

RESEARCH

**REPORTS**

RECOMMENDATIONS

ARINA SHARONOVA

**THE CYCLING MOVEMENT  
AS A GRASSROOTS-LEVEL  
INFLUENCE ON LOCAL  
GOVERNMENTS:  
THE PARTICIPATORY  
DECISION-MAKING PROCESS**

ARINA SHARONOVA

**THE CYCLING MOVEMENT  
AS A GRASSROOTS-LEVEL  
INFLUENCE ON LOCAL  
GOVERNMENTS:**

THE PARTICIPATORY  
DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

## INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The policy brief *The cycling movement as a grassroots-level influence on local governments: the participatory decision-making process* was prepared as a part of the project: “Training program for Russian policy and opinion makers”.

The project was implemented by the Institute of Public Affairs (Warsaw) and the Levada Center (Moscow).

INSTITUTE OF  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS



Author: Arina Sharonova

Supervisor: Dominik Owczarek

Proofreader: Hayden Berry

Wydawca:  
Instytut Spraw Publicznych  
ul. Szpitalna 5 lok. 22  
00-031 Warszawa  
tel. (48-22) 556 42 60  
faks (48-22) 556 42 62  
e-mail: [isp@isp.org.pl](mailto:isp@isp.org.pl)

Skład, druk i oprawa:  
Ośrodek Wydawniczo-Poligraficzny „SIM”  
00-669 Warszawa, ul. E. Plater 9/11,  
tel. (22) 629 80 38  
faks (22) 629 80 36  
e-mail: [owpsim@post.pl](mailto:owpsim@post.pl)  
[www.owpsim.pl](http://www.owpsim.pl)

The policy brief reflect the views of the author and the Institute of Public Affairs and the Levada Center cannot be held responsible for the information contained therein.



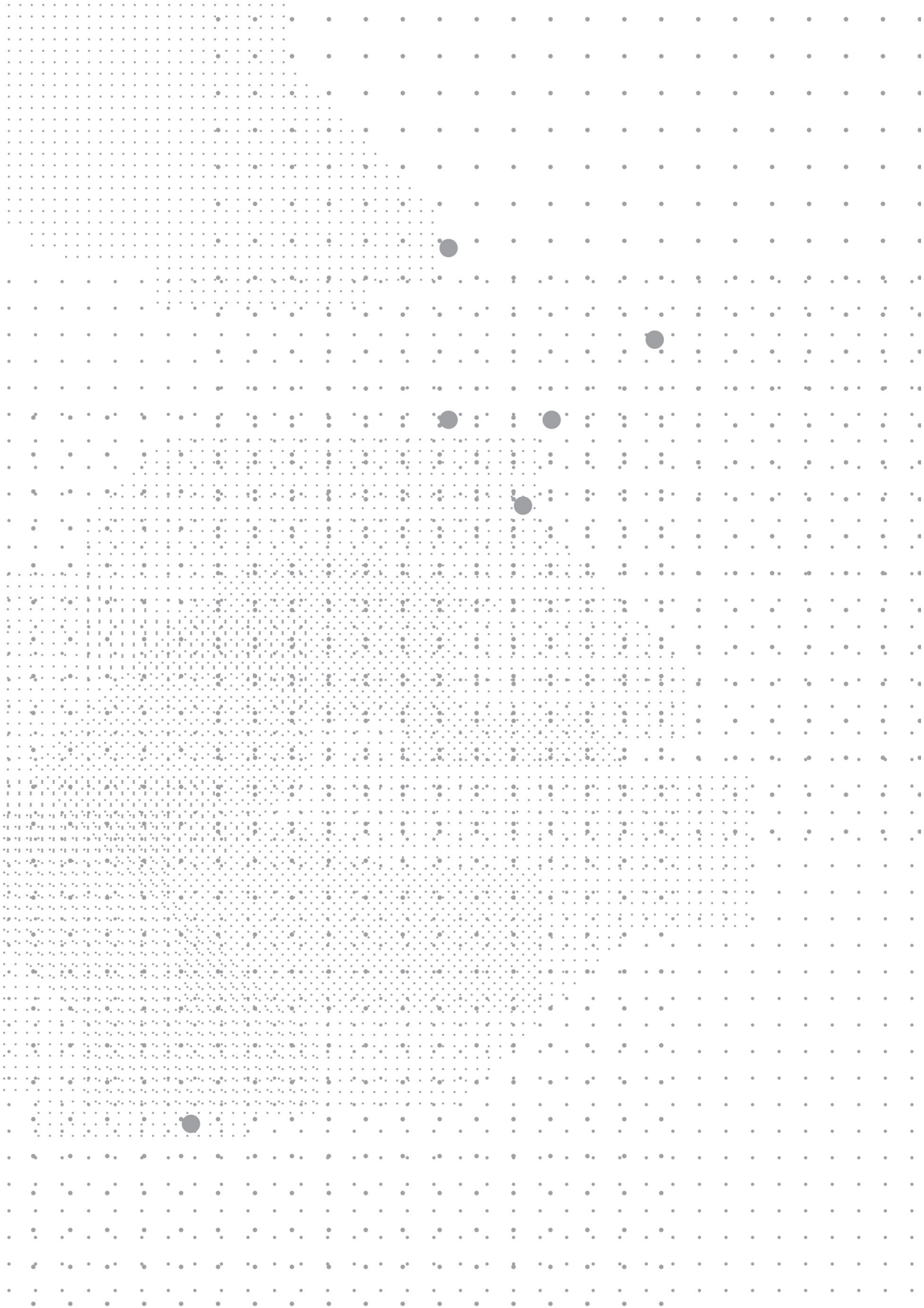
The public cycling movement as a social phenomenon is quite well-established in the social context of Western countries (including Poland), but a relatively new idea for Russia (it appeared as a social phenomenon in early 2000, but started to develop actively in 2010).

This paper is about civic engagement of the Samara cycling movement in the municipal decision-making process and cooperation with local governments to solve urban and transport infrastructure problems in the city of Samara, Russia, based on the experience of Warsaw, Poland.

Based on the programme materials of the INVOLVE project (SISKOM), sustainable mobility is a high priority for the European Union in order to reduce pollution and improve the quality of life. On a par with EU, sustainable mobility is also important for Russia. In order to see this priority is also clear to the Government, it's possible to appeal to "The strategy of cycling development in Russia up to 2020" rest on the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws, the Presidential State of the Nation Address, the main activities of the government of the Russian Federation, the Transport Strategy of the Russian Federation up to 2020, and other conceptual documents concerning the development of the transport infrastructure.<sup>1</sup> Effective urban policy, which includes mobility and transport infrastructure, can only be delivered by the public authorities with the active involvement of NGOs and local urban movements. This paper specifically focuses on how cooperation of the local authorities with the urban cycling movement in solving problems related to mobility and transport management in Samara based on the city policy making experience of Warsaw, which has a developed cycling infrastructure and real expansion of the public cycling movement, could be increased. Samara can adapt the successful practices of sustainable city development and use the right communication tools in dialogue between the local government and the cycling movement as the two main partners in the process of rebuilding public urban spaces.

---

**1** *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*, viewed on 28 March 2014, <http://www.constitution.ru/>: Art. 41, p. 2., In the Russian Federation federal programme of the protection and promotion of public health, encouraged ... activities which enhance human health, the development of physical culture and sports, ... environmental well-being. Article 42, everyone has the right to a healthy environment.





