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## Participation in Religious Organizations and Shaping Social Capital in Poland

This article analyses the issues of the Poles' participation in religious organizations with particular emphasis on parish communities. The topic is important because Poland is considered to be a country where identity is being shaped within the Roman Rite of the Catholic religion – according to the declaration of the vast majority of the Polish society (apart from culture and language), which is dominated by strong social ties. On the other hand, Poland is characterized by weak social capital ratios against the background of the European country. The article aims to answer the question: What is the relationship between participation in the third sector organizations with a religious profile and shaping social capital in Poland?

Šiame straipsnyje analizuojama lenkų dalyvavimo religinėse organizacijose problematika ypač pabrėžiant parapijų bendruomenes. Ši tema yra svarbi, nes Lenkija laikoma šalimi, kurioje identitetas formuojamas per Romos katalikų religijos apeigas, kaip teigia didžioji Lenkijos visuomenės dalis (išskyrus kultūrą ir kalbą), kurioje dominuoja stiprūs socialiniai ryšiai. Kita vertus, palyginus su kitomis Europos šalimis, Lenkija pasižymi silpnais socialinio kapitalo santykiais. Straipsniu siekiama atsakyti į klausimą, koks yra santykis tarp dalyvavimo religinio pobūdžio trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijose ir formuojamo socialinio kapitalo Lenkijoje.

Artykul analizuje kwestie partycypacji Polaków w organizacjach wyznaniowych, organizacjach religijnych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem organizacji przyparafialnych. Problematyka jest ważna, ponieważ Polska jest uznawana za kraj, w którym tożsamość jest kształtowana jest w obrębie religii katolickiej obrządku rzymskiego – według deklaracji zdecydowanej większości społeczeństwa polskiego (oprócz kultury i języka), gdzie dominują silne więzi społeczne. Z drugiej strony, na tle państwa Europy Polska charakteryzuje się słabymi wskaźnikami kapitału społecznego. Artykuł stawia sobie za cel odpowiedź na pytanie: Jaka jest zależność pomiędzy partycypacją w organizacjach trzeciego sektora o profilu religijnym a kształtowaniem kapitału społecznego Polaków?

### Introduction

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The purpose of this article is to show participation in religious organizations as part of shaping social capital in Poland. Thus, the research problem is: *What is the relationship between participation in third sector organizations with a religious profile*

*and shaping social capital in Poland?* The answer to the problem considering the socio-demographic characteristic of the people involved (acting) in religious or denominative organizations, it will probably be the elderly, especially women, who aim their activities at their local and neighboring groups. In the author's opinion, another key question is: *Do those associated in religious organizations show a predominance of the binding capital aimed at members of their religious group, shaping strong bonds within these groups without much relevance for shaping relationships with other social (or denominative) groups in Poland (bridging capital)?* The answer to the second problem is complicated and requires special attention.

In order to deal with the issues raised, the author used classical theoretical approaches addressing social capital, first of all James Coleman's, Francis Fukuyama's and Robert Putnam's, as well as his own relational capital theory<sup>1</sup>. Data used to try to explain the theses are from the publicly available social studies carried out by the Klon/Jawor Association, surveys by the Central Statistical Office of the Republic of Poland and *Social Diagnosis* – there are also research data from the Institute for Catholic Church Statistics in Warsaw.

### **Social Capital – an Outline of the Issues for the Implementation of the Topic**

The concept of paper is based on J. Coleman's social capital theory. In his view, social capital is the relationship between individuals who become an important resource of a given community. Much like physical capital, human capital, or labor resources, it creates potential for social development. Social capital includes: trust, standards and interpersonal bonds that improve one's actions, thus facilitating the creation of a social community<sup>2</sup>. In turn, R. Putnam's approach addresses social capital as such features of

a society's organization as trust, social norms and networks of associations that may increase the efficiency of a local and regional community. Among the social norms regulating the interaction between individuals, the rule of generalized reciprocity is of particular importance. It contributes to strengthening mutual trust which is an essential element of social capital. Another form of social capital is the network of civic involvements that constitute horizontal structures of social organization, often created to solve public issues. They typically show a voluntary commitment to the common good, a high level of activity, a tendency to cooperate and build mutual trust, which is an essential element of social capital<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mateusz Szast, *W Irlandii wygodniej, ale w Polsce lepiej: kapitał społeczno-kulturowy i ocena sytuacji życiowej polskich migrantów w Irlandii* (Kraków: Ośrodek Badań nad Polonią i Duszpasterstwem Polonijnym, 2017), 63-80.

