

## SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INNOVATIONS IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. REPORT ON RESEARCH OF SILESIAN NGOS

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**Purpose:** The article attempts to answer research question: how do the individual components of binding and bridging social capital (in the area of trust, norms and connections) condition innovative activity in the state of morphostasis (structural continuity and cultural context) of selected non-governmental organizations.

**Design/methodology/approach:** The research was theoretically based on the concept of three components of social capital: trust, norms and connections (Coleman, 1998) and the assumptions of the morphogenetic theory of structure and agency, in particular types of reflexivity as a factor conditioning social agency (Archer, 2015). They concern the determination of the above-mentioned endogenous conditions limiting the innovative activity of the surveyed non-governmental organizations. On their basis and using the qualitative analysis of data obtained during group interviews (FGI), a diagnosis of developmental limitations and barriers will be made. This method allows for the analysis of structural elements, cultural features of a given organization, as well as the capabilities of individual social and organizational entities.

**Findings:** Among the members of the surveyed non-governmental organizations, the dominance of the components of social bonding capital over bridging capital was diagnosed. This key cultural condition, which constitutes its morphostatic nature, i.e. focus on maintaining the organizational status quo, has anti-innovation potential. The potential of a binding type of social capital is particularly visible in the area of trust between the entities of organizational activities. In addition, most members of the surveyed organizations were focused on maintaining the contextual continuity of the group and organization, i.e. reluctance towards new collective entities of action in NGOs, questioning the existing status quo, i.e. structural and/or cultural continuity. Such a context petrifies the power structure existing in them, but also the level of tensions and social distances, and limits the innovative potential.

**Originality/value:** The authors showed that the binding type of social capital, especially in the dimension of social trust, is a key cultural condition negatively shaping the functioning of Polish non-governmental organizations in the area of innovation.

**Keywords:** social capital, innovations, NGOs, morphostasis, focus group interview.

**Category of the paper:** research paper.

## 1. Introduction

Social innovations, as a type of targeted change, are conditioned by both endogenous factors, influenced by the entities operating in them, and exogenous factors, coming from the broadly understood environment, which in the vast majority are a variable independent of the analyzed social or social context. organizational. The article pays more attention to the endogenous determinants of innovation processes in the area of non-governmental organizations. In the literature on the subject, you can find a number of conceptualizations regarding endogenous conditions for the development of innovation, including social innovation (Cooter, Schaefer, 2008; Bendyk, 2020; Goldmann, 2019).

The key determinants are generally considered to be: organizational culture, the potential of social and creative capital, aspirations and educational needs of the community, together with ensuring the possibility of their continuous satisfaction by the education system and the quality of local public institutions (including, among others, NGOs), which create a micro-institutional environment for innovation (Lubimow-Burzyńska, 2014).

Effective implementation of innovations requires a special commitment of innovators, users and recipients - positive feedback between these entities. In the surveyed non-governmental organizations, the above requirements are largely ensured by the prosumer attitude of their leaders and members.

In order to study the functioning of Polish civil society, including its most institutionalized form - non-governmental organizations, the existing components of both bridging and binding social capital should be taken into account. Perhaps defining the role of the latter is the key to explaining the Polish specificity of civic participation, including in the sphere of non-governmental organizations. Based on my own research and the existing literature on the subject, it seems advisable to put forward a preliminary thesis about the current type of social capital as a key cultural condition shaping the functioning of Polish civil society institutions (Theiss, 2007; Żukowski, Theiss, 2009; Czapiński, Panek, 2015).

There are many sources of empirical data justifying the thesis about the dominance of social relations in Polish society based to a greater extent on the binding rather than bridging type of social capital. According to many years of research (e.g. CBOS, GUS, Social Diagnosis) in Poland, since the political transformation, despite a several-fold increase in GDP per capita and a relatively high level of enrollment ratios or, more broadly, human capital, there has been no increase in the level of social capital, especially its pro-innovative and inclusive varieties (Feliksiak, 2022; Czapiński, 2008). According to the GUS research published in 2020, in which association (bridging) capital and informal capital (family capital and neighborly and social capital, i.e. defined as binding in Putnam's conceptual convention) were analytically distinguished, they prove that only 12 percent. more often declare belonging to or identifying themselves with non-governmental organizations. Significantly more declarations of the

respondents, i.e. 82%, concerned the components of informal (family) capital, measured mainly by the degree of emotional bond, the frequency of contacts, the degree of mutual help and support (GUS, 2018, 2020). Hence the conclusion that in Poland the strongest element of network social capital is binding capital, and more precisely its family component. In second place in maintaining social networks are the elements of binding capital in its neighborly and social variety (about 62 percent of indications). The smallest share in building network social capital has its bridging diversity (measured, for example, by the level of participation in social organizations and the degree of general trust in people).