Samara is a metropolis located in the Volga region, the administrative centre of the Samara Oblast, and has a population of around 1.2 million. Both Samara and Warsaw are middle size metropolises. Until recently, there was no such social force as the cycling movement in Samara; there were only various sport clubs who were not interested in taking part in the municipal decision-making process.

However, modern, ecological, sport, and cycling tendencies that concern urban development are expanding in Samara, overtaking the changes in transport infrastructure that should be initiated by the local authorities. It appears that the local government does not see the real social need to change the existent transport infrastructure to a liveable one, which also includes cycling pathways and green areas, etc. In order to transform the urban space humanely, ordinary citizens can undertake dynamic action, for instance, in the spirit of Jan Gehl's Danish architectural bureau, which focuses on the relationship between the built-up environment and people's quality of life.<sup>2</sup> The main idea is that pedestrians in a city should have priority, not cars; the city authorities should take more care about pedestrians, rather than car traffic. Participants of the cycling movement design and lobby the reorganisation of urban space projects, making amendments and additions to the driving regulations and laws in Russia. In addition, they are permanently engaged in carrying out socially significant events such as Community Cleanup Days, volunteer clean-ups etc.

Early attempts, such as efforts to take part in the local government session and round-table conference concerning city development to fight for cycling infrastructure, were carried out in 2005, although, unfortunately, they were unsuccessful. However, the first substantial step the Samara municipal government together with the cycling movement did on 25 September 2011, in a context of the opening of the second stage of the Volga River front after its reconstruction, was the opening of the first cycle pathway (1.3 km) and the first municipal bicycle park. The city administration announced plans to connect the green areas of the city by the bike lanes, as well as the universities and their campuses. In 2011, there was a plan to install a bicycle park near the municipal institutions, although these remain only plans.

As for the current state in Samara, based on a report by the administration of the urban district, 92.8% of passengers use municipal transport.<sup>3</sup>

---

**2** Gehl Architect Bureau, viewed on 30 March 2014, <http://gehlarchitects.com/>

**3** Report of Administration of Samara urban district, 2012, viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.city.samara.ru/administration/dept/965>

Unfortunately, there are no official statistics concerning the share of cyclists, although at a guess it is about 0.01%. Nevertheless, it is estimated, that in Samara it is possible to undertake up to 6% of municipal passenger transportation by bicycles, moreover since the cycling infrastructure appears – even up to 20%. There is no doubt that the local cycling movement “VeloSamara” attracts the local administration’s attention to the problem each year: the annual opening and closing of the cycling season brings about 2,500 cyclists together on the city streets. According to Internet news sites in 2013, Sergei Rubakov, Samara’s head of the Civil Engineering and Architecture Administration of the Regional Center, reported that officials at the Samara City Hall were thinking about the possibility of building a cycling path network that would connect the historic centre of the city with parks and the riverfront. However, the problem is that the city’s administration structure does not have any department or even working group responsible for the development of cycling infrastructure. There is no money in the municipal budget for cycling transport development and, therefore, whatever is done in the direction of cycling development has to be included in the framework of other target programmes.

Warsaw currently has 1.7 million inhabitants, approximately 0.7 million cars and 1.0 million bicycles; most trips are made by public transport (68%) and private cars (30%), with only 0.6%-2.0% made by bicycle, according to data of the urban movement “Zielone Mazowsze”. Moreover, bicycles are perceived as means of recreation, not transport. Thus, the main barriers for cycling are: 1. long distances; 2. lack of cycling paths; 3. car drivers behaving impolitely towards cyclists; 4. danger of theft; and 5. cycling perceived as a sport or recreation activity.<sup>4</sup> These challenges require a direct reasonable urban policy including: 1. creating conditions for cycling by the city administration; 2. including cycling facilities into the context of all newly built and modernised road projects; 3. implementing public consultations with representatives of cyclists; and 4. since April 1997, a draft project for 709 km of cycling paths network has been functioning. Currently, at least 10% of cycling paths in Warsaw were created during (or directly because of) cycling activism: for an instance, actions by the Green Federation.<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately, the majority of officials have acknowledged the importance of cycling for public relations, although they still have to learn the importance of cycling for transport and the environment, and take real action. There is no doubt that many people would like to cycle more often if conditions improve. Samara needs the helpful experience of Warsaw, both of the Warsaw government and local cycling activists, to see what has been done to reach such a level of communication between NGOs and the authorities, and to build such a transport infrastructure.

---

<sup>4</sup> A. Buczynski, K. Dybek, Z. Iskierka, “Cycling in Warsaw”, in *Zielone Mazowsze*, viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.cycling2001>

<sup>5</sup> A. Buczynski, K. Dybek, Z. Iskierka, “Cycling in Warsaw”, *Zielone Mazowsze*, viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.cycling2001>

Based on the urban policy-making experience of Warsaw, which has developed cycling infrastructure and carried out the real expansion of the public cycling movement, Samara can take only successful ways of sustainable city development and use good practices in communication between the local government and the cycling movement as the two main partners in the process of the city's revitalisation. It is possible for the local government to use only those tools that seem acceptable to refresh Samara. The real benefit for the Samara Oblast and the Volga Region is that feasibilities to cycle inside the region increase its strength of attraction for tourism. This is really important for Samara expecting the FIFA World Cup in 2018, and is needed to prepare the city economically, socially, and by changing the transport infrastructure. If nothing is done now, the scenario will be the following: in 5-10 years there will be huge traffic problems – an increasing amount of cars, no change in the transport infrastructure, no possibility to use alternative kinds of transport such as bicycles, increasing level of pollution, and environmental degradation, etc. If we fundamentally solve this issue now, using even a small part of the sources of the municipal budget intended for the FIFA World Cup 2018, it will allow the municipal authorities not to waste future budgets on this issue and solve some of the city's other problems. Moreover, the issues concerning transport infrastructure are strongly connected with such fields as tourism, especially regarding increasing the region of Samara's attractiveness for ecological tourism at Samara's Samarskaya Luka National Park. Samara could receive substantial economical benefits and an increase in the municipal budget from tourists. Thus, the cycling infrastructure development strategy could be maintained by the Department of Tourism, the Municipal Architectural Department, the local ecological movement, and the Administration of the Samara National Park "Samarskaya Luka". Moreover, the Samara government will be a trendsetter, showing the way to other regions, demonstrating its operation according to "The strategy of cycling development in Russia up to 2020" and, generally, to the logic of the presidential course.

### **Problem description:**

From many points of view: ecological, transport, and social, using bicycles creates a more sustainable city due to the many benefits its residents receive. It is an evidential fact that cycling helps to: decrease the rate of cardiovascular disease, decrease the rate of air pollution, makes road traffic less strained, and improves the overall health cyclists. Regarding Samara, on the one hand there is no special cycling infrastructure, while on the other, there is a real social need for cycling, which is confirmed by increasing amount of urban residents who use a bicycle for everyday transport. To encourage people to use bicycle, special urban conditions (i.e., infrastructure for cycling, including cycling pathways compatible with traffic lights and pavements, etc.) need



to be provided. All of this means the realisation of the right to safety and privatisation of the part of urban public spaces used by cyclists as urban residents.