<sup>2</sup> James Samuel Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital", *The American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988), 97.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Putnam, *Demokracja w działaniu. Tradycje obywatelskie we współczesnych Włoszech* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 1995), 258.

R. Putnam's contribution distinguishes two types of this capital. According to him, the first, bonding capital (known as "integration" capital) - exclusive and strengthening small groups - is a social "super-glue". The second is the connecting capital (*bridging capital*) - inclusive, creating ties between various groups and their members - dubbed by R. Putnam as a social "super-grease"<sup>4</sup>. One feature of the binding capital is the fact that there are close relations and social relationships, while the bridging capital is characterized by trust and cooperation skills between individuals not linked via direct (close) relationships<sup>5</sup>. According to F. Fukuyama, social capital is "a set of informal values and ethical standards common to members of a specific group and enabling them to cooperate effectively"<sup>6</sup>. To sum up, it should be stated that the concept of this author uses social capital as an indispensable element in shaping a civil society composed of people sharing similar values and views, a civil society that bridges the gap between the family and the state. F. Fukuyama's concept concerns the development of a civil society, which is guided by the heart's sentiments. Furthermore, social capital in this approach is accumulated by groups, not by individuals (social traits)<sup>7</sup>. It would be just as easy to recall the figure of Nan Lin, who understood social capital as a resource rooted in social networks associated with an individual. An individual may achieve or mobilize these resources. Therefore, its scope covers social networks, credibility (normative component) and institutions (institutional component). Social capital is "an investment in social relations that is to bring an anticipated return on the market"<sup>8</sup>. In the author's opinion, an analysis of the theoretical approaches that is too detailed would obscure the theoretical approach, already strongly developed, so he focused his attention on analysing J. Coleman's, R. Putnam's and F. Fukuyama's approaches.

## Polish Organizations of a Religious (Denominative) Nature – an Attempt to Systematize

One of the most popular definitions of the church was proposed by Emil Durkheim, claiming that the church is "a community whose members are united in that they have the same views on the holy world and its relationship with the secular world, and in transforming these shared ideas into common practices"<sup>9</sup>. In Poland, religious issues are

<sup>4</sup> Marek Ziółkowski, "Kapitały społeczny, kulturowy i materialny i ich wzajemne konwersje we współczesnym społeczeństwie polskim", *Studia Edukacyjne* 22 (2012), 13.

<sup>5</sup> Tomasz Zarycki, "Dwa wymiary kapitału społecznego w kontekście polskim", *Pomorski Przegląd Gospodarczy* 2 (37) (2008), 49-52.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "Kapitał społeczny", in *Kultura ma znaczenie*, transl. S. Dymczyk, Wydawnictwo, eds. Harrison L. E., Huntington S. P. (Warszawa: Zysk i S-ka, 2003), 169.

<sup>7</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Zaufanie, kapitał społeczny a droga do dobrobytu*, trans. A. L. Śliwa (Warszawa-Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1997), 311.

<sup>8</sup> Nan Lin, *Social Capital. A Theory of Social Structure and Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 29.

<sup>9</sup> Emil Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York: Macmillan London G. Allen & Unwin, 1964), 44.

governed by the Department of Religion and National Minorities. The issue of practicing faith is guaranteed by the Basic Law in Article 25, explaining the primary principles defining the legal status of churches and other religious associations, and Article 53, guaranteeing the freedom of conscience and religion, which means that every citizen has the right to freely express their beliefs also in the area of religion and participation in it<sup>10</sup>. Other documents are the “Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland of 28 VII 1993“, ratified on 23 II 1998<sup>11</sup>, and the Act of 17 May 1989 on the State’s relation to the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland<sup>12</sup>. These regulations apply to the Catholic Church in Poland in 4 rites: Latin, Byzantine-Ukrainian, Byzantine-Slavonic and Armenian<sup>13</sup>. Religion and faith mean the emergence of a religious community, built around values at the cognitive level and joint activities at the operational level<sup>14</sup>. The „Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland“ 2014 noted: 33,494,741 adherents of the Roman Catholic Church (Latin rite), 55,000 adherents of the Greek Catholic Church (Byzantine-Ukrainian rite), 670 adherents of the Armenian Church (Armenian rite), 134 adherents of the neouniate church (Byzantine-Slavonic rite), 504,400 adherents of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church and numerous Protestant churches and Protestant traditions, e. g. the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Poland (61,736 adherents), Pentecostal Church in Poland (23,440 adherents), Seventh-day Adventist Church in Poland (9,734 adherents), New Apostolic Church in Poland (5,311 adherents), Baptist Church in Poland (5,204 adherents), Church of Christ in Poland (4,518 adherents), Church of God in Christ (4,460 adherents), Evangelical Methodist Church in Poland (4,415 adherents), The Evangelical Reformed Church in Poland (3,464 adherents), the Free Evangelical Church in Poland (2,939 adherents), the Church of Evangelical Christians in Poland (1,899 adherents), the Church of Christ (1,706 adherents), Christian Church of the Evangelical Faith (1,310 adherents), the Free Bible Students Association (1,835 adherents), the Evangelical Pentecostal Community (600 adherents), Evangelical Brotherhood in Poland (580 adherents), the Sabbath Day Christian Church (489 adherents), the Association of Christian Congregations in Poland – 460 adherents<sup>15</sup>. As part of their faith, people carry out various tasks for their community or outside of it, which is manifested in the organizations they form. *Non-profit* religious organizations are broken down into two categories. The first one focuses on the so-called social religious entities,

