of social economy cannot be overlooked. The social economy can be seen as an alternative way of describing the activities of the third sector, or the "third system" as it is called by the European Commission. An important shift in the way organizations work is currently taking place where a significantly stronger emphasis is given to mutuality and a much more economic, or more accurately, enterprising form of activity. This is particularly true in the case of activities related to support for groups excluded from the labour market. A serious challenge to the third sector is to **stop being just another "redistribution" mechanism and to begin to organize the specific type production** and development that reduces the phenomenon of social exclusion.

The external environment of organizations is also, and perhaps above all, their legal environment. In the last few years the latter seems to have improved significantly. Nevertheless, it still requires modification. The Act on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work

requires some amendments which can now be pointed out, almost three years after the law came into effect. It seems the different political groupings in the parliament can agree on these changes. Of course, one could think of other laws that should certainly be reviewed in order to make the external environment friendlier for organizations. However, at present, it is more important **to initiate a truly effective mechanism for monitoring changes in the law and examining how these changes are received**, by acquiring the possibility to comment on proposals, informing about laws that come into effect and, in special justified cases, exerting pressure in order to abandon the changes.

The relationship between civil society and the private sector is another part of the external environment of organizations' activities. Corporate social responsibility is becoming a more commonly discussed concept and marketing campaigns appeal more frequently for social values. Also, non-financial forms of cooperation, such as volunteer work of employees, are becoming increasingly popular. Still, the pace of these changes is unsatisfactory. **It also seems the infrastructure of the organizations that mediate between the non-governmental community and the business environment is still too weak**.

Values:

The results of the CSI indicate a relatively strong position of the NGOs as defenders of the values relevant for civil society, such as democracy, transparency, tolerance, non-violence, gender equity and poverty eradication. Nevertheless, this does not mean there is nothing left to do in this area, since these values must be constantly guarded. Third, it is important to remember the fact that organizations monitor the transparency of public finances and their observance of democratic rules in public life does not automatically mean they themselves are financially transparent and democratic. Without going into detail we can say it is necessary to improve the quality of management of the organizations. Without a substantial improvement in this area the authority of the organizations to judge others will be reduced, the effectiveness of their activities will decrease and, moreover, the already weak social trust will be put at risk.

Impact:

The CSI proposes a series of methods to measure the impact of NGOs and the range of activities in the sector. In each impact subdimension, including civil society's influence on public policy, empowering citizens, responding to social problems and holding state and private corporations accountable, NGOs should increase and enhance their efforts.

In general, the challenge today for almost all of the above-described activities, is to increase their scale. In many important social issues NGOs are able to generate interesting solutions and prove that their solutions are possible. Even so, they are often unable to apply them on a larger scale. Often they do not even try. **The necessity for a mechanism for "rescaling" reliable solutions is one of the greatest challenges faced by the non-governmental sector in Poland**. The current and predicted financial resources offer an opportunity and in a way even force the organizations to think on a different, much larger scale. Some mechanisms must be created in order to seize this opportunity. First, a mechanism for encouraging innovations; second, a system for objectively evaluating and selecting model solutions and, third, a mechanism for replicating the solution that are worth being replicated.

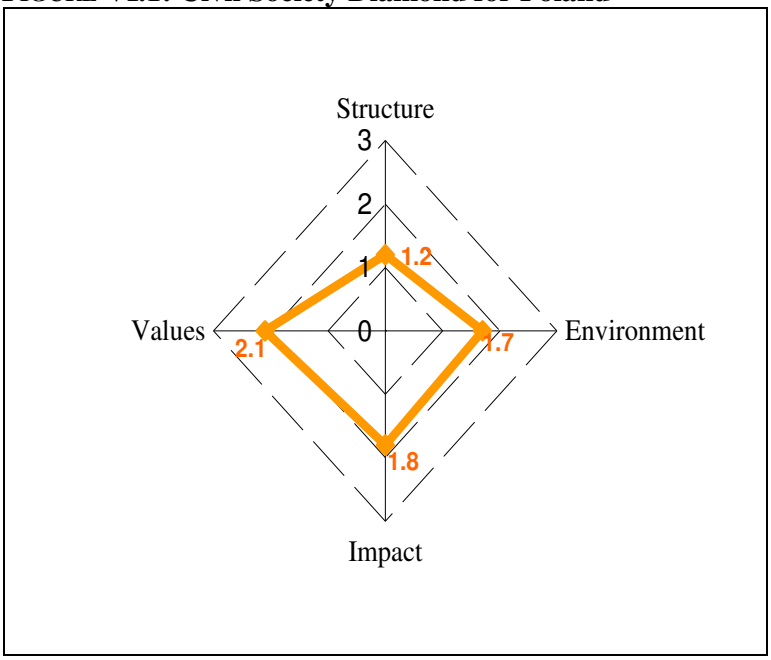
In summing up the list of recommendations it is important to remember that one of the goals of the CSI is to not only provide a tool for describing the current state of civil society, but also provide a kind of navigation instrument. The question is what kind of navigation

instrument? “Unfortunately” the CSI is “only” a radar and not a compass. It actually provides a full panoramic (360 degree) view, but without indicating the most important directions to take. The CSI worked on the assumption that a “better” civil society is one in which each of the dimensions/vectors are “longer” than they are at present. Even though one can expect there to be observers/actors thinking about the state of civil society in general terms without taking the liberty of “holism”, this tool will not automatically show the direction of activity. It is hoped that the CSI will help in making choices and in the future make it possible to see the results of these choices.

VI CONCLUSION

While this conclusion seeks to summarize the key results and trends pertaining to the state of civil society in Poland, it is difficult to concisely summarize the vast material gathered by the CSI project. In a sense, the harder one tries to synthesize the information contained in the CSI indicators, the more difficult it becomes to provide a coherent interpretation. As one seeks to reach an overall view of the state of civil society in Poland, one loses sight of its depth and thereby of the rich variety of specific issues, which are of vital importance to such a comprehensive assessment.

FIGURE VI.1: Civil Society Diamond for Poland



The diamond shows that the greatest strength of civil society in Poland is the area of values, with regards to both, civil society's internal practice and the promotion of positive values in society as a whole. A significant exception is the lack of concern about transparency, both within CSOs and in public life in general. The external environment for civil society activities was assessed as relatively conducive. High scores were given above all to the legal regulatory domain; while social attitudes favouring the activities of the CSOs, such as trust, public spiritedness and tolerance, received considerably lower scores. The NAG's rating of the impact of civil society's work, such as the social importance of civil society initiatives, was similar to that of the environment, reflecting civil society's moderate overall impact. At the same time, this area combines both a positive assessment of the willingness of civil society to respond to social needs, and a considerably less optimistic assessment of civil society's effectiveness in influencing the activities of the state and private sector. The lowest score was given to the structure of civil society, particularly to the level of citizen's engagement in supporting CSOs' activities and, more generally, their limited engagement in any kind of public activity.

Even though the CSI is referred to as an index throughout the entire project, at the end of the day, there is not any single number that synthetically describes the state of civil society, which, in our view, would be impossible and misleading. Civil society's quality and character

can be read from the shape of the figure formed by connecting the points of the final scores of each dimension (structure, environment, values and impact) as well as from the total surface area of the figure. The same can be said about each of the four dimensions which form the Diamond's axes. For each of them one can draw a separate figure whose surface is formed by the scores of the subdimensions that the given dimension is composed of. When it comes to the impact dimension of Polish civil society, the surface is not especially large, which is confirmed by the common conviction about the weakness of civil society in Poland. In addition to the surface, the shape of the diamond is an important indication of its current state. For example, it is possible to imagine a situation in which the structure of civil society is developed, while its values are not so deeply rooted. It is also possible to have a developed structure, yet with relatively little impact. There are almost countless variations.

The shape of the Polish Civil Society Diamond is similar to the shape of diamonds in other Central and Eastern European countries in which the project was conducted, such as Bulgaria, Croatia the Czech Republic, Romania and Ukraine. In all of them, the strongest dimension is values. The shape of the diamond in countries outside Central and Eastern Europe (particularly countries where the non-governmental sector has developed for a long time) is characterized by significantly "longer" vectors of structure and impact.

