

Civic Council on Energy Costs in Poland (2022). Impact Assessment Report

The [Evaluation Centre](#) (OE) presents an independent report assessing the impact of 'the Civic Council on Energy Costs'.

The 'Civic Council on Energy Costs' was held by Shipyard Foundation in 2022.

The study was carried out from June 2023 to February 2024¹.

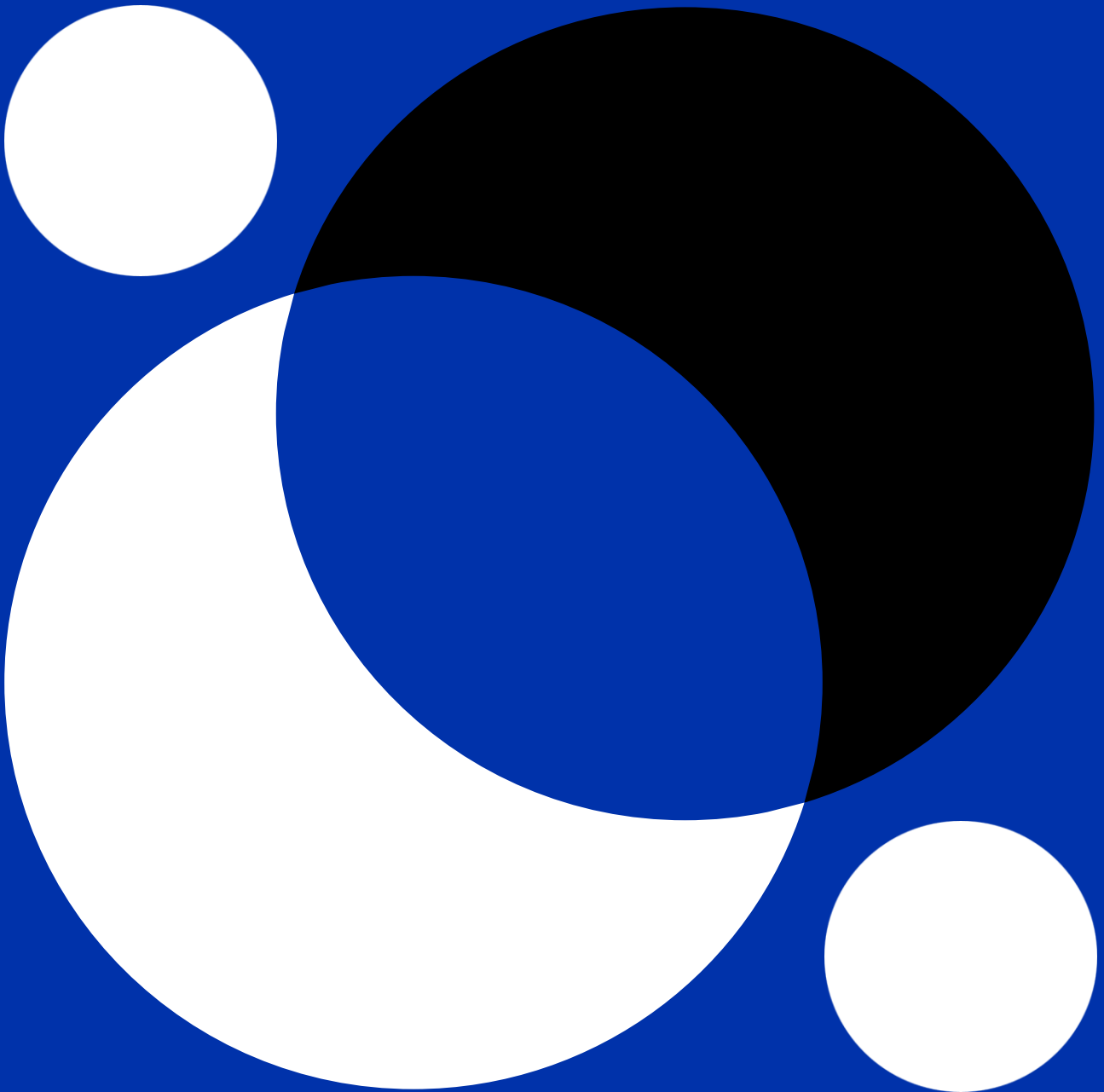
We would like to thank all respondents for their participation in the study and their readiness to share their opinions.

We would also like to thank the Shipyard Foundation for their support which allowed us to carry out this independent research.

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Main findings

Introduction

The Evaluation Centre presents an independent impact assessment report. The aim of the study was to determine and assess the impact of the ‘Civic Council on Energy Costs’ conducted in Poland by the Shipyard Foundation in 2022.

The Civic Council² consisted of 2 processes:

- local civic councils in 45 locations (700 participants)
- nationwide citizens' assembly at the central level (96 participants and experts).

The study was conducted between June 2023 and February 2024. It was mainly a qualitative study. The total of 42 interviews were conducted with assembly participants, experts, representatives of both the government and local government institutions, as well as politicians. 53 legal, political and expert documents from the years 2021-2023 were also analysed.

The report shows the areas and types of impact, as well as descriptive examples of changes in 3 chapters:

- political
- social
- systemic

The study covered different types and areas of impact developed by the Impact Evaluation Framework commissioned by the Knowledge Network on Climate Assemblies (KNOCA)³.

² From now on in this report it will be referred to mainly as the ‘Civic Council’ or ‘Citizens Council’.

³ <https://www.knoca.eu/guidances-documents/impact-evaluation-framework>

Main findings

The Civic Council on Energy Costs in Poland was the first deliberative process with a national scope. The nationwide citizens' assembly and local civic councils contributed to changes in the political, social, and systemic areas⁴.

- Political impact is defined as changes in public policy and political decision-making, as well as changes in law.
- Social impact is specified as the influence on attitudes and behaviours of participants, on public discourse and the involvement of society, third sector organisations, and the media.
- Systemic impact refers to effects on systems and systems-thinking and is defined as a sum of bottom-up changes and building the network of knowledge and practice.

However, the scale, as well as scope and significance of changes vary. The social impact is the largest – conceptual and in terms of organisational capacity. The citizens' assembly and local councils increased awareness and knowledge of energy poverty among participants and the broader public, fostering community engagement and advocacy. 33% of population have heard about the nationwide citizens' assembly (in March 2023) and in the media information about the assembly no negative impact was noted.

The systemic impact is also significant and has the potential for future development. The report highlights the development of a culture of dialogue and deliberation, promoting democratic practices and influencing public policy on energy poverty and climate action.

I have a sense of agency. Even if something does not immediately start to happen after this conversation, I still have a feeling that someone has decided that what I have to say and what I want to share is important. That is what we lack on a daily basis. I think that in many matters that are socially important, it would be worth having such conversations.

⁴ In accordance with the adopted model of the KNOCA'S impact evaluation framework for climate assemblies.

Assembly participant 7

The least change has occurred in the political area. Examples of the impact on party electoral programs and policy discussions were identified in the study. However direct legal changes remain a challenge. Notably, no negative impacts were emerged in the political area and the assembly's recommendations are seen by all the stakeholders as aligning with ongoing national efforts for a just energy transition.

Currently, the impact of the nationwide assembly and local civic councils is often individual and punctual, but has great scalability potential. It can be expected that it will increase in the future due to, among others, the change in the political situation in Poland.

The assembly reinforced the public discussion on energy poverty. In substantive matters concerning, for instance, energy transformation, prosumer energy, or renewable energy sources (RES), the nationwide assembly and local civic councils are in line with the general trend, as activities are carried out by various entities, in divergent groups, and at a few levels of government.

In the area of both methods and design of participation, as well as citizens' deliberation, the Civic Council on Energy Costs sets a trend. This is a successful example of deliberation (carried out in a bottom-up manner by an NGO) at the central level and in local communities. Positive reception by assembly participants, NGOs and politicians proves that such deliberative processes are needed and expected. The gained experience, combined with the expertise of the Shipyard Foundation, is the basis for further changes in this area, e.g. involving citizens in the development of public policies at various levels.

Table 1. “Importance of the impact of the Civic Council on Energy Costs and its development potential” rating of averages.

Type of impact/ Area of impact	Instrumental impacts: <i>Changes to how things work and what happens: policies, behaviour, practice</i>	Conceptual impacts: <i>Changes to how people think: knowledge, understanding, attitudes</i>	Capacity-building impacts: <i>Changes to what people do: skills development, ability, confidence</i>
Policy: Effects on public policy and political decision-making Key actors: policy-makers,			

2	politicians, parliamentarians, civil servants, advisory bodies			
3				
4	Social: Effects on public discourse and public, business and civil society engagement Key actors: public, media, businesses and third-sector organisations			
5				
	Systemic: Effects on democratic systems and systems-thinking			

Source: summary of grades from 1 to 5 (where 1 is a very low grade and 5 – a very high grade) provided by the team of researchers involved in the study and the analysis of the results. Prepared by the Evaluation Centre

The implementation of the Civic Council on Energy Costs was influenced by a few key factors:

1. Energy poverty became a major public issue in Poland in 2022 due to the economic and energy crisis, especially after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine. Due to rising energy prices, that topic attracted the attention of the media, experts, and citizens. Public fears were growing that in the winter of 2022/2023, homes would run out of electricity and gas. The Civic Council was a clear response of a civic organisation to the following growing crises: energy, inflation, and social ones. The moment of conducting it was a factor that increased the importance of the assembly and its results.
2. In Poland, there had been no previously known and disseminated experience in the organisation of nationwide debates and such advanced deliberation processes. The Polish society lacks knowledge of the methods of deliberation and participation, their use and trust in them. Therefore, the assembly was a bottom-up, social experiment on a large, nationwide scale.

3. Poland has become increasingly divided in recent years. It is not only the political scene but also society that has been polarised. Cooperation, dialogue and trust have become increasingly difficult in a public life. This has a negative implication for relations in Polish society.
4. The assembly was run from the bottom up by a civic organisation, not a government institution. On the one hand, it was a hindrance, since the possibilities of the assembly's impact were smaller, especially in the field of politics, dissemination of the verdict, and its use in public policies. On the other hand, in the polarised Polish society, it was valuable for the participants that it was not dominated by one of the parties of the political dispute.
5. The Shipyard Foundation is an expert organisation in the field of participation, it had not previously dealt with energy and climate issues. While leading the national citizens' assembly, it had to simultaneously build its position in that area, as well as involve a team of experts from various fields related to energy poverty. After the end of the assembly, it turned out that there was no single organisation or institution that could continue to act as an ambassador for its proposals. The Shipyard continued to specialise in social participation and deliberation, whereas for expert organisations, the results of the assembly were too broad and complex, so they went beyond the specialisation of each entity.
6. The Civic Council on Energy Costs was devoted to energy poverty – climate issues were not its main topic. Hence, the impact of the assembly on the overall climate policy is limited.

Below we present the conclusions of the study divided into 3 areas of impact: political, social and systemic, in accordance with the adopted model of the impact of KNOCA climate assemblies.

Political impact

We define political impact as changes in public policy and political decision-making, as well as changes in law that occurred after the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs and local civic councils.

- **The assembly had impact on politicians and their thinking about both energy poverty and just transition.** At the presentation of the results of the assembly in December 2022, most politicians declared their knowledge of the problem and understanding of its importance.
- The verdict of the assembly and the conclusions of local civic councils were an interesting, but not the only source of knowledge for the representatives of the government . It was enriching to get to know the perspective of the citizens. The experience of participating in discussions and the proposals put forward by "ordinary people" were particularly valuable.
- The nationwide assembly **lacked the engagement of representatives of public institutions and the most important political parties** because it was organised by civil society and not a government ministry. It was not linked to a policy cycle and it was one of the basic factors that limited the assembly's influence on national policy, or changes in law.
- It is likely that in the current political system (since the parliamentary elections in October 2023 where there was a change in power in the government), the knowledge from the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs will be used to a greater extent, also in public institutions.
- The assembly helped these topics enter into the public debate more in 2023, and therefore the electoral programmes of all major political parties included provisions related to the energy transition. Many of them overlapped with the selected recommendations from the national citizens' assembly. The party's proposals concerned, among others, renewable energy, prosumer energy, the role of local advisors, as well as the participation of citizens in the transition.
- So far, the citizens' assembly on energy costs **has not caused changes in the law at the central level.** There have been no mechanisms for using the results of assemblies in legislative processes in Poland yet. Legal and legislative impacts take a long-time to come into existence, so more long-term effects could take place out of the scope of this study.

- Politicians and representatives of local governments have found that an assembly and councils **provide in-depth knowledge, so they can constitute an alternative to the public opinion survey**. They have also seen the value of social participation: that it is constructive, it brings new ways of thinking and solving problems.
- At the local level, the most frequently indicated effect of councils is **increasing knowledge and better understanding of different perspectives**. An obstacle to the impact of local civic councils is low knowledge about energy poverty and low public awareness of the importance of such meetings. The potential effects of councils were also reduced by their short duration (2-3 hours).
- An important change in the political area is **increasing the knowledge of organisers of local civic councils about methods of deliberation and participation, as well as gaining experience in conducting such meetings**. Having knowledge about energy poverty, these entities can actively engage in the public debate on energy poverty, or other socially important topics, as well as involve citizens.
- At the local level, thanks to councils, the **need to develop the competences of officials** related to conducting meetings and consultations with residents was recognised.

Social impact

We define social impact as the influence of the national citizens' assembly on energy costs and local civic councils on attitudes and behaviours of participants, on public discourse and the involvement of society, third sector organisations, and the media.

- The most crucial outcome of the citizens' assembly was **gaining knowledge about energy poverty**. The knowledge was passed on by experts, but the second valuable source were other participants, as well as the exchange of opinions and experiences between them.
- The assembly and councils resulted in **changing the thinking of the participants and exceeding individual needs and problems** in the search for solutions good for the general public.
- The nationwide citizens' assembly caused **changes in the individual and private behaviours of some of the assembly participants**.

- Moreover, it contributed to their social involvement in the activities of non-governmental organisations and enterprises, the creation of local publications and educational activities. Additionally, the effects had a wider impact, as the participants of the citizens' assembly shared their knowledge and experience with people from their communities.
- Participation in the national citizens' assembly proved to be **particularly useful for people who had previously undertaken social activities**, e.g. in local non-governmental organisations. They use knowledge and experience at work, e.g. they provide information on opportunities to reduce energy poverty, or engage in local climate protection activities.
 - Some **assembly participants expanded their social networks**. They continue to use the contacts established during the citizens' assembly: both among the experts present during the assembly and other active participants. In this way, they further develop awareness and knowledge of the energy transition and related social or environmental issues.
 - After the assembly, behavioural and attitudinal impacts could be observed e.g. some participants decided to replace their own heating sources, or take part in the thermal modernisation support programme, e.g. "Clean Air".
 - Thanks to the **assembly, the participants' sense of agency and confidence** in speaking out in public matters have increased.
 - **The strength of the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs was the involvement of a wide range of experts**. Thanks to that, the state-of-the-art knowledge from many thematic areas was used during the discussions.
 - Participation in the assembly was also useful for expert organisations. It translated primarily into **additional knowledge and the development of the network of relations with other entities**. The assembly has not significantly changed their areas of specialisation, but it has opened organisations to cooperation and an interdisciplinary approach.
 - By the end of 2023, the Citizens' Council did not lead to the creation of a coalition to reduce energy poverty, which would include people and organisations involved in the nationwide assembly. However, there is an openness of the organisations to cooperate in the future. The assembly process and experience will facilitate coordination when needed.
 - According to the experts, **the impact of the citizens' assembly is limited, in terms of changes in the substantive area of their**

- organisation.** Nevertheless, they do use the recommendations that are relevant to their lines of work.
- Some organisations of the third sector – participating in the assembly – have begun to emphasise more **the value of deliberation in the public discussion** about energy poverty and climate policy. Participants also appreciate deliberation as an effective method of social dialogue and policy making, useful in the most socially important topics.
 - The nationwide citizens' assembly **has contributed to the increased interest of the media and the public in energy poverty.** There were two periods: spring 2023 and autumn 2023 to spring 2024, when significantly more information about the nationwide citizens' assembly was published. The media impact of the panel was visible on a national level and in selected provinces. Media interest in the nationwide citizens' assembly and energy poverty may increase in the future if its topics break through to the large, national, and opinion-forming media and if a group of journalists interested in the topic can be established for a longer period of time.
 - The citizens' assembly has been recognised as a way of **reducing polarisation in social life.** Assembly participants and experts believe that this method should be used more frequently in the Polish political life as a source of knowledge about problems and needs.

Systemic impact

We define systemic impact as the sum of bottom-up changes and building the network of knowledge and practice. Such changes are slow, "organic" and inert.

- **One of the systemic changes is the increase in the importance of social discourse in public decisions.** Thanks to the citizens' assembly, the awareness of decision-makers from various institutions – both at the central and local government levels – that the voice of citizens should be taken into account has increased. However, the challenge remains to engage citizens in discussions. This applies mainly to the residents of smaller towns, where there is the lack of

awareness and positive experience in participation – both on the part of officials and residents.

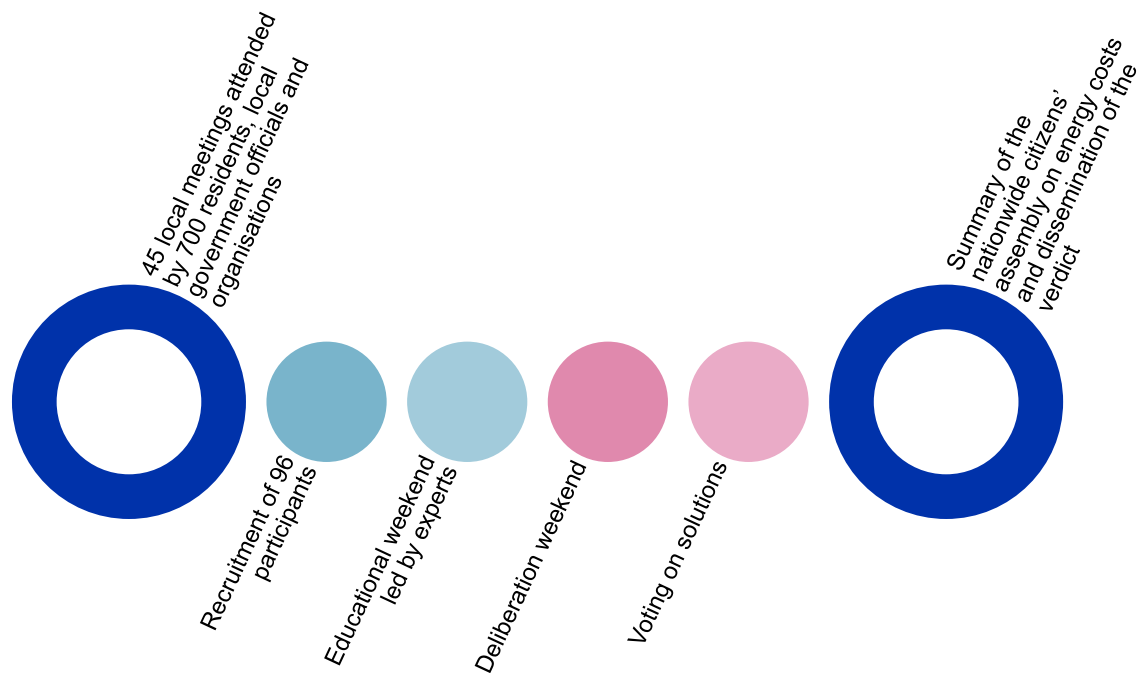
- **Greater public importance has been given to energy poverty.** Thanks to the nationwide assembly and local civic councils, the problem has been publicised, and interest in it has increased. Previously, energy poverty used to be treated as a marginal topic. Thanks to the assembly and the verdict, it has become a public and political matter.
- The nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs has significantly contributed to **the creation of the language for describing energy poverty and establishing both the conceptual set and definitions.**
- The citizens' assembly and local civic councils have contributed to the **greater integration of social problems** – both in terms of the awareness of various actors of public life and at the level of activities. The participants of the assembly better understand that energy poverty translates into air quality in the city, or solving the problem of energy poverty can also prevent loneliness of the elderly (thanks to co-housing). The need for cross-sectoral cooperation in solving social problems is also more strongly articulated.
- **Building the culture of listening and dialogue as a result of the assembly and local civic councils** can be considered another systemic change. This is a response to a more and more recognised social need in Poland. However, experts claim that maintaining the culture of listening and dialogue requires civic education at many levels.
- The systemic impact of the citizens' assembly can generally be described as **the preparation for a social change**. Not only does the change take place in public policies, but also in the consciousness, mentality **and attitudes** of people who have gone through the experience of the nationwide assembly and local civic councils.
- **In expert discourse, the importance of participation has increased.** Experts appreciate the importance of dialogue and involving citizens, the so-called "ordinary people", in the creation of public policies.