<sup>10</sup> The Act of April 2, 1997, *Constitution of the Republic of Poland*, seen 01/11/2019, <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> The Act of July 28, 1993, *Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland*, seen 01/11/2019, <https://pracownik.kul.pl/files/26914/public/CONCORDAT.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> “Statute on the Relationship Between the Catholic Church and the State of May 17”, 1989, *DzU PRL* 29, item 154.

<sup>13</sup> *Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, ed. Dominik Rozkrut (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2017), 89.

<sup>14</sup> Wojciech Sadłoń, *Religijny kapitał społeczny. Kapitał społeczny a Kościół katolicki w społecznościach lokalnych* (Saarbrücken: Wydawnictwo Bezkręsy Wiedzy, 2014), 146.

<sup>15</sup> *Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2015*, ed. Janusz Witkowski (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2015), 196.

i. e. organizations with legal personality. The second includes entities operating at parishes of the Catholic Church, otherwise known as *grass-roots* for their bottom-up nature, and they are not covered by registration within state structures. Taking into account 2014, 1.8 thousand social religious entities were registered; the entities of the Catholic Church constituted 96% of religious entities then. In 2013, there were 61,000 parish organizations – much more than registered religious entities. According to research, the number of both religious denominations and organizations of the Catholic Church in 2010–2014 and 2008–2013 did not change significantly. However, there was a significant increase in the number of organizations surveyed as compared with previous years, e. g. in 1998 the number of parish organizations of the Catholic Church was less than 40,000, and only a thousand social religious entities were recorded in 1997. A significant increase was recorded in the 1990s; since 2008, the stabilization of the establishment and operation of these entities is observed<sup>16</sup>.

The activities of parish institutions were mainly managed by priests (52%); only 29% of them were initiated by lay persons with priests, and only 13% focused their operation around lay persons. The vast majority of these organizations did not belong to any federative structures (43%); only 23% acted informally, and over 1/3 of entities belonged to formal national (25%) or international (8%) structures<sup>17</sup>. Research shows that approx. 75% of parish organizations of the Catholic Church were active in only one parish, and 40% – within a municipality and their local community. In turn, a larger percentage of social religious entities was seen acting for the district (19%), voivodeship (18%) and the whole country (20%)<sup>18</sup>. Significantly, only 3% of religious entities and 12% of parish organizations registered in 2014 elected the authorities within their organizations. When it comes to third sector organizations in Poland, this indicator was slightly higher, as there were 21% of associations and 15% of foundations that elected their representatives<sup>19</sup>. Analyzing the profile of tasks performed by social religious entities, these oscillated around the following issues: education, upbringing and research (50%), social and humanitarian aid and emergency rescue (36%), health protection (14%), culture and art (11%). Only 25% of entities carried out typical religious activities. In turn, parish organizations of the Catholic Church mainly based their activity on religious issues (83%), education, upbringing and scientific research (31%), culture and art (23%), sports, tourism, recreation and hobbies (21%), social aid, humanitarian aid and emergency rescue (18%). A quarter of these entities offered paid goods and services in the area of education (24%), social and humanitarian aid (11%) and health protection (5%). 47% of parish organizations and social religious entities implemented activities for children and youth. It was noted that religious entities (22%) were more likely to act for the benefit of the disabled people than parish

<sup>16</sup> *Sektor non-profit w 2014 r.* 148, ed. Karolina Goś-Wójcicka, seen 27/12/2017, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

organizations (17%). Approximately, 30% of parish organizations directed their activities to the elderly (retirement age), while social religious entities were characterized by a lower commitment to people at retirement age (13%). Around 25% of parish organizations helped the poor, while the share of social religious entities that did so was around 10%. What is even more important, parish organizations mainly focused on providing spiritual support (81%) and on the organization of free time and leisure (29%)<sup>20</sup>.

