

*Social Capital and Social Policy Network***Revisited Position Paper – the Czech Republic**

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Comments on social capital and third sector in the Czech Republic**Social capital in Czech academic discourse**

The term “social capital” is still not widely used in Czech academic and policy discourse. This concept had already been introduced in the Czechoslovak sociology before the boom of collective social capital conceptualization erupted in the middle of the 1990s. Hence it had been applied and understood only as a private good as suggested by Bourdieu [1986] in the area of intergenerational social mobility and educational attainment at the turn of 1980s as well as an explanatory variable in intragenerational mobility analysis after the fall of communist regime [Matějů 1993; Matějů, Lim 1995], particularly then in a new elite form. Today two conceptualizations of social capital can be simplified and distinguished.

The first concept of social capital is defined mostly as an attribute of an individual; i.e., a person’s potential to activate and effectively mobilize a network of social connections [Matějů 2002]. In this context, social capital has the properties of a private good, which individuals accumulate and use to achieve their own goals. The understanding of social capital in the academic view as a social network is quite in line with the popular belief of the negative effects and exploitation of social networks in a transforming post communist society. In this context we find employing the term *individual mobilizing social capital* [Sedláčková, Šafr 2005] useful.

The second concept of social capital refers to the attributes of society. It focuses on the quality of networks and relationships enabling individuals to cooperate and act collectively. In this context, it has the properties of a public good facilitating the achievement of higher levels of efficiency and productivity. It follows Putnam’s definition of social capital: “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” [Putnam et al. 1993: 167].

Even though the term is not widely used, the substance of bridging collective social capital is present in academic research. Recently, the most studied form is civic participation, social and institutional trust [Rakušanová 2005; Stachová 2005; Rakušanová, Řeháková 2006] and social

cohesion [Machonin et al. 2004]. Papers dealing with social capital explicitly have emerged recently [Raiser et al. 2002; Sedláčková, Šafr 2005; Matějů, Vitásková in press].

NGOs, civic participation and social trust

The non-profit sector developed dynamically between 1989 and 1997 (from 2 to over 66 thousand NGOs) [Čepelka 2003]. Even after that the rise has been continuing gradually (see Appendix Table 1). Four main types of non-profit organizations as defined by law are civic associations, public service companies (beneficial corporations), foundations, and endowment funds. In the CR there are about eight non-profit organizations per thousand people, but this is still not as much as in some west European countries. Sports and leisure associations prevail followed by social services whereas the least represented are charity organizations [Rakušanová 2005]. However, the number of NGOs is not wholly testifying because as data from a public opinion survey suggests civic participation is rather low (see Appendix Table 2). More than half the population is not a member of any voluntary organization.

Regarding the creation of bridging social capital, the most central relationship is between trust and civic participation. The Czech society can be viewed as exemplifying a middle level of social trust in world comparison; however, it exemplifies one of the highest in the post-socialistic block.

Principally, a positive mutual relationship between trust and civic participation is observed [Putnam 2000]. Nevertheless, the analysis of Czech ISSP 2004 *Citizenship* suggests no relationship between conventional participation (membership in voluntary organizations such as church, sports, leisure or cultural clubs, trade unions and professional associations) and inter-personal trust [Sedláčková 2006].

In most of the pursued issues described hereinafter, the role of social capital has not been studied and monitored specifically. Certainly a promising future is suggested by the ongoing research project “Social and cultural cohesion in differentiated society” (2004–2008), lead by the Center for Social and Economic Strategies at Charles University, where the concept of social capital and social inequalities plays the central role. Various surveys in progress comprise community research of peripheral localities, surveys on social exclusion and inclusion, solidarity in families taking care of old and ill relatives and population surveys on bridging (civic participation, value orientation, interpersonal and institutional trust) as well as

bonding social capital (family help, social contacts and evaluation of involvement in social networks).

Public policy in the civic sector

Regarding public policy comments, the role of social capital in the inspected specific policy elements appears rather inexplicit compared to, e.g., knowledge society development [Veselý 2003]. However, in all areas it seems that the smooth functioning of beneficial non-governmental organizations is crucial. Solidarity and assistance to socially marginalised groups is a virtue in the active part of renewed Czech civil society. Since 1989, NGOs have become “an important supplier of social and healthcare services” [Vajdová 2005].