The above observations are also confirmed by the comparative studies of the European Social Survey (2022). The level of general trust of citizens and the scale of their membership in non-governmental organizations, as the main indicator components of bridging social capital in Poland, in relation to analogous indications in other European Union and OECD countries, is one of the lowest in years and usually amounts to 10-15 percent. With reference to the above observations, the authors will answer the research questions: how do the individual components of binding and bridging social capital (in the area of trust, norms and connections) condition innovative activity in the state of morphostasis (structural continuity and cultural context) of selected non-governmental organizations.

## **2. Social capital and innovation - a review of the literature on the subject**

From the point of view of social sciences, the key factor determining the innovativeness of a given group or organization is its social capital potential. This is an important conceptual category, both in the theoretical and operational dimension, for the analysis of the relationship between structural and cultural conditions and the agency of the examined entities of action. Therefore, the concept of social capital will be conceptualized and the key variables describing it will be presented.

According to Margaret Archer (Archer, 1995, 2003, 2007, 2013, 2015), the components of social capitals existing in a given cultural context are the cultural system (ideas) and its socio-cultural, interactive manifestations (actions). The exemplary forms of social capital established over time, such as generalized trust and community of values, are a component of the cultural system, i.e. a set of ideas. They can be treated as social facts. On the other hand, socio-cultural interactions and actions include the remaining element defining social capital, conceptualized after James S. Coleman (Coleman, 1998), social connections and networks. Therefore, in order to diagnose and explain the mechanisms of creating specific contexts and innovative effects for a specific community, organization, taking into account their social capital, it is necessary to determine the conditions connecting individual forms of social capital (both resource-generating and resource-generating) with structural and cultural properties of a given group or environment.

The undertaken research will characterize the relationships connecting the social capital potentials of selected communities and organizations with the structural and cultural contexts conditioning their morphogenetic abilities, including innovative ones. The authors want to show that the quality of specific forms of social capital (trust, norms and connections) determines the effects of social innovations. It will be important to indicate the relationships between the resource-creating forms of social capital existing in specific socio-organizational frameworks and potential contexts limiting innovative activity in specific groups or organizations.

In the literature on the subject, you can find several dozen ways of defining social capital, the sources of its scientific application should be sought at the beginning of the 20th century (Adler, 2000; Rymysza, 2007). Two dominant concepts of this concept should be attributed to the main macrostructural theoretical paradigms: conflict theory and functionalism. The first emphasizes the importance of individual resources and exclusive group resources (environmental, social, corporate), which testify to the existing structural conditions, divisions, inequalities, tensions and conflicts, and not to a community of values or interests. Social capital understood in the convention of the conflict paradigm according to Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986) is the resources that an individual acquires while participating in more or less institutionalized groups that provide support to their members in the form of a permanent network of relationships based on knowledge and mutual recognition. According to Bourdieu, the position of an individual in the social structure is also determined by other types of capital: economic, cultural and the resulting symbolic capital.

Nowadays, more and more researchers emphasize the special importance of the network of social relations for multiplying individual resources of social capital. These are resources embedded in a social network, understood as part of a structural context (Lin, 2001). Janine Nahapiet and Sumantra Ghoshal define social capital as the sum of current and potential resources resulting from the network of relationships owned by operating entities (Nahapiet, Ghoshal, 1998). According to Lin, social capital is both the resources that individuals or groups in the network have at their disposal, as well as the structure of their contacts (Lin, 2001). In turn, R. Burt claims that the network consists of positions and social relations in the network that provide access to specific resources and their flow within the social structure (Burt, 1992, 1997). For a full understanding of the phenomenon of social capital, both resources and relationships are important. Therefore, it seems appropriate to define that these resources, as the effects of individual or group activities in the network, are material (wealth), cultural (prestige) or political (power). They have the potential to perpetuate the existing social status quo (morphostasis) and introduce changes (morphogenesis).

