NATIONAL MINI-PUBLIC REPORT: POLAND

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Culminating more than a decade of crisis in Europe, the Covid-19 pandemic has opened an important window of opportunity for institutional and policy change, not only at the “reactive” level of emergency responses, but also to tackle more broadly the many socio-political challenges caused or exacerbated by Covid-19. Building on this premise, the Horizon Europe project REGROUP (Rebuilding governance and resilience out of the pandemic) aims to: 1) provide the European Union with a body of actionable advice on how to rebuild post-pandemic governance and public policies in an effective and democratic way; anchored to 2) a map of the socio-political dynamics and consequences of Covid-19; and 3) an empirically-informed normative evaluation of the pandemic.
Contents

This report summarises the organisation, discussions, and output of the citizens’ jury on disinformation, knowledge circulation, and trust in politics, which took place on Saturdays: 9 September, 7 and 21 October 2023 in the city of Kraków.

Organisational matters

The Jagiellonian University team responsible for organising and then carrying out the citizen’s juries consisted of four people: Dr Natasza Styczyńska who was in charge of the whole undertaking and also acted as one of facilitators during day 1.2 and day 2 (the numeration will be explained later in this section) as well as maintained e-mail contact with the participants and experts; Dr Marcin Zubek, who acted as moderator/facilitator in all three days as well as prepared translations of the roll-out and the survey; Dr Izabela Nawrot-Adamczyk, who acted as moderator/facilitator during day 1.1, remained in touch with the participants before day 1.1 and also translated part of the materials, and finally, Rita Hornok, research assistant, who took care of organisational matters on the spot, which included greeting the participants and distributing (and then collecting) all of the materials as well as preparing visualisations during the meetings and graphs for the report.

It is very important to mention here that instead of two days, the citizen’s jury in Kraków was split into three days due to a very small turnout on the first day. For the first mini-public, only eight participants arrived. It was therefore decided to organise an additional first day with another group of participants. We thus had two “first days”, which we label as day 1.1 (on 09.09.2023) and day 1.2 (on 07.10.2023). Day 2 was organised on 21.10.2023.

During three meetings held in Kraków, three experts (introduced as ‘resources persons’ to the participants) were involved: psychologist Tomasz Dytkowski, internet security specialist Joanna Grabarczyk-Anders and communication specialist Filip Szulik-Szarecki. All experts were offered compensation for their involvement and reimbursement of the travel costs.

All meetings took place at the main building of the Faculty of International and Political Studies of Jagiellonian University, at Reymonta 4 Street in Kraków. The place is highly accessible by any means of transportation. We had three rooms at our disposal. One was used for plenary sessions and the other two as breakout rooms for group work. All
rooms were fully equipped with all relevant presentation tools. Also, in the plenary room beverages and refreshments were available to participants all the time. The lunch was served outside of the working space.

As is the case for all domestic citizens’ juries held within the framework of the REGROUP project, Sortition Foundation was subcontracted to recruit participants based on three criteria: Age, gender, and education. Sortition Foundation was also requested to make sure that the jury included participants living outside of the city. Out of a set of interested citizens, the organisation selected participants with the objective to include a set of citizens regarding several dimensions such as gender, age, education, geography, and types of consumed news sources. Out of 30 invited participants, 23 confirmed their presence for the 1.1. session but as a result, only eight showed up to attend the first day. For the day 1.2., we have invited 30 from the reserve list obtained from the Sortition Foundation and we also contacted the participants who did not show up on the first day. Only eight people from the database provided by Sortition Foundation confirmed their interest in the mini-public which forced us to recruit another four participants from among the students of the Faculty of International and Political Studies of Jagiellonian University. As a result, 12 people confirmed presence during day 1.2 but only eight showed up.

After the first mini-public was concluded (days 1.1. and 1.2.), we invited all 16 participants to join on day 2 and received confirmation from all of them, while 14 people showed up for the meeting. As a means of compensation, a gift card of 400 PLN was given to participants who attended both days.

