

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN BUDGETING AND BEYOND:

Deliberative Practices
and their Impact in Contemporary Cases

Ed. Joanna Podgórska-Rykała, Jacek Sroka



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Kraków 2021

ISBN 978-83-66269-61-3

Reviewer:

dr hab. Anna Rytel-Warzocho, prof. UG

Proofreading: Anna Sekułowicz

Layout: Anna Kędroń

Cover design: Libron

Graphic used on the cover:

Julia Tim

Publication financed by Pedagogical University of Cracow/
Publikacja sfinansowana przez Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny
im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Krakowie

This publication is the result of a research project
No. UMO-2019/33/B/HS5/00353 financed by the National Science Centre, Poland/
Publikacja powstała w wyniku realizacji projektu badawczego
o nr UMO-2019/33/B/HS5/00353 finansowanego ze środków Narodowego
Centrum Nauki



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Introduction

The title of this study reflects the intention of its editors to include texts relating to both theories and specific deliberative practices with participatory budgeting as a leitmotiv in a concise study.

The basic questions which the theory and practice of public policy try to answer is the question about desires in democratic conditions and at the same time an effective formula for balancing centralization and decentralization in decision-making processes.

The answer is not easy and not the same for all cases. Each time it will de facto be a partial answer – better or worse suited to the so-called spirit of the times, political and administrative culture, institutional and systemic conditions as well as to specific situational conditions. In a variety of contemporary polyarchies, centralization and decentralization are two complementary and interacting organizational poles. They stay in synergy when properly balanced, and when they are not, they seem to be clashing. However, they are not actually antagonistic to each other. Centralization and decentralization create a dual system. It is impossible to reasonably consider them separately from each other – both in the ideological and theoretical-model dimensions, as well as in the political and public dimension in practice. Disruptions of the dual system understood in this way, in the form of a disproportionate advantage of one of the poles, sooner or later bring counterproductive results in social life, economy and politics – and as a result lead to system destabilization and disruptions of the so-called social space.

In this study, we are interested in democratic incarnations of public policies and for this reason we will not deal with authoritarian forms of controlling the public apparatus in which decentralization, even if it actually occurs, is subordinated to paradigms of a hierarchizing or excluding hierarchy. Examples of this kind are provided by ethnic, caste, class,

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sectarian, and territorial criteria used in tyranny. Centralization – along with stricter control, uniformisation and the lack of possibility for a democratic change of power (alternation) – is a typical tool of dictatorship. On the other hand, we are interested in those issues which contradict tyranny and correspond to the implementation of systemic principles of democracy in public policy – such as: equality of political rights, participation, and deliberation. Their implementation requires a multi-lane combination of centralized and decentralized processes, appropriately adapted to the conditions. We will look for examples of similar conditions in the theory and practice of civic budgeting.

Participatory budgeting, as one of possible variants of deliberation, is one of those phenomena of public life, the quality of which depends on the relations of the parties involved. The shape of these relationships only to a limited extent depends on the ways of their current practice, because these methods are causally conditioned, and the causes lie in cultural constructions. That is why these relations are not easy to study; it is difficult to reach that deep, because it is difficult to both model the conceptualization of the problem and the methodological approach to such research. These are one of the most difficult and, at the same time, the most promising research areas of public policy. We hope that this book will contribute to their partial exploration.

The main objective of the article written by Jacek Sroka and Joanna Podgórska-Rykała is the indication of the direction of the evolution of a significant tool in contemporary democracies – the participatory budgeting. In the current national law the budget of Poland was defined and normalized as “citizens’ budget”. In accordance with the main hypothesis of the paper, which is reflected by the title of the article – the formal Polish solutions subject the role of this self-government budget to one of the standard tools of plebiscitary character, which are in fact not so deliberative, as they are more and more commonly practiced in consolidated democracies. Thus, key systemic innovations become restrained – which on one hand should aim at extending and deepening co-determination, and contributing to the verification of the impact of local communities and

consolidation of democracy in Poland. On the other hand, they constitute the essential component of a modern public policy and public management within the developmental paradigm associated with the so-called cognitive economy. The authors note that the later the real practices of deliberative codetermination occur in Poland, the later the complex systemic modernization will be possible (as long as it is possible at all). It concerns modernization, creating authentic and long-term developmental chances and generating social, economic and political-public resources as well as solutions vital for dynamic, but also stable development in the conditions of globalization.

Monika Augustyniak in her article *Participatory Budget in France – Selected Issues* makes an interesting description of the civic budget in France. In the French local and regional government, participatory budget allows residents of local communities to freely submit projects and provides a way for expressing their expectations and needs in terms of quality of life, immediate surroundings, future of their districts and municipalities. Thanks to participatory budgets, the residents of local communities are able to shape their own public space by submitting ideas and selecting, by way of a vote, projects to be implemented in their local communities. The tasks financed under the participatory budget are aimed at improving the living conditions of the residents, thus providing an example of pro-citizen co-management of the municipal space. The French participatory budget is an effective instrument for the participation of residents in the co-management of the local community, and not an illusory substitute for power exercised by residents.

The paper of Agnieszka Sobol entitled *Deliberation as a Path towards the Development of Participatory Budgeting (a Case Study of the City of Antwerp)* delivers an overview and arguments for deliberation in practices of participatory budgeting at the municipal level. It can be observed that in deliberative participatory budgeting, compared to the standard framework, the quality of work and the general outcomes demonstrate improved standards. The paper analyses the participatory budgeting process (burgerbegroting) in the city of Antwerp (Belgium). It provides an

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ample amount of empirical examples which address both the research itself and the ensuing problems that arise in the process of implementation. It should be stated that the paper depicts an institutional perspective of the process. The presented information and data were collected from open sources, i.e. articles and documents as well as direct information from the Participation Office in the Antwerp City Hall. The analysed practices and experiences provide useful recommendations for Polish cities and towns in which deliberative practices are a rare case.

Liliana Podwika in the article entitled *The Characteristics of Participatory Budget Process Based on Brazil and Poland Examples* touches the topic of participatory budgeting in Brazil and in Poland. She begins her comparative analysis by explaining the concept of civic budget and providing criteria that mark out this process. There is also an introduction to the issue at hand from a historical perspective. Next, she discusses the example of the city of Porto Alegre and the solutions adopted in Brazil to reduce the marginalization of less a fluent social groups. Analysing the roots of the success of participatory budgeting, the author presents the elements that characterize European models of participatory budgeting with some focus on the Polish case. The paper draws attention to the features of participatory budgeting and its benefits to the communities in a democratic state.

Marcin Rachwał in his article titled *Participatory Budgeting as a Form of Conventional Political Participation* presents participatory budgeting in the context of conventional political participation. The purpose of the considerations was to identify criteria that would allow a given procedure to be classified as a political institution specified in the title. The research problem focuses on the factors that cause rapid implementation of participatory budgeting in subsequent local communities. According to the thesis formulated as a result of the Author's research, the studied form of conventional political participation is responding to the demand increasingly articulated by citizens to reform democracy in such a way that wider participation of the sovereign in decision-making processes is possible. The demand for reform is the outcome of dissatisfaction with the way liberal

democracy functions, which essentially limits the role of the sovereign to participation in free, cyclical and competitive elections as well as the occasional institutions of direct democracy.

The article of Paweł Ostachowski, *Benefits and Threats Related to the Participation Budget Using the Example of the Biggest Cities in Poland*, presents the issues of participatory budget as a rapidly developing contemporary tool for the participation of urban residents in managing local space. The work consists of two parts. The first one focuses on the benefits of introducing a participatory budget that are shared by the authorities and the local community. It also presents threats to this tool of social participation. The second part of the article focuses on the functioning of the participatory budget in the largest Polish cities in the years 2014–2018. It indicates in particular the problem of the declining interest of urban residents in this form of impact on local space, which local authorities have to face. In the summary of the research and the results analysis, the article emphasizes that participatory budget in large Polish cities still remains a tool neither fully established nor effective. It will also require additional years of work by local authorities and the society itself to become a civic tool in the full sense of the word.

The paper of Kamil Brzeziński is entitled *Some Comments on the Appearances of Participatory Budgeting in Poland*. In the opinion of the author, participatory budgeting has gained enormous popularity in Poland since 2011, i.e. its first implementation in a seaside resort. This tool has been utilized by an increasing number of towns. Poland is the current leader in Europe in terms of the number of implementations of participatory budgets. Although this growing popularity was accompanied by social enthusiasm and hope for a positive change in decisions about urban life at first, Polish participatory budgeting has lately faced a noticeable wave of criticism. These mechanisms have been criticized for their façade character and false appearances of participation. This article aims at presenting several arguments confirming the above accusations. For the purpose of this analysis, Jan Lutyński's concept of pretended actions has been used and considerations have been exclusively restricted to Polish conditions.

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Marcin Kępa in his article *Participatory Budget versus Participation of a Social Factor in Dispute Resolving Methods within Public Procurement in Selected EU Countries*, argues that the idea of participatory budget as well as the idea of a social factor in administration of justice in EU member countries are the phenomena which fall into the broader phenomenon of “citizenship” of administrative service and some spheres of socio-economic life of these countries. Increasingly larger participation of the society in conducting public tasks inclines to enhanced analysis of this phenomenon. This phenomenon on borders on public policies, law, administration, and economy. In particular, it seems to have a progressive tendency, of a clearly dynamic character. It is particularly visible in the local government. Local government authorities as regulatory bodies are the best example to display these mechanisms.

The citizenship of public mechanisms (state and local government) is well visible based on two examples: direct participation of society in the financial policy of local government authorities and direct participation of society in the public procurement system.

The purpose of the article is the analysis of mechanisms determining the functioning of these two phenomena in theory and practice, especially based on mutual influence. There is no doubt that the influence of a social factor on the allocation of finance via participatory budget is considerable (at least it is known that such an institution functions in a legal system). But how is this issue (influence) reflected within public procurement?

The common denominator of the situations analysed is their orientation to provide public goods. The first notion is related to announcing ideas and securing financial means to provide public goods, the second one determines the selection of their provider. The legal-dogmatic method and the observation method are the predominant ones applied in this research.

The article of Magdalena Wiśniewska, entitled *Integration of Immigrants through Participation – Determinants and Good Practices* focuses on an emerging issue which is social integration of immigrants. Migration is a contemporary world phenomenon and affects communities around the world. Poland faces immigration as well and should be prepared to

integrate newcomers with the existing communities. Long-term immigrants should be able to take part in the public sphere also through social participation. There are countries and communities which already have some experience in this field and have managed to overcome the barriers of participation or create effective approaches. The article first presents international migration as an existing phenomenon on the basis of statistical data. Then, the Author presents social integration of immigrants on chosen examples, including participatory budgeting. The paper ends with concluding remarks.

We hope that our collection of articles will show that governance practices, including citizens' assemblies, can contribute to strengthening proactive public activities located in the area of the so-called civil democracy. The modern beginnings of the idea of democratic participation understood in this way are in the words spoken by Abraham Lincoln in 1863, at Gettysburg: Government – of the people, – by the people, – for the people. In this vision, a forward-looking (proactive) approach dominates the more conservative (reactive) variants known from the democratic-parliamentary classics. The conservative variant (government for the people) exercising the public power 'for citizens,' or 'for the benefit of citizens' – through the elite, composed of its elected representatives. In the proactive approach ('government by the people'), power is exercised in a direct, close and networked – in the social and technological sense – contact with its addressees. The proactive approach incorporates into public policy a variety of phenomena related to co-deciding, agreeing between different interests, as well as a joint evaluation of collective and particular results and benefits, living in a given (sub) culture. The proactive approach, if only because of its network paradigm, escapes strict formal conceptualization. By the way, this also reveals one of the main recommendations given in various ranks of EU documents which recommend (directly or indirectly) 'networking' and 'governance' in public policy. However, the real effects are very different. It is also demonstrated by the example of citizens' assemblies and shows that the effective use of citizens' assemblies has strong local and situational context.

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Citizens' panels are one of the methods of public governance. The results of its application do not differ much from those resulting from the classic government. The key difference is in the processes: (a) single-lane and hierarchically oriented (in classic government); (b) multi-band and network-oriented (in governance). The 'mechanics' of hierarchically ordered processes, although (formally) more precise, is not a masterpiece and contains numerous contradictions and inconsistencies. Network solutions are also not free from them. However, in their case, more flexible and adequate system reactions are possible. They work better in the conditions of the presence of an increased level of generalized social trust, and they are favoured by culturally embedded, consensual patterns of individual and group behaviour, dominant in various dimensions of life. In such conditions, the so-called mini-publics mentioned in the text function almost spontaneously and free from more serious deformations. That makes it much easier to establish their formalized forms, e.g. citizens' assemblies. It is also easier then to establish the relationship between citizens' assemblies and classic elected bodies, taking into account such key issues as: responsibility, self-selection, or the need to skilfully balance the focus on processes and decisions.

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The Evolution of Participatory Budgeting in Poland – Towards Deliberation or Plebiscite?

Introduction

The main objective of this article is to indicate the direction of evolution of a significant tool, which is the so-called participatory budgeting in contemporary democracies, which in new national regulations was defined and normalized as “citizens’ budget”. In view of the occurring terminological nonuniformity, despite significant differences related to both terms, two wordings will be used interchangeably – however, global budget will be described as “participatory”, and the Polish tool – “citizens’ budget”.

In accordance with the main hypothesis, which is reflected in the title of this article, formal solutions, mandatory in Poland since 2018, subject the role of this self-government budget to one of the standard tools of plebiscitary (and not deliberative) character, as it is more and more

commonly practised in consolidated democracies. Thus, the key systemic innovations become restrained – which on the one hand – should aim at extending and deepening codetermination, contributing to the verification of the impact of local communities and consolidation of democracy in Poland – and on the other hand – they constitute the essential component of a modern public policy and public management within the developmental paradigm associated with the so-called cognitive economy. In other words: the later the real practices of deliberative codetermination occur in Poland, the later the complex systemic modernization will be possible (as long as it is possible). It concerns modernization creating authentic and long-term developmental chances and generating social, economic and political-public resources as well as solutions vital for dynamic, but also stable development in the conditions of rampant globalization, comprising increasingly broader horizon of phenomena, processes and events.

Apart from the introduction, the structure of the text comprises four parts. The first one is devoted to the notion of deliberation; whose meaning is the central one in the model proposed. In the second part the general notions are reflected in the empirical exemplification, which is constituted by a case of citizens' budget in the global perspective. The next part is devoted to the evolution of institutions in Poland. The fourth part, constituting the conclusion of the text as well, citizens' budget is analysed in the context of lack of trust, whose impact was described in the form of three myths in thinking of national elites about deliberation. It is stated in the conclusion that the prevalence of (schematic) thinking defined in this mythological way is one of the main factors deciding somehow about the natural 'burdening' of practices implemented by the act – towards plebiscitary forms. It does not mean, at the same time, that deliberative variants of participatory budgeting will not be developing. They will develop, indeed, but more slowly and to a lesser extent than it could be possible in other formal and procedural realities.

Deliberation in the main meaning and in related contexts

In the theoretical, analytical and practical dimensions, participation, co-deciding, or the so-called multi-levelled governance is associated with the notion of deliberation. These notions reflect the real access of citizens to discourse, programming, decision-making, managing and evaluation of phenomena, processes and procedures within the field of public policy and public management. Thus defined deliberation is treated both as autotelic good, significant in many social relations at the individual and group level, constituting the culturally-institutional 'drive' of these relations, and as systemically-structural common good, very important for the consolidation and development of democratic practices and procedures (Shapiro 2006; Dryzek 2002; Mansbridge, Martin 2013; Sroka 2009).

Deliberation is a complex phenomenon of a processual character, which definitely more frequently emerges in more or less extensive fragments than in a holistic way. Systemic deliberation *in toto* is, however, not possible, and even if it was, then it would be harmful in some areas. Collective consideration cannot replace state institutions or public authorities (Peters 2018). The methods and tools of deliberation do not match many situation, states, things, processes and procedures, e.g. these which are related to military issues, although within this field certain participatory solutions are possible and justifiable and are fragmentarily applied. On the other hand, where deliberation is adequate, and its postulate is natural and compliant with consolidated habits, commitments, practices, culturally-institutional and systemic context, it may turn out that its realization will face serious procedural problems, created by not really fortunate formal solutions, which is indicated by the title and the main text hypothesis following it.

Deliberation, consisting of an incomplete set of participatory elements, co-decision making, and governance, is always relatively fragile. Thus, even in these areas it matches with, it should be practiced with commitment and even with passion, but also in a responsible and careful way, so that it would not change into its contradiction, e.g. into a rampant form of distribution coalition, within which it is cooperatively agreed which

suitable ways may be applied to experience a situation like 'it takes one to know one'. This is not about the very ideological compatibility of the postulate of deliberation with the ideals of democracy. In other words, and not only by trivializing this issue we may say that deliberation cannot – in any area, process or community – be efficiently decreed only because it seems to be compliant with some doctrine or it seems that such a solution will cause the growth of the support of citizens, who are given the chance of the subsequent important voting. Simultaneously, they are taken away the opportunity of deliberate, bottom-up creation of deliberative and bridging standards, which are useful in deliberation. Misguided doctrinal justifications, accompanying the afore-mentioned decreeing, will be, in the long term, decoded (at least scientifically) and recognised as a more propaganda measure, and not the action favouring the integration of citizens into public pre- and about decision-making processes.

Deliberation is mostly a public process of pre-decision communication, oriented for searching for relevant arguments, advocating specific evaluations and solutions of the problems discussed. In general, persuasion is a tool applied by the parties communicating with each other, and the pursuit of achieving a consensus in the issues discussed with a mutual recognition of emotions, subjective knowledge and group interests is the essence of deliberation, interpreted in this way. In deliberation one does not avoid emotions, which may be initially surprising, but it also means indulging emotions.

Emotional style of confrontation is frequently disclosed in the field of 'big', i.e., parliamentary politics. However, in the conditions of developing deliberation, where public policy is a natural environment, a non-confrontational assumption is made. When the social aura favours it, then – almost *a priori* – it is taken for granted in specific social and public practices that emotional states relevantly conveyed, supplemented with interpretations related to subjective environmental knowledge and speeches on the way of perceiving group interests may result in consensual agreement of common, but also particular benefits, indulging emotions and mutual verification of what one knows about given decisions and the concurrent conditions.

The notion of deliberation does not refer, then, to every kind of discussion or debate because confrontational or power strategies, manipulation and even classifying the whole or part of meeting are intentionally applied. Voting, similarly to an array of other solutions, may be alternatively applied in deliberation; however, deliberation definitely cannot be limited only to voting. Drawbacks which are excluded in deliberation, such as, for example, formally conditioned de-personification of voters, are related to it.

Deliberation is characterised by four main features: (1) a persuasive way of selecting arguments, which is not accompanied, however, by complete erasure of emotions, but it rather aims at their procedural processing and at potentially skilful deconstruction; (2) the orientation towards reaching consensus in perception and realisation of common good, with the inclusion and agreement of particular interests; (3) public and transparent character of discourse and (4) open access to it, which, in justified conditions, may be restricted with a clear provision of reasons and parameters of such restrictions, with the preservation of the chance of discussion with a similar solution and the existence of appeal procedures (Sroka 2009; 2018).

Deliberation is close to workshop methods, and distant from marketing methods, which are closer, on the other hand, when voting is selected as the main decision-making method. Deliberation builds social involvement (enhances participation), develops multilateral communication and leads to unitary, group and organizational learning, thanks to which not only is common development and implementation of solutions (co-decision making, governance) possible, but also the mutual creation of 'new knowledge' (defined in literature as *episteme*) on the issue of problems discussed. Reducing deliberation to voting is not a solution, then, but a mistake. This mistake denies the essence of deliberation, it distorts its meaning and hinders, if it does not preclude, the embeddedness of its ideas in cultural benchmarks, without which bottom-up formation the success of top-down changes cannot be expected. It is also proved by the heritage of valued proponents of the model of implementation of *top-down* public policy, by Eugene Bardach (1977), among others. Such misguided decreeing of participation, co-decision making and governance (which are the key

components of deliberation), containing semantic and logical mistakes, robs the citizens of real chances of co-creation of schemes of public policies and the participation in public management.

This problem constitutes one of the main issues of the research conducted by the authors. Citizens' budget constitutes one of these tools of contemporary public policy, by which a given deficit may be reduced. However, like every other tool, also citizens' budget may bring unwanted results when the idea of its application is distorted.

Implementations of participatory budgeting

The history of a tool, which participatory budgeting certainly is, started in 1989, with the implementation of this form of consultation of expenses by the authorities of over one-million Porto Alegre, one of the most populated cities in southern Brazil. During only thirty years this idea spread all over the world, permanently settling in participatory prospect of many local governments. Both in the political and in the historical perspective, the moment of the initiation of participatory budgeting was not accidental – it was the time of political transformation, a transfer from dictatorship to democracy (Podgórska-Rykała 2018). This process was accompanied by the globally biggest income gap. Homelessness, starvation and tremendous differences in income were every-day reality in Brazil. Strong and more and more determined social movements demanded decisive changes (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2012). There were protests against corruption and clientelism. Except for public appearances and protests, well-thought-out and well-argued alternative suggestions for transformations in public policy were formulated (Dowbor 2009).

Porto Alegre, a capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul was also intentionally the first city which opted for the experiment which was participatory budgeting at that time. This self-government unit was opposing the government policy and was regarded as the main centre of contestation of state decisions, constituting at the same time a power base for the Workers'

Party. When in 1988 leftist activists won elections there, it was certain that a suitable time came to implement pro-social reforms (World Bank 2008).

The first participatory budgeting was based on three levels of commitment: (1) in bottom-up neighbouring teams, available for all inhabitants; (2) in sixteen councils of district (provincial) delegates and (3) in council of delegates functioning at the city level. Each of the delegates, despite an annual term of office, could be dismissed – if they lost support. Apart from participatory committees instituted with the inclusion of territorial division, the problem-oriented assemblies were functioning as well, dealing, among others, with: city planning, housing, infrastructure problems, healthcare, education, youth problems, culture, or sport (Podgórska-Rykała 2018). The participatory experiment demonstrated that three social groups were involved most in the participatory process, which were practically excluded so far from the participation in exercising power: inhabitants with the lowest income, women and young people. The source of success and popularity of the Brazilian budget are embedded in it – the people functioning until then almost at the margin of a political system became its important participants. The effect was, among others, co-financing of districts of the smaller potential, previously invisible for politicians, and the results of reforms were almost immediately observable (Pytlik 2016).

Participatory budgeting was implemented in two hundred Brazilian towns/cities until 2008. Over time the institution was popularized also in the cities of the entire South America, and further in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia. This process is labelled in global literature as diffusion of a democratic innovation. In such countries as, among others, Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Spain or Portugal, participatory budgeting became one of the basic tools of sharing power. In Western European democracies the participation of citizens in decision-making processes is perceived as a remedy for the more and more explicit (and it seems permanent) ‘worse mood’ or even a crisis of democratic representation (Torcal, Montero 2006). The most similar variants to the Porto Alegre model may be found in Portugal, Spain and

in Italy. However, the models popular in France, Portugal and Scandinavia are based on local principles of neighbouring cooperation and mostly aim at enhancing communication between politicians and citizens (Sintomer et al. 2012). These tendencies have led, since the 1990s, to global proliferation of participatory processes, such as, for example the jury of citizens, public opinion research, neighbouring funds and others (Smith 2009).

Yves Sintomer, Carsten Herzberg, Anja Röcke, Giovanni Allegretti (2012) conducted a complex analysis of the functioning of participatory budgeting in 20 cities of the world, making use of one research tool. They pointed out that there is no one practical formula of participatory budgeting and thus this tool cannot be defined in a brief way so as not to overlook diversity and idiosyncrasy of all its processes. With regard to the above, the authors suggest an array of diverse criteria characterising participatory budgeting, which enabled the analysis, but despite that they were not able to warn them against the necessity to provide data, although specific ones, but not free from estimation. The aforementioned criteria comprised, among others: (1) effectiveness of the ways of managing limited resources – inspired by arrangements by Elinor Ostrom (2013); (2) estimation of the scope of decentralisation of the processes related to participatory budgeting: it was acknowledged that the neighbourhood level is insufficient and the city level should be the basic one; (3) estimation of long-term effect of budget-participatory solutions; (4) the study of formal and real distinctiveness of participatory budgeting towards the remaining components of unit budget; (5) the analytical verification of systemic feedback aiming at arranging if they enable the generation or exchange of feedback.

Applying the indicated criteria, the authors acknowledge that there were from 795 to 1470 participatory budgets in 2010 in the world, out of which 200 were noted in Europe. Also, in Asia, participatory budgeting has aroused increasingly bigger interest: 40–120 cases were noted in 2010. However, the cities of Latin America may boast the highest number of participatory budgets: 510–920 cases. However, in Africa such budgets frequently become a catalyst of prodemocratic changes, which seem to

be a less winding road leading to decentralization, transparency and responsibility. The increase of significance of participatory budgets is then important in a global perspective.

Referring to the studies indicated above, we need to notice that the authors, after analysing different types of participatory budgets occurring in the world, prepared a classification comprising 6 models. These are as follows:

- 1) a model of participatory democracy – meaning that the inhabitants not appointed to authorities' group will get a chance for the participation in the decision-making process, however, the final political decision remains in the hands of the selected representatives. The examples of such models were observed, among others, in Latin America, Seville (Spain) and Dong-ku (South Korea);
- 2) a model of proximity democracy – whose key feature is the fact that it postulates the proximity both in the meaning of a geographical neighbourhood as well as more profound communication among citizens and local authorities. Proximity democracy is based on the selectiveness of listening, which means that the decision-makers select the inhabitant's ideas, which causes that the local community receives only a marginal decisive autonomy. It is the most popular model in Europe, frequently based on neighbourhood funds and district councils. It is equally popular of the so-called global south, but also in Japan, North America, Australia or Korea;
- 3) a model of participatory modernization – assumes that the very participation in only of the elements of the process oriented to New Public Management, which assumes higher efficiency of the state and higher degree of its social legitimation. Participatory processes, considered from this perspective, have a "top-down" character, and consultation is their only purpose. The participants (mainly middle class) are regarded as clients, and the scale comprises the entire organism of the state, decisions are consulted at the central level, not at the neighbourhood one. The model is very popular e.g. in Germany and in China;

- 4) a model of multi-stakeholder participation – the characteristic feature of this model is that more stakeholders take part in the participatory processes, so the inhabitants constitute only one of the groups of actors participating in the co-decision-making process. Apart from them, also the entrepreneurs and local governments are included. Participatory instruments within this model do not constitute separate categories, but they only extend current mechanisms of public management. Participatory society is “weak” and has little decisive autonomy, even when the cooperation regulations and principles are clearly defined. The countries of Eastern Europe are classified in this category by the researchers, including Poland (the city of Poznań was analysed). African countries were indicated as well, where a huge role is fulfilled by international organisations subsidising projects;
- 5) a model of neo-corporatism – is based on the fact that a local government is surrounded by organised groups (non-governmental organisations, trade unions and associations of employers) and social groups (elderly people) as well as diverse local institutions, which provides it with strong position. It aims at extensive consultations with “those who count” and attempts at reaching a social consensus, based on the community of interests and values. The connection between the main community structures is its main power, which facilitates a social consensus around important issues. Its drawback, however, is the asymmetrical relation of power and exclusion of the citizens not associated in any organisation;
- 6) community development – a model popular in the Anglo-Saxon world (Canada, Great Britain), is based on the peculiar hegemony of market entities and strong, independent non-governmental organisations. The enhancement of local communities and their activities is its objectives, which is to be reflected in fair redistribution policy. Participatory society is strong, which is also favoured by formal and legal frameworks of participatory procedures.

Commenting on the classification presented above, we need to point out that models of participatory democracy have distinct assets in an ideal

context. Most of all, they constitute an actual innovation within institutional frameworks in view of representative democracy. They verify the power of bottom-up influence, also these ones, for which previously there was no space in public policy agendas, e.g. due to their redistributive or anti-cartel character. It may happen, however, that radical ways of change of current schemas result in failure, which may result from the artificiality of processes and their incompatibility with the level of political culture of a given society. Success is dependent, then, on the complex cultural-institutional and situational factors. These factors, although they have a fundamental significance, are not determinant of failure. Examples from many parts of the world indicate that even in adverse conditions new/innovative forms of making public decisions and are worth practicing and improving.

One city from Poland – Poznań – was in the group of analysed cities. However, the research was conducted in the years 2010–2011, when participatory budgeting was not an independent tool yet – it was made independent only in 2013, by implementing Poznań Citizens' Budget. However, the solution existing during the implementation of research was qualified into category 4 (a model of multi-stakeholder participation). It does not mean, however, that Polish practices generally qualify it to this category. Although many of them are placed in it, it would be erroneous to state that particular cases are more advanced in deliberation. Many years have passed since the time of this research, and the processes we are interested in are characterized by substantial dynamics (Podgórska-Rykała 2019).

Polish experiences: from scattered local regulations to unification of national solutions

Participatory budgets have been developing in Poland for almost a decade. Hence it is a relatively new solution. The first budget was prepared in Sopot in 2011, and a number of local governments which decided to implement them was systematically growing in the subsequent years.

