

Social Participation as a Tool for Managing Functional and Spatial Changes. Examples of Selected Centres of Small and Medium-Sized Towns in Poland

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to assess the prevalence and quality of participatory procedures applied by the Polish local government. The study was conducted in municipalities performing public investments in the areas of historic centres of small and medium-sized cities. Analysis shows that the procedures are limited to informative and consultative participation forms. Local authorities often do not apply them in the belief of their usefulness. They are forced to use them because of some legal procedures and because it is a condition for receiving funding from the European Union. Unfortunately, the period of uncomplicated accessible European Union funds ends. With limited external investment funds, municipal expenses have to be optimized. Such optimization can be achieved for example by using participation tools for better understanding the needs of the community. There is a chance to benefit from the society knowledge because nowadays in Poland we can note growing social activities on some issues relevant to the entire community.

1. INTRODUCTION

The use of participatory tools is a new and difficult challenge for Polish local governments. It results from the lack of social participation in public life, which is largely due to the Polish post-war history. For several dozen years, the citizens could not engage in governing, the government setting the course of spatial and development policies. After 1990, the reactivated local governments empowered local communities. This phase of decentralization proved to be an important moment in the division of powers between the central and the local level.

After more than 20 years, both local authorities and municipal communities have proceeded to the next stage – testing models of co-governing

(governance). At the heart of these models is the active participation of society in decision-making, aiming to better meet the needs of the community. Both the society and the authorities must therefore find ways to meet this new challenge. However, the operations of the local authorities show difficulties in its implementation. The barriers are manifested in the behaviour and attitudes of both groups.

The authorities declare their willingness to use it, but sometimes only because they are forced to make such declarations by e.g. the European Union procedures or statutory duties (e.g. in spatial planning). At the same time, clear signs of a bottom-up desire to co-decide about important community issues are observed. However, it is known that the process of creating the conditions for participation can be

designed in various ways. The choice of the manner of cooperation determines its success, efficiency and effectiveness measured through the prism of the community needs satisfied to a greater extent.

In view of the above circumstances, the participatory procedures used by the local governments were reviewed in relation to the selected relatively homogeneous group of investments. Tasks resulting in functional and spatial changes to centres of small and medium-sized towns in Malopolska region were chosen. Based on the survey of 60 local centres, there was found that about 90% of them implement tasks of this nature to a varying degree. Since the vast majority of them received funding from the European Union scheme of 2007-2013, local governments were obliged to use participatory procedures. However, the entity which distributed the funds did not point out exactly what procedures to apply and how to organise them.

The aim of the study was to assess the prevalence of the use of participatory procedures and their quality. The study takes into account the dominant intervention dimensions of the investment task (spatial, aesthetic, functional, social and economic) and the importance of the task for the functioning of the town. Based on the results of the study, the problems in the implementation of co-governing were discussed and forecasts for the development of co-governing in Poland were presented in the context of previous experience and historical reasons for the lack of its application.

2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Role of central public spaces in small and medium-sized towns

Central open public spaces play an important role in the functional and spatial systems of urban settlements. However, depending on the size of these centres they are varied due to the structure of these roles, their level of relevance to users and the structure of recipients of central spaces. In small and medium-sized towns, differently than it is in large cities, they are often a spatial keystone of social activities, a key element of everyday life. Thus, they provide specific urban functions and also form an area which shapes the city's identity and implements and confirms the sense of belonging to the urban community and the municipality, if the municipality includes the town and surrounding rural areas (Table 1).

The town space and its development is a physical image of the characteristics of the society that uses it. It is made in their image and likeness [1], [2].

The consequence of these functions and meanings of public space is the formation of emotional bonds between the residents and the public space. This is a very valuable feature that large cities often irreversibly lose with the processes of gentrification,

commercialization and thematisation dictated by the development of tourism.

External users, often staying in the analyzed areas for a relatively short time, cannot grasp powerful emotional and symbolic meanings of the central spaces implemented for residents. Users from outside the centre see and feel: the shape, function, aesthetics of public space. They generate the image of the centre and the town itself [3]. However, the residents have the most powerful sense of place, whose elements include: place identity, place attachment and place dependence [4].

