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# CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF APPLICATION OF PARTICIPATORY METHODS IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT IN POLAND

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#### Abstract

The paper is devoted to the specific features of participatory management of local development in Poland, where the pursuit of empowerment of residents of local communities through the implementation of participatory initiatives is noticeable. Such actions, although they are expected to bring numerous benefits for self-governments, have certain limitations in post-communist countries. They are characterised by an additional burden of experiences and barriers that hinder the smooth implementation of participatory development. The authors of the paper, using the example of the concept of the Living Lab, present determinants of the use of participatory management methods in Poland. The experience gained through the implementation of the project "Systemic support for management processes in local government units" provides empirical background for the paper. The paper provides recommendations for local authorities of post-communist countries which should contribute to the efficient use of participatory methods for managing local development.

**Key words:** participation, local development, project management, self-government, Living Lab **JEL code:** H70, 0350, R5, H430

#### Introduction

Political changes shape the relationship between the ones "responsible" and the ones "liable" for the city in a different manner. Residents, who are voters exercising their right to vote every four years to then become petitioners in four-year periods when the power is held by the elected government, take on the role of "stakeholders" of the city, its shareholders, who control the quality of management and renegotiate their ownership rights by becoming actively involved in the decision-making process of public authorities which and are treated in this regard as the management board or the supervisory board of a company (Filar P., Kubicki P., 2012 quoted after: Czepczyński M., 2014).

In order to meet the society's changing needs, representatives of authorities and local communities seek new approaches to the management of public affairs. Currently, the concept of Public Governance enjoys the greatest appreciation. It focuses on openness and transparency in the flow of information between authorities and the society. Public Governance requires connections between institutions and organisations and is based on their extensive cooperation (Noworól A., 2006). The concept of governance refers to the involvement in the decision-making process (and the decision implementation process) of the widest possible group of stakeholders interested in the development of the particular unit. The evolution of the theory and practice of management in the public sector is directed towards the development of concepts based on collaboration, partnership and cross-network connections (Noworól A., 2014). Since the 1990s, different approaches focused around concepts such as governance (co-managing, co-governing), networks, partnership, joining-up, transparency and trust have been developed



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simultaneously (Pollit C., Bouchaert G., 2011). The transition from civic participation through involvement to empowerment of citizens is highlightened (King C.S., Seagers Martinelli A., 2005; Fung A., Wright E.O., Abers R., 2003); from the model focusing on the legality of actions through the model based on the consideration of economic effects and quality of action to the model that recognises the effectiveness and usefulness of the action from the perspective of citizens (Kożuch B., 2004, Rydzewska-Włodarczyk M., 2013).

In recent years, the literature on public management has also allowed a voice of criticism of the participatory approach to the management of public affairs, or has shown imperfections and potential threats related to the use of this approach in a certain manner (Cook B., Cothari U., 2001; Mohan G., Stokke K., 2000; Hickey S., Mohan G, 2004; Kesby M, 2005; Eversole R., 2010).

Apart from academic discussion, the practice of applying participatory methods of public governance in local communities also provides a valuable perspective. In 2013-2015, the researchers from the Department of City and Regional Management, Faculty of Management, University of Lodz participated in the project "Systemic support for management processes in local government units", co-financed by the European Union from the European Social Fund. The project included the task called "The development of innovative solutions in the field of public governance", where one of the approaches was to solve local problems in accordance with the concept of the Living Lab, which was implemented in 16 local government units. The concept is discussed in the further part of the paper as an example of project implementation in accordance with the principles of public participation. Action on such a scale was a pioneering venture in Polish conditions. This allowed, on the one hand, to test the assumptions of the concept of the Living Lab, and, on the other hand, to identify determinants of smooth implementation of the participatory approach to management in self-governments.

The authors of the paper aim to provide a new perspective on the possibility of using participatory approaches in the management of public affairs by self-governments. This is possible through the confrontation of the current academic achievements in this field with practical experience. It should be also noted that the empirical foundation is formed by the territorial units of the country for which the experience of local government is relatively new. The historical background of Poland, associated with belonging to a group of post-communist countries, is another important aspect. Polish history lends a special character to processes related to cooperation, networking and the idea of civil society, which in fact is mainly due to the lack of such tradition and social trust.