The second theoretical stream of research on social capital emphasizes the importance of generalized trust, collective actions based on it, socially resource-creating, integrating, inclusive, building ties and networks of connections, created on the basis of an axionormative community. Contemporary integration concepts of social capital, most often drawing on the "associative" inspirations of A. de Tocqueville, focus mainly on finding answers to the question

about the sources of effectiveness of social institutions and identifying ways that allow given communities to solve their problems and implement innovations. Coleman, was one of the first to emphasize the integrative aspect of social capital. According to Coleman, the strength and scope of ties and the network of social relations are determined by: trust between actors of social, economic or public life, normative and institutional community, group and personal ties (Coleman, 1998, 1990).

Robert Putnam also understands social capital in a functionalist and integrative way. This refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate network coordination and cooperation. The concept of social capital is explained in the context of the theory of rational choice, or rather overcoming dilemmas of collective action (Putnam, 1995). Putnam introduces an important theoretical and analytical distinction between two types of social capital: binding and bridging, which will be helpful in the following analyses. Binding capital is characterized by primary family groups, neighborhood groups, social groups, exclusive groups, connecting individuals with similar socio-demographic characteristics who have personal trust, to the exclusion of different people. Bridging capital is more universal. It connects people and groups with diverse socio-demographic characteristics. It allows you to build lasting ties and networks of cross-group and inter-group connections. This is particularly important for building communities, organizations and public institutions open to broadly understood innovations. Its role is defined briefly and precisely by the authors: "bridging capital is able to expand the boundaries of individuality (identity) and reciprocity" (Putnam, 1995).

In the literature on the subject, there are also concepts critical of the functionalist trend, defining the effects of too strongly functioning ties and social resources; e.g. as negative social capital or the concept of two types of social capital resulting from rootedness and autonomy, which were born in the context of criticism of the Putnamian approach (Fukuyama, 1997; Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 1998; Zarycki, 2004). These concepts are based on the criticism of the position that social capital is a universal good, positively affecting all areas of social life: human capital, productivity, economic success, democratic governance, as well as the well-being of the individual, generally in all aspects of human life. The allegations are formulated around the conditions that may arise as a result of too high a level of a certain type of social capital. They concern e.g. discrimination of individuals remaining outside the dominant group, resulting from the process of favoring participants of a given social structure with too strong potentials of binding social capital. An important role is also played by practices leading to the restriction of freedom, innovation, entrepreneurship and creativity, due to the excess of binding social capital prevailing in closed, traditional or extremely fundamentalist groups (Rymsza, 2007; Sztompka, 2016; Krzyminiewska, 2003; Portes, 1998; Bartelski, 2010).

### 3. Methodological Assumptions

With reference to the above conceptualizations of social capital and based on the ontological and epistemological assumptions of Margaret Archer's morphogenetic theory of structure and agency (Archer, 2013, 2015; Szlachcicowa, Nowalczyk, Morozowicki, 2013), an answer to the question will be sought: how the components of binding and bridging social capital (in the area of trust, norms and connections) determine innovative activity in state of morphostasis (continuity of structural and cultural context) of selected NGOs?

The elements of the model of morphogenetic causal analysis (Archer, 2015) will be presented below, which explains the course of morphostatic processing of the structural and cultural context and the scope of agency of the members of the surveyed NGOs. They will be the basis for the interpretation and structuring of the results obtained from focus groups.

- The distribution of structural, cultural and causative forces contributes to organizational morphostasis when there is agreement between the actors in the existing relations between the structural (group interests) and cultural context (dominant ideas and values focused on the survival of the group, NGOs) or there is an acceptance of tensions between structural and cultural contexts.
- In the case of an organization remaining in a state of morphostasis, ie the duration of the basic interests and values of its members, the existing resentmental structural and cultural contexts limit the emergence of innovations (an indicator of the state of morphostasis are attitudes aimed at maintaining the organizational status quo).
- Indication of the dominant type of reflexivity. The course and effects of potential innovative activities are also the result of the reflexivity of organization members who make decisions in the context of individual care for their practical projects, in relation to existing contexts.
- The morphostatic experience of contextual continuity is perpetuated by the dominance of the communicative type of reflexivity. An indicator of the existence of communicative reflexivity is the respondents' emphasis on the importance of structurally conditioned barriers to a greater extent than the opportunities and the possibility of overcoming them by members of the organization; lack of trust in the external environment, dominance of binding elements of social capital, i.e. based on family, neighborly and friendly ties.
- Agreeing mutual relations between operating entities within structural and cultural contexts blocks changes in the organizational status quo and innovation.