Albeit the third sector has been developing dynamically, it is still not reconcilable with advanced European countries. The fact that in some areas of the inspected issues the third sector is undeveloped is caused by the deficient functioning of the civic sector in general. There is some selected general advice and recommendations about the limited functioning of the NGO segment and its universal obstacles as detected by experts and non-governmental organizations.

Civic participation has not developed equally in all regions of the CR. In the regions with a low level of participation (Moravian-Silesian Region), people in difficulty more frequently rely on the state. Their traditional community has often weakened and has been increasingly replaced by passivity. The non-profit sector can evolve more slowly in such a region. On the other hand, in the regions with a more developed network of NGOs (South Moravian Region and Prague), people tend to rely less on the state [Rakušanová 2005].

On the state-wide level, the advisory organ of the government *Governmental Council for Non-State Non-Profit Organizations GCNGO* (Rada vlády pro nestátní neziskové organizace) has been operating under different names since 1992. It is the only organization dealing with the mutual relations between the NGO sector and the state. Although the public administration denotes NGOs as partners and associates, virtually it is still not an equivalent partnership [Report on NGO sector 2005]. The non-profit sector is expected to take up the role of supplementing the range of state services in areas where the state organizations do not work. This reduces the role of NGOs to that of only supporting the state organizations, enabling them to operate easier [HDR 2003].

The non-profit sector in the Czech Republic features still a relatively high degree of centralization and bureaucracy. Close links between the political sphere and non-profit sector can be observed [Rakušanová 2005]. Cooperation with the public administration can be characterized by a lack of formal rules. It makes coordination dependent on linking social capital, i.e., the personal qualities of the individuals occupying the particular public administration posts. This generates room for “hidden manoeuvring on the part of the officials and cronyism. [...] The best model seems to be the cooperation of NGOs and local authorities in small municipalities, as a result of the phenomenon of ‘personnel penetration’.” [HDR 2003: 97]. A problem for some organizations as well as persons involved in civil society is the misuse of authority or status for personal reasons and the practice of favouring certain groups or persons. This together with lack of transparency creates a hazard of clientelism [Vajdová 2005]. The overall evaluation of cooperation of NGOs with the state administration can be difficult since it depends on each local council policy.

Many section specific and regional coalitions of NGOs are doing well. Although the cross-field coalition of non-profit organizations exists, it does not represent the whole sector as such due to its limited number of members.

Information flow and personal communication plays a role in achieving linking social capital. There are many informational and promotive organizations, but a nationwide network is still missing. Accessibility of informational services is burdensome for organizations from remote regions and service organizations provide services mostly out of consideration. The main problems of insufficient informal networking of NGOs are seen in pragocentrism (excessive centralisation of headquarters in the capital), the vying between NGOs (lack of communication, competition for sources – especially in health and social care), and division of NGOs to “old” (existing since socialistic regime) and “new” civic organizations [Frič 2000].

Too many quick changes mainly in legislation have occurred. Consequently, unfamiliarity with information causes problems. Many NGOs lack qualified professionals. There have been many good resulting experiences but the NGOs’ capacity to comprehend and elaborate information and applying for projects especially from EU funds is limited. Generally speaking the problem of all areas can be viewed as the creation and functioning of linking social capital. Its formation is a long journey and depends on piecemeal and long-run interactions, creating reciprocity and trust between agents of public administration and NGOs.

Specific policy elements

1. Pre-school childcare

In the CR, there are various types of collective pre-school child care: the first level is care for children up to 3 years in *jesle* (crèches), the second level is for children between 3 and 5 years in *mateřské školy* (kindergartens) with care experts, or parents themselves in cooperatively voluntarily run “maternal centres” [Hašková, Křížková 2002].

Kindergartens are the essential pre-school facilities. There were 4,776 kindergartens with 280 487 children enrolled, who were taken care of by 23,060 teachers, of whom 99% are women, in the school year 2004/2005. According to Hašková [2002], many Czech parents prefer collective pre-school facilities to other forms; 87% of children of age of 3 to 5 attend kindergartens.

Two executive departments are responsible for pre-school education and care: the Ministry of Health is responsible for the age group 0 – 3 years, and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports is responsible for children over 3 years. The National Programme for the Development of Education [White Paper 2001] defines the role and position of kindergartens and the function of preschool education and ensures that the legal framework is in accordance with pre-school education in EU countries.

There are various types of providers; pre-school facilities are now established by the Ministry of Education, municipalities (94.6%), districts, private providers (1.5%) or church organizations. Besides regular kindergartens, there are special “maternal schools,” pre-school care in regular and special primary schools, and special classes for both handicapped children and talented children in kindergartens (2% of all children).