Cycling is an inherent part of sustainable city development: figuratively it helps breathing to a city, due to no air pollution. Sustainable development includes many directions, such as creating and expanding public open space systems; developing policies and programmes to advance the sustainability of the city's buildings, businesses and urban form; and improving the transport system and cycling infrastructure. The core concept of city sustainable development is an approach to development that looks to balance different and often competing needs, such as cycling and car transport, against an awareness of the environmental, social, and economic limitations we face in a city as inhabitants.

Regarding the revitalisation of Samara's public infrastructure and creating a more sustainable city for people rather than cars, collaboration and strong long-term dialogue between the cycling movement as the grassroots level and the local government as the upper level in a common decision-making process needs to be discussed. Based on Samara's experience in 2011-2012, it is obvious that the municipal authorities might agree to a discussion with the cycling movement. As a result, the first (and up to now the only) cycling pathway has been laid, with the strong assistance from local activists. In other words, inasmuch as the first joint step (cycling path) is already done, cycling community is able to communicate with the authorities: there are ways to influence, but it's needed to use proper instruments. At the same time also we can diagnose the presence of barriers in communication those still exist, as three years have already passed and there has been no continuation in this direction. Reference to the Polish experience might be helpful for Samara to understand how the participatory decision-making process regarding cycling infrastructure works.

The main objective of this paper is to provide both the local authorities and the cycling movement in Samara with the tools of successful communicative practices that promote cooperation with each other in order to reduce transport problems, as well as to increase the level of the urban cycling movement's participation in the decision-making process for mutual benefit.

The main research problem is how to improve the quality of cooperation between the local government and the cycling movement in Samara, to increase accessibility of public urban spaces in the context of citizens' participation in decision-making. There is quite a low level of influence of the cycling movement on public municipal decisions in Samara focused on the (re)building of public spaces (not only for cyclists, but for all pedestrians). The objective of this paper is to open long-term dialogue between two key participants in solving issues concerning urban transport and public infrastructure. While making a comparative perspective of Warsaw/Samara,

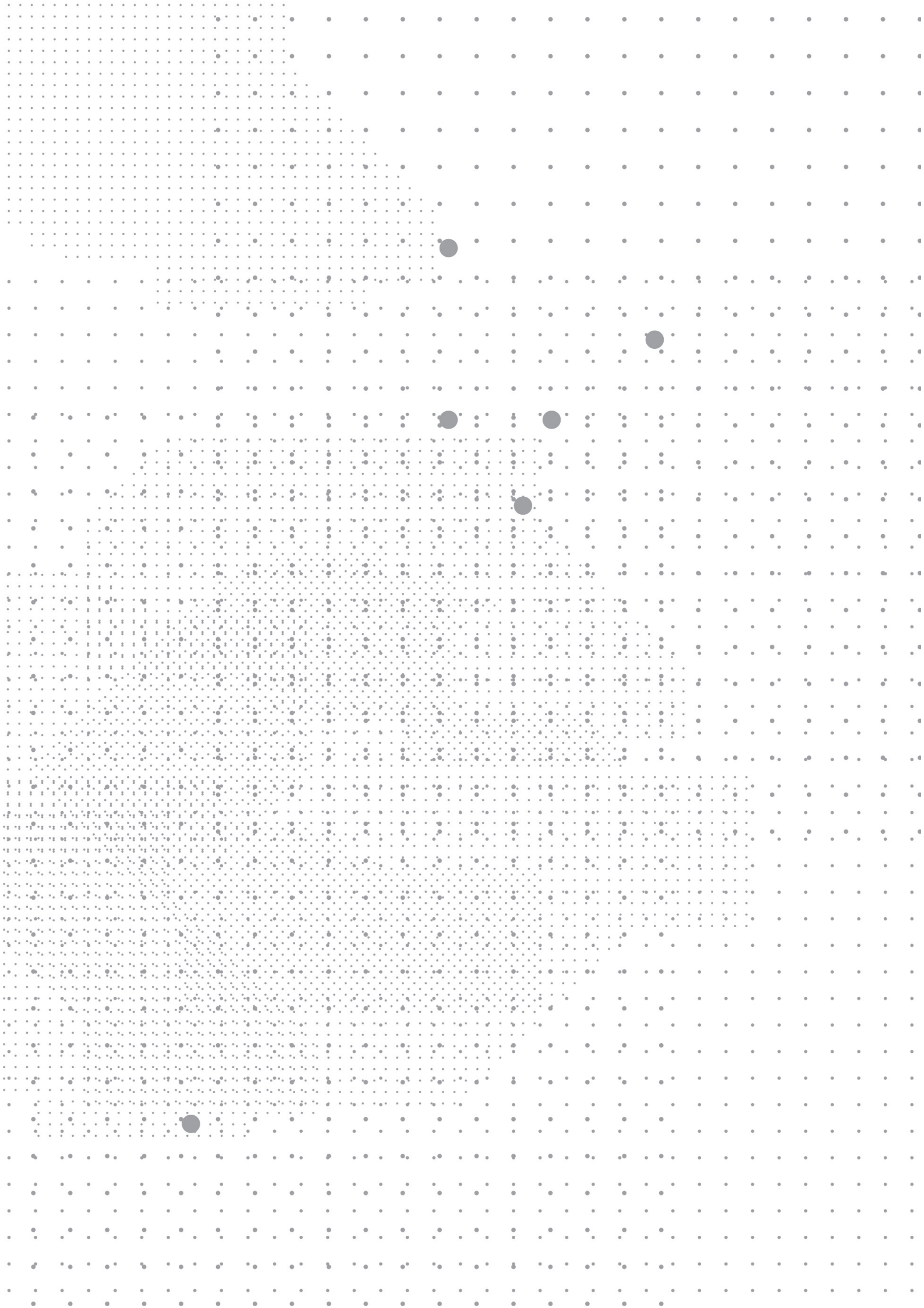
it is now possible to answer the following research questions: What are the tools of influence on public municipal decisions in Warsaw? How should they be used successfully? And how should the level of influence of the cycling movement in Samara based on the Warsaw's experience be increased?

### **Objectives-research issues:**

- ▶ To examine and describe the process of communication between officials and the cycling movement in Warsaw and its instruments of influence on public municipal decision-making in comparison with Samara;
- ▶ To explore hindrances in the realisation of these instruments in Samara based on the Warsaw experience;
- ▶ To select the most successful ways of influence on public municipal decision-making in Warsaw (different variants/combinations of actions lead to participatory decision-making in the field of urban policy).

In order to examine the above-mentioned research objectives, a list of respondents in Warsaw were interviewed, including five experts who are involved in the fields of urban policy making, transport and cycling infrastructure planning, the process of revitalising streets, and rethinking the public spaces, etc.:

1. Jan Jakiel and Tamas Dombi – SISKOM, the Association for Warsaw Transport Integration;
2. Joanna Erbel – sociologist, everyday city cycling activist, candidate for President of Warsaw;
3. Jacek-Grunt Meier – specialist in Environmental Psychology, Department of Psychology, University of Warsaw;
4. Wojciech Szymalski – Ph.D., Institute for Sustainable Development



## The process of communication between officials and the cycling movement in Warsaw: tools and practices



Warsaw has a rich architectural past full of rebuilding and collapse. For the local government, this means an endless history of problems with urban design planning including the Master Plan, for the inhabitants – a difficult object of everyday use. This is the common point for the both Warsaw and Samara.