Subject of the study

The study of the impact of the Civic Council on Energy Costs included two processes carried out by the Shipyard Foundation between March and December 2022: local meetings of various places and regions of Poland⁵ and a nationwide citizens assembly.

The Civic council on energy costs on energy costs aimed at common reflection of the citizens on the issue of energy costs and the phenomenon of energy poverty. Its **main stages** were as follows:

Drawing 1. Main stages of the Civic Council on Energy Costs:



Source: Own study

The Shipyard Foundation invited partners specialising in various topics related to energy poverty, such as:

- poverty,
- supporting people in difficult life situations,
- environmental and climate protection,
- consumer rights,

⁵ <https://naradaoenergii.pl/mapa-narad-lokalnych/> [Accessed: 12.02.2024]

- air quality,
- energy efficiency,
- housing conditions,
- public policies,
- energy,
- sustainable development,
- participation and deliberation.

Approximately **100 recommendations**⁶ were developed during the nationwide assembly. They concerned various dimensions of the fight against energy poverty. The following demands received the greatest support among voters:

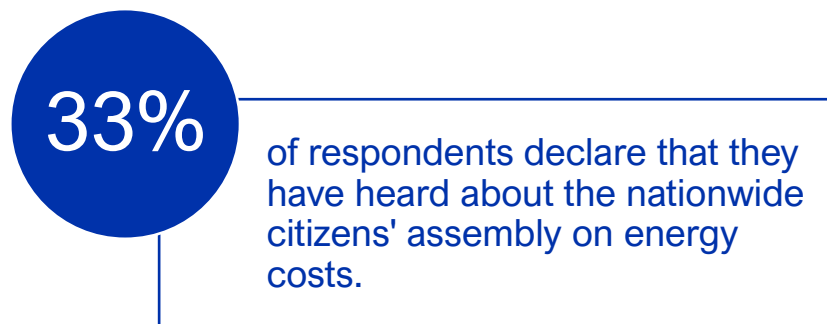
1. creating a 15-year-long energy strategy and providing funds for its implementation,
2. more precise targeting of activities and financial resources – to the most needy,
3. modernisation of the power grid, especially in terms of connecting renewable energy sources to it,
4. increasing the share of renewable energy sources in the national energy mix,
5. enabling the operation of prosumer energy – the so-called ‘local energy communities’,
6. broader information about the problem and available solutions,
7. more accessible energy advice – greater scale and efficiency of reaching,
8. "one window", in which all issues related to improving the energy efficiency of the building can be solved,

⁶ <https://naradaoenergii.pl/werdykt-assembly-obywatelskiego-wnioski/> [Accessed: 20.02.2024]

All recommendations available at: <https://naradaoenergii.pl/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/podsumowanieassemblyobywatelski.pdf> [Access: 20.02.2024]

9. increasing the availability of cheap, energy-efficient housing,
10. supporting local solutions (bottom-up and local government) to counteract energy poverty.

The recommendations from the nationwide citizens' assembly were presented at a public event in the presence of the participants, experts, politicians and selected media in Warsaw, December 6, 2022. The information about the assembly and its verdict was also provided to the representatives of the national authorities, local governments, parliament, non-governmental organisations, think tanks and citizens involved in both local meetings and the nationwide assembly, as well as to the media. The nationwide survey conducted in March 2023 shows that information reached 33% of the population:



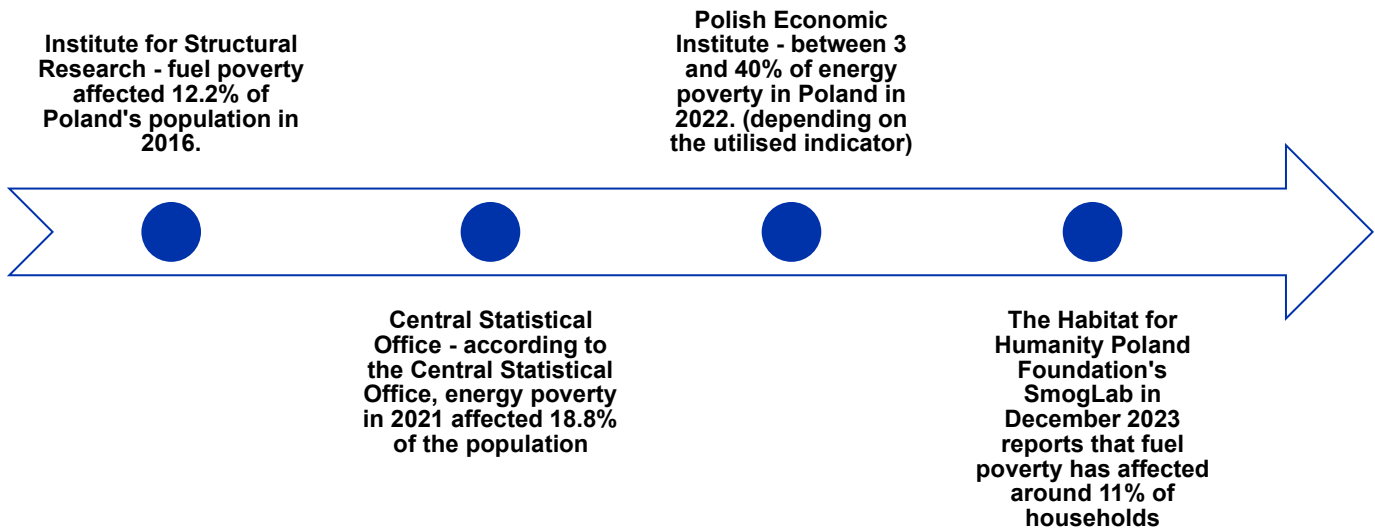
Source: Citizens' Assembly Survey, CATI method n=1000, March 2023, More in Common and IPSOS (PL)

National context

The problem of energy poverty in Poland has been present in the public debate since at least 2016. Since then, expert studies and research results have been published, including these obtained by the Institute of Public Affairs

and the Institute for Structural Research, or the Habitat for Humanity Poland Foundation. The sample test results⁷ are collected below:

Drawing 2. Examples of research results related to the scale of energy poverty



Source: The Evaluation Centre's (OE) own study

⁷ https://ibs.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/IBS_Research_Report_pl_01_2018.pdf
<https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5485/12/2/1/zuzycie-energii-w-gospodarstwach-domowych-w-2021-r.pdf> [Accessed: 14.03.2024]
https://pie.net.pl/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/PIE-Raport_Ubostwo_energetyczne_2023.pdf [Access: 14.03.2024]
[Will energy poverty end under the new power? Hope is not lacking, although there is a lot to do – SmogLab](https://www.habitatforhumanity.org.pl/SmogLab) [Accessed: 14.03.2024]

In the Polish law, **the first definition of energy poverty** was introduced in the Energy Law Act (established in 1997). It highlights profitable, market and technical factors of the problem that have not always been taken into account before in the creation of public programmes and policies aimed at limiting this phenomenon:

Energy poverty means a situation, in which a household run by one person or several people together in a self-contained dwelling, or in a single-family residential building, where no economic activity is carried out, cannot provide itself with the sufficient level of heat, cold and electricity to power the devices, as well as lighting, where the household meets the following conditions cumulatively:

- 1) it exacerbates low income;
- 2) it bears high expenditure on energy purposes;
- 3) it concerns an apartment or building with low energy efficiency.

[Energy Law Act \(1997\)](#)

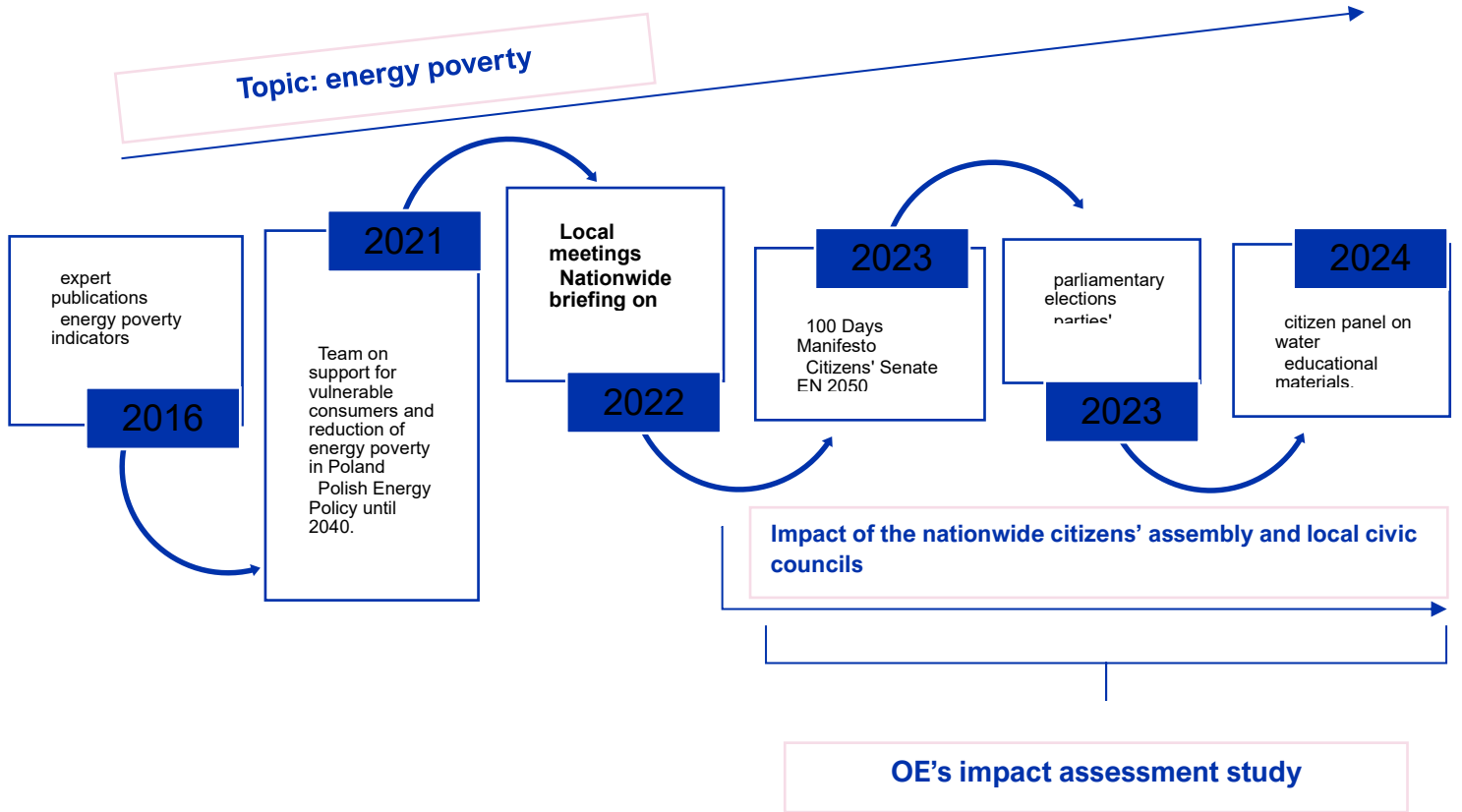
In 2018, the Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology organised a seminar for administration and experts on energy poverty in Poland⁸. In 2021, a team was established at the Ministry of Climate and Environment to support vulnerable recipients and reduce energy poverty in Poland. The team has developed, among others, a list of good practices in the prevention of energy poverty⁹.

Energy poverty was also included in [Poland's energy policy until 2040](#) – a strategic document for the fuel and energy sector. The document sets a goal of reducing energy poverty to the maximum of 6%.

⁸ <https://www.gov.pl/web/rozwoj-technologia/ubostwo-energetyczne-dotyka-nadal-46-mln-polakow-glownie-mieszkanow-terenow-wiejskich-i-mniejszych-miast> [Accessed: 8.04.2024]

⁹ [How to support the recipient of sensitive energy and reduce energy poverty? The Bank of Good Practices is now available to municipalities - Ministry of Climate and Environment - Gov.pl Portal \(www.gov.pl\)](#) _ [Accessed: 8.04.2024]

Drawing 3.Energy poverty in Poland - development of the subject and time frame of the impact study



Source: OE own study

Results

The results of the study are presented in the KNOCA¹⁰ impact matrix system. In separate chapters, we describe the political, social and systemic impact. Wherever possible, we also analyse the types of impact – instrumental, conceptual, and capacity building.

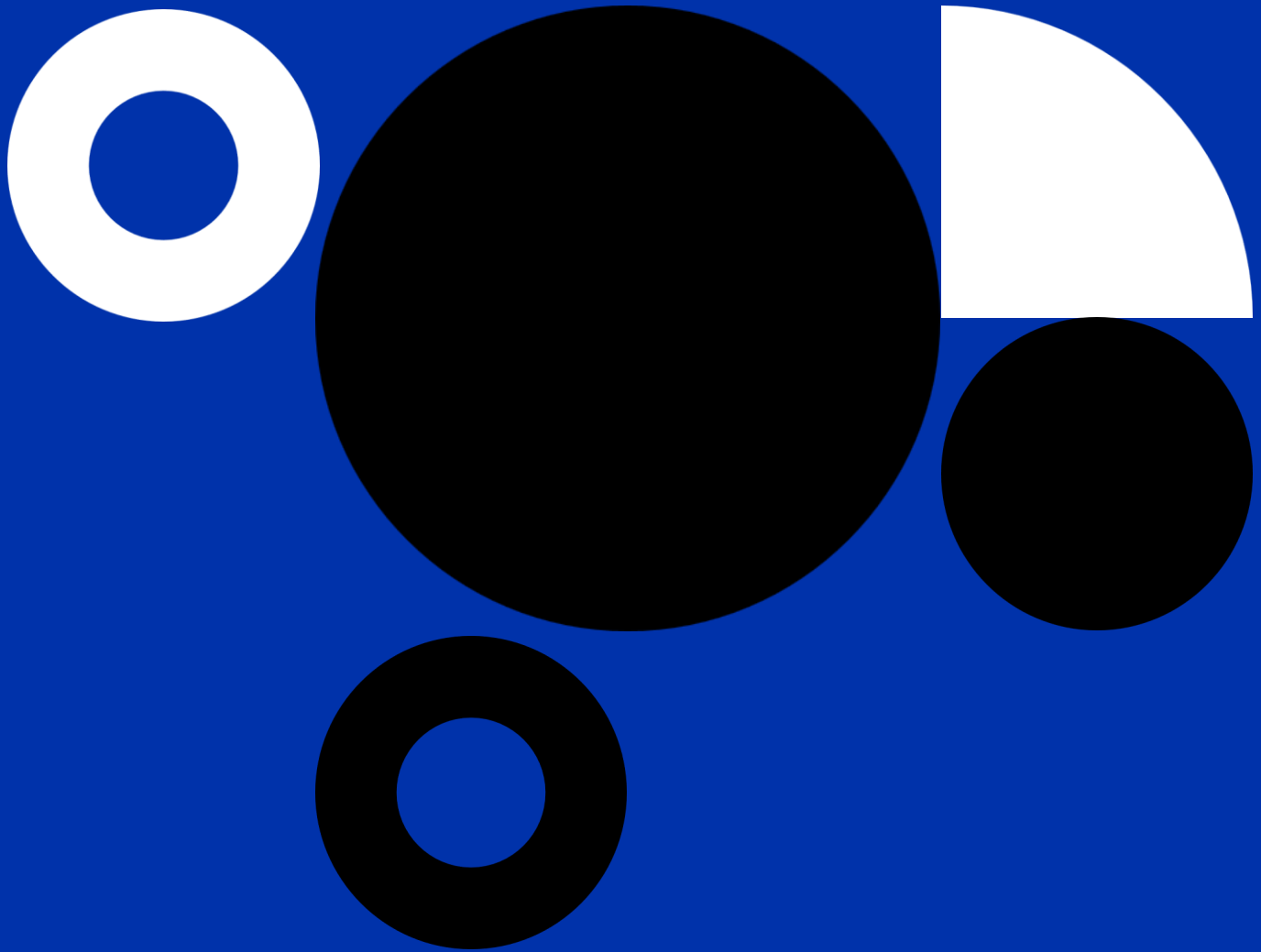
Table 2. The Impact Evaluation Framework

Type of impact/ Area of impact	Instrumental impact: <i>Changes to how things work and what happens: policies, behaviour, practice</i>	Conceptual impact: <i>Changes to how people think: knowledge, understanding, attitudes</i>	Capacity-building impact: <i>Changes to what people do: skills development, ability, confidence</i>
<p>Policy: Effects on public policy and political decision-making Key actors: policy-makers, politicians, parliamentarians, civilians servants, advisory bodies</p>	<p>Changes to climate policy and legislation, and the resulting climate action Changes to political debate/positions on climate change and climate action</p>	<p>Changes to policy-makers' knowledge and understanding of diverse public perspectives on climate policy issues Changes to policy-makers' understanding of and attitudes towards climate change and climate action Clarification of roles and responsibilities for climate action</p>	<p>Capacity-building focused on specific climate recommendations and policy areas Capacity-building to improve the understanding of and integrating public perspectives into climate policy Changes to (or new) political coalitions, networks, or cross-party collaborations</p>
<p>Social: Effects on public discourse, as well as public, business and citizens' engagement Key actors: public, media, businesses and third-sector organisations</p>	<p>Changes to public climate action/behaviour change Changes to media practices and coverage on climate issues and action Changes to climate policies and practices in businesses and organisations</p>	<p>Changes to key actors' knowledge and understanding of diverse perspectives on climate policy issues Changes to key actors' understanding of and attitudes towards climate change and climate action Clarification of roles and responsibilities for climate action</p>	<p>Capacity-building in the media to support new formats and ways of communicating about climate change (and public perspectives) Capacity-building within business and third-sector organisations to support new climate action initiatives Capacity-building focused on enabling key</p>

¹⁰ <https://www.knoea.eu/guidances-documents/impact-evaluation-framework>
[Accessed: 04.02.2024]

			groups in society to participate in decision making
Systemic: Effects on democratic systems and systems-thinking	Changes to democratic systems/forms of governance Systems-thinking embedded in decision making and governance	Changes to understanding of and attitudes towards the use of deliberative processes Changes to understanding of climate change as challenging, more foundational aspects of society, Increased trust and sense of empowerment among the public	Capacity-building focused on the use of deliberative processes and new forms of governance Capacity-building focused on addressing climate change from the systemic perspective

Source: Knowledge Network on Climate Assemblies (KNOCA)



Political impact

In this chapter, we present the impact of the civic council on energy costs on **public policy and political decision-making** by politicians of parties and in institutions at the central level. We also describe the impact of local civic councils at the local government level.