# The specificity of Poland in the light of the use of participatory approaches to governance at the local level

After World War II, Poland, similarly to other countries that were subject to the influence of the USSR, functioned in the new socio-economic system modelled on the Soviet system. The general principle of state operation amounted to stating that its task was the implementation of the great ideas of socialism, the development of the country in accordance with a specific model and the extension of care and protection to all its citizens. The slogan "the party rules and the government governs" accurately reflects the relations prevailing at that time. A centralised state was built, and any form of decentralisation allowing the formation of independent views, let alone their implementation, constituted a threat to the authorities. The state took on the role of the decision-maker in the economy and took control over the lives of all society members. Self-government in the conditions of that autocratic regime was completely eliminated as any form



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of social self-organisation could pose a threat to the totalitarian system of government. Concerned that the public could be opposed to the imposed regime, in the post-war period the authorities organised the state in such a manner that it was able to control and subordinate its citizens to its decisions. The central authorities made decisions concerning everything and any sort of social control over their activities was reduced to pretence. The whole apparatus was set to pass instructions down and control their execution as hierarchical structures were in place. Various central management boards, i.e. the so-called unions grouping individual companies, were subordinated to the Ministry, and basic party units, crucial for the functioning of enterprises, careers as well as living conditions of people employed there, operated in each enterprise. The authorities wanted to tie people to their workplace, and not the place of residence, as it is easier to control the undesirable behaviour of different social groups this way. For this purpose, enterprises used additional perks in the form of allocation of holiday vouchers, vouchers for the purchase of cars, camps for children, or housing allocation.

In the 1950s, trade unions were centralised, censorship was introduced, the functioning of the professional self-government organisations was restricted, local government was eliminated (local authorities had no legal personality or their own property, they only managed state-owned assets), private ownership was limited (nationalisation of industry and banks, as well as collectivisation of agriculture on a smaller scale), and the elections to the parliament, as well as local and regional governments, were properly controlled. The consequence of all those actions was the incapacitation of citizens, reflected in the state – citizen relationship. In practice, common assets – (i.e. state-owned) were perceived by the public as anyone's, therefore they could be damaged or appropriated for one's own use, and they certainly did not require the attitude of care and proper use on the part of citizens (Regulski J., 2000).

In such a system, entrepreneurial and creative attitudes were not widely accepted as a rule. Willingness to take risks, so important in the processes of governance, was minimised almost to zero. Communal interests and real actions taken at the local level, in small communities, among neighbours and friends, did not in fact exist. The level of trust in the society was very low, alienation of power occurred, there was a clear division between "us" and "them" (the society and the government), and the self-organisation in the society, if ever occurred, centred around the Catholic Church. The great social movements against the government that arose in Poland, including the "Solidarity" movement, had their origin in the great social discontent, primarily resulting from living conditions and restrictions of civil liberties. Changing the society's mentality towards the recognition of values such as public good, cooperation, solidarity, involvement in public affairs, etc. after a period of real socialism is not possible in the short term, it takes time counted in decades.

# Public participation in the management of local development in Poland – systemic determinants

Building the foundations of local democracy and the inclusion of various city stakeholder groups in making decisions concerning directions and ways in which the city should be developed is the basis of participatory management. The foundations of such management are constant interactions between local administration and members of society based on appropriate participatory and consultative procedures. Its special features include the involvement of all actors in work for the city, openness and transparency of decision-making, non-discrimination in access to public service, as well as responsibility and striving for the sustainable development



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(Hausner J., 2008) increasing the efficiency of actions taken by authorities. Within this concept, public administration institutions are part of civil society, in which various interest groups represent different, often conflicting goals. The beginnings of public participation in Poland are connected with the establishment (or rather reactivation) of territorial government at the local (communal) level. Since 1990 the self-government in communes has been reactivated and since 1999 the county-level (poviat) and regional (voivodeship) government has been established.