The analysis and interpretation of the results was carried out in relation to the research question posed according to the following scheme: organizing raw data - data descriptions - their interpretation. The order of research within the applied interview method, qualitative technique - focus group interview (FGI) - was determined by the focus scenario, in which the main research questions were operationalized. The interviews were conducted in the form of discussions led by a moderator and focused on the main thematic threads defined by research questions and included in the FGI scenario.

The method of analyzing data obtained through focus group interviews was determined by selected procedural recommendations of grounded theory. An inductive method of analysis of the collected research material was used. Therefore, no initial assumptions were made as to the nature of the relationship between the variables, no hypotheses were made that would be subject to verification during focus groups.

The selection of people for the research groups was purposeful. This means that obtaining fully representative distributions of socio-demographic characteristics in the composition of individual focus groups was not as important as saturation with people with maximally diverse and well-established attitudes, knowledge, judgments and opinions on the image, online communication and building relationships with the environment. It was also assumed, in accordance with the principles of grounded theory, that the data collected in individual groups will be compared with each other on an ongoing basis in order to extract codes from the focus groups that organize and interpret the research material. More generalized categories were then constructed (by grounding in similar cases) to show associations between categories (Konecki, Chomczyński, 2012).

192 people took part in the FGI qualitative study, including 96 leaders (presidents and board members of non-governmental organizations) and 96 members of non-governmental organizations. The study covered 24 Silesian non-governmental organizations. Focus group interviews were conducted with representatives of each of the surveyed organizations separately. When selecting NGOs for the research sample, equal percentages of representatives of organizations from the metropolitan area (cities over 100,000 inhabitants), urban (from 30,000 to 100,000 inhabitants) and small-town and rural areas (below 30,000 inhabitants) were taken into account. Respectively, rural communes and small towns were represented by organizations from Poręba, Łazów, Wojkowice, Lubliniec and Mikołów, organizations from Tarnowskie Góry, Mysłowice, Zawiercie, Piekary Śląskie from medium-sized cities, and respondents from Katowice, Sosnowiec, Gliwice, Bytom appear as representatives of large-city environments, Chorzów, Rybnik. In addition, the following variable was included in the configuration of the research sample: the main area of the organization's activity. Therefore, NGOs were selected for focus groups in equal proportions, four organizations each from the six most frequently represented areas of activity among all Polish NGOs, i.e. communities (including parish councils), residents' self-governments (housing estates, housing estates, housing cooperatives) and animal care (Feliksiak, 2021).

The group interview scenario included questions about the type of barriers and conflicts that hinder the introduction of innovations in the organization and its environment, the importance of personal and group envy and mistrust in the implementation of innovations, the existence of social capital components (in bridging and binding variants), such as trust in generalized others, the nature of connections with the socio-economic environment, local government authorities and the way of understanding the common good.

The Atlas.ti data analysis program was used to analyze the raw material from FGI. Created on the basis of grounded theory (symbolic interactionism). The reader can read about the method of coding (codes and codes family) of creating categories in the footnotes on page 12. Thanks to which it is possible to present in a graphic form the frequency distributions of opinion categories appearing in the FGI and the relationships between them.

#### **4. Social capital and innovations in the state of organizational morphostasis. Result of research**

For the purposes of the article, three forms of Coleman's social capital were referred to, which are expressed, respectively: 1) trust, and more precisely commitments, expectations and trust conducive to obtaining help from others, 2) norms and effective sanctions related to them, and 3) connections, i.e. access to information and social networks (Coleman, 1990). The forms of social capital presented below, which directly refer to the above conceptualization, will be referred to as resource-generating, in contrast to the forms which in the literature are sometimes referred to as negative, negative or dirty, and in this paper will be called as non-resource-generating (Levi, 1996; Wincenty, 2004).