The chapter is divided into 3 parts, in which we describe 3 types of impact: instrumental, conceptual, and organisational.

Instrumental impact¹¹

In October 2023, parliamentary elections were held in Poland. The electoral programmes of the main political parties¹² included provisions on the energy transition. Many of them coincided with the recommendations from the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs, including those concerning renewable energy of prosumer energy, local advisors, as well as the participation of citizens.

It is impossible to assess the extent, to which the provisions included in the programmes of political parties resulted from the Citizens' assembly. On the other hand, it can be assumed that the summary of the assembly and the collected proposals were one of the sources of knowledge.

1. **Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition)** in the document "100 specifics for the first 100 days of the government"¹³ draws attention to "sensitive recipients" and declares actions addressed directly to them:

We will "freeze" gas prices in 2024 for households and vulnerable consumers at 2023 prices.

100 specifics for the first 100 days of the government

Koalicja Obywatelska also declares the development of prosumer energy: favourable rules for accounting for energy produced for prosumers and the creation of 700 local energy communities generating their own, cheaper electricity. This is in line with the recommendations of the Citizens' assembly.

2. **Lewica** (left-wing) in their "KW Nowa Lewica Electoral Programme"¹⁴ declares the modernisation of the Polish energy network and maintaining low energy bills. It also proposes co-financing the thermal modernisation and replacement of heat sources. In addition, the Committee ensures that there will be

¹¹ **Instrumental impact** includes provisions in political programmes, their implementation, and changes in political debate, strategies, as well as proposals.

¹² <https://www.politico.eu/europe-poll-of-polls/poland/> [Accessed: 02.05.2023]

¹³ <https://platforma.org/upload/document/201/attachments/413/100%20konkretow-pdf.pdf> [Accessed: 02.12.2023]

¹⁴ <https://klub-lewica.org.pl/program#ZIELONY-LAD> [Accessed: 02.12.2023]

an energy advisor in each municipality. The programme also includes the topic of prosumer energy in the context of energy communities and cooperatives. Civic participation is indicated as an important element in investments in renewable energy sources.

3. Coalition **Trzecia Droga** (Third Way) (PSL and Poland 2050), in the document "Joint List of Matters" ¹⁵ emphasises the development of prosumer energy. There is also a demand for energy security in addition to energy independence. Citizens' participation is also indicated, although it is not related to energy, or climate issues. Politicians from both parties from the Trzecia Droga were interested in the assembly and its results. They also took part in meetings with the Shipyard Foundation. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Citizens' assembly on energy costs had a greater impact on their electoral programme than in other parties.
4. The least common with the demands of the Citizens' assembly is **Konfederacja** (Confederation). The party in the document entitled "Of the Constitution of Freedom"¹⁶ declares to provide an energy mix and prosumer solutions. It emphasises the need to reduce regulation and bureaucracy as one of the ways to ensure local energy security. Although it points to diverse energy sources, such as geothermal energy, small nuclear reactors, biogas plants, as well as small hydro, wind and solar power plants, it also questions the EU Climate and Energy Package and declares its departure from the European Green Deal, while maintaining coal mining and consumption.
5. The problem of energy poverty is described in the electoral programme of **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość** (Law and Justice) ("Safe Future of Poles"¹⁷). No other party than PiS uses the term "energy poverty" in its election programmes. PiS as a means of reducing energy poverty declares support for thermo

¹⁵ <https://polska2050.pl/wspolna-lista-spraw-gotowa/> [Accessed: 02.12.2023]

¹⁶ https://konfederacja.pl/app/uploads/Konfederacja_WiN_Program_2023-1.pdf
[Accessed: 02.12.2023]

¹⁷ <https://pis.org.pl/dokumenty> [Accessed: 02.12.2023]

modernisation, replacement of heat sources, and prosumer energy.

In addition to issues related to the energy transformation, the impact of the assembly on energy costs on the proposals of the Polska 2050 party regarding social participation was also identified. The leader of the party, Szymon Hołownia, at a press conference on the same day as the summary of the nationwide citizens' assembly, proposed the 'Civic Senate':

Democracy is not just about elections, so it is time to establish a 'Civic senate' composed of 100 residents from various parts of Poland. The government will have 90 days to address their recommendations in three generational areas.

Portal X

This idea was developed by the Strategies 2050 Institute (a think tank of Szymon Hołownia's party). In the concept published in February 2023, the Citizens' assembly of Shipyard Foundation is indicated as a good practice worth repeating¹⁸. However, the very term "Civic senate" later began to raise doubts among politicians - that it could be perceived as an idea of liquidating the Senate and therefore, the party did not promote that idea.

Despite the topic of energy costs and energy poverty being included in the party manifestos, it was not a big feature in the campaign debates before the parliamentary elections in 2023. The political debate focused on other topics, including the rule of law, health care, and education.

The political change after the parliamentary elections in October 2023 has increased the chance of implementing the proposals of the assembly on energy costs. Political and legal changes postulated in the assembly's verdict may take place in the future, as they are consistent with the direction of changes adopted in Poland by the ruling coalition (Koalicja Obywatelska, Trzecia Droga, and Lewica).

¹⁸ <https://strategie2050.pl/publikacje/senat-obywatelski-demokracja-nie-tylko-dla-wybranych-i-wybieranych/> [Accessed: 08.03.2024]

Many proposals of the assembly were included in the coalition agreement¹⁹, among others, that an important element of the transformation will be the fight against energy poverty. Importantly, it appears in the passage concerning dialogue and arrangements with the social side:

We confirm our willingness to conduct dialogue and respect the arrangements made with the social side. We will take care of fair transformation, taking into account the safety of employees in the energy sector. An important element of the transformation will be the fight against energy poverty.
Coalition agreement

The ruling coalition also declares the creation of a stable law supporting just energy transition by building financial and technological support systems. In addition, it announces the modernisation and expansion of transmission and distribution networks, as well as an increase in the share of renewable energy sources in electricity production. One of the foundations of the energy market will be prosumer energy, which is to provide millions of citizens with the opportunity to participate in the energy production process. All these proposals are consistent with the assembly's recommendations.

The convergence of the results of the Citizens' assembly and the actions of the new government can also be seen in the National Energy and Climate Plan for 2021-2030 (NECP) updated in February 2024²⁰. A whole chapter is devoted to energy poverty, and the introduction emphasises the importance of citizens:

The inspiration for this documentary were people, with their specific needs, dreams and often fears.
KPEiK

The paradox of political impact

The representatives of all major political parties spoke at the summary of the Citizens' assembly in December 2022. They emphasised that the assembly's

¹⁹Coalition Agreement of Koalicja Obywatelska, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, Polska 2050, and Nowa Lewica signed on October 10, 2023
<https://platforma.org/upload/document/203/attachments/433/UmowaKoalicyjna.pdf>
[Accessed: 03.04.2024]

²⁰National Energy and Climate Plan 2021-2030
<https://www.gov.pl/web/klimat/krajowy-plan-na-rzecz-energii-i-klimatu> [Accessed 04.04.2024]

proposals are obvious to them and are already included in the programmes of their parties. According to one expert, such opinions of politicians may prove the importance of the assembly:

They acknowledged the validity of what was worked out during the Citizens' assembly to the point that they claimed it was theirs.

Expert NGO1

Thus, one can see here **the paradox of limited political impact**: on the one hand, the results of the assembly are essential for politicians because they come from citizens, but on the other hand, they can "tie the power's hands". Perhaps for this reason, politicians did not want to recognise officially the importance of the assembly's recommendations and commit to fulfilling them, especially since the assembly on energy costs was organised outside the mainstream of politics. Besides, local politicians are also cautious about the results of the local civic councils:

A catalogue of solutions has been developed, while councilors, due to their local interests and constituencies, do not want these changes.

Civic council organiser 5

This study did not collect unequivocal statements from politicians from the parties that the citizens' assembly and its verdict had direct impact on their proposals. Similarly, other respondents in the study also emphasised that it was difficult for them to reliably separate the impact of the assembly or local civic councils. They indicated them as one of the elements of change in Poland, and not the main reason:

It was another brick, but probably no one in the city treated it as the main event that changed our perspective.

Civic council organizer 5

An example of the impact at the regional level is **linking the energy transformation with the reduction of energy poverty in the new (currently being developed) development strategy of the Lower Silesian Voivodeship**. A non-governmental organisation's representative admits that it was participation in the civic council and knowledge about the nationwide assembly that mobilised the authors of the strategy to include these topics in it.

Factors increasing political impact

Regarding political impact, an important factor has been **change in the position of politicians**. Two examples of politicians' participating in the citizens' assembly are presented below. Their personal involvement may contribute to increasing the impact of the citizens' assembly in the political area in the future.

Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 party was involved in the presentation of the summary of the assembly's results. Currently, the party is in the ruling coalition, and the leader of the party has become a Speaker of the Parliament (Sejm). On a daily basis, he makes attempts to include mechanisms of deliberation in public debate. For example, in January 2024, the speaker announced that he would organise a Citizens' assembly on public media²¹ in the parliament. During the protests of farmers in Poland (March 2024), he proposed a "round table" with the participation of farmers and politicians, as well as encouraged systematic talks.

Another example of a change in the position is the transition of a politician from the city office to the Senate of the Republic of Poland. The vice-president of Bytom organised a civic council. He also took an active part in the presentation of the summary of the nationwide assembly. In October 2023, he became a senator and a member of the Senate Climate and Environment Committee. He has declared that he would like to increase the knowledge of senators about the energy transformation, smog, and the methods of combating it. Therefore, it is possible that in the future, the knowledge and experience of both politicians gained during the assembly may serve them in further political activities, both in the field of energy and climate, as well as social participation.

Difficulties in achieving instrumental impact

The Citizens' assembly on energy costs **has not yet caused changes in the law at the central level**. And there are several reasons for this:

- The assembly was conducted on a grassroots basis by a non-governmental organisation, apart from the institutions responsible for legislation in Poland.

²¹ <https://www.pap.pl/aktualnosci/holownia-zorganizuje-w-sejmie-assembly-poswiecony-mediom-publicznym-0> [Accessed: 2.05.2024]

- The citizens' assembly is a relatively new form in Poland. For the time being, there are no developed mechanisms for using the results of the assembly in legislative processes.
- Legal impacts often take a long-term to materialise, so at the time of the study, it was not possible to identify the very impact of the assembly.
- In case of energy crisis after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in February 2022, the Polish state institutions had to prepare regulations to ensure energy security of all citizens, so "energy poverty" of selected groups was not their priority.
- An obstacle to the use of the results of the assembly is the departmental division of public administration in Poland. The dispersion of topics from the Citizens' assembly to various departments of administration (e.g. climate and social affairs) makes it difficult to implement the verdict in the work of ministries.
- Another difficulty is the short-term interest of politicians in both the topic of energy poverty and the form of work of the Citizens' assembly:

New topics are constantly appearing in public discussion, but it is difficult to program them, as the attention of the party and their recipients is short-term.

Shipyards Foundation – workshop with the team

The Shipyards Foundation tried to reach politicians and involve them in the work of the Citizens' assembly. It organised meetings promoting the verdict of the assembly, including these in the parliament. The head of the Foundation maintained contacts with the leaders of Polish politics. However, the dynamics of public life in Poland and the campaign before the parliamentary elections made it difficult to keep the attention of politicians for longer.

Conceptual impact²²

The nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs caused **changes in thinking and understanding of energy poverty among party politicians and the representatives of local governments**. The assembly contributed to

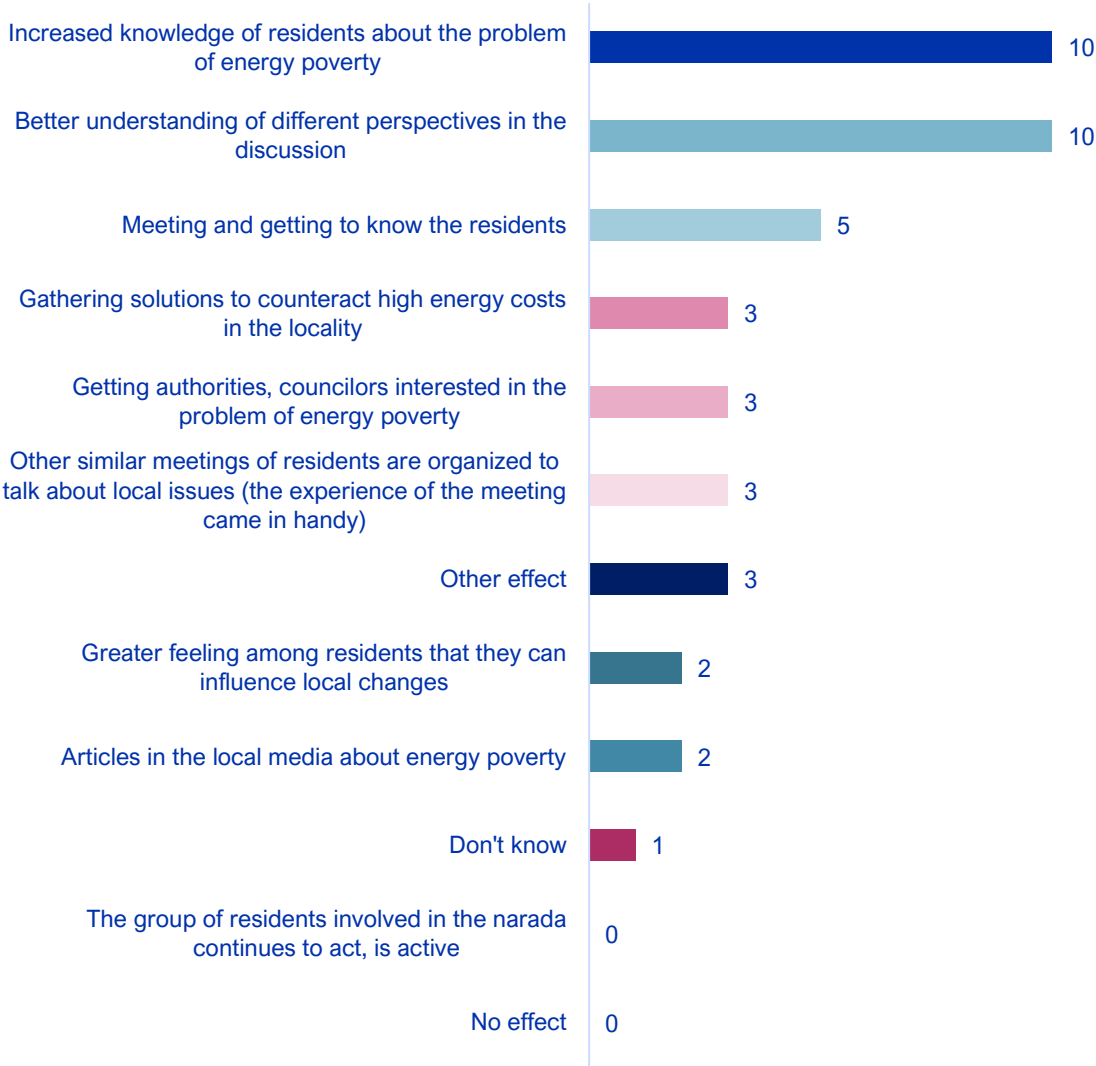
²² **Conceptual impact** is defined as changes in knowledge and understanding, a change in the attitude of decision-makers to the problem of energy poverty and proposals developed during the national and local meetings. The conceptual impact also includes an increase in the social mandate for the proposals developed during the assembly and a change in thinking about deliberation and civic participation.

the increase in knowledge about energy poverty, its causes, scale, and social groups affected by energy poverty. Politicians gained some knowledge on this topic during the summary of the assembly's results (December 2022). The presentation of the verdict in the Senate of the Republic of Poland, which was organised by the Shipyard Foundation, was also important and, among others, experts spoke there, so the politicians present there could receive the "first-hand" knowledge²³. However, the interviews do not indicate that the source of knowledge of politicians and representatives of central offices were publications or materials on the website www.naradaoenergii.pl .

The materials prepared by the Shipyard Foundation were an important source of knowledge for the organisers and participants of 45 local civic councils. Usually, the meetings began with the presentation of key data on energy poverty. Then, there was also time for discussion. **At the local level, there has been an increase in knowledge and better understanding of different perspectives: citizens and local political class.** These two results were most frequently indicated by the organisers of the meetings.

²³ Report from the summary of the assembly on the OKO PRESS portal: <https://oko.press/wazne-politycy-biora-wyniki-assemblyu-obywatelskiego-na-powaznie-najlepiej-jak-umieja> [Accessed: 12.03.2024]

Chart 1. What are the effects of the local civic council on energy costs in your town? (multiple choice)



Source: Survey for OE – civic council organisers, n=16

Politicians from the central level and the representatives of local governments could find out, what solutions to energy poverty obtain public support. The nationwide assembly and local civic councils were therefore also an alternative to public opinion polls.

The use of conclusions from the nationwide assembly as an element of opinion polling was identified, for example, in the "Manifesto of 100 days"²⁴. What was proposed was, among others, the creation of an Energy Transformation Fund and the modernisation of energy networks. The justification was the result of the voting of the participants of the Citizens' assembly.

Although it applies to only two recommendations, it shows that the outcomes of deliberation **can be used in the future to represent social preferences**. The authors of the "Manifesto" are aware of the low political significance of this document. This confirms the difficulty of achieving the influence of citizens' deliberation in the field of politics.

For some politicians, the opportunity to gain new knowledge was contact with the assembly participants at the summary of the nationwide debate. That gave policymakers the better understanding of how many possible and needed solutions to energy poverty exist and what the expectations of different groups are:

If someone participates, observes this discussion and listens, they begin to think about it overall. It is an invitation to reflection and I think that it is priceless.

Left-wing politician

The involvement of citizens in the nationwide assembly and the developed solutions showed politicians that social participation can be constructive. The assembly succeeded in ensuring the atmosphere of dialogue and respect for different points of view from the very onset to the end. A group consensus was reached, so the assembly's verdict was positively received, and even appreciated by politicians for a strong social mandate.

²⁴ Document signed by over 80 climate, environmental and social organisations before the parliamentary elections in 2023
https://www.koalicjaklimatyczna.org/uploads/MANIFEST_100_DNI_KOALICJI_KLIMATY_CZNEJ.pdf [Accessed: 20.02.2024]

During local civic councils, the general topic of energy poverty in the context of everyday life was shown. This enabled officials to involve residents in the discussion and usually a list of solutions to combat energy poverty was established, e.g. appointing an energy advisor, or subsidies for house renovations for the poorest residents.

The meeting showed that despite the fact that it is so multi-threaded and complicated, it can be broken down into prime factors overall.