In Sopot, almost 10% of inhabitants participated in the first voting. At present the attendance is clearly rising. Participatory budget is the most popular in cities, but it is also successfully practised in counties (among others in Toruń county, Wągrowiec county, Gostyń county, Tarnowskie Góry county) and in voivodeships (among others Podlaskie, Łódź, Opole or Lesser Poland voivodeships). Until 2018, the decision about the implementation of a participatory budget belonged to local government authorities. Therefore, particular budgeting variants, although they derived from one idea, differed from each other, both in a procedural as well as in a practical dimension (Podgórska-Rykała 2019).

As a result of the amendment of structural local government acts of 11th January 2018 (Poland's Journal of Laws 2018, item 130) the regulation of participatory budgets was implemented into generally applicable law. The institution of such budget was included in all three legal acts constituting a peculiar structural foundation for the local government institutions. These are the following regulations: Art. 5a item 3–7 of the Act on Commune Self-government, Art. 3d item 3 and 4 of the District Self-government Act and Art. 10a item 3 and 4 of the Act on Voivodeship Government.

At present, this form of social consultations with the inhabitants in cities with county rights is obligatory. However, in the remaining communes as well as in counties and voivodeships the implementation of such budgets is optional (Podgórska-Rykała 2019). The aforementioned amendment comprised many significant issues of local government, including most of all the ones related to voting rights, which also dominated the public debate, moving the issue of a participatory budget far away from the main issue in a discussion. This happened because so many controversial solutions appeared in the draft act that they did not only set the issue of budget aside, but they raised many objections of structural nature. With regard to them, the regulation related to a participatory budget seemed to be a very positive proposal, which – compared to other issues discussed – seemed a rather minor issue, and at the same time generally fitting into the practice already practised in Polish local governments, but – from the legislator's perspective – in too arbitrary a formula.

As a side note, we need to add that the postulates of evident standardisation of this procedure and obligations of the bodies of local government entities related to it as well as guarantees of its transparency and reliability were proposed by social organisations and theoreticians of local government law (Sześciło 2012). This issue was less willingly discussed in the group of local government members themselves, who until now are of the opinion that a local regulation is sufficient and the amendment only introduced a restriction of competences of local government authorities, somehow taking away from them a decision-making independence in this matter. The amendment of a procedural standardization was made in a way typical for the centralist style of pursuing a policy towards local governments, at the same time impoverishing and trivializing the already implemented practices of bottom-up arrangement of rules and regulations of a participatory budget in specific local communities.

Therefore, during legislative work (the course of legislative process: <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/PrzebiegProc.xsp?nr=2001>) the powerful voices of opposition against regulations, mainly deriving from active local governments in this field and focused on the issue of deliberation of scientific circles (the institutional stances quoted here originate from: <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/druk.xsp?nr=2001>). The applied formalisation, or obligatoriness of budget for cities with county rights, was negatively evaluated, among others, by experts from the Association of Polish Cities (Polish acronym: ZMP), who argued that the rejections of applications and experiences of particular local governments, which were prepared there during several editions of the application of the tool in question means negligence of their independence and contributes to the decrease, in fact, of the inhabitants' impact on the final form of the budget. The regulation, which was offered by the Association of Polish Cities in return for those ones prepared by the MPs was the following: "The consultation in case of spending a part of funds within the municipal budget (participatory budget) is a special form of consultations. The municipal council in the resolution [...] may also define their territorial scope and subjective scope and the way of including their result in the procedure of

approving the municipal budget". The proposal was not approved by the parliamentary majority and remained only a postulate of local government organisations.

The opinion of the local government of Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship is as follows: „the implementation of a participatory budget as an obligatory element could create artificial and illusionary premise about the real impact of the inhabitants on the form of the budget, because the funds designed for its realization would constitute only a small part of all budget expenses” may be also indicated as one of many critical remarks expressed in terms of the suggested regulations of a participatory budget.

The authorities of Łódź Voivodeship also criticised new regulations: „the unsolved problem, pursuant to the suggested regulations, is the lack of legal basis for the application of any constraints in the participation of the inhabitants in this type of consultations. Minor children may participate in them, as well as those fully incapacitated or deprived of public rights”.

The City Hall of Wrocław noticed, however, that: „participatory budgets in some Polish cities, based on the example of Porto Alegre, function without voting. They are based on the inhabitants' meetings and their mutual decision-making. By implementing such a provision, we block other forms of making decisions. [...] Each overregulation will be truly a restriction in the cooperation between the city and its inhabitants. Currently Wrocław Participatory Budget functions on the basis of a social contract. It has functioned in this way for 5 years and until now we have done all tasks. By regulating formal requirements, we will kill the creativity of our inhabitants”.

Also, the authorities of Dąbrowa Górnicza, the city, where the citizens' budget in the recent years evolved strongly towards a deliberative one and gained a thorough acceptance from the inhabitants, criticised new regulations: “Any coercion of the local government units to conduct this procedure raises doubts [...]. It will cause even a bigger degradation of mechanisms developed by the last 5 years [...]. This procedure [...] must rely on the local government personnel and social partners prepared to conduct it. Otherwise, it is doomed to failure and distortion of the idea of

participation. The regulation of this procedure at the level of a legal act, in which direct voting is imposed, closes the way of developing it in the direction which is being discussed today, and which we are testing in Dąbrowa Górnicza, or departing from obligatory voting [...]. What results from the discussion with other local governments, but also with the activists from non-governmental organisations or city movements is that in some cities, in which a participatory budget has been implemented for 3–4 editions, a reflection appeared to reform it. The use of the term: ‘elected in direct voting’ raises doubts. The current voting forms are organised differently: electronically, by collecting ballot papers, voting in voting centres. It is a sort of survey mechanism, which allows organizing it in a practical way and by not generating great resources. The question appears if the solution prepared in the project does not cause any interpretations that it should be a direct voting based on the election regulations, which causes considerable financial and organizational consequences. [...] We need to emphasise that the regulation should solve the problem, which has existed for years, of the passing of the co-deciding mechanism off as consultation mechanism. Unfortunately, this project is based on a misunderstanding, regarding a participatory budget as a special consultation formula”.

Apart from several dozen critical stances submitted in a written form to the Chancellery of the Sejm, the voices in the oral debate appeared as well. The ground for the discussion was created on 9th December 2017 within the territory of the University of Warsaw, where on the initiative of local government environment and the third sector, a public hearing devoted to the amendment of local government law containing the regulation of a participatory budget took place. The initiators claimed that: “The works on the project are taking place extremely fast. The applicants did not create any space to hear the opinion of numerous groups concerned and interested in the solution proposed in the act [...]. Formal motions were submitted to organize a public hearing in the Sejm. However, all motions, due to incomprehensible reasons, were rejected. As a result, neither the applicants nor a wider public opinion will not have a chance to profoundly become acquainted with the view of both the supporters as well as the

opponents of such suggested solutions. We consider it not only a loss but also a violation of good habits concerning the impact of the citizens on important solutions in public sphere. It is a painful paradox in this situation, that there is a mention about the increase of the impact of the citizens in the very name of the project” (www.wysluchanieobywatelskie.pl). Almost 50 people took active part in the hearing. They represented the most diverse institutions and organisations. After the termination of official speeches, there was still some time for spontaneous statements of the remaining participants of the meeting. In total, 177 people joined the group involved in the consultations, as it is indicated by the list of names submitted on the website of this hearing.

Despite the fact that the regulations finally passed at the beginning of 2018 constitute a general regulatory framework of the procedure, providing the authorities of a given entity with relative freedom within deciding about the budgeting process, the legislator, by imposing certain detailed requirements – the tasks of the local government members and social activists – they profoundly restricted the independence of local government units and significantly minimized the participatory dimension of budget (Sroka, Podgórska-Rykała 2020). The afore-mentioned constraints are related to the regulations, in which we are informed that:

- 1) participatory budget is a special form of social consultations;
- 2) participatory budget is a continuous and annual process;
- 3) the selected tasks are obligatorily recorded in the entity’s budget and they must not be subject to subsequent changes, they may not be removed at the proceeding stage over the budget resolution by the council or the regional government;
- 4) in communes being cities with county rights the creation of a participatory budget is obligatory, but the amount of funds designed for this purpose is to be at least 0.5% of communal expenses included in the last submitted budget execution report (these regulations do not concern counties and voivodeships);
- 5) funds spent within the citizens’ budget may be divided in the funds comprising the entirety of an entity and its parts (in communes:

the entirety of a commune and its parts in the form of formal auxiliary entities or groups of auxiliary entities, in counties: the entirety of a county and its parts in the form of communes or parts of communes, and in voivodeships: the entirety of a voivodeship and its part in a form of counties or groups of counties);

- 6) the council or the regional parliament is a competent authority to regulate the budget procedure. It defines, in particular: the formal requirements which should be met by the submitted projects, the required number of signatures of the inhabitants supporting the project, given that it cannot be higher than 0.1% of the inhabitants of the area included in the funds of the citizens' budget within which the project is submitted, the evaluation rules of the submitted projects as for their compatibility with law, technical feasibility, meeting formal requirements by them and the appeal mode from the decision about preventing the project from voting as well as the rules of conducting the voting, calculation of results and making them public;
- 7) the voting rules must provide equality and directness of voting.

The institution of the citizens' budget, regulated by the Polish legislator, does not constitute any novelty. It has been applied in the practice of the functioning of local governments for years; it was already successfully implemented in hundreds of Polish communes, tens of counties and in several voivodeships. New regulations, despite being general, cause the necessity to refrain from the consolidated practices in particular territorial units (Sroka, Podgórska-Rykała 2020). Also – which is worrying – in these deliberative ones. Different functions of the citizens' budget are indicated in the doctrine. Among others, the following functions are distinguished: formative, participatory, informative and educational (Rytel-Warzocho 2012). None of this kind of processes will be fully participatory if the space for free and deliberate discussion is restricted. The very “project competition” created by the inhabitants cannot be regarded as participatory budget, although local government members frequently forget about this fact, making the tool discussed just this type of plebiscite (Serzysko 2014). This leads to the increase of social antagonisms, differentiation and

weighing the interests of particular groups and districts, and consequently, to an aggressive competition for votes. This direction is not recommended because it contradicts the idea of the participatory budgeting, which is at its very heart and decides about its peculiar nature.

Conclusion: participatory budgeting and deficit of trust – three myths about elite thinking about deliberation as a comment about the main hypothesis

Analysing the current embodiment of a budget created with the co-participation of the inhabitants, we assume that the mandatory formal solutions reduce the role of this part of the local government budget to one of the standard tools of a plebiscitary, and not of a deliberative character. We argue that at the same time key systemic innovations are subject to suppression – which on the one hand – should aim at the extension and the increase of co-deciding, thus contributing to the verification of the impact of local communities and the enhancement of democracy in Poland – and on the other hand – they constitute an essential component of modern public policy and public management within the new developmental paradigm associated with the so-called cognitive economy.

It is still very far from providing a final conclusion because this new practice is too recent, and complex research on it has just commenced. Referring, however, to the experiences from the previous proprietary research, we may state, with high probability, that the style dominating in the country and the interaction strategies in public life constitute the evidence of the existence of three myths, enhanced by lack of trust, present in the thinking of state elites about deliberation and participation tools dealing with it. The prevalence of schematic thinking is one of the factors weakening deliberation and strengthening the notion of plebiscite. The aforementioned three myths about elite thinking about citizens' participation are the following: the myth of danger, the myth of 'a stupid voter' and the myth of ineffectiveness.

The myth of danger, appearing in binding behaviour patterns, brings such an effect that for the national political and administrative elites of different levels, of different forms, more or less direct, but in its essence their external influence on the public solutions seems incomprehensible (as for ideas or practices) and even dangerous, also for the legitimation of their positions. In the eyes of the ones favouring the myth of danger, similar activities undermine 'the temple of power', they weaken its image and also present the risk of disclosing these elements of its workshop which could be interpreted, e.g. as tools of patronage, and the constitute *de facto* a common practice. This is not a new problem in Poland, and it was described professionally and with insight, which is perfectly covered, among others, in the works by Antoni Kępiński, Jacek Tarkowski or Stanisław Ehrlich (Kępiński 1995; Tarkowski 1994; Ehrlich 1995). Still, the Polish variation of 'the Iron Ring' is far from overcome in a way clearly restricting the development of modern public policy. In many cases there is even no awareness of its existence.

The next myth, of a stupid voter, present in the thinking of the predominant part of public elites, constitutes a starting point for the subsequent type of conclusion on the issue of the doubtful competences of the inhabitants. Since they seem to be so naïve, making use of the tools of representative democracy, then they will be even less reasonable when they have their opportunities of direct influence on the solutions extended. This problematic issue was described in detail and it is known that overcoming this type of myth – being a component of an attitude of domination – is not favoured by the rampant affective polarisation (Eysenc 1954; Rokeach 1960; Tomkins 1963), especially, in the scale rarely observed in the country.

The experiences of the divided societies show that a variant is also possible, in which deliberation constitutes a remedy even for very profound divisions (Steiner, Jaramillo, Mameli 2017). The practice of deliberative solutions is very important in this case. Thanks to it – originally often, after all, harsh relations and defective procedures – these experiences evolve towards forms, if not even partner ones, then at least definitely less asymmetrical. Then, more willingness and opportunities to agree on public

affairs appear at all levels of the system and in its specialized policies. Many examples of similar improvement of forms and adjustment of a tool to local conditions are provided by these Polish experiences of participatory budgeting, which preceded contemporary statutory solution. The future analyses will indicate the balance of effects of a legislative procedure, which seems negative for deliberation in the preliminary evaluation.

The myth of ineffectiveness is frequently indicated in more expertly-oriented argumentations of the part of public elites. Its essence is reduced to the statement that more direct forms of bottom-up formation of public processes are slow, ineffective and block reforms of the ruling class. This myth comprises the official interpretation tending to decrease common knowledge, and as a result constitute a praise of epistocracy (Sroka 2017). The argumentative framework, characteristic for this orientation, is entwined around the dichotomy between amateurishness – professionalism. The results of such included limitation are clearly observable in many public policies. They are the most flagrant where – following contemporary European criteria – we should appreciate the value of dialogue with the citizens' participation, which perhaps does not have certified and standardized knowledge, but it does have its own judgment, whose acquaintance is important from only the very legitimized conditions. These conditions should speak to self-preservation instinct of each politician.

In conclusion, it must be repeated that the prevalence of this kind of thinking interpreted in this mythological (schematic) way among national elites, is one of the main factors deciding about the somehow natural bias of the formula included the Act, towards plebiscitary forms. It does not mean, at the same time, that deliberative variants of budgeting practices will not be developing – indeed, they will, but more slowly and on a smaller scale, than it could be possible in other formal and procedural realities. On the one hand, however, it is pointless to search for an ideal deliberation in practice, and this fact tends to be used by its critics. However, on the other hand, bottom-up deliberatively formed 'moments' are overlooked easily and their significance is observable particularly vividly when they are in decline.

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Participatory Budget in France – Selected Issues¹

Introduction

The institution of a participatory budget should be regarded as an important element in the development of a civil society, which guarantees that the residents of local communities are involved in making decisions concerning their own affairs, which is a sign of better and more informed spending of public funds. It is an effective tool for stimulating the activity of local community residents, which is an expression of self-government. A participatory budget as a mechanism of power-sharing affects not only the way policy makers practise politics, but also the management of municipal services (administrative instruments actively involved in the process), which must be more open to considering the aspirations and expectations of citizens and their knowledge and experience in joint management and creation of public space.

Supporters of deliberative democracy put emphasis on increasing the participation of citizens in political life. The principle behind this

¹ Research project carried out at the Faculty of Law, Administration and International Relations at Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University financed from funds for statutory activities on the basis of the decision no. WPAiSM/DS/1/2020.

democracy sees discussion as a way to shape public will and opinion. A fundamental problem that arises in deliberative democracy is the question of building a space for dialogue between people where, through deliberation, they can reach an agreement on the common good. Through conscious participation of citizens in public life and discussion of issues affecting them, they can work out the best solutions for themselves. The basic tool for the implementation of this model are social participation mechanisms, e.g. the participatory budget. From the point of view of the quality of democracy, participation in decision-making, following a public debate, is crucial here and should form the basis of the decision-making process. An inseparable element of democracy, which refers to the concept of people's power, is participation of citizens in the exercise of power, including in the local community. The modern normative reality creates many opportunities for the development of forms of democracy, and its scope depends only on specific legal solutions provided for in legislation and on initiatives and social needs of the community.

Participatory budget in France implements the principle of subsidiarity in the management of public funds intended to meet the needs of the local community. It is also an element of the broadly-understood principle of openness in the exercise of public authority in a democratic state on local level. The revival of the concept of participatory policy started with a specific tool, i.e. the participatory budget, derived from pragmatic experience, the effects of which were explained *ex post* (Bacqué, Sintomer 2011: 119).

The article uses the dogmatic-legal method (consisting of an analysis of legal text) and comparative-legal method. The aim of the article is to discuss the organisation and functioning of the participatory budget in the French Republic and to answer the question whether the participatory budget in the French model is an effective instrument for the participation of residents in the co-management of the local community or an illusory substitute for power exercised by residents as the original subject of power?

Participatory budget and ‘proximity democracy’ – normative concept and context

Pursuant to Article 72(3) of the French Constitution, the French legislator has determined that, under the conditions laid down by law, local communities (municipalities, departments and regions) may freely exercise their powers through elected councils and adopt legal acts in order to exercise their powers (Velley 2015: 68). The provisions of the French General Code of Territorial Communities (*Code général des collectivités territoriales*, CGCT) specify the list of bodies, their organisation and principles of operation. Thus, social participation in local government finds its legal basis in constitutional, statutory and internal regulations of local councils and other legal acts.

In the doctrine of French administrative law, it is stressed that “while decentralisation has transferred the competences of the State to territorial communities, it has practically forgotten to transfer responsibility to the citizens. To fill this gap, the concept of civic democracy may be seen as an operational concept as it is linked to many aspects of local public governance: community control, participation of citizens, rights of the opposition as a political minority” (Auber, Cervelle 2012: 265). Civic democracy brings citizens closer to local administration. The legislator used the term in the Act of 27.02.2002 on *démocratie de proximité* (i.e. “proximity democracy” – democracy closest to the citizen). Earlier, the term “local democracy” was used.

Marie-Hélène Bacqué and Yves Sintomer state that the concept of participatory democracy may be described as a combination of traditional structures of representative democracies and procedures of direct or semi-direct democracy, with decision-making powers, not only consultative powers (e.g. the participatory budget instrument). In contrast, *de proximité* democracy (closer to the citizen), on which most of the French experience is based, represents a greater communicative influence on the part of representative democracy, which allows for a purely consultative dialogue between citizens and decision-makers. The latter listen selectively

to the voice of their interlocutors and freely undertake actions which are a synthesis of their debates. This micro-local space remains a privileged level for opening consultative debates (Bacqué, Sintomer 2011: 17). Thus, it should be stated that the participatory budget instrument is more than just a consultation, as there is an element of decision-making, although it is still ultimately reserved for decision-makers, i.e. by way of voting on the budget, including voting on the pool of funds allocated to the implementation of tasks selected under the participatory budget procedure. Therefore, it should be considered that the participatory budget in France is more than just an element of proximity democracy due to the element of decision-making, which is present in the selection of tasks by the residents to be financed from the pool of funds reserved in the municipal budget for projects implemented under the participatory budget.

Democracy is not only a power to make decisions or final decisions, it is also a social invention of a way of jointly seeking answers to everyday challenges through increased involvement of citizens in public debate and the resulting political decisions. “According to this approach, councillors, experts and citizens are equal in word and dignity” (Auber, Cervelle 2012: 266). Therefore, the participatory budget is an element of participatory democracy, going beyond the framework of an institution of social consultation.

The mechanism of civic participation in the form of a participatory budget in the French Republic does not find *expressis verbis* a legal basis in legal provisions, including the General Code of Territorial Communities. The lack of a definition of the legal concept of a “participatory budget” should also be noted.

The participatory budget is a form of direct democracy – an optional form of social participation of a financial nature. This instrument consists in granting the local community a possibility of allocating public funds, funds from the budget of the given unit, for the implementation of tasks which are considered important by the residents. The pool of funds set aside in the budget of the given entity should be clearly defined by the decision-makers, which will enable entities submitting projects to prepare adequate expenditure proposals corresponding to their specific initiative.

The entitlement to participation of local communities is governed by the regulations of French municipal councils and district councils, which are auxiliary units of municipalities (i.e. *arrondissement* and *quartier*). Such regulations are optional. It is deemed acceptable to shape the internal structure and working methods of individual bodies in such a way as to respond to the current needs of the democratic society, which is increasingly drawing from the residents' participation in shaping the local community budget, despite the lack of a clear statutory basis in this area. The optional nature of French participatory budgets creates a framework for broad public consultation with the residents of a given community, whose tasks include co-creating the local public space. In this context the optional character of establishment of participatory budgets should be regarded as a mature decision of decision-makers aimed at strengthening social bonds and creating co-responsibility for one's own local community.

The participatory budget is the right of the residents of a given local community to propose tasks to be financed to the municipal/district authorities. These undertakings should be within the scope of the local community's own tasks of an optional character. They should not be tasks falling within the exclusive competence of a given body (e.g. adoption of the budget of a given municipality). The purpose of the participatory budget is to enable the residents to carry out specific public tasks that are important from their point of view, to co-decide on spending the budget for projects which they deem necessary.

In the French legislation, the participatory budget is also a separate pool of funds from the budget of a given local community. The budget is the basic financial act adopted every year. The initiative to adopt a budget resolution belongs to the executive body of the community, but the budget resolution is adopted by the council of the local community. The draft budget includes expenditure and revenue foreseen for the year ahead. A participatory budget is a certain percentage of the investment budget of the given local community (Nicoll, Muret 2014: 78). It should be pointed out that the revenues coming into the budget of the given unit, i.e. the obtained funds, come mainly from taxes and subsidies (e.g. from the general

subsidy – *dotation globale de fonctionnement*), from operating revenues (e.g. revenues from the use of sports facilities), from proceeds from the sale of real estate belonging to the given municipality.

Types of participatory budgets and their characteristics

Thanks to the French participatory budgets, citizens have an opportunity to create their own public space by submitting ideas and voting on projects, which are then implemented to improve the living conditions in the local community.

There are several types of participatory budgets in the French Republic. The most popular is the district budget, which can mainly be found in large urban agglomerations. This budget covers one district council at the level of both *arrondissement* and *quartier*. If the proposed task concerns several districts (e.g. the proposal aims to satisfy the needs of residents of more than one district), such projects are classified as municipal projects, not district projects. This general budget (e.g. for the whole municipality) is an instrument that is more frequently activated in smaller municipalities. The principles and mode of organisation and operation of the budget are included in the regulations concerning the organisation of the participatory budget in a given municipality or district. The third type of participatory budget used in France is the participatory budget in schools, which aims to promote civic attitudes among young people. This is a new form of involving young citizens in the process of self-government, including the process of making decisions on matters important to them. This type of participatory budget is becoming increasingly popular in France. The participatory budget in primary and lower secondary schools has been successful. The tasks that were most popular included: “A more computerised school”, “A nicer school”, “A more sporty school” and “A more sustainable school” (16%)². Without a doubt, the participatory budget

² These data refer to 2016.

in schools has contributed significantly to increasing the attendance of residents involved in this mechanism of social participation, especially in Paris. In Paris this initiative was joined by 83% of educational institutions in 2016 and 42% of the votes cast in the participatory vote were those of the participating students. In 2019, 91% of primary schools and 96% of lower secondary schools took part in the participatory budget. In Paris, 143,489 inhabitants voted within the framework of the participatory budget, of which 85,774 votes were cast by students (+8%). Thus, there is an upward trend in this area, which proves the success of this participatory instrument. In 2019, 2,084 projects were submitted, of which 430 were put to a vote after a preliminary formal and substantive selection. 194 projects were voted on and approved, including 11 municipal and 183 district projects (see: <https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr>). This indicates an increasing shift of emphasis towards projects closer to the hearts of the residents of individual districts (arrondissement).

A project submitted to the participatory budget should meet certain criteria. It is important that the proposed project is local or supra-local, depending on the regulations. It should be connected to the needs of the inhabitants of a given municipality or part of it. In addition, the estimated costs of the implementation of the task may not exceed the amount of funds allocated to the participatory budget for the particular area of the community (e.g. district). Proposed projects should be implemented in the interest of the general community, so that they do not introduce restrictions. It is often indicated that proposals submitted to the participatory budget should be intended for free use by all residents of the district or municipality. However, the task must fall within the competence of the given local community. Proposals submitted to the budget should comply with the law and be non-discriminatory. This condition is particularly important. Additionally, tasks financed from the participatory budget must correspond to specific investment outlays set as a percentage value in the given local community (about 5% of the investment budget of municipalities is allocated for financing projects from the participatory budget during one council's term of office, it's 30% of the budget for district councils).

In accordance with the Charter of Districts (la Charte des arrondissements), adopted by Paris City Council Resolution no. 2010 DUCT 172, the district authority presents the funds allocated for the investment budget to the district council each year, indicating part of the budget to be allocated to the participatory budget. The mayor of the district then notifies the Paris authorities in writing of the amount of the funds intended for the district's participatory budget. The funds allocated for the participatory budget of each district and of the whole of Paris are published each year at the start of the participatory budget development process. Specific funding for this purpose is then approved by the Paris Council through a vote on the city budget (Augustyniak 2017: 386).

The initiator of a proposal submitted to the participatory budget may be a resident or a group of residents, as well as associations and organisations operating in the given municipality or district. The addressees of the proposals are the authorities of the local communities and district councils. It is worth mentioning that the participatory budget in district councils is voluntary, as each district is able to join the budget. Often municipal councils use financial incentives to encourage districts to participate in the participatory budget process by offering them more budget resources in this respect.

Anyone living in a given local community may participate in the participatory budget. Their age or nationality are not relevant (Gaudin 2013: 96). This means that people permanently resident in the municipality or district can take part in the vote. The group of entities entitled to vote based on the French legislation depends on the internal regulations of the Participatory Budget Charter or the regulations of the District Councils' Charter, which specify the principles of operation of participatory budgets. The voters select a certain number of projects from a list on the municipal or district level, depending on the type of the participatory budget. In the case of district projects, each resident may vote in only one district, based on their place of residence or work. The latter condition applies to voting in district councils – *arrondissement* in Paris. In the capital of the French Republic, the district councils have adopted the Participatory Budget

Charter, which indicates that based on an open and modern method of decentralised management, the participatory budget is above all an expression of trust in Parisians. It should aim to strengthen the links between citizens, institutions and their representatives, ensure greater transparency in the management of public finances, help with the development of methods of implementing public tasks with the use of Paris residents' knowledge and creativity.

Proposals for the budget are submitted through a digital platform of the municipal authority. The authors of the proposal must provide their name, address, date of birth and e-mail address. The initiators of the proposal are identified on the digital platform either as residents or as representatives of groups and organisations working on behalf of residents.

In the French Republic, the local community council determines the amount of funds earmarked under the investment budget which may be allocated to finance projects selected by means of the participatory budget during a given term of office. This also applies to reserving specific funds for district councils (arrondissement), which may also use this financial instrument. The implementation of district participatory budgets takes place with the participation of district authorities, which act as a local coordinator in the organisation and implementation of the participatory budget.

The participatory budget in France can be divided into several stages, which demonstrate the maturity of the decision-makers in the approach to this participatory instrument. Before submitting a project, an information campaign on the participatory budget is launched and numerous meetings are organised to help formalise ideas that can later be implemented under this procedure. Often, the so-called field rounds (*marches exploratoires*) are organised, as well as workshops and round table consultations, which help with co-creating projects, with the participation of a wide range of entities: residents, councillors, experts, city officers.

The proposal is then submitted as a hard copy to the municipal authority or electronically via the digital platform and undergoes preselection, i.e. an initial admissibility check. The municipal authority staff evaluate

the proposals submitted in terms of admissibility. They check whether the project meets the criteria, including: the project is in the general interest of the community, the proposal complies with the law, is consistent with any prohibitions of discrimination and the relevant outlays of investment funds that have been allocated to such projects in the budget of the municipality or district; it is also verified whether the project falls within the scope of competence of the given district or municipal council. If the formal criteria are not met, the project is rejected and the proposers are informed. The evaluation also covers the scope of the project (whether the project is of a municipal or district character). Municipal officials then assess the feasibility of the project in terms of content and the results of the assessment are published on the website of the municipality or the district. This assessment takes into account the estimated costs of the investment and its possible impact on expenditure. The next stage of the budget procedure is very important, as it consists in carrying out consultations with residents on the selected projects, after their formal and substantive evaluation. This stage includes joint consultations on project creation and discussion. A public consultation is therefore carried out to enable residents, councillors and associations to discuss projects together and improve them if necessary. It is even possible at this stage to combine certain projects by consensus. The administrative apparatus of the municipality is actively involved in helping to organise meetings between the authors of the projects and the residents in order to consider and discuss the proposals presented. This also applies to cooperation with other social entities operating in the municipality or district.

After the consultation, the projects are selected by way of voting. The ranking list of the projects is then published. The final list of district projects subjected to a vote is approved: by the mayor of the district for district projects and by the mayor of the municipality for municipal projects. The vote is preceded by organisation of local information campaigns on the projects on both municipal and district level. Numerous public meetings are initiated. Individual projects are presented at meetings of thematic committees at district councils. Voting takes place in an electronic form and in

the traditional form, i.e. with ballot boxes, which are placed in municipal or district authority offices and in other places designated for this purpose.