If the consultative and open character of the CSI methodology is taking into account, it is possible to interpret the shape of the Diamond somewhat differently. A hallmark of this project is its sensibility to subjective judgements of the observers and practitioners of civil society in Poland. To many researchers accustomed to slightly different tools of constructing indices, this specific feature of the CSI will appear as a heavy burden. However, the feature is, in fact, also the main asset of the CSI. It is particularly important for the project's aims. The CSI is supposed to assess the state of civil society, and also create room for debate and mirror the state of the debate in the countries participating in the project. It gives primacy to interpretation rather than data. And: Isn't the final answer to the question about the state of civil society actually found in our own judgements? From this point of view, one can come to different conclusions, based on the CSI results in Poland and Eastern Europe, than the shape of the diamond would suggest. Does the fact that observers and practitioners of civil society in Poland are convinced that Polish civil society is strong in its values really mean that everything has been achieved in the values sphere? Not necessarily. Instead one should state that values provide the commitment to Polish civil society and have been fundamental for its development in this part of the continent. As such they are important. Observers and practitioners of civil society in Poland are particularly attached to the values sphere, even though the standards used to assess the state of civil society in this dimension differ from the standards of long-term democracies.

This is precisely the specific merit of the CSI. Contrary to other 'objectifying' measures it depends on the context and should only be interpreted as a contextual tool. The results show where the hopes, concerns and required interventions for civil society's development are located, regardless of the accuracy of the assessment. The optimism in the values sphere seems to prove that Polish civil society practitioners and experts feel well, as if they would like to say "the only thing that Polish civil society lacks is more time to develop structures and associations – it lacks resources and people". This is probably the case. Still, some questions remain: How do the perceived values manifest themselves? Why are they not reflected in civil society's institutional strength? Why do they not translate into greater involvement of the people? The famous thesis by Dahrendorf that a considerable amount of time must pass in order for civil society to become established is certainly a good line of

defence here. Still, this does not change the fact that the optimistic assessment of civil society's normative attitude in a country where civil society institutions are weak constitutes an interesting element in assessing its condition.

Let us examine the different dimensions of civil society in Poland. First, it is worth to say that a mixture of indicators describing civil society in a broader sense and indicators concerning NGOs characterizes the CSI's structure. If one formed two separate indices, they would definitely differ in shape. Put more simply, we would see a situation of a relatively strong non-governmental sector in a quite weak civil society.

The majority of indicators describing the institutional aspects of civil society show a relatively good condition. The third sector is rich in diversity, well organized internally and has a fairly good infrastructure at its disposal. Freedom of expression and association are guaranteed by the constitution and the legal environment of civil society's activities is relatively favourable. The sector also practices many values important to civil society and seeks to respond to emerging social needs.

The most visible weakness of the non-governmental sector concerns the limited watchdog role, both in relation to the public administration and to the private sector. The CSI also, very clearly, shows the sector's shortage both of financial and human resources (only technological resources were seen as slightly better). At the same time, the indicators concerning citizen's involvement in public affairs received the worst ratings in the whole CSI – in Poland, the level of engagement in non-partisan political actions, membership of organizations, etc. is very low. Also public spiritedness and the level of mutual trust between people was assessed as very low. These features are crucial components of social capital and their low level clearly hampers the future growth of civil society in Poland.

Participatory character of the project

One of the essential merits (as well as challenges) of the CSI methodology is its participatory character. The CSI is not only a technique for collecting and synthesizing data, but also a unique social process. At the beginning of any CSI implementation, the adaptation of the tool to the specific local context is recommended. This is a very delicate moment: On the one hand, it makes it possible to add individual CSI indicators, on the other hand, though, the vital common core of the project's approach must be maintained. Without this common core it would be impossible to compare different countries, and comparison is one of the most important reasons for implementing the CSI. Though absolutely necessary, it is sometimes difficult to maintain this balance. Here, the values dimension and the question about the universality of the values proposed by the CSI are particularly sensitive. Some essential questions arise, e.g. to what degree does a statement about the universality of the values legitimise their use as a scale of measurement and to what degree is this statement a kind of usurpation, claim or, to put it more softly, a postulation?

The very process of collecting data also entails certain challenges. In Poland, due to the long-standing activity of the Klon/Jawor Association in this domain, data on the non-governmental sector was relatively accessible. Still, a lot of work was required to collect information on the other dimensions of the CSI, especially on civic activity and social attitudes. In practice, it also turned out to be difficult to collect reliable data on civil society's impact. The NAG members – representing different institutions – helped with all these efforts. Even though not

all of them were convinced of every element of the CSI methodology, they all appreciated the scale and complexity of the proposed approach. In other words, although not all of them were satisfied with the quite schematic way of reaching the final numerical scores, they appreciated the "organizing power" of the project. By creating a 'meta-language' for different descriptions and parameters of civil society, the CSI makes it possible to synthesize data and test different theories. In other words, the CSI is an excellent tool to consolidate dispersed facts, data and opinions and come up with a comprehensive picture of well-defined dimensions measuring civil society's current condition. In the end, the 72 CSI indicators may fulfil an important ordering and organizing function for a general repository of data on different aspects of civil society.

The proposal to use the CSI as an online repository of data, building upon the CSI architecture to update and find new available data and store it in one place was presented to researchers and practitioners during the All-Polish Forum for Non-Governmental Initiatives. Of course, in order to conduct such an undertaking on a long-term basis, serious efforts are required and, apart from the authors of the idea, other partners need to be convinced.

Practical applications of the CSI

One of the CSI's strengths is that it goes beyond a purely academic exercise. This is, as a matter of fact, an important advantage in comparison to other, similar projects. Since the beginning, the CSI has had a practical inclination – it is supposed to not only serve the research community but even more so to assist practitioners in gaining knowledge for conducting their work. In particular, the CSI can be used not only as a descriptive, but also as a planning tool. It not only constitutes a 'radar' to read the current position of civil society, but also a 'map' showing the proposed direction for the future.

In Poland, a special and unique opportunity to implement the above-mentioned applications was the discussion on the National Development Plan for 2007-2013. The ambition of this document is not only to be a foundation for applying for EU funds, but also to provide a basis for a broad debate on the future of the country and serve as a "social contract". Fuelled by purely economic data, previously, this debate had been strongly focused on purely economic issues and the discussion about the role of the corporate businesses dominated. The introduction of horizontal themes (including the theme of civil society) and of good governance made it possible to raise the quality of the debate. Among other things, thanks to the work on the CSI, the non-governmental community became prepared to considerably enrich the diagnostic part of the document as well as its operational sections. The preparation of a draft of the separate operational programme "Civil Society Development", to which a sum of 600 million Euros was allocated, was particularly successful; even though there is no guarantee that this programme will maintain this form in the final version of the document which is presently being elaborated. The concept of this programme is strongly influenced by the CSI's structure as the programme represents a holistic approach (similarly to the CSI) to civil society issues. It proposes various instruments to improve the state of civil society that go way beyond the concept of support for the third sector. The different priorities of the programme refer to such issues as civic activity and education, support to local communities as well as development of the different functions of the third sector (income-generation, service-provision and advocacy). The results of the programme will be defined by means of a specific set of indicators that include the CSI (both as a whole and its individual indicators). This situation can perhaps be considered a model case of combining a research project with a concrete and meaningful practical application.

The CSI as a source of methodological innovation

As stated earlier, the CSI data collection process encountered various challenges. Even though KLON/Jawor succeed to gather much data on NGOs, it was often difficult to assess the quality of NGO's activities. These difficulties were of two distinct types. Firstly, there was the difficulty that can generally be defined as a problem of "being the judge of one's own case". One example is those individual organizations' claims of being transparent and professional must be "balanced" by external evaluation. One should not say that one perspective is better than the other and certainly none of them should be treated as the single truth. That is why the "triangulation" of data and opinions, which was built in the CSI in order to make the final assessments, was crucial. Secondly, by simply aggregating data on separate organizations, it was often impossible to answer the question of whether their combined activities in individual domains are sufficient. Also this requires a broader perspective and an external examination. For this purpose traditional public opinion polls and an online panel survey among civil society practitioners and external experts was conducted.

In the future, KLON/Jawor intends to apply this panel survey mechanism as one of the main sources for assessing the state of civil society in Poland, since it seems a very interesting and useful compliment to existing data and, above all, a unique method of interpreting and assessing current trends.