Table 1: Distribution of participants along three dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (Vocational)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary 1, Non-university higher education</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary 2, Bachelor’s degree or equivalent</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary 3, Master’s degree or Doctoral degree</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: This data refers to 14 participants who were present for both sessions of the citizens’ jury.
Content of the discussions

According to the previously prepared scenario, the mini-public held in Kraków followed a similar schedule as other national ones. On all days, the programme started at 9 am and finished at 5 pm, with a one-hour break for lunch and shorter coffee breaks in between discussions. The first day (and subsequently day 1.2) focused on getting to know each other, delving into the jury’s topics, exchanging views with resource persons and sharing experiences and visions for the future. The day 1.1. and 1.2. concluded with the first list of ideas for policy recommendations. Day 2 was dedicated to further working on areas identified during day one and crafting specific policy recommendations.

Day 1.1 and 1.2.: Exchanging experiences

There have been significant similarities between the jurors who arrived on days 1.1 and 1.2, therefore both days will be reported under the same paragraph. In both instances, we started with an ice-breaker exercise followed by a moving debate. We decided to alter the ice-breaker activity from the one proposed in the rollout and instead of the modes of transportation, we asked each participant to come up with an adjective that according to them accurately describes the European Union and starts with the first letter of their names. We put their ideas on the board and briefly discussed them. This also allowed us to initially “feel the room” and participants attitudes, which turned out to be rather homogenous.

Because the number of participants during day 1.1 and 1.2 was relatively small, each participant could express their opinions and personal experiences during the moving debate. It was clear that regardless of the age of participants the COVID experience was a significant one. Oftentimes the participants, when reflecting on the news on COVID they received, also connected them with exact memories – one mentioned drinking beer with friends and making plans for a skiing trip, the other one reminisced about the death of the “Prodigy” band leader, when disturbing news about the spread of COVID started to appear. One participant has shared a piece of extremely personal information with the others - him suffering from severe depression. Young participants mentioned that the COVID-19 pandemic was for them the first significant event on a global scale that they experienced and that significantly influenced their lives.

It seems that the strongest majority of participants was formed when questions about communication were asked. There was a firm conviction in the group that neither the government, nor the media were able to effectively communicate decisions and pass information during the COVID pandemic, and the fake news was widespread. Lack of clarity, reliability, and instrumentality of messaging was indicated. Also, the participants mentioned that one should differentiate between various kinds of media, where
the television and internet media did much worse compared to some well-established print media. Younger participants also repeatedly mentioned the very negative role of social media in spreading disinformation, particularly TikTok. They also mentioned that online education did not help to understand the situation and the possible scenarios. Interestingly, the participants were not convinced that society would do better in the face of future crises. They were moderately optimistic about it. On the other hand, when asked whether they would cope better personally, almost all of them were convinced that they were better equipped to deal with similar crises in the future. In general, the participants were keen on exchanging experiences and some movement was visible during the debate, although it was limited to slight changes of opinions (from yes/no to undecided).

During the next section, the participants were exposed to the video prepared by RE-GROUP and presentations by the experts. Here, there was a difference between day 1.1. and 1.2, as during day 1.1 we had the following experts: Tomasz Dytkowski, psychologist and analyst at the Geremek Foundation. He is involved in the “Keyboard Warriors” educational project, which is about raising awareness among schoolchildren and students on disinformation, hate speech, and propaganda. The second expert, Joanna Grabarczyk-Anders is an internet security specialist, researcher on hate-motivated crimes and co-founder of the “Hejtstop” campaign. Currently, she is involved in research on disinformation and the removal of forbidden content from the Internet. Tomasz Dytkowski’s contribution tackled the use of the feeling of uncertainty in order to strengthen anti-systemic attitudes. Ms Grabarczyk-Anders spoke about the role of experts in drafting recommendations and confidence building in the area of disinformation between citizens, institutions and IT service providers. During day 1.2 Ms Grabarczyk-Anders was not present, instead, Filip Szulik-Szarecki, who is a communication specialist and the trainer in the “Keyboard Warriors” project, together with Mr Dytkowski presented on a similar topic as during day 1.2.

All the presentations were well received by the participants, yet during day 1.1, one of the participants presented a rather extreme view that the presentations were hugely disappointing, lacked useful content, and generally worthless. He was also quite offensive in making those remarks. This person’s main argument was that the experts were often invoking scientific research, but not able to define the meaning of “scientific” consensus. The participant in question did not appear for day 2 and his performance during the rest of day 1.1 can be labelled as “problematic” in the sense that he was disrupting the proceedings and clearly did not treat the whole citizens’ jury exercise seriously.