By virtue of statutory provisions, there are mandatory and optional forms of public participation used in Polish local government units. Public consultations are the most common form of cooperation between residents and the commune. According to Art. 4a. 2 of the Local Government Act, consultations with residents on changes to the boundaries of communes or city limits involving the exclusion the area or part of the area of the auxiliary communal unit and its incorporation into the adjacent auxiliary unit of the commune or the neighbouring commune are obligatory. The duty to conduct consultations was also indicated by Art. 5 of the Act, referring to the situation when the commune on its own initiative or at the request of citizens seeks to create an auxiliary unit in the form of village, city district or housing estate. It is worth noting that, in accordance with Art. 5a of the Act, in the cases provided for by law and in other matters of importance for the commune, consultations with residents of the commune can be carried out in its territory, based on the rules and procedures for conducting such consultations determined by a resolution of the communal council. Another provision requiring the commune to carry out public consultation is contained in the Act of 27 March 2003 on Spatial Planning and Development. Pursuant to Art. 11 and 17 of the Act, the commune is obliged to consult with residents the study of land use conditions and directions as well as its local development plan. The Act of 3 October 2008 on the Release of Information on the Environment and its Protection, Public Participation in Environmental Protection and Environmental Impact Assessment also introduces the duty to consult with the public planning documents and decisions on environmental conditions of approval of an undertaking. Another Act that obliges the commune to carry out consultations is the Act of 6 January 2005 on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language. In accordance with Art. 13, the communal council after consultations with the residents can, through the governor (voivode), extend a request to the Minister of Religious Denominations and National and Ethnic Minorities to add a word or a physiographic object in the minority language to the name of the village. These consultations are most often open meetings organised after publicising the relevant document draft. The Act of 24 April 2003 on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work obliges communes to consult with public benefit institutions drafts of normative acts related to the statutory objectives of these organisations and normative acts regarding the implementation of public tasks (annual and multi-annual cooperation programmes). This obligation arises from Art. 5 paragraph. 2 points 3 and 4 of the Act.

Practice of local government unit management in Poland shows that public authorities also reach for methods and instruments not required by the law. One example of public participation, a comparatively new one, related to the functioning of rural communes and urban-rural communes is the village fund. This fund allows residents to choose projects to be implemented in the area of the village within the framework of available resources. Pursuant to art. 5 of the Act of 21 February 2014 on the Village Fund, the prerequisite for granting financial resources of the fund in a given financial year is the submission to the communal head/mayor/president of the city the proposal adopted by the village gathering on the initiative



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of the village head, the village council or at least 15 adult residents of the village. The fund can only be used for the implementation of projects which comprise the duties of the commune, serve to improve the living conditions of residents and are consistent with the strategy of local development. The exception to the rule is the use of the fund to cover expenditure on measures to eliminate the effects of natural disasters.

In the case of cities, the civic (participatory) budget is an instrument similar in principle. In the framework of this instrument, residents of urban areas have the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process concerning investments that should be carried out. Due to the fact that there is no legislation governing the principle of the creation and operation of the civic budget, communes deciding to transfer part of the budget for the tasks indicated by the residents' base their actions on Art. 5a of the Act of 5 March 1990 on Local Government. Each commune can, therefore, have its own rules governing the method of submitting projects to the budget as well as methods of their consultation and selection.

The Polish self-government has increasingly used the instrument of public consultations, mainly in the case when the planned project may affect particular interests of certain social groups. This may refer, for example, to the implementation of revitalisation projects, road construction, the location of investments burdensome for the environment or the introduction of certain privileges, e.g.: for large families.

Polish local government units have at their disposal also other innovative approaches to the implementation of local projects involving public participation. The Living Lab, i.e. the implementation of the project in which the chief role is played by end-users who are participants of the solutions developed in the framework of the project, is an interesting, innovative concept. It is not regulated by Polish legislation and experience in its use is rather insignificant.

#### **Living Lab**

The Living Lab is a fairly new approach to creating new solutions. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the person of William Mitchell, an initiator of innovative urban planning approaches, are considered as the source of this idea (Stawasz D., Wiśniewska M., 2015). Currently, this concept refers to the creation of any kind of innovative solutions, assuming, however, that they are developed under the conditions of their actual application with significant involvement of their users. They are included in the process of developing the concept, its prototyping, testing and validation.

Thus, the Living Lab is the concept involving users in the development of ideas and the creation of innovations in various phases of the process, i.e. developing novelties, their prototyping, validation and improvement (Lama N., Oigin A., 2006).