Table 1. Role of central public spaces in small and medium-sized towns (own elaboration).

Role of the central public space		
Space for culture of everyday life	Identity of town and place	Belonging in the local community
- space for consumption of goods and services; - space for recreation, relaxation, sports; -space for meetings; - space for daily rituals (e.g. consumption).	- places associated with important events, town's history, persons; - places of remembrance (monuments); - representational space; - cultural heritage resources (often of primary importance for the town).	- heart of the town – a symbolic spatial keystone – a rallying point; - space for communication, information, presentation, integration, and social interactions; - space for urban events, presentation of activities of residents.
Main users of space		
residents of the town and neighbouring area	residents of the city, municipality, region; country	residents of the town and neighbouring area

These meanings, unnoticeable to temporary external users, result from the lack of belonging to the local community, because the sense of place is related with the sense of community [5]. These phenomena are located, among others, in public spaces, which allow people to bond and are conducive to friendly community and interpersonal activity. The research shows that simply knowing that friendly public spaces are in the vicinity is important for the communities, even though people do not necessarily need to use them regularly.

Another important observation regarding public spaces is a certain duality of their nature. On the one hand, they are spaces that should meet certain standards of urban design (form, size, proportions, material parameters, etc.). On the other hand, the quality of these spaces is often made with original combinations of different types of utilities, forms of management that do not fit the standards, sometimes

even denying them [6]. This creates and perpetuates the aura of the place, the *genius loci* of the place [7]. Often, this type of landscape (including historical one) is made by people, their behaviour, customs, rituals, relationship to space, its symbolism. We can therefore say that central spaces are common community spaces, where the past coexists with the present, and the forms used by the users form complex and unique inventories of utilities.

2.2. Social participation in managing functional and spatial changes

The analysis of the diverse functions and meanings of central public spaces in towns clearly shows that functional and spatial changes should take into account the consequences they pose to each purpose of the space and each group that uses it. It is undoubtedly a quite complicated process, which trigger can more conflict than, for example, designing development of technical infrastructure. It is more difficult to assess the consequences of these changes, because the central spaces bring together variety of uses and meanings that are impossible to include in a statistical framework, having no material form.

The meanings recorded in the material cultural heritage, accumulated in the reconstructed spaces, can be often difficult to identify even for the local community [8], [9]. Therefore, managing changes in central public spaces of small and medium-sized towns requires the use of methods to obtain qualitative data. These methods include various techniques of social participation [10].

They allow us to fully assess which components of developed spaces implement the roles listed in Table 1. Such knowledge, if it is to be valid and complete, is not determinable only through activities involving professionals (designers, urban planners) and the public services/authorities [10], [11], [12].

On the other hand, in practice, the problems in the implementation of effective co-governing due to the fault of both public institutions and communities often appear. The authorities, who do not see the point of participatory action, are forced by law to participate (participation as a theatre for democracy or as a window dressing [13], [14]), where communities have negligible effect on the decisions. Another form of window dressing is taking participatory procedures when key decisions have already been taken [15]. Sometimes this is due to the understanding of the co-governing as a threat to the authorities [16], [17]. Authorities suffer from the besieged fortress syndrome. In such situations, participatory action is often nominal, only informative about planned actions, and consultative, where there is exchange of information, yet the authorities not confirming if findings and conclusions are taken into account. The authorities use passive forms of participation, maintaining control over

changes, and do not share the responsibility for their decisions [18], [19]. Active forms of participation (instrumental, representative, transformative [10]) would allow for the inclusion of all stakeholders in the actual co-decision-making, in joint implementation while sharing responsibility for their proper targeting and a more efficient cost sharing. The process should be developed and conducted in a fully transparent manner [20].

Neglecting the process of public participation or ineffective, inefficient planning and conduct prevents authorities from implementing the principles allowing for the achievement of sustainable urban renewal and sustainable urban development. Sustainable urban renewal involves participation both by the authorities and the representatives of the business sector and the local community. It allows seeing the planned change through the eyes of each of the groups with particular emphasis on the latter [21]. Sustainable development of a town involves both important contemporary elements (places, people) and the key to intergenerational equity – permanence [22]. There are complex relations between the elements. Public participation allows us to fully identify them.