Organiser of the civic council 1

The participants of local civic councils learned new ways of thinking and new solutions. A good practice was the participation of the representatives of various departments of the city hall in the local civic councils. That opened up space for cross-sectoral discussion and a clash of various points of view. For officials, it was encouragement to share knowledge with each other. They also appreciated the conversations with the residents. The meeting made them realise that a meeting can be a valuable source of knowledge before making a decision.

Participation in local civic councils, or in the nationwide assembly made the participants of those meetings aware that it is difficult to expect the quick implementation of the proposals. Nevertheless, the respondents consider this collective reflection to be a crucial and necessary process. In their view, it can be an inspiration for further actions in public policies and in the education of the citizens.

Obstacles to conceptual impact

The study collected the factors that **hindered the impact of local civic councils**:

- **Low awareness, the lack of initial knowledge about energy poverty**

During local civic councils²⁵, the obstacle turned out to be the lack of knowledge of the inhabitants about energy poverty. One of the organisers of the local civic council (outside the local government) had to explain to each of the invited participants, what the meeting would concern, but he often

²⁵ During the nationwide assembly, an educational weekend was organised with the participation of experts, so the participants received a lot of knowledge. They could also use the help of experts at other stages of the assembly on the ongoing basis.

encountered the lack of interest. Energy poverty was perceived as a very specialised and difficult topic, and at the same time marginal.

- **Low motivation of residents to participate in local civic councils**

Low awareness reduced the motivation of participants, especially ordinary residents, in local civic councils. Firstly, because local civic councils as a form of engaging residents in discussions about the issues of their localities are basically unknown. Secondly, people felt reluctant to talk about energy poverty. They did not want to be seen as poor who could be affected by this problem.

- **Meeting time too short/too ambitious plan**

Local civic councils were prepared in detail by the Shipyard Foundation. Not only did the organisers have the scenario of the meeting, but also materials, e.g. films, documents. That was to facilitate the meeting. However, it turned out to be too ambitious plan for the local level, as well as for the limited time of the council (2-3 hours). The participants were unable to use the available materials and felt discouraged that they weren't able to reach conclusions.

Impact on organisational potential²⁶

The nationwide assembly and local civic councils on energy costs

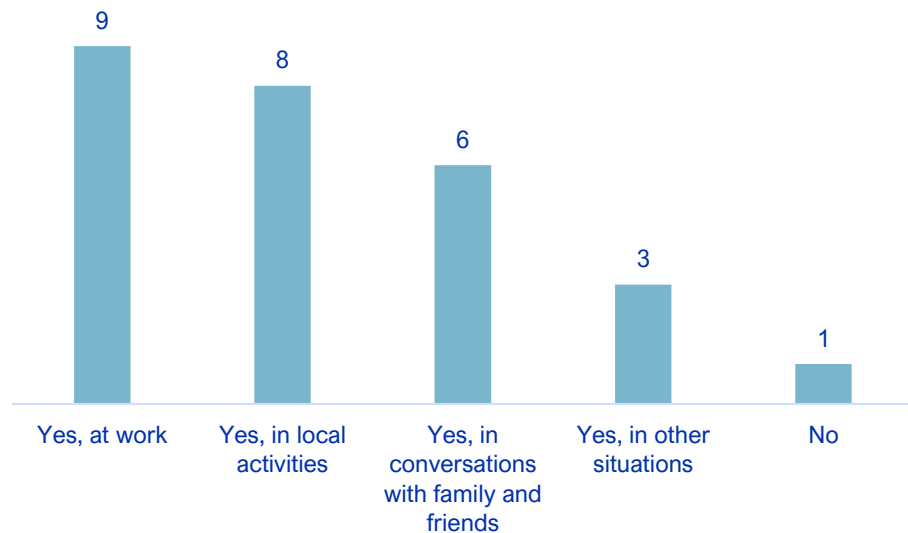
provided their organisers and participants with huge experience. The potential of the organisers in using the methods of deliberation and participation has increased. At the same time, the organisations have increased their knowledge about energy poverty, so they can join the public debate on this topic.

Some organisers of local civic councils, e.g. the representatives of non-governmental organisations or local government officials, are convinced that they will use the skills in the future²⁷. It was also prominent for local entities to increase their knowledge about energy poverty. They use it most often at work and in local activities:

²⁶ **Impact on organisational potential** is defined as increasing knowledge about the possibilities and limitations of the citizens' assembly and deliberation. This type of influence also refers to changes in the collaboration and networking of actors who were involved in the meetings. Finally, the impact on organisational potential refers to changes in the skills of the process stakeholders.

²⁷ The survey was sent to the organisers of all 45 local councils more than a year after their completion. The survey was completed by 16 people. The low return of surveys may indicate that other people are no longer involved in this topic.

Chart 2. Have you used the knowledge gained during the civic council on energy costs in the last year?



Source: Survey for the organisers of local civic councils, n=16

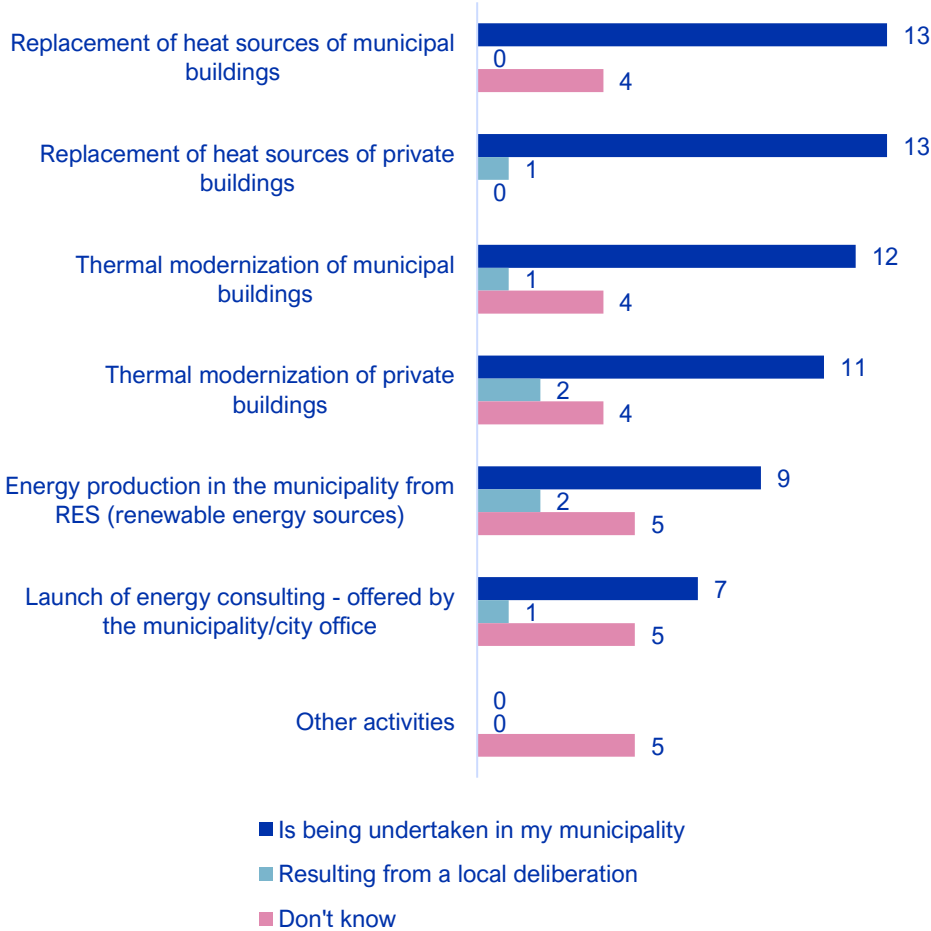
One of the local governments used the data from the council to apply for funds, e.g. in the government's "Clean Air" programme²⁸. Elsewhere, the conclusions of the civic council helped to develop new regulations for financing the replacement of furnaces in the municipality, so as to take better care of the energy poverty.

An additional effect of the civic council was to make the representatives of the local government aware that **officials need competences related to organising meetings, debates, conducting dialogue with residents**. The raising awareness of the need is the first step in developing participation at the local level, so that the local inhabitants and citizens gain the experience of talking and seeking agreement.

Local civic councils were usually not the only activity related to climate protection and energy modernisation in the surveyed towns. Instead, they have increased the awareness of decision-makers and given more certainty about the direction of activities that are already being carried out:

²⁸ <https://czystepowietrze.gov.pl/> [Accessed 8.03.2024]

Chart 3. During local civic councils, the most profound actions were most often recommended. Which of them are undertaken in your municipality/town? Do they result from participating in the civic council?



Source: Survey for organisers of local civic councils, n=16

Local civic councils have contributed to increasing the potential of the nationwide assembly, as they were organised earlier (spring-summer 2022). The conclusions of the 45 local civic councils provided insight into the demands and opinions gathered in those communities. It was therefore a valuable point of view for the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs, the Foundation, and for the experts involved in the assembly, since it provided "rooting in the reality, and not only numbers and expert recommendations" (Organiser of the civic council 3).

Another type of impact is **the strengthening of the expert potential of the Shipyard Foundation** itself. It is now seen as the major entity that presents *know-how* in advanced deliberation and participation methods. It has built its

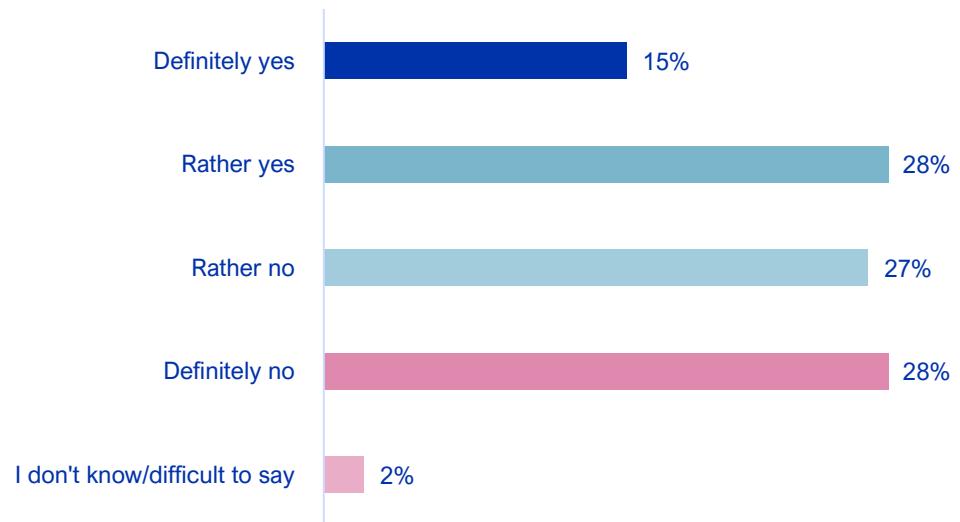
image as an entity professionally moderating the public debate on energy poverty. It organised the entire process of the citizens' assembly, engaged experts, and also took care of the wide dissemination of the results of the assembly. At the time of the survey, 8 months after the end of the nationwide assembly, both the Foundation and its president were perceived by some people from the expert community, or political parties as **ambassadors/spokesmen of the results of the assembly**.

However, in the long run, the Shipyard Foundation is unlikely to deal with energy poverty. In Poland, there are entities that specialise in the subject of energy transition, or poverty and they can use some of the assembly's conclusions in their activities. Many of them were members of the consortium and – as experts – were involved in the assembly. During the assembly and a few months after its completion, the Shipyard Foundation organised working meetings to exchange knowledge and pool their resources, so it took care to **strengthen the network of expert organisations**. The interviews show that those organisations see the potential for cooperation in the future. On the other hand, the Shipyard Foundation uses skills in the field of participation and deliberation on an increasingly large scale.

Limitations of the impact on organisational capacity

A barrier that limits the impact on organisational potential is **low culture of conversation and debate in the society**. Moreover, it does not help to convince all decision-makers, who believe that these are experts, and not ordinary citizens, who have knowledge about solutions to social problems. Therefore, in Poland, public consultations are rarely treated as a serious source of knowledge and a basis for change. This is also confirmed by the March 2023 opinion survey, where 55% of respondents believe that the opinion of ordinary citizens is not taken into account in public decisions.

Chart 4. In general, do you think that the voice of ordinary citizens like yourself is taken into account when making key decisions for Poland?



Source: Citizens' Assembly Survey, CATI method n=1000 between March 6th and March 15th, 2023, More in Common and IPSOS (PL)

There is also a serious deficit of skills in conducting meetings with citizens, especially at the level of the local governments. More work is therefore needed to make citizens' participation in public debate a daily practice.

An important factor in increasing the impact of the assembly and its verdict is the involvement of the government representatives. This can be illustrated by the local civic councils. Their impact varied, depending on who organised them. The results of local civic councils conducted by the local government went directly to decision-makers and it happened that they changed their attitude towards energy poverty and became more involved in action.

For civic organisations, it turned out to be harder. Although they held a council and there was the expansion of knowledge, those were rather educational and consultation meetings, without any influence on short-term decisions. They lacked the local government mandate to achieve greater importance and reach.

Conclusions

The nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs was part of the measures to reduce energy poverty. It was the first such large deliberative process in

Poland, carried out from the bottom up at the central level and in many local communities. It has contributed to strengthening public debate and increasing awareness among politicians of what energy poverty is, its causes, and consequences.

Whilst the political impact can be seen in examples of party electoral programs or some local governments activities, the scale of political impact of the civic council, however, is not so widespread. On the national scale, it has been of a punctual and individual nature so far. Its proposals are in line with the changes taking place in Poland and the pursuit of a just energy transition, with the use of renewable energy sources or prosumer energy. The energy transition has begun to be viewed not only from a technical, but also social perspective.

Local civic councils and the nationwide assembly have provided knowledge and skills to the organisers of the meetings. They have also increased their awareness of the need to involve citizens in addressing important topics.

The significance of the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs for political and legal changes was also not high (at the time of the survey). NGO initiatives have fewer opportunities to introduce the topic into politics or change the law compared to processes organised by the ministry, or the parliament. However, these activities, and especially the nationwide assembly, should be appreciated as a pilot project of a new form of civic participation, that will continue to be shaped and developed.



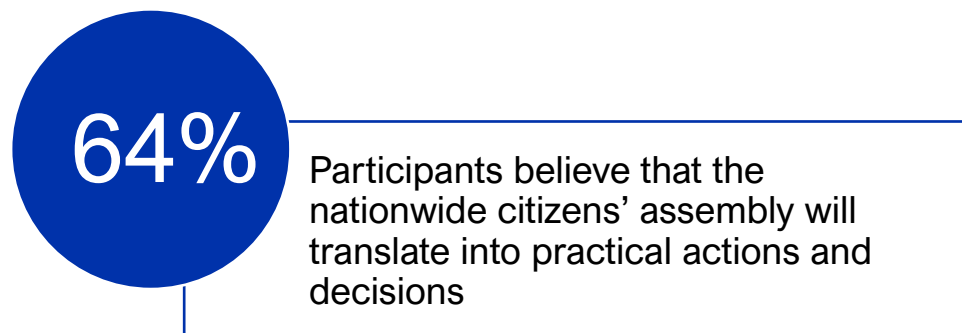
Social impact

In this chapter of the report, we outline the impact of the Civic Council on Energy Costs on **public discourse and the involvement of the public, third sector organisations, as well as media.**

Instrumental impact

The nationwide assembly participants' perspective

The nationwide citizens' assembly has caused **changes in the individual behaviour of some of the surveyed assembly participants**. It has also contributed **to their involvement in NGOs and businesses**, local publications and education. Thus, the opinions collected immediately after the assembly stating that it will translate into practice are confirmed:



Source: Results of the survey post test of the Shipyard Foundation, n=73. Question: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? - I think that the assembly will not translate into practical actions and decisions – nothing will come of it; the sum of the answers - Strongly disagree and Rather disagree.

Some of the assembly participants have used the knowledge from the assembly **to improve their own situation and counteract energy poverty at their homes**. For example, these people have replaced their heating sources, or benefited from the thermal modernisation support programme ("Clean Air").

The assembly participants **pass on the gained knowledge**, mainly to their family and neighbours. They share information about energy poverty and potential solutions to the problem. They promote the available programmes that can help more people. You can see the impact of the assembly on the assembly participants' environment:

Talking to people, neighbours, sometimes gives a greater effect than the assembly itself. When a neighbour to neighbour talks about this topic, there is interest, as it is a one-on-one conversation. This is direct sharing of the topic.

Assembly participant 6

Some people use the knowledge from the assembly in their professional activities. The survey has identified teachers, entrepreneurs, and office employees, who report on energy poverty and climate protection. They also encourage more people to gain knowledge in these topics.

The nationwide assembly turned out to be useful for people, who had been already active, e.g. in local non-governmental organisations. Such assembly participants have increased their confidence and knowledge. **They provide information on counteracting energy poverty and climate protection** during other local activities.

Thanks to the assembly, some people have also expanded their networks of contacts, both with the experts present during the assembly and other active participants. They also use the established relationships in local activities, e.g. they exchange experiences, or ask questions to experts.

Experts' perspective

Participation in the Civic Council was also useful for expert organisations, which were involved in the preparation of the process and passed on knowledge to the participants. **It has translated primarily into additional knowledge and the development of the network of relationships** (we write about this later).

One of the experts presented the verdict of the assembly during the European meeting of energy industry organisations²⁹. Another expert organisation prepared a conference on energy transition, to which it invited experts from the Citizens' assembly. During that event, the results of the Citizens' assembly were considered as an important voice in the discussion on the energy transition and energy poverty related to it.

Furthermore, the Civic Council has a wider impact on third sector organisations. **More than 80 climate, environmental, and social organisations created the "100 Days Manifesto" document before the 2023 parliamentary elections. It uses the recommendations from the assembly** to present proposals for the creation of an Energy Transformation Fund and the modernisation of energy networks³⁰. The document was prepared at the

²⁹ https://energy-poverty.ec.europa.eu/about-us/events/our-international-annual-conference-energy-poverty-warsaw-2023-09-19_en [Accessed: 02.04.2024]

³⁰ <https://koalicjaklimatyczna.org/manifest-100-dni-dla-polskiej-przyrody-i-klimatu> [access: 20.02.2024]

meeting entitled "Agency in Climate Activism"³¹. The representatives of the Shipyard Foundation – the organisers of the Citizens' assembly on energy costs – took part in its preparation. The document describes the importance of participation in the creation of environmental and climate policy. The assembly participants and deliberations were also exchanged, next to meetings and discussions, so the social impact of the assembly on energy costs is clearly visible.

The conclusions of the Citizens' assembly were also used by **Working Community of Social Organisations Unions "WRZOS"**. It organised **meetings on energy poverty and social participation in the field of climate policy**³². Among others, the organisers of the assembly from the Shipyard Foundation were invited to those meetings, and the report from the citizens' assembly was the starting point. Energy poverty was recognised as important for the future activities of organisations associated in WRZOS, and as an important element of future climate policies.

The WRZOS meetings were summarised in the text "Energy poverty – support for vulnerable consumers and recommendations for solutions to the problem". It presents both the description of the method of participation itself, and the conclusions of the citizens' assembly. Local civic councils and citizens' assemblies were positively evaluated as the methods of including the voice of citizens in the creation of public policies. There is also a postulate that consultations conducted in a similar way should be introduced as a regular and mandatory mechanism of the legislative process, concerning not only the issue of energy poverty or energy policy, but also other spheres of social life. The document also includes a proposal to extend this method of participation to include a dialogue between experts and social organisations.

