

Julia Anna Klimek

University of Szczecin
Institute of Management
orcid.org/0000-0001-8556-9068
e-mail: julia.klimek@usz.edu.pl

Determinants of Social Dysfunctions of Local Government Units

Abstract. *Turbulent conditions in which local government units in Poland operate are manifested in the form of several dysfunctions identified broadly in the literature. Although an in-depth analysis of all levels of local government in Poland makes it possible to extend the list of its dysfunctions, many researchers recognise the need to identify causes of this socio-economic reality. The article focuses on one possible interpretation of the issue, taking into account critical findings in the field of socio-economics, thus deepening the determinants of social dysfunctions of local government units, including: autocratic, bureaucratic, imperfect community. The survey points out that ontological security in decision-making processes, as well as in the context of discursive consciousness, could be responsible for most dysfunctions to the local self-government in Poland. The author states that the participation of citizens at all levels of the local community life, including those at the local government level, is a significant factor dynamizing the activity of local government itself. Therefore in conclusions the author presented several alternatives to strengthen local government democracy, corresponding to the theoretical part of the study, including the Arenstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. Hence, this work is complementary to contemporary research on local self-governance, and its conclusions could have been a foundation for future analyzes based on primary data.*

Keywords: *local self-government, local government units, local government's dysfunctions, social barriers, bureaucracy, local government's determinants*

1. Introduction

In recent years, one could witness a disturbing course of local government units (LGUs) in Poland that are backed by several self-governance dysfunctions identified in "Report on the state of local self-government in Poland." The report

indicates and describes in more detail relevant local government's dysfunctions, including these of a social nature, that is [Bober et al. 2013]:

- autocratic – gradual weakening of local government democracy,
- bureaucratic – administration inefficiency, associated with clerks domination in LGUs,
- imperfect community – developing informal patron-client relationships (based on patrimonialism and clientelism), as well as developing social capital with restrained subjectivity.

Further, an in-depth analysis of local self-government in Poland might allow us to extend the list of its dysfunctions. However, the conclusion presented in the Report indicates already the call for causes of this socio-economic reality. The article draws attention to one possible interpretation of the issue, taking into consideration crucial findings in the field of social sciences. Social dysfunctions presented in the report become critical in this article, which provides data analysis on social barriers at the local self-government level in Poland. This approach enabled an answer to the question regarding social barriers at the level of local self-government in Poland. This paper tries to emphasize the theoretical perspective based on the assumption that social system such as local community exists, and it is essential to the local self-government, that social structure, social statuses, and roles are authentic. Hence, this work is complementary to the contemporary study on the determinants of social barriers in local government units.

The primary aim of the paper is to examine social barriers to the local self-government taking into consideration dysfunctions identified in "Report on the state of local self-government in Poland." Resulting from the primary aim – the secondary aim is to identify social determinants to the LGUs. The survey was conducted with a particular focus on structuration theory examining foreign and domestic literature. Data analysis was based on *data mining* (data science) to create new ideas. This bottom-up (exploratory and predictive) analysis was carried out using sophisticated analysis software such as SPSS based on *Social Diagnosis* database.

The analysis based on secondary data led to the formulation of hypotheses – social determinants to the local self-government – which in the nearest future should contribute to further research and development in the field of LGUs, based on primary data. This procedure seems to be necessary, especially in the context of conceptual work, i.e., the theoretical validity of the concepts analyzed, the correct selection of research indicators [Babbie 2007], the correctness in the field of finding the proper direction of a cause-effect relationship [Nowak 2008].

2. Dysfunctions caused by routinized interactions

Through the 20th century, most researchers stated that individuals are free and could take actions without being influenced by society, or that individuals

are a product of social structures and their beings and decisions are not freely made. To move beyond those disputes, Anthony Giddens introduced a middle way (Fig. 1) which has not determined whether someone sees agency (human action and intention) or structure as being more influential.