Warsaw's experience in solving transport and cycling infrastructure issues demonstrates modern solutions, some of which are extremely new for Samara. This chapter will discuss communication between the local authorities and the cycling movement as a complex phenomenon that produces and reproduces society in terms of Luhmann (1997). A fundamental definition of communication as “the representation of complexity in the form of meaning” gives us an understanding that any communication actualises complexity in the form of meanings that bring with it new and indefinite possibilities and reproduce the autopoietic character of the system.<sup>6</sup> According to Luhmann, communication covers three components: information, utterance, and understanding, and thus “the unity of communicative events cannot be deduced objectively, subjectively, or socially”.<sup>7</sup> Each communicative event reaches its own meaning only through its relationship to others, and meaning is only generated in the experience, repetition, and integration of past systems of meaning.

In the context of communication between the local government and the cycling movement, it means that there are specific ways of communication in this field. Based on Warsaw's experience represented by the interviews with Joanna Erbel – sociologist, cycling activist, and candidate for the President of Warsaw and Wojciech Szymalski – Ph.D., Institute for Sustainable Development, it is possible to name the following methods of communication:

1. Everyday communication, including both the Internet and paper levels;
2. Public consultation processes;
3. Participatory budget as a way to communicate with citizens;
4. Political actions (lobbying, demonstrations, etc.).

Based on Luhmann's ideas, communication continuously occurs and composes the information necessary for the survival and reproduction of the social system. Only cooperation between the local authorities and the cycling movement will lead to an improvement of the cycling infrastructure,

---

**6** N. Luhmann, *Theory of Society*, vol. 1, 1997, p. 82.

**7** N. Luhmann, *Theory of Society*, vol. 1, 1997, p. 35.

which is why useful methods for communication in the field of city transport infrastructure reorganisation need to be determined.

### Everyday communication

First, participatory practices in the decision-making process indicated above include the process of everyday communication between the local government and the cycling movement to maintain continuous dialogue with proper tools such as the Internet and writing official papers. Participatory activism needs strong cooperation with the local authorities, which is why activists use different ways of communicative practices. From the part of cycling activists, Joanna Erbel has noticed that being a local activist in Warsaw is becoming better and better. At the same time, being a sociologist, Erbel has declared that the urban space also means the political space, which is why being and acting as an activist means being included in the political life of the city as well as being in communication with officials. Modern Warsaw has efficient ways of communication, but this has not always been the case: increasing tendencies of civic participation were the result of citizens' pressure during the economic crisis of 2008. The strong dialogue between the local government and citizens was initiated due to the urban movement who fought for the rights to be a partner of the city. Nevertheless, it took a great deal of time, as fighting was illegal and informal, and there was no official answer but the citizens' pressure has won (Joanna has told about time when citizens haven't had any tools to communicate with the authorities (such as public hearings and consultations), so they used those instruments they were aware of, such as flash mobs and performances.

At the time, experts close to different urban movements initiated dialogue with the Warsaw City Council, and as a result Jan Gehl was invited to develop Warsaw's transport infrastructure, to make it more sustainable and liveable. Thus, changes in local policy entailed the requirement for an adequate juridical frame, i.e., changes in local laws. The common task to improve the city's infrastructure made urban movements communicate with the local authorities in two main ways:

1. Writing lots of papers in order to use proper tools of communication in the context of bureaucracy;
2. Use such modern sources as social networks, i.e., Facebook.

Both Joanna Erbel and Wojciech Szymalski confirmed that the second method gives such benefits as informal relations and good contact, involving in long discussions, all of which are good informational sources to be in touch with.

Wojciech Szymalski underlined the following communicative problems:

1. Both sides, the NGOs and the local authorities do not listen to each other: they talk, but do not listen;

2. The government always wants the best results as soon as possible, but they can be prolonged and come into effect much later;
3. The authorities usually claim that there is no money for a project; money should be found by NGOs to prove that it is possible to realise;
4. It is possible to do something at the local level, but at the level of the state often it is impossible to receive any support.
5. Looking for the grants is required, as NGOs do not have any permanent income. As Wojciech Szymalski said, “People, who can give us money, don’t like us.”
6. Conducting extensive educational work among officials in the field of urban planning and common decision-making process is needed.

### **Public discourse: public consultation and the commissions for social dialogue**

Public consultation is a regulatory process by which the public’s input on matters affecting them is sought; it is one of the key regulatory tools employed to improve transparency, efficiency, and the effectiveness of regulation in addition to other tools such as Regulatory Impact Analysis (RIA), regulatory alternatives, and improved accountability arrangements.<sup>8</sup> Being an initiator of the dialogue with the authorities, the cycling movement together with the local government should consistently use the following tools:

1. Notification (to publicise the matter to be consulted on);
2. Consultation (a two-way flow of information and opinion exchange);
3. Participation (involving interest groups in the drafting of policy or legislation).<sup>9</sup>

According to Warsaw’s city cycling expert, Joanna Erbel, in 2012 a process of cooperation and integration of urban movements, including cycling, started with the City Council. Issues of transport and cycling infrastructure, the aesthetics of public urban space, the balance of cycling lanes, and lanes for municipal transport and pedestrian areas were on the agenda. However, there was no adequate Master Plan in many areas.

In addition, both Joanna Erbel and Wojciech Szymalski noticed that there is the danger of potential corruption regarding huge city transformation, especially with respect to high-rise development. This is why public consultation is a tool of citizen control that increases the level of policy responsibility policy, e.g., saving some areas of land, not building shopping centres. The task of cycling activists during these public consultations is to show the use of economic, sociological, and examples based on the experience

<sup>8</sup> Background Document on Public Consultation (from the OECD Code, 10-Mar-2006), viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/36785341.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> Background Document on Public Consultation (from the OECD Code, 10-Mar-2006), viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/36785341.pdf>

of Jan Gehl Architects, and that expansion of the urban public space leads to an increase in trade and social benefits. For reference, Jan Gehl Architects is an urban research and design consultancy focusing on the relationship between the built-up environment and people's quality of life.<sup>10</sup> While working, specialists from the Gehl Architects use a people-focused approach to make the urban environment friendlier.

Tamas Dombi, a SISKOM Senior Specialist (Public Transport Authority of Warsaw) underlined the importance of initiatives and consultative bodies created jointly by NGOs and the municipality of Warsaw, i.e., the commissions for social dialogue. As of 12 March 2014, based on the materials, "How much self-governance is in local government?"<sup>11</sup> there were 29 commissions led by 11 offices and 15 districts in Warsaw, leading to a joint development of satisfactory solutions between NGOs and municipality threat.

Importantly, social consultations and the commissions for social dialogue are a demonstration of political responsibility and readiness to act together with grassroots initiatives connecting urban planning and the national urban policy. Public consultation can work for both the consulter (for instance, the local authorities) and the consulted (for instance, the cycling movement), and this is the mutual benefit both sides have as a result. On the one hand, it can bring new levels of expertise and information to the local authorities in a cost-effective and integrated way; on the other hand, it can make the cycling community feel that they are being listened to, that their opinions matter, and that they can be involved in decision-making that affects them. In the long-term perspective, public consultation also educates the consulted in plan-making processes that affect them.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the education process is mutual for both sides: the local authorities receive internal information about what the city inhabitants need to feel comfortable in a city.