When considering participation in decision-making as a multidimensional process, we should comment that in addition to the desired participation of local communities, the process should also involve individuals with expertise, e.g. to allow to implement the idea of intra-generational equity. The examples of such entities include organizations engaged in the preservation of cultural heritage and industry organizations, e.g. of architects and urban planners. However, given the fact that they are often “place-less,” it is important that they cooperate with the local community [23], [24]. This allows for combining knowledge about the needs of the community which uses the heritage with expertise and the requirements of the sustainable use of heritage, including commodification [25]. It is the local community that can best answer the question how the revamped space will satisfy the needs of users, making it a Pleasant Place In Every Respect, a space with a “human scale” [26], as St. Augustine said – towns are not only houses and streets, but also people and their hopes.

The problems with the implementation of active forms of participation, or widely understood forms of co-decision-making, are common in post-communist countries. They result from both reluctance and lack of skills in the government, as well as the specific historical conditions [27], [28].

Authorities (even local) are treated as extraneous in relation to society, sometimes limiting the freedom of the community (e.g. in spatial planning). This is the approach dominated by participation in the form of complaints using the available forms and tools of appeal. The difficulties in including communities in activities

aimed at building new values and qualities also happen. This is one of the varieties of NIMBY attitude, difficult to overcome, and therefore requiring careful preparation, information on the progress, objectives, expectations and results of participation [29], [30].

In addition, the difficulties are further compounded by pessimistic approach to participation from the community. There is an opinion that inclusion of the population in co-decision-making would result in sharing not only rights but also responsibilities, and would blur the latter. This concern coexists with the low quality of social capital and the awareness of local authorities that it must be built in a long and complex process [31]. By leaving out the social needs, public authorities are sometimes guided by the belief that they avoid problems that may arise, for example, during the discussion on the shape of the investment, how to carry it out, the scale of intervention, etc.

The passive forms of interaction with the community (information, clarification, insignificant consultations) are, in fact, a specific form of containment [32]. It should be noted at this point, that some bottom-up changes regarding the difficulties in the development of co-governance in Poland appear. In individual cases, also in smaller settlements, groups of people (sometimes non-formal) become the guardians of the common good, including public open spaces. In such situations, with authorities using methods to prevent discussion, the consequence of which is the lack of consensus before taking the action, the problems and conflicts are only delayed. They become more significant when investments appear [33]. This increases the investment costs if the needs of the public are not met on time.

2.3. Methodology and scope of the data

The qualitative descriptive analysis of the subject was done in 2014-2015 on the basis of a population of small and medium towns located in the Malopolskie Voivodeship, in southern Poland (Fig. 1).

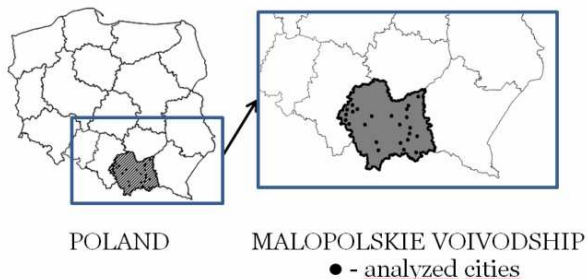


Fig. 1. The geographical location of analyzed cities (own elaboration).

The towns were classified into groups according to the criteria adopted by the CSO (Central Statistical Office of Poland), i.e. the analysis included the selected medium-sized towns with the number of inhabitants within the range of 20-100 thousand

residents and small towns – up to 20 thousand residents [34]. Invitations to participate in the study were sent to 60 municipal offices in the above towns and 55 of them confirmed their willingness to participate. In the first stage of the study, these units sent more detailed information on the implementation of projects that introduce functional and spatial changes (with particular emphasis on revitalization and functional changes).