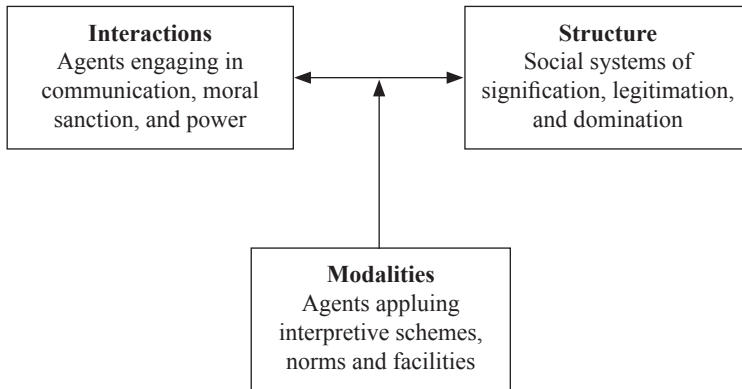


Figure 1. Structuration theory

Source: Giddens 2003.

Therefore, relationships in organizations such as the local government unit could be explored following the theoretical concept of Anthony Giddens [2003]. Explaining such units, Giddens introduced it as rules and resources used by spatial and temporal social actors (and embedded in agents' memory traces). These rules should be seen as procedures that are understood correctly and introduced in various situations. Rules are also characterised by specific features that should be kept in mind because of their explanatory function, i.e., they are used often in conversations, interactive rituals,¹ or daily routines of local government units' employees. These rules have been captured, understood, and became part of a standard knowledge of actors (here employees of LGUs). Although they are characterised as informal, unsaved and inexpressible nor firmly rooted in interpersonal skills [Giddens 2003], some rules might be normative, which means it is possible to articulate them openly, or at least to refer to them (i.e., some of them are well understood in a hidden manner, and thus used to control the flow of interaction in a manner not to be easily/clearly put into words).

Resources, on the other hand, could provide some facilities for people employed in local government units in decision-making areas. The ability to take ac-

¹ Interactive ritual [Goffman 2006] is individual or collective behaviour of a particular scheme, which is the result of changing reality. Interactive ritual runs precisely and formally according to the selected scenario.

tion requires resources such as physical facilities and organizational capabilities. In this context, the resource could be understood as a factor responsible for power – that is to say, by engaging resources in the interaction it is possible to persuade people to take some action, or even to formulate an action plan [Turner 2006].

Both resources and rules are transformative and intermediary communication elements. That means that resources could be transformed according to various patterns, as well as they could be used to perform actions and achieve goals by exercising different forms and levels of power by LGUs and in LGUs. Rules, on the other hand, are responsible for building up various combinations of methods and formulas that improve communication, enable interaction, and mutual adaptation of people. The intermediary nature of resources and rules manifests in the fact that actors of socio-economic reality such as LGUs employees, use them to create, maintain, or transform time-space relations [Turner 2006].

According to the structuration theory, rules and resources of social structure are interrelated. Precisely the same applies to the relation between power (authority), sanctions, and means of communication. Therefore, in social systems, such as LGUs, where people interact with each other, power (authority) is being used to protect sets of entitlements and duties, as well as it is a means of communication. It is also possible to exercise power (governance) only through communication and sanctions. In this case, the social structure refers to rules and resources that could be transformed when used in specific circumstances. The transformation seems to be crucial because it implies that social interaction and social structure are interrelated and interdependent (they simply influence each other) [Turner 2006]. Therefore, the local government unit could be seen according to the structuration theory as the political and economic institution. The most important criterion that determines the type of institution is the hierarchy of rules and resources (Table 1).

Table 1. Political and economic institutions according to the structuration theory

Type of institution	Rules and resources hierarchy
Political institution	The use of authority (domination) together with interpretative rules (importance) and with normative rules (legitimisation)
Economic institution	The use of allocation (domination) together with interpretative rules (importance) and with normative rules (legitimisation)

Source: Turner 2006.

It should be emphasised that interactions in socio-economic reality are subjected to the dynamics of institutional processes. That is why it seems almost impossible to separate the economic, political, legal, and symbolic orders. Institutions are not external to their local government units, which means that they are shaped by using various rules and resources in current social relations. In addition,

the most basics of all rules and resources, i.e., power, domination, legitimation, are linked to institutionalisation [Turner 2006].