Starting with initiation of social dialogue between the local authorities and the cycling community, this dialogue is needed to maintain it; and the result is commissions for social dialog, which usually deal with issues and problems considered the most difficult in the city or region. These commissions act in order to stimulate the subjects participating in civic activism, with their aim being to reach a common understanding and to create good relations between the public authorities and the cycling movement.

---

**10** Gehl Architects, viewed on 19 April 2014, <http://www.gehlarchitects.com/#/159108/>

**11** Slide deck "How much self-governance is in local government?" City of Warsaw, Centre of Public Communications, 12.03.2014, viewed on 12 March 2014, [http://www.forumdavos.com/uploads/presentations/presentation\\_114.pdf](http://www.forumdavos.com/uploads/presentations/presentation_114.pdf)

**12** L. Carson, K. Gelber, "Ideas for community consultation: A discussion on principles and procedures for making consultation work", A report prepared for the NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning February 2001, viewed on 19 April 2014, [http://www.activedemocracy.net/articles/principles\\_procedures\\_final.pdf](http://www.activedemocracy.net/articles/principles_procedures_final.pdf)

## Participatory budgeting

Regarding cooperation between the local cycling movement and the municipal government, we should take into account such political tool of communication as participatory budgeting, also known as civil budgeting. This is an instrument enabling citizens to participate in the decision-making process concerning public spending. This is a part of the budget of a municipality or a city, and its shape depends directly on local residents. It is defined as “a mechanism or (process) through which the population decides on, or contributes to decisions made on, the destination of all or part of the available public resources”.<sup>13</sup> In other words, participatory budgeting in local government units encourages the development of civil society by stimulating grassroots activity. This is a tool that can help initiate grassroots activity, already used in many Western European countries, and recently becoming more and more popular in Poland. Warsaw City Councillors declare that the citizens’ ideas with the largest social support and not exceeding a defined amount of money will be included in the budget. This is how it works in Warsaw.

Participatory budgeting means a defined level of trust of both citizens to the government and the government to the citizens. Poles, like other Europeans, have a low level of confidence in political parties – they are trusted only by 20% of those surveyed. The level of confidence in the local authorities is much higher – 58%.<sup>14</sup> The Eurobarometer survey results show that in many European countries, confidence in national public institutions – which was low even before 2008 – has dropped below the pre-crisis level. Poland, like other countries, is looking for instruments that will encourage citizens to participate more in public life and democratic procedures.<sup>15</sup>

Participatory budgeting originated in 1989 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, created by the Workers’ Party, a labour-friendly political force known for institutional innovation across Brazil. Regarding Warsaw, participatory budgeting helps to bridge the growing gap between the governing bodies and the city residents. Even though the participatory budget is less than 1% of the total city budget, it gives the following policy advantages<sup>16</sup>:

1. Facilitates dialogue between officials and NGOs representing so-called “urban social movements”;
2. Helps to make controversial decisions;

---

**13** UN-HABITAT, *72 Frequently Asked Questions about Participatory Budgeting*, Quito 2004, p. 20. ISBN 92-1-131699-5.

**14** Zaufanie społeczne. Komunikat z badań, BS/33/2012, Centrum Badań Opinii Publicznej, Warszawa, March 2012, p. 14.

**15** Democracy index 2011. Democracy under stress. A report from the Economist Intelligence Unit, December 2011, p. 18-19, viewed on 19 April 2014 ([www.eiu.com](http://www.eiu.com)).

**16** Slide deck “How much self-governance is in local government?” City of Warsaw, Centre of Public Communications, 12.03.2014, viewed on 19 April 2014, [http://www.forumdavos.com/uploads/presentations/presentation\\_114.pdf](http://www.forumdavos.com/uploads/presentations/presentation_114.pdf)



3. Builds residents' trust towards local government organisation and its officials;
4. Increases transparency of the public funds management process and has a strong impact on reducing corruption.

Since 2008 about 80 municipalities in Poland have been using participatory budgeting as a tool. Moreover, in 2014, Warsaw has had over 6 million euros at its disposal. Participatory budgeting in Warsaw is an opportunity for citizens that have a lot to say to be heard. Warsaw City Hall collects proposals for the Warsaw participatory budget and then officials summarise information on the proposals that have been submitted. All proposals relate to ideas for the improvement of life in the city, from barbecues in the open air, the improvement of football pitches, streetlights, bus shelters, urban surveillance cameras, cycling routes, and walking areas for dogs. After submission, there is a vote, and the ideas that gain the largest number of votes by Warsaw's residents are included in the following year's city budget. Thus, participatory budgeting could be a tool of financial and social support for cycling infrastructure investment, and the cycling community could be directly involved in making policy decisions. It enables collective prioritisation and co-management of resources, in other words, it provides cycling movements with the proper instruments for impact on the decision making-process: activists go from being simple observers to full participants in public administration. Public budgeting gives the cycling community as citizens, better opportunities to make transport and cycling improvements. By participating actively in the participatory budgeting process, they have the chance to significantly improve not only their own quality of life, but also that of the whole city in a relatively short timeframe. In addition, they have the possibility to control and monitor the execution of the budget.

In Warsaw in 2013, citizens could vote to decide on three per cent of investment expenditure and 1% of the city's total expenditure. The 300 submitted proposals included bike paths, playgrounds, minor repairs, and walkways for pedestrians. As a result of the increased participation of citizens in the decision-making process, the local authorities have a better understanding of citizens' vital needs. Public resources are allocated to the fulfilment of the real needs of the residents.

### **Political actions**

Based on Erbel's experience in city activism, it is possible to recap that any time is a good time for lobbying, as it solves lots of problems. Lobbying is needed to raise awareness on particular issues in the public discourse. Lobbying is a way for the voice of the people to be heard and to have new legislation introduced; traditionally, non-profits promoted social issues in the

halls of power. When lobbyists are involved in the legislative process, they represent individuals who feel strongly on issues but cannot present their views to the local authorities. For instance, inside the cycling movement there is a sub-movement known as “Critical Mass”. Erbel has noticed that this is not just a movement, but also a political phenomenon.

Critical Mass is a monthly bicycle ride to celebrate cycling and to assert cyclists’ right to the road.<sup>17</sup> This urban movement has no leaders and no central organisation licences the rides. Critical Mass’s radical message is “we’re not delaying traffic: we ARE the traffic!” Roads that are dangerous for an individual cyclist to navigate alone become safer to ride within “the Mass”. In Russian there is a suitable idiom: “One man in the field is no warrior” (Or “one man no man”). In other words, riding within “the Mass” gives cyclists the feeling of the safety that could be an everyday experience if a comprehensive cycling path network existed. Critical Mass aims to promote cycling and demonstrate that there is an alternative to contemporary society’s dependence on cars. Using Critical Mass as a tool of lobbying, it seems possible to solve concrete issues at the local level: cycling pathways, gardens, parks etc. To be successful in fighting for the rights for the city the cycling community needs to cooperate not only with authorities, but also with other urban movements, such as the Catholic or LGBT-community, amongst others; it is also possible to conduct common actions such as flash mobs and art festivals, etc.