The future of the CSI

The implementation of the CSI is, in a sense, even if very time-consuming, only a first stage. After the findings have been produced, it is equally important to promote them among different stakeholders. In Poland, it would also be very helpful to transform the CSI into a permanent mechanism of measuring the state civil society in Poland. While KLON/Jawor is not yet able to make a binding declaration concerning the frequency of conducting the CSI, the tool clearly constitutes a repeatable mechanism combining different and relatively regular research methods that will systematically provide data for individual CSI indicators, moving us closer to what, in our conviction, is the most desirable situation, in which everybody can have access to the most recent CSI results and scores. The authors of this report hope and believe that others will join them in this initiative.

At present, the Klon/Jawor Association is, in cooperation with numerous partners, in the process of implementing the programme "In Search of the Polish Model of Social Economy" within the European Social Fund. As part of this programme, in-depth research that systematizes the state of local civil society (particularly in relation to issues of social economy in the broadest sense of the word) will be conducted over three years in ten local communities. The experience of having applied the CSI's multi-dimensional approach will be very helpful for this undertaking.

Lastly, the CSI's international aspect should not be underestimated. Being part of a large group of researchers from over 50 countries enables each country team to benefit from each other's experience and to create an invaluable source for comparison, thereby providing an opportunity of better understanding one's own situation. The CSI project is, at present, the largest research project in this area on a global scale. It is very likely to become an accepted standard for assessing the state of civil society. This requires partnerships with the research community as well as with numerous international institutions that seek to support civil society (e.g. the EU, UNDP, the World Bank as well as numerous private institutions). There

is a strong opportunity for such partnerships which. , for obvious reasons, would help to make the CSI a permanent tool for assessing the state of civil society in Poland.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of NAG Members
Appendix 2: CSI – The Scoring Matrix
Appendix 3: Study on Civil Society in the Media
Appendix 4: Methodology of the Panel Study "Situation of Civil Society in 2005"

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF NAG MEMBERS

Jerzy Bartkowski (Warsaw University Institute of Sociology)
Janusz Durlik (Public Opinion Research Centre – CBOS)
Piotr Frączak (Civil Society Development Foundation)
Piotr Gliński (Civil Society Unit at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences)
Małgorzata Greszta (Responsible Business Forum)
Andrzej Juros (Catholic University of Lublin)
John Kubiniec (Freedom House)
Ewa Kulik-Bielińska (Stefan Batory Foundation)
Revd. Mieczysław Puzewicz (Academic Chaplaincy in Lublin)
Przemysław Radwan (School for Leaders Association)
Maria Rogaczewska (Warsaw University Institute of Sociology)
Marek Rymsza (Institute of Public Affairs)
Tomasz Schimanek (Academy for the Development of Philanthropy)
Krzysztof Stanowski (Education for Democracy Foundation)
Łukasz Waszak (Centre for Promotion and Development of Civil Initiatives OPUS)
Krzysztof Więckiewicz (Department of Public Benefit at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy)
Anna Wojakowska (Polish-American Freedom Foundation)

Appendix 2 - THE CSI SCORING MATRIX

1 – STRUCTURE

1.1 - Breadth of citizen participation

Description: **How widespread is citizen involvement in civil society? What proportion of citizens engage in civil society activities?**

1.1.1 - Non-partisan political action

Description: What percentage of people have ever undertaken any form of non-partisan political action (e.g. written a letter to a newspaper, signed a petition, attended a demonstration)?

A very small minority (less than 10%).	Score 0
A minority (10% to 30%)	Score 1
A significant proportion (31% to 65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

1.1.2 - Charitable giving

Description: What percentage of people donate to charity on a regular basis?

A very small minority (less than 10%)	Score 0
A minority (10% to 30%)	Score 1
A significant proportion (31% to 65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

1.1.3 - CSO membership

Description: What percentage of people belong to at least one CSO?

A small minority (less than 30%)	Score 0
A minority (30% to 50%)	Score 1
A majority (51% to 65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

1.1.4 - Volunteering

Description: What percentage of people undertake volunteer work on a regular basis (at least once a year)?

A very small minority (less than 10%)	Score 0
A small minority (10% to 30%)	Score 1
A minority (31% to 50%)	Score 2
A majority (more than 50%)	Score 3

1.1.5 - Collective community action

Description: What percentage of people have participated in a collective community action within the last year (e.g. attended a community meeting, participated in a community-organised event or a collective effort to solve a community problem)?

A small minority (less than 30%)	Score 0
A minority (30% -50%)	Score 1
A majority (51% to 65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

1.2 - Depth of citizen participation

Description: How deep/meaningful is citizen participation in civil society? How frequently/extensively do people engage in civil society activities?

1. 2.1 - Charitable giving

Description: How much (i.e. what percentage of personal income) do people who give to charity on a regular basis donate, on average, per year?

Less than 1%	Score 0
1% to 2%	Score 1
2.1% to 3%	Score 2
More than 3%	Score 3

1.2.2 - Volunteering

Description: How many hours per month, on average, do volunteers devote to volunteer work?

Less than 2 hours	Score 0
2 to 5 hours	Score 1
5.1 to 8 hours	Score 2
More than 8 hours.	Score 3

1.2.3 - CSO membership

Description: What percentage of CSO members belong to more than one CSO?

A small minority (less than 30%)	Score 0
A minority (30% to 50%)	Score 1
A majority (51% to 65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

1.3 - Diversity of civil society participants

Description: How diverse/representative is the civil society arena? Do all social groups participate equitably in civil society? Are any groups dominant or excluded?

1.3.1 - CSO membership

Description: To what extent do CSOs represent all significant social groups (e.g. women, rural dwellers, poor people and minorities)?

Significant social groups are absent / excluded from CSOs.	Score 0
Significant social groups are largely absent from CSOs.	Score 1
Significant social groups are under-represented in CSOs.	Score 2
CSOs equitably represent all social groups. No group is noticeably under-represented.	Score 3

1.3.2 - CSO leadership

Description: To what extent is there diversity in CSO leadership? To what extent does CSO leadership represent all significant social groups (e.g. women, rural dwellers, poor people, and minorities)?

Significant social groups are absent / excluded from CSO leadership roles.	Score 0
Significant social groups are largely absent from CSO leadership roles.	Score 1
Significant social groups are under-represented in CSO leadership roles.	Score 2
CSO leadership equitably represents all social groups. No group is noticeably under-represented.	Score 3

1.3.3 Distribution of CSOs

Description: How are CSOs distributed throughout the country?

CSOs are highly concentrated in the major urban centres.	Score 0
CSOs are largely concentrated in urban areas.	Score 1
CSOs are present in all but the most remote areas of the country.	Score 2
CSOs are present in all areas of the country.	Score 3

1.4. - Level of organisation

Description: How well-organised is civil society? What kind of infrastructure exists for civil society?

1.4.1 - Existence of CSO umbrella bodies

Description: What percentage of CSOs belong to a federation or umbrella body of related organisations?

A small minority (less than 30%)	Score 0
A minority (30% to 50%)	Score 1
A majority (51% to 70%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 70%)	Score 3

1.4.2 - Effectiveness of CSO umbrella bodies

Description: How effective do CSO stakeholders judge existing federations or umbrella bodies to be in achieving their defined goals?

Completely ineffective (or non-existent)	Score 0
Largely ineffective	Score 1
Somewhat effective	Score 2
Effective	Score 3

1.4.3 - Self-regulation

Description: Are there efforts among CSOs to self-regulate? How effective and enforceable are existing self-regulatory mechanisms? What percentage of CSOs abide by a collective code of conduct (or some other form of self-regulation)?

There are no efforts among CSOs to self-regulate.	Score 0
Preliminary efforts have been to self-regulate but only a small minority of CSOs are involved and impact is extremely limited.	Score 1
Some mechanisms for CSO self-regulation are in place but only some sectors of CSOs are involved and there is no effective method of enforcement. As a result, impact is limited.	Score 2
Mechanisms for CSO self-regulation are in place and function quite effectively. A discernible impact on CSO behaviour can be detected.	Score 3

1.4.4 - Support infrastructure

Description: What is the level of support infrastructure for civil society? How many civil society support organisations exist in the country? Are they effective?