It should, however, be noted that the active involvement of future users in the Living Lab concept is not sufficient. The involvement of the broadest possible group of stakeholders is also necessary. In the case of a residential area, for example a city, where local community members reside and strive to meet their own needs, stakeholders comprise its residents as well as businesses that function in this area, along with tourists, and employees of the communal office, local authorities, representatives of auxiliary communal units or managers of communal enterprises, and many others. The interests of these entities may be slightly different, and sometimes even contradictory. The postulate to reconcile the interests of all these parties is often difficult or even impossible to fulfil. Nevertheless, it can be said that fulfilling interests of one of the groups may entail directly or indirectly the fulfilment of interests of another group.



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An appropriate response to the needs of various interest groups requires the support for the process of creation of novelties on the part of public authorities and potential suppliers of new solutions (business) as well as science (which provides creative human resources, laboratories, procedures, etc.). Therefore, for the effective use of the Living Lab, a partnership is created, mostly a private-public one, in which business, science, public authorities and residents work together on the development, validation and testing of new public services, business ideas, technologies, etc. (Stawasz D., Wiśniewska M., 2015).

Due to the fact that the Living Lab concept is very innovative, the development of smoothly running processes, connections and relationships is based on the experience gained through the existing initiatives. In 2006, entities using the concept of Living Lab established the European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL) aimed at sharing knowledge, experience and good practices. 5 Polish initiatives are registered in the European Network of Living Labs. It cannot be said, however, that the Living Lab concept is widely used in the development of Polish territorial units as initiatives implemented are only partially in accordance with the Living Lab methodology.

#### Limitations in the use of participatory governance in Poland

The experience gained from the implementation of numerous research projects on the principles of functioning of local self-government in the new reality in Poland after 1990 and the project entitled "Systemic support for management processes in local government units" implemented in the years 2013-2015 by the authors of the paper allows to identify some significant limitations in the use of participatory approaches to the management of local affairs. However, the main focus in this field centres on the conclusion that public participation in decision-making processes taking place in public organisations in post-communist countries (including Poland) needs to be learnt by authorities as well as citizens in order to contribute to improving the efficiency of activities carried out by various public administration bodies.

Active participation of the local population in the decision-making process related to the management of public affairs generates transaction costs, and the decision-making process is extended in time. Transaction costs consist of, for example, the costs of negotiating, monitoring, as well as enforcing the terms of the transaction, contracts and agreements. These costs significantly increase the total cost of the project. The decision is taken by a group of interested people, which in practice may not always mean the implementation of the project in accordance with the public interest. At the same time, responsibility becomes blurred as public authorities do not make the decision regarding the specific activity on their own, and the other participants are usually not financially liable. Therefore, it should be recognised that the understanding of the significance of transaction costs incurred should be thorough and widespread on the part of authorities and responsible social groups so that participation could be considered as a desirable method of cooperation between the government and the public. The ability to carry out the entire consultation process, from reaching the potentially concerned group and establishing contact, through negotiations, consultations, and appeals, as well as spreading the risk of failure and monitoring to the verification of feasibility, is also extremely important.

Extending the decision-making process due to the need to make joint decisions may result in its deterioration. Over time, it becomes dramatically different than it was during the introduction of the idea and its initial development. For example, the price of building materials or installation costs can increase, a potential investor can lose interest in the selected object or



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area, the number of potential recipients of public services in the region or the city can increase or decrease, which may significantly affect marginal costs. The prolongation of the decision-making process stems sometimes from bureaucratic legal provisions which require a time interval between the dates of partial arrangements. However, the cause of the delay may be also related to the behaviour of co-participants of the consultation process, their absence, lack of position taking, requests for postponement of meetings, or appeals not justified by substantive considerations.

It is also worth noting that relevant authorities are always the initiator in the management of public affairs. Stakeholders participating in the decision-making process are invited, though they become engaged primarily according to their preferences, additionally, authorities have their own recognised expertise and capabilities, which is not always the case with stakeholders. They do not need to possess and usually do not have the relevant expertise concerning the costs of execution and maintenance of the particular investment aimed at satisfying public utility needs. And in the situation requiring the apportionment of liability, there will always "stiffen" their stance.