The Civic Council on Energy Costs also appears in the publication of the WRZOS union entitled: "Recommendations submitted as part of pre-consultations aimed at preparing draft updates of the national strategic documents concerning the energy sector [...]". One of the four most important recommendations is **participatory creation and implementation of climate and energy policy**. The document states that the citizens' assembly has brought many benefits to the discussion on energy poverty. It also calls for the citizens to be involved in the discussion on energy policy, so that strategies

³¹ <https://www.isp.org.pl/pl/wydarzenia/sprawczosc-w-aktywizmie-klimatycznym-o-doswiadczeniach-w-kampanii-wyborczej-i-strategiach-na-przyszlosc> [Accessed: 20.02.2024]

³² <https://www.wrzos.org.pl/tag/energia/> [Accessed: 20.02.2024]

result from real cooperation and take into account the voice and needs of the society.

As the impact of the nationwide assembly, it is also worth noting the interest in energy poverty of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation (PAFF). **PAFF runs the programme “Green Leader” ([Zielony Lider](#)), where the assembly's experience and proposals are used.**

Getting to know the bottom-up point of view during the assembly allows organisations and experts to expand their knowledge about citizens' problems. They also learned about the broader context of their activities, thanks to the presence of other experts. However, some respondents believe that **the assembly's impact on expert organisations is limited**. No organisation deals with the results of the assembly in its entirety, represents them, or presents them as a coherent voice in the discussion on energy poverty, or climate policy. They rather use these recommendations that are related to their current area of activity.

A wide presentation of the verdict increases the impact of the assembly, not only among third sector organisations, but also in the society. That is why the Shipyard Foundation has encouraged expert organisations to continue using the knowledge and experience from the assembly:

We have made the assembly and now we encourage you: reap the fruits of this.

Workshop with the Shipyard Foundation

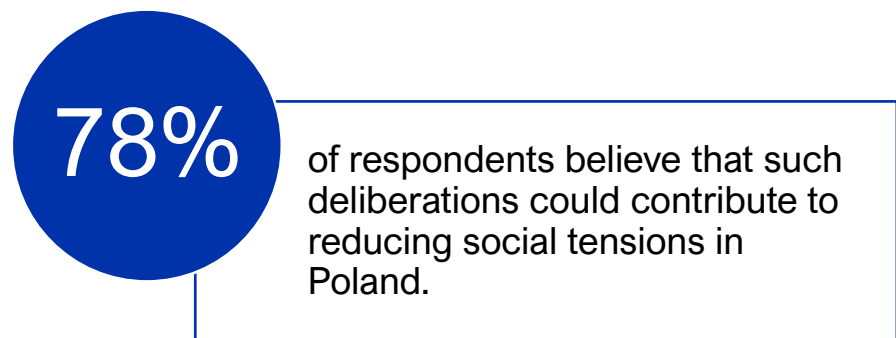
The Foundation has also carried out dissemination activities, e.g. it posted and continues to post news on the assembly's website and in the social media, as well as it sends newsletters with the information on how the recommendations are used. However, the survey shows that among experts, assembly participants and the organisers of local councils, there is the lack of satisfaction that **the effects of the assembly are not used on a larger scale**.

In the document entitled "Will Poland be the second France?"³³ published in 2023, the Structural Research Institute notes that the results of the Citizens' assembly on energy costs are characterised by **low clarity and limited usability** due to the large number of the developed recommendations. By contrast, it positively assesses the form of involving citizens and recommends

³³ IBS participated in the Citizens' assembly as an expert organisation. <https://ibs.org.pl/publications/czy-polska-bedzie-druga-francja-jak-uniknac-konfliktow-spoiecznych-zwiazanych-z-polityka-klimatyczna/> [Accessed: 2.05.2024]

that the conclusions developed in a participatory way be strengthened by social research and economic experiments.

The Institute indicates its **participatory elaboration** in citizens' assemblies and councils as one of three conditions for conducting an ambitious climate policy. They cite dialogue with citizens as a way to reduce social tensions in this area. The consensus of experts and public opinion is worth highlighting here. In the nationwide survey, the vast majority of respondents believe that deliberation can reduce social tensions:



Source: Citizens' Assembly Survey, CATI method n=1000 between March 6th and March 15th, 2023, More in Common and IPSOS (PL)

Limitation of impact

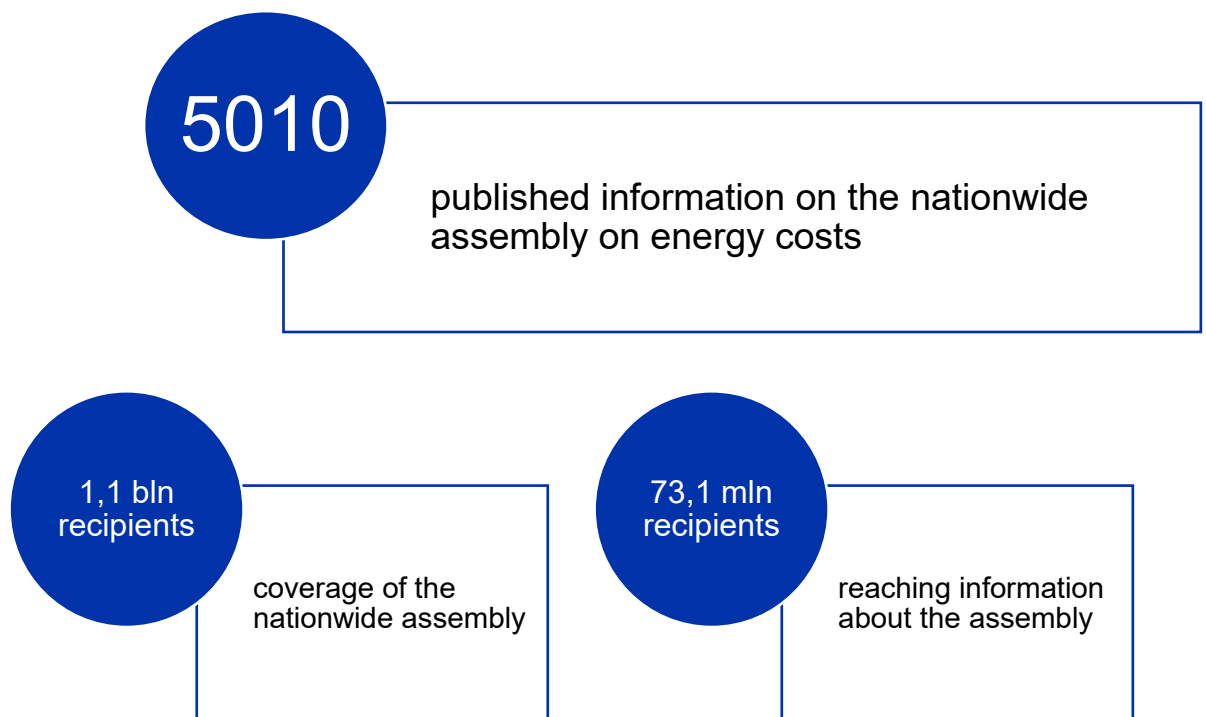
Three main limitations of instrumental impact in the social area have been identified:

- Energy poverty is a broad, cross-cutting topic. So far, there has been no non-governmental organisation in Poland that deals with energy poverty. None of the partner organisations has the substantive or organisational potential to become an "ambassador" of the entire results of the assembly.
- It was not planned, who would act as the "ambassador"/host of the verdict, as the assembly was an experiment. It was difficult to determine in front of the assembly, which entity would be the most appropriate, when the verdict was still unknown.
- There is a very wide range of the assembly's verdict. Proposals are diverse, it is difficult to indicate the addressees. In addition, they have a very different scale – from the postulate of creating a nationwide strategy to the practical solution of "one window".

Media

The topic of energy costs became popular in the media in 2022 due to the energy crisis caused by inflation since 2021 and Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Energy poverty was more often pointed out as one of the most serious social consequences of the increase in energy prices, while experts were invited to the media more frequently than in the previous years.

The social impact of the Citizens' assembly on energy costs was also analysed on the basis of the presence of the topic in the media. For that purpose, data collected by the Shipyard³⁴ Foundation were used. The Foundation monitored the presence of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" in the media discourse. The data presented below relate to this topic. During the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs, numerous pieces of information about the citizens' assembly were published:

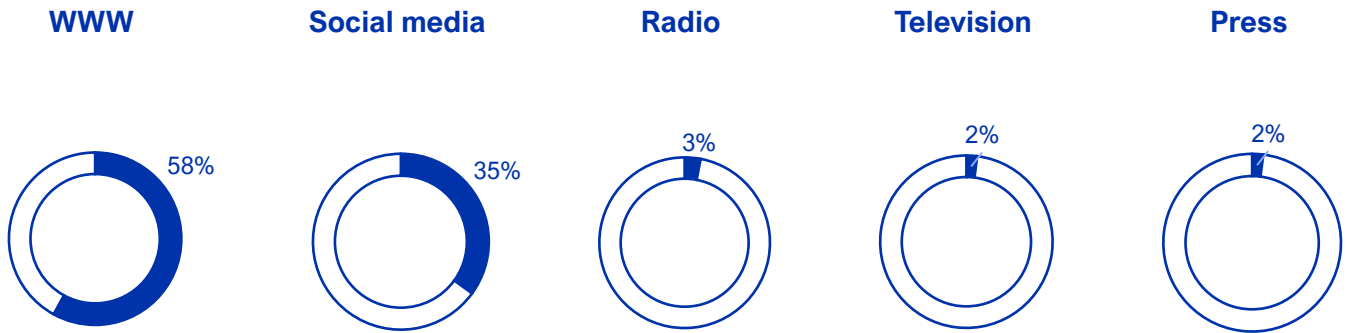


Source: PSMM data on the analysis of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" from 01.03.2022 to 22.04.2024

Most often, information was presented on websites (58%) and in the social media (35%), here the most frequently on the X portal. The key influencers were the Shipyard Foundation and politician Szymon Hołownia. In the

³⁴ Media were monitored using PSMM – Press service media monitoring – <https://psmm.pl/en/inforia-application/>. The statistics of the Shipyard Foundation over the grant period (01.03.2022-22.04.2024).

traditional media, i.e. in press, radio, television, the topic appeared much less frequently.



Source: PSMM data on the analysis of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" from 01.03.2022 to 22.04.2024

The information about the citizens' assembly was provided by Radio TOK FM, TVN24, TV Polsat, Gazeta Wyborcza, and on the portal <https://oko.press/>. In contrast, they were not present in the government, or private media favouring the PiS government.

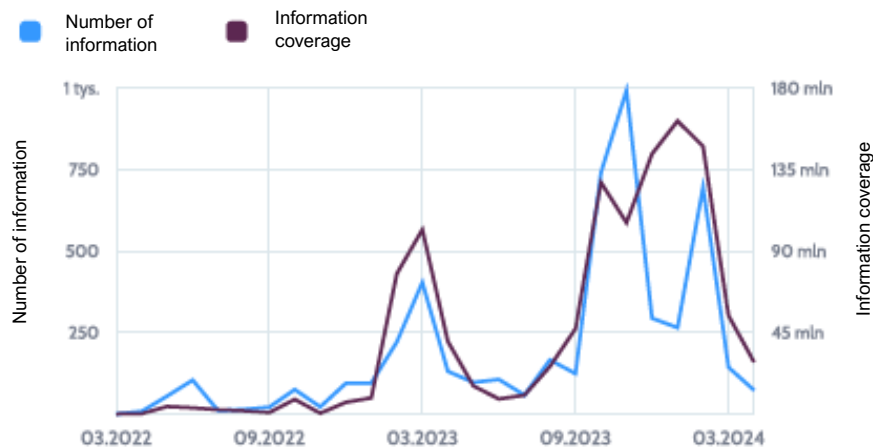
The media information about the nationwide citizens' assembly was mainly neutral (77.72%), or positive (20.34%). Therefore, the data from the interviews, in which no negative impact was noted, are confirmed.

The basic and most complete source of information about the Citizens' assembly from the very beginning has remained the constantly updated page www.naradaoenergii.pl. From the data of Google Analytics, it appears that the interest in information on the website is growing slightly.

Media impact over time

In the time schedule, there are two periods, in which the increased amount and coverage of information about the Citizens' assembly in the media can be noticed: **from February to April, and from September 2023 to March 2024.**

Chart 5. Time distribution of information by the amount of information and range



Source: PSMM data on the analysis of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" from 01.03.2022 to 22.04.2024

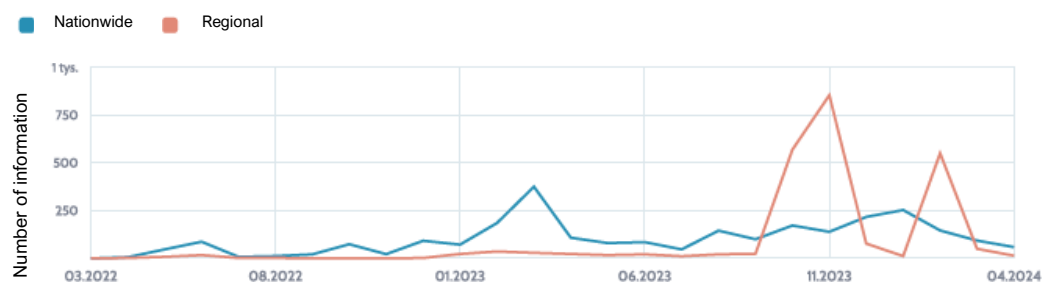
From the beginning of 2023, the Shipyard Foundation presented the results of the Citizens' assembly on a large scale. Those efforts began to have a media effect in spring. A factor increasing the popularity of the assembly was, among others, the presentation of the verdict in the parliament of the Republic of Poland.

The media materials show the connection between the slogan "Citizens' assembly" and the media discussion about abortion, which also took place in Poland in the spring of 2023. The citizens' assembly as a method of dialogue on this topic was proposed, among others, by the politicians of Koalicja Obywatelska, or Trzecia Droga, which increased the scope of the assembly. The increased popularity of the slogan in the media could also be influenced by urban assemblies organised at that time in several Polish cities (including Łódź, Poznań).

The second increase in the amount and scope of the information on the assembly was longer: it started in the autumn of 2023 and lasted until March 2024. Firstly, it was the parliamentary campaign time. More was said about the implementation of electoral programmes, including proposals developed during the citizens' assembly. From January 2024, after the change of power in Poland, an intense period of the programme and personnel changes in public institutions began. New representatives of central authorities, such as the Minister for Climate and Energy, began to raise topics more often in line with the verdict of the citizens' assembly, which affected the increased media interest. The topic of abortion was still present in the media, which increased the popularity of the related citizens' assembly (similarly as in the spring of 2023).

There is a fairly even distribution of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" in various media outlets: information about the assembly was provided by both regional(47%) and national (53%) media. In the national media, the assembly was mainly present in March 2023. In the regional media, the topic of the citizens' assembly was virtually absent until the fourth quarter of 2023 and the first quarter of 2024. Both periods of the increased presence of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" in the local media are related to the elections in Poland: the parliamentary (October 2023) and local government (April 2024).

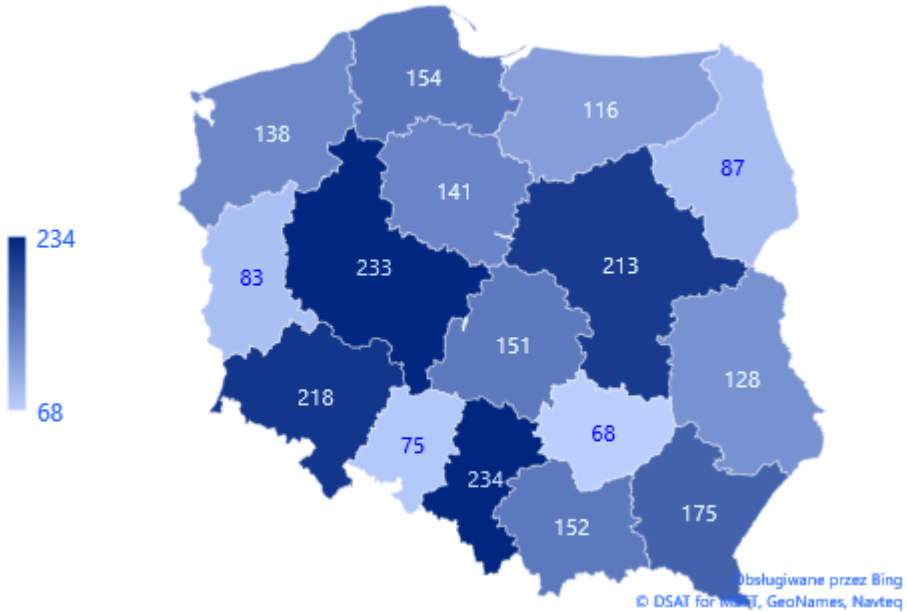
Chart 6. Time distribution of information by the range of the media



Source: PSMM data on the analysis of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" from 01.03.2022 to 22.04.2024

The biggest amount of information about the citizens' assembly was published in the regional media in the following voivodships: Mazowieckie, Śląskie, Dolnośląskie, Wielkopolskie. Local civic councils were held in those regions in 2022, so it can be assumed that they contributed to the increased interest in the Citizens' assembly.

Map 1. The amount of information in the regional media

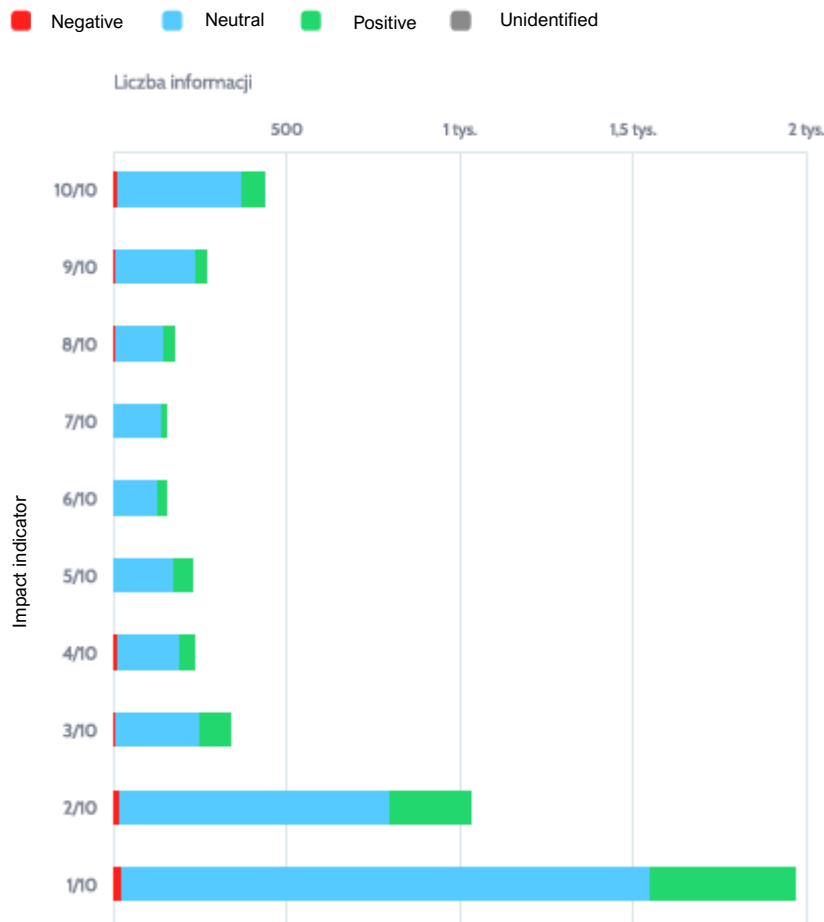


Source: PSMM data on the analysis of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" from 01.03.2022 to 22.04.2024

The information about the citizens' assembly reached a rather small audience of the media (of various types). More than half of the publications are messages with a small media coverage (impact ratio 1/10 and 2/10)³⁵. Those were, for example, pieces of information prepared by the Shipyard Foundation on the website and in the social media. Fewer than 500 media reports had the highest impact rate (10/10) and those were usually statements of well-known politicians.