The key issue in exercising power at the local government level is understanding the dynamics of human action with its not always measurable consequences. Taking action is always preceded by so-called reflexive monitoring, namely focusing, calculation, or consequences impact. That monitoring results from two levels of consciousness, such as discursive consciousness (understood as the ability to express knowledge verbally) and practical consciousness (understood as knowledgeability in relation to own action and social situation, but it is so integrated as to be hardly noticed). People in LGUs constantly use both levels of consciousness to interpret all events, but they are rarely able to articulate them. Therefore, almost all human activities in LGUs are contextual – actions have unconscious dimensions, viz., they succumb to pressure, which gives the activity a specific direction. Thus, there is no direct relationship between an action and its motive. Actors of the local government reality (especially LGUs employees) are able to rationalise their actions so that direct relationships with motives seems to be what drives their actions. The ontological security [Giddens 2007] is responsible for the unconscious dimension of a person's activity. That security is one of the basic driving forces for an action, based on the desire to be trustworthy and resulting from the ability to reduce anxiety in social relations. Social anxiety is often based on routinized interactions. Unconscious motives of ontological security require interaction that is routinized (i.e., predictable and permanent), as well as regionalised (i.e., geographically arranged). Taking into consideration the above mentioned human's actions, it is possible to depict LGUs' patterns linked to the very essence of its employees' actions [Giddens 2007].

The routinized interaction patterns ensure that they would stay permanent, and thereby they are able to reproduce the structure (such as rules and resources) and institutions (such as LGUs). Thus, they introduce an element of predictability and security to the actions of LGUs' employees, as well as LGUs' clients. That is why routinized interactions are the most influential factor for the basic aspects of the local self-government (structure and activity of the entity) [Giddens 2007].

Based on mechanisms of routinized interactions, the theoretical context presented in this section explained probable causes of social barriers at the self-government level. The ontological security in decision-making processes, as well as in the context of discursive consciousness, could be responsible for most dysfunctions to the local self-government in Poland. Some actions of entities responsible for LGUs might result from the need to build a sense of security or from striving to build trust. Discursive consciousness' behaviour patterns and attitudes of people who are able to influence others could be equally crucial here.

3. The gradual weakening of the local government democracy

The Polish administrative reform of 1998 was to bring real changes at the local government level. The reform was supposed to increase the importance of local government in the eyes of its community and translate into local and regional development. The different types towards achieving full citizen power (strengthening local government democracy) are presented as the ladder of citizen participation with each level corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining their local reality (Fig. 2). Arnstein [1969] explained two first steps (1 and 2) on the ladder as non-participative where LGUs public support could be achieved only by directed education and good PR. Second group consists of three steps, so-called degrees of tokenism (3, 4, 5) engages local communities in LGUs activities to some extent with no possibility of decision-making nor planning. The last group of local government democracy levels (6, 7, 8) presents full peoples participations in LGUs tasks (full local government democracy). The eight-step ladder is a simplification, yet it serves to explain the point that there are many vital stages of citizen participation at local government level in the eyes of its community.

Therefore, society's perception of the local government seems to be a key to understanding the process of the gradual weakening of the local government

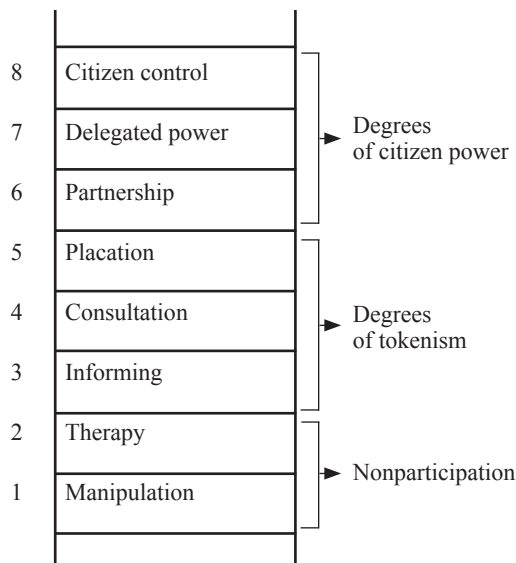


Figure 2. The ladder of citizen participation

Source: Arnstein 1969.