Based on the analysis of the responses received, seven units were excluded due to the lack of investments conducted in city centres. From the remaining 48 towns, we selected 24 for further studies (stage II), using the following quantitative and qualitative selection criteria:

- 1). Making a diverse group in terms of size of town and the role in the settlement structure at the local and sub-regional level.
- 2). Significant historical values of the central public space and different historical ways of creating this space.
- 3). Diverse functional and spatial system of the centre.

The second stage group of analysis included the following 24 cities (in alphabetical order): Alwernia, Andrychów, Bobowa, Chelmek, Chrzanów, Ciężkowice, Czehów, Gorlice, Grybów, Kęty, Krynica-Zdrój, Libiąż, Nowy Targ, Oświęcim, Piwniczna, Rabka-Zdrój, Radłów, Skawina, Stary Sącz, Szczucin, Wadowice, Wieliczka, Wojnicz, Żabno. The survey directed to towns selected in the second stage included detailed questions about the significance dimensions of the analysed tasks (e.g. economic, social, etc.), structure of financing, participation of citizens in the development and determination of the scope of the investment, the use of the competition formula in the development of the concept of spatial and functional changes. The data from surveys were further expanded with interviews with municipal employees of offices responsible for carrying out the tasks analysed and the study of the documents relating to ongoing projects.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Characteristics of investments

Investments in the 24 towns resulted in various functional and spatial changes. For the most part, they concerned the central town square, which is the historical (often medieval) centre of the town. In three cases, the central spaces were reconstructed in towns with historically and contemporary spa functions (Krynica-Zdrój, Piwniczna-Zdrój, Rabka-Zdrój). All cases selected for analysis were considered by the local authorities as at least important from the point of view of the town (Fig. 2). In response to a question about the main aspects of the task (each unit max. 3 answers), 83% of municipal offices indicated the aesthetic aspect,

and 60% of investments had functional, social and spatial aspects (Fig. 3).

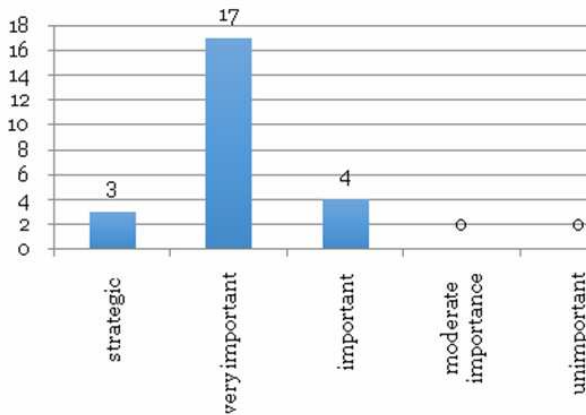


Fig. 2. Significance level of the task from the point of view of the town (own elaboration).

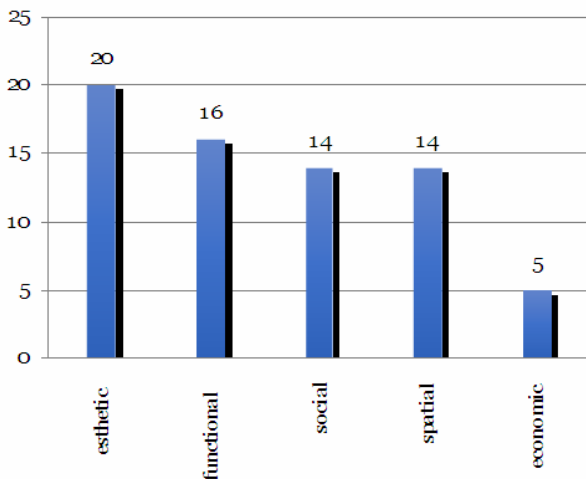


Fig. 3. The most important aspects of the tasks in town centres (own elaboration).

Only 20% of the tasks indicated the economic aspect. This is a very important observation. If not the economy, i.e. the economic operators, then the main beneficiaries of changes should be the people (residents and temporary users). Eight tasks involved revitalization, of which, 60% of the units (Chrzanów, Libiąż, Rabka-Zdrój Wadowice, Wieliczka) did not indicate the social aspect of these investments as important. However, these tasks had an economic and aesthetic aspect, e.g. in Rabka-Zdrój. This characteristic of revitalization tasks does not fit into the classic definitions of revitalization, the aim of which being the renewal or increase the quality of social use of space [35].