Most municipalities in the French Republic also provide support to residents voting electronically (IT terminals and on-call service) on the participatory budget. The content and rules of use of electronic voting platforms are adapted to smartphones. Voters select a certain number of projects from a list for each level – the municipal and district one. The results are calculated separately for the municipality (city) and each district participating in the participatory budget. The final stage is a vote on the budget during meetings of the municipal/district council (arrondissement), taking into account the priorities proposed by the residents within the participatory budget.

Residents are informed of the results of the vote on the budget. They are also regularly informed about the implementation and follow-up of the proposals selected by vote, either by e-mail or via a designated website. Reports on the implementation of proposals within the participatory budget are presented each year at meetings of the municipal/district council. Projects implemented under the participatory budget are marked with a logo or a visible inscription in the public space indicating that the given project is the fruit of cooperation with the residents of the local community under the participatory budget. This is to make the residents aware of the role and importance of this participatory instrument in their own co-management of the local community.

Conclusions

The institution of the French participatory budget operates on community and district level (arrondissement and quartier), thus it becomes an institution of democracy close to the citizen (*la démocratie de proximité*). A certain novelty is the possibility of implementing a participatory budget in schools. Paris came up with this initiative, as a new aspect of the budget in 2016 was that the city initiated a participatory budget for

primary and lower secondary schools. The participatory budget in primary and lower secondary schools has been undeniably successful and still enjoys great interest. The participatory budget in France is purely voluntary, which is to be seen as a mature approach of the French legislator, who decided not to interfere with this participatory budget mechanism, not wanting to limit the citizens' initiative.

In the French local and regional government, the participatory budget allows residents of local communities to freely submit projects, and provides a way for expressing their expectations and needs in terms of quality of life, immediate surroundings, future of their districts and municipalities. Thanks to participatory budgets, the residents of local communities are able to create their own public space by submitting ideas and selecting, by way of a vote, projects to be implemented in their municipalities / *arrondissement* and *quartier*, participating in improving their own living conditions. The types of budgets used in France indicate that these are instruments dedicated to the relevant subjects and implemented in an appropriate form according to the needs of the given community. They are therefore an effective instrument for the residents to participate in the management of the local community and in shaping their public space.

The interest in participatory budgets in the French Republic is increasing, even though the amount of funds allocated to these tasks in relation to the municipal budget is still modest (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke 2008: 125).

The participatory budget in French local communities is a good example of democracy closest to the citizen (*démocratie de proximité*), which consists of a continuous dialogue with representative democracy, crossing the boundaries of public decisions and redefining the division of work (power) between representative and direct democracy (Gret, Sintomer 2005: 133).

All the above-mentioned features of projects implemented within the framework of a participatory budget, the types of budgets and the procedure of their implementation indicate that the French participatory budget is an effective instrument for the participation of residents in the co-management of the local community, and not just an illusory substitute for power exercised by residents.

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Deliberation as a Path towards the Development of Participatory Budgeting (a Case Study of the City of Antwerp)

“Town meetings are to liberty
what primary schools are to science”.
Alexis de Tocqueville

Introduction

Deliberation has quite a considerable output in urban, social and political theory and has been influencing the local development of cities around the world. It is well documented and scientifically proven that the socio-political context plays a crucial role when participatory and deliberative methods are implemented. It determines the abilities of both institutions and communities within the collaboration. Observations from around the world point to multidimensional implications. However, it should be taken into consideration that socio-political conditions create differences in terms of government-governance patterns.

An important part of local development is looking for new governing arrangements. This is a matter with many implications, i.e. growing civic

awareness and/or crisis of accountability of representative democracy. Representative democracy is often dysfunctional and lacks the capacity to assert the rights and voice of the community. The above statements follow Tocqueville's argumentation on the need for empowerment of civil society (Tocqueville 2000).

Deliberation is part of the developing scientific and public debate on governance. It links people more so than in a standard democratic system and is far more egalitarian and free of power distinctions. In this sense, deliberation requires the remodelling of links between decision-makers and the rest of society. It requires an institutional design that is open to empowerment. In the long term, it contributes to trust among particular individuals of society.

Deliberative democracy is defined as a process where "individuals are amenable to changing their minds and their preferences as a result of the reflection induced by deliberation" (Dryzek 2000: 31). Dryzek states that deliberation requires an "enlarged mentality" that allows looking at the problems and finding solutions beyond individual perspectives and with a greater outlook of the plurality of others' rights and values.

The subject of deliberation aims to address the issues of conditions that favour or limit participation in the decision-making process of cities. Deliberation enables the achievement of lasting and rational consensus on local development. The deliberative mechanism directly incorporates different local actors in a wide range of forms. It projects different innovative ways of engaging society in local development.

Cities around the world have been introducing forms of participatory budgeting (PB) as governance mechanisms of local policy. Some of them introduced a strict deliberative form of PB or one evaluated from the perspective of participative empowerment, while others opted for a more flexible form of the deliberative approach. Deliberative PB is in practice from South America to China, where researchers indicate that if deliberation is possible in an authoritarian state, then it certainly can be implemented in democratic countries (He 2019). These recognized international practices have different backgrounds and different continuations.

Their experiences can be a source of inspiration for others who want to make the process more community-oriented and more inclusive.

One interesting example of the participatory budgeting process using the deliberative formula comes from the Belgian city of Antwerp. It provides an ample amount of empirical evidence which addresses both the research itself and the ensuing problems that arise in the process of implementation. This paper depicts an institutional perspective of the process in this Belgian city. It focuses on the projected design and efforts to improve a deliberation approach. The presented information and data were collected from open sources, i.e. articles and documents as well as direct information from the 'Participation Office' in the Antwerp City Hall.

Deliberation within local development

The deliberative theory is strongly embedded at the local level. Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls, the founding fathers of the deliberative concept, were looking for the conditions under which political decisions should be taken. The governing idea is that all members of the society should be involved in the process on an egalitarian basis, and there is a need for constraint-free information and communication in public debate. In other words, deliberation is a precondition for the legitimacy of political decisions in democracy (Habermas 1984; 1987; Rawls 1993). The deliberative perspective was an inspiration for local innovations in cities from different parts of the globe. It is the basis for new ways of local democracy that is more inclusive and engages autonomous members (Wampler, Avritzer 2004).

An important aim of the deliberation process is the inclusion of the underprivileged of society. In the interest of maintaining social cohesion, there is a need for real empowerment of the poor and those who are excluded and relegated to the margins of society. The empowerment of underprivileged people depends on the consciousness of the rest of

the society they are part of. A vehicle for building such consciousness is the general civic education of society (Freire 1972).

Participatory budgeting is a method of empowering citizens. Nevertheless, it can present many variants of empowerment, from participative to more deliberative ones, not to mention pathological and superficial attempts to imitate the governance approach. In most noted cases participatory budgeting is in line with participatory democracy. Nevertheless, some cities attempt to move further, towards a model of deliberative democracy aimed at deepening real grassroots engagement.

Deliberation is not only part of theoretical discourse but has inspired a wide range of empirical cases. In the practice of local democracy, deliberative processes are often based on Max Weber's work, indicating social science methods as a panacea for better decision-making within policy-making. The task is to develop a theory that increases understanding the mechanisms through which different members of the society interact (Weber 1949). Currently, James Fishkin is making an effort to introduce the social scientific basis for decision-making in local policy. Fishkin proposes the following principles of the participatory budgeting process (Fishkin 2018: 93):

- it should provide useful data on citizens' views about budget priorities;
- it should involve deliberation by citizens;
- the participants can show an increase in relevant knowledge and their sense of efficacy;
- the process should produce results that are implemented.

The deliberative approach combines grassroots' voices, engagement of local representatives and local government with the researcher's participation and coordination. The ideas of Tocqueville, Rawl, Habermas, Weber and Fishkin share the same foundations and values aimed at deepening democracy. In practice, they can all meet in the deliberative participatory budgeting process.

Participatory budgeting along with deliberation – the case of Antwerp’s PB

Participatory budgeting in local policy originated in Brazil in the late 1980s. In Porto Alegre, protest and political dissatisfaction have been turned into the success of deliberative democracy. However, the original idea from Porto Alegre of building direct democracy and empowering the people has evolved, sometimes distorting the essence of the original process (Sobol, Rzeńca 2018).

Participatory budgeting has spread around the world with different variations to the initial formula. In general, it is a form of civic engagement in budget decision-making and allocation.

Antwerp in Belgium (population over 520.000) was one of the cities that tried to refer to Porto Alegre’s experiences when defining its model of PB. The tradition of citizen’s participation in local policy in the city of Antwerp started in the 1980s when the Flemish government proposed a social renewal plan. In 1983, to organize and coordinate the plan, The Local Institute for Community Development (RISO) was established. The next step of increasing public participation started in 1996 with the first urban policy program (SIF). The SIF’s placed the residents as the central actors of local policy by stipulating their involvement. A new organization called Urban Development Corporation Antwerp (SOMA) initiated the Urban Neighbourhood Consultations (SWO) to develop local plans with a maximum number of residents (Beaumont, Loopmans 2008).

The process of participatory budgeting in Antwerp started in 2013 and the first edition was launched in 2014 in the central part of the city inhabited by approx. 200.000 citizens. The ‘burgerbegroting’ initiative came from the newly appointed chairman of the ‘Participation Office’. The dedicated amount was 1.1 million euros, which corresponded to 10% of the district budget. Since 2019 the budget has increased to 1.4. million euro. This increase is indicative of the city’s budget increase resulting from new responsibilities.

The PB process in Antwerp was defined as: “democratic deliberation and decision-making which allows citizens to discuss and prioritize public spending projects and gives them the power to make real decisions how the money is spent”. It is stated that the process is as important as the result. The aims of the Antwerp PB were identified as:

- to increase the satisfaction of the participatory process;
- to create support for political decisions;
- to increase the efficiency of local policy by identifying the needs of the local community;
- to create mutual understanding of local needs.

The original design of the process was very simple with a general principle – as few rules as possible. Over time, more rules have been added to match new ideas and to solve ensuing problems, alongside the increased number of participants and projects. The process has been grassroots-oriented from the very beginning. It has been indicated that it is not an advisory one and serves the purpose of making concrete decisions. In order to facilitate the organizational procedure, citizens sign in to take part in the meetings regarding PB. Nevertheless, they can also join directly at the spot. The participants receive consultation support, i.e. briefing documents and information from the moderators. The moderators were in charge of facilitating the process, organizing the work and improving deliberative skills of the participants. They were tasked with being impartial and had to assume responsibility for control measures to safeguard against any person dominating the discussion.

In general, during deliberation, it is very important to listen to others and to be open to the arguments of others. Political representatives stick to the principle that it is the citizens who make budgetary decisions, while they do not interfere. It is also clearly indicated that the process is not merely an advisory one but serves the purpose of making binding decisions for local policy.

In practice, the process is mostly conducted in small-group sessions. The participants deliberate over possible solutions and different alternatives. The policy alternatives are presented and selected systematically.

Deliberative techniques require guidance to reduce any vagueness and potential conflicts. It is important that people can meet, talk to each other and decide together. The meetings are open for everyone over 13 years of age. Each meeting is conducted in such a way that its outcome is a consensus.

The process is divided into five phases. In the first one the participants are grouped into teams of six. Team members are expected to choose five themes out of sixty eight (a compilation of the district's main tasks) which they would like to develop in their district. In the second phase called "The Forum", citizens work in teams of eight members. The task is to attach financial sources from the pool to the twelve most popular selected themes. This phase is organized as an attractive social game similar to poker, and even features poker chips. In the third phase, everyone can write projects for the chosen topics and budgets, to carry out themselves, or to be carried out by the local government. In the fourth round, people choose the projects for the next year.

The phases were attended in different editions by 500 to 1200 people. The final event culminates in the "Citizens' Budget Festival". The last phase is similar to the standard PB where citizens – individuals and non-profit organizations prepare projects and choose them through public voting. Annually, citizens choose about 80 projects (50–60 in the initial editions). The most popular subject areas are projects addressing loneliness and exclusion, projects directed at elderly people, bicycle and sidewalks infrastructure, green areas and social gardens.

The process is evaluated yearly and improved on according to the feedback. Additionally, in 2017 it was supported by researchers from the University of Antwerp. The research showed that the initial editions of PB did not include the underprivileged of the community. Most of the participants were very active citizens, mainly white and middle-aged. To make the process more organic in a bottom-up sense, it was redirected to the publicly inactive members of the community. In the following years, efforts were made to reach out to other groups (youth, people in poverty, newcomers, etc.). The 'burgerbegroting' staff worked with organizations associated with these groups, explaining and practicing the particular steps

of the process. This has led to increased participation and greater diversity. On request, sign language interpreters were also provided.

Another change was the introduction of online voting in 2018. However, the share for the budget distribution was 80% for the off-line process and 20% for the online process. This change was a kind of milestone meant to activate some members of the society who were until then still passive. The online rounds run parallel to the ones offline. However, the online vote is an individual choice and is therefore granted less weight. As the organizers of the process stated: the society and the conditions are changing, so evaluation is an important element of the process and there are often smaller or bigger improvements that are being introduced.

Antwerp's case is also interesting because of its neighbourhood orientation. There is a growing number of research showing the advantages of focusing on a neighbourhood scale of planning (Docherty, Goodlad, Padison 2001; Rabrenovic, Pierce 2003). They show that high self-regulation and practical local wisdom are crucial to improving the quality of life and turning neighbourhoods into viable communities. The neighbourhood bottom-up process also increases collective interest planning.

Antwerp's PB – inspiration for Polish cities

Antwerp's case provides an interesting method of building local deliberative democracy that highlights common inclusion, direct involvement and collaboration. It delivers practiced experiences that shed new light on common participatory budgeting done in Polish cities. Participatory budgeting is a process oriented towards improving a representative democracy. Nevertheless, it is not free of limitations and failures. Deliberative methods introduce some corrections to the process.

Deliberative practices are rare cases in local development in Poland. The city of Dąbrowa Górnicza and its 'DBP 2.0' is the best-recognized example on the local map. The vast majority of Polish cities, if they decide to introduce PB at all, do so in a standard version, i.e. through project

applications and in the final phase of public voting. It should be noted that since 2018, the laws of local government in Poland have introduced regulations making PB obligatory in cities with district rights (The Act on Local Government). However, these legal regulations also put a limit on deliberation. Up until 2018, self-government units were free to introduce their own versions of PB. Most of them decided to implement more or less the same framework based on the general provision of public consultations and practices adopted by other cities.

Before the introduction of the state provisions on PB, Dąbrowa Górnicza had put forward the question of how to improve a PB process in the city. One of the main concerns was that public voting pushed residents into a rivalry. The conclusion of many months of preparation was to resign from the standard PB formula and to implement a new one. The answer to improvements was the introduction of deliberation and the widening of genuine engagement among residents.

However, impending state regulations came into effect and were in many ways non-compatible with the changed version of PB in Dąbrowa. In general, in some areas, the regulations did not favour the deliberation framework. For Dąbrowa, it was akin to going backward in its advancement of the PB process. The local government decided to develop DBP 2.0. and simultaneously introduce BP according to state law.

The main obstacle to the introduction of an Antwerp-style PB in Poland is the current regulations. It seems that the actual legal framework of participatory budgeting in Poland is too rigorous. One of the regulations is obligatory voting, which was abandoned in Dąbrowa. A general question arises as to whether the participatory budgeting process requires there to be a vote. One of the concerns about voting is that it doesn't encourage people to think through the options. At the same time deliberative methods, even without general voting, ensure greater representativeness. They also limit the particularity of individual interests.

The case of Antwerp shows that in the final stage of PB, contrary to Dąbrowa, public voting was left out. Many deliberativists insist on consensus developed in a public debate mechanism. There are also voices

against consensus as an obligatory element of deliberation. Jeziarska argues that there is a need for a shared commitment to understanding the voices of others. The need for common debate is not identical to a need for agreement. Therefore, Jeziarska states that consensus is not a necessary outcome of deliberation. She recognizes three crucial elements of the proper deliberative process: willingness to publicly justify one's position; readiness to listen to others; and openness to changing one's position as a result of the encounter (Jeziarska 2019: 22). It means that deliberation does not necessarily need to be oriented towards consensus. The concluding argument is that voting after the process of deliberation is an optimal institutional design for the decision-making setting. Apart from the matter of time and other restrictions, it should be also taken into consideration that not all residents are sufficiently skilled to take part in face-to-face fora and various meetings.

Except for deliberation as the core change of PB in Dąbrowa Górnicza, this important direction was based on locality and attached to smaller units (neighbourhoods) that were not exactly covered by official government units. Unfortunately, the local-based approach was also not in line with the new legislation. This is because the new regulations impose the need to cover the boundaries with municipal auxiliary units.

It seems that the key to understanding the idea of participatory budgeting can be found in the words of the Mayor of Porto Alegre: "When governance with citizens is introduced, a question about the sense of the actions undertaken for these people, for their lives become a priority" (Abers, Brandão, King, Votto 2018: 4). In Polish cities, however, before introducing participatory budgeting, the question that is rarely asked is: Whom, and how is the PB going to serve? It is a challenge to introduce deliberation into local policy. As a result, few cities will reach for individually created and more demanding solutions and methods of public engagement. Most settle for the 'standard', and then additionally overwhelm the concept of PB with regulations and organizational issues.

Unfortunately, the matter of making sense of PB becomes a by-product of the process, and the essence of diagnosing problems and looking for

solutions is lost. In this scenario, participatory budgeting boils down to collecting ideas and votes, without any in-depth reflection on the city. As a result of procedural errors that work against community building, weak social trust is violated and the conditions for competition between residents or neighbouring groups are created (Sobol, Rzeńca 2018).

Conclusions and summary

Deliberation is part of the heated public debate about the potential of the empowerment of civil society. It represents a determined movement for democratization and is assessed as a more advanced and engaged mechanism of democracy. Likewise, deliberation can be seen as a remedy for social polarization. It encourages people to come together to identify and address local problems.

Active citizenship is crucial for local development. A precondition for deliberation is civic consciousness. At the same time, deliberation makes citizens more thoughtful and improves their civic skills. The relationship is therefore mutual. Another element is the will of decision-makers to introduce deliberation into local policy. There must be a strong link between deliberation and the decision-making process. Deliberative democracy is citizenship-oriented and helps to avoid many superficial practices concerning local policy. It builds better communities and revitalizes local development.

Participatory budgeting, in general, is directed towards citizens' engagement. Furthermore, in a deliberative formula, the process is based on cooperation, and citizens become co-producers of local projects. In this framework, the process of local planning is more collective-oriented. It enables co-creation and promotes finding out what is best for the community as a whole. Communities have the agency to shape their environment rather than letting decisions fall into the hands of a few. In general, deliberative mechanisms are directed towards the elimination of many imperfections of representative or aggregative democracy.

There is much to learn from different participatory budgeting models and particular cases. The biggest advantage of the model presented in this paper, the Antwerp's PB, as well as the DBP 2.0. in Dąbrowa Górnicza, is that people started to discuss issues, to listen to the arguments of others and to look for advantages seen as the common good. This does not mean that difficulties will not occur. Deliberation is not free from problems and conflicts are part of the process. Nevertheless, the idea is that tensions are better and less cost-intensive in the planning process than after investments have been completed. It seems that the Antwerp's model of combining deliberation with aggregative democracy through public voting at the final stage could be the optimal way of maximizing the number of residents in the decision-making process.

It can be observed that in deliberative PB, when compared with the standard method, the scope of topics is relatively narrow, but the quality of work and general outcomes are better. What is very important is that project leaders are involved in the realization of the resulting projects. Deliberative PB gives people a real say in local policy. Participatory budgeting in a deliberative formula can offer a response to the general problems of local development, i.e. weak representative democracy and passive citizens. On the one hand, it legitimizes the decision-making process and on the other hand, it attracts members of the community with real and direct influence on local policy. Regardless of the procedure, it needs to be stated that participatory budgeting cannot be just another type of consultation without an end in sight. It requires binding decisions.

The deliberative formula of PB, which is more advanced than the standard one, helps to balance the interests of different local members. It is more effective, inclusive, transparent and fair. Nevertheless, the deliberative method is a challenge and requires more flexibility and good organization. Standard participatory budgeting can bring an upgrade to local planning. However, the results can be limited or even poor when replicated without reflection and due preparation. The deliberative formula of PB enables the process to be better considered and more individualized. It helps to avoid many errors when compared to the standard version.

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The Characteristic of Participatory Budget Process Based on Brazil and Poland Examples

Introduction

For the first time participatory budget appeared in Brazil in 1989. Over the next 30 years it spread out all over the world and also reached Poland. This process, implemented in different places, started to be adapted to the conditions and needs prevailing in given countries. This way various participatory budget models have evolved. The purpose of this paper is to characterize the participatory budget process in Brazil and its European counterpart, Poland. In fact, the process of involving local communities in the expenditure part of the budget of local government units is important. However, many people do not have sufficient knowledge concerning this subject and do not take action to actively participate in the the bespoke process. Due to the spread out of this initiative and the “race” between local government units, including who first and better will initiate a participatory budget, the focus is on bringing closer a different models of its application.

A comparison analysis of the solutions accepted in Brazil, Poland and European models of civic budget allows a better understanding of the issues related to the implementation of civic participation in different

parts of the world. From the comparative analysis included in the text, it is possible to make conclusions concerning possible further directions of development of the participation budget in Poland. The content of this paper highlights key topics related to: (1) the problem of representation, (2) the possibility of system reduction of the democratic deficit, (3) criteria that mark out the civic budget from other forms of activation and participation of local communities.

The article signs in the more and more common, not only in Poland, trend of considerations concerning the subject of governance (Sroka 2009). In this trend, researchers are analyzing the practical possibilities of involving citizens, especially of local communities, in decision-making processes, which is a response to the current crisis of representative democracy. The data contained in this paper were mostly sourced from scientific publications concerning civic budget in the world. Also, the analysis of Polish legal acts related to this process was carried out. The article highlights these advantages of using the civic budget, which create its assets as a tool to strengthen the democratic nature of the system. Therefore, this text can be treated as a suggestion of guidelines addressed both to individual and collective civic entities as well as to local government units.

What is participatory budget?

Nowadays, the role of the participation of inhabitants and citizens in the processes of preparing public decisions is growing. Dialogue solutions are increasing and contain elements of co-decision. They encourage public authorities and social activists to discuss and cooperate in attempts to solve public problems. One of these solutions is the civic budget, also called participatory budget. It consists in co-deciding by the population how a part of local government funds is to be used in the next budget year perspective (Buliński 2018). In civic budgeting, as well as in other forms of dialogue decision-making, the operation of participatory component is provided by the professional public mechanism. The implementation remains with

the authorities, but it is also worth paying attention to the entities that play a supporting role in these activities. These are non-governmental organizations, informal social groups and 'city movements' (Kębłowski 2013). Citizens' participation in decisions related to public expenditure is a process that definitely marks out democratic countries. The participation of citizens in public life is very important. As Rafał Górski (2007) notes, a person can achieve the fullness of their self-realization only when they are involved in public affairs. The author underlines that the passivity of citizens turns them into objects of power, while participation allows them to be its subject. Everyone who does not take any steps to participate in governing, must obey and reconcile with the decisions of others who have taken these steps (Górski 2007).

Due to the increasing popularity of the civic budget, it is becoming an object of research among many scientists. Often it is confused with other forms of citizen involvement in public affairs. Among the scientists dealing with this subject, noteworthy are: Giovanni Allegretti – one of the precursors in the field of participatory budget research, a planner employed at the Center for Social Studies of the Coimbra University, Portugal; Sergio Baierle – legendary activist working on the introduction of participatory budget in Porto Alegre; Gianpaolo Baiocchi – a sociologist and ethnographer studying civil life and participatory democracy; Yves Cabannes – professor of development planning at Bartlett Development Planning Unit, University College London and Yves Sintomer – professor of the University of Paris at the faculty of political science. Thanks to their many years of research, they have identified five criteria, based on which it is possible to determine whether a given practice undertaken in the state is a civic budget or a different form of participation (Kębłowski 2013).

The first important feature is the periodicity of the process. It is undertaken annually, which is why it is not a one-time episode. The second feature is an inseparable part of dialogue between citizens. They meet on specially organized meetings and engage in discussions. Each undertaken initiative requires at least one deliberation possibility. Citizens have opportunity to exchange views and express their doubts on the rightness of

allocating funds for a given purpose. This dialogue plays a key role in the later cooperation with officials. Citizens' participation in meetings like the City Council or filling questionnaires does not allow them to exchange views. The civic budget process gives them this opportunity. The third of the five basic criteria is the amount of financial resources. Deliberation among citizens refers only to precisely defined funds. The next criterion is the range of the participatory budget. It is not limited to a district or institution. At least one of its stages is addressed to the city-wide level. By limiting the operation of the project, e.g. to the residential level, there is a risk that hegemony of specific social groups or political options will occur, eliminating the needs of other citizens not belonging to these groups. The formulation of erudite solutions and proposals is then very limited. The last criterion is the binding nature of the participatory budget. This is a feature that perfectly illustrates the difference of this process in relation to e.g. social consultations. All decisions taken by citizens are implemented. Information concerning what projects they have selected and rejected, are forwarded to them, and the realization of implemented investments is constantly monitored (Kębłowski 2013).

Wojciech Kębłowski (2013) attracts attention to use of two convertible names for the phenomenon. He believes that the term 'participatory budget' is much better than 'civic budget'. The author notes, that participation, or taking part, is a concept that turns towards openness to the needs of a community, consisting not only of citizens, but also residents practicing their professions in a given place, studying there and other city users. It is also worth paying attention to people who live somewhere but do not have registered status, and even people who do not have the appropriate citizenship. This solution gives some participants an additional opportunity to compare practices applied in different countries.

Maja Błaszak (2019) defines budget as one of the instruments of social participation, which, along with national affiliation, as well as human and citizen rights, is closely connected with the citizenship. By the way, it can be seen that there are some differences in understanding of the participation concept. Some scientists assign them specifically to the citizen, but

some understand them much wider and include, for example, also immigrants. The wide scope of the concept results in the frequent need of using it together with an additional detailing word. Participation in the fullest way defines the democratic system of the state, whose word root owes the combination of two Greek words, *demos* and *kratos*, meaning successively people and power (Podgórska-Rykała 2018). The power in the hands of the people directly indicates participation. Following this way of thinking, using the word participatory budget instead of civic budget seems to match the idea better.

Brazil as the ‘mother’ of civic budget

Engaging people in public life is not a new phenomenon. Such steps have been already taken in ancient times. This is perfectly illustrated by the case of Greeks, who believed that the law and the duty of every single man is to participate in governing of the state. They did not consider it as a privilege (Górski 2007). Pericles to honour the heroes of the Peloponnesian War, gave a speech at their funeral and emphasized the importance of participation with these words: “We are the only nation which considers an individual not interested in the state’s life not as passive but useless” (Tukidydes 1988: 107–110). The civic budget as a process of involving people in shaping of local space was implemented for the first time in Porto Alegre. In this Brazilian city with more than one million citizens, a third of the population lived in slums on the city outskirts. One could say that they were isolated from the rest of society. They did not have access to basic public amenities such as clean water, medical and sanitary facilities, schools, etc. Famine and homelessness were the everyday life for many of the city inhabitants. The society classification into extremely rich and extremely poor people was a challenge for authorities endeavour to develop Brazil (Bhatnagar, Rathore, Moreno Torres, Kanungo 2003).

In 1989 a success was achieved in Porto Alegre as a result of cooperation between officials and the population living in the city (Mucha 2018). Local

authorities supported by the Workers' Party decided to take a decisive step, which was undertaking consultations on expenditures with citizens. The initiators of this solution were civic associations (Buliński 2018). As a result of actions taken, many admirable achievements have occurred. One of them is the fact, that in 2001, 98% of the Porto Alegre population had access to the sewage system, when in the year of the civic budget introduction, this value was only 49% (Podgórska-Rykała 2018).

The participatory budgeting process was divided into three parallel series of meetings repeated throughout the year: neighbourhood meetings, subject meetings and meetings of representatives of national coordination sessions. The first of them concerns the method of allocating funds in sixteen city districts. These are usually sewerage, water access, construction or renovation of roads, parks, schools, etc. Neighbourhood meetings take place in public places such as churches, gyms, or clubs. They are also called large regional meetings, in which between 500 and 100 people participate, which is a small number compared to the total population of the city. Many participants attend the meetings passively – it is an act of showing their support. People also choose their participatory budget delegates to represent them in negotiations at subject meetings.

Additionally, they deal with controlling of the implemented projects. The national council for participatory budgets performs a similar function (Conselho do Orçamento Participativo, abbreviated as COP). This body consists of a number of 20 to 30 delegates elected by the citizens and their task is to control the civic budget process (Gilman, Wampler 2019). The indicated examples for selection of delegates by citizens show the emphasis on the representation in Brazil. An internal selection takes place here. The selected representatives undertake to fulfil certain duties, for example, project preparation. An ordinary, average participant does not get involved so much in all activities necessary to be performed.