democracy. It is enough to mention here that in 2012 almost every second respondent [TNS OBOP 2012] negatively assessed their local authorities (48%); nevertheless, respondents acknowledged that their role for the local community organization and development is crucial (75%). Nowadays, the majority of respondents positively assess their local authorities (67%); negative opinion gives every fifth inhabitant of Poland (21%) (Feliksiak 2015). Changing their opinion on the local government's performance over time is a common phenomenon, and it should not cause much concern, especially since it is also often determined by peoples political preferences.

The perception of local government's impact on the development of so-called "small homelands" has been changed since 2012. The majority of respondents (58%) believe that the development of their city depends on municipal self-government [Hipsz 2015]. Almost half of the Polish society (45%) recognizes the important role of *poviat*, every third resident (37%) sees the important role of *voivodship* in the development of their place of residence. Furthermore, almost every third respondent (31%) points out that the central government's authorities have a big influence on their cities development. Besides, a growing number of people notice the important role of the European Union (41%) as well. According to Polish society, the local government's influence is not as important itself. Therefore the thesis on the gradual weakening of local government democracy may seem right.

The weakening role of local authorities in the development of cities could be confirmed based on another study conducted by Natalia Hipsz. Commune self-government's authorities influence decreased from 64% in 2010 to 58% in 2015, *poviat*'s from 50% in 2010 to 45% in 2015, *voivodeship*'s from 40% in 2010 to 37% in 2015 [Hipsz 2015]. At the same time, respondents admitted that the European Union authorities' influence on city development increased from 34% in 2010 to 41% in 2015. This indirectly indicates the weakening role of local authorities in decision-making processes. It is obvious that access to financial resources by institutions managing EU funds promotes routinization and, thus, reproduction of the structure and institution itself.

Polish society's opinion on being able to influence their city or commune affairs is divided. Number of people who declared such an attitude (49%) is almost the same as those who have an opposite view (48%). On the contrary, only every fourth Polish resident (24%) is convinced that they influence decisions made on the national level [Hipsz 2015]. On the one hand, it could increase the involvement in local community affairs. On the other hand, it could cause isolation and withdrawal from social involvement.

Nevertheless, Polish society mobilization at the level of their declarations is visible, especially regarding responsibility for the local community. The majority of Poles (81%) are in favour of regulations that implement a minimum level of

public consultations to be carried out in the commune [TNS OBOP 2012]. Moreover, 82% of respondents would accept a possible delay in the public investment or decision-making process. Furthermore, the vast majority of respondents consider a civic interpellation (82%) and civic, legislative initiative (79%) to be crucial. The high level of social support for changes in local self-government policy might indicate some concerns arising from the weakening role of local government democracy itself.

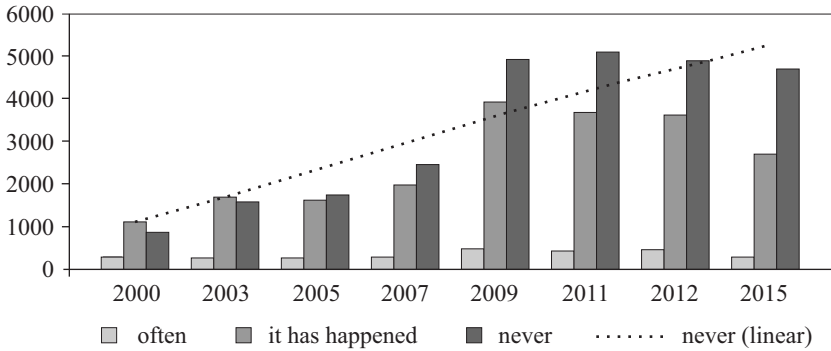
On the contrary, study *Proposals regarding systemic changes in Poland* shows few opinions (5%) for the democratisation of political life. Only 3% of respondents were in favour of citizen empowerment; 0.4% were in favour of promoting local community involvement in LGUs decision, and 0.2% were in favour of strengthening the role of local governments [Badora 2015]. These declarations might result from the common opinion that management at the local government level is not as important as social issues, health care, etc. Just as vital here is the level of awareness regarding the influence of local government on the level and quality of life. Nowadays, cultural patterns and lifestyles of society, determined by numerous duties and interactions, could reduce their interest in local community problems.