After the experts’ presentations, the participants expressed their opinion on a question of the influence of the COVID pandemic on political trust. Experts were eager to answer
all questions and engaged in discussions with the participants, even during the lunch break. The results in the form of a word-cloud is presented below from days 1.1 and 1.2.

Chart 1: Word cloud - merged results from day 1.1 and 1.2

After this exercise, the participants began the part in which they were supposed to build a vision of an ideal world, where the citizens trust the government and the scientists, and the society is well equipped to deal with upcoming crises.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the vision-building exercise was slightly problematic during the Kraków jury, as all the participants were, from the very beginning extremely keen on already proposing elaborate guidelines on how to achieve a utopian society. The moderators quite often needed to remind the jurors that this is something that would be developing in later stages of the process. Despite this problem-solving attitude, participants could imagine and describe an ideal society. According to the participants, such a society should first and foremost be well-educated. This part of the vision appeared very quickly in the discussions during both days 1.1 and 1.2. There were also other common ideas about the concepts of democracy and solidarity. One of the groups put those two ideas together claiming that on the one hand democracy, decentralisation, and freedom are important, on the other hand, in the face of a crisis the society also needs to show solidarity and be “internally disciplined” and able to coalesce for a greater good. In an ideal world, the society would “not be deeply divided and would be engaged and taking care of the common good”.

One of the groups put a lot of emphasis on a high standard of social welfare in an ideal society. They argued that such a secure society would be better prepared for a crisis, as even if the crisis hits, it would be less burdensome if people were feeling socially
secure. This also included well-funded health services. As for the vision of society, which trusts politicians/experts, the participants underlined the issue of transparency and inclusiveness of decision-making processes. One of the groups put special emphasis on including regional or local communities in decision-making. The other mentioned an ideal type of a political leader, who is “not corrupted, does not avoid expert advice as well can admit his/her own mistakes and thus shows true leadership”. Also, in an ideal society, political trust would be ensured through the existence of well-developed and tested crisis-response mechanisms.

Also, in the ideal society, disinformation does not exist. The internet is used as a tool for communication but is “somehow free from fake news”. When it comes to the role of media in such a society, media pluralism was mentioned together with transparency (in the sense that ideal media reports tell the citizen from which point of view they are reporting) objectivity and awareness of their responsibility. Almost all participants both during day 1 and day 2 referred to the issue of bureaucracy and the time-consuming procedures that are “not friendly and not easy to comprehend” for the average citizen, thus in ideal society the institutions (and public clerks) would be more citizen oriented.

At the end of the day, the jurors have set the main points of the agenda. Due to similar issues mentioned during both days 1, we were able to merge the points from day 1.1 and 1.2 into the following:

- Scientific communication: education which involves teaching critical thinking and ensuring lifelong learning in this respect.
- Role of experts: creating an independent and apolitical committee of experts from various fields of knowledge.
- Disinformation: Active prevention boosted with education
- Political trust: broadly understood transparency and solid, apolitical public media

**Day 2: Deliberation and crafting recommendations**

During the second day, based on the set agenda, the jurors were to come up with more concrete policy recommendations. We also implemented a short ice-breaker, as not all the participants were already familiar with each other, considering that people present on day 1.1. did not know the jurors from day 1.2.

The main aim of the first session was to craft at least two concrete policy recommendations for each (previously discussed) topic. Participants were divided into the breakout
groups (a mix of participants from day 1 and day 2). After the first part of the discussions, they got an opportunity to receive feedback from a resource person - Tomasz Dytkowski. The discussion with the resource person was very fruitful, participants had many questions and ideas, due to which the talks continued during the lunch break. After the break, participants continued working on recommendations, including the exchange of “leaders” between groups and getting feedback from another group. The work on final recommendations took longer than expected due to the engagement of jurors but also their eagerness to include as many practical solutions as possible. After the policy recommendations were gathered from both groups, we held a joint presentation, followed by discussion and voting on the priority list of recommendations.