According to Erbel, being a representative of local initiatives and being willing to change laws at the government level, could be an appropriate way to create a political party. This condition provides urban movements with real political power and could be helpful for local initiatives if they already have some basis to do this. But even without creating a political party it is possible to communicate with officials and participate in the decision-making process. Being a city activist, Erbel underlines that officials are now partners of NGOs and there are no real communicative barriers. It is much easier to communicate with officials (for instance, Łukasz Puchalski is a shining example of an Councillor who are open for communication with NGOs) than with other NGOs. However, there is a problem with such public places that are attractive for private capital: in fact, NGOs cannot influence the decision-making process concerning the revitalisation of these urban spaces.

The objective of political acts from the side of urban movements is to provide access to the common wealth for all the citizens, to make visible those citizens who are invisible for the authorities using some kind of environmental art consisting of public art and sociology. The same tendency/movement is true for Russia. It is called “partizaning”<sup>18</sup> and means a process of privatising urban space by its inhabitants: people are painting cycling paths, pedestrian

---

**17** Critical Mass in Warsaw, viewed on 12 May 2014, [http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.critical\\_mass](http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.critical_mass)

**18** “Partizaning”, viewed on 12 May 2014, <http://eng.partizaning.org/>

areas, and road signs by themselves, etc., trying to change city public spaces if they cannot change the laws.

However, various other laws in the field of urban planning are adopted from time to time by the local authorities. It is impossible to imagine the policy-making process without enactment to regulate the current direction of the policy. To be involved in the process of enactment, the cycling movement needs the local authorities to act together and do the following:

1. Conduct local elections;
2. Inform citizens about preparing legislations;
3. Conduct public debates and consultations, create Commissions for Social Dialogue;
4. Discuss issues concerning illegal/legal buildings in the public discourse;
5. Conduct public hearings to provide access to information;
6. Fight corruption.

Any social contract between the authorities and private business should be transparent, public, and open to citizens (it should be possible to google and find the information needed on this issue). From Wojciech Szymalski's point of view, urban planning in the process of decision-making should not rely only on the private sector, as people's actions are very important. The object of both urban movements and the authorities is to persuade ordinary citizens that their city needs them. And here it is very crucial to understand that financial conditions are not very crucial for activism, as it is possible to do lots of things on the Internet while democratic conditions (I'm talking about civil society, democracy and liberty of speech).

Based on the experience of the cycling movement in Warsaw, Szymalski has noticed that cycling activists should do the following to take part in the decision-making process:

1. Try to relay on the strong local communities, those already influence on the local government. The point is that strong local communities such as Green Peace, Red Cross or Women's Liberation Movement etc have their representative at the level of Government. If cycling community is able to find common issues to collaborate with the strong communities, it will have an additional chance to be heard in the Government.
2. Large NGOs will be able to persuade somebody powerful where there is the need and the will do.
3. Communicate that if the local authorities do nothing they will have the following problems in the future (such as the collapse of transport, for instance)
4. Promote the view that public spaces and streets should have less cars and try to negotiate with the authorities. The local urban community, i.e., the cycling community should be an expert group helping to better the current transport infrastructure, and the authorities should be more active and open.



### **Economical and social suppositions**

Rome wasn't built in a day, and neither was cycling infrastructure in Warsaw. Based on expert interviews, it is possible to name the Economical Crisis in 2008, as a trigger, when there was a sufficient need to redistribute the municipal budget. The economic downturn in Poland and the world recession observed after the second half of 2008, and the accompanying decline in profit from business activities, resulted in an increased aversion to risk and a reduction in new investments. As Jan Jakiel, the president of SISKOM has underlined, the initiative to develop the urban infrastructure was economically oriented, not because of humanistic ideals of creating public spaces, although it ended up being a substantial bonus for the city. In 2006-2008 a new project of urban reconstruction – rebuilding the major transport arteries and facades of houses built at different times – raised the question of the functionality of the streets; a place to trade, to have a rest, and to move without barriers was needed. To reach this, the government decided to reduce parking spaces by 25% as well as increasing the number of underground parking spaces to avoid road congestion.

Up until 2008, there was another Master Plan for Warsaw, which was reconsidered due to the crisis: road building is a very expensive item in the city budget, although the same is not true of the development of cycling infrastructure. Szymalski has noticed that the irony is, the less money the municipality has – the easier it is to develop the entire transport infrastructure and in particular the cycling infrastructure, as it is cheaper. It requires less investment and gives the traffic relief. Finally, Warsaw City Hall decided to approve the new Master Plan for Warsaw including the development of tram and bus, as well as cycling, infrastructure. Warsaw needed the successful experience of other cities which had the same issues, such as Berlin, Copenhagen, and Amsterdam, to domesticize these good practices, try to find new solutions for cyclists, and save the balance between building roads and cycling pathways, etc. This is currently the actual issue for Samara.

### **What the cycling officer does and why special NGOs to develop cycling infrastructure are needed**

Warsaw is viewed as one of the most congested cities in Europe, although its city centre is dissected by wide and straight avenues built after the carnage of the Second World War. Parallel to the high amount of traffic, there

is a good quality public transport system with a relatively high modal share, as Tamas Dombi has noticed. Only the share of cycling is low. To solve the transport infrastructure problems, especially the cycling issues, in October 2006 Stanisław Plewako was appointed as the first cycling officer of Warsaw. In December 2012, Łukasz Puchalski took over this position and remains the current cycling officer. On the one hand, the main task of the cycling officer is to develop the cycling infrastructure and to find the most efficient ways of using a bicycle, how to make the bicycle social and public; and on the other hand, to meet the social demand and to present the position of those whose voices have been unheard before. The demand to cycle did not appear immediately and for a long time the social need to use bicycles as everyday transport was ignored, as cycling was only perceived as sport; in time.

According to Tamas Dombi, there was a need to create an organisation that functions as a sort of think tank, presenting transport strategy documents and transport investment in the Warsaw agglomeration in detail. Although cycling was a sport in the very beginning, SISKOM started it as a hobby activity, and during dialogue with the local authorities it became obvious that they needed such an NGO to solve transport problems. Moreover, Dombi pointed out that it is a nice idea to build cooperation with other NGOs, and together try to make the city friendlier for cyclists and pedestrians, to create public spaces. One of the most useful tools to solve this social issue together with NGOs and the authorities is public hearings and public consultations every week.

It is well known that a city is for people, not for cars, but lots of people such as disabled pedestrians, mother with pushchairs, and cyclists have the same problems concerning their mobility: the disconnected routes (it's not able to cycle without interruption), the absence of sidewalks turnoffs, high edge stones, etc. A chaotic road infrastructure leads to inevitable contraventions of the driving regulations. SISKOM's answer to this challenge was the Warsaw Barriers Map; a map collecting information on the places that hinder movement of parents with prams, cyclists, the elderly, and disabled.<sup>19</sup> This is a way of undertaking different measures to encourage people to cycle: it helps decrease congestion and crowds in public transport, it is healthy, ecological, and cheap, and does not need huge and expensive investment.