There is no support infrastructure for civil society.	Score 0
There is very limited infrastructure for civil society.	Score 1
Support infrastructure exists for some sectors of civil society and is expanding.	Score 2
There is a well-developed support infrastructure for civil society.	Score 3

1.4.5 - International linkages

Description: What proportion of CSOs have international linkages (e.g. are members of international networks, participate in global events)?

Only a handful of “elite” CSOs have international linkages.	Score 0
A limited number of (mainly national-level) CSOs have international linkages.	Score 1
A moderate number of (mainly national-level) CSOs have international linkages.	Score 2
A significant number of CSOs from different sectors and different levels (grassroots to national) have international linkages.	Score 3

1.5 - Inter-relations

Description: How strong / productive are relations among civil society actors?

1.5.1 - Communication

Description: What is the extent of communication between civil society actors?

Very little	Score 0
Limited	Score 1
Moderate	Score 2
Significant	Score 3

1.5.2 – Cooperation

Description: How much do civil society actors cooperate with each other on issues of common concern? Can examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances/coalitions (around a specific issue or common concern) be identified?

CS actors do not cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. No examples of	Score 0

cross-sectoral CSO alliances/coalitions can be identified / detected.	
It is very rare that CS actors cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. Very few examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances / coalitions can be identified / detected.	Score 1
CS actors on occasion cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. Some examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances / coalitions can be identified / detected.	Score 2
CS actors regularly cooperate with each other on issues of common concern. Numerous examples of cross-sectoral CSO alliances / coalitions can be identified / detected.	Score 3

1.6 – Resources

Description: To what extent do CSOs have adequate resources to achieve their goals?

1.6.1 - Financial resources

Description: How adequate is the level of financial resources for CSOs?

On average, CSOs suffer from a serious financial resource problem.	Score 0
On average, CSOs have inadequate financial resources to achieve their goals.	Score 1
On average, CSOs have most of the financial resources they require to achieve their defined goals.	Score 2
On average, CSOs have an adequate and secure financial resource base.	Score 3

1.6.2 - Human resources

Description: How adequate is the level of human resources for CSOs?

On average, CSOs suffer from a serious human resource problem.	Score 0
On average, CSOs have inadequate human resources to achieve their goal.	Score 1
On average, CSOs have most of the human resources they require to achieve their defined goals.	Score 2
On average, CSOs have an adequate and secure human resource base.	Score 3

1.6.3 - Technological and infrastructural resources

Description: How adequate is the level of technological and infrastructural resources for CSOs?

On average, CSOs suffer from a serious technological and infrastructural resource problem.	Score 0
On average, CSOs have inadequate technological and infrastructural resources to achieve their goals.	Score 1
On average, CSOs have most of the technological and infrastructural resources they require to achieve their defined goals.	Score 2
On average, CSOs have an adequate and secure technological and infrastructural resource base.	Score 3

2 - ENVIRONMENT[29]

2.1 - Political context

Description: What is the political situation in the country and its impact on civil society?

2.1.1 - Political rights

Description: How strong are the restrictions on citizens' political rights (e.g. to participate freely in political processes, elect political leaders through free and fair elections, freely organise in political parties)?

There are severe restrictions on the political rights of citizens. Citizens cannot participate in political processes.	Score 0
There are some restrictions on the political rights of citizens and their participation in political processes.	Score 1
Citizens are endowed with substantial political rights and meaningful opportunities for political participation. There are minor and isolated restrictions on the full freedom of citizens' political rights and their participation in political processes.	Score 2
People have the full freedom and choice to exercise their political rights and meaningfully	Score 3

[29] For most of the indicators, secondary data sources are available for a broad range of countries. For each indicator, the scores indicate how to translate the original secondary data into the 4-point scale of the CSI scoring matrix.

participate in political processes.	

2.1.2 - Political competition

Description: What are the main characteristics of the party system in terms of number of parties, ideological spectrum, institutionalisation and party competition?

Single party system.	Score 0
Small number of parties based on personalism, clientelism or appealing to identity politics.	Score 1
Multiple parties, but weakly institutionalised and / or lacking ideological distinction.	Score 2
Robust, multi-party competition, with well-institutionalised and ideologically diverse parties.	Score 3

2.1.3 - Rule of law

Description: To what extent is the rule of law entrenched in the country?

There is general disregard for the law by citizens and the state.	Score 0
There is low confidence in and frequent violations of the law by citizens and the state.	Score 1
There is a moderate level of confidence in the law. Violations of the law by citizens and the state are not uncommon.	Score 2
Society is governed by fair and predictable rules, which are generally abided by.	Score 3

2.1.4 – Corruption

Description: What is the level of perceived corruption in the public sector?

High	Score 0
Substantial	Score 1
Moderate	Score 2
Low	Score 3

2.1.5 – State effectiveness

Description: To what extent is the state able to fulfil its defined functions?

The state bureaucracy has collapsed or is entirely ineffective (e.g. due to political, economic or social crisis).	Score 0
The capacity of the state bureaucracy is extremely limited.	Score 1
State bureaucracy is functional but perceived as incompetent and / or non-responsive.	Score 2
State bureaucracy is fully functional and perceived to work in the public's interests.	Score 3

2.1.6 – Decentralisation

Description: To what extent is government expenditure devolved to sub-national authorities?

Sub-national share of government expenditure is less than 20.0%.	Score 0
Sub-national share of government expenditure is between 20.0% and 34.9%.	Score 1
Sub-national share of government expenditure is between 35.0% than 49.9%.	Score 2
Sub-national share of government expenditure is more than 49.9%.	Score 3

2.2 - Basic freedoms and rights

***Description:* To what extent are basic freedoms ensured by law and in practice?**

2.2.1 - Civil liberties

Description: To what extent are civil liberties (e.g. freedom of expression, association, assembly) ensured by law and in practice?

Civil liberties are systematically violated.	Score 0
There are frequent violations of civil liberties.	Score 1
There are isolated or occasional violations of civil liberties.	Score 2
Civil liberties are fully ensured by law and in practice.	Score 3

2.2.2 - Information rights

Description: To what extent is public access to information guaranteed by law? How accessible are government documents to the public?

No laws guarantee information rights. Citizen access to government documents is extremely limited.	Score 0

Citizen access to government documents is limited but expanding.	Score 1
Legislation regarding public access to information is in place, but in practice, it is difficult to obtain government documents.	Score 2
Government documents are broadly and easily accessible to the public.	Score 3

2.2.3 - Press freedoms

Description: To what extent are press freedoms ensured by law and in practice?

Press freedoms are systematically violated.	Score 0
There are frequent violations of press freedoms.	Score 1
There are isolated violations of press freedoms.	Score 2
Freedom of the press is fully ensured by law and in practice.	Score 3

2.3 - Socio-economic context[30]

Description: **What is the socio-economic situation in the country and its impact on civil society?**

2.3.1 - Socio-economic context

Description: How much do socio-economic conditions in the country represent a barrier to the effective functioning of civil society?

Social and economic conditions represent a serious barrier to the effective functioning of civil society. More than five of the following conditions are present: Widespread poverty (e.g. more than 40% of people live on $2 per day) Civil war (armed conflict in last 5 years) Severe ethnic and/or religious conflict Severe economic crisis (e.g. external debt is more than GNP) Severe social crisis (over last 2 years) Severe socio-economic inequities (Gini coefficient > 0.4) Pervasive adult illiteracy (over 40%) Lack of IT infrastructure (i.e. less than 5 hosts per 10.000 inhabitants)	Score 0
Social and economic conditions significantly limit the effective functioning of civil society. Three, four or five of the conditions indicated are present.	Score 1
Social and economic conditions somewhat limit the effective functioning of civil society. One or two of the conditions indicated are present.	Score 2
Social and economic conditions do not represent a barrier to the effective functioning of civil society. None of the conditions indicated is present.	Score 3

2.4 - Socio-cultural context

Description: **To what extent are socio-cultural norms and attitudes conducive or detrimental to civil society?**

2.4.1 - Trust

Description: How much do members of society trust one another?