In numerous cases, implementation meant to restore the old form and function of space (e.g. Alwernia, Kęty, Krynica). The task followed a popular trend of historical stylization. Some tasks clearly went beyond the investment itself, changing the multidimensional use of public spaces throughout towns (e.g. Grybów reconstructed the historic centre and

changed the organization of public transport, relocated bus stops).

3.2. Forms of participation and interest of residents

Based on the survey results, only two accepted forms of participation were found: nominal and consultative (Fig. 4).

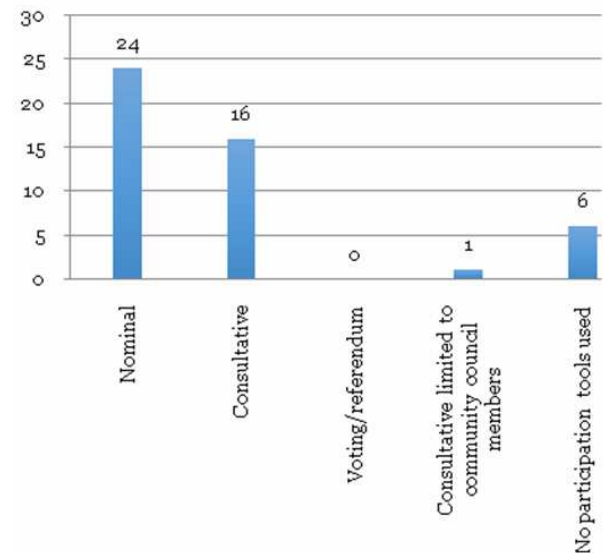


Fig. 4. Forms of participation (own elaboration).

The structure of results of the selected methods of participation is very similar to the national results (where 99% of municipalities informed and explained the decisions taken and about 80% consulted) [36]. The analyzed units applied at least one nominal form and 67% applied consultative forms. In one case (Oświęcim), consultation was done, but only with the community council (auxiliary unit of local government, not with the residents, but with their representatives). The units decided to use this imperfect form of consultation, despite that the description of investment activities in the documentation of the project clearly indicated the social purpose of space, which as a result of the investment is "to *teem with life and social activities*" [37].

Six units did not use any form of consultation, but only different methods of informing stakeholders (Krynica, Ciężkowice, Chrzanów, Wieliczka, Andrychów, Radłów). Four out of six of those units indicated the social aspect as one of the three main aspects of the task. In these cases, the lack of consultation is particularly unjustified.

On the other hand, the communities sometimes find it important to even have the awareness of quality public spaces in the neighbourhood. Hence, they should be consulted on tasks with no dominant social dimension and in the case of social tasks such consultation should be mandatory.

The lack of consultation for the tasks that have a social element is sometimes dictated by the tourist character of the site. For example, Krynica did not consult with residents, when recreating the historical elements of development. They considered that space is used to a greater extent by external users.

In the case of another town (Chrzanów), the study of the documents established that one of the purposes of the tasks was “social activation through involvement in the renewal of town centre” [38] but no consultation was done. This was done in a town whose reconstruction of the centre, according to the project documentation, would result in: an increase in citizen satisfaction with place of residence and the creation of attractive meeting places.

In case of one task, it was implemented at the request of residents (Szczucin), and this unit also decided only to inform the residents. It seems, however, that the complete lack of consultative forms was not justified since usually only the selected groups of residents propose actions. In such a situation, the remaining residents are excluded from participation in co-decision-making.

The lack of methods that would include residents in actual co-decision-making may have two reasons. On the one hand, Polish local governments suffer from shortage of ready-made patterns, solutions to carry out such processes. This knowledge is only being developed, currently the first practical experiences being collected. On the other hand, the resistance to the use of known solutions specified by the law, giving residents the opportunity to make decisions (local referendum) is mainly due to the costs of procedures and previous negative experiences.

The vast majority of Polish referenda were not binding because of the low turnout. On the other hand, the declarations of offices in the survey reveal that in 87% of the units residents showed high or very high interest in the task (Fig. 5).