The cultural morphostasis (status quo) in the Polish reality is sustained by the established, often taking the normative form of a social fact, dominance of patterns of behavior and relationships based more on binding (community, family and social, exclusive) than bridging capital (associative, task-oriented, inclusive). social as well as normative focus on the group (not common) good. Its dysfunctional manifestations for the social system are most visible in institutionalized interpersonal relations, e.g. among employees, applicants, clients and stakeholders of offices and public institutions, enterprises, members of non-governmental organizations. Wherever sustainable socio-economic development and building lasting and depersonalized networks of relationships, based on generalized trust (Sztompka, 2016) or a culture of trust, the presence of elements of bridging social capital is advisable. Its existence in a specific context contributes to the leveling of tensions and social distances resulting from strong, exclusive social ties (Theiss, 2007; Żukowski, Theiss, 2009).

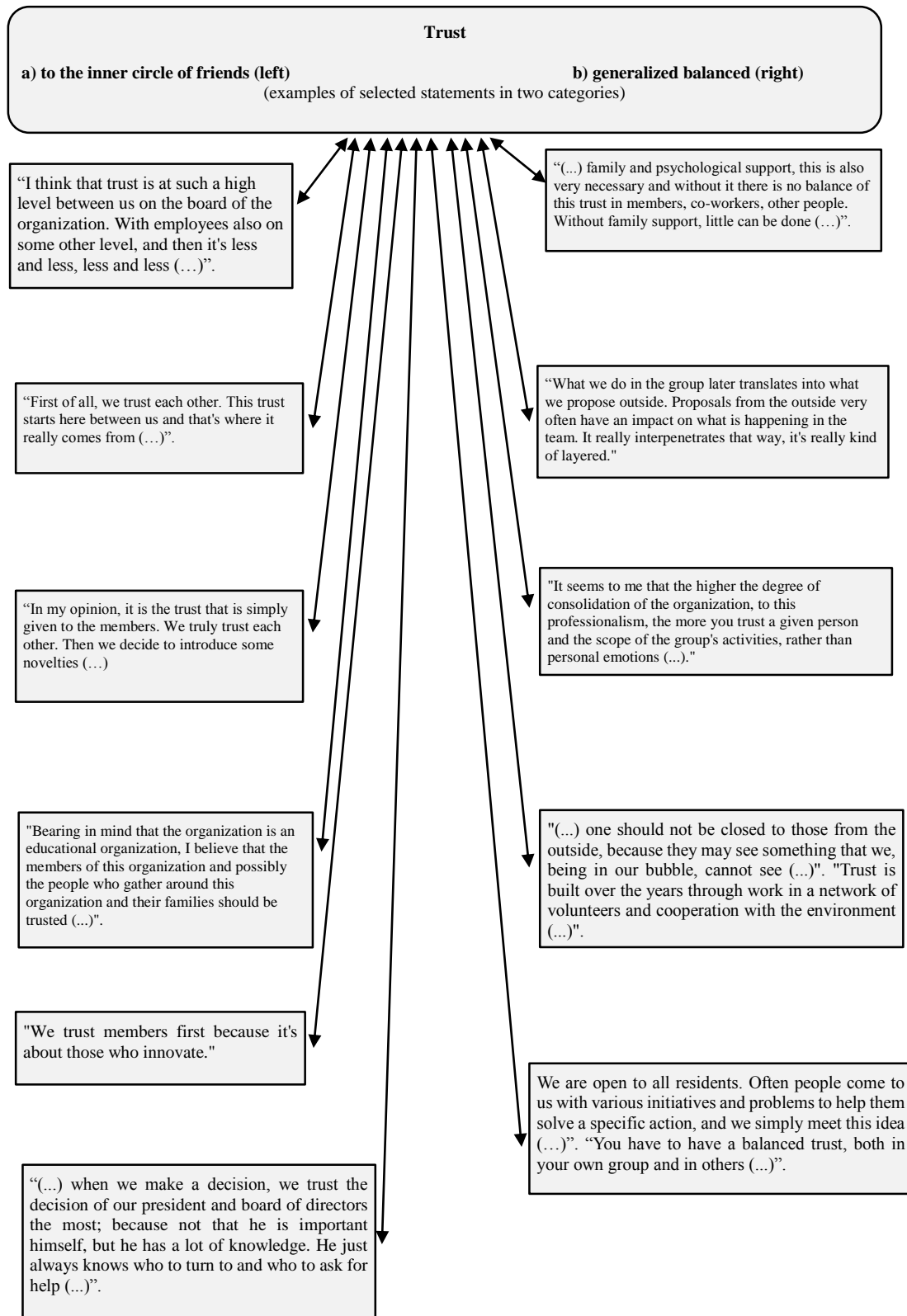


Therefore, one of the aims of the research was to determine how the potentials of the individual components of binding and bridging social capital (in terms of trust, norms and connections) are distributed among the surveyed members of Silesian NGOs?