Currently in Warsaw, substantial steps have already been done:

1. Dedicated website on cycling in Warsaw;
2. Long-term rental for students, expats, etc.;
3. Awareness campaigns not only on safety but also on environmental cautiousness;
4. Regular surveys and traffic measuring.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> SISKOM, Warsaw Barriers Map, viewed on 30 March 2014 <http://mapabarier.siskom.waw.pl/>

<sup>20</sup> T. Dombi, "ZTM Warsaw, Strategy on Sustainable Development of the Warsaw Transport System", Valencia 2009, viewed on 30 March 2014, [http://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.emta.com%2FIMG%2Fppt%2Fstrategy\\_Warsaw.ppt&ei=zq1\\_](http://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.emta.com%2FIMG%2Fppt%2Fstrategy_Warsaw.ppt&ei=zq1_)

Nevertheless, there are some organisational measures to encourage people to use bicycles, which Dombi has named:

1. Publications about road safety and cycling;
2. Children's bicycle rental for education;
3. Pro-cycling campaigns;
4. Direct contact with inhabitants, consultation about projects, and the direction of development.

One of the main tasks to create a liveable city indicated by the president of SISKOM, Jan Jakiel, is to build a connection of cycle routes into a network covering the whole city. Understanding the need for a more sustainable transport policy leads to growing awareness on cyclists in traffic and partnership both on the roads and pavements. Moreover, to show the positive effect of cycling development to both the authorities and ordinary citizens, it is sufficient to prepare an annual "Cycling report" summarising efforts, including a survey and counting of results, as more actual data on cycling is needed.

### **Bicycle sharing (public bicycle system)**

Warsaw does have a great tradition of cycling; in 1906 the Warsaw Cyclists' Society (WTC) was founded. Nevertheless, with the growth of motorisation and urbanisation, there was less and less commuting by bicycle. Moreover, since 1989 pressure on the public authorities to ignore cyclists grew; as the Road Authority's spokesman, Marek Woś, said: "Warsaw is not a village to ride a bike in." Fortunately, during the 1990s, the situation started to change for the better, and as a result of cooperation with private companies and districts the Veturilo (public bicycle) was introduced to a wide audience in August 2012. The bicycle sharing system in Warsaw is an example of how it is possible to increase cyclist modal share with no additional cost to the city, just due to partnerships with the private sector. Inasmuch as the city budget is always insufficient, the introduction of the bicycle sharing system is more likely to be approved by Samara City Hall, as it has practically no cost to the local authorities. The idea is to open it to private enterprises. All that is needed is to publish a call for tender to potential bicycle sharing operators by the local government, and then to choose the best one.

In Warsaw, the public bicycle system has the following advantages:

1. To demonstrate and save the public nature of the service, with residents and students enjoying half-price fares and 20 minutes of free cycling. In fact, it is possible to change bicycles every 20 minutes to cycle free of charge;

---

U7aLEqGbyQOz4oD4BQ&usg=AFQjCNEG-nnMijKtJaWxzTZKZQR3\_pCwNA&sig2=YJ55LKE4cyouzdpq5EQL\_A&bvm=bv.67720277,d.bGQ

2. Moreover, the public bicycle system is a very useful invention, as many people are afraid of using their own bicycle due to risk of theft;
3. A network of public bicycle stations where users can rent bicycles, includes 173 stations and 2,650 bikes. It operates 24/7;
4. The operation period of the bicycle system is quite long: March-November.

### **Common problems faced by the local authorities and the cycling movement**

Being an expert in the field of urban transport infrastructure reconstruction, Jan Jakiel has underlined the problem of the co-existence of the different cycling groups on the road, which are family couples with children, disabled people, sportspeople, etc. In addition, there is a group of fast bicycle users, who need a dedicated lane to protect these other vulnerable groups. Of course, it means there is less traffic, but the main point is that other people do not feel safe, and to encourage them to use bicycles, special infrastructure conditions are needed.

Usually, they say that a helmet should be worn to be safe, but there is an old joke that this is just to prevent a cyclist's brains from spreading out onto the road in case of crash: it is not for the cyclist, but for the street cleaner. To avoid road accidents and to increase the level of cycling education, Jan Jakiel has suggested schools create a culture of a cycling, which at the same time will educate future politicians. The global objective is to change human mentality.

Another problem is to find a balance between cyclists, pedestrians, and drivers: bicycle traffic should be mixed with car traffic; it is a dynamic and calming solution. The point is not to separate cycling paths, but to create conditions to feel safe: a car plus a car means safety, because they travel at approximately the same speed. However, a bicycle plus a car means insecurity, and this requires a special transport solution, for instance, one lane only for cars in one direction, and another fully functional lane is for cyclists only in another direction. Jan Jakiel has also suggested closing roads that are close to schools, enabling children to use bicycles without the danger of being in an accident; the accessibility for pedestrians to reach all everything they need: schools, hospitals, job, parks, shops, restaurants, etc. To make cycling more useful, a change in the driving regulations is needed, for instance giving priority sometimes only to pedestrians and cyclists to cross difficult curbs. Moreover, developing the city transport infrastructure is impossible without a good municipal transport system, and this includes the development of cycling infrastructure, meaning development of the tram and bus system, as well as pedestrian areas and pavements.



Finally, this policy paper provides two kinds of recommendations, both for the cycling movement and for the municipality to reach an agreement in the process of city transport infrastructure reorganisation and to build a working cycling infrastructure in Samara based on the experience of Warsaw since the early 1990s. The goal of this paper is to show the advantages of open dialogue and a common decision-making process in which the cycling movement has an opportunity to act and help the local authorities choose the right decision that relies on the expert inside knowledge. In other words, an effective urban policy focused on issues of mobility and transport infrastructure, can only be delivered by the public authorities with the active involvement of NGOs and local urban movements. These are just some of the recommendations that could be a guide to discover the right way in urban policy-making in Samara, based on the Warsaw' experience.

### **Recommendations for the local government**

1. Encourage the public sector to open the public bicycle sharing system. The bicycle sharing system in Warsaw is an example of how it is possible to increase the modal share of cyclists with no additional cost to the city, due to partnerships with the private sector;
2. Conduct public hearings, public consultations, and a commission for public dialogue. Being an initiator of the dialogue with authorities, the cycling movement together with the local government should consistently use such tools as: Notification (to publicise the matter to be consulted on), Consultation (a two-way flow of information and opinion exchange), and Participation (involving interest groups in the drafting of policy or legislation).<sup>21</sup> Tamas Dombi, a SISKOM Senior Specialist (Public Transport Authority of Warsaw) has paid attention to the importance of consultative bodies created jointly by the urban movement and municipality, being the Commissions for Social Dialogue;
3. Test good practices: start pilot projects to test the transferability of selected practices (in particular, the public bicycle sharing system);
4. Develop the city transport infrastructure based on the rule: "City is for people, not for cars;"

---

**21** Background Document on Public Consultation (from the OECD Code, 10-Mar-2006), viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/36785341.pdf>



5. Be open to discuss both the main points and the details of projects. Initiate approval of the participatory budget model as a way to communicate with citizens. Participatory budgeting in local government units encourages development of civil society by stimulating grassroots activity. It facilitates dialogue between officials and urban social movements, helps in making controversial decisions, builds residents' trust towards the local government organisation and its officials, and may be a form of cycling infrastructure financing. Moreover, it could be useful to appoint a cycling officer within the local administration (a local government department) to be in charge of consultation of all road investment in the city. The main task of the cycling officer and his team would be preparation of a local cycling strategy consistent with the federal one, to prepare a detailed and specified implementation plan regarding revitalising urban public spaces, and implementation of the cycling infrastructure.