4. Bureaucracy

The bureaucracy itself, along with all its consequences for the economy, was discussed in detail by Max Weber [2002]. Without going into technical details of this phenomenon, it is worth to find its indicators based on experience shared by public opinion especially. The first one that could shed some light on the functioning of local government might be the issue of disruptions while taking care of an official matter [*Social Diagnosos* 2019]. The percentage of people declaring frequent problems while taking care of an official matter over the period 2000-2015 seems to decrease from 19.1% in 2000 to 8.4% in 2015. The percentage of those who have encountered difficulties when dealing with an official matter is still at a similar and very high level (62% in 2000, 57% in 2015). It means that in practice, at least every second person in Poland has encountered significant obstacles on their way to accomplishing some official matter. On the other hand, it should also be emphasized that in the analysed period (years 2000-2015), the percentage of people who have never encountered problems during the implementation of an official matter increases (from 18.9% in 2000 to 34.7% in 2015). The second crucial bureaucracy indicator is the high need to lean on personal relationships while taking care of an official matter (Chart 1).

Although relying on acquaintances in order to finalise an official matter seems to decrease over time (from 12.3% in 2000 to 3.8% in 2015), it still requires

Chart 1. Connection-based Taking Care of an Official Matter



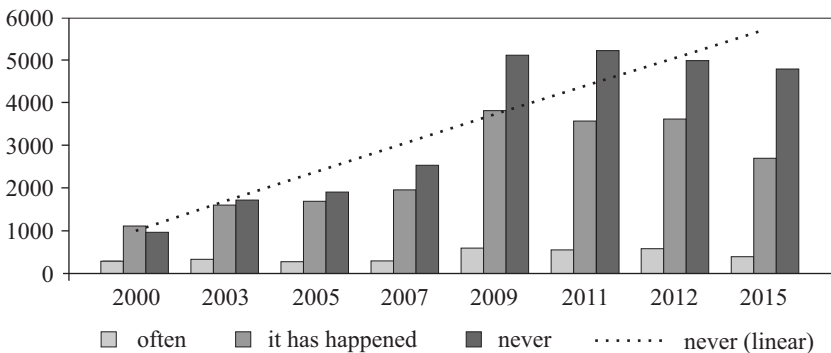
n in: 2000 – 2224, 2003 – 3556, 2005 – 3632, 2007 – 4674, 2009 – 9385, 2011 – 9242, 2012 – 9038, 2015 – 7782

Source: www.diagnoza.com [accessed: 2.11.2019].

monitoring and a systemic solution (Chart 1). Almost half of the population, while taking care of an official matter, has encountered difficulties requiring the support of other people or seeking alternative ways to finalise it (from 49.2% in 2000 to 35.3% in 2015). It could mean that public administration suffers from the governance ineffectiveness. However, it is promising that overtime growing percentage of people declared that they never leaned on personal relationships while taking care of an official matter (from 38.5% in 2000 to 60.8% in 2015).

A sense of powerlessness and humiliation when taking care of official matters could indicate an incorrect way of providing public service for citizens (Chart 2).

Chart 2. A Sense of Powerlessness and Humiliation when Taking Care of Official Matters



n in: 2000 – 2227, 2003 – 3557, 2005 – 3765, 2007 – 4678, 2009 – 9388, 2011 – 9234, 2012 – 9043, 2015 – 7772

Source: www.diagnoza.com [accessed: 2.11.2019].