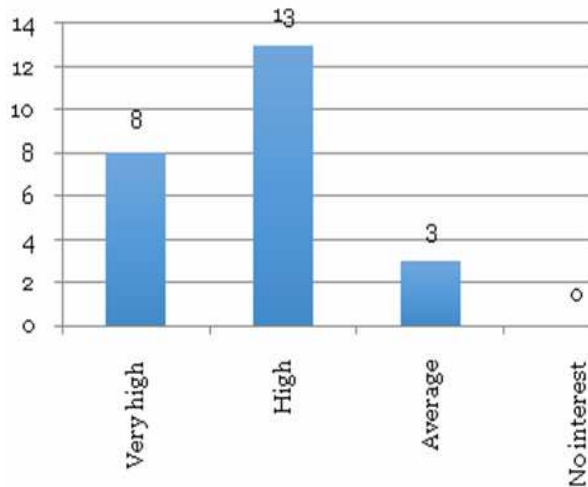


Fig. 5. Level of residents' interest in the municipal task (own elaboration).

It is a good omen for the future, hidden potential, which need to be extracted to encourage more active participation. It seems that one incentive would be to give more binding force to arrangements made during the consultation. The belief that the authorities are willing to cooperate could be the start of a new stage leading to the development of co-governing.

The structure of the forms of participation confirms the situation observed and described in the literature, which can be traced to two things: fear of sharing power and lack of skills in governance. However, in the situation where analyzed tasks are conducted in the post-socialist country with historically disrupted formulas to inform communities about the plans and activities of the government, this situation should be assessed somewhat differently.

Providing comprehensive information to the community about planning, operation and scope of the investment until recently was still a problem. Therefore, if the community received information from the local authority through the media, it is for a step forward in the long road to full governance.

Survey results also show relatively frequent use of non-official media (mainly websites and local newspapers; sometimes local television stations). In one case, the office printed leaflets with information about the task and produced promotional items related to the task (Libiąż) (Fig. 6).

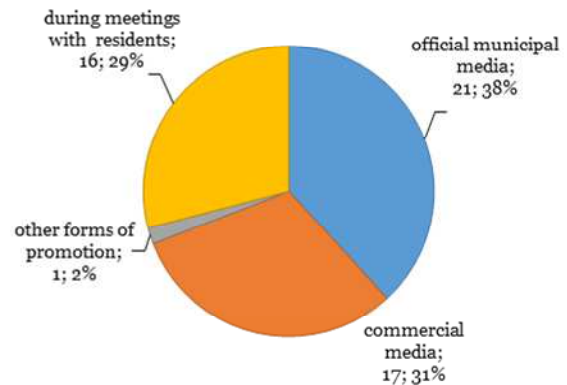


Fig. 6. Amount and percentage of forms used to inform residents about the tasks (own elaboration).

The structure of responses features quite a few responses (29%) indicating that detailed information on the tasks was given during consultation meetings and meetings of residents.

These meetings were dominated by one-way communication rather than the full form of discussion, aimed at identifying the problems and difficulties and the search for a compromise between the stakeholders. In three cases, the municipality decided to only provide information during consultation meetings.

This means that to get the detailed information, one had to come to these meetings, which

is not always possible. In view of the possible difficulties in participating, this limits people's access to information.

3.3. Use of optional forms of participation of experts

Of the 24 analyzed tasks, only six applied the procedure of architectural competition, and therefore allowed for expert discussion, considering variants (Fig. 7).

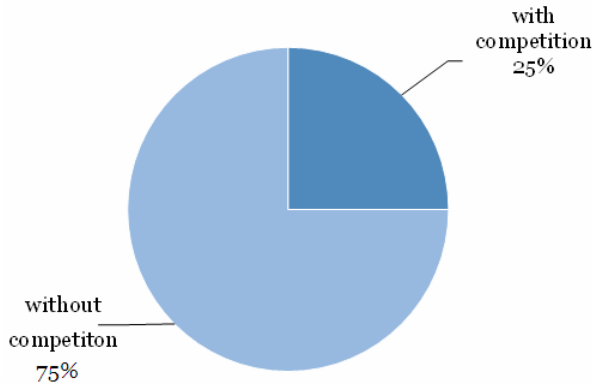


Fig. 7. Percentage of tasks with conducted competition for the architectural concept (own elaboration).