Relationships among members of society are characterised by mistrust (e.g. less than 10% of people score on the World Value Survey (WVS) trust indicator).	Score 0
There is widespread mistrust among members of society (e.g. 10% to 30% of people score on the WVS trust indicator).	Score 1
There is a moderate level of trust among members of society (e.g. 31% to 50% of people score on the WVS trust indicator).	Score 2
There is a high level of trust among members of society (e.g. more than 50% of people score on the WVS trust indicator).	Score 3

2.4.2 - Tolerance

[30] This subdimension/indicator is not broken up into individual indicators to facilitate and simplify scoring. The subdimension/indicator consists of 8 socio-economic conditions which are of importance to civil society. The scores for this indicator are designed in such a way that they indicate how many socio-economic obstacles are there for civil society (max: 8; min: 0). The task for the NAG scoring meeting is to simply verify the number of obstacles (as identified by the secondary data) and assign the score accordingly.

Description: How tolerant are members of society?

Society is characterised by widespread intolerance (e.g. average score on WVS derived tolerance indicator is 3.0 or higher).	Score 0
Society is characterised by a low level of tolerance (e.g. indicator between 2.0 and 2.9).	Score 1
Society is characterised by a moderate level of tolerance (e.g. indicator between 1.0 and 1.9).	Score 2
Society is characterised by a high level of tolerance (e.g. indicator less than 1.0).	Score 3

2.4.3 - Public spiritedness[31]

Description: How strong is the sense of public spiritedness among members of society?

Very low level of public spiritedness in society (e.g. average score on WVS derived public spiritedness indicator is more than 3.5).	Score 0
Low level of public spiritedness (e.g. indicator between 2.6 and 3.5).	Score 1
Moderate level of public spiritedness (e.g. indicator between 1.5 and 2.5).	Score 2
High level of public spiritedness (e.g. indicator less than 1.5).	Score 3

2.5 - Legal environment

Description: To what extent is the existing legal environment enabling or disabling to civil society?

2.5.1 - CSO registration[32]

Description: How supportive is the CSO registration process? Is the process (1) simple, (2) quick, (3) inexpensive, (4) following legal provisions and (5) consistently applied?

The CSO registration process is not supportive at all. Four or five of the quality characteristics are absent.	Score 0
The CSO registration is not very supportive. Two or three quality characteristics are absent.	Score 1
The CSO registration process can be judged as relatively supportive. One quality characteristic is absent.	Score 2
The CSO registration process is supportive. None of the quality characteristics is absent.	Score 3

2.5.2 - Allowable advocacy activities

Description: To what extent are CSOs free to engage in advocacy / criticize government?

CSOs are not allowed to engage in advocacy or criticise the government.	Score 0
There are excessive and / or vaguely defined constraints on advocacy activities.	Score 1
Constraints on CSOs' advocacy activities are minimal and clearly defined, such as prohibitions on political campaigning.	Score 2
CSOs are permitted to freely engage in advocacy and criticism of government.	Score 3

2.5.3 - Tax laws favourable to CSOs

Description: How favourable is the tax system to CSOs? How narrow/broad is the range of CSOs that are eligible for tax exemptions, if any? How significant are these exemptions?

The tax system impedes CSOs. No tax exemption or preference of any kind is available for CSOs.	Score 0
The tax system is burdensome to CSOs. Tax exemptions or preferences are available only for a narrow range of CSOs (e.g. humanitarian organisations) or for limited sources of income (e.g. grants or donations).	Score 1
The tax system contains some incentives favouring CSOs. Only a narrow range of CSOs is excluded from tax exemptions, preferences and/or exemptions, or preferences are available from some taxes and some activities.	Score 2
The tax system provides favourable treatment for CSOs. Exemptions or preferences are available from a range of taxes and for a range of activities, limited only in appropriate	Score 3

[31] The score is derived by averaging the means for the three variables (1. claiming government benefits, 2. avoiding a fare on public transport and 3. cheating on taxes).

[32] This indicator combines a number of individual quality characteristics of the registration, namely whether the registration is (1) simple, (2) quick, (3) inexpensive, (4) fairly applied and (5) consistently applied. The process of using these five 'Yes/No' variables for the scoring of the CSO registration indicator by the NAG follows the process outlined for subdimension 3. The indicator scores are defined by how many of these five quality characteristics are existent/absent.

circumstances.	

2.5.4 - Tax benefits for philanthropy

Description: How broadly available are tax deductions or credits, or other tax benefits, to encourage individual and corporate giving?

No tax benefits are available (to individuals or corporations) for charitable giving.	Score 0
Tax benefits are available for a very limited set of purposes or types of organisations.	Score 1
Tax benefits are available for a fairly broad set of purposes or types of organisations.	Score 2
Significant tax benefits are available for a broad set of purposes or types of organisations.	Score 3

2.6 - State-civil society relations

Description: What is the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the state?

2.6.1 – Autonomy

Description: To what extent can civil society exist and function independently of the state? To what extent are CSOs free to operate without excessive government interference? Is government oversight reasonably designed and limited to protect legitimate public interests?

The state controls civil society.	Score 0
CSOs are subject to frequent unwarranted interference in their operations.	Score 1
The state accepts the existence of an independent civil society but CSOs are subject to occasional unwarranted government interference.	Score 2
CSOs operate freely. They are subject only to reasonable oversight linked to clear and legitimate public interests.	Score 3

2.6.2 - Dialogue

Description: To what extent does the state dialogue with civil society? How inclusive and institutionalized are the terms and rules of engagement, if they exist?

There is no meaningful dialogue between civil society and the state.	Score 0
The state only seeks to dialogue with a small sub-set of CSOs on an ad hoc basis.	Score 1
The state dialogues with a relatively broad range of CSOs but on a largely ad hoc basis.	Score 2
Mechanisms are in place to facilitate systematic dialogue between the state and a broad and diverse range of CSOs.	Score 3

2.6.3 - Cooperation / support

Description: How narrow/broad is the range of CSOs that receive state resources (in the form of grants, contracts, etc.)?

The level of state resources channelled through CSOs is insignificant.	Score 0
Only a very limited range of CSOs receives state resources.	Score 1
A moderate range of CSOs receives state resources.	Score 2
The state channels significant resources to a large range of CSOs.	Score 3

2.7 - Private sector-civil society relations

Description: What is the nature and quality of relations between civil society and the private sector?

2.7.1 - Private sector attitude

Description: What is the general attitude of the private sector towards civil society actors?

Generally hostile	Score 0
Generally indifferent	Score 1
Generally positive	Score 2
Generally supportive	Score 3

2.7.2 - Corporate social responsibility

Description: How developed are notions and actions of corporate social responsibility?

Major companies show no concern about the social and environmental impacts of their operations.	Score 0
Major companies pay lip service to notions of corporate social responsibility. However, in their operations they frequently disregard negative social and environmental impacts.	Score 1
Major companies are beginning to take the potential negative social and environmental impacts of their operations into account.	Score 2
Major companies take effective measures to protect against negative social and	Score 3

environmental impacts.	

2.7.3 - Corporate philanthropy[33]

Description: How narrow/broad is the range of CSOs that receive support from the private sector?

Corporate philanthropy is insignificant.	Score 0
Only a very limited range of CSOs receives funding from the private sector.	Score 1
A moderate range of CSOs receives funding from the private sector.	Score 2
The private sector channels resources to a large range of CSOs.	Score 3

3 - VALUES

3.1 – Democracy

***Description:* To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote democracy?**

3.1.1 - Democratic practices within CSOs

Description: To what extent do CSOs practice internal democracy? How much control do members have over decision-making? Are leaders selected through democratic elections?

A large majority (i.e. more than 75%) of CSOs do not practice internal democracy (e.g. members have little / no control over decision-making, CSOs are characterised by patronage, nepotism).	Score 0
A majority of CSOs (i.e. more than 50%) do not practice internal democracy (e.g. members have little/no control over decision-making, CSOs are characterised by patronage, nepotism).	Score 1
A majority of CSOs (i.e. more than 50%) practice internal democracy (e.g. members have significant control over decision-making; leaders are selected through democratic elections).	Score 2
A large majority of CSOs (i.e. more than 75%) practice internal democracy (e.g. members have significant control over decision-making; leaders are selected through democratic elections).	Score 3

3.1.2 – Civil society actions to promote democracy

Description: How much does civil society actively promote democracy at a societal level?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a democratic society. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.2 – Transparency

***Description:* To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote transparency?**

3.2.1 - Corruption within civil society

Description: How widespread is corruption within CS?