### **Recommendations for the cycling movement**

1. Effectively transfer relevant know-how concerning cycling development to the local authorities;
2. Be ready for open discussion with the local government at public hearings and during public consultations; be ready to take part in creating as well as working in the process of the Commission for social dialogue initiated by the local authorities. In other words, be prepared for extensive dialogue with the local government, cooperation, and consulting if necessary;
3. Use and mix different tools of communication to initiate and maintain dialogue in a proper way that is convenient for officials: use a pen and paper to write "usual" official papers, and the Internet to try to increase the effect of the paper work. Being successful in taking part in the policy-making process requires using all accessible way to communicate with persons are responsible for this;
4. It is necessary not to leave the local government only with requirements to change the current policy, without providing ways of how to carry it out. To be an equal partner for the local authorities, the cycling community should also take care of fundraising issues, look for money or investors, and prove it is possible to realise. It is always possible to do something at the local level, despite not having support at the level of the state. It is necessary to look for grants, as NGOs do not have a permanent income.
5. Conducting extensive educational work among officials in the field of urban planning and the common decision-making process in the context of public consultations and roundtable discussions is necessary.

To summarise, see Table 1, which suggests solutions based on Warsaw's experience that could be applied to Samara.

Solutions from Warsaw could be applied to Samara	Conditions of effective application (and improvement)	Obstacles and opportunities in the application process
1. Maintenance of continuous dialogue between the cycling movement and the local authorities via the Internet (besides traditional pen and paper communication).	The solution is to create an open Internet area for discussion between the local authorities and the cycling movement. New Internet communication techniques help local urban grassroots initiatives to create something in the spirit of "FixMyStreet" ( <a href="http://www.fixmystreet.com">www.fixmystreet.com</a> ) to initiate dialogue with the local authorities and ordinary citizens.	The problem for Samara is that there is no such way to communicate with officials, as Facebook, and even Internet sources are new. However there is an opportunity to be among trendsetters, such as Moscow and St. Petersburg, in the field of the creation of web platforms to communicate with officials transparently to solve common urban issues.
2. Public consultations and Commissions for Social Dialogue.	For Samara, it means the hope to allow inhabitants to participate in revitalising their own city, to take part in sustainable reconstruction for the first time during recent years, especially in the context of FIFA World Cup 2018.	This is a new tool of communication between officials and citizens for Samara, which is why it could be difficult to show that modern democratic society needs to participate in the decision-making process. This opportunity has strong potential to be included into the local Samara reality.
3. To revise the Master Plan and make it adequate to the current urban needs.	In Samara, the old Master Plan has been neglected, but there is no new one. Public consultations as a way to improve public relations between the local authorities and the cycling movement could be a successful tool in making the process of creating a new city Master Plan transparent and understandable for ordinary citizens.	This is the main architect document for the city and a great deal of open discussion and round tables should be conducted before the local authorities are ready to revise as well as change parts of it.
4. To initiate the creation of the participatory budget for Samara (<1%).	Regarding the adaptability of the participatory budgeting idea to Samara, it is important to underline, that it does not require any special legal regulations. It can be introduced as a social contract between the citizens and their representatives in the local government (councillors).	As little as 1% of the city budget is a substantial sum, and this issue needs to be included in the local financial policy by reorganising other parts of the budget. It requires time, as well as public hearings and consultations.
5. To organise and conduct regular Critical Mass cycling events, approved by the local authorities as part of cultural city life.	This is not a protest against the authorities or cars; it would be a mass cultural event and an opportunity for cyclists to demonstrate that there are many of them in Samara; "they are traffic"; they wish to make the city more friendly towards cyclists.	It is possible that car drivers will be against this, although this issue should be regulated by the local authorities. It is important, that Critical Mass does not have a disorganised nature, so the local authorities do not meet problems when approving such events.

## References

1. Background Document on Public Consultation (from the OECD Code, 10-Mar-2006), viewed on 19 April 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/36785341.pdf>
2. Buczynski, A., Dybek, K., Iskierka, Z., "Cycling in Warsaw", *Zielone Mazowsze*, viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.cycling2001>
3. Critical Mass in Warsaw, viewed on 12 May 2014, [http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.critical\\_mass](http://www.zm.org.pl/en/?a=en.critical_mass)
4. Democracy index 2011. Democracy under stress. A report from the Economist Intelligence Unit, December 2011, p. 18-19, viewed on 19 April 2014 ([www.eiu.com](http://www.eiu.com)).

Table 1.  
Solutions from Warsaw that could be applied to Samara

5. Dombi, T., "ZTM Warsaw, Strategy on Sustainable Development of the Warsaw Transport System", Valencia 2009, viewed on 30 March 2014, [http://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.emta.com%2FIMG%2Fppt%2Fstrategy\\_Warsaw.ppt&ei=zq1\\_U7aLEqGbyQOz4oD4BQ&usg=AFQjC-NEG-nnMIjKtJaWxzTZKZQR3\\_pCwNA&sig2=YJs5LKE4cyouzdpq5EQL\\_A&bv=bv.67720277,d.bGQ](http://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCsQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.emta.com%2FIMG%2Fppt%2Fstrategy_Warsaw.ppt&ei=zq1_U7aLEqGbyQOz4oD4BQ&usg=AFQjC-NEG-nnMIjKtJaWxzTZKZQR3_pCwNA&sig2=YJs5LKE4cyouzdpq5EQL_A&bv=bv.67720277,d.bGQ)
6. Carson, L., Gelber, K., "Ideas for community consultation: A discussion on principles and procedures for making consultation work", A report prepared for the NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, February 2001, viewed on 19 April 2014, [http://www.activedemocracy.net/articles/principles\\_procedures\\_final.pdf](http://www.activedemocracy.net/articles/principles_procedures_final.pdf)
7. Gehl Architect Bureau, viewed on 19 April 2014, <http://gehlarchitects.com/>
8. Luhmann, N., *Theory of Society*, vol. 1, 1997.
9. "Partizaning", viewed on 12 May 2014, <http://eng.partizaning.org/>
10. Report of Administration of Samara urban district, 2012, viewed on 10 April 2014, <http://www.city.samara.ru/administration/dept/965>
11. SISKOM, Warsaw Barriers Map, viewed on 30 March 2014, <http://mapabARRIER.siskom.waw.pl/>
12. Slide deck "How much self-governance is in local government?" City of Warsaw, Centre of Public Communications, 12.03.2014, viewed on 19 April 2014, [http://www.forumdavos.com/uploads/presentations/presentation\\_114.pdf](http://www.forumdavos.com/uploads/presentations/presentation_114.pdf)
13. *The Constitution of the Russian Federation*, viewed on 28 March 2014, <http://www.constitution.ru/>
14. UN-HABITAT, *72 Frequently Asked Questions about Participatory Budgeting*, Quito 2004, p. 20. ISBN 92-1-131699-5.
15. Zaufanie społeczne. Komunikat z badań, BS/33/2012, Centrum Badań Opinii Publicznej, Warszawa, March 2012.