In addition to these factors, the mechanism of decision-making in public sector organisations has a specific nature. Bhatta [Bhatta 2003] indicates that in the public sector there is no tolerance for failure, which prompts representatives of the sector to play a "safe game", this is often associated with the lack of actions taken beyond the sphere hitherto accepted by the community. This observation is related to another concept present in the scientific literature and practical studies in relation to making difficult and important, i.e. simply new and innovative, decisions in the public sector, namely the "blame game". New solutions are a source of uncertainty as well as various types of risk. Risk management in such a blame game will mean avoiding blame or assigning it to others. The public sector is under constant scrutiny, and any kinds of failure are eagerly picked up by the media and the public opinion. Being in the public eye and the related high cost of being associated with failure provide an incentive to shift risk onto other stakeholders [Hood C., 2002].

It should be noted that the daily life of an average citizen and the course of a project have a different rhythm. It is not easy to implement projects with participation of a large group of stakeholders according to a pace assumed in advance. Residents, apart from their private lives, also have professional duties, and adjusting the schedule of a participatory project, especially one which requires frequent collaboration of a large group, to the needs of all its participants is difficult. Communications technologies can play a key role in this area.

It should be also admitted that participation as a new phenomenon and a challenge in the practice of Polish self- governments can be implemented in a manner inconsistent with the original assumptions. As in some other countries, sometimes actions taken are reduced to the "sham" consultations of the decision which in practice has already been made (Eversole R., 2010) The process of apparent participation is carried out only as a formality. In practice, although the community is given a voice, it has no bearing on the actual execution.

Sometimes representatives of authorities do not develop suitably the extremely important aspect of participation which is the creation of an appropriate environment (Eversole R., 2010). It can be observed also in Poland, that representatives of local governments invite residents to places distant from their homes, during the hours in which potential participants are engaged in professional work, and the manner of conducting the meeting reflects the specificity of clerk's work, but it does not take into account the purpose for which the meeting has been set.



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It is also sometimes mistakenly assumed that the average citizen knows and understands his or her needs and is able to identify potential areas for improvement (Eversole R., 2010). Even assuming that this is the case, it is necessary to develop a methodology that will allow the implementation of projects which will coincide with the interests of the widest possible group of stakeholders and allow avoiding a strong lobby. Initiatives related to socially excluded groups should be treated in a different manner as it is natural that in this case the project will serve a narrow group of entities. Non-profit organisations are a source of valuable knowledge in such a situation. The activity of NGOs is a key element of civil society, stimulating the local community's activity and increasing public trust. Non-governmental organisations are knowledgeable about the local community, local issues, as well as social needs, and thus enable the efficient and effective implementation of public tasks of local government units. The activity of these organisations translates into the improvement of the quality of life of the local community.

The skilful use of knowledge of local residents as well as specialists' expertise is another aspect which should be noted (Eversole R., 2010). Residents are in possession of "tacit", local knowledge, embedded in the local context. However, their access to information and the ability to use it is limited.

The literature points to the important role of "transaction agents" (Eversole R., 2010). In practice, Polish local authorities are definitely in need of this kind of support. Revitalisation projects, which require the involvement of a broad group of heterogeneous stakeholders, can be a good example in this respect. Degraded areas, with specific social problems, are often revitalised. Reaching these people with the right message and the ability to translate their needs into the language of the revitalisation project require the involvement of well-trained mediators. Leaders of local communities may also play an important role in this regard.

Modern ventures, both economic and social, are implemented with leaders' participation. Similarly, the success of participatory projects may be subject to proper identification and involvement of local leaders. In the process of leadership, the leader has the ability to influence others in order to shape the goals of the given group or organisation. The leader accomplishes this through motivating others to adopt behaviours aimed at achieving these objectives (Griffin R. W., 1999). Actions taken by local government units must include leadership roles performed by leaders in the area of local communities. It is important to identify these people and create conditions facilitating their impact. People with an entrepreneurial spirit, focused on achieving the synergy effect within individual actions undertaken in the given area, are natural candidates to be leaders within the processes of leadership. Regardless of whether they are self-employed people or people employed in organisations of the private or public sector, their actions should provide the opportunity to implement the previously adopted strategy. Local government units are a natural place to identify people whose characteristics, behaviours and attitudes will allow the initiation and implementation of such actions. Especially in communes where changes are needed and their scope is large, the identification and support of such a leader (a group of leaders) seems to be a prerequisite for further changes.