The difference in the scope of human resources between particular types of organization is also noticeable. Parish organizations, usually informal, usually associated natural persons (in 2013 there were 2,6 million members, 63% of which were women); the average number of people in parish organizations fluctuated around 43, whereas half of social entities had no more than 22 members. On the other hand, in 2014, religious entities included 20% of natural persons, and only 8% of them were legal persons, with a total number of 70,4 thousand members. The average number of members then was 37 people, 70% of which were women. Importantly, 87% of social religious entities hired employees, 83% of which were under an employment contract, and 34% of entities had more than 20 employees. In general, religious entities employed 38,5 thousand people in 2014. The vast majority of full-time employees were women (81%), mainly in the productive age (95%); 55% of them had higher education, while 30% had secondary or post-secondary education. Due to their informal nature, parish organizations had no full-time employees<sup>21</sup>. The duration of activities of social religious entities varied, around 50% operated no longer than 10 years, and 33% - less than 5 years. Only 20% of them have been active for more than 20 years. Revenues of religious entities in 2014 amounted to PLN 1,4 million, but half of the entities generated revenues of no more than PLN 521,000<sup>22</sup>.

At that time (2014), parish organizations were mostly involved in providing spiritual support (81%), the organization of free time (29%), material aid (18%), nutritional aid (15%), teaching (13%), financial aid (12%), consultancy and counseling as well as provision of care services (5% each), emergency intervention (4%), therapeutic work (3%), treatment and rehabilitation (2%), provision of shelters (1%), emergency rescue (1%) and performed other activities (5%)<sup>23</sup>. Religious events organized by religious entities hosted 1,1 million people. It should be highlighted that events organized by parish organizations attracted a lot more people (3,8 million), i. e. 180 people on average. Parish organizations also donated gifts they had bought (16%), and offered material aid received from outside sources (15%). They operated mainly within their parish (90%), and only 17% were involved for the people associated with

<sup>20</sup> *Sektor non-profit w 2014 r.* 152, ed. Karolina Goś-Wójcicka, seen 27/12/2017, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>22</sup> Ariadna Auriga-Borówko et al., *Podstawowe dane o sektorze non-profit w 2014 roku 22*, seen 10/09/2018, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

<sup>23</sup> *Sektor non-profit w 2014 r.* 155, ed. Karolina Goś-Wójcicka, seen 27/12/2017, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

it. 61,6 thousand people worked for social religious entities, 78% of whom were outside persons (2014). Women's share was 74%. In case of publishing organizations, 80% engaged their members in social work for the benefit of an individual. In 2014, it was 1,5 million people, 63% of whom were women (on average 33 people working socially). 22% of parish organizations used the work of external volunteers. It is also worth emphasizing the frequency of meetings of parish organizations, as in the analyzed year of 2014, in as many as 44% of entities, members would meet at least once a month, in 35% of entities - once a week or more, and only in 16% - several times a year. 44% of religious entities owned fixed assets; moreover, 90% of these organizations had resources (premises, car or computer). In turn, parish organizations did not have such a large access to fixed assets - only 16% had their own premises, 17% rented a place on the real estate market, and 20% had a computer, 5% of which owned it<sup>24</sup>.

On the other hand, we can cite data from a decade ago, when 51% of informal parish structures were registered, along with 40% belonging to formal national structures, and 9% to international structures<sup>25</sup>. In 2012, there were 2,9 million members of parish church organizations (69% were women). On average, 50 people worked for each organization, including 34 women. All those working for parish organizations accounted for 1,8 million people, 1,2 million of whom were women (0,6 time per organization); only 2% of parish organizations used volunteers. 39% of parish organizations did not have a governing body, and they had one - it was one person; in 75%, the management included no more than 3 people. As in 2014, the vast majority of parish institutions were primarily involved in religious tasks (spiritual support and prayer) - 87%, 35% organized free time and leisure; 22% - material aid, and about 20% were involved in science<sup>26</sup>. In 2008, there were 60,000 religious community organizations that brought together 2 million 675 thousand members.

## Polish Third Sector

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Taking into account the research into the non-governmental sector in Poland, it is worth noting that in 2015, 13,4% of respondents declared their participation in activities for non-governmental organizations, of which 10,3% declared that they belonged to 1 association, 2,2% - up to 2, and 1,9% - to more than 2 organizations. In turn, 70,8% of the associations' members actively participated in them (see: Table 2). Importantly, 24,5% (23,9% in 2013) of people declaring activity for the benefit of the third sector declared activities for religious organizations<sup>27</sup>. Sport clubs (13,8%), trade

<sup>24</sup> *Sektor non-profit w 2014 r.* 161, ed. Karolina Goś-Wojcicka, seen 27/12/2017, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

<sup>25</sup> Wojciech Sadłoń, *Religijny kapitał społeczny. Kapitał społeczny a Kościół katolicki w społecznościach lokalnych* (Saarbrücken: Wydawnictwo Bezkresy Wiedzy, 2014), 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-8.