Of key importance, both in the theoretical and application context, i.e. when undertaking specific social innovations, is the level of trust between individual and collective entities. Therefore, during the focus group interviews, the respondents were asked: Who should be trusted most of all when introducing innovations: a) members of the organization, friends, family, or maybe b) all people equally?

It was noticed that when undertaking innovative activities, about 2/3 of the participants of the focus group interviews declared trust primarily in their closest co-workers, friends and family. She relied heavily on people from her closest circle of relatives and friends. She built social relations primarily within her primary groups, on the binding, non-bridge component of social capital.

This type of relationship is reflected in the following statements. The president of the board of an organization supporting the education of children and youth from environments at risk of social exclusion states: "...I think that trust between us in the board of the organization is at such a high level, first of all. With employees also on some other level, and then less and less". A similar opinion was expressed by a member of the board of an association whose goal is to support young people at risk of diabetes: "First of all, we trust each other, this is the first thing that starts here between us and that's where everything really comes from". Another participant in the same focus states that: "I think this is really familiar. Well, it's like... the trust you just have in your members. But in case you didn't know that we're going to introduce some new features. When the principal of the school is involved, we trust that the people who will use it, the people who will run the school, we just trust... conscientiously". On the other hand, a scout activist from a medium-sized city states: "Bearing in mind that the organization is an educational organization, I believe that you should trust the members of this organization and possibly the people who are gathered around this organization and their families, etc."



**Figure 1.** Code citation map: trust in two categories: a) to the inner circle of friends (left), b) generalized balanced (right).

Source: own work.

In addition, signs of balanced trust were observed among the remaining participants (about one-third) of the focus groups, i.e. both towards members of their primary groups and towards generalized others. The aforementioned group of respondents also declared trust in external participants of innovative activities. Such attitudes are an example of the evolution from the community ties characteristic of bonding capital to a relative balance between the components of bonding and bridging capital. For example, the president of an association whose aim is to activate disabled people from a large Silesian city says: "I believe that no novelty will be introduced if you do not trust the members and volunteers – that is, above all. You have to rely on them and trust them. On the other hand, family support, as a kind of psychological support for me, is also very, very needed, and without a certain balance of this trust in members, co-workers and family support, little can be done, at least in my opinion, in my opinion. In mature and efficient organizations, both in terms of structure and function, rooted in the socio-cultural environment, there is a process of limiting emotional ties in relations between members in favor of instrumental and task ties. A meaningful declaration was made by a member of the board of an association integrating local communities through historical reconstructions: "It seems to me that the higher the level of consolidation of the organization and its professionalism, the greater the trust in a given person and the scope of people's activities, more than personal emotions" and "what we do in the group later translates into what we propose outside. And outside inquiries...? Proposals from the outside very often have an impact on what is happening in the team". The balance between these two types of ties and trust among members of non-governmental organizations is also evidenced by the statement of the president of a student organization that operates both in its micro-, meso- and macro-environment: "I assume that it is worth trusting people who are just sitting in it or sat some time ago ... but also in order not to go too far in this direction, you should not close yourself off to those from the outside, because they may see something that we, being in our bubble, do not see. Sustainable social capital understood in this way, containing both a binding and bridging element, has been shaped over the years through painstaking work on the network of volunteers and cooperation with the broadly understood environment of the organization.

The second classic component of social capital, in the functionalist approach, are norms, i.e. a set of shared norms and values, which in the presented research has been operationalized as the respondents' attitude towards the opposition: the good of the group versus the common good. Hence the question in the interview scenario: Does the organization focus more on the activities and problems of its own members, or is it more open to the affairs of all residents of the city/municipality/region?