The city authorities always organize a meeting at the beginning of the year, where they present all the bills from the previous year. It is a kind of settlement of accounts with the citizens regarding the fulfilment of tasks. In addition, action plans for the near future are presented, resulting directly

from discussions carried out last year. Meetings aiming at the discussion concerning the problems and needs of local communities last nine months and start as soon as the authorities present the action plan for the coming year. Each district at this time must identify the two most important goals to be achieved next year. The first one must be strictly related to the needs of the district, such as the construction of pavements. The second is to improve the quality of life of the citizens of the entire city, such as cleaning streets, parks, etc. The amount of funds allocated to a given district is decided by the community during the debate. Examples of criteria that affect the final decision include the poverty rate, the number of needs a given community has, or the generally accepted priorities, e.g. ensuring access to drinking water for all citizens (Bhatnagar, Rathore, Moreno Torres, Kanungo 2003).

Brazil puts emphasis on equalizing the quality of life among citizens. Therefore, it is assumed that the poorer districts will receive more funds than the wealthy ones. Usually investment decisions are made jointly by the residents of a given district. Each city sets the criteria differently, according to the priorities for action, but the work scheme is similar. The participatory budget has had a very positive impact on the life of the poorer part of the population of Porto Alegre. Although it did not eliminate the problem of poverty, it has improved the life of these people in many aspects.

Michael Touchton and Brian Wampler (2014), in their publications studying the Brazilian participatory budget pay attention to the aspects of the participatory budget strengthening the democracy of the state. One of them is involving citizens in the state management. It is worth paying attention to direct authorization of citizens for making public decisions. Consequently, this procedure affects civil education in practice. In addition, measures such as allocation of significant resources for supporting poorer environments and providing them social services on higher level also contribute to the development of democracy. It is nothing more than taking part in participatory democracy. The participatory budget in Brazil is practically always initiated at the municipality level.

Its implementation at the level state was an experimental step that was abandoned. This means that political power is gathered by mayors and they are the ones who are best at implementing such processes (Gilman, Wampler 2019). They are responsible for budget preparations, which must be approved by the city council. The mayor has the right to reallocate an approved budget up to 20%, without having to approve it again. It is true that the city council may not approve the budget presented by the mayor, but it does not allow them to implement their proposals. In this situation, the budget from the previous year will be automatically adopted. Mayors willingly support the participatory budget initiative and their budget management rights allow a free transfer of resources from project to project depending on the needs.

In Porto Alegre in the late 90s, as much as 15% of the city's budget was allocated to the participatory budget process. Currently, this share in the most of Brazilian cities ranges from 1 to 3%. It is significantly lower than in the years when it was initiated. It is worth noting that now it is more popular (Gilman, Wampler 2019). Significant funds invested for this purpose in the previous years to a certain extent have reduced the needs for following years. Research conducted by scientists shows that participatory budget usually involves people with low income and low education, especially women. Brian Wampler (2007) notes that participatory budget has positively influenced the increase in social activity among poor people, who are usually a disabled underprivileged group. Traditionally, marginalized people are strengthened by the initiated process and engaged in active participation.

The achievements of the first city which used the participatory budget process to manage a part of public funds were so motivating that by 2008, similar solutions were introduced in almost 200 Brazilian cities. Soon, countries around the world showed interest in civic budget. By 2010, it was introduced, for example, in almost 510 cities in South America. Leszek Buliński (2018) in his work tackles the expansion of the participatory budget. From the beginning of the 21st century, it started to be used in Europe as well as in African and Asian countries.

European models of participatory budget

Along with an increased interest in the participatory budget and its expansion around the world, its aspects started to be modified, departing from the original Brazilian model. Individual countries predispositions and different needs of the community forced those in power to look for the internal solutions. Yves Sintomer, Carsten Herzberg and Anja Röcke (2008) analysed participatory budgets in Europe. Based on results of the legal-comparative research, they marked out three basic types of these solutions.

- The first solution is based on the Brazilian assumptions. According to Anna Rytel-Warzocho (2012), it most accurately imitates the principles that were adopted by the city which started the civic budget initiative. This solution has been divided into two models.
 - Porto Alegre model adapted to Europe concerns involving single individuals. The decisions they make are related to very specific investments and projects. Political activation plays a very important role in this case. Although decisions are often not legally binding because the last word belongs to the decision-making body and not to the citizens, still this model is very effective. Local authorities, due to the acceptance of legal regulations, allowing the operation of participatory budget on their territory, feel responsible for the decisions taken by citizens in matters concerning the use of part of the public funds. It can be assumed that the decision-making subject in this case are the citizens.
 - Participation of organized interests is slightly different from the previously mentioned model. The first difference lies in less formal acting. Organizations and associations take part in the participatory budget, and the dialogue regards the priorities of general action directions to be undertaken, e.g. construction, education, etc. As it can be seen in this model, it moves from single individuals in direction of groups of people, and discussed issues are more general and do not apply to specific projects.

Both models were positively evaluated because both first as well the second one achieve their goals. Local problems are recognized and ways of solving them are indicated. Everything is the result of civic discussion.

- The second solution is based on special purpose funds. They are used to finance various types of projects reported by citizens. This solution implements projects that improve the living standard of local communities, care for the environment or culture, using assets from a special purpose fund. At this level, two models with similar characteristics were marked out. These are:
 - community funds on at local and civil level,
 - public / private negotiating table.
- The third solution is related to public consultation process. It involves local authorities deciding which proposals selected during the citizens' discussion will be included in the budget. Citizens can share their opinions. However, they are not decisive in setting up priority cases and the final decision-making on funds allocation. Citizens can only count on the fact that the authorities will subjectively respond to their opinion (Buliński 2018).

The division proposed by Anna Rytel-Warzocha is very detailed and focuses on comparing European solutions to the model of the first initiator of participatory budget, namely Brazil. Giovanni Allegretti (2012), in turn, divides participatory budget into two large families: one striving to democratize local authorities and creating bigger decision-making rights for citizens involved in budget setting, and the other aiming the participation through public consultation, emphasizing the transparency of procedures for funds allocation and their proper management.

Anna Rytel-Warzocha (2012) does not forget about several functions fulfilled by a properly prepared and implemented participatory budget. In the first place, she underlines satisfying the most important needs of the local community at the moment through effective budget distribution. The next function is educating citizens by making them aware that they can have social impact as individuals, as long as they are actively involved in activities for their local community. The third, informative function

concerns the steps taken by the commune authorities for making citizens familiar with how financial policy is conducted and to show them local needs seen from the authorities' perspective. The last function refers to supporting the realization of the principle of social justice.

Civic budget in Poland

The history of the civic budget in Poland is not very long. It covers the last 9 years. For the first time an attempt to involve citizens in managing part of the local budget's funds took place in Sopot in 2011. As it turns out, the realization of sustainable development demands pushed people towards initiating of a civic budget (Pytlik 2017). The community truly surprised the authorities. There were concerns as to the types of projects which should be included. The inhabitants wanted such things as renovation of animals shelter, modernization of sidewalks, roads, etc. The first project carried out in connection with participatory budget was the introduction of a special garbage segregation scheme in the entire city (Kamrowska-Zaluska 2016). Following Sopot, in 2012 4 more cities in Poland decided to introduce a participatory budget. It was not limited to initiating this process only at the commune level, but also in poviats and voivodeships (Podgórska-Rykała 2018). At the end of 2013, as many as 72 cities in Poland decided to implement the civic budget assumptions, out of them, in 52 the citizens have already taken the decision on where funds should be allocated (Kraszewski, Mojkowski 2014).

The idea of civic participation began to develop in Poland, which clearly indicates that citizens are interested in the possibility of participating in co-governance. In 2018, the legislator amended the acts on councils: commune, poviat and voivodeship. They were extended by additional regulations directly connected with the civic budget (Journal of Law Courts from 2018, item 130). Thanks to these changes, both in the act on commune council and acts on poviat or voivodeship councils as well, the civic budget was included as a special form of social consultations. The competences of

local authorities concerning interference in the budget resolution were also limited, resulting with the inability to remove or change tasks selected in the progress of the civic budget. Forms of expenditures division allocated for this initiative were determined, and a poviast council, commune council and voivodeship parliament were designated as the body competent to determine the project requirements. This subject sets expectations regarding the concept of using public funds for a citizens' initiative by means of a resolution, taking into account four basic aspects listed in the act. In addition, this act introduces regulations such as the minimum amount of civic budget for municipalities which are cities with poviast rights.

Many scientists have attempted to determine the features of an ideal participatory budget. Dariusz Kraszewski and Karol Mojkowski (2014) draw attention to the beginnings of the above-mentioned initiative in Poland and note, that it was varied. Often, no deeper content-related reflection of the activities was carried out, which in the long run made itself visible. Success related with good functioning of the mechanism depends on proper preparation of activities. Procedures carried out by the authorities often reduced the civic budget only to purely administrative activities, which is against the idea of this process. Appointing civic budget units is an example of mistakes that were made. Several times they were made up of officials and councilors only. Exceptionally, representatives of the so-called third sector were added. Their task was to verify the ideas of inhabitants or creating scenarios on the progress of participation process in the local community. In this case, the essence of the civic budget was forgotten. The focus was not on involving inhabitants in implementing an initiative concentrating on their needs and expectations. Over time, the importance of the civic budget began to gain weight, until it became an inspiration for local authorities. Involving citizens has become important not only for government entities, but also for the citizens themselves. Media interest, urban development and the possibility to compare them on the basis of changes resulting from social participation, increasing the activity and ambitions of the population and inhabitants' participation in elections are only some of the most important motivational mechanisms that encourage co-governance.

The Ministry of Digitization has described (<http://archiwum.mc.gov.pl/budzet-partycypacyjny>) certain standards of how the civic budget should be implemented in Poland.

These include, among others:

- right selection of investments related to local needs, proper preparation and planning of the entire process in advance to eliminate action under time pressure,
- taking care of selecting the appropriate members of the local community who are to prepare the entire process,
- controlling the number of representatives of social groups involved in the implementation of the civic budget (this number may not be too small or too large),
- educating representatives of local communities on issues of budget preparation by local government units and presenting them with financial realities and thus enabling better implementation of the civic budget,
- participation of councillors and officials in the preparation of the civic budget,
- personal involvement of officials in the debates carried out,
- all decisions are required to be made public, with appropriate justification, so that decision transparency is maintained,
- all materials should be prepared in simple language, avoiding specialized wording that may affect the understanding of the text by inhabitants,
- data regarding the division of tasks among the team and their contact details should be made public,
- any disputes or discrepancies connected with the preparation of the project should be made public,
- funds for project preparation and its time frames for implementation should be specified,
- project evaluation should be documented on an ongoing basis in order to prepare a project summary.

The guidelines indicated by the Ministry of Digitization present certain standards that should be observed while implementing civic budget in Poland. This particular form of encouraging people to participate in co-governing of part of public funds is relatively new. Only 7 years after the first initiation of this process in the state, it was included in the council laws: municipal, poviast and voivodeship. This is certainly not the last word of the Polish legislator. Local government authorities are gradually implementing new solutions enabling the development of participatory budget. Attributing it to a particular form of public consultation can evolve over time. We cannot exclude the fact, that in a few years the Polish civic budget model will be closer to the Brazilian one, and the legal regulations in this matter will be better developed.

Summary

Poland is significantly different from Brazil, both economically and culturally. Local government units in these two countries often have very different priorities and needs. This is due to the implementation of their own internal policy, so it is not surprising that the goals and tasks in these two countries differ. The mentality of inhabitants is also a factor influencing the form in which their participation will be initiated. Civic budget models that have developed over time in European countries, although different, base on some generally accepted criteria. They all involve local communities and allow them – to different ranges – to co-decide on spending part of the budget. The profile created in this article introduces the topic of participatory budgeting as a form of system support for democratic procedures. In many Polish cities, civic budget comes down to single applications which are discussed and voted on (Widawska, Wiczorek 2014). In Brazil, these discussions take place annually for nine months, gathering between 500 and 1000 people.

Despite the apparent gap at first glance, there is a single purpose in introducing participatory budgeting – participation and involvement of

the local community as a step to strengthen the shared responsibility and democracy of the state. In Poland, many changes still need to take place so that we may speak of a strong civil society. Nevertheless, the progress is noticeable. The way of thinking and the approach to participation are changing. People started to be socially active, and their activity is conscious. Thus, Poles are on the right path to build a democratic state in which everyone is involved in power.

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Participatory Budgeting as a Form of Conventional Political Participation

Introductory notes

Participatory budgeting (in Poland referred to as the civic budget¹) is a relatively new form of political participation, which enables the inhabitants of local communities to participate in the decision-making process concerning budget expenditure (Rachwał 2013a: 174). The advantage of the procedure is the universality of assumptions “allowing to apply this solution in all conditions: from regions, metropolitan areas, districts of big cities, through large and medium-sized cities, to commune centres” (Leszkowicz-Baczyński 2017: 97). The term “political participation” itself can be defined as an active expression of support for political continuity or the pursuit of change (Skarżyńska 2002: 27). Political participation thus covers a broad spectrum of institutions that enable political decision-making to be influenced. Importantly, political participation is not only about elections or referendums, but also about many other forms and procedures, including participatory budgeting. As Ryszard Legutko

¹ In this article the terms ‘participatory budgeting’ and ‘civic budget’ are used as synonyms.

emphasised, “we participate when we are involved in making decisions on matters that concern us” (Legutko 1998: 33).

Political participation can be seen in two dimensions, i.e. as conventional or unconventional participation. “Conventional participation is understood as an activity that complies with the order established by the constitution and is within the framework of democratic institutions. It most often involves the choice of those in power (at various levels) and the legal influence of individuals on the selection of actions taken by politicians” (Skarżyńska 2002: 29). Accordingly, in addition to elections, the forms of conventional political participation include referendum, people’s initiative, people’s veto, as well as many other institutions enabling citizens to influence the political decision-making process. Importantly, from the point of view of the subject matter of this article, participatory budgeting is also a form of conventional political participation. And unconventional participation “consists in taking – without the intermediation of institutions – actions aimed at influencing the decisions of those in power’. Most often they take the form of various manifestations, occupations of buildings, strikes, or otherwise demonstrated civil disobedience” (Skarżyńska 2002: 29). So, the essence of unconventional participation is also to influence the political decision-making process, but in this case without the intermediation of institutions (which is characteristic of conventional participation).

For the purposes of this publication, it is assumed that participatory budgeting is one of the forms of conventional political participation. In addition, other possibilities of theoretical embedding of the analysed political institution were signalled, such as: forms of direct (semi-direct) democracy², the concept of deliberative democracy, the concept of governance.

The aim of the article is to synthesize the essence of participatory budgeting, to distinguish the features of the indicated form of conventional

² In his research, the author of this sketch adopts a threefold concept of the division of democracy (taking into account the extent of the sovereign’s participation in the decision-making process), within which he distinguishes: direct democracy, semi-direct democracy, and indirect (representative) democracy (see more: Rachwał 2016: 13–27).

political participation. The research problem was focused on the factors that cause rapid implementation of the discussed solution in subsequent local communities. The research assumes the hypothesis that citizens of modern democratic countries are increasingly expressing their dissatisfaction with the functioning of liberal democracy, and thus with the functioning of a model of democracy that essentially limits the role of the sovereign to participation in elections and sporadically used forms of direct democracy. Therefore, ways are being sought to increase the level of legitimacy not only at the level of a particular governing team, but of the entire political system. One of the ways to overcome the crisis of liberal democracy is to increase the scope of political participation of citizens. In the course of the research, the results of which are presented in this article, the method of analysis and criticism of the literature (sources), the genetic historical method, the institutional-legal method, as well as the systemic method (embedding participatory budgeting within contemporary political systems) were used.

After defining the methodological assumptions, the essence of participatory budgeting is presented. The main part of the article sets out the minimum conditions that a certain procedure must be met in order to be considered as a participatory budgeting. In addition, the title institution of political participation is presented in the context of deliberative democracy, as well as classically defined forms of direct democracy. Attention is also drawn to the innovativeness of participatory budgeting and the potential benefits of its implementation. The whole is concluded with a summary, in which reference is made to the methodological assumptions articulated in the introduction.

The essence of participatory budgeting

Starting from the broadly defined systemic background, it should be noted that democracy presupposes the participation of citizens in the process of exercising political power, which results directly from the etymology of the

term “democracy” (Rachwał 2019: 23). However, from the point of view of the conditions of functioning of modern democratic systems, we can see that the real possibilities of the sovereign’s participation in the decision-making process³ are very limited. In fact, for the majority of citizens, political participation is reduced to voting in elections (exercising active voting rights). Without considering at this point the reasons for the signalled situation, it should be stressed that the political elite have a real influence on the decision-making process. Consequently, there is a clear rift between the idea and practice of democracy, since the idea assumes the power of the people, while practice points to the power of the political elite. “In practice, democracy is made possible by the unexpected marriage of the principle of sovereignty of the people and the principle of representation. Establishing (modern – author’s note) democracy and its functioning does not really resemble philosophical ideals or an idealised model of the Greek city-state. [...] The current model can be adapted and improved, but it is impossible to remove its inborn defect – the genetic tension that arises between ideology (people’s power) and practice (power of the elites chosen by the people). This contradiction is a permanent feature of democratic systems; it will not disappear, but may evolve and change in form and intensity” (Mény, Surel 2007: 36–37). Other authors, including Robert Dahl, have also written about contemporary democracy as a consequence of combining the democratic principle of people’s power with the undemocratic (given its genesis) concept of a representative system. “Representative governments were not invented [...] by democrats; they were introduced as an institution of monarchist and aristocratic rule” (Dahl 1995: 46).

The above synthetic characteristics of contemporary democracy indicate the reasons for the constant search for political institutions that will allow reducing the distance between the idea and practice of the political regime in question. In such a context one should also see participatory budgeting, which began to develop at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s

³ The term ‘decision-making process’ refers to the ‘process from submission of an application to final decision’ (Rachwał 2016: 25).

in Brazil⁴. “In every democracy, ways are now being sought to involve citizens more directly in the political process. A number of solutions are being implemented in political systems [...]. They contribute to balancing the principle of representation with the principle of direct expression of will by the people” (Mény, Surel 2007: 34). As John Morison pointed out, involving citizens in decision-making processes is not only an attempt to revive electoral democracy, it is in fact a broader project to modernise political power. “Ideas of heightened participation, particularly through increased consultation, have become important recently not only as a way of reinvigorating traditional, electoral democracy or even contributing towards better deliberation, but as part of the new, more consumer-based service delivery mechanisms that are associated with wider processes of modernization of government” (Morison 2007: 134).

The term “participatory budgeting” is used to describe the various categories of procedures by which local people are involved in the process of determining budget expenditure, but certain minimum criteria need to be established in order for a given procedure to qualify as a form of conventional political participation. Such an attempt was made, for example, in the article entitled *Participatory Budgeting in Europe: Potentials and Challenges*. The authors of the publication indicated the following criteria:

- “the financial and/or budgetary dimension must be discussed; participatory budgeting involves dealing with the problem of limited resources;
- the city level has to be involved, or a (decentralized) district one with an elected body and some power over administration (the neighbourhood level is not enough);
- it has to be a repeated process (one meeting or one referendum on financial issues does not constitute an example of participatory budgeting);

⁴ “Participatory budgeting began in 1989 in the municipality of Porto Alegre, the capital of Brazil’s southernmost state, Rio Grande do Sul” (Wampler 2007: 23. See also: Górski 2007: 64–103).

- the process must include some form of public deliberation within the framework of specific meetings/forums (the opening of administrative meetings or classical representative instances to ‘normal’ citizens is not participatory budgeting);
- some accountability on the output is required” (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke 2008: 168).

In synthetic terms, the following attributes of a participatory budgeting should be taken into account: it concerns budgetary issues, is carried out at the level of the city / local community, its periodicity and forms of public deliberation, and the binding nature of the procedure should be possible. Without considering all the issues in detail, it is worthwhile paying special attention to the issue of deliberations here. Participatory budgeting should not be understood as just another form of public consultation, because in this case the essence is deliberation, which etymologically means “considering something or consulting something”. (See also: Held 2010: 299–330). According to the concept of deliberative democracy, “politics is understood as a transformation of citizens’ preferably through rational discussion; it is an open and public activity aimed at formulating the idea of the common good in intersubjective dialogue. It is characterised by a public debate between citizens – in which, before they take a decision, they justify it and give reasons for it by referring to the common good and rejecting particular interests – and by reaching rational consent. For deliberative democrats, the practical dimension of the new form of democracy is extremely important, hence the search for and development of new forms of public involvement of citizens in political life is an integral part of their reflection” (Juchacz 2006: 11). Active participation of citizens in deliberations on matters concerning them is essential for the legitimacy of legislative and political decisions (Juchacz 2015: 97). “There is a presumption that the outcome of the deliberation process will be supported by all citizens, as they will feel not only the addressees (subjects) of the resulting law, but also its co-creators (legislators)” (Żardecka-Nowak 2008: 31). Although it seems that the quoted thesis is too optimistic, broad participation of citizens in the law-making process should be conducive to its legitimacy.

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In the context under consideration, one of the definitions of participatory budgeting, which clearly emphasizes deliberation as the essence of the discussed form of political participation is also worth mentioning. “Participatory budgeting is a decision-making process through which citizens deliberate and negotiate over the distribution of public resources. Participatory budgeting programs are implemented at the behest of governments, citizens, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and civil society organizations (CSOs) to allow citizens to play a direct role in deciding how and where resources should be spent” (Wampler 2007: 21).

By putting the process of creating political decisions into a certain scheme, three stages can be assumed: submission of a proposal, discussion, acceptance or rejection of the proposal. Of course, this is a generalisation with a high degree of simplification, but here it is only a matter of indicating a certain characteristic of the decision-making processes. Nowadays, even if citizens are allowed to participate in creating substantive solutions, it is usually limited to one of the stages of the decision-making procedure. Here we can use the example of three institutions that are usually defined as forms of direct democracy, i.e. the people’s initiative, public consultation and referendum.

The people’s initiative most often occurs in an indirect form, which means that once citizens submit a draft legal act or a request for a referendum, it is taken over by the representative bodies. It is the representatives acting on behalf of the sovereign who discuss and decide whether to accept or reject initiatives of the people. Therefore, an indirect people’s initiative involves the participation of citizens in the first stage of the decision-making procedure, while further work takes place in representative bodies (this is not the case with a direct people’s initiative, but it is a solution with few political systems). Public consultation, in turn, is an example of a political institution that enables citizens to express opinions that may or may not be taken into account in final decisions. Consultation is thereby carried out at a certain stage of the decision-making procedure, enabling citizens to make their views known, but from a formal point of view, it does not bind the bodies empowered to take public decisions. A referendum, in

turn, given the stage of its application in the decision-making procedure, may be preliminary or a ratification one. In both cases, citizens take an active part in the process of creating political decisions only at a certain stage (preliminary referendum – discussion stage, ratification referendum – decision-making stage), and thus there is participation of citizens and representative bodies in the decision-making procedure. An exception is a referendum held as a result of a direct people's initiative, however, as mentioned earlier, such a solution is an exception rather than a rule in the construction of contemporary political systems (Rachwał 2010: 54–102).

In the analysed context, it is also worth recalling the concept of the so-called controlled referendum, which is characterised by the fact that its organisation, timing and questions are decided by representatives (Smith 1976: 1–23). In other words, the political elites try to adopt such legal bases for the aforementioned form of political participation so as not to lose control over the decision-making process. And once a referendum has resulted in the adoption of a decision that is against the will of the political elite, it is not uncommon for the voting to take place again (referenda organised during the European integration process are a good example).

Participatory budgeting is characterised by the fact that it assumes active participation of residents at all stages of the decision-making procedure. It is the residents who submit proposals to participatory budgeting, conduct discussions on the submitted projects, and then vote on those initiatives which they believe should be implemented. In this context, it is worth quoting the legal definition of the civic budget, which was adopted on the basis of the Act of 8th March 1990 on Commune Self-Government. “Within the framework of the civic budget, the residents decide each year in a direct vote on part of the commune budget expenditure. Tasks selected as part of the civic budget are included in the commune budget resolution. The Commune Council, in the course of work on the draft budget resolution, may not remove or significantly change the tasks selected under the civil budget” (Act: Article 5a clause 4). The Commune Council, when defining the requirements to be met by the draft civic budget, establishes, among other things, “the required number of signatures of

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residents supporting the project, but it may not be greater than 0.1% of the residents of the area covered by the civic budget envelope in which the project is submitted” (Act: Article 5a clause 7 point 2).

The quoted provisions of the Act show that the civic budget in Poland is a special form of social consultation. On the one hand, we will find a regulation which states that “a specific form of public consultation is the civic budget” (Act: Article 5a clause 3), but on the other hand, the legal definition of the civic budget clearly shows the will of the legislator to include the tasks selected by residents in the procedure in question in the communal budget. At this point it is worth recalling that the essence of public consultations is the expression of opinion by entitled citizens, after which the public authority makes the final decisions. Of course, it would be best if the views expressed by citizens were taken into account when resolving the issue, but from a formal point of view, there is no obstacle to the final decision conflicting with the will of the majority of participants in the public consultation. In the case of the civic budget procedure, the willingness of the legislator to prevent such situations from happening is clear. Thus, it is the results of the inhabitants’ voting that are to constitute the basis for including particular tasks in the commune’s budget resolution. The solution concerned is a premise for the formulation of an opinion that under the Act on Commune Self-Government the civic budget was, as a rule, given the form of a decision-making referendum (which is binding).

Concluding the considerations made so far on participatory budgeting, it is worth noting that the procedure under discussion is in fact a combination of three classic forms of direct (semi-direct) democracy, namely the people’s initiative, public consultation and referendum. The possibility for residents to come forward with projects under the civic budget can be seen as a form of the people’s initiative. This is followed by a discussion of the proposals submitted and is therefore a stage that can be described as public consultation (or rather a deliberation stage). Voting and selecting projects is in fact a referendum.

The essence of a participatory budgeting, and therefore an institution that is now an example of democratic innovation, is to involve ordinary

(non-elected) residents in the process of allocating public money (Röcke 2014: 1). This feature of participatory budgeting brings the idea and practice of democracy (an issue signalled in the earlier part of this article) closer to each other. By the same token, the role of citizens is not limited to the control of political elites through free, cyclical and competitive elections, which is the essence of the modern concept of democracy (see more: Rachwał 2013b: 69–82), but they are given the opportunity to take part in a procedure that enables them to influence the shape of the budget on a regular basis. In this context, it is worth adding that the involvement of ordinary people in the decision-making process has another, extremely important advantage for the stability of democracy. Usually, the process of allocating public resources is controlled by persons occupying higher positions in the social structure, while participatory budgeting creates such opportunities also for persons occupying lower positions within the social stratification. As Brian Wampler pointed out, participatory budgeting in Brazil “was intended to help poorer citizens and neighbourhoods receive larger shares of public spending” (Wampler 2007: 23). Therefore, under participatory budgeting, there are opportunities to take greater account of the needs of the lower social strata (e.g. in terms of educational needs), which, although to a small extent, makes it possible to reduce existing social inequalities. In the summary of the signalled thread it is worth quoting the words of Larry Diamond. “For democracy to be stable, class divisions must not be sharp. For them not to be such, economic inequalities must not be sharp either. Sharp inequalities usually lead to fierce, violent political polarisation as a consequence [...]” (Diamond 2005, after: Baranowski 2014: 10).

The functioning of modern political systems at central level contains significant obstacles to broad political participation. The obstacles identified are primarily the size of the countries, the large number of citizens, the multiplicity and complexity of public affairs. The situation is different at the local level, which is characterised by a much smaller area of territorial units, a smaller number of inhabitants as well as a greater understanding of the issues being resolved. Therefore, the local level creates much

better conditions for political participation than the central level. As Anna Rytel-Warzocha rightly pointed out, “the scope of participation in smaller administrative units is usually wider than at national level, which is mainly due to the limited territorial scope, as well as to the nature of the matters falling within the competence of local authorities, which are more directly related to the daily life of citizens, thus arousing greater public interest” (Rytel-Warzocha 2010: 93).

Summary

The idea of participatory budgeting, which came into being in the late 1980s, became very popular in many parts of the world. In the findings of the research, the thesis was formulated that the analysed form of political participation fits into the postulate of reforming contemporary democracy, i.e. representative democracy, in such a way as to enable broader participation of the sovereign in the process of creating public decisions. Liberal democracy, which reduces the role of the sovereign to the choice of political elites, which almost entirely monopolise decision-making processes, increasingly often causes dissatisfaction among citizens. This is why we are witnessing the development not only of conventional but also unconventional political participation mechanisms (or even political violence⁵). In this context, it is worth recalling the events of recent years in Poland (e.g. black marches, manifestations of opposition to the reforms of the judicial system), France (the “yellow vests” movement) or Spain (protests in Catalonia). “Citizens increasingly feel that elections are an insufficient method of controlling politicians and use other ways of influencing them, or at least articulating their own expectations or evaluating the actions of those in power” (Pająk-Patkowska 2017: 23).

⁵ Political violence includes actions involving the destruction of property as well as physical aggression against political opponents or law enforcement officials (Skarżyńska 2002: 29).