There were not that many controversies during the recommendation-drafting phase, as the main guidelines and directions were collaboratively defined earlier, and also due to the already mentioned relative homogeneity of the jurors. The main lines of division were visible concerning the age of participants when the reforms of the educational sphere were discussed. One of the older jurors (who also used to be a school teacher) clashed with the younger jurors in a discussion of the teacher’s position of authority vis-a-vis the necessity to teach children to think critically. The main issue here was a disagreement about whether children should be encouraged to question what teachers are saying and how to reconcile this with the claim that teachers should be respectable. As one of the older jurors put it - “without powerful teachers in the classroom, we would have anarchy”. This tension was alleviated by a common understanding, where respectability is earned by teachers exactly through the ability of teachers to enter into critical discussions with students, and does not only stem from age, hierarchy, or supreme knowledge. As one of the younger jurors put it - “we basically would like to completely deconstruct the education system in Poland”. The other summarised this part of the discussion by stating that “we cannot allow a situation in which children finish school with a conviction that they are not allowed to ask difficult questions”.

Another interesting thread was connected to countering disinformation. At the beginning of the discussion, jurors were figuring out a possibility to establish a mechanism, which would enable to impose sanctions against those who spread fake news. In the end however (because according to one juror, “there is so many fake news, that we will not be able to catch them all and punish the responsible parties”), the jurors opted for a more positive solution in a sense of establishing an institution, which would publish verified, unbiased facts. This institution would however be different from regular media services, as it would not strive for publishing news as quickly as possible at the expense of the reliability of the reports. Additionally, one of the jurors consistently pushed for the inclusion of a necessity of fostering “group work” in all aspects of life, through which disinformation is countered better, as people would be able to talk about the information they received with other people. This would also constitute a verification
mechanism. This idea was however criticised by others, as it was believed that there was a significant risk of the groups being exclusive and closed thus creating a social bubble, which could also amplify the received fake news.

Similarly, the issue of access to information and education was raised. Participants stressed the need for improving communication between politicians (but also public servants) and the citizens, according to one juror “politicians should be obliged to explain to the citizens the way EU and national institutions work”. Informing about the functions of the institutions would bring more trust and active participation from the citizens, otherwise, they perceive the EU as a distant entity that does not influence their life.

The topic of trust (towards institutions, public figures, media, and fellow citizens) was present throughout the whole exercise. The jurors mentioned that to boost the trust in institutions and politicians, appointments should be transparent and made based on “meritocratic factors” - meritocracy would automatically raise the level of trust and feeling of security.

One more divisive situation should also be mentioned here. During the feedback session (in which one of the subgroups reacted to recommendations of the other subgroup), one juror came up with the idea of including Christian values into the recommendations and generally adding (implicitly Catholic) church as another important actor in implementing them. This was immediately countered with criticism and rejection of a couple of jurors, who claimed that the church is rather the source of the problems with disinformation than the solution.

Policy recommendations

The Polish citizens’ jury drafted nine policy recommendations. Even though the number requested was eight, the jurors insisted that we include an additional one on the list for the final vote. This once again shows a significant level of engagement in the discussions and treating the whole experiment seriously by the participants. The list (and ranking) of policy recommendations is presented in the table below. The table shows simplified versions of the recommendations (as full versions were sometimes too long to fit into SLIDO). We however elaborate on some of those below the table.
Table 2: Policy recommendations of the Polish citizens’ jury

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Policy recommendations</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Educational reforms.</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Establishment of expert committee and emergency action plans.</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Support education by teaching the ability to verify information.</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>More frequent use of the referendum. Referendum available online, with simple questions and preceded by a diligent campaign.</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Create a clear, effective law at the EU and national level that is understandable to all citizens.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Create an institution to increase “popular science”.</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Create a platform (at EU and national levels) that publishes reliable, verified facts.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Training for public services and public administration in professionalism and proper approach to citizens.</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Popularize and disseminate the results of the expert committee's work in times of crisis - through government websites, and simple, intuitive, and active social media platforms, coupled with the M-Obywatel app.</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first recommendation was the most complex and comprehensive. It also shows that the issue of education was at the very core of jurors’ arguments. The full version of the recommendation is as follows: Reforming education by (1) moving religion lessons to parish catechism halls and introducing a subject dealing with religions and cultures; (2) promoting third age universities and senior education also in smaller communities (community centers, day care centers, housewives’ circles, etc.); (3) making the teaching profession highly esteemed through increased salaries, better selection of candidates, and offering more opportunities for professional development; (3) raising the status of the teaching profession through increased salaries, better selection of candidates for the profession and opportunities for professional development; (4) making the person of the teacher highly qualified as a pedagogue and able to build his or her authority on knowledge and personal example rather than solely on professional status; (5) ensuring the independence of experts who create textbooks and the core curriculum, which will be modern and interactive and up-to-date.