In all cases, the tasks selected in the competition were carried out in versions submitted for the competition.

As previously mentioned, 83% of the tasks identified the aesthetic aspect as important. In these tasks, the competition would be a desirable form of seeking best changes. Unfortunately, of the 20 tasks with important aesthetic aspect, only four conducted an architectural competition.

Four of the six units that decided to organize the competition also followed with one of the two identified forms of two-way communication (public debate and/or public consultation). In the other two cases, the selection was made by municipal authorities. They only informed about the task and its final version. It should be added that both tasks were at the same identified as having an important social aspect. However, the actions of the units show that they undervalue the important recipients and their voice in the matter.

3.4. External sources of investment financing

The total cost of investments according to the data in the survey amounted to EUR 109.48 million, while the total amount of non-refundable grants was EUR 51.6 million. On average, within the analyzed population, the investments were co-financed in 47% of the task value, including in 16 units, the amount of co-financing was in the range of 51-75% of the investment. Over 90% of the tasks were co-financed by the

European Union (regional programmes), and in one case the programme was co-financed from government subsidies (Oświęcim) (Fig. 8).

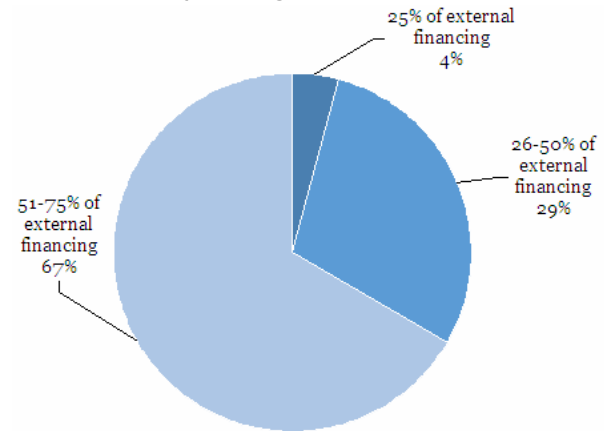


Fig. 8. Percentage of the amount of external financing in relation to the overall cost of investment (own elaboration).

Over 95% of units felt that obtaining non-refundable funds had a large or critical effect on the decision to implement the task (Fig. 9).

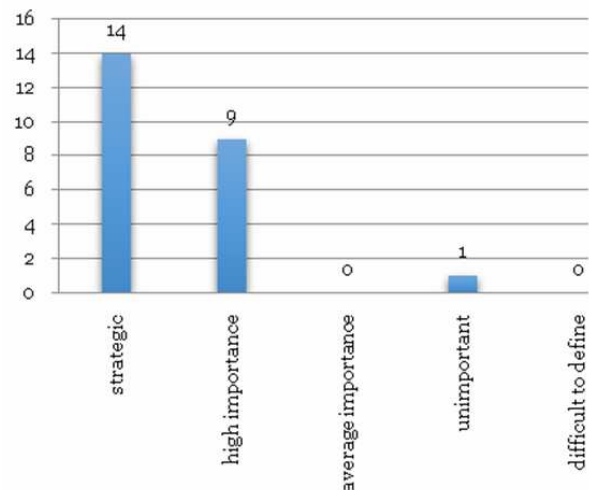


Fig. 9. Importance of co-financing opportunities in the decision to implement the task (own elaboration).

It can be concluded that non-refundable grants resulted in the adjustment of the tasks conducted by public bodies to the priority axes indicated in the following programming periods. This problem can be very clearly seen in the analyzed group of towns. In Alwernia, due to negligence in the consultation on the course and scope of changes, this problem grew into long-standing conflict between the authorities and local community. The municipality decided to use the European Union funding to transform the central space of the historic square, significantly altering its functional and spatial programme. The changes did not take into account the needs of the inhabitants. Since 1950s, it was an English landscape garden. Earlier, it was a market place with cobbled square.