Participatory budgeting can be classified as a form of conventional political participation, because its essence is the legal influence of residents on the choice of actions taken by politicians, within the framework of democratic institutions and in accordance with the constitutional order. What distinguishes the institution in question is the wide range of possibilities of involving residents in the process of allocating local finances. Participatory budgeting is not so much a form of public consultation, but in fact it is a mechanism that enables the involvement of citizens from the moment of submitting a proposal, through public deliberation, to the selection of specific projects for implementation. The periodicity of the procedure makes it possible for the residents concerned to prepare themselves adequately for the next editions of participatory budgeting, and thus by undertaking earlier cooperation by which they can increase the chances of implementing their projects. In this context, it is worth quoting the words of one of the people involved in the civic budget procedure, which refer to the importance of the periodicity of participatory budgeting. “Actually, as soon as one edition is finished, we start thinking about what is needed for the next one [...] – then we talk to the residents who need to be convinced of the ideas. [...] Once people see that they really need something, they can mobilise” (*Jak się wygrywa budżety obywatelskie?*). The statement quoted above illustrates the wide possibilities of involving residents in the civic budget procedure, and therefore it is a social innovation with great potential for civil society development. As Jerzy Leszkowicz-Baczyński stressed, it is important “to create a network of interconnections, to activate the community, to focus on discussions on projects, which allows agreeing on common priorities” (Leszkowicz-Baczyński 2017: 99).

Democracy is both an idea (people’s power) and a practice (power of political elites). This creates constant tension because citizens are politically socialised in the spirit of ideas (power belongs to the people and therefore to you), but in practice they often do not feel it. And if they do not feel they are in power (the use of mechanisms of conventional political participation, such as elections or referendums increasingly does

not give a sense of political empowerment), they use other mechanisms (e.g. mechanisms of unconventional political participation, such as strikes, protests, occupations of buildings). The convergence of practice to the idea of democracy requires a constant search for new mechanisms of political participation and, when considering the issue more broadly, new models of democracy (e.g. deliberative democracy) or new ways of organizing power. In the latter respect, it is worth remembering the concept of governance, which draws attention to a move away from traditional, hierarchical ways of exercising political power. Studies on governance in particular highlight “elements such as the development of social capital, civil society and a high level of public participation in development planning and subsequent implementation of adopted plans” (Rudolf 2010: 74).

The debate on contemporary democracy refers for instance to the scope of political participation of citizens. Should the sovereign limit its activity to elections and leave the process of managing public affairs to professional politicians, or should citizens be active participants in the decision-making process? Both approaches to the signalled question find certain support, but it must be borne in mind that they are in fact the ends of a continuum of opportunities for political participation by citizens. It is basically impossible to give an unambiguous, universal for all countries answer to the question about the optimal scope of political participation, because we have to remember at least about different traditions, habits and behavioural patterns of citizens (the issue of political culture⁶). It is difficult to mechanically transfer the solutions in force in one country to another, but in any case, it should be remembered that the functioning of democracy should be based on political participation of citizens. Thus, individual political systems should be structured in such a way as to

⁶ The basic components of the notion of “political culture” include “values, beliefs, evaluations and patterns of political behaviour, constituting specific attitudes of individuals and groups towards the politics and political system. The attitudes may be developed on the basis of a greater or lesser knowledge of the characteristics of the regime and may manifest themselves in an active [...] or passive form, assessing reality without engaging in its change” (Jabłoński 1998: 178).

create the widest possible opportunities for citizens to be involved in the decision-making process, in given socio-cultural circumstances. As Aneta Krzewińska rightly stressed, “procedures based on deliberations are not universal, and their success may depend, among others, on the cultural context” (Krzewińska 2016: 13).

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Benefits and Threats Related to the Participation Budget Using the Example of the Biggest Cities in Poland

Introduction

For nearly a decade, the climate of local cooperation has been growing more strongly in the civic budget, also known as the participatory budget. Initially present only in selected cities, it has become a tool for teaching residents of the art of cooperation, agreeing on conflicting positions and perceiving the world around not only individually, but also holistically, as well as understanding the existence of common needs and problems. At the same time, participatory budget in Poland is becoming one of the tools building positive relations between local authorities and citizens. This can be seen especially in large cities, where hundreds of thousands of inhabitants take part in its creation. The article attempts to present the state of development of civic budgeting in Poland and in the world. It also points to the reasons for the growing popularity of this management tool among Polish municipal and city authorities. Moreover, it presents the benefits and threats of using this form of cooperation between local

authorities and residents, which may cause participatory budgets in Poland to become tools whose effectiveness will be limited or improperly directed.

Beginnings and motives of participatory budgeting

Reaching the roots of the functioning of the Polish local government after 1989, there is no place to look for widely-developed civic participation. Despite the rapidly growing network of local organizations and associations that carried out tasks in the field of local security in the 1980s, it was not until the 1990s that the transformation from socialist dictatorship to democracy allowed its development (Podgórska-Rykała 2018). The uncertain economic situation, growing poverty and unemployment, problems of ownership transformation, and finally the modest financial resources of local governments meant that participatory budget did not have a chance of existence yet. Also the legislation itself, despite the existence of obligatory tools of social participation, taking the form of social consultations, avoided the formula of giving the right to decide on at least part of local finances to citizens. The formula of social consultations in Poland has also gained bad reputation as a tool only for confirming the decisions of local authorities.

The Polish society of the 1990s was not fully ready for a solution such as a participatory budget in which it would cooperate with the local authority, whose authority was not very high at that time. It took over a dozen or so years for the idea of the civic budget to reach Poland. Sopot was the first city in Poland to introduce its participatory budget in 2011 (*Raport: budżet obywatelski w polskich miastach* 2019; Krzysztofowicz 2013). Two years later, in practice, among others Bydgoszcz, Chorzów, Elbląg, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Poznań, Tarnów, Toruń, Wałbrzych, Włocławek, Wrocław and Zielona Góra already had various forms of participatory budgets when planning their expenditures (Żabka, Łapińska 2014). Many researchers of this issue, however, go back to the experience developed in the years 2003–2005 in Płock, where the city authorities with the support of the

headquarters of the petrochemical industry PKN Orlen and the United Nations established their grant fund, whose task was to raise funds for the implementation of projects developed by local non-governmental groups (Kębłowski 2014). Although these funds did not yet come directly from the city's budget, this initiative can be considered close to contemporary participatory budgeting.

Perhaps the long waiting period for the appearance of the participatory budget in Polish cities should also be explained by the lack of openness of the authorities to its creation and implementation, as well as the long-lasting process of financial stabilization of the Polish local government. It was not until 2003 that the permanent act on the income of local government units appeared (which is in force until today). A stable foundation was created then for the progressive process of partial financial emancipation of local governments. It was even accelerated by EU funds coming to cities after Poland's accession to the European Union in May 2004. Making up for the large infrastructure gap in Polish cities and beyond, as well as the lack of knowledge of participatory tools among Polish local leaders caused that they appeared relatively late, but met with a lot of interest from local communities. This can be seen especially after 2013, when participatory budget became one of the most popular initiatives addressed to urban residents in order to encourage them to participate in urban space management (Sorychta-Wojczyk 2015).

Meanwhile, the form of public participation in the city management process, which is the participatory budget, has been well received in many countries around the world (Wiśniewska 2018). The specificity of this tool allows it to be adapted to specific goals and conditions. What is more, in Poland it also has its counterpart in rural areas, where it is the Sołeczki Fund, operating on the basis of the Sołeczki Fund Act of 2014 (Wójcik 2014).

The cradle of participatory budget, however, is South America. It was first used there in 1980's in Porto Alegre (Brazil). By 2008, it appeared in almost 200 cities in the country – affecting approximately 44 million citizens. Two years later, it was implemented by around 510 cities in South America (Wiśniewska 2018). It quickly gained a global character spreading

in Europe, Africa, Asia and North America (Ganuza, Baiocchi 2012). At the end of 2013, it was implemented by nearly 800 cities. This shows the ever-growing interest in this form of co-decision of local communities in urban space management (Kębłowski 2013).

Also in Polish cities, what has usually been called the participatory budget since 2011, is to this day characterized by a significant expansion, in terms of the number of cities applying it as a solution, as well as the number and size of cities implementing such solutions. At the end of 2015, it was already implemented by 80 Polish local governments (Kołodziej-Hajdo 2017). An excellent example is the Łódź region in Poland, where in 2016, 16 cities implemented participatory budget. Among them, three are small cities with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants and three have up to 40,000 inhabitants. The next nine cities had fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. Participatory budget was also implemented by the capital of the Łódź region (Wiśniewska 2018).

Searching for the premises for which local authorities in Poland increasingly often decide to implement participatory budget in the local management model, one can indicate various motivations. Undoubtedly, one of the most important one here is the rapid expansion of this solution on an international scale and the accompanying positive opinions of experts as to its effectiveness in raising the level of social participation in solving local problems. There is no doubt that, despite the decades of functioning of the participatory budget in the world, it is still a solution which is called social innovation for many local communities in Poland. In turn, both from the point of view of local authorities and residents it almost always enjoys popularity, especially when it increases the powers of local communities at the expense of central authorities.

Also the willingness to involve residents in decision-making processes at the local level should be considered an important reason for the growing popularity of participatory budgets in Poland. It results, among others, from the progressing changes in the model of local government leadership. Local leaders are becoming more and more aware that even their effective actions in the absence of growing social participation in government may not be enough to win the next election. Involving residents in

the decision-making process through a participatory budget and other consultation tools strengthens the image of local authorities as friendly to residents. It also allows for partial transfer of responsibility to selected segments of local life to the hands of residents.

Involving residents in the city's affairs and granting them the right to articulate needs under normal conditions hard to see by the local authorities can be considered as another important premise for creating participatory budgets in Poland, especially in large cities, where the number of micro problems that need to be solved is too high in relation to the possibility of their recording and neutralization by the local administration. Meanwhile, ordinary residents much faster and more efficiently identify the needs of their environment, and using participatory budget cannot only effectively satisfy them, but also show the local administration the decision-making directions of to operate under the standard model of city management. The improvement of the knowledge obtained by local authorities about the needs of residents can be considered as another argument for creating participatory budgets in Poland. If the priority of local authorities is also to improve the quality of life of residents, the more the implementation of the participatory budget seems justified. It allows seeing those elements of the subjective relationship between man and urban space that strongly affect attention, quality and comfort of life. Even regarding modern urban architecture, a new road or pavement may (because they do not fulfil their function) even deteriorate the quality of life of residents, if they were constructed in isolation from their actual needs and interests.

The election period is also an important stage on the way to establishing and modifying the functioning of participatory budgets in Poland. These slogans can be found both in the candidates' electoral programs and take the form of ready legislative solutions implemented in local law in the election year. Election meetings can become a tool for promoting the idea of implementing a participatory budget, as well as a space for interaction between residents and local politicians in this matter. Also the residents themselves, with the cooperation of non-governmental organizations or through their representatives in local government bodies, can

submit a postulate of creating a participatory budget. Formal applications in this matter are then the subject of a decision by the authorities.

Benefits and threats the participatory budget

There is no doubt that participatory budget is a tool that benefits many actors. Residents gain the possibility of even partial responsibility for their neighbourhood. On the other hand, the authorities can broaden the spectrum of their view on the city's development without the need to expand the administration or expensive analytical activities. They also gain non-governmental organizations, for which the participatory budget can, in cooperation with residents, become a tool for achieving their statutory goals – for example regarding nature protection, waste management or animal protection. Also, the commercial services sector may benefit from an improvement in the conditions for conducting business activity or a new profit-taking area under public-private partnerships through a participatory budget. The economic effect of implementing participatory budget is also at least a partial change in the allocation of city funds, which contributes to the improvement of living conditions in the poorest parts of the city and poorer social groups (Sorychta-Wojczyk 2015).

Introducing participatory budgets in other cities also brings specific political effects for those in power. By introducing local leaders, they gain the likelihood of their re-election in subsequent elections. What is more, increasing the amount allocated to the participatory budget in the election year further increases these chances. It also raises the level of residents' confidence in the authorities and strengthens its legitimacy.

The benefits of participatory budgeting in social life are also very important. It stimulates the civic activity of the inhabitants, who were passive in the past, and they now perceive the possibility of their real influence on the reality that surrounds them. In addition to the individual interests of individuals in the community, they are beginning to see more clearly the common goals which they are worth cooperating on. The climate change

of social relations implemented by participatory budget is conducive to building a local society of harmony and social cohesion. It also improves the dialogue and cooperation between residents, non-governmental organizations and officials (Kołodziej-Hajdo 2017). The participation of residents in activities related to the participatory budget over several years allows them to make more effective use of its mechanisms, as well as to acquire knowledge related to local finances and to transfer these skills to the young generation (Sorychta-Wojczyk 2015).

Despite the many benefits of implementing participatory budgets around the world and in Poland, there are also many barriers and challenges facing their creators and implementers. Undoubtedly, ensuring the widespread participation of local communities in its creation remains the most difficult aspect of participatory budgeting (Sorychta-Wojczyk 2015). Despite the often intensive information campaign directed at city residents entitled to co-create the civic budget, maintaining high interest in this issue is very difficult. This is particularly evident when voting on projects to be implemented under participatory budgets in Polish cities in which only less than half of the population participates.

Politicians themselves can also become a threat to the idea of participatory budget, especially when they do not show large involvement in the project or are afraid of losing influence on the shape of the city budget due to the strengthening of participatory mechanisms of local financial management. The excessive expectations of residents towards this form of the distribution of municipal funds may also pose a threat to the development of participatory budgets. It is primarily a situation in which the projects selected for implementation under the participatory budget turn out not to fall within its financial framework set by the municipal authorities.

Participatory budgets in the biggest Polish cities

As tools for co-deciding residents about their immediate surroundings, they have been operating in the largest Polish cities since at least 2012.

This allows assessing their effectiveness and observing certain negative phenomena concerning them. One of the recent reports focuses on the functioning of participatory budgets in Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź, Wrocław, Poznań and Gdańsk in the years 2014–2018. The report shows a decrease in the interest of residents of these cities in the participatory budget. As early as 2014, 654,196 residents participated in the six analysed cities. A year later, there were 19,889 fewer of them, and in 2016 – further 150,907 people fewer than two years earlier. In 2018, active participation in the selection of participatory budget projects drew 411,273 residents of the six cities surveyed, i.e. more than 37% less than in 2014 (*Raport: budżet obywatelski... 2019*).

When assessing the number of inhabitants of the studied Polish cities active in participatory budgeting to the total population of these cities, the number was small. The limited interest of residents is also shown by the results of voting on participatory budget projects in 2018. The largest percentage 16.40% of residents entitled to vote, voted for civic budget projects in Łódź. The second highest turnout was recorded in Wrocław (10.76%), the third in Gdańsk (10.50%), and the next in Poznań (10.31%) and Warsaw (5.11%). In 2018, only 4.52% of residents with voting rights voted for civic budget projects in Kraków.

The situation in individual large cities is interesting. The first one to look at is Warsaw, which as the capital of the country has the highest local budget. It is also a city that is the most extensive in terms of territory and strongly diversified in terms of the standard of living of its inhabitants. Warsaw, after a good debut regarding participatory budget in 2014, when 166,893 inhabitants declared their participation, in 2015 even noted an increase in interest in its functioning. The turning point in the inhabitants' activity was 2016, when the authorities ruled out the possibility of casting votes for projects in paper form. In 2018, in nearly two-million Warsaw, the civic budget attracted only 89,807 inhabitants, 46.18% fewer people than in 2014. The amount allocated to the implementation of tasks within the participatory budget of Warsaw seems modest. In 2018, it was 64 million PLN. Three years earlier, 51 million PLN. There are also fewer

and fewer projects, which increases the chance of their implementation (*Raport: budżet obywatelski... 2019*).

The second largest city in Poland is Kraków, where participatory budget in 2017 enjoyed the least interest in the time period 2014–2018. In 2017, 32,277 residents voted for civic budget projects, compared to 67,320 people three years earlier. A year later, the authorities managed to rebuild interest in the budget among the city's residents. The traditional form of paper voting has not been abandoned. The number of projects proposed by residents for implementation fluctuated between 401 and 430 in 2014–2018 – i.e., many fewer than in Warsaw, where there were between 1390 and 1808 projects. The level of financing of Kraków participatory budget ranged from 4.5 million PLN to 14 million PLN. Only in 2014, it was lower than PLN 10 million (*Raport: budżet obywatelski... 2019*).

Despite problems with depopulation, the city of Łódź still remains the third largest city in Poland. Also here 2017 brought a turnout crisis for the participatory budget. Despite this fact, even then 97,974 inhabitants participated, i.e. 65,697 people more than in Kraków the same year. Since the second edition of its participatory budget, Łódź has also been allocating the largest funds after Warsaw to finance its projects. As a result, the number of funds in the participatory budget of Łódź per capita is the largest in Poland, which translates into the greatest interest of the residents themselves. Larger funds of the authorities for the participatory budget of Łódź are also an opportunity to implement a greater number of civic projects, as after Warsaw the inhabitants of this city show the greatest interest in submitting action projects (*Raport: budżet obywatelski... 2019*).

Wrocław is the biggest city in the Lower Silesia region. This city is almost three times smaller than Warsaw. Despite this fact, the interest of its residents in the participatory budget in 2015 almost matched that in the Polish capital. At that time, Wrocław reached the attendance record for participation turnout – as many as 26.3% of the city's inhabitants took part in the creation of Wrocław participatory budget by submitting projects and voting. The following years, however, have already reduced

the interest of city residents in reporting and voting on projects. The participatory budget of Wrocław in 2018 attracted the attention of 59.3% fewer inhabitants than three years earlier. The drop in interest has been particularly acute among young people between 16 and 30 years old (*Raport: budżet obywatelski... 2019*).

Poznań is another large Polish city but with the longest tradition of the functioning of participatory budget, which was implemented there in 2012. A year later, the interest in this tool of co-deciding on local issues turned out to be record-breaking in the history of the city. A deep crisis in the popularity of the participatory budget took place in 2016, when 38,901 residents of the city participated, compared to 73,136 people the year before. The participatory budget of Poznań is characterized by a much smaller number of submitted tasks than in Warsaw or Łódź, which, combined with a decrease in the number of projects to be implemented in 2016–2018, means that the values of individual projects are much higher here than in other cities which are the subject of analysis. The scale of financing Poznań participatory budget in 2014–2018 fluctuated in the range of 15–20 million PLN (*Raport: budżet obywatelski... 2019*).

Gdańsk is the last of the large Polish cities, most often it is known as the cradle of the “Solidarity” movement, which is one of the pillars of Poland’s political transformation to democracy in 1989. It is a city in which the participatory budget in 2014–2018 noted the slightest changes in attendance. The greatest interest of the city’s inhabitants in this tool took place in 2014, when 51,038 people decided to vote for project proposals. Two years later it was only 33,897 people, the main reason being an insufficient information campaign by the city authorities. The level of financing of the civic budget in Gdańsk ranged from 11 million PLN in 2014 to 20 million PLN at the end of 2018. The number of urban projects reported by residents also increased. In autumn 2014 there were 151 and in 2018 – 319 projects. Gdańsk seems to be the only city that in recent years has seen a stabilization of the civic budget.

Conclusions

Participatory budget is a tool increasingly present in the management of urban space. However, its growing popularity is not endangered. It brings concrete benefits to urban communities. It allows increasing the residents' knowledge about the functioning of local finances and improves trust in local politicians. However, the establishment of a participatory budget by local authorities without creating appropriate information mechanisms for it, aimed at residents, may make it an ineffective tool. The example of the functioning of participatory budgets in major Polish cities shows that their mere introduction is not enough. Despite several years of its existence, only a small part of the population still participates in the budgets. The attendance problem seems to be the most difficult to overcome in this case. It applies to all cities studied. The decrease in young people's interest in this form of social participation also seems to be particularly dangerous. It is even more threatening because it is young people who will create local policies and subsequent participatory budgets in the future. So far, uniform principles for project notification and implementation have not been developed in Poland. Only recently have legal regulations appeared regarding the minimum level of financing of participatory budgets from public funds. All this shows that the current position of the participatory budget in small and large Polish cities is not yet well established and requires a lot of hard work on the part of local authorities and social organizations.

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Some Comments on the Appearances of Participatory Budgeting in Poland

Introduction

Participatory budgeting, which was first introduced in Porto Alegre in Brazil in 1989, has gained global popularity in the last three decades and has become the most frequently used participatory tool (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2008; 2012; Kębłowski 2013; Dias 2014; Dias, Enriquez, Julio 2019). It can be inferred from *The Participatory Budgeting World Atlas* published in 2019 that this innovative method of including citizens into the shared decision-making processes is employed on every continent¹. It is estimated that there are currently over 11,000 participatory budgeting projects implemented on various levels: city, local, regional and national (Dias, Enriquez, Julio 2019). An unusual “fashion” for implementing this mechanism is explained by a crisis of traditional representative democracy (Barber 2003; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2012; Dias 2014; Wójcik 2014), and also neoliberalisation of politics, including city policies (Sagan 2017). Nelson Dias (2014: 21) argues that the growing popularity of participatory budgeting may result from some kind of “democratic

¹ Obviously, with the exception of Antarctica.

disenchantment”. In his opinion the above-mentioned crisis and democratic disenchantment manifest themselves e.g. in a declining voter turnout, burgeoning distrust to politicians and institutions and citizens’ increasing sense of alienation (see Putnam 2008; Wójcik 2014). He adds that there is a growing perception among people that they are not represented by politicians, and their role is reduced only to the voting act – an unreflective casting a ballot into the urn (Dias 2014). In this context the widely understood participatory budgeting is perceived as a “cure” and “remedy” for the observed crisis of representative democracy (see Torcal, Montero 2006; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2012). The titles of the book by Nelson Dias (2014, 2018) are also quite remarkable: *Hope for Democracy. 25 Years of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide* and *Hope for Democracy. 30 Years of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*, and directly imply that participatory budgeting is a hope for contemporary democracy.

As Wojciech Kębłowski (2014: 4) notes “[...] ten or so years ago participatory budgeting was surrounded by an atmosphere of South American utopia”. Nevertheless, the “budgeting fashion” eventually reached Poland as well. *The Participatory Budgeting World Atlas* (2019) says that Poland is the current leader in implementing this mechanism, beating even Portugal, where over 1600 participatory budgets projects are being implemented. It is estimated that from 1840 to 1860 participatory projects were introduced in Poland in 2018, however, their majority were the Solecki funds, which were also treated as participatory budgeting projects. Notwithstanding, inhabitants of about 360 Polish cities in 2018 could co-decide on expenditures of city budgets.

First attempts to introduce mechanisms resembling participatory budgets in Poland date back to 2003–2005, when the Town Hall of Płock, PKN Orlen Company and United Nations Organization established the so-called “grant fund”, where local non-governmental organizations could apply for grants to their projects (Kębłowski 2014).

The symbolic date when the Polish fashion for participatory budgeting began was 2011 when the authorities of the city of Sopot decided to perform an experiment of sorts (Kębłowski 2013; Martela 2013; Sidor 2014).

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The success of that initiative made other towns such as Elbląg, Gorzów Wielkopolski and Zielona Góra to follow suit (Kębłowski 2013). The initiative of the seaside resort was copied by other city authorities in subsequent years who were further motivated by urban activists (Martela 2013; Kajdanek 2015). As a result, participatory budgets became a permanent feature of many Polish local self-governments. Furthermore, these practices were even formally legitimized for municipalities with county rights (see Journal of Laws from 2018, no 130). Thus those municipalities were legally obliged to implement the participatory budgeting mechanism.

Apart from presenting some chronology and facts regarding the rapid growth of participatory budgeting in Poland, it would be interesting to research its underlying causes. Besides the said crisis of representative democracy, Rafał Górski's book *Without state. Participatory democracy in action* is quoted as having a significant impact in this context as it discusses the mechanism of including inhabitants in decision-making processes on the city budgeting plans of Porto Alegre (Martela 2013). Outside of little influence on municipal administration decisions, this publication has probably contributed to increase the interest of city activists, non-governmental organizations and ordinary residents as well as the so-called 'new bourgeoisie' (see Kubicki 2011), who subsequently started to exert pressure on particular municipality authorities (Martela 2013; Kraszewski, Mojkowski 2014; Kajdanek 2015; Kalisiak-Mędelska 2016; Załęcki 2018).

Moreover, it is argued that implementation of participatory budgeting may have been motivated by an increasing social support for local politicians (Martela 2013; Kraszewski, Mojkowski 2014; Kajdanek 2015; Kalisiak-Mędelska 2016). It is true that introducing this mechanism shortly before local elections may have translated into several percent higher popularity, yet participatory budgeting enjoys an considerable interest of the local media. This preoccupation of local journalists with the participatory novelty is also a further indication of the rising popularity of participatory budgeting (Martela 2013; Kraszewski, Mojkowski 2014). The causes for participatory mechanism's success, apart from participation as such,

include the fact that this topic is so “trendy” and attracts media attention (see Sadura, Erbel 2012), which lends itself into a territorial marketing tool used by municipal authorities (Poniatowicz 2014).

Given all the factors above which might impact the popularity of participatory budgeting in Poland, we should consider the question whether we are witnessing a revolutionary change in the attitude of local decision-makers and city inhabitants, inspired by the ideas of participatory democracy (see Juchacz 2006; Krzewińska 2016; Pawłowska, Radzik 2016; Sagan 2017; Załęcki 2018), and also new trends in Public Governance, including New Public Management and Public Co-Governance (Poniatowicz 2014), or rather some fashion characterized by a significant level of pretence? Many critical voices appearing among city activists and researchers examining the participation and city problems tend to suggest that we are dealing with certainly fashionable, yet apparent practices. It seems that in this context a useful theoretical inspiration enabling the understanding the phenomenon of Polish participatory budgeting could be Jan Lutyński's (1990) concept of apparent activities. As a result, this article will mainly aim at presenting several arguments demonstrating an apparent nature of Polish participatory budgets. These considerations will be limited to Polish conditions, which does not mean that a facade character of this mechanism is exclusively typical of Poland. We can refer e.g. to the collapse of the Brazilian original, which was probably acquiring apparent qualities from 2004 (see Górski 2012; Nuñez 2018).

Pretences of Polish participatory processes

Discussing the question of participatory budgeting in Poland, it seems advisable to depict a broader context of the phenomenon referring to many domestic participatory initiatives. As noted by Przemysław Sadura and Joanna Erbel (2012), participation has been in vogue and people's involvement in consultation and decision-making processes on selected city affairs has become common practice. What is more, this new civic custom has

a legal basis, and analysing numerous legislative acts² and chosen strategic documents³ it can be claimed that since the system transformation in Poland there have been attempts to include citizens in decision-making processes. Consequently, more and more municipal authorities decide to conduct social consultations (obligatory and voluntary) and open social dialogue departments within their town hall structures. It may be said that city authorities find that they are obliged to invite inhabitants to jointly discuss their local affairs. Obviously, this openness to participation is not restricted only to towns and their mayors and presidents, although for the needs of this article the above and further reflections will mostly apply to the municipal local level.

A participatory process could be generally defined as taking part, participating, i.e. including social actors in the affairs of a given community and collaborating with others in cases of joint interests (Starosta 1995; Surdej 2000). British researchers (Brodie, Cowling, Nissen 2009) define a participatory process as “the involvement on a voluntary basis in political, governance or decision-making processes at any level (local, regional, national)”. In both cases we deal with a behavioural aspect of participation. Paweł Starosta (1995: 197) writes: “[...] to take part in something means to contribute by means of taking actions for the sake of a given community [...]. Nevertheless, to participate in something, first of all, one needs to gain a formal chance of participation”. It is made possible within the framework of the so-called “civic participation”, which is defined by Dagmir Długosz and Jan Jakub Wygnański (2005: 11) as “[...] a process, in the course of which representatives of the society gain influence and indirectly control public authorities’ decisions, when those decisions directly or indirectly affect their own interests” (see Brodie, Cowling, Nissen 2009). Therefore,

² E.g.: Act on commune self-governments of 5th June, 1998; Act on county self-governments of 5th June 1998; Act on voivodship self-government of 5th June 1998; Act on Public Benefit and Voluntary Activities of 24th April 2003; Act on Revitalization of 9th October 2015.

³ E.g.: Domestic Policy for Cities 2023; National Plan of Revitalization 2022 – Assumptions.

it can be assumed that participatory processes, as presented here – although not identical to social consultations – consist of two fundamental elements, which mutually affect each other. The first are certain formal-organizational structures (possibilities) offered by the city authorities, enabling its inhabitants to engage in decision-making processes, e.g. via social consultations. Undoubtedly, such possibilities should be motivated by the political will of holding sincere dialogue with residents (see Nuñez 2018). The second element is willingness of inhabitants to engage in available forms of co-deciding about the city (Brzeziński 2016; see Wampler 2007; Olech 2014) – the behavioural aspect mentioned above. This understanding of participation could be equated to some extent with Stuart Langton's (1978, after: Kaźmierczak 2011) categories of public participation: public involvement and public action. Public involvement relies on “[...] initiating actions taken by authorities aiming at including citizens in decision-making processes” (Langton 1978, after: Kaźmierczak 2011: 87–88). Public activity “[...] consists of actions initiated by citizens – and controlled by them – to influence decisions taken by public authorities or voters' representatives” (Langton 1978, after: Kaźmierczak 2011: 85). The first category ignores willingness and readiness of citizens to take part in organized participatory enterprises. However, in spite of having such opportunities, citizens may not be interested in their available forms or joint decision-making. To really speak about participation, the above readiness and willingness of inhabitants to be involved in participatory processes need to be considered. The readiness and willingness to take part in social consultations can be equalled to a certain extent with public activity. This activity assumes that an initiated actions are at the grass-roots level, therefore, it can be inferred that they are also characterized by a high level of motivation to participate in various discussion forms and consultations with authorities.