The second recommendation was also more elaborate, as it advocated for the establishment of an expert committee and emergency action plans. In case there is no crisis situation, the committee would consist of representatives of NGOs (or advocacy groups in general) and scientists. Whereas in case there is a crisis, they would be supplemented by several ordinary citizens and practitioners. The working of this committee would
not be publicly broadcasted (yet verbatim records would be archived), however, its decisions and justifications of the decisions would be subject to public scrutiny.

The third selected recommendation also touched upon educational issues. The jurors recommended supporting the educational process by teaching skills enabling people to verify information should be done on both group and individual levels through social campaigns and in school. According to jurors, the continuous process of education is of high importance (life-long learning) that would lead to achieving a certain level of awareness and knowledge among all social groups and generations.

The fourth most supported recommendation called for a more frequent use of referenda in the decision-making process, however under the condition that these are preceded by a proper and unbiased information campaign. What was also mentioned was a requirement for the questions to be simple and a possibility to vote via online tools.

These are the top four recommendations chosen for further elaboration by the jury. The remaining recommendations are presented below:

- Creating clear and effective legislation on national and European level, which is understandable for all citizens. This law should be feasible and enforceable;

- Creating an institution concentrated on popularising science and the way in which it is communicated to the public. The communication of science should therefore be tailored to specific target groups and devoid of bias which might come from those who fund research. Additionally, transparency of funding research needs to be assured;

- Creating a platform (possibly on the EU level and national level), which would publish verified and solid information, facts, not opinions. NGOs dealing with fact-checking should take part in this process;

- Assure professional training for public administration and other civil servants, which would teach them a proper, professional approach to citizens’ requests;

- Popularizing and disseminating the results of the expert committees’ work - through government websites, and simple, intuitive, and active social media platforms in times of crisis, coupled with the M-Obywatel\(^1\) app.

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\(^1\) The app is the official, governmental platform, which may serve as an ID card, and helps citizens in their contact with public administration.
Table 3: Policy recommendations and their ratings by effectiveness, feasibility, and divisiveness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy recommendations</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Effectiveness *</th>
<th>Feasibility **</th>
<th>Divisiveness ***</th>
<th>Divisiveness **** (inverted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational reforms*</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of an expert committee and emergency action plans</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support education by teaching the ability to verify information</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More frequent use of the referendum. Referendum available online, with simple questions and preceded by a diligent campaign</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create a clear, effective law at the EU and national level that is understandable to all citizens</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create an institution to increase “popular science”</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>4.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create a platform (at EU and national levels) that publishes reliable, verified facts</td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training for public services and public administration in professionalism and proper approach to citizens</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>3.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularize and disseminate the results of the expert committee’s work in times of crisis - through government websites, and simple, intuitive, and active social media platforms, coupled with the M-Obywatel app.</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* EFFECTIVENESS: Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 how effective do you think would be to implement these recommendations? 5 = very effective, 1 = very ineffective

** FEASIBILITY: Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 how easy do you think would be to implement these recommendations? 5 = very easy, 1 = very hard

*** DIVISIVENESS: Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 strongly disagree and 5 strongly agree) whether you think this recommendation could potentially divide the public.

Original: 1 = not divisive at all, 5 = strongly divisive

Inverted for better comparability: 1 = strongly divisive, 5 = not divisive at all
Attitudinal study

To gain a deeper insight into how deliberative democracy formats like citizens’ juries influence participants’ attitudes, we administered an attitudinal survey at the onset of the initial session and after the second-day session. The survey encompassed general inquiries about the participants and specific queries designed to gauge citizens’ perspectives on topics deliberated within the citizens’ jury. Additionally, it aimed to ascertain whether their involvement had any impact on individual attitudes.