Chart 7. The amount of information by impact and overtones

³⁵ Impact examines the influence of a given medium. Its values are formed in range 1-10. The scale is common to all types of media, including social media, and its refers to the coverage indicator. The value "1" is assigned to the media reaching the narrowest audience – "10" is for the media with the largest scale of direct influence.



Source: PSMM data on the analysis of the slogan "Citizens' assembly" from 01.03.2022 to 22.04.2024

Factors increasing media impact

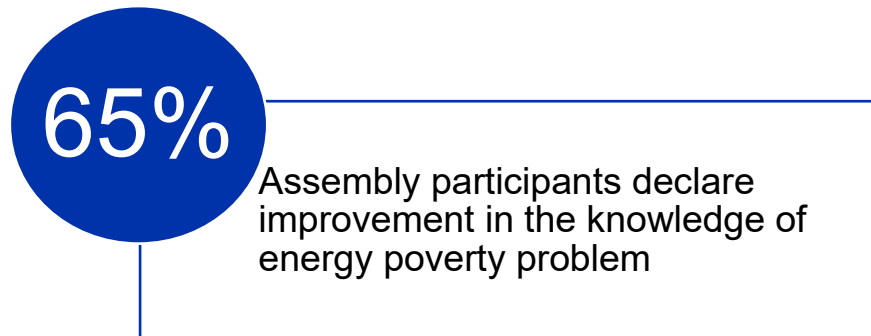
In order to increase the media impact of the Citizens' assembly on energy costs, **it is necessary to cooperate more closely with large and opinion-forming media**, which reach a wide audience. However, what is needed here is the involvement of public institutions and politicians, who usually attract media attention. In the current political system, the impact is being increased, but it goes beyond our analysis.

The second factor is the **long-term interest of journalists in the topic** at both the national (oko.press) and regional levels (Radio Łódź, ESKA Rzeszów). Several journalists interested in the topic followed the course of local civic councils and/or the citizens' assembly. They regularly published information on that subject. The effects of their involvement are visible in the monitoring data.

Conceptual impact

The impact of the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs **on the knowledge, understanding, and attitudes of its participants** is visible.

The energy crisis has encouraged some people to participate in the Citizens' assembly. They wanted to know more about energy costs and possible solutions to the worsening situation. We were able to meet those expectations.



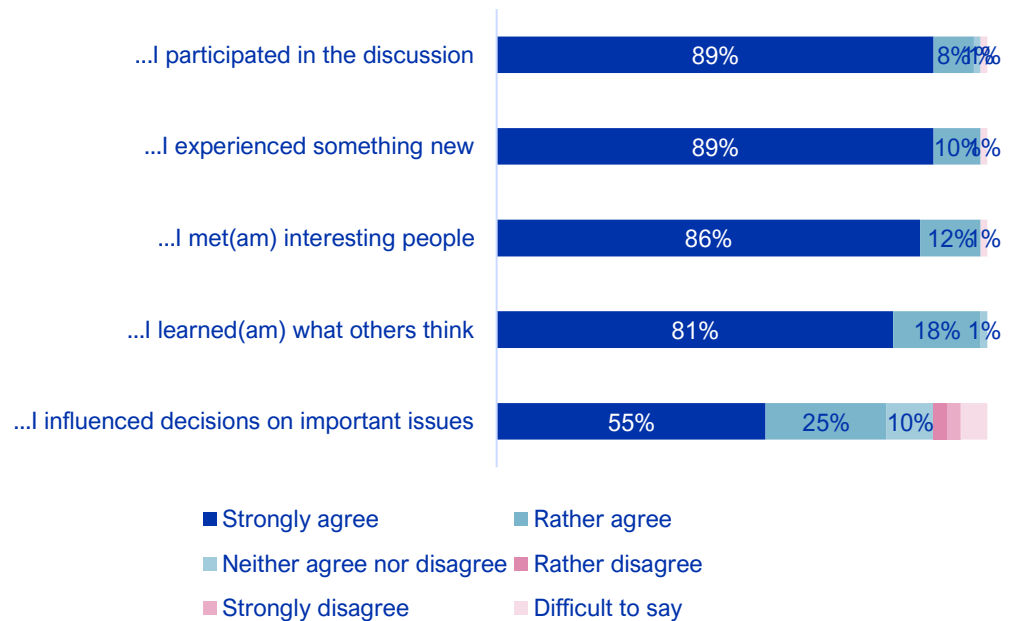
Source: Results of pre and post surveys of the Shipyard Foundation, n=81. Question: *How do you assess the state of your knowledge about the problem of energy poverty?*, answers on the scale of 1-10

Thanks to the assembly, the participants also better understood the phenomenon of energy poverty: its extent, reasons for its occurrence, consequences, and potential solutions to the problem. They gained knowledge from two sources important in the method of the citizens' assembly:

- specialist knowledge, provided by experts, including the representatives of non-governmental organisations during the educational weekend,
- talk to other assembly participants about their situations and exchange of experiences.

The acquired knowledge was indicated by the assembly participants as **the most important effect of the citizens' assembly**. It was also important – new for the majority of the respondents – to experience participation in the discussion. Thanks to that, the respondents learned about different situations and points of view – of other assembly participants, but also the experience of their families and neighbours. As a result, they were able to make informed decisions during the vote on the final verdict.

Chart 8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? By participating in the assembly.



Source: Post test survey of the Shipyard Foundation, n=73

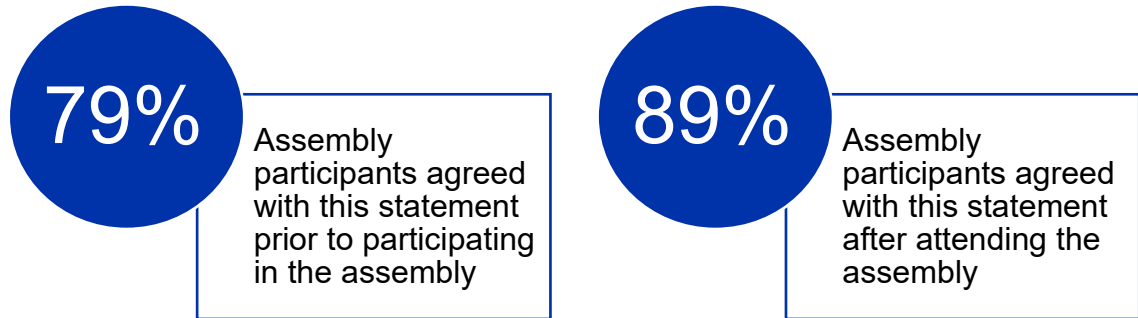
An important change, as some of the assembly participants emphasised, was **a change in thinking and exceeding the individual perspective.**

I learned how different the economic situation in our society is. Hardly anyone does have deeper knowledge about energy poverty [...]. Social cross-section and the ability to listen to people from different places were very important. Now I am looking at some social processes in a totally divergent way.

Assembly participant 7

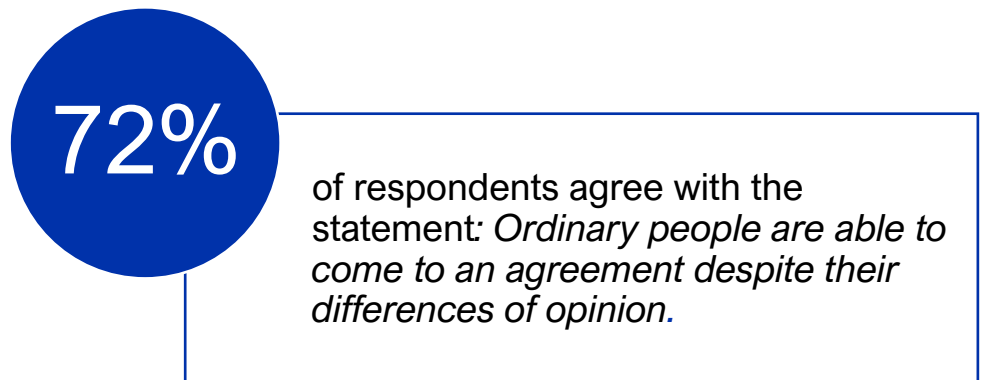
The assembly participants learned what various people and social groups need. In addition, some people realised that their own experience and views are not shared by other citizens. Despite differences (e.g. political or socio-demographic), participants understood that **could be connected by a common goal:**

People like me, acting together with others, can help those in need, or solve some of their problems.



Converging results are provided by the nationwide survey (March 2023):

Source: The results of the pre (n=76) and post (n=73) surveys of the Shipyard Foundation; which of the following opinions is closer to your views? - People like me, acting together with others, can help those in need, or solve some of their problems.



Source: Citizens' Assembly Survey, CATI method n=1000 between March 6th and March 15th, 2023, More in Common and IPSOS (PL)

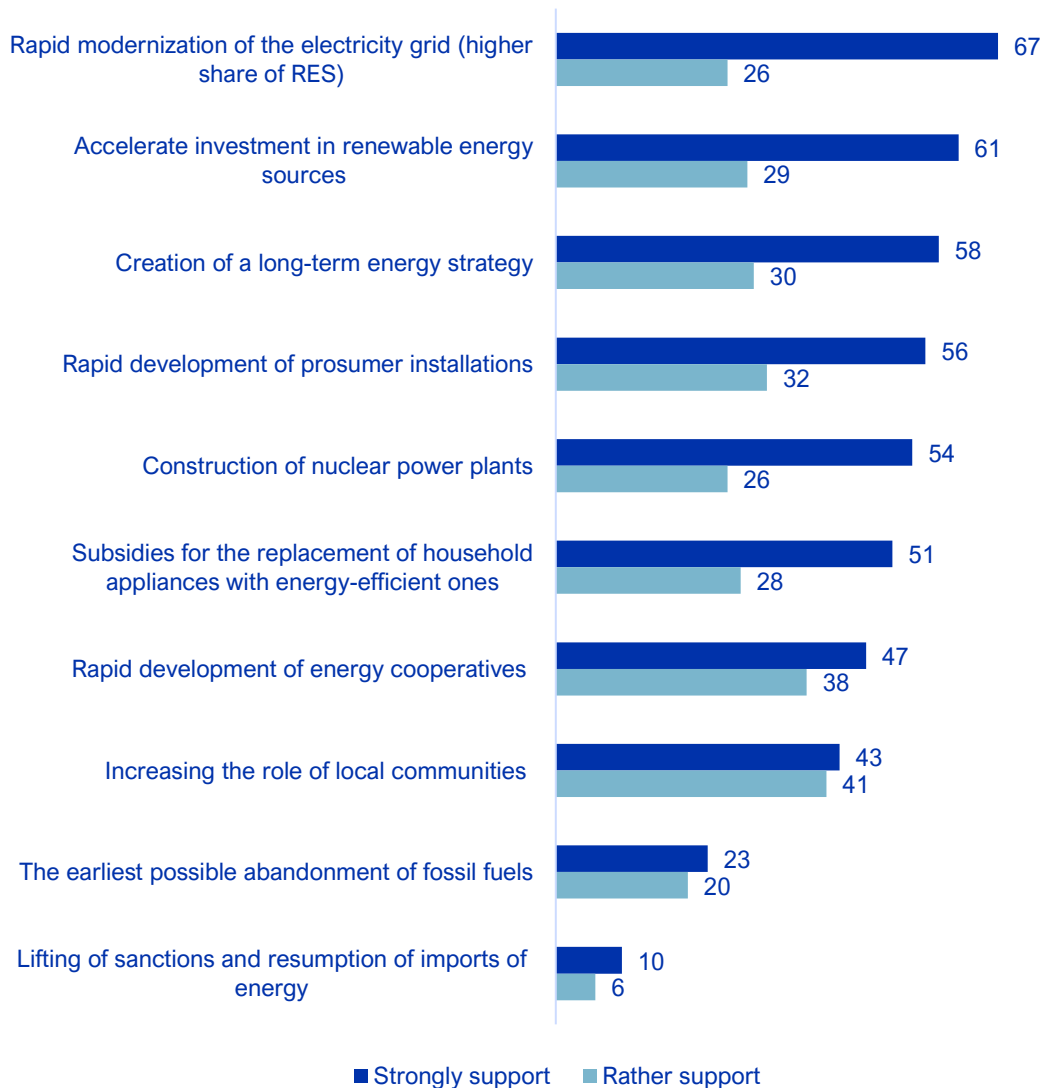
Experts also noticed the **interest of the assembly participants in solutions concerning the whole society, not only individuals**. For some experts, it was a positive surprise that in the process of deliberation, citizens were guided not only by individual benefit, but also the general good. **The effect of the "hermeneutic circle"³⁶ can be seen in this case, as local civic councils and**

³⁶ "The Hermeneutic Circle" – Wilhelm Dilthey's concept: one cannot understand the whole without understanding the detail, and the detail cannot be understood without referring to the whole.

the nationwide assembly influenced each other. During local civic councils, topics beyond the local context were discussed, for example, why Poland is moving away from coal, or what fair energy transition should look like. On the other hand, the nationwide assembly on energy costs used instances of innovative solutions utilised in selected towns: transferring elderly people from an unheated house to a communal apartment with a good energy standard (co-housing).

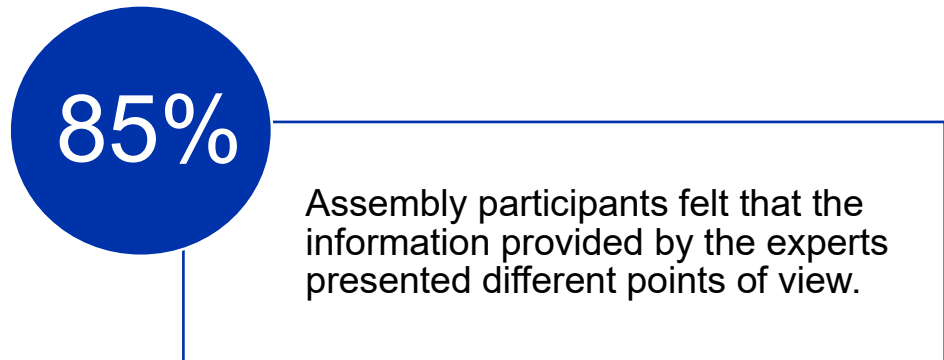
Another change identified among the assembly participants is **understanding that solving the problem of energy poverty requires systemic action.** They have also begun to perceive those solutions in a broader context - in terms of the climate, housing, and social policy.

The coherence of the opinions of the assembly participants from the nationwide assembly with the social opinion expressed in the national research, which took place a few months after the assembly, is visible. This may indicate that the selection of the assembly participants well reflected the social cross-section. Thus, it was possible to confirm the **representativeness of the assembly's verdict and its high substantive level.**

Chart 9. Possible solutions to the problem of high energy prices

Source: <https://www.moreincommon.pl/co-robimy/polska-po-zimie/>, CATI on 6-15 March 2023, n=1000

Some experts noted that a large portion of knowledge transferred during the educational weekend could have influenced the views of the assembly participants. Those respondents believe that the information from specialists determined the order of the discussion and it was difficult afterwards to use the knowledge of the attendees discussing issues on the basis of their experience. On the other hand, most assembly participants believe that the experts presented various positions:



Source: Results of the post test survey of the Shipyard Foundation, n=73

It is difficult to assess the extent, to which the selection of experts and the positions they presented could have influenced the opinions of the participants and translated into the final verdict. In general, most participants appreciated the contribution of specialists to the assembly. According to them, education is an important part of the assembly, as it gives the basis for working out a common verdict.

In addition to the assembly participants, the representatives of non-governmental and expert organisations gained new knowledge and better understanding of the problem of energy poverty during the citizens' assembly, for they had **an opportunity to talk** to people of different social or economic status. **They could also get to know better the problems related to their expert activities.** They can use the acquired knowledge in publications, or training activities.

Apart from that, some NGOs obtained additional **confirmation for their previous activities and recommendations.** The fact that their previous findings were included in the verdict of the citizens' assembly was for them an additional argument about the rightness of actions and an important point, while presenting their positions in the public debate.

The impact of the citizens' assembly on the extension of experts' knowledge about energy poverty and on further activities of non-governmental organisations in this area cannot be assessed. Energy poverty in Poland had been analysed in publications preceding the citizens' assembly at least since 2016. The expert knowledge base is also developing, although it is dispersed. Therefore, it is not possible to determine reliably, which

solutions regarding energy poverty are original for the assembly, and which had been known to experts before.

Participation in the citizens' assembly allowed most of the assembly participants and some experts **to get to know the potential of deliberation at the nationwide scope in creating social, or climate policy.**

The assembly participants experienced that "Poles can still talk to each other"³⁷. Especially on topics, in which people share very strong differences of views and political preferences, it is difficult to have calm conversations:

The discussion and conversation between people from different backgrounds is good and necessary, as people need to learn tolerance towards others. And the more of it exists, the better, for I think that in Poland, people have isolated themselves a bit, they have forgotten, how to talk to each other.

Assembly participant 3

The vast majority of the assembly participants, after the assembly, became convinced that the method should take a more important place in the Polish political life, as not only does it serve to increase the influence of citizens on public decisions, but also contributes to the mitigation of disputes:



Source: Results of the post test survey of the Shipyard Foundation, n=73

The assembly participants expect that a positive example of the citizens' assembly on energy costs will help to solve further social problems. They also hope that citizens' assemblies will be more appreciated by ruling politicians as a source of knowledge about problems and needs.

³⁷ Since 2015, there has been a strong political conflict between the two main parties in Poland: Law and Justice and the Civic Coalition. This has an increasing polarising effect on public debate and social splits.



98%

Assembly participants believe that citizens' assemblies devoted to other topics should be organised as well

Source: Results of the post test survey of the Shipyard Foundation, n=73

The experts from non-governmental organisations have also positively assessed the experience of participation in the citizens' assembly. They have seen greater potential for deliberation than before. The nationwide citizens' assembly was a developing experience for many of them.

At the same time, experts have realised that such method of deliberation is difficult to use if it is organised from the bottom up, without the involvement of state and central institutions. Therefore, while they have appreciated the fact that it was possible to organise deliberation at the national scale, as well as encourage citizens to participate in a substantive discussion, they are aware that it will be difficult to implement the recommendations.

The representatives of non-governmental organisations see greater potential for social impact in local civic councils. According to some experts, it is easier to involve citizens at the local level. In their opinion, local civic councils are easier to organise, and the results are easier to implement and use. Such beliefs may result from the fact that NGOs are familiar with various forms of deliberation at the local level.