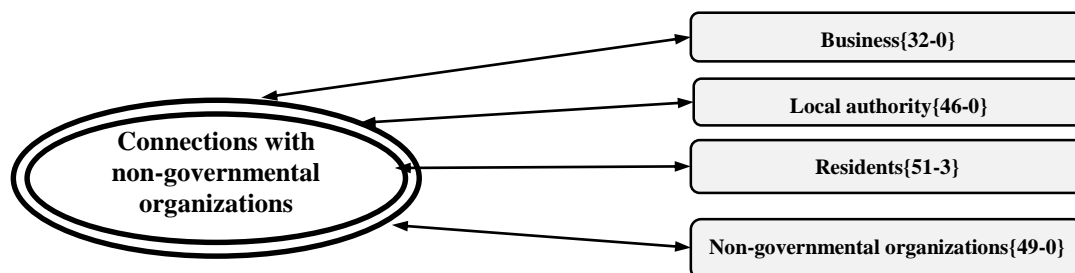
Among the representatives of the surveyed organizations, three types of orientation towards the normative opposition were noticed: group good (i.e. primarily the needs of the members of the organization) versus the common good (mainly the needs of all residents of the city, region, country, generalized "other"), which concerned undertaking innovative activities. Two orientations dominated, equally often represented, focused on the common good: the first,

treating the common good as an autotelic value, not taking into account the needs of members of one's own group, and the second, balanced, which tries to combine the needs of both the general public and members of non-governmental organizations. An example of autotelic orientation (1) is the following statement of the respondents: "... we act for others in practically every possible way, no matter where we are... I don't know. Well, we have our headquarters in Gliwice and we certainly operate throughout Poland, and if we take the Internet into account, then all over the world".

An example of a balanced orientation are the following statements: "This organization is open to all residents. Yes, it's not closed" or "We are open to all residents. Often people come to us with various initiatives and problems to help them solve taking a specific action, and we just implement this idea" and "The organization mainly plays a role towards people from the city, it activates the inhabitants of our city. However, it also undertakes some activities for itself for the benefit of the members...".

Orientation towards the good of the group remained in a definite minority, with which less than every tenth respondent identified. The president of the board of one of the surveyed associations states: "The organization focused more on activities within its own members, and within other NGOs it did not meet the needs of other residents". In a similar spirit, the normative orientation of the organization, whose statutory activity is aimed at civic activation of the city's inhabitants, is assessed by a member of its board: "In our case, let's say, the organization, the most committed people and the rest of the members have always been in the first place".

The third form of social capital, understood by Coleman, are connections, which are usually defined as the scope of access to information, the degree of participation in sectoral, local, regional, national and international cooperation networks. The functioning of the network of connections is manifested by belonging or not belonging to a network of third sector institutions (NGOs), cooperation or lack of cooperation with residents of the local community, local government authorities and representatives of local or regional business circles, which in the first case build and in the second weaken the resources of social capital (question in the FGI scenario: What is the organization's cooperation with: a) city/commune authorities? b) with the inhabitants of the city/municipality? c) with business? d) with other NGOs?



**Figure 2.** Perceptual map of the code family: connections with non-governmental organizations.

Source: own work.

Most of the surveyed activists were able to name many different, permanent and mutual forms of links between their organizations and the broadly understood social environment: residents {51-3}, local authorities {46-0}, other non-governmental organizations {49 -0} and business representatives {32- 0}<sup>1</sup>.

A member of the board of a historical reconstruction organization talks about connections with other non-governmental organizations - themselves: "First of all, a joint action, because if they lack people, we help them and vice versa, for example, we lack people for some shows for some event, so we can also talk with other bands and they will help us... It's kind of an exchange, probably kind of bilateral, kind of barter, kind of a favor for a favor and that's it, it's also nice, it's valuable, because we're riding on one horse and we want things to just happen and people benefited, so we help each other." The effectiveness of the actions taken increases with the expansion of bridging links embedded in a coherent system of norms and values. students, graduates, parents, and then it began to spread to other people in need. rebounds; twice a year, even at Christmas, some actions, e.g. collecting magnets for Sandra. Harvest for Ukraine. At that time, it also concerned the Pediatric Oncology Department in Gliwice and this activity is expanding to other cities, also on the international arena.