The percentage of people declaring frequent feelings of helplessness or other negative emotions when dealing with some official matters decreased from 10.4% in 2000 to 4.3% in 2015 (Chart 2). Also, the number of people who declared that they had experienced similar emotions decreased over time (from 47.8% in 2000 to 34.9% in 2015). Unfortunately, a situation in which almost every second person claims that they have felt powerless and humiliated might be a proof of bureaucracy phenomenon. It seems comforting that in the years 2000-2015 percentage of respondents who declared that they had never felt powerless nor humiliated increased from 41.9% in 2000 to 60.9% in 2015.

These arguments seem to confirm the bureaucratic phenomenon in Poland. It manifests itself in a noticeable impediment when carrying out an official matter. Another study that could submit to this statement presents the level of complexity of administrative procedures [Omyła-Rudzka 2015]. Most Polish residents (55%) finds submitting a PIT declaration easy, but almost every third resident (30%) admit that filling out the tax form is difficult. It may indicate a high degree of complexity involved in this procedure. Thus, it remains a challenge for public institutions in the upcoming years to ensure that all procedures remain fully understood and are not associated negatively.

The study on the expected systemic changes in Poland [Badora 2015] shows that 6% of respondents expect reforms in the public administration. People drew their attention in particular to limiting bureaucracy and the number of clerks and improving public institutions' performance (4%), as well as increasing the liability of clerks for wrong decisions (1%). It leads to the conclusion that next to other systemic problems, those regarding public administration are highly important. The very fact that they are noticed and highlighted by the survey's participants deserves reflection in terms of more in-depth cognitive activity as well as significant systemic changes.

5. Imperfect community

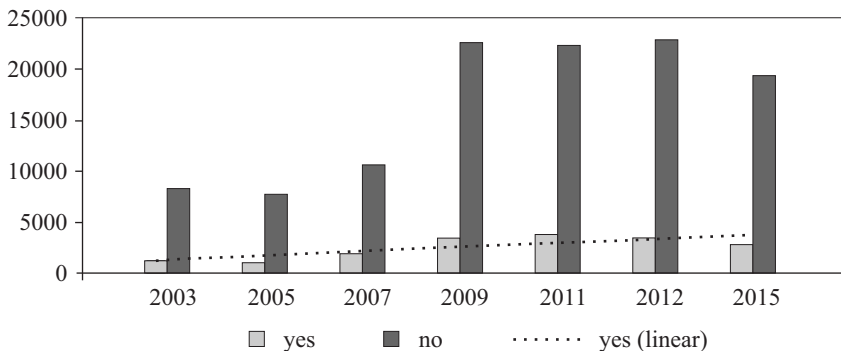
The community was a fundamental issue for the majority of social science researchers. However, the author, whose findings seem to be the most important for this analysis, is Jean Jacques Rousseau. His concept of the social contract [Rousseau 2007] is based on values of equality and mutual trust. These, in turn, are related to the direct citizens' involvement in social issues, such as common good activities. This type of commitment enables us to build the so-called civil society, which could be the basis for reflections on the imperfect community.

Participation in Elections is an indicator of civic involvement. Many researches confirm that declared participation in elections is always higher than in reality. Most Polish people who took part in the survey indicated that their participation

in national or local government elections increased in the analysed period (from 2007 to 2015) from 63.5% in 2007 to 70.5% in 2015 [*Social Diagnosis* 2019]. In contrast, peoples' real involvement [Krajowe Biuro Wyborcze 2019] in local government elections was at the level of 53.9% in 2007 and 47.3% in 2010, 48.8% in 2018, similarly as for parliamentary elections (47.3% in 2010, 49.1% in 2015, 45.9% in 2019). It suggests that respondents could be rather isolated from society, and they are not willing to co-decide about the future fate of LGUs nor the country.

Undoubtedly, a more direct indicator of civic engagement is declared membership in organizations, associations, committees, etc. (Chart 3). Membership in an organization/association could be perceived, unlike participation in elections, as a truly prosocial behaviour itself.