<sup>27</sup> Janusz Czapiński, "Stan społeczeństwa obywatelskiego", in *Diagnoza społeczna 2015. Warunki i jakość*

unions (12.1%) and interest groups (13,7%) ranked second. In the next places in 2013, 13,6% were social organizations (9,5% in 2015), parental committees (8,3% in 2015 and 8,1% in 2013), industry-specific organizations (6% in 2015 and 6,5% in 2013), knowledge spreading organizations (4,8% in 2015 and 4,9% in 2013), political parties (4,2% in 2015 and 3,2% in 2013), self-government authorities (4,2% in 2015 and 2,7% in 2013) and environmental organizations (3,1% in 2015 and 2,9% in 2013). Men were more likely to associate than women, with particular emphasis on the percentage of the most associated men and people aged 45-59. Involvement for the third sector increases with the increase in the size of one's place of residence (12% associated in the country, 17% in big cities). The level of education is not without relevance - the higher it is, the higher the civic involvement (7% of those declaring involvement received primary education, 24% had higher education); the case is similar with income (up to 8% among the poorest, 21% among the richest). The percentage of associated members decreased significantly (by 1,6%) compared to 2011 across all socio-demographic groups<sup>28</sup>.

On the other hand, in 2014 (significant for comparative analysis), 100,7 thousand *non-profit* organizations were accounted for, including 8,6 thousand public benefit organizations, 72 thousand associations and similar social organizations, 10,7 thousand foundations, 1,8 thousand social religious entities, 2,9 thousand employers' organizations, 100 political parties and 12,9 thousand trade unions. All organizations jointly associated 11,298,3 thousand people, including 1,683 thousand people in public benefit organizations, 7,979,3 thousand in associations, 56,554 thousand in foundations, 69,1 thousand members in religious entities, 1,291,7 thousand members in self-government economic organizations, 298,1 thousand people in political parties, 1,597,7 thousand in trade unions and 5,9 thousand members involved in the activities of employers' organizations. In the discussed year, women accounted for 42,1% of all active members of the third sector, of which 44,5% were involved in foundations, 39,3% - in associations, 51,8% - in public benefit organizations, and 54,6% in local government economic organizations. Employers' organizations were 36,3% women, political parties - 29,3%, trade unions - 46,1%, and religious entities, which are relevant for the pursuit of the subject - 70,7%<sup>29</sup>.

*życia Polaków* (Warszawa: Rada Monitoringu Społecznego, 2015), 332.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 342.

<sup>29</sup> *Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, ed. Dominik Rozkrut (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2017), 192.



**Table 1. Percentage of individuals associating as part of activities for the third sector in Poland**

	2003 N = 9380	2005 N = 8539	2007 N = 12747	2009 N = 25568	2011 N = 25580	2013 N = 26170	2015 N = 21747
<b>Members of the organization</b>	12.2	12.1	15.1	13.2	14.8	13.7	13.4
<b>Performing functions among the affiliated</b>	45.1	56.7	41.4	37.9	32.2	46.0	45.9
<b>Performing functions among the public</b>	5.3	6.8	6.3	5.0	4.8	6.3	5.9
<b>Getting involved in activities for the benefit of the community</b>	12.9	13.6	14.1	15.6	15.6	15.2	15.4

Source: author's own work based on J. Czapiński, "Stan społeczeństwa obywatelskiego", in *Diagnoza społeczna 2015. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków*, eds. J. Czapiński, T. Panek (Warsaw: Social Monitoring Council, 2015), 341.

According to the Social Diagnosis, in total organizations were 48,1% men and 51,9% women, of which in religious and church organizations these percentages were slightly different from the national average, at 30,3% active men and 69,7% active women. For instance, in political parties, the activity of women oscillated around 16,3% despite the announced parity postulates and the equality opportunity policies for women and men. Business, professional and agricultural organizations usually had a slight majority of men (58.6%). Noteworthy is an analysis of the age of members of non-governmental organizations in general in the context of organizations with a religious or denominative profile (see Table 2). In total, the highest percentage of those involved was recorded at 28,3% at the age of 30-44 (with 26,4% each for ranges 45-59 and 60 and above). In religious and denominative organizations, the highest shares of active members were recorded in the age group 45-59 (24,4%) and in the age group 30-44 (20%). The smallest number of people involved in activities for religious organizations was noted in the range of 16-29 (14,1%), while the age group above 60 included as many as 41,5% of active members in the sample group<sup>30</sup>.