The respondents from both groups **expect the development of this method and its subsequent applications, preferably organised top down, with a political mandate and commitments of the government, or the parliament.** Therefore, it is also worth emphasising the impact of the assembly on the awareness of the role of deliberation in policy making.

The conceptual impact of the citizens' assembly has the potential for development in the future. The Shipyard Foundation has placed great emphasis on disseminating knowledge and experience from the nationwide assembly. It has provided further articles and guides on this topic on the website. The Foundation has also taken care of reaching the academic world –

the representatives of the Foundation have presented the results at scientific conferences in Poland and other EU countries, e.g. Open Eyes Economy Summit.

Impact on organisational potential

The social impact of the Citizens' assembly on energy costs can also be considered in terms of changing the organisational potential of its participants (the assembly participants and representatives of non-governmental organisations).

In the Polish society, there is a low level of knowledge, use and trust in the methods of deliberation and participation. The lack of good experience in participation, which would bring results, translates into low trust in this type of meetings:

In order for people to feel the sense of participating in it, it must have effect and translate into real actions of the authorities. It is like a public consultation. Most frequently, it is done "pro forma" and it has a facade character. It is very difficult to convince people to come for consultations, as most of them believe that it will not change anything.

Civic council organiser 7

During the recruitment interviews, participants often had a negative attitude towards the Citizens' assembly on the basis of their experience in the local communities. They expressed surprise that someone wanted to hear their voice and invited them to make decisions. After the completion of the Citizens' assembly, the respondents assessed the whole process very well, since their sense of agency and self-confidence to speak out in public matters increased.

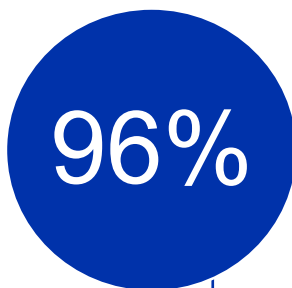
Although the respondents expressed disappointment and regret that there was no direct impact of the assembly on politics, at the same time, they found out that they could make important decisions and their voice was taken into account:

I have a sense of agency. Even if something does not immediately start to happen after this conversation, I still have a feeling that someone has decided that what I have to say and what I want to

share is important. That is what we lack on a daily basis. I think that in many matters that are socially important, it would be worth having such conversations.

Assembly participant 7

For many assembly participants, it was the first moment, when they could speak on a socially important topic and they were heard: firstly, by other citizens, and later on, by experts and politicians, through the verdict of the assembly, which was presented in the parliament. That is why many of them, after such a positive experience, have declared their readiness to continue their involvement:



Assembly participants say that they would choose to take part in this type of assembly in the future

Source: Results of the post test survey of the Shipyard Foundation, n=73

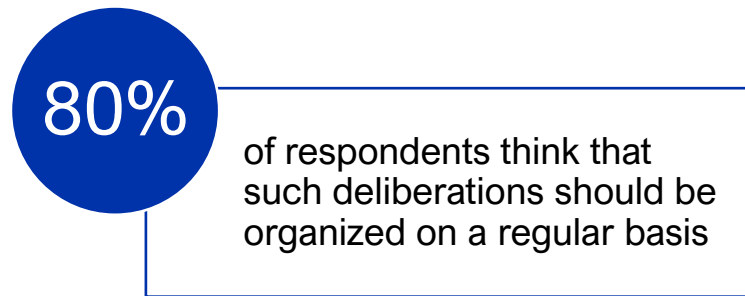
The respondents expect further citizens' assemblies, as they perceive them as an opportunity to disseminate the positive experience of citizens' discussions on public policies.

It doesn't make sense if there is to be no action. First of all, it is necessary to develop such habit, and secondly, in order for people to feel the sense of participating in it, it must have effect and translate into real actions of the authorities.

Civic council organiser 7

Participants and experts interviewed suggested that future citizens' assemblies could cover the following topics: the accessibility of abortion, clean transport, population ageing, migration, education, and social policy. Most assembly participants and experts have listed those topics that they consider to be the most socially important and the most pressing. Some of them have emphasised that citizens' assemblies are suitable for discussing these topics

that arouse controversy and emotions in the society. This shows a clear **impact on the perception of deliberation as an important method of dialogue and policy making – utilised to talk about the most socially crucial topics**. The Shipyard Foundation has shown that it is possible to organise participation at the national scale and it can bring valuable knowledge about what citizens expect. The nationwide survey, moreover, shows that the public is also mostly ready for new solutions:



Source: Citizens' Assembly Survey, CATI method n=1000 between March 6th and March 15th, 2023, More in Common and IPSOS (PL)

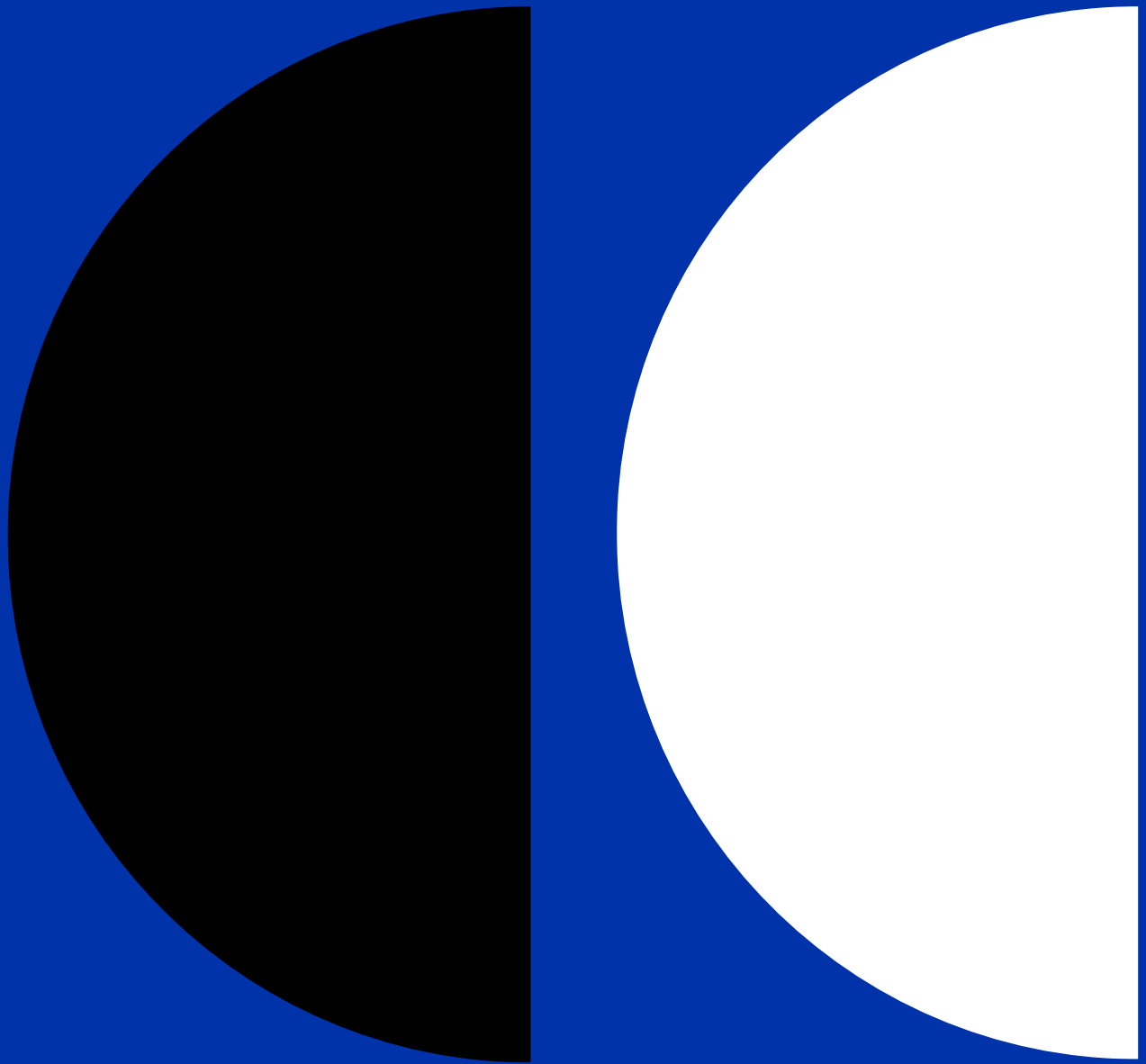
Conclusions

The nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs, and especially the local civic councils, have caused changes in the social area. They have provided the assembly participants with knowledge of energy poverty and given them the experience of deliberation. Moreover, they have increased their self-confidence and motivated them to engage in other similar processes. Some of the assembly participants have used the obtained knowledge to improve the private situation, some have passed it on as part of neighborhood talks and local activities in the local government, or a civic organisation.

During the assembly, the experts expanded their knowledge in other areas related to energy poverty. They gained insight into the experience of citizens from various backgrounds. They met other experts, with whom they continue to cooperate in the subsequent projects. They learned more about the methods of deliberation and found that such processes are valuable. It can be noticed that experts have started to postulate more frequently the creation of strategies and policies with the help of participatory tools. This change results from the Citizens' assembly, which is mentioned in expert texts as an example and inspiration for further action.

The Civic Council on Energy Costs in Poland has had limited, but positive coverage so far. Above all, it has had impact on the people participating in it – the assembly participants and experts from non-governmental organisations. It is also difficult to determine the significance of this impact now, as it concerns individuals, rather than the entire social groups, or coalitions of organisations around the topic of energy poverty. It may affect local communities, or climate policy in the future. It has been facilitated by the change of power in Poland.

The citizens' assembly was present in the media. Two periods were distinguished (in spring 2023 and from autumn 2023 to spring 2024), when much more information about the citizens' assembly was published. The media impact of the assembly was visible at the national level and in selected voivodships. The interest of the media in the assembly may increase in the future if its subject matter breaks through to the national media and if it is possible to create a group of journalists interested in the topic for longer.



Systemic impact

In this chapter, we present the results of the analysis in the area of **systemic impact** of the citizens' assembly on energy costs and local civic councils. Systemic impact includes changes in democratic structures and decision-making methods. Moreover, systemic impact means increasing pressure and ability to approach deliberatively the citizens and engage them.

Systemic impact³⁸

In this chapter, we present the results of the analysis in the area of **systemic impact** of the Civic Council on Energy Costs.

If we define the systemic impact as changes carried out with the participation of the national or local government authorities, then the importance of the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs will be limited. However, if we consider the sum of bottom-up changes and building a network of knowledge and practice as a systemic change, then the systemic impact of the nationwide citizens' assembly on energy costs will be more significant. Bottom-up changes are slower because they are "organic" and interconnected, they depend on the involvement of people and organisations. They can occur in various places, environments, and at different levels of administration.

The study took place a few months after the nationwide assembly³⁹. During that time, examples of systemic changes that had begun were collected. Their range is therefore not large. However, these changes are significant and they have great development potential. It can be assumed that the systemic impact will increase in the future.

Culture of dialogue as a systemic change

The contribution of the Citizens' assembly to **building the culture of listening and dialogue** can be considered. In addition, many respondents indicate that this is a change needed in Poland.

This may be a remedy for the poor quality of the social dialogue in Poland, for us not to just yell at each other.

Civic council organiser 4

The nationwide citizens' assembly and local civic councils made it possible for people from various backgrounds and political options to meet and talk. The time and forms of work were conducive to the exchange of opinions. People who had known or experienced energy poverty could talk about their problems. On the other hand, politicians or experts could learn about the

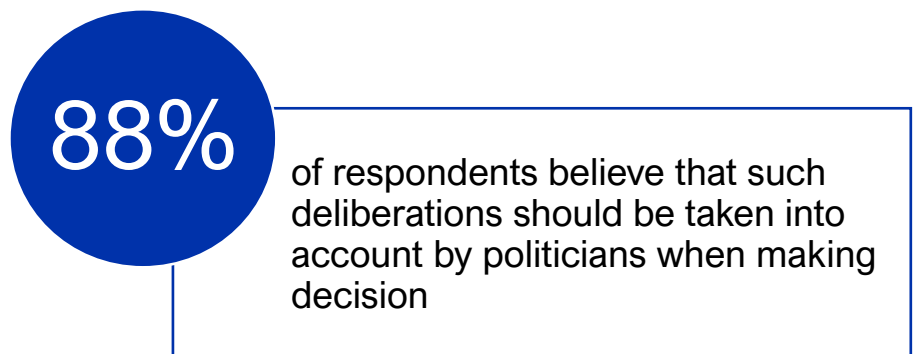
³⁸ **Systemic impact** includes changes in democratic structures and decision-making. Moreover, systemic impact means increasing pressure and ability to approach deliberatively the citizens and engage them.

³⁹ The study was carried out from 06.2023 to 02.2024.

practical and individual perspective of citizens, which – as they have personally admitted – they lack on a daily basis.

Consolidating the culture of listening and dialogue requires civic education and creating further opportunities for the citizens to get used to dialogue on various issues and participate in the decisions of the authorities to become natural for them.

Another example is **the development of systemic thinking about the meaning of public discourse in public decisions**. The increased awareness of decision-makers from various institutions – both of the central and local government – and political parties that, when planning the energy transition, or in other areas of public life, they **should take into account the voice of citizens**. Understanding citizens' opinions helps to create better public policies and strengthen the social responsibility of those in power. The March 2023 nationwide survey confirms the high social support for involving citizens in public decisions:



Source: Citizens' Assembly Survey, CATI method n=1000 between March 6th and March 15th, 2023, More in Common and IPSOS (PL)

The number of such practices in Poland is also growing. For instance, the Shipyard Foundation supported with its *know-how* the cycle of [local civic councils on water](#) in 2023. It has also published the guide entitled "[10 steps of a good consultation. A guide for people organising and moderating a civic council on energy costs](#)", so the knowledge base that can be used free of charge is being built.

However, the challenge remains to involve citizens, especially the residents of smaller towns. Even if the local civic councils in 2022 managed to include various departments of the commune or the city office, the response of the residents was rather small. According to the respondents, ordinary residents are not used to participating in public consultations, they do not feel any more

obliged to make decisions. Therefore, it is still necessary to emphasise the active role of residents and citizens in governance.

The reception of such topics in our country is such that we [the local government – ed. EC] are to come up with a solution, and not ask the residents for their opinion, for their informational contribution.

Civic council organiser 2

The condition for increasing the influence in the field of knowledge and the use of deliberative methods is **to constantly promote their effectiveness**. It is good practice of the Shipyard Foundation to constantly inform about the elements of the assembly that are further used and in which contexts. Thanks to this, the participants of the assembly and local civic councils feel that their time and commitment have not been wasted.

Another effect of the citizens' assembly is **a change in expert discourse on participation and its use to create energy and climate policy**. In principle, the topic of participation had not appeared in expert studies before 2023. The studies had focused rather on specialist topics on energy poverty and proposing recommendations. In 2023, civic participation became an important element of studies and recommendations on the topic of energy poverty and energy policy. Both forms are mentioned side by side in expert texts, which may indicate the direct influence of the Citizens' assembly.

In several expert studies, **the citizens' assembly was also proposed as a stage of lawmaking in Poland**. This may be the result of the work of the Shipyard Foundation. In April 2023, the text of the Participatory Group was developed (in which the Foundation participated) entitled: "Energy poverty – support for vulnerable recipients and recommendations for solutions to the problem". It proposed that the Citizens' assembly should become a regular mechanism of the legislative process⁴⁰.

The importance of energy poverty

Greater public importance has been provided to energy poverty. Thanks to the nationwide assembly and local civic councils, the problem has been publicised and increased interest in it in both the media and society. Plenty of work in this area has been done by the Shipyard Foundation itself, which has carried out systematic information and dissemination activities.

As one of the experts in the study noted, **energy poverty was treated as a marginal "domestic" and "female" issue. Thanks to the nationwide assembly and the verdict, it has become a public and political matter that requires a systemic solution**. The evolution of the approach can be seen especially at the local level. In some places, the local authorities were afraid of organising a council on energy poverty. They were not ready to talk about the local problems related to energy poverty. They treated it as a threat to the image of the city and the authority itself. However, thanks to the dissemination of the information about the scale of the problem and possible solutions that are supported by the citizens, the local governments have started to approach energy poverty as a challenge. This is also supported by the clear signal of the

⁴⁰ <https://www.wrzos.org.pl/aktualnosci/stanowisko-grupy-partycypacyjnej-ubostwo-energetyczne-wsparcie-odbiorcow-wrazliwych-i-rekomendacje-rozwiazan-problemu/> [Accessed: 1.03.2024]

current government, which wants to finance the reduction of energy poverty in Poland.

The Civic Council on Energy Costs has made a significant contribution to **creating a language for describing energy poverty and establishing a conceptual set and definition**. It is thanks to this that the public can become interested in the topic and understand it. Public discussion on this topic may also develop.

Creating language and increasing public interest can, in turn, be helpful in communicating and educating about the problem. An example is the experience of one of the local governments that, after a civic council, was able to build its narrative about energy poverty:

The council gave me a dictionary that I can use in conversations with the environment, the city council, the residents, and others.

Civic council organiser 4

Since energy poverty is identified as a public matter and not only a problem of individual citizens, the way of talking about it is changing. In turn, a change in discourse may affect the manner, in which energy poverty will be described in the media: as a general social issue, and depending on political decisions.

Thanks to the Civic Council, **the strong need for solidarity with poorer citizens in the energy transition was articulated**. On a daily basis, it is easier for the local governments to transfer funds from the "Clean Air" programme to active and more prosperous residents, as they will take care of replacing the furnace on their own. The citizens' assembly on energy costs has definitely changed the way of thinking about the recipients of public programmes. Citizens who, without organisational and financial support, will not modernise their heating systems, or thermo-modernise buildings, and may fall into greater poverty have been noticed. Moreover, it has been understood that if the authorities omit this group and they incur higher and higher energy costs, there may be the outbreak of social discontent⁴¹.

⁴¹ IBS, among others, warns against this:
<https://ibs.org.pl/publications/czy-polska-bedzie-druga-francja-jak-uniknac-konfliktow-spoecznych-zwiazanych-z-polityka-klimatyczna/> [Accessed: 02.03.2024]
https://ibs.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Jak-zapobiec-Zoltym-Kamizelkom_WP_03_2023_streszczenie_pl.pdf [Accessed: 02.03.2024]

Another example of a systemic change is showing that **reducing energy poverty contributes to breaking the vicious circle of poverty**. It has been indicated, among others, by an organisation that deals with material assistance to the poorest people on a large scale in Poland. Not only does the purchase of fuel help to solve the problem of energy poverty, but also contributes to the overall improvement of the situation of those lacking energy. They do not have to worry, how to warm their houses in winter, they are able to allocate spendings to other needs, e.g. medicines and food.

Social changes

Furthermore, the nationwide assembly helps to **break the stereotype regarding the elderly that "you can't teach an old dog new tricks"**. When the "co-housing of older people" was discussed during the citizens' assembly, the idea met with interest and acceptance of the assembly participants from this age group, especially since it turned out to be a comprehensive solution to other problems. Thanks to the cohabitation of several elderly people in an energy-efficient apartment, not only does their energy poverty decrease, but also the chance of maintaining good health, or strengthening social ties improves.