Most of the special preparatory classes are in the Northwest CR, a region with the largest portion of Romany population. Preparatory class assignment for Romany children is an example of assistance to children with disadvantaged backgrounds. The attendance is not obligatory, and the interest from Romany population is low.

During the 1990s, there was a significant decrease in pre-school facilities. While the socialist regime had supported state child care, especially during the time of the baby-boom in the 1970s, after 1990 there has been an intense reduction. Particularly, the cuts have been highest in number of crèches: to 5% of the number of crèches in 1990. The amount of crèches is deficient; the existing nurseries are mostly private and financially unaffordable. The density

of the Czech kindergarten net has decreased since 1990 to about 22% of the number of kindergartens before 1989. This situation is caused mainly by a significant decline in the birth-rate. The birth rate decreased by more than one-third in the 1990s. Maternal and parental leave was prolonged from the first 3 years to the first 4 years of a child's life in 1995, which caused a reduced need to put children younger than 3 years into crèches or kindergartens.

The fixed dates of inauguration, high prices especially for low income families, and insufficient access to kindergartens, mainly in rural areas and localities with small numbers of children, are the disadvantages of kindergartens. This inconvenience has been partly compensated by "maternal centres" since the mid-1990s. There are about 120 of them currently, and they offer civil-parent voluntary supplement to kindergartens. Hašková [2002] argues that the centres can not be understood as a replacement of expert care. Nevertheless, maternal centres are cheap, and they can be useful as meeting places for creating social capital of parents, especially mothers whose social contacts are limited while on maternal leave.

There are also foreign alternative programmes (Montessori, Waldorf, Christian pedagogy) used by pre-school facilities; however, they are marginal, e.g., the programme "Start together" is practiced in 65 kindergartens, and the project "Healthy kindergarten" in 85 kindergartens.

Another new form of child care that was impossible under the socialist regime is care by private nannies. It is not made use of extensively, only by few higher income working mothers. About 28% of women with small children get help from their grandparents, mostly their mothers [Hašková, Linková 2002]. The intra-generational use of social capital is still quite strong in the CR, but the authors assume it will decline due to the higher age and illnesses of grandparents.

The natality situation has been changing very recently, as the people born during the baby-boom in the 1970s are now planning families and women who have postponed family are now giving birth. In a few years, the social policy has to change to be prepared for the entrance of these contemporary new-borns into pre-school care.

The access to kindergartens is considered as one of the main issues regarding pre-school education presently. The lack of crèches has not yet been solved sufficiently. In order to enable mothers to return to employment, the Czech Republic needs a wide network of crèches.

2. Combating under-education and truancy

The Czech educational system features some quality. It engages in the upbringing of a high proportion of children of preschool age. The wide network of basic and secondary schools is extraordinarily dense and schools have broad authority [HDR 2003]. Neither truancy nor drop outs are great problems of the Czech educational system in general. There is no particular study of these phenomena. With the exception of one study connecting the concept of social capital with topics of education [Veselý 2006], no literature directly links under-education with social capital.

Drop out pupils from basic schools are infrequently monitored because it is not considered a serious problem in general. Within the actual pupil population, the ratio of those who continued their education at secondary schools rose. Only 0.8% of students leave the educational system after finishing basic school, i.e., 9 years (post-statutory school-age drop outs). Just fewer than 2% of children failed to complete their basic school education because they have had to repeat a class in 2004. More than half of them are allowed to continue their education with vocational training.

There are no available statistical data or sources dealing with truancy, which is not considered to be a serious problem of the Czech educational system. Consequently there is no particular study of truancy on a general level for basic schools. The focus on truancy is only if it becomes a pathological problem. Truancy is predominantly monitored when children are in a special school where they are often enrolled due to their problematic behaviour in a normal basic school [Vocílka et al. 1998]. Truancy is also monitored as a first step of pathological behaviour carrier combined with such problems as vandalism, criminality and drug abuse [Večerka et al. 2000, 2004].

The Czech Republic features relatively high exclusion of socially handicapped pupils. Children from socially weak, especially Romany families, are transferred – too fast – to *special schools*, before they have had a chance to overcome early educational barriers. In vocational training, these pupils are primarily directed towards obtaining qualifications for manual occupations.