**Table 2. Number of NGOs acting for the third sector in Poland (in thousands)**

	2010	2015	2014	2016
<b>Total organizations</b>	80.4	103	100.7	91.9
<b>Religious entities</b>	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9
<b>Parish church organizations</b>	1998 – 39.6 2008 – 60		61.1	59.3

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland*, ed. D. Rozkrut (Warsaw: Central Statistical Office, 2017), 190; *Charity Work of the Catholic Church in Poland 2015*, retrieved 01/10/2018, <https://episkopat.pl>.

<sup>30</sup> Janusz Czapiński, "Stan społeczeństwa obywatelskiego", in *Diagnoza społeczna 2015. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków* (Warszawa: Rada Monitoringu Społecznego, 2015), 355.

Table 3. The scope of activities of the third sector organizations (in percent)

	Neighborhood, community/parish	Poviat, province	Whole country	Abroad
Total organizations in 2014	37	38	20	5
Total organizations in 2015 <sup>31</sup>	32	25	28	10
Total organizations in 2016	36	37	21	6
Religious entities	44	34	19	3
Parish church organizations	Approx. 90	Approx. 16.9	0.4	-

Source: K. Banduła et al., *Działalność stowarzyszeń i podobnych organizacji społecznych, fundacji, społecznych podmiotów wyznaniowych oraz samorządu gospodarczego i zawodowego w 2016 r. – wyniki wstępne. Notatka informacyjna* (Warsaw: Central Statistical Office, 2017), 3, retrieved 27/12/2017, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

In general, in the first quarter of 2016, 49% of the total volunteers' social work time was performed in the framework of typical non-governmental organizations, i. e. associations and similar social organizations and foundations. In turn, 24,7% of them devoted their time to churches, religious communities or religious organizations. Public institutions were supported by only 13,5% of volunteers; 5% worked in other branches of the third sector<sup>32</sup>.

Between 2010 and 2016, the number of active organizations increased by 15% (from 80,1 thousand to 91,8 thousand), and the average number of people employed during the year increased by 21%. In turn, there was a decrease in the number of members – memberships dropped by 11% (from 10,2 million in 2010 to 9,1 million in 2016). According to research, the scope of the organization in the years 2010–2016 was stable, with only slight variations (usually within 1%). The share of organizations dealing in rescue services dropped the most (from 19% in 2010 to 17% in 2016); in turn, an increase was observed in education (from 8% in 2010 to 10% in 2016)<sup>33</sup>.

## Conclusions

The analysis of the data provided proves that Poles are reluctant to become organized formally and mainly limit their citizenship involvement to their local communities. According to the survey, 15,4% of respondents were involved in their local community

<sup>31</sup> The results come from the report: P. Adamiak, B. Charycka, M. Gumkowska, *Kondycja sektora organizacji pozarządowych w Polsce 2015. Research report* (Warsaw: Klon/Jawor Association, 2016), 9.

<sup>32</sup> Anna Knapp, Karolina Goś-Wójcicka, *Wolontariat w organizacjach – 2016 r. Wstępne wyniki badania "Praca niezarobkowa poza gospodarstwem domowym"* 4, seen 10/09/2018, <http://stat.gov.pl>.

<sup>33</sup> Karolina Banduła et al., *Działalność stowarzyszeń i podobnych organizacji społecznych, fundacji, społecznych podmiotów wyznaniowych oraz samorządu gospodarczego i zawodowego w 2016 r. – wyniki wstępne. Notatka informacyjna* 8, seen 27/12/2017, [www.stat.gov.pl](http://www.stat.gov.pl).

or neighborhood in the last two years. This may be due to several issues; first of all, “hot” and “cold” bonds are being created (David Lehmann’s approach). The first type is characterized by the presence of a leader, a charismatic person who directs the group’s activities in achieving the intended goal - it is the group’s reference point (lower democratization and institutionalization). In the second type, there are ties based on developed structures and procedures of a community’s functioning. Similarly, the religious form differs from non-religious social capital.

When summarizing this paper, one must answer the questions raised at the beginning. The answer to the first question should be that religious organizations (with a religious profile) have an impact on shaping social capital, but that this involves the binding type of social capital, as discussed by Putnam.