The authorities wanted to bring back the old look of the place, which necessitated the felling of many old trees. The residents protested against it, suggesting that they would prefer to leave the old functional-spatial programme with restored form.

They collected about 500 signatures (for 3.5 thousand of all inhabitants) against felling and attracted the interest of local and regional media. Only in the face of such clear disapproval, after a long dispute, under the threat of loss of subsidies (due to the prolonged sharp conflict), the government signed an agreement with representatives of the residents. The community saved the character of the place and 20 old trees [39]. The above example illustrates how, in view of underfunding of local governments and long-term investment gap in the majority of municipalities, the non-refundable external funds have become an opportunity to bridge that gap. In such circumstances, the implementation of the hard requirements for co-governing and multi-faceted revitalization sometimes was set aside.

The authorities proceeded to carry out the aspects of the tasks with available funds (inhabitants of Alwernia raised this problem clearly on the Internet – the municipality carries out the tasks for which non-refundable funds are available) [40]. Often, they treated complex processes of revitalization of public spaces in an unsuitable manner.

The examples from Małopolska show that this should be interpreted rather as aestheticization or historical stylization of space, not a multi-dimensional change, which often due to financial and competence shortcomings of local governments is accompanied by uncontrolled commercialization, as is also the case in large urban centres [41].

In the case of large cities that are seeking their way to the urban renaissance, the problem in the implementation of this postulate is often the lack of financial resources [42].

In the case of small and medium towns – paradoxically – the non-refundable external financing resulted in bringing them closer to these problems.

In addition, the funds are often used in a manner inconsistent with the latest trends in the decision-making process on public issues and tasks. It can be said that this first experience in participation allows for drawing conclusions for future implementation. The overview showed that the development of co-governing processes, in order to be effective, must be carried out with a sense of the need for it. Otherwise, the plan will be limited to a minimum, which is not participation, but only information and imperfect consultation.

Local authorities must see the benefits of co-governing, as the community itself, although the examples included in the article show that some improvements in this respect appeared (see: Alwernia).

4. CONCLUSION

The results of the research presented in the article allow us to formulate some important synthetic conclusions concerning the advancement of the process of public participation and co-governance in Poland.

Firstly, the emergence of often unsuccessful and inefficient forms of social participation can be clearly seen. Their major fault is that they limit activities to information and consultation. Local governments often see them as necessity (e.g. in legal terms), rather than a reliable source of knowledge on the planned tasks. This unskilful use of the advantages of co-governing coexists in Poland with a significant increase in the availability of external non-reimbursable funding. Local governments facing shortage of funds and a significant investment gap, fight for these funding, but sometimes forget about the present and future users of reconstructed and reorganized public spaces covered in this article. This approach has clear historical roots (the period of the lack of empowerment of local communities in socialism, resulting in extinguishing the activity of local communities).

On the other hand, there are strong indications that local communities have begun to awake, they are increasingly interested in the activities of the authorities, they want to participate in public life, co-decide. In this respect, we can say that conflicts concerning urban investments announce the coming changes. The use of more active forms of participation is becoming more and more a necessity. The knowledge and experience of often unsuccessful, inefficient and conflict-ridden participatory activities should become a basis for future adjustments in this regard.

In the analyzed sample, the scarce use of selection procedures based on a formula of architectural and urban concept competition was also noticed. Thus, we can state that local authorities restrict the possibilities of co-decision making by residents, yet not only due to the lack of organization of participatory activities. They do not provide the choice of options, changes, based on different professional visions and best practices in shaping public spaces.

Public spaces, as their name suggests, serve the people, people shape their genius loci, but they also need their character to be preserved, in order to provide the sense of communal belonging. The change in local policy will be measured with perception of these relationships, and with regard to managing spatial changes – with using users' knowledge about space.

The future termination of the European Union funding for local governments should encourage local authorities to rapid changes in the direction indicated in the above sentence. Reduction of funds for investments will in fact cause that the already insufficient resources will need to be spent even more sensible, carefully responding to the needs of the

community. This requires knowledge of these needs and recognizing them as important.

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