Summing up, participatory processes in this meaning and an urban-local context can be defined as willingness and readiness of municipal decision-makers to include their city inhabitants in consultation-decision making processes provided that the latter are willing and ready to take part

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and discuss. Putting it differently, municipal authorities should honestly and voluntarily try to include inhabitants into decision-making process, while the latter need to be willing and ready to devote their own time to participate in meetings and discussions on their personal homeland. Thus in this context an optimal form of the municipal participatory process are open meetings or workshops inspired by a wide array of participatory techniques, which facilitate an exchange of ideas and views to a varied group of municipal social actors. The discussion-deliberative aspect is emphasized as an essential part of reliable participatory processes (see Gerwin 2012; Martela 2013).

Unfortunately, this understanding of participation seems to be largely superficial. In spite of the participatory boom (see Sadura, Erbel 2012), manifesting itself in an increasing number of social consultations held, it would be difficult to place any of those actions on a high rung of the participatory ladder postulated by Sherry R. Arnstein (2012) or Dagmir Długosz and Jan Jakub Wygnański (2005). Although city inhabitants are more and more frequently invited by local decision makers for meetings, they are merely informed about plans and decisions. Even if residents have more and more chances to express their opinions, postulates and ideas for solving various municipal problems, their views are hardly considered by the authorities. Social consultation meetings could rather be compared to group therapy sessions (see Arnstein 2012) whereby inhabitants can 'speak out' and have a seeming opportunity to influence decisions concerning their city. This process is comparable to the mentioned concept of apparent actions proposed by Jan Lutyński (1990: 105), that is, actions "[...] which are not what they look like, due to their most important qualities". The author argues that apparent actions are characterized by several attributes, namely: social significance of the goal which is attributed to those actions, but which is not implemented; general awareness and knowledge of a given community of uselessness of that action even though this knowledge is limited to individuals and not made publicly available; and justification of taking actions referring to a significant role in the realization of that goal. He also added that each of apparent actions contains some element of

fiction related to their course or goal (Lutyński 1990). At this point a question can be posed whether the above characteristics apply to participatory process implemented in Poland?

First of all, the importance of including citizens in decision-making processes is declared in the afore-mentioned legislative and strategic acts related to municipal questions. The necessity to listen to voices of inhabitants is also underlined in most city strategies. Local politicians point out in their public statements that decisions ought to be made in accordance with information from citizens. However, the seeming character of participatory actions despite their declared significance manifests itself not in declarations, but in attitudes of city authorities and real practices. Marcin Gerwin (2012) claims that in spite of constitutional and legislative acts, Poland has not managed to create a “culture of democracy”, where inhabitants are conscious of their sovereignty, while city councils, presidents and mayors realize that they are merely people’s representatives. He adds: “[...] it happens that the city president regards himself as king and treats the city as if it was his personal property” (Gerwin 2012: 26). Lech Mergler, Kacper Pobłocki and Maciej Wudarski (2013) argue that many Polish politicians perceive people’s involvement in the public life as a threat. Elżbieta Kusińska (2017) is also quite critical indicating that city authorities frequently treat social consultations as “the necessary evil”, reducing them to the necessary minimum and use them, for instance, in the case of participatory budgeting, as an opportunity to acquire political capital before elections (see Martela 2013). The facade character of social consultations in revitalization processes is also stressed by Grzegorz Panek (2018), who writes about participation within revitalization activities as follows: “Many local government representatives fulfil this duty exclusively to fulfil legislative requirements and do not regard voices of citizens as necessary, essential or useful in implemented projects. Dehumanized stakeholders of revitalization processes become mere numbers, which need to be placed in appropriate columns and properly balanced” (Panek 2018: 125).

To conclude, participation is very often of an illusory and facade nature. Optional social consultations are held to discuss insignificant matters and

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opinions of citizens are only supposed to legitimize previously adopted resolutions (Załęcki 2018; see Dżwończyk 2018). Although seeming participation actions in Poland are also impacted by passivity of citizens, this feature is not restricted exclusively to the Polish society. Describing their experiences from holding social consultations on the city bicycle and the map of its stations in New York, Janette Sadik-Khan and Seth Solomonow (2017: 239) speak about the involvement of New Yorkers: “It looked as if nobody cared about 159 meetings”. On the other hand, analysing the phenomenon of passivity in Poland, Anna Olech (2014: 3) points out that Polish civic activity “[...] vanishes in the gap between being interested and getting involved”. In other words, Poles follow the developments in their cities, but they do not take part in meetings, where city-wide matters are discussed, and thereby resign from their potential impact and agency. Jarosław Załęcki (2018) opines that this state of affairs might result from superficial solutions and procedures of participation. He observes, furthermore, that civic passivity can stem from a deeply embedded social frustration, which manifests itself as apathy. He adds: “Both social activity and passivity are inherited to some extent, passed down through socialization” (Załęcki 2018: 190).

Façade character of Polish participatory budgeting

It is difficult to disagree with the statement that participatory budgets implemented in Polish cities – commonly known as civic budgets in Poland – contributed to considerable spatial changes. They have become an important tool to create urban space for the willing and ready inhabitants to prepare their own proposals of projects, which are subsequently chosen in the general vote. City parks, playing fields, outside fitness facilities, playgrounds, bicycle paths are often marked with information that those areas were built or renovated thanks to participatory budgets. Websites of cities underscore – in accordance with the concept of apparent activity – social significance of including local residents in decision-making

processes. By way of example, an information brochure on Warsaw participatory budgeting says that “Participatory budgeting is a process which gives you an exceptional opportunity to co-decide about a part of the budget of the City of Warsaw. You can propose your ideas of projects you want to be implemented. You can discuss other residents’ ideas. You can vote and choose the ones which you think are interesting or needed” (see *Przyszłość Warszawy leży w Twoich rękach. Broszura informacyjna [The Future of Warsaw Is in Your Hands. Information Brochure]*). On the other hand, the report on the state of public participation in Polish towns (see *Partycypacja publiczna. Raport o stanie polskich miast [Public Participation. Report on the State of Polish Towns]*) indicates that one of motivations to introduce the Dąbrowski Participatory Budget were citizens’ comments that the town focuses too much on large investments at the expense of small infrastructure in the districts. Therefore, participatory budgeting was to serve as a tool enabling inhabitants to express their needs in the nearest neighbourhood. In other words, it seems that city residents can have a right to co-decide about small infrastructure – places for benches or rubbish bins, but they do not necessarily have to decide about large investments – the white elephants (see Gądecki, Kubicki 2014; Romańczyk 2018) e.g. about stadiums, whose construction could be approved of by the city authorities. This attitude is criticized by Eugeniusz Wojciechowski (2016: 379) who says that “[...] it is grotesque to point out it is necessary to place a bin for dog’s waste within the framework of participatory budgets, because this task belongs to an elementary scope of duties of clerks and municipal services. Civil initiatives inform about certain needs and difficulties of everyday life, which have to of city authorities’ concern. There is a question though, if it has to be implemented as part of the widely publicized participatory budget?”. He also argues that those mechanisms could act as a vent to social dissatisfaction, thereby reducing negative social sentiment stemming from e.g. an economic crisis (Poniatowicz 2014). Aiming to demonstrate the seeming nature of participatory budgeting, we can refer to Kacper Pobłocki’s opinion (2013; see Kębłowski 2013; Poniatowicz 2014), who claims that this form of participation is a game of double

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pretences. He writes: “First of all, city authorities enable their inhabitants to decide about spending one percent of the city budget (or less) to have a completely free hand in deciding how to spend the remaining ninety nine percent” (Pobłocki 2013: 13). Moreover, numerous critical voices of Polish participatory budgeting stress its apparent character and a relatively low participation level and point at the lack of deliberative mechanisms, which provide inhabitants with an opportunity for substantive discussion and working out joint solutions by means of consensus (Martela 2013; Leszkowicz-Baczyński 2016). Iwona Sagan (2017) specifies that the idea of participatory budgeting is frequently subjected to degeneration, and it particularly applies to the deliberation stage. She adds that “[...] the stage of reaching a consensus among citizens as regards investment decisions is simplified and reduced to making proposals and voting them, often via the Internet only” (Sagan 2017: 173). And this in turn makes Polish participatory budgeting become subject to a “plebiscite” (Pistelok 2019), and it reminds one a competition for grants or a TV quiz (Pobłocki 2013: 12). It is emphasized that “participatory budgeting procedures applied in our country are largely competitive and promote individual creativity at the expense of deliberation and community spirit” (Skrzypiec, Wójkowski, Wyszomirski 2016: 5). The lack of space for discussion and promotion of individual creative actions can result in excluding local residents of lower civic competences (see Siciarek 2014). In other words, participatory budgeting mechanism can lead to the situation where active inhabitants grow to be even more active and passive ones remain inactive (Kajdanek 2015). As a result, it is sometimes stressed that in Poland we deal with procedures looking like participatory budgeting rather than “proper” participatory budgeting (Kajdanek 2015). What is more, it is reasoned that none of the participatory budgeting projects in Poland have been properly designed and conducted (Jarzębowska 2015).

The opinions above confirm that despite the declared social significance, participatory budgeting procedures introduced in Poland feature remarkable doses of false appearances. To fully evaluate and decide if indeed we are dealing with a pure case of apparent actions, however,

it would be advisable to discuss the understanding of the definition of participatory budgeting and requirements and criteria it needs to meet. With regard to the above after presenting the required criteria, they will be applied and set together with five participatory budgeting projects implemented in 2019 in major Polish cities (Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź, Wrocław and Poznań). This juxtaposition will provide further context for reflections on pretences of Polish participatory budgeting and complement the opinions presented above.

Presenting the idea of participatory budgeting it must be noted that “globality” of that mechanism has its “unfavourable” methodological-theoretical consequences with regard to the “hybrid” character of that tool, and its dependence on social and cultural conditions and hence the meaning of the term itself. Zygmunt Bauman (2000: 5) says: “The fate of fashionable buzzwords is very close: the more experiences gain transparent explanation thanks to them, the more obscure and unclear they become”. And although he was mainly referring to globalization, it seems that his observations also apply to participatory budgets. Their popularity makes it more and more difficult to define them unambiguously. It often happens that the term “participatory budget” refers merely to an informative event connected with the budget without deeper consultations, while initiatives closer to the idea of participatory budgets are not referred to as such (see Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2008). In spite of difficulties with the definition in the source literature, there have been several attempts to define the participatory budgeting. Brian Wampler (2007) argues that it is a decision-making process where citizens deliberate and negotiate distribution of certain public resources. He emphasizes that these projects are supposed to make it possible for citizens to have an indirect role in making decisions as regards how and where funds should be allocated. Another definition specifies that participatory budgeting allows non-elected citizens to co-decide about the allocation of a certain amount of public funds (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2012; see Kębłowski 2013). To clarify the meaning of the term he adds five additional criteria, which participatory budgets need to fulfil. Firstly, it says that funds available

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for participatory budgeting need to be clearly specified and discussed (consulted). Secondly, participatory budgeting should not be limited to the level of a district and/or a quarter, but it should involve the whole city level. Thirdly, it has to be of a repeatable nature. Fourthly, the process should include some forms of deliberation. It is emphasized that it should not rely on inviting residents to take part in the meetings of the city or district councils or filling in a questionnaire regarding the city budget. It is stated that participatory budgeting should create a new public space where dialogue and deliberation are key. It ought to be noted that Jacek Sroka (2008: 16) defines deliberation as “a public process of communication seeking good enough arguments for specific assessments and solutions to the questions at hand and addressing significant problems of the community”. Fifthly, it is underlined that participatory budgeting should be binding, that is its results should be implemented by the authorities (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2008; 2012; Kębłowski 2013). In Poland thanks to “Stocznia” Research and Social Innovations Centre there is a catalogue of principles applicable to participatory budgeting. The document *Standardy procesów budżetu partycypacyjnego w Polsce* [*Standards for Participatory Budgeting Processes in Poland*] (2015: 9) says that e.g. “The participatory budgeting process is made of a range of principles and values, which determine genuine co-decision making by inhabitants on the local community and constitute a new, open to local community members’ way of thinking of its development”. The range of key principles above consists of the following elements: binding results of the procedure; transparency and openness of the procedure; openness and inclusiveness of the process; supporting activity of local residents; long-term policy (*Standardy procesów budżetu...*, see Kraszewski, Mojkowski 2014). A question needs to be posed at this point whether participatory budgeting processes in Poland meet these criteria? It can be inferred from the information posted on the website of the participatory budget in Warsaw (see twojbudzet.um.warszawa.pl) that this procedure was first implemented in the city in 2015. Since that time the initiative has been repeated and the amount of funds available for this project has increased every consecutive year

(it was 26M PLN in 2016 and 64M PLN in 2019). Within the framework of 2019 budget, the capital city inhabitants are allowed to put forward their own proposals of projects and vote the proposed local and district tasks sent by other people (see *Regulamin przeprowadzania budżetu partycypacyjnego w m.st. Warszawie na rok 2019* [*The Rules for Conducting Participatory Budgeting in the Capital City of Warsaw in 2019*]). However, it was not possible to send larger-than-the-district projects – city-wide projects – referring to the scale of the whole city. It should also be noted that the vote results are binding to the city authorities – the projects enjoying the highest number of votes, which are within the funds in the budget ought to be implemented by the city authorities in the following year. Another question worth considering is the deliberative aspect which rather relies on discussions and consultations in the case of the Warsaw participatory budgeting. The rules of the Warsaw initiative indicate that the capital city residents have three opportunities to discuss the participatory budget and the proposed projects. At first, opening meetings, that is moderated meetings, are held in every district, which aim to explain basic principles of functioning of the district, discuss investment plans, and explain the rules of participatory budgeting, thereby encouraging participants of the meetings to send their own projects. During the next stage – after inhabitants send their projects – discussion meetings are held where project originators present their proposals of tasks, which in turn are discussed with other project promoters and local residents. It should also be noted here that such discussion meetings are obligatory for project originators and when the promotor of the project – who is invited with a suitable advance notice – does not show up at the meeting, his project is automatically withdrawn from realization. It should also be mentioned that during one meeting no more than 35 projects can be discussed. The third opportunity to exchange views and discuss them are the so-called “meetings for the project promotion”. These meetings take place during various events held in specific districts and their goal is to enable project originators to promote their projects and also to encourage other local residents to participate in the vote (see *Regulamin przeprowadzania*

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budżetu...). According to the *Raport z konsultacji społecznych z mieszkańcami m.st. Warszawy w zakresie budżetu partycypacyjnego na rok 2019* [Report on Social Consultations with Inhabitants of the Capital City of Warsaw on Participatory Budgeting in 2019] within the 2019 budget there were 19 “opening meetings” with 278 participants in total, that is about 15 people at each meeting. Moreover, there were discussion meetings in each district (112 meetings in total), with about 1400 participants in total – project originators and local residents. This number of participants seems relatively low considering the fact that meetings are obligatory to project originators, who had sent 2433 project proposals. In the end 1628 projects were put to the vote. In addition, according to the *Raport końcowy. Badanie ewaluacyjne V edycji budżetu partycypacyjnego w Warszawie* [Final Report. Evaluation of 5th Edition of Participatory Budget in Warsaw] only 2 out of 5 Warsaw inhabitants ever heard of the participatory budget and the voter turnout was barely 5%. Moreover, the report authors point out that participatory budgeting could be perceived as the process by city activists only (see Kajdanek 2015).

The first edition of participatory budgeting in Kraków was conducted in 2014 (see budzet.krakow.pl) and this enterprise has been undertaken ever since. The city authorities of Kraków allocated 4.5M PLN for the first edition and the funds have been raised every year⁴ (30M PLN were available to Kraków residents in the 2019 edition). Similarly to the Warsaw participatory budget, the results of the process are binding to the city authorities – the town hall is obliged to implement the projects chosen in the vote. The resolution of the City Council of Kraków on the rules for participatory budget (see Uchwała nr XI/179/19 Rady Miasta Krakowa z dnia 13 marca 2019 r. w sprawie Regulaminu budżetu obywatelskiego Miasta Krakowa [Resolution no XI/179/19 of the City Council of Kraków of 13th March, 2019, on the Rules for Participatory Budget of the City of Kraków]) states also that one of the stages of implementation and

⁴ Apart from the 2015 and 2016 editions. In 2015 the city authorities allocated 13M PLN while a little less than 11M PLN next year.

realization of the participatory budget should be consultation meetings with inhabitants. Within the framework of the 2019 edition residents could take part in city-wide meetings held by the city council (12 meetings), district meetings held by the district councils (29 meetings), meetings held by the so-called ambassadors of participatory budget (13 meetings), including youth volunteers hosting meetings with school youths (the number of such meetings is not known) and the so-called marathon of writing projects (4 meetings) (see *Raport ewaluacyjny – VI edycja Budżetu Obywatelskiego Miasta Krakowa 2019* [Evaluation Report – 6th Edition of Participatory Budgeting of the City of Kraków 2019]). Although evaluation reports emphasize that the meetings held aimed at e.g. creating space for dialogue between the city residents, and also give an opportunity to identify common needs, one could get the impression that their main goal was informational and promotional. The author of the report points out a low interest in such meetings: “[...] despite the lack of data from some meetings it could be concluded that attendance at those meetings was low (e.g. in spite of the fact the 60% of project originators came across information about dates of such meetings, only 17% of them took part in them)”. What is more, 18% of project originators declared to take part in consultation meetings for districts and 13% in city-wide projects meetings. An average estimated number of attendants at each meeting was 10 people given that there were 53 such meetings. Therefore, it can be assumed that 500 people in total took part in those meetings, while Kraków residents sent 949 project proposals in the 2019 edition (see *Raport ewaluacyjny. VI edycja...*), which means that only slightly more than a half of project originators actually participated in consultation meetings.

The idea of participatory budgeting was first implemented in Łódź in 2014 when the city inhabitants could decide about spending 20M PLN. Participatory budgeting has been enacted repeatedly since then although it should be noted that the amount of funds allocated to that purpose has risen to 40M PLN since the second edition (see uml.lodz.pl/bo). This amount has been neither increased nor decreased since then. As in the case of Kraków, Łódź citizens can vote for city-wide projects as well as district

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projects. The vote results in Łódź are also binding to the city authorities (see Zarządzenie nr 7990/VII/18 Prezydent Miasta Łodzi z dnia 12 marca 2018 r. zmieniające zarządzenie w sprawie przeprowadzenia konsultacji społecznych dotyczących Budżetu Obywatelskiego 2018/2019 [Resolution no. 7990/VII/18 of President of the City of Łódź of 12th March, 2018, altering the resolution on conducting social consultations regarding 2018/2019 Participatory Budgeting]). The discussion aspect looks a bit worse compared to the previous two cities, because although the resolution of the City President mentions district meetings with residents in the *Raport z konsultacji społecznych dotyczących Budżetu Obywatelskiego 2018/2019* [Report on Social Consultations Regarding 2018/2019 Participatory Budgeting] there is just a one-sentence note that such meetings had taken place even though it does not mention how many and what interest they arose among the city inhabitants. The report also mentions about the so-called “Saturday with Participatory Budgeting”, when over 50 project originators presented their proposals. It should be noted that many meetings with local residents were held during the previous editions although probably their low attendance resulted in the decrease of such meetings. At the same time it has to be added that meetings were mostly informational and educational. Regardless of limited opportunities for discussion, in the 2019 edition Łódź inhabitants sent 1295 projects and 837 of which were put to vote.

The information on the Wrocław participatory budgeting website (see wroclaw.pl/rozmawia/wroclawski-budzet-obywatelski) shows that local residents could co-decide about allocating some part of the city budget in 2013. That initiative has been run every year ever since. In the first edition Wrocław inhabitants could decide about spending 2M PLN. The available funds were increased to 20M PLN in the following year and to 25M in 2016. In 2019 Wrocław citizens could also allocate 25M to city-wide and district projects. As was the case in the cities described above, the vote results are binding to the city authorities, too. Considering the interest in participatory budgeting based on the number of project proposals, it can be argued that the initiative in Wrocław has attracted lower

popularity than in Warsaw, Łódź and Kraków. In 2019 the city residents sent only 413 proposals of projects. Furthermore, some doubts appeared as regards the discussion aspect. Although the city council resolution (see Uchwała nr LXII/1440/18 Rady Miejskiej Wrocławia z dnia 13 września 2018 r. w sprawie Wrocławskiego Budżetu Obywatelskiego [Resolution no. LXII/1440/18 of the City Council of Wrocław of 13th September, 2018 on the Wrocław Participatory Budgeting]) says that meetings with local inhabitants need to be held, the Resolution above underlines that such meetings should be held to consult the projects between the first and second stages of their assessment. The website of the Department of Social Participation (see www.wroclaw.pl/rozmawia/) says that the goal of such meetings was to inform about assessment results of projects, explain potential doubts concerning the assessment, conversation between project originators and local residents and to gather helpful comments. It shows a narrow scope of such initiative with little space for an in-depth discussion, not to mention any deliberation on the topic. There were 9 such meetings held during the 2019 edition, although no information was made public on the course of those meetings or their turnout.

Just like in Wrocław, the first edition of participatory budgeting in Poznań was also launched in 2013. The city residents had 10M PLN at their disposal then. Poznań inhabitants have co-decided about redistributing a small part of the city budget since then. The funds allocated to participatory budgeting were raised only in the 2016 edition when it amounted to 15M PLN. Next year it was increased to 17,5M and to 18M in 2018. In 2019 edition residents could co-decide about spending 20M (see budzet.um.poznan.pl). That year 425 proposals of projects were sent, which was the record number out of all previous editions (see *Raport ewaluacyjny – Poznański Budżet Obywatelski 2019* [Evaluation Report – Participatory Budgeting in Poznań in 2019]). Similarly to the majority of practices above, proposals of projects could be sent for district and city-wide scales. In the case of the Poznań initiative, the consultation-discussion aspect was largely skipped. Although the document *Zasady Poznańskiego Budżetu Obywatelskiego 2019* [Rules for Participatory Budgeting in Poznań in 2019], which

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was an appendix to the resolution of President of the city on the budget, mentions that the goal of the initiative is “increasing the city inhabitants’ activity and their participation in decision-making for the development of the city, building a sense of joint responsibility for local communities”, the information available on the town hall website says nothing about meetings when inhabitants could discuss the city deficits, which might be eliminated through designing specific projects in the participatory budgeting process. It can be inferred from the information posted on the website that within the 2019 edition a series of workshops on participatory budgeting was implemented in local primary and secondary schools, although it was initiated by a student of a local high school in cooperation with the town hall (see budzet.um.poznan.pl).

The Table 1 presents a summary of the analysed participatory budgeting projects including definition criteria (Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2008; 2012; Kębłowski 2013), required of such initiatives. The table implies that the analysed budgets meet four (apart from Warsaw) out of five major definition criteria. From the zero-one perspective to verification, it could be argued that domestic initiatives are close to perfection because they fulfil most requirements, although it must be noted that they do not meet deliberation criteria. However, opportunities to discuss and present opinions and expectations, listen to other opinions, not to mention even about collective attempts to work out a consensus, seem to be an essential element for any participatory processes.

Table 1. Meeting definition criteria by chosen Polish participatory budgets

Criteria	Warsaw	Kraków	Łódź	Wrocław	Poznań
allocated amount of funds	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
two levels: city-wide and local	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
cyclicity	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
deliberation	no	no	no	no	no
binding character of results	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Source: own work.

In order to illustrate the need for real consultation and discussion a reference to the Brazilian original would be useful. Between 1990 and 2004 participatory budgeting procedure in Porto Alegre (see Górski 2012) was largely based on permanent consultations and discussions. The first stage, usually between March and April, was about raising 'neighbours and topical assemblies'. Neighbours meetings were initiated in each district, whereas topical assemblies concerned five areas of problems and were conducted on a city-wide level. Those assemblies were open to all inhabitants over 16 years old. The goal of those assemblies was to discuss various needs in specific city regions and thematic areas. During those meetings delegates were chosen to regional and thematic forums. Those delegations are a kind of collective representation and performed consulting, controlling and motivational functions. The delegates' responsibilities included supervising and monitoring of the realized investments and also acting as intermediaries between the Council of the Participatory Budget and citizens and thematic assemblies (see Górski 2007; 2012; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2012). Then in April and May 'indirect meetings' of delegates and citizens were held, where information was gathered about needs and postulates of citizens concerning the city deficits. During those meetings a hierarchical list of postulates and expectations was prepared. During the next stage lasting from May to July there were neighbours and thematic assemblies when representatives of the city authorities presented guidelines for the revenues and expenditures in the following year budget. During this period proposals of projects prepared in indirect meetings were also discussed and put to vote. What is more, delegates to the Council of the Participatory Budget from participants of district and thematic assemblies were chosen. The council's competences decided about preparing the budget project and investments plan based on directives voted by the citizens. In other words, the Council coordinated and organized work on the budget in accordance with citizens' recommendations. The Council was also obliged to inform regional and thematic forums about the development of work and discussion and to provide written opinions on specific decisions. The delegates of forums provided this information

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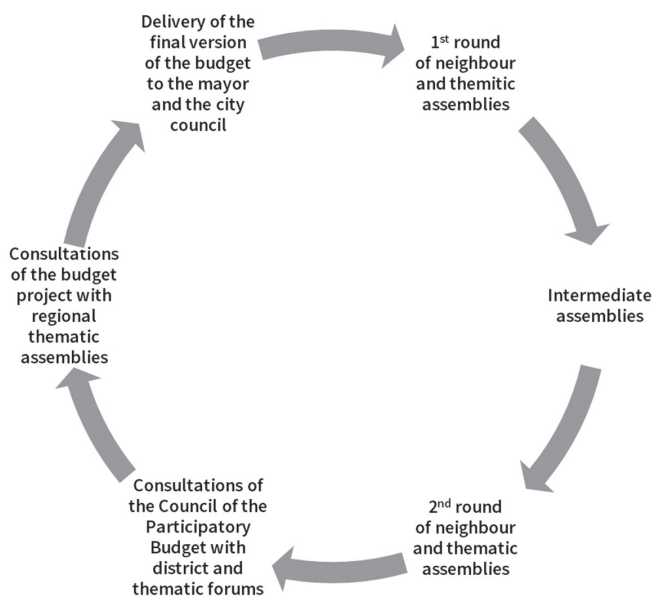
to citizens, who sent their corrections and suggestions which in turn were provided by the delegates to the council (see Górski 2007; 2012; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2012).

In August and September the proposal of the budget prepared by the Council was discussed at citizens' assemblies. At that time further comments were collected and only then the Council prepared the final version of the budget and gave it to the mayor after putting it to vote. The mayor presented the budget before the city council, which usually, after discussions, approved of its realization before the end of November (see Górski 2012).

With regard to the description of the Brazilian original procedure above, additionally illustrated in the picture below, it is quite clear that the key idea of that undertaking was a nearly continuous discussion and effort to work out the city priorities by discussion. It should be noted here that in 1998 the "intermediate assemblies" attracted about 100,000 inhabitants of Porto Alegre and this attendance grew to 150,000 in the year 2000. The total number of participants of all meetings held within the framework of the Brazilian participatory budgeting from 2001 to 2004 is estimated between 150,000 and 200,000 (see Górski 2012; Nuñez 2018). Polish participatory procedures seem pale in comparison against those numbers, as meetings are marginalized or completely ignored (see Picture 2), but this is where local residents can discuss the city problems and find out solutions which could be implemented in the participatory budgets. What is more, inhabitants' involvement is also low when we take into consideration the number of proposals of projects in comparison with the number of people who take part in assemblies in Porto Alegre. The number of proposal of projects in the 2019 edition looks as follows: over 2000 projects in Warsaw, nearly 1000 in Kraków, over 1000 in Łódź, and about 400 projects in Wrocław and Poznań (see Evaluation Report – 6th Edition of Participatory Budgeting in Kraków in 2019). Moreover, it should be noted that not all project originators took part in social consultations (obligatory condition in Warsaw) or had opportunity to participate in such meetings. It should also be mentioned that inhabitants of Porto Alegre had the whole

investment budget at their disposal (see Górski 2012), whereas in Poland it is usually only 1% of the total budget of the city.

Picture 1. A simplified model of the participatory budgeting process in Porto Alegre between 1990 and 2004



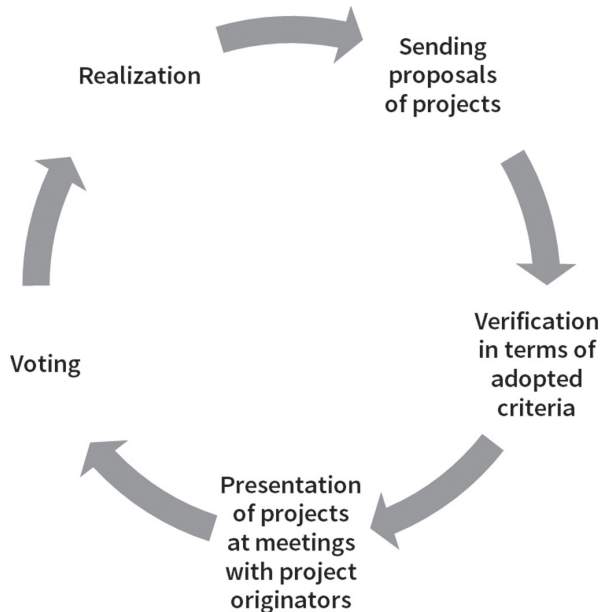
Source: own elaboration based on Górski 2012.