Truancy and school dropouts remain a palpable problem in the case of the Romany minority. It is crucial to recognize that young members of Roma family are strongly determined by their older male relatives. The main limitation of Roma pupils during the educational process is often the low social level of the Roma community, which puts less value on the importance of

education in relation to the majority population. Young girls obtain the lowest status in the family hierarchy, and due to values are raised to assume a maternal role as soon as possible. The negative functioning of bonding social capital stock in Roma families can be also illustrated with the subject of drug problems. Young Roma have high risk of exposure to drug use not only because of their social and economic deprivation resulting in spatial concentration in twilight city zones but because their social exclusion is often expressed in racial discrimination as well.

The National Programme for the Development of Education [White Paper 2001] focuses on supporting pupils with lower educational preconditions. The Czech government undertakes several steps to combat the inferior education of Romany minorities.

The strategy includes not only the standard educational methods, but also calls for two didactic means. The first are *preparatory classes* (a) for children from socially and culturally disadvantaged family environments (since 1993). These classes are integrated into ordinary primary schools, schools for handicapped children, and occasionally into kindergartens. In 1998, a total of 1,237 children were enrolled in 99 preparatory classes. The second is the establishment of *special assistants* (b) to assist the class teacher in the elementary schools. The assistants are recruited from people knowledgeable about this specific environment. In cases of classes with a majority of Romany minority, the class teacher can appoint a special assistant from this minority group. A project of Roma assistants with Roma pupils is a good example of a best practice in bridging social capital.

Although the number of preparatory classes and assistants is relatively high, the actual demand is higher. In a lot of municipalities with a high ratio of children from socially disadvantaged families, neither the preparatory classes were founded nor was the function of the assistant established.

The present regional handling of school education is hampered by diffuse definitions of competencies between state authorities, municipalities, and self-governance. An obstacle is also the traditional understanding of competence, by which the responsibility for education is restricted to members of the pedagogical staff and minimally to the Ministry of Education. Regarding the problems of the Romany minority, the difficulties consist of the low efficiency of adopted measures.

3. Work-life balance

The discourse on work life balance started late, after more than ten years of post-socialist transformation, and is focused mainly on work and family life harmonization by gender scholars. Forms of family have been changing significantly since 1990; declines the in marriage and birth rate, postponing the age of marriage and having children, and increases in other forms of relationships than marriage have been taking place, especially during the 1990s. The liberal stance towards family led to disinterest in having family especially by young people [Čermáková et al. 2002]. The crisis of the family has been pointed out; however, family policy did not respond considerably. The policy of equal opportunities in the family for men and women instituted only one measure; this is parental leave for both women and men from 6 months up to 4 years of age of the child, available since 2001 [Křížková 2002, Maříková 2003]. This measure could equalize the creation of social capital for men and women, both in professional and family and neighbourhood environments. So far, parental leave has not been used by men extensively; in less than 1% of families did the father take parental leave in 2005.

In the CR, the work-life balance is considered almost exclusively as referring to families with small children. Small children are mostly understood to be women's expertise. As a consequence, this topic is considered to be mainly a woman's issue [Kuchařová 2005]. Women are usually forced to spend long time on parental leave and then enter full-time employment. Roughly a third of women would like to work part-time, even though this would imply certain disadvantages for their future career.

In the CR, in most cases both parents are employed full-time. Economic activity of women is relatively high: women make up 44.8 % of workers in the labour market [Křížková 2002]. Family-friendly policies are being implemented slowly but used very rarely. If they exist, they are focused on women and not on men who are not considered in taking care of the family. This simultaneously decreases the chances of women in the labour market. In the Czech labour market, flexible forms of work are rarely used, because of conservative employers' and employees' attitudes. The Czech labour market offers very few part-time jobs. Only 8.5% of women and 2% of men work part-time. Traditional work shifts still remain in some factories and services. Besides that, another flexible type of work is used, teleworking, but also only marginally – by 4% of all employees, of which three quarters are men [Křížková 2003, Čermáková 2002].

Family-friendly policies are formally and legally of high quality, but their implementation into everyday life of Czech women and men is problematic. Also, these measures are not usually associated with sanctions for employers; therefore they tend to misuse them. Examples of the best practice of special social programmes for balancing work and life of their employees have been noticed in big Czech companies such as ČEZ and ŠKODA AUTO [Maříková 2002], or Czech IBM.