Chart 3. Membership in an organization/association (declared)



n in: 2003 – 9560, 2005 – 8769, 2007 – 12486, 2009 – 25932, 2011 – 26107, 2012 – 26311, 2015 – 22173

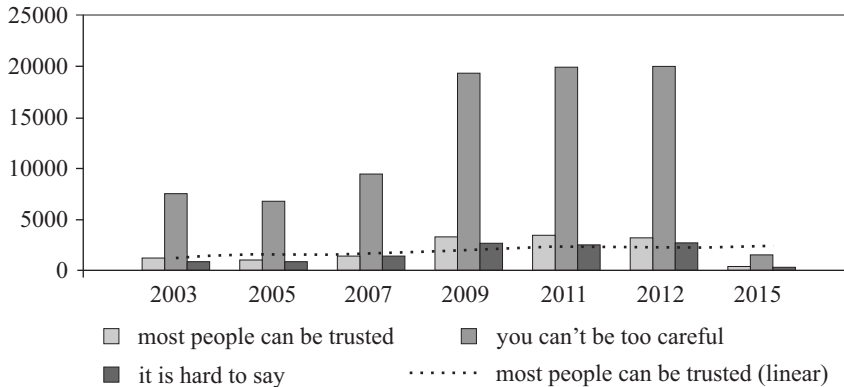
Source: www.diagnoza.com [accessed: 2.11.2019].

The level of civic involvement of Polish society can be considered as minimal. Over analysed period (2003-2015), only every tenth person declared a direct involvement in various organizations, associations, etc. (from 12.1% in 2003 to 12.7% in 2015) (Chart 3). The vast majority of respondents remain passive in this area. This trend remains at a constant and very high level (from 87.9% in 2003 to 87.3% in 2015).

Another crucial imperfect community indicator is direct participation in a public meeting (excluding a meeting at work). Percentage of respondents declaring their participation in a public meeting during the period from 2003 to 2015 decreased from 18.4% in 2003 to 19.4% in 2015 [*Social Diagnosis* 2019]. The vast majority of people declared that they did not participate in this type of activity (from 81.6% in 2003 to 83.5% in 2012). It seems to confirm the low level of social involvement in Poland (positive declarations was gathered from every fifth person

only). Participation in a public meeting is more popular among the respondents than membership in an organization. Higher involvement in this type of behaviour might result from the lack of ability or necessity to undertake long-term activities, or from the lack of identification with a social group.

Chart 4. Trusting others



n in: 2003 – 9568, 2005 – 8726, 2007 – 12474, 2009 – 25928, 2011 – 26236, 2012 – 26285, 2015 – 2109

Source: www.diagnoza.com [accessed: 2.11.2019].

Undertaking activities for the benefit of civil society is directly related to the social trust (Chart 4). Trusting others remains at an extremely low level, which might affect civil society development. Although, the increasing tendency of trusting other people declared by respondents is observed in the period from 2003 to 2015, change in this dimension of socio-economic life is not very rapid (from 11% to 19.6%). Every tenth person participating in the study is unable to take a position on this matter. It means that the majority of Poles do not trust other people (from 79.7% in 2003 to 77.48% in 2015).

Nevertheless, the percentage of respondents declaring trusting their neighbours has increased significantly from 59.2% in 2011 to 80.8% in 2012 (Social Diagnosis 2019). Therefore, it could be assumed that anonymous persons are not perceived by Polish society as trustworthy (unlike people with whom there is some kind of bond, e.g., family, neighbour, employee). Although it seems to be a natural phenomenon, low level of trust in so-called strangers does not allow Polish society to welcome anonymous persons with open arms. Taking this into account, it should be stated that building a community based on mutual trust requires time and in-depth, intensive interaction between particular social groups. That is why building a civil society is becoming a long-term challenge.

6. Conclusions and final remarks

Social dysfunctions in the local self-government in Poland identified based on the “Report on the state of local self-government in Poland” were examined in this survey and became the stepping stone in developing determinants in the LGU.