Analysing the picture above and comparing it to the participatory budgeting process in Poland one cannot help but agree that the Polish variant are nothing else but make-believe activities. Observing that participatory budgets are typically referred to as “civic budgets,” Wojciech Kęłowski (2014) argued in favour of the former term. He argues that the term “participatory” emphasizes an active and direct participation in the budget construction, not just indirect influence within the structures of representative democracy. In addition, the term points at a possibility of engaging all inhabitants. And finally, it does not make Polish participatory

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budgeting processes look different (Kębłowski 2014). Paradoxically, taking those arguments into consideration, the name “civic budget” seems more relevant, because Polish participatory or civic budgets have little to do with participation when compared with the budget in Porto Alegre. Participation understood as a process, where residents gain influence and control over the city authorities decisions (see Długosz, Wygnański 2005; Brodie, Cowling, Nissen 2009), or a combination of Langton’s public involvement and public action. Referring to that category of Stuart Langton (1978, after: Kaźmierczak 2011) in Polish participatory budgets, only elements of election participation can be identified. Having this in mind, critical opinions of people dealing with problems of participatory budgeting are not surprising.

Picture 2. A simplified model of the typical participatory budget process in Poland



Source: own elaboration based on Pistelok 2019.

Moreover, considering the facade character of the Polish participatory budgets we may wonder about the future of those mechanisms. In this case we can refer to the history of the Brazilian original model and phasing out this initiative in 2017. The literature emphasizes that one of the main reasons for organizing the participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre were political changes and coming to power by the Labour Party, who was in favour of this participatory experiment (Górski 2007; Wapmpler 2007; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2008; Nuñez 2018). However, as the ruling party changed in 2004, the political climate also changed (see Górski 2012; Nuñez 2018) and hence the political will for this enterprise. The change was not revolutionary, but evolutionary because the initiative was treated as a model solution on the global scale, therefore, it was not proper to suspend it all at once. Nonetheless, the city authorities systematically introduced significant changes to the procedure e.g. restricting autonomy of municipal assemblies, and finally in 2017 it was announced that – mainly due to the public finance crisis – this initiative would be discontinued (Nuñez 2018). Apart from the public finance crisis, it is emphasized that one of the major factors was the aforementioned political will and the lack of it, to be precise. The Labour Party, which lost the local elections in 2004, had won the general national elections the previous year, which translated into its focus on the countrywide affairs while local initiatives were put aside. Conservative politicians in power in Porto Alegre were not keen on continuing the participatory budgeting at all. In addition, it is pointed out that the collapse of the Brazilian initiative was also caused by factors related to the institutional structure, including its rules and regulations in particular. Failures to implement the chosen projects and lack of transparency in certain areas were highlighted here, e.g. by shortening the time for analysis and discussion of available funds and needs. There were also problems with the pedagogic dimension of the participatory process associated mainly with lack of relevant competences of the process participants. The procedure did not sufficiently take account of the educational dimension and concentrated the process on deliberation. It is stressed that in the first several editions of the participatory budget more

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space and time were dedicated to discussing problems, whereas after 2005 efforts aiming at enabling participants to cope better with all information almost disappeared (Nuñez 2018).

The participatory budget in Porto Alegre was uninterruptedly conducted for 28 years. The factors described above resulted in phasing out this initiative. In this regard there are certain similarities to the participatory budgets in Poland, which have been conducted for 10 years, and that needs some reflection. First of all, the political will of the city authorities regarding participatory budgets or even the whole participation model is rather questionable. The arguments raised in prior sections of this article concerning the façade character of participation and participatory budgeting show that these initiatives are treated as “the necessary evil” or a way to increase the political capital and personal popularity by local decision-makers. There are also cases in Poland when the city authorities do not implement the chosen projects, e.g. the highly publicized case of Ogrody Karskiego⁵ in Łódź. The core of the budget in Porto Alegre, that is the deliberative aspect of the procedure, is conveniently diminished. Polish participatory budgets lack space to discuss and work out collective solutions, and one the other hand, competition between project originators seems to be encouraged. A weak point of the Brazilian participatory budget was the insufficient pressure on the educational aspect, which is noticeably absent in Polish budgets as well. The city authorities should take efforts to inoculate civic competences in local residents and teach them how to

⁵ One of the local projects chosen in the 2015 edition of the participatory budget was “Ogrody Karskiego Park” – an unused area of nearly 3 hectares was to be transformed into a large park including playgrounds for children, multifunctional sports field, running routes, zone for dogs and alleys and benches. The project was chosen to be implemented – the project received 2.5 thousand votes, however, it turned out it would not come to life. The city hall informed the project authors that the area would be given to the Polish Railways Company, which would build a technical entrance to the planned railway tunnel. In return, the authorities offered to create several smaller pocket parks (see Tubilewicz 2015). The affair reverberated in the city and probably discouraged some local residents from participatory budgeting.

debate together. Finally, citizens of Porto Alegre had the whole investment budget of the city at their disposal (Górski 2012), which, when compared with the Polish 1% gives the impression of – mentioned above by Kacper Pobłocki (2013) – a participatory game of double pretences. In other words, domestic practices marked as participatory budgeting can be regarded as some form of “participatory shill” – attractive and encouraging outside, but empty and meaningless inside. What is more, as Jan Lutyński (1990) pointed out, apparent activities of the participatory budgets in Poland is widely known even if this awareness is not frequently individual, but is made public by the environment of city activists (see *Budżet obywatelski czyli co poszło nie tak [Participatory Budgeting, that is what went wrong]*).

Hope dies last – looming positive changes

The books edited by Nelson Dias (2014; 2018), which discuss 25th and 30th anniversary of participatory budgeting, entitled *Hope for Democracy*, in the context of this title and previous reflections, where the apparent character of participatory budgeting processes in Poland was underscored, urge us to pause and think if there is ‘a glimmer of hope’ for democracy and real inclusiveness of citizens in decision-making processes in Poland. There is a term “good practices” in the literature which refers to activities which bring specific and positive results and contain some potential for innovation (Bednarek 2007). One may argue that good practices are an ideal model which can serve as a reference matrix to others, taking similar actions. It is hard to state explicitly whether the activities described above can be regarded as good practices, but they undoubtedly give some hope for positive changes regarding the realization of the participatory budgeting processes. First of all, we should mention the participatory budget of the Culture Club Śródmieście in Warsaw, which was implemented in 2012 by Pole Dialogu Foundation. The whole enterprise was about inhabitants preparing the whole program budget for the Culture Club in 2013. Przemysław Sadura (2013: 11) emphasizes that it was “[...] total planning,

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although on a micro scale”. Definitely, it should be emphasized that the Culture Club attendees were entitled to decide about the whole amount of funds. It is a vast capital of trust in the participants of the participatory budgeting process. Another positive element was its discussion and workshop stages. During the preparatory stage meetings with all the Culture Club employees were held to familiarize them with the idea of participatory budgeting in order to find out their fears and expectations. Involving future executors of planned solutions seems to be one of major factors for success of the whole enterprise. Nevertheless, meetings held with citizens and employees should be especially accentuated here. There were 5 meetings in total, where 4 variants of the participatory budget were discussed and prepared. Przemysław Sadura (2013: 31) stresses that people taking part in the meetings “[...] turned into a civic finance commission”. It should also be observed that organizers decided to hold “target recruitment”, in which, apart from individuals who volunteered to take part in the initiative they also invited persons who are usually excluded from participating in consultation processes such as representatives of Vietnamese and Ukrainian and people of low education level. The goal of the whole undertaking was a meeting when a variant of the budget which was to be implemented by the Culture Club in the following year was to be adopted by the single transferable vote. The meeting attracted individuals who jointly worked out variants and persons who did not take part in works on the budget. Przemysław Sadura (2013: 32) says: “During the meeting extra care was taken to create space to discuss and exchange mutual arguments. It was important to provide the participants with sufficient information, to give them enough time to pause and think, to ask the management and employees questions and to speak to other participants”. Only after the negotiation-discussion part, the final version was chosen. A question may be posed here about the difference between this participatory budgeting process and the procedures implemented in most Polish cities. First of all, it was about the difference in time and space for the joint reflection, discussion and exchange of mutual ideas. It is vital as John Rawls (1999: 138–139, in: Juchacz 2006: 31) wrote: “[...] When citizens

deliberate, they exchange views and debate arguments regarding public political questions. Therefore, they assume that their political views could be subject to a change during the discussion with other citizens, and it follows that those opinions do not result from their fixed personal or non-political interests". The time and space for discussion seems to be a positive difference in comparison to other Polish participatory budgeting processes, where this aspect is marginalized or completely overlooked. As the case from Porto Alegre shows, participatory budgeting procedures should be mainly based on citizens' discussions.

Another case which should be mentioned and where the missing element of space for a vivid debate was included is the Dąbrowski Participatory Budget 2.0. This initiative differs from most Polish participatory budgets, because the 'traditional' selection of projects for realization via the vote was replaced by "working out a deal" (Pistelok 2019). The whole procedure of the Dąbrowski Budget is launched by holding meetings where citizens identify and discuss needs and priorities for a given district. Having agreed on the needs, citizens proceed to send their proposals. Subsequently, district forums of residents are held where proposals are ranked in terms of significance and then selected in terms their suitability for project realization. Only after the ranking of ideas has been prepared the top rated proposals are translated into projects. Prepared projects are additionally presented and the decision which will finally be implemented is reached by the group consensus. Proposals are put to the vote only if citizens do not reach an agreement in the course of district meetings (Pistelok 2019). The initiative under discussion and particularly its stress on discussion and cooperation among inhabitants is close to the Brazilian original model and provides arguments that Polish enterprises are not doomed to mere appearances, although it – as in Porto Alegre – largely depends on the political will. With reference to that Brazilian city, it should be reminded that one of the factors which was reported to have contributed to the collapse of participatory budgeting were difficulties in the pedagogic dimension of the participatory process (Nuñez 2018). Put differently, the above means that citizens did not have appropriate

competence to take part in the co-decision processes. On one hand, we may assume that there was not enough substantive knowledge related to the management and municipal finances, and on the other hand, unfamiliarity with the idea of participation, common discussions and reaching a compromise. In Poland there are interesting educational-participatory initiatives, which aim at ingraining civic competences early on. A good example is the Participatory Budget Junior in Marlborb, introduced in 2017, where children and youths over 13 years of age could send in their own proposals of projects as part of allocated funds from the participatory budget of the city (Mucha 2019). In Wrocław proposals could be sent by teams of at least three members, provided that no member from the group was older than 21. 40 thousand PLN were allocated for this youth experiment and its main goal was to promote civic activity and activate young people (Mucha 2019). In Warsaw young people could take part in preparing and conducting projects within the framework of “School Preparatory Budgets” event in eight local schools. Undoubtedly, those initiatives largely contribute to shape civic activity and can lead to higher level of public involvement in participatory processes in the future, including an active engagement in participatory processes, which would not be restricted to mechanical voting for projects proposed by others. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that such actions are of exclusive and experimental nature. For the sake of comparison we need to take note that it was concluded in Portugal that learning democracy from books is insufficient and nothing can replace practice. As a result, the state introduced school participatory budgets in the school year 2016/2017 (a thousand and two hundred schools participated in the program), which aimed to promote, inter alia, democratic practices (socially appreciated values and skills); the sense of belonging to a school, but also knowledge, financial literacy and entrepreneurship (Abrantes, Lopes, Baptista 2018). In 2017 Portugal also launched a youth participatory budgeting program in the whole country which aimed to improve the quality of democracy with a special focus on participatory democracy; foster civic education and a sense of belonging to the society; reinforce active and conscious participation of young

individuals in decision-making processes and promote participation of young people in defining public policies (Paz 2018).

The practices described above, even if rather rare in Poland, give hope for a positive change. As mentioned above, 'real' participation should rely on willingness and readiness of decision-makers to include citizens in decision-making processes and willingness and readiness of the latter to participate. Actions taken within school and youth budgets could contribute to shape civic attitudes which would manifest themselves in e.g. willingness and readiness to take part in consultations, deliberations and participatory budgets. The authorities, on the other hand, need to have the political will to share their power, just like it happened in the case of the Culture Club Śródmieście and the Dąbrowski Participatory Budgeting Project, while at the same time ensuring appropriate framework for a democratic discussion.

Summary

Working on the concept of pretended actions Jan Lutyński (1990) had in mind mainly qualities of the "real socialism", which undoubtedly had such actions in abundance, although Marek Czyżewski (2009) notes that despite changes and democratization of the political system, apparent activities are still present in our social reality. He claims that the presence of pretended actions seems to be even obvious "[...] in those areas of social life, where organization relies on the gap between the façade of officially declared, socially significant goals and everyday experience of people entangled in real institutional practices" (Czyżewski 2009: 9–10). When in 2011 the city authorities of Sopot were experimenting with the then utopian mechanism of the participatory budget, nobody expected that these social practices would soon be also included in a wide range of apparent actions. Initial enthusiasm and hope associated with the spreading participatory budgeting procedures in most Polish cities, would soon be replaced with a sense of disappointment resulting from their façade and appearances.

In accordance with assumptions of the concept of apparent actions, one can come across official declarations emphasizing importance of including local inhabitants in decision-making processes of co-deciding about their cities through participatory budgets, even though the implemented practices are far from authentic co-deciding (see *Standardy procesów budżetu...*) and do not provide citizens with any opportunity for deliberation or negotiation on distribution of allocated public funds (see Wampler 2007), while this is the core of the process. So, although the analyzed participatory budgeting processes, which have been implemented in Polish cities for several years now, fulfil the majority of required criteria of the definition – besides the criterion of deliberation (see Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, Allegretti 2008; 2012; Kębłowski 2013), it still seems that fulfilling those criteria acts only as the mentioned façade. Cyclical allocation of symbolic funds to citizens' disposal, and assuring them that their chosen projects will be implemented, seems to be a relatively low price for the absence of necessity to share power and hold time-consuming as well as hard-to-organize real participatory processes. The scheme and structure of Polish mechanisms compared with actions taken within the participatory budgeting processes implemented in Porto Alegre give the impression that we deal with certain "participatory shill" rather than the participatory budgeting process implemented with the honest political will of decision-makers. Under the numerous marketing tricks, colourful posters and billboards urging to active participation, there is only an opportunity to take part in the competition game, decided by a mechanical count of supporting votes – the only participatory element, even if merely by participating in the vote (see Langton 1978). And although these competitive games contribute to changing the city landscape, it would be difficult to label them as "participatory actions". Their apparent nature manifests itself in their lack of opportunities for an in-depth discussion and debate between inhabitants, let alone absent deliberative aspect. Taking into consideration the history of the budget in Porto Alegre, it seems we are walking along the path of the original, however, the difference is that we skipped the period of its "proper functioning" between 1989 and 2004.

It should be noted though, that responsibility for this state of affairs does not exclusively rest with the city authorities. It also partly stems from immaturity of the Polish society to participate in meetings relying on a constructive exchange of arguments and working out joint consensual solutions. This, in turn, is related to one of the failures made in Porto Alegre, that is, the lack of prior preparation of citizens for this type of activity (see Nuñez 2018). This error is also repeated in the case of the participatory budget processes in Poland, which further strengthens the negative course that we have taken. Finally, the amount of funds allocated for distribution gives the impression of the double game of appearances (Pobłocki 2013). An insignificant amount for investing is made available to citizens – amateurs, whereas truly big enterprises and investments are made by experts and technocrats. In conclusion, it should be observed though, that there are some prospects of positive changes ahead, which can break appearances of the participatory budgets in Poland. Actions taken within the Dąbrowski Participatory Budget 2.0 are close to the Brazilian original. In addition, youth participatory budgeting processes could forge new future city inhabitants (Kubicki 2011), who will effectively demand their right to co-decide about the city shape and a new structure of participatory budgeting processes. To make the voice of new city inhabitants heard and be treated seriously, decision-makers' political will and openness to genuine, not apparent, civic participation are necessary.

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Participatory Budget *versus* Participation of a Social Factor in Dispute Resolving Methods within Public Procurement in Selected EU Countries

1. Introduction

The idea of participatory budget as well as the idea of a social factor in the administration of justice in EU member countries, are the notions that fall into the broader phenomenon of “citizenship” of administrative service and some spheres of socio-economic life of these countries. Increasingly larger participation of the society in conducting public tasks inclines to enhanced analysis of this phenomenon. The phenomenon on borders on public policies, law, administration, and economy. In particular, it seems to have a progressive tendency, of a clearly dynamic character. It is particularly visible in the local government. Local government authorities as regulatory bodies are the best example to display these mechanisms.

The citizenship of public mechanisms (state and local government) is well visible based on two examples:

- a) direct participation of society in the financial policy of local government authorities,
- b) direct participation of society in the public procurement system.

The first example is related to a legal instrument of the participatory budget. It arises from the idea about self-deciding (self-determination) of local-regional societies having their local government budget allocated for a specific purpose: connecting financial means with a specific task. The second example concerns a set of activities of legal and factual character, performed and conducted in relation to the procedure of awarding and controlling public procurements.

Both issues have a considerable economic significance. Only in Poland, the volume of budgets of local government authorities in 2018 was at the level of 251.8 bln PLN regarding income and 251.8 bln PLN regarding expenses (GUS 2019). Public procurement “market” is estimated at 289.9 bln PLN, as data for 2019 shows (UZP 2020).

The purpose of the article is the analysis of mechanisms determining the functioning of these two phenomena in theory and practice, especially based on mutual influence. There is no doubt that the influence of a social factor on the allocation of finance via participatory budget is considerable (at least it is known that such an institution functions in a legal system). But how is this issue (influence) reflected within public procurement? In the procedure of awarding public procurements, it is the ordering entity that is the procedure administrator and they set up “the rules of the game”. They may set them up in such a way that in fact the degree and the scope of the participation of a social factor in the process of concluding a public procurement agreement depends on them – in particular, in case when the amount intended for procurement financing derives from participatory budget (partly or entirely). However, what is more significant is if the participation of social factors is allowed in law related to the branch of public procurements? Thus, this element of public procurement system will be analysed in comparative terms. With reference to the above, the existing methods of resolving disputes in public procurements in the selected EU countries in terms of the citizenship of this part of justice will be analysed.

Justice which controls expenditure of public funds in public procurement system. It also concerns funds derived from participatory budgets.

The common denominator of the situations analysed is their orientation to provide public goods. The first notion is related to announcing ideas and securing financial means to provide public goods, the second one determines the selection of their provider. The legal-dogmatic method and the observation method will be the predominant ones applied in this research.

2. The theory of public goods in law and economy

While analysing the relation between law and economics (economy), we may mention the priority of economy over law in the sense that law (the normative sphere) always arises on the basis of social reality (Grabowski 2013). On the other hand, the economic relations existing in a given place and time are the element of this reality (Grabowski 2013). Legal order may be defined as a peculiar normative, socially mandatory structure.

Achieving goals set by law (the desired socio-economic conditions) takes the form of public tasks carried out by the state and the local government. In relations to a public task, public way of “reaching” the desired conditions is of secondary character. Today, the peculiar defect (or inflexibility) of traditional forms of providing a society with public goods is more and more frequently emphasized. The advantages of involving the private sector in conducting public enterprises are more and more frequently emphasized. The attempts to include the private sector in the permanent process of public goods’ provision are also related to its subsequent exploitation (the service of the infrastructure created).

Economics justifies the existence of public goods, or more broadly, the functioning of a public sector, by the so-called market unreliability, and actually a certain theoretical concept of idealized market price system, serving for the maintenance of desired activities and the elimination of undesired activities in socio-economic space (Bator 1958). Incapacity lowers an ideal effectiveness of market, or a desired condition, but unavailable

in practical terms. Ideal market is a purely theoretical economic concept, a certain sophisticated research model in main trend economics (Nowak-Far 2013). Its unrealistic assumptions are highlighted and – partly – completed by New Institutional Economics (NIE). The institution, differently interpreted in law, is a basic research notion-tool in NIE. Quoting Douglas North, these are restrictions created by people, forming human interactions, which create a structure of stimuli in the political, social, or economic exchange process (North 1990). We may distinguish formal institutions (law) and informal ones (customs, behavioural norms). Contract (having a broader meaning than an agreement in the legal sense) has its significant rank in the NIE notion network (Kępa 2021), and the transaction costs are defined as costs of using a price mechanism; among others, costs related to search a contractor, negotiations and concluding contracts (Coase 1937). However, in Oliver Williamson's view, although contractual relations are a domain of private order institutions (Williamson 1998), then in the optics assumed in this paper, public economic law (institution in a formal sense) (cf. Remarks on differences between institutions in law and institutions in economy: Andruszkiewicz, Kępa 2019) is considerably significant when carrying out public tasks.

The arrangements developed by NIE point to significant drawbacks in the concept of *homo economicus*, such as the unreality of the basic assumptions related to complete information about a subject of transaction, lack of a tendency of managing entities to opportunistic activities and malpractice, lack of oligopoly and monopoly (multitude of market players, out of whom none is able to distort market relations) and the remaining ones (mainly: lack of external effects). Thus, market effectiveness is gradable. As Paul A. Samuelson and William D. Nordhaus indicate, market system in a general balance condition will be indicating an allocative effectiveness when the conditions of perfect competition are met and the external effects do not occur, and the price of each goods equals its final cost (Samuelson, Nordhaus 2004). Basically, each behaviour in economy may be investigated in terms of transaction costs (more on transaction costs cf. Kępa 2021). High transaction costs cause the production of specific goods or their

delivery within services (supplies) to be unprofitable in economic terms. In this sense it is ineffective, and the private sector, directed mostly by economic calculation, does not deliver this type of goods on the market. In such a case, the delivery of these goods (frequently also called *unwanted* goods) is taken over by the public sector.

3. Participatory budget as a tool of social participation in matters related to local government finances

The declaration that public finances are goods (resources) of a restricted character and only due to this fact they should be subject to economic precepts, e.g. their expenditure should be effective, rational, and deliberate, is a cliché. This process will be more effective when it involves the recipients of public goods – inhabitants, and not their temporary administrators – politicians. The phenomenon of participation falls into this assumption – the involvement of citizens in the process of public decisions. Participatory budget is a perfect example of thus understood participation. The notion of participatory budget and the notion of participation are so synonymous that they are used interchangeably, e.g. in “participatory budget”. It reflects, in this way, the spirit of the idea of citizenship related to some areas of the functioning of the state. Participatory budget is a decision-making process, within which the inhabitants co-create a budget and co-decide about the distribution of a defined pool of public funds (Kębłowski 2013). Thus, participatory budget is an institution of direct democracy.

As it was mentioned in the introduction, with the use of participatory budget, the members of local government community decide independently about the allocation of a part of public funds collected within a local government budget. These funds are allocated from a budget pool for a budget year, and subsequently they are adjusted to the purpose which, e.g. will be granted an approval of a defined part of the inhabitants of this community.

The position of a local government, despite some government activities of a centralist character, is gaining importance and the initiatives related to a direct use of the potential of local communities in the co-deciding processes during conducting public tasks are conducted more and more frequently. Co-deciding, or *governance*, is participatory management, interpreted as a multilayer governance, focused on searching for solutions, which will guarantee an effective incorporation of a bigger number of entities into a public decision-making process (Sroka 2009). The idea of *governance* refers then to a role and opportunity of public authorities at each level, within forming, enabling and taking actions in favour of promotion of such social objectives which are not sufficiently carried out by the market and participatory society, emphasizing mutual relations occurring between the authority and the citizen, who is treated not only as an entity, but also as a participant of formal and informal collective institutions, among others diversified interest groups (Podgórska-Rykała, Sroka 2020).

Participation is a blurred concept. It is defined from diverse research perspectives, often adopting a different methodology. However, the participation of a social factor in governance is emphasized in most of the definitions of participation. Participation is related to decentralization of power. It often does not adopt a defined legal form, as it does in case of, e.g. social consultations. Frequently it is materialized through informal self-organisation processes: interest groups' tenders. Nevertheless, the purpose is always the same: the change of life conditions of a local-regional community. Participation is one of the kinds of partnership, perhaps not occurring in such a formalized form as public-private partnership, but certainly occurring more frequently than the latter. The institution of a participatory budget (civil budget) is a peculiar variation of social consultations: the process of a two-way communication between public administration body and social partners.

The idea of participatory budget originates from South America. However, the idea was successfully transferred to other continents. Participatory budget was also adopted in Europe, for example in such countries as: Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Spain. Participatory

budget is perceived at present as a peculiar citizens' response to the crisis of the representative authorities. The principal drifted away too much from its agent and they – except for periodic elections – stopped having their real influence on their representatives. Participation as a kind of self-determination and self-organisation of local-regional communities also proves as a ground for communication between politicians and citizens (among others, France, and Portugal).

As far as Polish experience in this respect is concerned, participatory budget was applied in practice for the first time in Sopot in 2011; it became an obligatory participatory tool in 2018 for the cities with county rights. Nevertheless, it has been successfully implemented as well at other local government levels. The frequent objection with relation to participatory budget is its “plebiscitary” character, which is against the coordinating idea of participatory budget.

4. Methods of resolving disputes in public procurements in the selected EU countries

Public procurement system at the European Union Level – as seen from a supranational perspective is constituted mostly by the following legal acts:

- 1) Directive 2014/24/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on public procurement and repealing Directive 2004/18/EC; Text with EEA relevance; classic directive (EU Official Journal 2014, L 94, p. 65).
- 2) Directive 2014/25/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on procurement by entities operating in the water, energy, transport and postal services sectors and repealing Directive 2004/17/EC; Text with EEA relevance; sector directive (EU Official Journal 2014, L 94, p. 243).
- 3) Directive 2014/23/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on the award of concession contracts; Text

with EEA relevance; concession directive (EU Official Journal 2014, L 94, p. 1).

- 4) Directive 2009/81/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 July 2009 on the coordination of procedures for the award of certain works contracts, supply contracts and service contracts by contracting authorities or entities in the fields of defence and security, and amending Directives 2004/17/EC and 2004/18/EC; Text with EEA relevance; defence directive (EU Official Journal 2009, L 216, p. 76).
- 5) Directive 2007/66/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2007 amending Council Directives 89/665/EEC and 92/13/EEC with regard to improving the effectiveness of review procedures concerning the award of public contracts; Text with EEA relevance; amendment to review directives (EU Official Journal 2007, L 335/31).
- 6) Directive 89/665/EEC changed by Directive 2007/66/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 11 December 2007; classic review directive (EU Official Journal 1989, L 76, p. 14).
- 7) Directive 92/13/EEC changed by Directive 2007/66/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 11 December 2007; sector review directive (EU Official Journal 1992, L 395, p. 33).

Comparative analyses within law (legislation), especially where we deal with a large research material, must be created at a certain level of abstraction. Differences in legal culture, in the way of policy-making and in the very politics, in the degree of legal development, socio-economic conditions, as well as any remaining ones of endo- and exogenous character, cause that final conclusions – comparative ones – are based on the approved generalisations. It is worth returning to the starting point, from the initial arguments outlined in this paper, or to indicate the importance of formal institutions (law) and informal ones (customs, behavioural norms) as interpreted by Douglass North in contemporary countries (international communities). These are institutions, their mutual permeation, form a finally specific legal system. Public procurement system is such a complex and significant

field of law and economy at the same time, that in fact it becomes a tool of socio-economic policy of the European Union.

Until now no uniform auditing-reporting or reporting-supervisory instruments were developed, whose task would be a regular collection and processing of data related to a review and an implementation of legal remedies devised in review directives. The verifying actions are taken *ad hoc*. Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the effectiveness of Directive 89/665/EEC and Directive 92/13/EEC, as modified by Directive 2007/66/EC concerning review procedures in the area of public procurement of 24 January 2017 (European Commission 2017).

The practice of the existence of legal remedies in public procurement is exercised on some EU member countries in almost autonomous forms. The kind of judicial body is a basic issue. The dichotomy, with a classic division into: a court and not a court – during the examination of pre-contractual disputes in public procurements in the first instance does not include legal specificity of certain EU member countries.

The judicial inspection of proceedings in the *ex ante* stage is conducted in 12 member countries:

- in 8 countries we deal with administrative courts,
- in 4 countries we deal with common courts.

Independent bodies of non-judicial type are the dominant type of judicial bodies in public procurements in the European Union. It functions (successfully) in half of the EU countries. Peculiar, autonomous solutions were developed by the Czech Republic and Slovakia, in which the inspection of public procurements in *ex ante* stage is conducted by typical public administration bodies.

The Polish model of examining pre-contractual disputes in the first instance falls into a predominant European Union model of resolving disputes in public procurements by the specialized non-judicial decision-making body. It is worth emphasizing that this model of review proceedings was developed in almost all countries which accessed the European Union in 2004 – Lithuania being the exception. It also falls

under a principle of efficient and effective resolution of pre-contractual disputes in public procurements, constituting an alternative for extended judicial procedures. *Notabene*, review directives do not directly determine the obligation to resolve disputes in public procurements in the first instance by the courts as defined in the relevant national legislation or EU legislation. It happens only in case when in the first instance the case is examined by the non-judicial body, the EU member countries are to assure the verification of such resolutions by the court as defined in Art. 264 of TFEU – independent of the ordering party and the first instance body. They do not determine the number of instances, either. Two-instance courts do not exist in all EU countries, not to mention the extraordinary control measures of court judgments – in Poland, cassation appeal is attributed only to the president of the Polish Public Procurement Office.