During transformation of the economy, there were changes in the structure of family care occurring, from generational transfer of care (help of grandmothers) into paid services, often expensive. The families that managed to use their social capital were better off. Presently, young people are afraid to have children because they fear a decline in their living status, so they attempt to accumulate social capital and financial means for sustaining their life [Čermáková 2002]. However, the situation with the birth-rate is slightly changing very recently due to women who were born during a baby-boom in the 1970s ceasing postponing starting families.

Work-life balance, meaning other life activities besides family, is not usually considered in the CR. However, it has been shown that there are differences between men and women in the distribution of leisure time. Women's leisure time is often fulfilled with caring for children and household activities [Václavíková-Helšusová 2003]. A Czech woman spends 25 hours per week on household activities on average, while men about 10 hours [Křížková 2002].

Paid household care services are rarely used in the Czech society, mostly because these services are not affordable for the majority of families [Hašková 2004]. Women spend their leisure time assisting their family, while men more to themselves and their hobbies. Also, women more often meet with their relatives and neighbours, while men with their friends, acquaintances and co-workers in their free time; which can influence forms of social capital [Václavíková-Helšusová 2003].

4. The impact of retirement on releasing social capital

The shift in social structure as a consequence of increasing life expectancy due to the improving standard of living, social conditions, and advances in medicine simultaneously with persistent low natality rates brings about the necessity to “establish society for all generations”; that is the starting point of the National program of preparation for aging in the period 2003-2007 [MPSV 2002]. The decisive aim is to ensure equal rights and opportunities

for individual development *pari passu* age, gender, and race. The program states the necessity to strengthen the social position of seniors in a legal framework with uncompromising abatement of any age-based discrimination and social exclusion. Its ten particular chapters involve ethical principles, natural social environments, work activities, material provisions, healthy life style and quality, senior healthcare, complex social services, social participation, education, and housing. There are 103 action points altogether with concrete tasks and responsibilities for government departments. The continuation of the program is somewhat unclear after the stalemate election result in June 2006.

The inevitability of the collapse of the Czech rent system is perpetually declared. The parameters of the pay-as-you-go system can always be balanced; however, raising insurance rates is not popular as well as decreasing the rent-to-wage ratio from the recent level of 40.7 percent (officially: net to gross) which is about 58 percent in real net incomes. Only extension of the shifting retirement age (recently up to 63) is being considered and early pensions are sanctioned by a newly permanent reduction. Retirement age is the strongest parameter: a year is worth 7 percent of either rent or insurance; however, the preferred and expected reality as given by empirical research is discordant. Men estimated their retirement age to be 62.6 years on average and prefer 4 year earlier retirement. Women estimated their age to be 59.9 but prefer retirement 4.5 years earlier [Vidovičová, Rabušic 2003].

The important sources of bonding social capital for the Czech population, with the exception of kinship, are social networks connected with work activities and rather weak relations established during school attendance. The former can be kept even after retirement partly due to parallel rent taking and working. The latter one dims out during aging. Pensioners are preferred in the labour force [Suchomelová, Vidovičová 2005]; only their job contracts are limited legally to one year and must be repeatedly renewed. Nine percent of retired workers are employed, not to mention the grey economy for labour. Many of them work primarily for material reasons (low rents, high housing costs) despite numerous elderly discounts or even free services (e.g., public transport in some cities).

Other sources of social capital are networks based on free time activities moderated by personal networks and the tens of thousands of NGOs acting in sport and leisure, and culture. They follow the needs and wishes of the engaged public, which includes many seniors despite being still largely dependent on public and mainly municipal funding. Improved health and primarily the shift in thinking influences the middle aged to lead a more active life style for more and more retired people. The emerging pensioner generation, once having brought the

social conduct code and taboos, is open-minded and even more liberal than some younger ones. This variety from paid and voluntary work, sports, leisure and hobbies up to education in third age universities is rather the domain of cities because 'there are just voluntary firemen and hunters in villages' (popular meaning). However, the Czech specific Sokol organisation (founded 1862), oriented towards recreational physical training, was renewed to a massive extent; it has 1100 units all over the country with almost 200 thousands members in 2006. Older people prevail but intense recruiting of youth is a good example of both bonding and bridging social capital.

How to face the aging society is the key question of the 21st century, from the material difficulties with the rent systems and demand for social services through adaptation to different social structures up to the possible social exclusion of seniors. The part of social capital connected with work plays a very important role because its other important sources such as wider family, voluntary organisations, local community, and especially the church are weak when compared to the EU. The daily burden of the ageing policy lies on local authorities in mandated cities with some intervention from regional governments.