The above-mentioned competencies are particularly important for leaders of transformation, for whom awareness of the change means the need to be a charismatic leader that will encourage other participants to work towards the change which is in line with the adopted strategy. Such a leader (a group of leaders) should be identified and supported by local government units focused on implementing significant changes that can provide a chance for



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creating a well-functioning community in the particular area and the prospects for its further development.

During the implementation of participatory projects, the risk of making irrational decisions due to the dominance of a particular lobby must be taken into account. There is a possibility of the creation of industry-related or territorial monopolistic structures (strong stakeholder groups) which will subordinate the developed and implemented solutions to their interests.

The failure to adapt communication channels to the recipient may be another limitation on effective participation. There are several elements that have an impact on the effectiveness of communication process. First, the specificity of the recipient and his or her ability to read the message must be taken into account. Thus, the content of the message must be conveyed in a manner corresponding with the ability (related to their knowledge and experience or vocabulary used) of each individual that needs to be reached. Information noise is also an important element – the message will be one of many with which recipients are confronted. That is why the channel of communication, the repetition of the message and its legibility, completeness, and adequacy are crucial. Assuming that local authorities decide to implement a participatory project (e.g.: Living Lab) for the purpose of solving local problems, the content of the message and the form of communication should be adapted to the phase of the project cycle. This requires professional marketing actions.

#### **Conclusions and recommendations**

For the efficient use of participatory approaches to the management of local development in countries with relatively short experience in self-government, inter-sectoral cooperation and government-citizen partnership, the implementation of the following recommendations is advocated:

- 1. Educational actions aimed at building the civil society should be taken.
- 2. Organisational units focused on establishing cooperation with local residents should operate in local government units. Nevertheless, actions taken in the implementation of participatory processes should take into account "soft" factors related to the adaptation of the environment in which meetings are held (the physical surroundings and the appropriate atmosphere) to achieve the objective, i.e. the identification, recognition and exploration of points of view and opinions of internally diverse community.
- 3. An analysis of the transaction costs associated with the implemented participatory methods should be conducted. Modern ICT techniques can improve the consultation process, which translates into a reduction of these costs.
- 4. The use of modern communications technologies helps to reduce the gap between the rhythm of the project and the rhythm of the resident's life.
- 5. Local authorities need to review the matters that should not be subject to lengthy procedures of consultation with local stakeholders. The participatory approach should encompass issues important to the local community the implementation of which without its participation would be fraught with risk of a mismatch to their preferences.
- 6. The participatory approach should not be a choice in the case of projects characterised by a high risk of failure. Public consultations can be helpful in this case for the authorities to make an appropriate decision, but do not make the said authorities exempt from liability. Hence, there arises the requirement of transparency in decision-making, and consequently –



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- democratisation of these processes. The desired risk management strategy is participatory transparent risk governance [Renn O., 2008], which consists in the inclusion of all stakeholders in risk management. This process is transparent and it is recommended as the best approach to risk in public services, instead of minimising or managing it.
- Participation should not be used only as a formality for decisions already made. Attempts to
  implement participation in the later period may end in failure due to the bad experience of
  stakeholders.
- 8. Expertise should not be underestimated. It ought to form the second pillar, alongside the local community's knowledge, of the implemented actions.
- 9. Establishing close cooperation with NGOs in order to use their knowledge and experience is recommended.
- 10. The use of participatory "intermediaries", who are able to translate the language of government representatives into the language of citizens, as well as translate matters articulated by citizens into the language of local authority representatives, is recommended.
- 11. The identification of local leaders and their involvement in participatory projects is recommended. Leaders are often, in fact, people who themselves have achieved success in the economic sphere, services sphere, social sphere, etc. They can, through their actions, be role models, based on the saying that "I've done it so can you succeed thanks to your own actions". In the case of communes, it is important to find people having characteristics of leaders, who are successful and come from the local community. Good practices to follow always have a positive impact on the attitudes of the local population.
- 12. In the implementation of participatory processes, one must seek to incorporate the broadest possible group of stakeholders, thereby reducing the risk of influence exercised by strong stakeholder groups.
- 13. It is important to use carefully chosen methods, communication channels and message content in order to effectively reach all recipients, and any decision taken as a result of mutual consultations should be made public as soon as possible in a form affordable for every citizen.

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