The qualities enabling the classification of body as a *court* as defined in Art. 264 of TFEU must derive from the judicial decisions of Court of Justice of the European Union. A set of the premises adopted in the jurisdiction is, among others, the following: permanent character, judicial competence, independence, adversary proceedings, and binding by law.

Among the specialised non-judicial decision-making bodies in the first instance, the Polish National Chamber of Appeal considers the biggest number of appeals in nominal terms – in one of the shortest deadlines. Croatia, the second country in these terms, considers over half as many complaints. As far as the effectiveness of personnel is concerned, the number of cases settled by 1 member of the judicial body per year may be assumed as a suitable indicator for the analysis. Croatia, Bulgaria, and Slovenia are leaders here – all countries have over 100 cases annually per 1 body member. Denmark, Slovakia, and Romania are at the other end of the scale, with the lowest coefficient of cases attributed per 1 member of the judicial body – below 10 cases annually.

Apparently, the indicator of the quantity of cases attributed to 1 member of the judicial body does not automatically specify the quality of the decisions issued. It only informs about “occupancy rate” of the judicial bodies. Talking about effectiveness, we need to consult the relation of the

number of judicial bodies to the quantity of the complaints submitted to these bodies.

As for the deadlines of resolution of cases – if these are intended in a given legal order, they usually have an instructional character. As for the principle, the deadlines are met, e.g. in Poland, Bulgaria and Slovenia, we deal with exceeding deadlines for the consideration of complaints, e.g. in Croatia and the Czech Republic (Bogdanowicz, Hartung, Szymańska 2017). In the Commission's judgement, in the member countries where the legal systems stipulate the functioning of administrative appeal bodies ensuring legal remedies in public procurements – in lieu of judicial review – these solutions are more effective in terms of duration of proceedings as well as judgement standards (European Commission 2017). The Commission intends, in the near future, to activate a communication platform (a cooperation network) between the non-judicial decision-making bodies, serving for exchange of information and good practices, constituting a source of knowledge, thereby stimulating the member countries to develop and improve this type of jurisdiction.

The number of adjudication panels is the next element of the consideration of pre-contractual disputes in the member countries, which is worth tackling. There is an equal division in this respect. 11 member countries use a model with 1-person adjudication panel, and 11 member countries with 3-person adjudication panel. Jurisdictions with 1-person adjudication panel, usually adopt the opportunity to extend the panel – this is how it functions in Poland. As for the principle, the content-related scope is decisive.

Autonomous forms were also formed which cannot be explicitly attributed to the first or the second category. For instance, in Malta there is a 4-person adjudication panel, in Cyprus – a 5-person, and in Bulgaria and Greece – a 7-person panel (Bogdanowicz, Hartung, Szymańska 2017). Jurisdiction of the member countries within the consideration of pre-contractual disputes in public procurements, as for the principle, do not adopt the participation of a social factor (Bogdanowicz, Hartung, Szymańska 2017).

As for the character of appeal proceedings before the first instance authority, and basically for the stage of explanatory proceedings, it must be indicated that not all national legislations adopt compulsion of a trial.

The adversarial hearing of obligatory character is intended in 10 member countries (e.g. the Netherlands), in 13 member countries such an option was intended – on the initiative of the party or *ex officio* (e.g. Croatia), and in 5 cases appeal proceedings are conducted only by means of a written form (e.g. Slovakia).

The hearing with the participation of the parties in an adversarial form, as an element of the explanatory proceedings (evidence hearing), takes place mainly when the judicial review of common courts or the specialised non-judicial decision-making bodies (*quasi-courts*) is predominant. The written cabinet proceedings, by nature relevant only to administrative proceedings, thus it takes place mainly there, where we deal with judicial-administrative review of public procurements (e.g. Spain). The fact of common acceptability of recording hearings, where the national legislation allows for a hearing (recording sound and picture is switched off in Poland, Belgium, Bulgaria and Croatia), which constitutes an expression of clarity and transparency of appeal proceedings, has a disciplinary and as well as anti-corruption value (Bogdanowicz, Hartung, Szymańska 2017).

The model of two-instance resolution of precontractual disputes in public procurements, although it occurs in the vast majority of member countries, is not common. The legislations of Belgium and Slovenia do not adopt the two-instance review of resolutions/judgements/decisions in this respect. However, in the first case we deal with the judicial-administrative review, and in the second case within the specialised non-judicial decision-making body of a judicial character as defined in art. 264 of TFEU.

In the remaining 26 cases either the review of common courts takes place or the review of administrative courts, with the prevalence of the judicial-administrative review. The legal and comparative material makes us reflect on the character of proceedings in public procurements and on the acceptance (definition) of court relevance. As it can be seen, common courts are not the only model within which we may investigate and public procurements are investigated in *ex ante* stage.

In 18 member countries there is an opportunity to appeal against the judgement of the second instance in cases related to public procurements

with the use of the extraordinary means of challenge. 10 national legislations do not use the procedure of cassation: the United Kingdom, Austria, Belgium (lack of the second instance), Bulgaria, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Germany, Poland (cassation is attributed only to the President of the Polish Public Procurement Office), Slovenia (lack of the second instance) (Bogdanowicz, Hartung, Szymańska 2017). Cassation appeal, if it is intended in law, is attributed, as for the principle, to the parties of the proceedings in the second instance.

5. Final remarks

The result of the research conducted for the purpose of this paper may be concluded with the following observation: if the participation of a social factor in the process of procurement of public goods is acceptable and practised, then the participation of a social factor in justice with relation to public orders does not occur, even if public goods, being the subject of public procurements, are partially or entirely financed from participatory budgeting.

Two stages of a life cycle of public procurements must be distinguished, while analysing the above:

- a) ordering stage of public goods (purchase process),
- b) judicial review (quasi-judicial) stage of a purchase procedure.

The inhabitants of local-regional communities may participate without restrictions in the purchase procedure. Everything depends on the ordering party, as the administrator of the proceedings for awarding a public procurement. At this life stage of a public procurement the members of local government communities may participate in it actively (e.g. as the members of tender committees in competitive mode) or passively (the access to public information on the detailed rules – public procurement law, and on general rules – the right to access to public information). In practice inhabitants seldom take part in public procurements actively, even if the matter concerns public goods include in participatory budget.

This results from the complexity of the theme of public procurements and its inaccessibility, which requires high specialization. Thus, the ordering parties usually conduct the purchase process with the use of their own human resources or external lawyers.

In the second stage of a life cycle related to public procurements, none of the legislators from the EU member countries did adopt the participation of a social factor with reference to the review of the purchase processes conducted in public procurement system. The EU legislator acted similarly (this issue was completely omitted). What is apparent is that not all inhabitants who took part in the resolution of a specific purchase process – this is apparently unacceptable (nobody may be a judge in their own case), and who are meant, but about the idea of “the opening” of this element of justice to a social factor.

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Integration of Immigrants through Participation – Determinants and Good Practices

1. Introduction

For decades the research conducted around the world has been trying to explain the phenomenon of human migration. This phenomenon has been investigated by economists, sociologists, geographers and many more scientists. Several theories have been formulated explaining why people change their place of living. However, there is no general theory explaining migration, as this phenomenon is too complex. Aggregation of these multi-faceted and diverse migration mechanisms is simply impossible. However, one can search for answers to selected phenomena within this issue in theories established so far. As it is a present-day matter, it affects life of many, including immigrants themselves. As many of them stay in the place of destination for a long term, they become local community members and should be able to take part in social participation as it is one of the dimensions of the needs of every human being.

2. The research on international migration. Basic facts

The first major publication on migration was *The Laws of Migration* by Ernest-George Ravenstein (1885) called “the father of modern thinking about migration” (Arango 2017). This researcher wrote his book in the times of rising economic activity, its internationalization, decolonization and the economic development of The Third World. These processes influenced migration, both internal and international (Arango 2017). Another significant book was *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (1918–1920). This book studies Polish immigrants and their families, as at the turn of the 20th century Polish immigrants accounted for about a quarter of all new immigrants to USA and the significance of that book can hardly be exaggerated (Bulmer 1986).

The above mentioned research began forthcoming investigations in the field which is still being investigated. We can distinguish certain strains in the existing theories: the neoclassical theory, the new economy of migration (the modification of the preceding one) and dual labour market theory.

The neoclassical theory indicates that the differentiation of wages and work conditions are the major stimulus of the migration process, so the labour market is the main mechanism at work here, and people migrate to maximize individual profit driven from a place of living. It refers to the *homo oeconomicus* concept of a human being. This theory was criticized for its shortcomings mainly related to the included simplifications. One of many questions is: if people act due to their economic motivation, then why so few decide to migrate? Therefore, the efforts to better explain the phenomenon continued.

A new economic theory of migration emerged in the 1980s mainly thanks to the work of Edward J. Taylor and Oded Stark. This theory recognizes migration processes in the context of various markets, not just the labour market. For example, the education market is seriously taken into account. Migration is perceived not as an individual process, but it covers whole circles of people: family, neighbourhood, peers, and the society (Jaskułowski, Pawlak 2016). Not only is the factor of profit incorporated in

this theory, but also a factor of risk which people tend to minimize when decide to migrate.

The dual market theory was presented by Michael J. Piore in the book *Birds of Passage* published in 1979 and focused mainly on a structural factor: persistent labour demand in highly developed countries. In his opinion, international migrations are primarily conditioned by the attracting factors (Jaskułowski, Pawlak 2016). Dual labour market theory states that migration is mainly caused by the pull factors in more developed countries. This theory assumes that the labour markets in these developed countries consist of two segments: the primary market, which requires high-skilled labour, and the secondary market, which is very labour-intensive requiring low-skilled workers. This theory assumes that migration from less developed countries into more developed countries is a result of a pull created by a need for labour in the developed countries in their secondary market.

Apart from economic theories, other academic fields also tried to explain migration, and thus the historical-structural theory, migration systems theory and transitional migration theory evolved. Diversity and complexity of migration is a challenge for science and therefore creating its more general theories is still in progress. Stages of research and policies in the field of migration are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Main phases in migration and development research and policies

Period	Research community	Policy field
until 1973	Development and migration optimism	Developmentalist optimism; capital and knowledge transfers by migrants would help developing countries in development take-off.
1973–1990	Development and migration pessimism (dependency, brain drain)	Growing scepticism; concerns on brain drain; after experiments with return migration policies focused on integration in receiving countries. Migration largely out of sight in development field.

Period	Research community	Policy field
1990–2001	Readjustment to more subtle views under influence of increasing empirical work (NELM, livelihood approaches, transnationalism)	Persistent scepticism; tightening of immigration policies.
> 2001	Boom in publications: mixed, but generally positive views	Resurgence of migration and development optimism under influence of remittance boom, and a sudden turnaround of views; brain gain, diaspora involvement.

Source: de Haas (2008).

3. International migration today

The trend to migrate is constantly rising and the total number of international migrants achieved a volume of over 271 million in mid-year 2019 (Figure 1) with United States of America as a country with the highest value of over 50 million.

As for Europe together with Russia, the total number of international migrants in mid-year 2019 was as high as 82.3 million (migrationdataportal.org). The countries with higher values were: Germany (a total of 13.1 million), Russia (a total of 11.6 million), UK (a total of 9.6 million), France (a total of 8.3 million) and Italy (a total of 6.3 million).

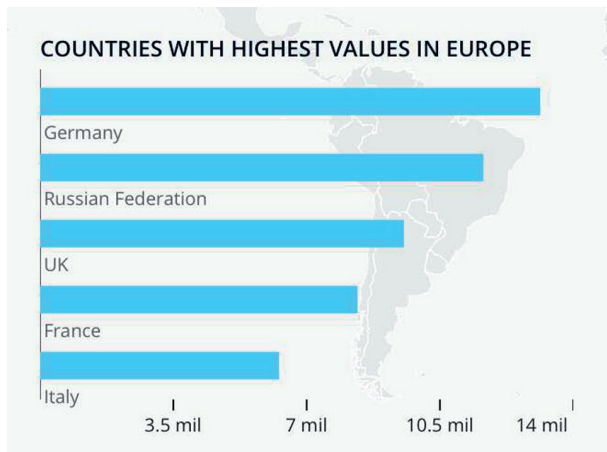
International migration affects also Poland. According to the official governmental data (migracje.gov.pl) there are 442,228 foreigners with currently valid documents allowing them to stay in Poland (data for 2.05.2020). Among these people, the largest group are Ukrainians (229,699), then almost ten-folds smaller groups are Belarussians (a total of 27,355) and Germans (a total of 21,187).

Figure 1. International migration worldwide



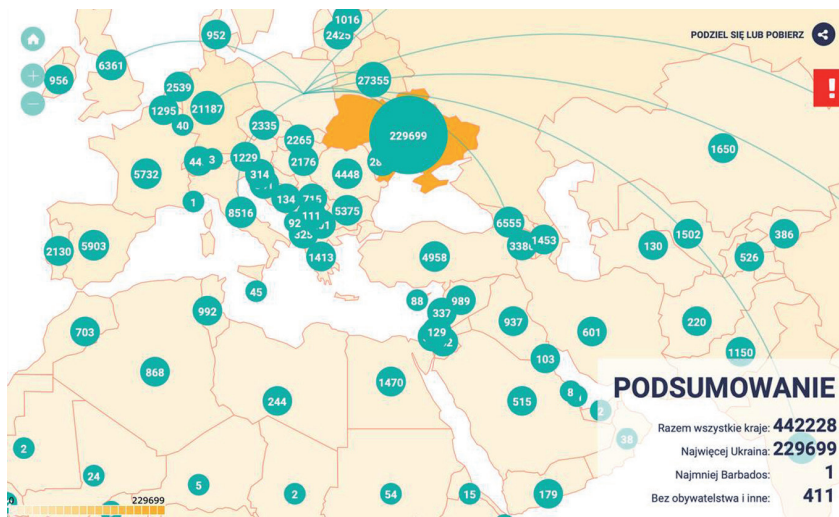
Source: migrationdataportal.org [accessed: 19.02.2020].

Figure 2. European countries with highest values of international migration



Source: migrationdataportal.org [accessed: 19.02.2020].

Figure 3. Foreigners with current valid document allowing to stay in Poland

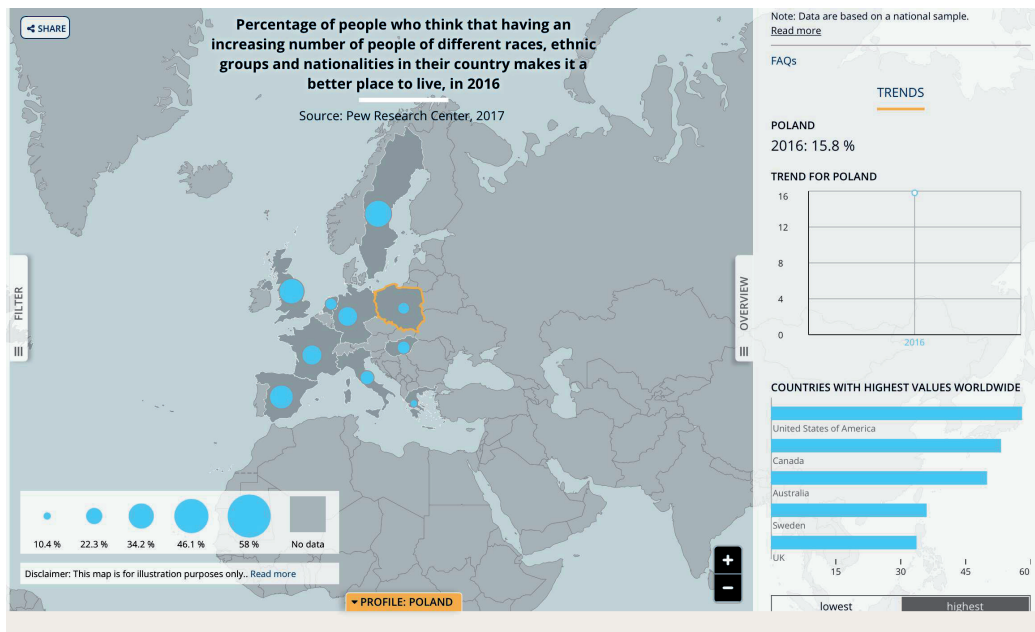


Source: migracje.gov.pl [accessed: 2.05.2020].

Migration is still a subject of academic investigation as it is a contemporary phenomenon. Therefore, it influences many fields of private and public life, especially that some immigrants intend to stay for good in their place of destination. This decision depends on many variables such as employment opportunities or schemes, the level of salary, skills and education (Sapeha 2017), nevertheless it is clear that for a variety of reasons today's communities become more and more heterogenic also in terms of country of origin of their members. From this point of view, newcomers (but also the already existing immigrants who were not noticed yet) should have the ability and motivation to participate in public deliberation in the common sphere, otherwise, they will be socially excluded. What is more, we can assume that public life will not suit their expectations. This can also cause misunderstandings, social conflicts and violence. According to migrationdataportal.org, the attitude towards social differentiations varies around the world. Countries in which people in 2016 presented most friendly attitude towards different races, ethnic groups and nationalities and agree that the above make their country a better place to live were: USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden and UK. When it comes to Poland that value is not high: only 15.8% of Poles thought that having an increasing number of people of different races, ethnic groups and nationalities makes Poland a better place to live (Figure 4).

Attitudes toward immigrants depend on many factors, mostly the on country being investigated and the economic situation of people being interviewed (*How the World Views Migration* 2015). According to the report of International Organization for Migration, the attitudes toward immigrants change over time in the positive direction and "in every major region of the world, with the exception of Europe, people were more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at the present level or to increase, rather than decrease" (*How the World...* 2015).

Figure 4. Attitudes towards cultural diversity in Poland, Europe and worldwide



Source: migrationdataportal.org [accessed: 19.02.2020].







4. Social inclusion of immigrants. Best practices

According to the research findings (*Smart Practices that Enhance the Resilience of Migrants* 2016), when migrants arrive in the country where they intend to live for a longer period of time, the needs which emerge are (Figure 5):

- 1) Governance/regulatory systems. This means the ability to stay safely or leave when needed and have legal access to economic public and social life.
- 2) Financial capital. It is very important to have access to safe employment opportunities.

- 3) Physical capital. This means the possibility of provisions for housing and food, including the technical help (e.g. linguistic) and dignity aspects (such as privacy).
- 4) Human capital. This covers the access to education and training with possible barriers to be taken into consideration.
- 5) Social capital. Migrants have to be able to have social links both with their relatives and local community. Access to religious services is also of importance.
- 6) Natural capital. The need for high quality land and water to grow crops, rely on forests or lakes for fishing and water, etc.

Figure 5. Common needs for external support that migrants may have

Dimension of resilience		Description of need
 Regulatory Governance/ Regulatory systems		Right to remain in country Access to rights: housing, health, education, etc.
 Financial Income generation Safety net		Access to employment/income generating opportunities Adequate financial resources to provide for their own needs
 Physical Shelter Food Health (physical) Health (mental) WASH Non-food Items		Stable and safe living conditions which tailor for social needs (e.g. families can be together, safe spaces for women and children, etc.)
		Adequate and varied nutritious food (aligned to cultural and religious restrictions)
		Access to primary and secondary health services
		Psychosocial support
		Access to safe and functioning sanitary facilities
		Access to clothes, blankets, etc.
 Human Education and vocational training Information on rights Practical information		Access to primary and secondary education Access to vocational training
		Access to up-to-date information on their rights and relevant changes in regulation
		Practical information on how to access services available to them
 Social Family Society		Close contact with family, re-establishment of family links
		Sense of belonging to the community and acceptance by the host community, combined by a sense of belonging to country of origin
 Natural Natural		Migrants might need high quality land and water to grow crops, or rely on lakes for fishing and water, etc.

Source: *Smart Practices that Enhance the Resilience of Migrants* (2016).

Social inclusion is one of many important aspects of immigrants needs. We can distinguish multiple dimensions of social exclusion: social, economic, legal/political, cultural/moral (Table 2). These are therefore the areas of interest in terms of immigrants' inclusion.

Table 2. Dimensions of social exclusion

Dimension of social exclusion	Manifestation
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to education, welfare, housing and life opportunities • Restricted citizenship rights
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to employment opportunities • Limited access to services, infrastructure and amenities
Legal/political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of access to democratic decision-making processes • Isolation from processes and structures that facilitate increased participation • Extent to which residents believe they have influence
Cultural/moral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stigmatisation • Exclusion from broad cultural practices, i.e. language

Source: Doney, McGuirk (2013).

There is a strong trend in public life worldwide to empower citizens giving them opportunities to co-decide in areas of public life. There are many instruments which are used to engage people in decision-making processes like: participatory budgeting, citizen panels, world-cafes, urban hackathons and many more. The issue is whether organizing bodies take immigrants into consideration while planning and conducting these approaches and techniques.

When we look at various attempts of countries (cities, communities) to improve social inclusion of immigrants, we will be able to withdraw conclusions which can enable Polish public bodies to more effectively address their policy and activities in the area of social participation as to include immigrants in a bigger extent as they become now very present in public life of Polish citizens and probably will become even more present, visible and active in the future.

The case of Germany

Schader Foundation with its partners: German Association of Cities (DST), German Head Federation of Housing and Real Estate Associations (GdW), German Institute of Urban Affairs (DifU) and Institute for Housing, Real Estate, Urban and Regional Development at Ruhr-University Bochum (InWIS) initiated the project “Immigrants in the City” (Zuwanderer in der Stadt) in 2004. The initiative was promoted by the German Ministry of Education and Research.

This project was based on the assumptions that in the course of social and economic change, it has become more difficult, especially in large cities, to meet the requirements in order to maintain a socially integrated community (Zuwanderer in der Stadt 2004). What was observed was that in large cities in particular, population groups are “unequally” distributed according to social life, economic resources and cultural orientation. This can become a problem for the city if the risk of a social and spatial polarization increases, when this is accompanied by the disintegration of disadvantaged population groups. One of the disadvantaged population group easily identified were immigrants. What is more, the spatial concentration of immigrants in particular areas of the cities was observed. The integration of immigrants – both those who already live in a city and those who are newcomers – takes place in physical and social spaces (Zuwanderer in der Stadt 2004). Unfortunately, the educational pathways of migrants of the second and third generation were significantly worse than that of Germans of the same age according to a project assumption. There was also consensus in the research that immigrants are particularly disadvantaged compared to the local population in the area of housing. Within the project, models and approaches for a social framework and spatial integration of immigrants were developed and tested for and with the actors in the housing industry and policy. Over a period of two and a half years, in a dialogical process and exchange between actors from science, administration, local politics, housing industry and civil society, concepts and concrete options for action to improve the

social integration of immigrants optimized and promoted (Zuwanderer in der Stadt 2004).

The project was also an area of research in the field of motivations, attitudes and barriers in social participation of immigrants (Uzar 2007). It was concluded that immigrants are not involved in participation because they do not receive proper information, often due to language obstacles. They also do not trust organizations which do not arise from their own environment, feeling unaccepted by Germans. Nevertheless, there is a part of immigrants who do participate, although mainly when there is a particular issue to be discussed with concrete outcomes as an effect. Inappropriate organization of participation event was also noticed as a barrier (the framework did not include the specificity of daily habits and routine of immigrants). Street festivals and other cultural events appeared to be a promising tool to familiarize immigrants with participation processes.

The case of San Francisco

“American cities, and the civic organizations located in them, have long been at the heart of processes of immigrant integration” (de Graauw 2012). In her work, de Graauw focuses on various approaches and methods, both bottom-up and bottom-down which are in use in order to integrate immigrants and she particularly studies such initiatives in San Francisco. One of instruments being used by immigrants to achieve their goals are protests. These events are contentious instruments, but not the only ones. City-based immigrant organizations play an important role providing critical social services to newcomers, help fight labour law violations, express identities, advocate for policies and also mobilize immigrants’ participation in the political process (de Graauw 2012).

The Author argues that it is difficult to assure the immigrants their right to the city without institutionalized recognition of their exclusive needs and what is more, immigrants’ organizations, instead of protesting, should collaborate with the officials in order to guarantee material and participatory equality for immigrants. What is interesting is the fact

that the local governments do cooperate with such organizations in order to better address the provided aid for immigrants. For example, the organizations have access to skill-building workshops. The organizations themselves also train ethnic city leaders who then can act more effectively on the ground of immigrants' integration.

The case of New York

The case of New York shows participatory budgeting which can be perceived as effective way to engage immigrants, elevate their voices, develop civic capacities and level of community organization as well as promote their political participation (Hayduk, Hackett, Tamashiro 2017). Participatory budgeting in New York has a deliberative manner, which means that ideas of the projects arise in the course of public deliberation during multiple meetings. This appropriate and effective approach is quite different from many Polish "project competitions", lately run in Polish cities under the name of participatory budgeting.

The research (Hayduk, Hackett, Tamashiro 2017) focused on the community of New York, which at the moment of the research had 8.4 million residents with 6.5 million residents of voting age and 3 million residents foreign-born with 1.43 million without the right to vote.

The research which focused on barriers regarding the participation of immigrants in civic budget took into consideration linguistic obstacles. Immigrants in New York speak more than one hundred languages, which makes linguistic barriers crucial when considering their social participation and 40% of the survey respondents noted language as an important barrier in taking part in participatory budgeting (Hayduk, Hackett, Tamashiro 2017). The study analysed three cycles of participatory budgeting (2011–2012, 2012–2013, 2013–2014). The percentage of voters was rising, including those born outside US and voters whose primary language was not English. To overcome the linguistic issue, it was proposed to organize multiple mono-linguistic meetings during budgeting process or providing interpreters. But there is a threat of "ghettoization" with a solution of

mono-linguistic meetings. Furthermore, a significant resource of voluntary workers would be needed.

What was also found was that immigrants were generally younger than the average US born New York citizen and worked in low-wage and precarious work sectors and thus worked longer hours. This means less time to be spent on other, non-essential activities, including participatory budgeting. Adjusting the time and hours of meeting to their needs turns out to be a constraint.

As the proximity and accessibility of meeting sites turned out to be a problem, several solutions were introduced to solve this (subway tickets, childcare, food at the meetings). It was noticed, that immigrants do have social links via schools.

Apart from linguistic problem, it was remarked that immigrant status is an important barrier. Illegal status means fear of deportation. Thus, many immigrants do not want to participate in any “official” event. Therefore, there was a clear message sent to undocumented residents that their confidentiality and safety is guaranteed.

Immigrants in New York questioned the meaning of participatory budgeting to their communities pondering on the motivation to engage. Hence, it is important to create the process in a way which assures the concrete influence of the budget to the daily life of immigrants. This issue was also a matter of concern in the German case.

5. Conclusions

Given that international migration is inevitable, governments – central and local – have to be better prepared to integrate immigrants with local communities. As worldwide cases indicate, there have to be certain assumptions taken into consideration while creating instruments for social integration of immigrants and engaging them in social participation processes:

- 1) Existing social resources should be used. Creating new organizations would be much more difficult and they will not be as efficient

as the already functioning ones which managed to establish their position among immigrants. It is a matter of trust and safety to be able to reach the interest of immigrants as some of them have illegal status. Children and schools can be a channel of integration.

- 2) It is important to take into consideration the habits and daily routines of immigrants which can differ from those among native-born citizens.
- 3) Linguistic problem appears to be of a particular importance. To overcome such an obstacle, it is important to use smart methods which would facilitate the process of interpreting. Involving “real” interpreters requires human resources with linguistic competences. It is important to avoid “ghettoization” when addressing to immigrants.
- 4) The needs of immigrants have to be examined. It is the role of immigrants’ organizations to reveal such needs through deliberative cooperation with public bodies.
- 5) It should be examined in what type of cultural events immigrants are likely to participate. Such events should be used as a channel of communication.
- 6) It should be recognized whether there are any technical obstacles limiting access to social meetings to immigrants (e.g. lack of transport) and proper instruments of overcoming these barriers should be implemented.
- 7) A clear message of guarantee of safety and concrete benefits should be provided.

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The title of this study reflects the intention of its editors to include texts relating to both theories and specific deliberative practices with participatory budgeting as a leitmotiv in a concise study.

The basic questions which the theory and practice of public policy try to answer is the question about desires in democratic conditions and at the same time an effective formula for balancing centralization and decentralization in decision-making processes. [...]

Participatory budgeting, as one of possible variants of deliberation, is one of those phenomena of public life, the quality of which depends on the relations of the parties involved. The shape of these relationships only to a limited extent depends on the ways of their current practice, because these methods are causally conditioned, and the causes lie in cultural constructions. That is why these relations are not easy to study; it is difficult to reach that deep, because it is difficult to both model the conceptualization of the problem and the methodological approach to such research. These are one of the most difficult and, at the same time, the most promising research areas of public policy. We hope that this book will contribute to their partial exploration. [...]

We hope that our collection of articles will show that governance practices can contribute to strengthening proactive public activities located in the area of the so-called civil democracy.

From Introduction

ISBN 978-83-66269-61-3



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