Instances of corrupt behaviour within CS are very frequent.	Score 0
Instances of corrupt behaviour within CS are frequent.	Score 1
There are occasional instances of corrupt behaviour within CS.	Score 2
Instances of corrupt behaviour within CS are very rare.	Score 3

3.2.2 - Financial transparency of CSOs

[33] The NAG's task in scoring the indicator is to assess the significance of corporate support to civil society. Here, the score descriptions focus on two elements: (1) the overall size of corporate support to civil society and (2) the range of CSOs supported by the corporate sector. Both elements are combined in the indicator score descriptions.

Description: How many CSOs are financially transparent? What percentage of CSOs make their financial accounts publicly available?

A small minority of CSOs (less than 30%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 0
A minority of CSOs (30% -50%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 1
A small majority of CSOs (51% -65%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 2
A large majority of CSOs (more than 65%) make their financial accounts publicly available.	Score 3

3.2.3 – Civil society actions to promote transparency

Description: How much does civil society actively promote government and corporate transparency?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and/or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in demanding government and corporate transparency. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.3 – Tolerance

***Description:* To what extent do civil society actors and organisations practice and promote tolerance?**

3.3.1 Tolerance within the civil society arena

Description: To what extent is civil society a tolerant arena?

CS is dominated by intolerant forces. The expression of only a narrow sub-set of views is tolerated.	Score 0
Significant forces within civil society do not tolerate others' views without encountering protest from civil society at large.	Score 1
There are some intolerant forces within civil society, but they are isolated from civil society at large.	Score 2
Civil society is an open arena where the expression of *all* viewpoints is actively encouraged. Intolerant behaviour is strongly denounced by civil society at large.	Score 3

3.3.2 – Civil society actions to promote tolerance

Description: How much does civil society actively promote tolerance at a societal level?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and/or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a tolerant society. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.4 - Non-violence

Description: To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote non-violence?

3.4.1 - Non-violence within the civil society arena

Description: How widespread is the use of violent means (such as damage to property or personal violence) among civil society actors to express their interests in the public sphere?

Significant mass-based groups within CS use violence as the primary means of expressing their interests.	Score 0
Some isolated groups within CS regularly use violence to express their interests without encountering protest from civil society at large.	Score 1
Some isolated groups within CS occasionally resort to violent actions, but are broadly denounced by CS at large.	Score 2
There is a high level of consensus within CS regarding the principle of non-violence. Acts of violence by CS actors are extremely rare and strongly denounced.	Score 3

3.4.2 – Civil society actions to promote non-violence and peace

Description: How much does civil society actively promote a non-violent society? For example, how much does civil society support the non-violent resolution of social conflicts and peace? Address issues of violence against women, child abuse, violence among youths etc.?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions actually contribute to societal violence.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a non-violent society. CS actions in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility	Score 3

3.5 - Gender equity

***Description:* To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote gender equity?**

3.5.1 - Gender equity within the civil society arena

Description: To what extent is civil society a gender equitable arena?

Women are excluded from civil society leadership roles.	Score 0
Women are largely absent from civil society leadership roles.	Score 1
Women are under-represented in civil society leadership positions.	Score 2
Women are equitably represented as leaders and members of CS.	Score 3

3.5.2 - Gender equitable practices within CSOs

Description: How much do CSOs practice gender equity? What percentage of CSOs with paid employees have policies in place to ensure gender equity?

A small minority (less than 20%)	Score 0
A minority (20%-50%)	Score 1
A small majority (51%-65%)	Score 2
A large majority (more than 65%)	Score 3

3.5.3 – Civil society actions to promote gender equity

Description: How much does civil society actively promote gender equity at the societal level?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions actually contribute to gender inequity.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in promoting a gender equitable society. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.6 - Poverty eradication

Description: To what extent do civil society actors promote poverty eradication?

3.6.1 – Civil society actions to eradicate poverty

Description: To what extent does civil society actively seek to eradicate poverty?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions serve to sustain existing economic inequities.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in the struggle to eradicate poverty. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

3.7 - Environmental sustainability

Description: To what extent do civil society actors practice and promote environmental sustainability?

3.7.1 – Civil society actions to sustain the environment

Description: How much does civil society actively seek to sustain the environment?

No active role. No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected. Some CS actions serve to reinforce unsustainable practices.	Score 0
Only a few CS activities in this area can be detected. Their visibility is low and these issues are not attributed much importance by CS as a whole.	Score 1
A number of CS activities in this area can be detected. Broad-based support and / or public visibility of such initiatives, however, are lacking.	Score 2
CS is a driving force in protecting the environment. CS activities in this area enjoy broad-based support and / or strong public visibility.	Score 3

4 - IMPACT

4.1 - Influencing public policy

Description: How active and successful is civil society in influencing public policy?

4.1.1 – 4.1.2 - Human Rights and Social Policy Impact Case Studies

Description: How active and successful is civil society in influencing public policy?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.1.3 - Civil Society's Impact on National Budgeting process Case Study

Description: How active and successful is civil society in influencing the overall national budgeting process?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and focused only on specific budget components.[34]	Score 1
Civil society is active in the overall budgeting process, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role in the overall budgeting process. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.2 - Holding state and private corporations accountable

Description: How active and successful is civil society in holding the state and private corporations accountable?

4.2.1 - Holding state accountable

Description: How active and successful is civil society in monitoring state performance and holding the state accountable?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.2.2 - Holding private corporations accountable

Description: How active and successful is civil society in holding private corporations accountable?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.3 - Responding to social interests

Description: How much are civil society actors responding to social interests?

4.3.1 - Responsiveness

Description: How effectively do civil society actors respond to priority social concerns?

[34] The term "specific budget component" refers to a single issue or sub-section of the budget, such as the defence budget or welfare grants. Higher scores are assigned for those civil society activities, which provide an analysis, input and advocacy work on the overall budget.

Civil society actors are out of touch with the crucial concerns of the population.	Score 0
There are frequent examples of crucial social concerns that did not find a voice among existing civil society actors.	Score 1
There are isolated examples of crucial social concerns that did not find a voice among existing civil society actors.	Score 2
Civil society actors are very effective in taking up the crucial concerns of the population.	Score 3

4.3.2 - Public Trust

Description: What percentage of the population has trust in civil society actors?

A small minority (< 25%)	Score 0
A large minority (25%-50%)	Score 1
A small majority (51%-75%)	Score 2
A large majority (> 75%)	Score 3

4.4 - Empowering citizens

Description: How active and successful is civil society in empowering citizens, especially traditionally marginalised groups, to shape decisions that affect their lives?

4.4.1 - Informing/ educating citizens

Description: How active and successful is civil society in informing and educating citizens on public issues?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.2 - Building capacity for collective action

Description: How active and successful is civil society in building the capacity of people to organise themselves, mobilise resources and work together to solve common problems?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.3 - Empowering marginalized people

Description: How active and successful is civil society in empowering marginalized people?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.4 - Empowering women

Description: How active and successful is civil society in empowering women, i.e. to give them real choice and control over their lives?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.4.5 - Building social capital[35]

[35] To score this indicator, we make use of the measure of trust (see subdimension socio-cultural norms in Environment dimension): 1) Compute the three measures for two sub-groups of the population: (1) CSO members and (2) non-CSO members and 2) Compare each measure's score for the two sub-groups and establish which sub-group has the better score (i.e. indicating higher trust).

Description: To what extent does civil society build social capital among its members? How do levels of trust, tolerance and public spiritedness of members of civil society compare to those of non-members?

Civil society diminishes the stock of social capital in society.	Score 0
Civil society does not contribute to building social capital in society.	Score 1
Civil society does contribute moderately to building social capital in society.	Score 2
Civil Society does contribute strongly to building social capital in society.	Score 3

4.4.6 - Supporting livelihoods

Description: How active and successful is civil society in creating / supporting employment and/or income-generating opportunities (especially for poor people and women)?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.5 - Meeting societal needs

***Description:* How active and successful is civil society in meeting societal needs, especially those of poor people and other marginalised groups?**

4.5.1 - Lobbying for state service provision

Description: How active and successful is civil society in lobbying the government to meet pressing societal needs?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.5.2 - Meeting pressing societal needs directly

Description: How active and successful is civil society in directly meeting pressing societal needs (through service delivery or the promotion of self-help initiatives)?