F. Fukuyama’s approach treats the existence of social capital as part of the people’s involvement in informal networks and formal organizations, with a specific consideration of the autotelic value of human relations (normative dimension), and the norms applied within the group, such as reliability and honesty, increase in institutional efficiency and cooperation based on trust. They can result from tradition, religion and culture - cultural institutions within the neighborhood and local community - involvement in parish groups.

A measure of civic society is social participation for the benefit of all and for the common good, and not only for a specific group (established formally or informally, as in the case of most religious organizations without a formal structure), where the idea of certain values, actions or goals is pursued, rather than the idea of the overall public good of all citizens. Activities for the bridging social capital (building bridges) would actually be based on such undertakings. Research shows that, unlike all *non-profit* organizations in our country, parish organizations are not affiliated at the international level, and only a small percentage (3%) is at the national level, and the peak activity is observed at the local level (90% of parish organizations and 44% of social religious entities - data in table 3). A perfect example of the religious organizations’ activity for the whole society was in 2005 (April 2), when John Paul II died. There was an extraordinary situation in Poland, where the Poles were able to unite through manifestations of their attitudes or reverence for the Polish Pope and the great contemporary philosopher, regardless of whether they declared their affiliation to the Roman Catholic Church, or other faiths. Action within a parish, a small community, especially by women, can build the binding type of social capital, which rather distances society than unites it, because as a result of pursuing a chosen goal, this capital is not conducive to building trust in other organizations or institutions. And here one can boldly conclude as regards the low efficiency of institutionalization in religious organizations (parish organizations of the Catholic Church), which operate mainly on the basis of a leader (priest or parish leader) in order to perform certain tasks without formally electing management or registering the organization in the National Court Register.

It is a manifestation of “taking matters into one’s own hands”; however, the fact that taking matters concerning a wider community should take place in the spirit of realizing the affairs of the entire nation (or a larger portion thereof), jointly and with full responsibility.

The difference in the scope of activities of particular types of organizations is also noticeable. Social religious entities operate in various social groups, on various levels with a high degree of formalization, while parish organizations often pursue informal goals and tasks for the benefit of the local parish community, in which their members live. However, research shows (see Table 2) that 2,5 million people were involved in activities for all religious entities, with the scope of their activities covering over 5 million Polish citizens.

Studies by the Institute for Catholic Church Statistics prove that religious organizations do not participate in public consultations (only 3% do); furthermore, they do not affect the birth rate or the percentage of marriages. It has been noted that the effect of the so-called religious social capital in local communities is a reduced emigration risk, which may result primarily from the fact that a permanent social structure is a predictor of religious social capital. Referring to J. Coleman’s theory, organizations with a religious or denominative profile shape relationships that become a resource, but only to achieve the goals in the community they function in, focusing mainly on the elderly, especially women.

The main hypothesis of the article was clarified because one can note a combination of activity in parish organizations and the occurrence of social capital of the binding type, which is characterized by strong social bonds, values or ideology as well as a strong Catholic identity (according to research, the vast majority of Polish society declares belonging to the Roman Catholic church rite). Importantly, parish organizations often implement informal goals and tasks for the benefit of the local parish community in which its members live, which rarely include national or international activities, which in addition may or may not indicate a low rate of bridging social capital based on broad social trust and openness to the common good of the citizens of the country.

Undoubtedly, religious organizations are also needed because they bind local communities together, organize various works that are indispensable to local communities, provided they do not act in antagonistic relations, contrary to the ideals of social coexistence. The idea of social interaction is to provide for equal opportunities for every citizen to fulfill their needs under the law. In the case of religious organizations, it may be disturbed, because a person from outside this cultural circle or a non-believer will not have that right. Another example is the operative profile or human capital - associations of mainly women may meet the needs of men disproportionately.

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Received: 2019 05 21

Prepared for print: 2019 11 21

Mateusz SZAST

## **PARTICIPATION IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND SHAPING SOCIAL CAPITAL IN POLAND**

### **S u m m a r y**

The author of the article's goal is to draw attention to the essential role of organizations of a religious or confessional profile play in shaping social capital in Poland based on the following question: *What is the relationship between participating in a third sector organization with a religious profile in shaping social capital in Poland?* The next key question according to the author is: *Do people working for religious organizations typically possess capital directed to the members of a religious group in which they are involved, or is this a bridging capital, shaping relations with other social groups (or confessions) in Poland?* The article was prepared based on an analysis of the literature on the subject and numerous generally available scientific research papers.

This article indicates the activity of Polish citizens in religious NGOs that operate on the basis of binding social capital characterized by strong social ties, values or ideology as well as a strong Catholic identity (according to research, the vast majority of Polish society declares belonging to a Catholic Roman Church rite). Importantly, parish organizations often carry out informal goals and tasks for the benefit of the local parish community where their members live, they rarely cover national or international activities, which may or may not indicate a low level of the bridging social capital based on broad social trust and openness to the common good of the citizens of the country.