Greater integration of social problems, e.g. showing the relationship between energy poverty and climate protection, can also be indicated as a systemic change of the Civic Council. Energy poverty in the consciousness of the assembly and local civic councils participants has been more strongly linked to clean air. Solving the problem of unheated houses, or poor fuel quality translates into an improvement in the situation of all residents, as they can breathe cleaner air. Thus, caring for the decrease in energy poverty becomes caring for the common good (which is clean air). In addition, the awareness of such link helps in the implementation of climate policy, despite political polarisation in the society:

If we ask people on the street if they want to breathe cleaner air, I think that in this case, Poland would not be divided at all.

Expert NGO1

The systemic impact of the Citizens' assembly can also be described as **the preparation for a social change**. Not only does the change take place in public policies, but also the consciousness and mentality of people that have gone through the experience of national and local councils. The participants of

those meetings met, gained knowledge, discussed various reasons, and they were invited to make decisions. For many people, it was a new, creative process that caused a change in them:

The citizens' assembly is a tool to prepare people for a change.

Expert media 1

The tool for a change is civic consultation, as it allows it to go beyond the individual perspective. It fosters conversation and the search for community solutions by ordinary citizens, not just experts. A change takes place here from the bottom up, through social actions, and legal changes.

Organisational changes

Local civic councils contributed to increasing cooperation and thus, it **can be considered as the next step in breaking the silo culture of the local government**. The councils were frequently attended by the representatives of various local government units that do not cooperate on a daily basis. During the council, the employees of the social welfare department and the unit responsible for the "Clean Air" programme (environmental protection) could work on a common approach towards the problem of energy poverty and look for comprehensive solutions for the local community.

Moreover, there was an **increase in the potential of non-governmental organisations**, which conducted, or co-conducted local civic councils on energy costs. Thanks to the support of the Shipyard Foundation, they were able to develop competences in the field of conducting dialogue, test methods of conducting councils and present their expertise to the local entities. In the future, they may become a partner, or moderator of other public discussions. Additionally, they can – having the know-how in the field of deliberation – initiate further topics for discussion in the local communities.

Conclusions

The study has identified systemic changes that occur "from the bottom up". They occur slowly, but usually this impact is the most long-lasting. The systemic impact of the assembly and local civic councils is visible in the field of building the culture of dialogue. An example of a change can also be the strengthening of systemic thinking about the fact that the voice of citizens should be taken into account, while making decisions on collective life.

The problem of energy poverty has been provided with public and political importance. Moreover, it is essential to disseminate the language of the problem description. Currently, not only is the term "energy poverty" utilised by experts in official documents, but also the residents of the towns, where local civic councils were held.

Furthermore, the awareness of the need for solidarity with poorer citizens in terms of the energy transition has increased and it has been shown that reducing energy poverty can help break the vicious circle of poverty.

Thanks to systemic changes, knowledge, and practice resources are increasing, e.g. in local communities and expert organisations. Since the actions of the current government are consistent with the directions of change indicated by the verdict of the Citizens' assembly, it can be expected that the systemic impact of the Citizens' assembly on energy costs will increase in the future.

Annex 1. Research design

The aim of the study was **to assess the impact** of the "Civic Council on Energy Costs", organised by the Shipyard Foundation in 2022 in Poland.

The study covered various types and areas of impact developed by the Impact Evaluation Framework commissioned by the Knowledge Network on Climate Assemblies (KNOCA) to assess the impact of climate assemblies⁴² (the chart can be found on page 10 of the report.

- political
- social
- analytical

Not only did we study the impact of the nationwide assembly on energy costs, but also the changes resulting from local civic councils.

How we define impact

We define impact as activities, policies, and investments that create a change in selected areas. Impact takes into account all the effects of activities - both positive and negative. Effects are divided into the following three types:

- **outputs (products),**
- **outcomes (results),**
- **impact.**

The impact of the Civic Council is inertial and interconnected. Although it took place in 2022, various social, or political actors still benefit from the verdict and experience of the deliberation process. We are aware that we have not been able to identify all the examples of impact.

Research questions

In the study, we were looking for answers to the following questions. The first group of questions concerns impact and refers to the theoretical framework of

⁴² <https://www.knoqa.eu/guidances-documents/impact-evaluation-framework>
[Accessed: 03.03.2024]

KNOCA. In the second group, there are questions about the context of the Civic Council in Poland.

Types and areas of impact

1. What is the impact (positive and negative) of the Citizens' assembly? To what extent can the Citizens' assembly help to solve the problem of energy poverty in Poland?
2. Has the assembly led to changes in policy, behaviour, and practice?
3. Have there been changes in the way people (the assembly participants, experts, representatives of local governments, where local civic councils were held, representatives of political parties) think about knowledge, understanding, and attitudes?
4. How have the skills, abilities, and confidence of the assembly participants and other key stakeholders changed?
5. What is the impact on public discourse and the involvement of the society, business and civil society? What is the systemic impact?

Context, conditions of impact

1. Who did the Shipyard Foundation manage to involve in the organisation and promotion of the results of the Citizens' assembly? Who failed to engage and why?
2. Has a coalition been formed to reduce energy poverty? What is the role of this coalition at various stages of the energy poverty reduction process?
3. What factors (social, political, economic, systemic) help and what hinder the promotion of the assembly results?
4. Are the solutions developed during the assembly publicly available? Which ones and to whom?
5. What communication paths and channels are used to disseminate solutions?
6. Which solutions from the assembly move further into the public discourse? Where? What solutions? Why these and not others?
7. How can the impact of the assembly be increased, in what area?
8. What are the challenges for the Citizens' Council? How can they be dealt with?

Methods

The following research methods were used in the study. Below we are presenting the summary of the methods and the number of respondents participating in the study.

20 of 20	Telephone interviews with the participants of the nationwide citizens assembly. The study group was diversified: women and men, residents of small towns and large cities.
10 of 10	Online interview with experts. The experts were purposely selected with the help of the Shipyard Foundation. They were people who had been involved in the deliberation process, provided their knowledge to the participants and took part in the final meeting in December 2022.
8 of 10	Telephone interviews with the representatives of local communities, where local civic councils were held. They were also selected with the support of

	the Shipyard Foundation. Among the re-presenters were representatives of local authorities and NGOs, who organised local deliberations.
2 of 5	Online interviews with the representatives of political parties – Left wing and Third Way coalition. Other parties members were not interested in the interviews. Other parties failed to attract interest in the survey, despite numerous attempts to reach out through various channels (social media, email, phone call).
2 of 5	Online interviews with the representatives of a public institution: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Fund for Environmental Protection and Water Management • Ministry of Climate and Environment Due to the elections and the change of government in Poland in autumn 2023, it was not possible to conduct all the planned interviews with representatives of public central institutions.
16	Responses in a computer-assisted web Interview-type survey (CAWI) aimed at organisers of local civic councils (in 45 local towns in Poland). Some people organised meetings in several places
81	Responses to the pre- and post surveys of the Shipyard Foundation conducted among participants of the nationwide citizens' assembly.
53	Documents analysed at the desk research (the detailed list of documents in the attachment)
1	Media analysis

Criteria

In the analysis of the data and the results of the study, we used 2 criteria: **meaning and coverage** (in accordance with the assumptions of KNOCA).

- **Meaning** refers to how important influence is. It helps to assess the extent, to which any impact affects climate action, indeed. This may include, but is not limited to, assessment, or whether short-term outcomes actually lead to long-term changes.
- **The scope of influence** concerns, how far the assembly's influence reaches in the territorial sense (local, regional, national, or in relation to the selected region).

Annex 2. List of documents

The list of documents analysed in the study.

Title	Author/institution	Link
How do we fairly upgrade municipal buildings?	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/jak-sprawiedliwie-modernizowac-budynki-komunalne/
The problem of energy poverty in Poland - diagnosis, causes, environment and proposed solutions. Will the first nationwide citizens' panel help resolve this issue?	Komisja Nadzwyczajna do spraw Klimatu	https://www.senat.gov.pl/prace/komisje-senackie/przebieg,9873,1.html
Participation Group position paper „Energy poverty - support for vulnerable consumers and recommendations for solutions to the problem”	WRZOS	https://www.wrzos.org.pl/aktualnosci/stanowisko-grupy-partycypacyjnej-ubostwo-energetyczne-wsparcie-odbiorcow-wrazliwych-i-rekomendacje-rozwiazan-problemu/
Distributional effects of emission taxation in Poland	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/efekty-dystrybucyjne-opodatkowania-emisji-w-polsce/
Will Poland become a second France? How to avoid social conflicts related to climate policy	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/czy-polska-bedzie-druga-francja-jak-uniknac-konfliktow-spoecznych-zwiazanych-z-polityka-klimatyczna/
What kind of energy future do we want for Poles?	Komisja Nadzwyczajna do spraw Klimatu	https://www.senat.gov.pl/prace/komisje-senackie/przebieg,10096,1.html
How to prevent the Yellow Vests? Assessing carbon tax preferences through an economic experiment	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/jak-zapobiec-zoltym-kamizelkom-ocena-preferencji-dotyczacych-podatku-weglowego-za-pomoca-eksperymentu-ekonomicznego/
Female fuel poverty in Poland	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/ubostwo-energetyczne-kobiet-w-polsce/
Presentation of a summary of the first nationwide citizens' panel answering the question: How to solve the problem of energy poverty in Poland?	Komisja Nadzwyczajna do spraw Klimatu	https://www.senat.gov.pl/prace/komisje-senackie/przebieg,10057,1.html
How to pay fewer bills? A guide from the Polish Green Network	Polska Zielona Sieć	https://zielonasiec.pl/2023/02/09/jak-mozesz-placic-mniejsze-rachunki-poradnik-polskiej-zielonej-sieci/#

Does energy efficiency have to cost a lot?	Komisja Nadzwyczajna do spraw Klimatu	https://www.senat.gov.pl/prace/komisje-senackie/przebieg,10039,1.html
Energy cooperatives in Poland. Social determinants of their formation	BoMiasto	https://klimatycznabazawiedzy.org/raport/spoldzielnie-energetyczne-w-polsce-spoeczne-uwarunkowania-ich-powstania/
Report on the analysis of the problem of energy poverty in the municipalities of the Małopolskie Voivodeship	Małopolska w Zdrowej Atmosferze	https://powietrze.malopolska.pl/baza/raport-z-analazy-problemu-ubostwa-energetycznego-w-gminach-województwa-malopolskiego/
How to establish and run an energy cooperative?	Krajowy Ośrodek Wsparcia Rolnictwa	https://www.gov.pl/web/kowr/podrecznik-renaldo
How to establish and run an energy cooperative?	More in Common	https://www.moreincommon.pl/co-robimy/polska-po-zimie/
Household coal purchase expenditure in 2022/2023. quantitative survey report	Izba Gospodarcza Sprzedawców Polskiego Węgla	https://www.slaskibiznes.pl/files/IGSPW_Wydatki-na-zakup-w%C4%99gla-2022-2023_raport.pdf
Socio-political analysis of fuel poverty in Warsaw	Polska Zielona Sieć	https://ireform.eu/s/uploads/Analiza_spoeczno_polityczna_dotyczaca_ubostwa_energetycznego_w_Warszawie_23_02_2023_64d4cc4a92.pdf
How can we break down the barriers to transformation?	WiseEuropa	https://klimatycznabazawiedzy.org/raport/jak-mozemy-przelamac-bariery-transformacji/
How do we fairly upgrade municipal buildings?	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/jak-sprawiedliwie-modernizowac-budynki-komunalne/
The Urban Resilience Package. A fair cooperative transformation for sustainable development in post-coal regions	CoopTech Hub i Fundacja im. Heinricha Bölla	https://www.hub.coop/pakiet-miejskiej-odpornosci-premiera/?fbclid=IwAR1b6R8wiDkckD7FMsaGnkvTBxjv8lahuoKY3zWs_zEV1j1RkoJnxD6PIK0
Climate Change 2022: Threats, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Summary for Decision Makers	IPCC, PAN, Nauka o Klimacie	https://klimatycznabazawiedzy.org/raport/zmiana-klimatu-2022-zagrozenia-adaptacja-i-wrazliwosc-podsumowanie-dla-decydentow/
Financing gas investments is a risky, dead-end street	Fundacja „Rozwój Tak – Odkrywk Nie”, Pracownia na Rzecz Wszystkich Istot, wydawnictwo Odpowiedzialny Inwestor oraz Polska Zielona Sieć	https://publicystyka.ngo.pl/nowy-raport-finansowanie-inwestycji-gazowych-to-ryzykowna-slepa-uliczka

Cold? Put on a jumper and make your neighbour a cup of tea. It will give him more warmth than the latest government support	Klub Jagielloński	https://klubjagiellonski.pl/2022/09/25/zimno-zaloz-sweter-i-zrob-sasiadowi-herbate-to-da-mu-wiecej-ciepla-niz-najnowsze-wsparcie-rzadu/
Council position on the current energy crisis	Ekspercka Rada ds. Bezpieczeństwa Energetycznego i Klimatu	https://rada-energetyczna.pl/stanowisko-rady-obecny-kryzys
Conducting educational activities alone will not pull anyone out of fuel poverty	ngo.pl	https://publicystyka.ngo.pl/jakub-sokolowski-samo-prowadzenie-dzialan-edukacyjnych-nikogo-z-ubostwa-energetycznego-nie-wyciagnie
Recommendations made as part of the pre-consultation to prepare draft updates of national strategic documents for the energy sector, including the National Energy and Climate Plan for 2021-2030 (NEEAP) and the Energy Policy of Poland until 2040 (PEP2040).	Grupa robocza na rzecz społecznie sprawiedliwej polityki klimatyczno-energetycznej działająca przy Wspólnocie Roboczej Związków Organizacji Socjalnych	https://www.wrzos.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/rekomendacje-grupy-roboczej-wrzos-habitatpl-prekonusltacje-kpeik-i-pep2023.pdf
Economic effects of stopping Russian fuel imports in Poland	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/ekonomiczne-efekty-zatrzymania-importu-rosyjskich-paliw-w-polsce/
Energy transformation in Poland Edition 2022	Forum Energii	https://www.forum-energii.eu/pl/analizy/transformacja-2022
In focus: How can the EU help those affected by energy poverty?	Komisja Europejska	https://commission.europa.eu/news/focus-how-can-eu-help-those-touched-energy-poverty-2022-02-16_pl
Navigating in times of uncertainty	More in Common	https://www.moreincommon.com/media/f3kbpqu3/p21-3-master-deck.pdf
How do you cut your energy bills before next winter?	Forum Energii	https://www.forum-energii.eu/pl/analizy/toolbox
Effective instruments to support comprehensive energy modernisation of buildings in Poland	Fala Renowacji	https://falarenowacji.pl/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/FR_raport_Efektywne-instrumenty-sklad-31_05.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3JGscLj1fd4uYE-P1uggqC1AX9UzGrzmyM7bSnvj3f7XusTDsTf0fXhvw
Energy poverty: How to reduce inequalities?	Euractiv	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mTE_OhTQmw&ab_channel=EURACTIV
Energy Poverty. The role of energy efficiency in tackling energy poverty	WiseEuropa	https://wise-europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/UBOSTWO-ENERGETYCZNE.pdf

'The Just Transition Fund as a pillar of the European Green Deal' - MEP, former Prime Minister Prof. Jerzy Buzek.	Komisja Nadzwyczajna do spraw Klimatu	https://www.senat.gov.pl/prace/komisje-senackie/przebieg,9198,1.html
Decarbonisation and labour market changes in Poland	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/dekarbonizacja-i-zmiany-na-ryнку-pracy-w-polsce/
Presentation by Paweł Czyżak, Head of the Energy and Climate Programme, Board Member of the InStrat Foundation 'Poland's energy policy in light of EU climate policy'.	Komisja Nadzwyczajna do spraw Klimatu	https://www.senat.gov.pl/prace/komisje-senackie/przebieg,9102,1.html
How to improve the quality of life of the energy poor?	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/jak-poprawic-jakosc-zycia-osob-ubogich-energetycznie/
Roadmap for decarbonising the construction industry by 2050	Polskie Stowarzyszenie Budownictwa Ekologicznego	https://plgbc.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Mapa-drogowa-dekarbonizacji-2050.pdf
Energy Poverty. A report on energy poor households	Centrum Polityk Publicznych	https://sg-cdn.uek.krakow.pl/file/root/aktualnosci/raporty-cpp/23_ubostwo-energetyczne.pdf
Tackling energy poverty through local action - Inspiring cases from across Europe	Energy Poverty Advisory Hub	https://energy-poverty.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-02/EPAH_inspiring%20cases%20from%20across%20Europe_report_PL.pdf
Energy transition - expectations and demands	CBOS	https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2021/K_070_21.PDF
Good practice bank. Tackling energy poverty in Poland	Zespół ds. odbiorcy wrażliwego oraz redukcji ubóstwa energetycznego w Polsce	https://www.gov.pl/web/klimat/jak-wspierac-odbiorce-wrażliwego-energii-i-redukowac-ubostwo-energetyczne-bank-dobrych-praktyk-juz-dostepny-dla-gmin
Characteristics of instruments affecting the reduction of energy poverty	Zespół ds. odbiorcy wrażliwego oraz redukcji ubóstwa energetycznego w Polsce	https://www.gov.pl/web/klimat/jak-wspierac-odbiorce-wrażliwego-energii-i-redukowac-ubostwo-energetyczne-bank-dobrych-praktyk-juz-dostepny-dla-gmin
Summary of proposals for new instruments or modifications to existing ones to reduce energy poverty	Zespół ds. odbiorcy wrażliwego oraz redukcji ubóstwa energetycznego w Polsce	https://www.gov.pl/web/klimat/jak-wspierac-odbiorce-wrażliwego-energii-i-redukowac-ubostwo-energetyczne-bank-dobrych-praktyk-juz-dostepny-dla-gmin

Energy poverty in the transition to a climate-neutral economy	Unify	https://www.pine.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/broszura-ubostwo-energetyczne.pdf
Fuel poverty, housing and health in Poland	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/ubostwo-energetyczne-warunki-mieszkaniowe-i-zdrowie-w-polsce/
Measuring fuel poverty in Poland using a multidimensional fuel poverty index	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/pomiar-ubostwa-energetycznego-w-polsce-z-uzyciem-wielowymiarowego-wskaznika-ubostwa-energetycznego/
Political parties and climate policy: why parties sometimes raise the issue and sometimes keep quiet about it	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/partie-polityczne-a-polityka-klimatyczna-dlaczego-partie-czasami-poruszaja-ten-temat-a-czasami-go-przemilczaja/
How to reduce the scale of energy poverty in Poland?	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/jak-ograniczyc-skale-ubostwa-energetycznego-w-polsce/
Energy poverty in Poland 2012-2016. Changes over time and characteristics of the phenomenon	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/ubostwo-energetyczne-w-polsce-2012-2016-zmiany-w-czasie-i-charakterystyka-zjawiska/
Measuring fuel poverty from BBGD data - methodology and application	IBS	https://ibs.org.pl/publications/pomiar-ubostwa-energetycznego-na-podstawie-danych-bbgd-metodologia-i-zastosowanie/
Evaluation of the nationwide advisory support system for the public sector, housing sector and enterprises in the field of energy efficiency and renewable energy sources under priority axis I of the I&E OP 2014-2020	IMAPP	https://www.ewaluacja.gov.pl/media/67094/imapp_ewaluacja_doradztwa_energetycznego_raport_koncowy.pdf

This Impact Assessment Report has been supported by the European Climate Foundation. Responsibility for the information and views set out in this report lie with the authors. The European Climate Foundation cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained or expressed therein.