5. The impact of social capital on preventing/delaying old age dependency

The main actors dealing with old age dependency are the state, municipalities, the healthcare system, family and friends, and the seniors themselves. The state provides substantial monetary sources and a legal frame. The key institutional actors in social care are the municipalities responsible by the law. Its inexplicit formulation enables municipal care institutions as well as indirect ways through non-governmental non-profit organisations. The heights of the benefits provided by the state for all day family care was heavily criticised by both specialists and ordinary persons [Barvíková 2005]. A minor revolution in the field and a shift from institutional to family care can be expected when the simultaneously and considerably raised resources are aimed directly at the individual clients by the Social Care Act from 2007. The clients as beneficiaries will have complete control over their care by paying for it. Previous social benefits were given to a restricted number of care providers only in the case that they were neither employed nor retired. Especially just retired women often caring for both seniors and grandchildren in the family will have their load partially lightened. However, refusals to be dependent on one's own children and to interfere with their lives as well as lack of willingness to give care to parents are not rare. Finally, there is a gap between health care provided free by law and social care that involves client co-payments.

The required care is estimated for 70 thousands persons in high and 300 thousands in lower levels of assistance in the Czech Republic. The 376 retirement homes and 151 boarding houses for pensioners had 38 thousand, respectively, and 12 thousand places; community care service dispensed 19 thousand apartments and had 110 thousand clients including those who visited their homes in 2004. The last mentioned service is very important in keeping the bonding social capital because seniors remain in their common environment. Some clients of the social care establishments for handicapped adults (with 6 thousand beds) belong to the senior category. The lack of places in retirement houses were substituted by 73 therapeutic institutions for long-term patients with 7 thousands places prevailingly occupied by the elderly and finally 11 hospices with 293 beds in 2004. The vast majority of these establishments remain public (where an amount comparable to the average rent is paid). There is rising demand for private ones that are four (or even more) times expensive. Czech families provide about three quarters of the care for older people. The severe shortage of retirement houses and especially pensions for seniors is an inevitable conclusion.

The sphere of social service is a traditional monopoly of the state in the Czech Republic. NGOs can aspire to become the weaker contract partners of the public administration. This model of inclination to family care as first, state institutions as second, charity, voluntary, and private commercial organisations as third, is widely accepted by the inhabitants. The preferred caregivers of elderly care were marked by the following percentages of respondents in an empirical study from 2003: partner 91, children 84, state institutions 73, charity organisations 61, paid social care 60, voluntary organisations 58, other relatives 45, neighbours and friends 26 [Vidovičová, Rabušic 2003].

Social services of all kinds were provided: 48 percent by the state, 35 percent by municipalities, 10 percent by churches and only from 7 percent by NGOs and private persons in the Czech Republic in 1999 [Vajdová 2005]. Some localities, especially small municipalities, are completely excluded from the community care service due to spatial distant location [Barvíková 2005]. Day care, night sitting service, and special services for less self-sufficient seniors belong to most of the missing operations of social service.

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Appendix

Table 1. The development of the number of NGOs, the CR 1997-2003

Type of NGO	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Civic organization, including organizational units	57 377	64 090	65 987	73 205	76 076	78 779	79 682
Public service company	60	199	539	642	726	530	609
Foundation	5 274	4 901	3 324	323	304	314	322
Endowment fund	—	71	610	736	761	781	799
Religious establishments	322	187	40	152	126	103	102
Religious organizations	3 600	4 194	4 205	4 809	4 964	4 847	4 822
Total NGOs	66 633	73 642	74 705	75 058	79 867	85 354	86 336
Increase in %	100	10.5	12.1	12.6	19.9	28.1	29.6

Source: ČSÚ (Czech Statistical Office) Data Processing Department, Department of NGO Statistics, Brno. Note: Data on the number of endowment funds have been collected since 1998.

[in Rakušanová 2005]

Table 2. Membership in voluntary organizations, the CR 2004 (percent)

	active member	passive member	member in the past	never has been member	Total
Political Party	2,7	5,5	11,7	80,1	100 %
Trade union or professional association	2,9	8,3	35,5	53,3	100 %
Church or other religious organization	4,4	15,3	6,0	74,3	100 %
Sports, leisure or cultural associations	10,9	9,7	31,4	48,0	100 %
Other voluntary association	5,9	7,5	22,4	64,2	100 %

Source: ISSP 2004 *Citizenship*

N = 1322