The survey focused primarily on evaluating citizens’ confidence in identifying disinformation, assessing the extent of trust citizens placed in specific actors or organizations, tracing their confidence in governmental decision-making concerning future health crises, and discerning agreement or disagreement with various statements related to disinformation, the roles of politicians and experts in policy-making, and political trust.

The charts below depict some of the data gathered in the surveys. Firstly, it should be stated that the participants are generally interested in political events and most of them follow these daily. We can therefore conclude that the jurors were generally well-informed. It should be noted however that the meetings took place during the electoral campaign to the parliament (elections were held on the 15th of October 2023) and right after the elections. The dynamic campaign could have influenced the debate as well as the frequency of checking news, interest in political issues etc.

Chart 2: Frequency of following news

How often do you follow the news about events in Poland and abroad?

Never

Very rarely

From time to time

At least once a week

Every day

Note: In number of participants, based on 14 participants

Regarding the general level of trust, the group was very divided, with a small majority claiming that people actually can be trusted (see chart 3).
We have not noticed a significant change in the answers between the first and second day. As depicted in chart 4, the most significant drop in trust concerns the media (including the social media companies) and health and medical staff (see chart 4). We can only speculate why this change occurred. Regarding the media, it is possible that interactions with the experts could have contributed to the decline of trust. Plenty of attention during those exchanges was devoted to disinformation in general and the par-
Participants learned new things on this topic. It is more difficult to speculate on the change regarding the health and medical staff, as this issue has not been at the centre of jurors’ deliberations. The level of trust in this group still remained very high. Both scientific experts and the European Union are the most trustworthy actors according to the jurors.

Chart 4: How much trust do you have in certain institutions? (in the number of participants with a tendency to trust)

![Chart 4: How much trust do you have in certain institutions?](image)

Based on: 14 participants, 0 = I would rather not trust, 1 = I would rather trust

The biggest changes were observed in the level of trust in government decisions (see chart 5). Even though the majority of jurors tend not to trust these decisions after the second day, there was a sharp increase in those who either tend to trust or totally trust government decisions, and the number of those who do not trust at all declined. One possible reason for this is the fact that between the first days and the second day parliamentary elections in Poland took place, which indicated the change of government. This change has been commented on by the participants during day 2, and we can ascertain that they all favoured it. This might have contributed to a more trusting attitude. This is also interesting when compared to changes in attitudes towards the survey statements (see table 4). In particular about points (g) and (h), where the jurors agree less with the following statements: ‘social problems should be addressed based on scientific evidence, not ideological preferences’ and ‘The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions’. It could show a more open attitude towards placing more trust in political solutions and the political process in general.
On the other hand, there was an increase of those jurors who agreed more with the statement (k) that ‘politicians do not understand what is going on in society’, which stands in contradiction with the changes mentioned previously. We can perhaps speculate that the jurors treated points (g) and (h) normatively, whereas statement (k) describes the current state of affairs.

Chart 5: Trust in government decisions. The question was as follows: “Considering the reaction of the government to the Coronavirus pandemic, to what extent do you trust that the government would make right decisions in case of future health crises?”

Note: This data refers to 14 participants who were present for both sessions of the citizens’ jury.

Table 4: Change in attitudes on survey statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey statements</th>
<th>Before session 1</th>
<th>After session 2</th>
<th>Evolution of agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Disinformation is a major problem in our society</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>Less (-0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Scientific experts must play an active role to shape public policy</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>Less (-0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Information about the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic was well communicated by the government</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>Less (-0.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialised politician</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>Less (-0.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Politicians should be like managers and fix what does not work in society</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>Less (-0.21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(f) The leaders of my country should be more educated and skilled than ordinary citizens | 4.57 | 4.29 | Less (-0.28)  
(g) Social problems should be addressed based on scientific evidence, not ideological preferences | 4.64 | 4.21 | Less (-0.43)  
(h) The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions | 3 | 2.64 | Less (-0.36)  
(i) Most citizens have all the competences required to make political decisions | 2.08 | 2 | Less (-0.08)  
(j) Most citizens are capable of understanding the needs of people like me | 2.62 | 2.43 | Less (-0.19)  
(k) Politicians do not understand what is going on in society | 3.14 | 3.36 | More (+0.22)  
(l) Scientific experts know best what is good for people | 3.08 | 3.07 | Less (-0.01)  
(m) Decisions about science and technology should be based mainly on what the majority of people in a country think | 2.14 | 2.15 | More (+0.01)  
(n) The government does enough to tackle disinformation | 1.5 | 1.5 | Same (0.0)  