No CS activity of any consequence in this area can be detected.	Score 0
CS activity in this area is very limited and there is no discernible impact.	Score 1
Civil society is active in this area, but impact is limited.	Score 2
Civil society plays an important role. Examples of significant success / impact can be detected.	Score 3

4.5.3 - Meeting needs of marginalised groups

Description: To what extent are CSOs more or less effective than the state in delivering services to marginalised groups?

CSOs are less effective than the state.	Score 0
CSOs are as effective as the state.	Score 1
CSOs are slightly more effective than the state.	Score 2
CSOs are significantly more effective than the state.	Score 3

APPENDIX 3: STUDY ON CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE MEDIA

1. Introduction

As part of the CSI project a specific study on representation of civil society in the media was conducted. The data for analysis was collected in 2005 over a period of two and a half months by 14 students of the Institute of Applied Social Sciences at Warsaw University. The analysis of the media was conducted in accordance with the methodology of the Civil Society Index project, provided by CIVICUS. Criteria for analysing the media was the adopted definition of civil society and a list of the civil society organizations created for the needs of the project. Beside the organizations selected on grounds of area of activity (e.g. ecology, women, church, advocacy, education, culture, social services, etc.), also trade unions, employers' organizations, professional self-governments and chambers, cooperatives, social movements, as well as mutual support organizations and movements were included. Political parties were excluded from the analysis since they would considerably disturb the image of the presence of civil initiatives in the media.

- During the research both printed and electronic media were monitored. The analysis included:
- seven national newspapers representing different word-views: "*Gazeta Wyborcza*", "*Rzeczpospolita*", "*Życie*", "*Trybuna*", "*Nasz Dziennik*", "*Fakt*", "*Gazeta Prawna*";
- five television news programmes from different TV stations: *Teleexpress* and the main edition of *Wiadomości* on Channel 1 of the Polish Television, *Panorama* on Channel 2 of the Polish Television, *Kurier* on Channel 3 of the Polish Television (regional), and the main edition of *Fakty* on TVN;
- three morning radio news programmes on Channel 1 and 3 of the Polish Radio and Tok.Fm.

Each piece of news was provided with basic information (date and source) and described with regard according to the following, standardized criteria: the thematic context of the article, the area of activity, the way of presenting the organization in question and the importance of the article. They were also assigned to one of the 72 indicators, according to which the methodology of Civil Society Index was organized.

2. Research Findings

Quantity and frequency of reporting. The data to be analysed was collected during four separate weeks, spread out over about two and a half months (from the beginning of March to mid-May 2005) in order to decrease the risk of disturbing the analysis by some unforeseen event that could have distorted the picture if the data had been collected during four weeks in a row. A collection of more than 550 pieces of news on civil society activities or organizations was monitored based on an analysis of about 100 newspapers (seven titles in a period of about four weeks).

Thematic focus. Civil organizations and actions most frequently appear in the media in the context of various protests, petitions and campaigns; that is in connection with different attempts of advocacy. Among the different topics, according to which the analysed press reports were classified, advocacies (including marches, petitions, civil disobedience, protests, demonstrations, lobbying and rallies) most frequently occur – in 15% of the reports. Another 6% focus on topics related to the labour market and unemployment, which, in practice means articles about strikes.

Civil society actors and issues: Very similar results were revealed by analyses of the kind of organizations that most frequently appear in the reports – organizations that work with advocacy took the first position (15%), while the second most frequent were trade unions (7%).The relatively high number of reports on advocacies of organizations is related to the character of the analysed newspapers, actions of this kind are namely often addressed precisely to the nationwide newspapers since they are considered to be opinion-forming. It is difficult to tell what portion of the actually undertaken actions managed to echo in the media, yet their significant presence should be considered a success for the organizations behind them, from which the most important are trade unions. Other authors of protests and appeals are more scattered and are not easily classifiable – they are e.g. parents protesting against closing of schools; some journalists defending their colleague convicted for offence against a civil servant; feminists or representatives of sexual minorities who demand liberalization of the law concerning abortion and the right for homosexuals to register their relationships on the one hand, and those who are against abortion and do not want homosexuals to demonstrate their sexual preferences on the other hand. There are concrete matters and idealistic demands. This "polyphony" is completely natural – the multitude of issues addressed to by the organizations is a result of different areas of interest and different ideologies. It should be stressed, though, that in the analysed material, no article with a "common" voice of the civil society organizations was found.

Civil society's image in the media. Finally, it is worth presenting the results of the analysis of the organizations' image in the media, since the thesis that the media only mentions organizations in the context of scandals and scams is verify. The neutral tone of half of the articles was a natural consequence of the fact that a large part of the analysed texts were short, superficial or purely informative. Much more interesting are, however, the results of the second half where, apart from information, judgements or opinions can be found. Only 5% of the articles explicitly presented organizations in a bad light and another 1.5% wrote about them in an ambivalent way, while in the remaining texts (43%) the image of the organizations was positive. This result is pleasing even if the conjecture that the "darker" the political background on which the organizations' activities are presented, the "clearer" the image of civil actions, is true.

3. Conclusions

Regardless of how unsatisfied we feel about the absence of civil topics in the public discourse, it seems the non-governmental organizations are more and more frequently mentioned in the opinion-forming papers. The journalists slowly abandon the two stereotypical images, on the one hand of the organizations as players in scandals and on the other hand of there being only a few recognizable organizations that carry out positive actions on a nationwide scale and mobilize public opinion. This change stems from both a bigger interest on the part of the journalists, and the organizations' increased capacity to formulate clear messages (good examples of this tendency are better and more visible campaigns initiated by the non-governmental community). That is why the question of what this more diverse and complete image of the civil society organizations in the media is like, becomes more important.

APPENDIX 4: METHODOLOGY OF THE PANEL STUDY "SITUATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN 2005"

This study was designed to reach the wide circles of persons interested in civil activity, and through questionnaires get their opinion about the situation of civil society in Poland. Those polled were: social practitioners and leaders, scientists, decision-makers, representatives of the public administration, journalists, etc. That is why the so-called "snowballing" technique was used to select the participants in survey. The research team of the Klon/Jawor Association that conducted the survey proposed representatives of different public institutions and non-governmental organizations from the whole of Poland to take part in the survey. Among them were: representatives of the16 centres of the Network for Information and Support for Non-Governmental Organizations SPLOT; the Liaison Experts for Structural Funds from all voivodeships; about 30 representatives of central and regional administration from all voivodeships, pointed out as responsible for the cooperation with non-governmental organizations; as well as about 50 representatives of the non-governmental sector from different "branches" of the sector, different regions and working on different scales – from local to nationwide. Each of these was asked to point out another 10 persons that could participate in the survey. It concerned persons that according to them could be called "social leaders" or were keenly interested in issues of civil activity. A criterion for selecting the persons was diversity of sectors and ideas. In this way a group, to which the questionnaire was send, of almost 540 persons was obtained. The final number of participants in the survey was 283, i.e. about 56% of all invited.
The structure of the sample of participants in the survey was varied and did not fundamentally diverge from the planned one. It is presented in the tables below.

TABLE A4.1: Disposition of respondents according to the kind of represented institution

Kind of institution represented by the respondent	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Civil society organization	186	66.0%
Public or local administration	76	27.0%
Academic or research centre	31	11.0%
Media	7	2.5%
Business environment	6	2.1%
Other	14	5.0%

Note: The respondents could represent more than one institution, thus the percentage of respondents does not add up to 100.

TABLE A4.2: Disposition of respondents according to the area of activity of the represented institution.