The key function of non-governmental organizations as institutions that constantly support and supplement the activities of local government authorities as well as connections and networks of mutual connections was mentioned by a member of the board of an organization that undertakes charity and integration activities among the homeless from one of the largest cities in Upper Silesia: "I always say yes - every non-governmental organization likes the city in some activity. They were, should be and are desirable because people do it, because then the city has to perform certain tasks for which it would have to pay".

## 5. Conclusions and discussion

Based on the results of qualitative research on the distribution of the three components of social capital (trust, norms and connections) and the assumptions of the morphogenetic theory of structure and agency, in particular the types of reflexivity as a factor conditioning social agency, it is assumed that organizational morphostasis occurs when the following endogenous conditions are present: limiting the innovative activity of the surveyed NGOs:

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<sup>1</sup> The perceptual map (cf. Fig. 2) contains analyzes of transcripts of focus interviews obtained using the Atlas.ti program; concerns the network of connections of the surveyed non-governmental organizations with the environment occurring when introducing innovations. This tool enabled the generation of codes and their families, presenting the main categories of answers, which allowed for a transparent presentation of research results. For example, one of the most significant codes is called "residents" {51-3} and consists of two elements: the first is the degree of grounding (51), which is the number of code associations with quotes in a text document, the second (3) is coherence, i.e. linking a given code with other codes. This code has been included in the Code Family (CF): connections with NGOs.

(1) the predominance of the components of binding social capital over bridging, manifested primarily in trust in members of the organization, family and friends; distance to generalized others; links in the immediate environment, aversion to the subsidiarity principle, delegation of responsibility, limited cooperation networks with the socio-economic environment; (2) the agency of members is based to a greater extent on communicative reflexivity, i.e. focused on preserving the existing structural (power) and cultural contexts (norms and values similar to the idea of balancing between the good of the group and the common good) than on autonomous reflexivity, i.e. focused on changing these contexts; (3) most members of the surveyed organizations were focused on maintaining the contextual continuity of the group and organization, i.e. reluctance to new collective actors in NGOs, questioning the existing status quo, i.e. structural and/or cultural continuity; such a context petrifies the power structure existing in them, but also the level of tensions and social distances; (4) the appearance of the advantage of bridging social capital over bonding in about one third of organizations, manifested by trust in generalized others, links outside the immediate environment of non-governmental organizations, openness to the principles of subsidiarity, delegation of responsibility, a wide network of cooperation with the socio-economic environment. The above conditions make it easier to break the existing status quo in the organization, the emergence of contextual discontinuity (structural and/or cultural change), i.e. the introduction of morphogenetic elements facilitating the crossing of awareness and structural barriers when introducing innovations.

The presented results prove the existence of relatively large potentials of binding social capital and deficits of bridging capital in the surveyed organizations. Particularly important turned out to be the potentials of the trust component, i.e. the importance of trust in the inner circle of friends (members of the management board of one's own organization, friends and family) emphasized by two-thirds of the respondents, while at the same time a low potential of general trust. The presented results are a reflection of broader social processes. Historically conditioned, from the times of the partitions and the loss of its own statehood (1795-1918), perpetuated during the communist rule (1945-1989), a low level of bridging social capital and generalized trust in social partners or organizational interaction is a social fact in Poland in the sense of Durkheim, that is, it normatively regulates social and organizational relations through a commonly observed directive: cooperate with those you know, trust your own, do not trust strangers. The aforementioned social fact permanently determines today's Polish economic, social and political realities. It is one of the key socio-cultural factors negatively conditioning development, e.g. social innovation within civil society perpetuates existing social distances (Weryński, 2022). As it has been shown in many studies, including our own, it also makes it difficult to build institutionalized cooperation networks not only among members of non-governmental organizations, but also relations with scientific units, local government and state administration, and in the area of economic activity it hinders the development of sustainable business-for-profit networks. client (B2C), business for business (B2B).

In future research, in order to determine the agency and innovative potential of members of non-governmental organizations, it will be advisable, in addition to diagnosing the potential of social capital, to determine the level of indicators of two opposite types of respondents' reflexivity: communicative (morphostatic) and autonomous (morphogenetic); i.e. the importance of structurally conditioned barriers and threats, the chances and possibilities of overcoming them by members of the organization, their state of acceptance for the organizational status quo and the critical attitude to individual aspects of the organization's life, the scale of involvement in changes in the organization.

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