Note: The asked question was “To what extent do you agree with the following statements?” Shown data is based on a Likert scale from 1 to 5, with 1 describing strong disagreement and 5 strong agreement. Based on 14 participants.

Feedback from participants and resource persons

We have received very positive feedback from the jurors and resource persons. The jurors praised the pleasant atmosphere and friendly and open staff, as well as a possibility to learn from each other. Many of them were saying that the experience was an enriching one and it broadened their horizons in some aspects. A couple of jurors (completely on their own initiative) raised an issue of the recruitment process. One reported that he was approached by a recruiter whose appearance suggested certain ideological leaning towards the LGBTQ community, which could potentially discourage people from taking part in the citizens’ jury. Another participant reported that she was approached by a person who was very young and inexperienced. We had no reason to doubt these reports as they were given to us independently by two different jurors. Another weak
side of the recruitment process was the lack of participants that would live outside of Kraków’s city centre, which obviously may influence the profile of the group and the opinions of the participants.

As for the resource persons (experts), the feedback was also very positive. They liked the interactions and were curious about the discussion and the final product. In case of all the meetings, they stayed almost for the whole day and chatted with participants during the breaks and also (passively) participated in the group sessions. Mr Dytkowski was particularly interested and engaged, as he was present each time, despite a very small gratification and a necessity to travel from Warsaw every time. During the breaks, jurors consulted disinformation and other issues with resource persons taking notes of the online tools for fact checking and reliable sources of information. We are glad that the interaction went beyond the jury’s-related discussions and broadened the knowledge of the participants.

Self-evaluation

The citizens’ juries organised in Kraków had several strong and weak points. On the very positive side, the quality of participants was very good. What we mean here is that all the jurors were able (and willing) to make substantial contributions to the discussions. They were all very engaged and even during the breaks they were engaged in follow-up conversations. They were also very friendly, polite, and respectful to one another, with the one exception of a participant who laughed off many of the discussed issues and offended the experts. This strength is however connected to a significant weakness. The fact that all the participants were very active, stemmed (at least to some extent) from their relatively small number, which resulted in the necessity to organise the day 1.2. Although we received confirmation from most of the invited persons, the show-up rate was very low and the contact with selected participants was very difficult (no will to pick the phone call, no or delayed answers to e-mails).

Another drawback, which needs to be mentioned, is the representativeness of the group. We realised very quickly (during the moving debate and even the ice-breaker), that the group had rather homogenous views on politics and society. So even though all the participants were very active, this did not bring about significant clashes of opinions. This was actually picked up by the jurors themselves and they complained about it. Therefore, the participants’ selection process (provided by an external institution) raised significant doubts on our side. The organisational side can be assessed as unproblematic, only with some minor technical problems. The jurors were generally very happy with the experience, which is depicted by their evaluation in charts 6-8 below.
Chart 6: Word cloud day 1.1 on 9 September 2023

- new experience
- community action
- creative
- mind-opening
- surprising
- exciting
- civic
- interesting
- thought-provoking
- science rules
- effective and instructive
- neatly moderated
- informative
- polite
- delicious food

Chart 7: Word cloud day 1.2 on 7 October 2023

- needed
- necessary
- helpful
- important
- warm
- substantive
- constructive
- developing
- great knowledge of
- the participants
- interesting
discussion
- cool
- satisfaction
- openness of
- participants
- intelligent people
- delicious dumplings
Chart 8: Word cloud day 2 on 21 October 2023

interesting
experience
creative
developing
substantial
interesting
nice
practical
nice and intensive
open
super
long-awaited
inspiring
aware
maybe a little bit more moderation?