Area of activity of the institution represented by the respondent	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Social aid/health protection	65	23.1%
Local development	74	26.2%
Environmental protection	24	8.5%
General support for civil society/the non-governmental sector	109	38.7%

Area of activity of the institution represented by the respondent	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Education	87	30.9%
Culture and arts	28	9.9%
Sport/hobbies	13	4.6%
Human rights, minority rights	33	11.7%
Protection of the interests of professional	5	1.8%
Other areas	35	12.4%

Note: The respondents could choose more than one area of activity for their institution

When it comes to the territorial disposition of work place of the respondents, the definitely largest group represented Mazowsze. This can be explained by the fact that, apart from representatives of organizations, representatives of the public administration on central level participated in the survey; each was asked to point out 10 other persons.

TABLE A4.3. Disposition of respondents according to voivodeship in which they work.

Voivodeship represented by the respondent	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Mazowieckie	85	30.1%
Łódzkie	24	8.5%
Śląskie	19	6.7%
Wielkopolskie	18	6.4%
Dolnośląskie	17	6.0%
Małopolskie	17	6.0%
Podlaskie	15	5.3%
Warmińsko-mazurskie	12	4.3%
Pomorskie	10	3.5%
Świętokrzyskie	10	3.5%
Lubelskie	9	3.2%
Lubuskie	0	0%
Podkarpackie	8	2.8%
Kujawsko-pomorskie	5	1.8%
Zachodniopomorskie	5	1.8%
Opolskie	2	0.7%
Lack of data	27	8.87%

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anheier, H. K. (2004) *Civil Society: Measure, Evaluation, Policy.* London, Earthscan.

Antoszewski, Andrzej, Ryszard Herbut and Jacek Sroka (2003) "System partyjny w Polsce." In: Andrzej Antoszewski, Petr Fiala, Ryszard Herbut and Jacek Sroka (eds.) *Partie i systemy partyjne Europy Środkowe.* Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

Arato, Andrew and Jean L. Cohen (1992) *Civil Society and Political Theory.* Cambridge, MA; London, MIT.

Caramani, Daniele (2005) *Electoral Challenge in a Multi-Level Arena: Party Competition Between National and European Elections, 1970s – 2000s*. University of Birmingham. Presented at the "New Challenges for Political Parties and Representation" Conference, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (May, 6-7 2005). Available at: <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/euc/PDFs/2005%20Papers/Caramani.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

CBOS (February 2004) "Zaufanie w sferze publicznej i prywatnej." Komunikat z badań. ("Trust in the Public and Private Sphere." Report.) Available at: <http://www.cbos.pl /SPISKOM.POL/2004/K_039_04.PDF> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

CBOS (June 2004) "Postrzeganie korupcji w Polsce" Komunikat z badań. ("The Poles views on corruption." Report.) Available at: <http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004 /K_097_04.PDF> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

CBOS (August 2004) "Opinie o pomocy społecznej ze środków publicznych." Komunikat z badań. ("Opinions about Publicly funded social aid." Report.) Available at: <http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/K_097_04.PDF> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

CBOS (February 2005) "Opinie o działalności instytucji publicznych." Komunikat z badań. ("Opinions about the work of public institutions." Report.) Available at: <http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2005/K_035_05.PDF> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

CBOS (March 2005) "Opinie ludności z krajów Europy Środkowej o imigrantach i uchodźcach." Komunikat z badań. ("Opinion of Citizens of Central European Countries about Emigrants and Refugees." Report.) Available at: <http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL /2005/K_060_05.PDF> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Chief Census Bureau (GUS). (February 2005) "Informacja o sytuacji społeczno-gospodarczej kraju." ("Information about the Socio-Economic Situation in the Country.") Available at: <http://www.stat.gov.pl/opracowania_zbiorcze/infor_spol_gosp/2005/02_05/index.htm> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Chief Census Bureau (GUS) (2003) "Sytuacja gospodarstw domowych w 2003 roku na podstawie w świetle wyników badań budżetów gospodarstw domowych ." Available at: <http://www.stat.gov.pl/dane_spolgosp/warunki_zycia/sytu_gosp_domo/2003/sytu_gosp_do mo_2003.doc> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

CIVICUS (1997) *The New Civil Atlas. Profiles of Civil Society in 60 Countries.* Washington D.C., CIVICUS.

"Diagnoza Społeczna 2005. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków." (2005) ("Social Diagnosis 2005. Objective and Subjective Quality of Life in Poland." Report from the study elaborated by the Council for Social Monitoring and carried out by the Polish Sociological Association). Available at: <http://www.diagnoza.com/files/diagnoza2005/diagnoza2005-pdf.html> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

European Social Survey 2002/2003 (2003) *European Social* Survey [Internet]. Available at: <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/index.jsp> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Freedom House (2005) *Freedom House Political Rights Index* [Internet]. Available at: <www.freedomhouse.org> [Accessed May 2006].

Heinrich, V. & Naidoo, K. (2001) *From Impossibility to Reality. A Reflection and Position Paper on the CIVICUS Index on Civil Society Project 1999-2001*. CIVICUS, Washington DC.

Holloway, R. (2001) *Using the Civil Society Index: Assessing the Health of Civil Society.* Location, CIVICUS.

Klon/Jawor Association (2002) "Podstawowe fakty o organizacjach pozarządowych - raport z badania 2002." ("Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2002." Report.) Available at: <http://www.ngo.pl/files/badania.ngo.pl/public/badania2002/podstawowefakty_2002.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Klon/Jawor Association (2003) "Wolontariat, filantropia i 1% - raport z badania 2003." ("Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2003." Report.) Available at: <http://portal.engo.pl/files/badania.ngo.pl/public/wol_2003/wolontariat_filantropia_1proc_2003.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Klon/Jawor Association (2004) "Podstawowe fakty o organizacjach pozarządowych – raport z badania 2004." ("Situation of the Non-Governmental Sector in Poland in 2004." Report) Available at: <http://www.ngo.pl/files/badania.ngo.pl/public/badania2004/podInter_1a.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Klon/Jawor Association (2004) "Wolontariat, filantropia i 1% - raporty z badań 2004." ("Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2004." Report.) Available at: <http://www.ngo.pl/files/badania.ngo.pl/public/wolontariat2004/wolontariat2004.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Klon/Jawor Association (2005) "Podstawowe fakty z badania wolontariatu 2005." ("Volunteering, Philanthropy and 1% in 2005." Basic Facts.) Available at: <http://badania.ngo.pl/x/149879> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Klon/Jawor Association (2005) "Panel 'Kondycja społeczeństwa obywatelskiego'." Zestawienie tabelaryczne. ("Situation of Civil Society in 2005." Report from the panel survey.) Available at: <http://www.ngo.pl/files/badania.ngo.pl/public/Panel_Spoleczenstwo_obywatelskie_2005.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Król, Marcin (1993) "Między korporacją a społeczeństwem obywatelskim", in: Barbara Markiewicz ed. *Obywatel – odrodzenie pojęcia*. Warszawa, IFiS PAN.

Kubiak, Anna (2004) Opinia publiczna i posłowie o korupcji – raport z badań. Available at: <http://www.batory.org.pl/doc/opinia_korup.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Morawski, Witold (2000) *Zmiana instytucjonalna*. Warszawa, PWN.

Responsible Business Forum (FOB) (2002) "Odpowiedzialny biznes w Polsce w 2002 roku." ("Responsible Business in Poland in 2002.") Available at: <http://www.fob.org.pl/_gAllery /16/163.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Responsible Business Forum (FOB) (2003) "Menedżerowie 500 i odpowiedzialny biznes. Wiedza – postawy – praktyki." ("500 Managers and Corporate Responsibility. Knowledge – Attitudes – Practices.") Available at: <http://www.fob.org.pl/_gAllery/16/160.pdf> [Accessed 17 March 2006].

Transparency International (2006) *Transparency International Corruption Perception Index* [Internet]. Available at: <www.transparency.org > [Accessed May 2006].

Transparency International (2006) *Global Corruption Barometer* [Internet]. Available at: <www.transparency.org > [Accessed May 2006].

Wilkin, Jerzy ed. (2002) *Polska Wieś. Raport o stanie wsi.* Warszawa, FDPA.

World Values Survey (2001) *World Values Survey – Poland* [Internet]. Available at: <www.worldvaluessurvey.org> [Accessed May 2006].

Zaręba, Sławomir i Witold Zdaniewicz (eds.) (2004) Kościół katolicki na początku trzeciego tysiąclecia w opinii Polaków. Warszawa, Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC (Institute of Catholic Church Statistics).