Mateusz SZAST

## **DALYVAVIMAS RELIGINĖSE ORGANIZACIJOSE IR SOCIALINIO KAPITALO FORMAVIMAS LENKIJOS**

### **S a n t r a u k a**

Straipsnio autoriaus tikslas yra atkreipti dėmesį į religinio ar konfesinio pobūdžio organizacijų esminį vaidmenį formuojant socialinį kapitalą Lenkijoje remiantis klausimu, kokio santykio esama tarp dalyvavimo trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijoje ir religinio profilio formuojant socialinį kapitalą Lenkijoje. Kitas autoriaus keliamas klausimas yra, ar žmonės, dirbantys religinėse organizacijose, paprastai turi kapitalą, nukreiptą į religinės grupės, kurioje jie dalyvauja, narius, ar tai yra pereinamasis kapitalas, formuojantis santykius su kitomis socialinėmis grupėmis (ar konfesijomis) Lenkijoje. Straipsnis buvo parengtas remiantis literatūros šia tema analize ir daugeliu visuotinai prieinamų mokslinių tyrimų straipsnių.

Šis straipsnis nurodo Lenkijos piliečių veiklą religinėse NVO, veikiančiose remiantis privalomu socialiniu kapitalu, kuriam būdingi tvirti socialiniai ryšiai, vertybės ar ideologija, taip pat tvirta katalikiška tapatybė (tyrimų duomenimis, didžioji dauguma Lenkijos visuomenės deklaruoja priklausymą Romos katalikų bažnyčiai). Svarbu tai, kad parapijų organizacijos dažnai vykdo neoficialius tikslus ir užduotis vietos parapijos bendruomenės, kurioje gyvena jų pačių nariai, labui, jos retai vykdo nacionalinę ar tarptautinę veiklą, kas galimai indikuoja žemą pereinamojo socialinio kapitalo, pagrįsto plačiu socialiniu pasitikėjimu ir šalies piliečių atvirumu bendrajam gėriui, lygį.

Mateusz SZAST

## **PARTYCYPACJA NA RZECZ ORGANIZACJI RELIGIJNYCH W RAMACH KSZTAŁTOWANIA KAPITAŁU SPOŁECZNEGO W POLSCE**

### **S t r e s z c z e n i e**

Autor niniejszego artykułu stawia sobie za cel zwrócenie uwagi na istotną rolę organizacji o profilu religijnym lub wyznaniowym w kształtowaniu kapitału społecznego w Polsce w oparciu o tezę podstawową: Jaki związek występuje pomiędzy partycypacją w ramach organizacji trzeciego sektora o profilu religijnym a kształtowaniem kapitału społecznego w Polsce? Kolejne, kluczowe w ocenie autora artykułu (referatu), pytanie brzmi: Czy osoby działające w organizacjach religijnych charakteryzują się przewagą kapitału wiążącego skierowanego na członków grupy religijnej, w której obrębie działają, czy może kapitałem pomostowym, kształtując relacje z innymi grupami społecznymi (czy wyznaniowymi) w Polsce? Artykuł został przygotowany na podstawie analizy literatury przedmiotu oraz licznych ogólnodostępnych raportów badawczych o profilu naukowym. Niniejszy artykuł wskazuje na aktywność obywateli Polski w organizacjach pozarządowych o profilu wyznaniowym, które działają w oparciu o kapitał społeczny typu wiążącego charakteryzujący się innymi więziami społecznymi, wartościami lub ideologią jak również silną tożsamością katolicką (według badań zdecydowana większość społeczeństwa polskiego deklaruje przynależność do kościoła katolickiego obrządku rzymskiego). Co istotne organizacje przyparafialne częściej realizują nieformalne cele i zadania na rzecz lokalnej społeczności parafialnej, na której terenie mieszkają jej członkowie, rzadko swoim zakresem obejmują działania ogólnokrajowe lub międzynarodowe co dodatkowo może, ale nie musi wskazywać na niski wskaźnik kapitału społecznego typu pomostowego opartego na szerokim zaufaniu społecznym i otwartości na dobro wspólne obywateli kraju.

KEY WORDS: social capital, religious capital, religious organizations, third sector in Poland.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: socialinis kapitalas, religinis kapitalas, religinės organizacijos, trečiasis sektorius Lenkijoje.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: kapitał społeczny, kapitał religijny, organizacje religijne, trzeci sektor w Polsce.

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