Theoretical as well as a bottom-up approach to this research is one form the range and types of possible solutions to the given problem. Access to a broader range of precisely fitted data – in terms of theoretical accuracy – would obviously allow achieving a higher cognitive level of examination. Thus, taking into consideration the presented theoretical concepts, the selection of indicators gathered in this study is not a closed set. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated in the survey that diagnosed LGUs’ dysfunctions are reflected in social behaviours and social attitudes in Poland. As a result, in the course of the conceptualisation process, based on secondary data analysis, a number of social factors are identified. It led to listing social determinants in the LGUs. In the future, they could require confirmation in the field of in-depth quantitative analyses with a particular focus on the direction and intensity of cause-effect relationships.

The basic social determinants in the local self-government at the mesostructural and microstructural level include:

- social assessment of local government authorities,
- social assessment of public investments (including public nuisance investments especially, e.g., waste incineration),
- social preferences in the field of public investments,
- local community participation in public investment (at both financial and personal levels),
- joint responsibility of the local community for public investments (e.g., through involvement in the decision-making process),
- public consultation process for any public investment,
- intelligible administrative procedures,
- LGUs’ employees availability for a vast community (shortening the distance especially to the staff with a higher level of substantive and decision-making responsibility),
- level of responsibility of LGUs’ employees for decisions (financial in particular),
- level of local community involvement,
- level of local community trust to others,
- level of local community identification with LGUs activities.

Previous research experience provides equally cognitively stimulating social factors that could complement those mentioned above:

- transparency and clarity of investment procedures,
- shaping attitudes and opinions of the local community through social engineering techniques,
- local community involvement in the decision-making process [Bartłomiejski 2009].

When elaborating on social dysfunctions in the local self-government, one cannot ignore demographic factors, which will, in the nearest future, force national government along with local governments to imply crucial economic and social changes in Poland. Changes that take into account the tendency that Western societies' authorities have had to face for some time ago.

The dynamics of socioeconomic life is based on relations and interactions. Hence, the number of social factors that could affect the organization such as LGU seems to be unlimited, and certainly not entirely controllable. At this stage of research, especially, it is difficult to indicate factors relevant to the subject of these considerations clearly. Thus, in the nearest future, it is necessary to undertake a research within building up a statistical model regarding the local government units' level based on their determinants, including those of social nature. It seems that determinants of the most significant impact on local self-government could be selected based on factor analysis during the next survey.

References

- Arnstein S.R., 1969, A Ladder of Citizen Participation, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.
- Babbie E., 2007, *Badania społeczne w praktyce*, Warszawa: WN PWN.
- Bartłomiejski R., Klimek J., 2009, *Badania społeczne w konsultacjach społecznych. Aspekty przestrzegania ryzyka – studium przypadku*, Szczecin: Economicus.
- Bober J., Hausner J., Izdebski H., Lachiewicz W., Mazur S., Nelicki A., Nowotarski B., Puzyna W., Surówka K., Zachariasz I., Zawicki M., 2013, *Narastające dysfunkcje, zasadnicze dylematy, konieczne działania. Raport o stanie samorządności terytorialnej w Polsce*, Kraków: Małopolska Szkoła Administracji Publicznej.
- Feliksiak M., 2015, *Oceny instytucji publicznych. Komunikat z badań*, Warszawa: CBOS.
- Giddens A., 2003, *Stanowienie społeczeństwa. Zarys teorii strukturacji*, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka.
- Giddens A., 2007, *Nowoczesność i tożsamość. Ja i społeczeństwo w epoce późnej nowoczesności*, Warszawa: WN PWN.
- Goffman E., 2006, *Rytuał interakcyjny*, Warszawa: WN PWN.
- Hipsz N., 2015, *25 lat państwa obywatelskiego. Społeczne oceny samorządności terytorialnej. Komunikat z badań*, Warszawa: CBOS.
- Integrated Social Diagnosis Database, 2015, www.diagnoza.com [accessed: 2.11.2019].
- Krajowe Biuro Wyborcze, 2019, <https://pkw.gov.pl> [accessed: 2.11.2019].
- Nowak S., 2008, *Metodologia badań społecznych*, Warszawa: WN PWN.
- Omyła-Rudzka M., 2015, *Rozliczenia podatkowe i kwota wolna od podatku. Komunikat z badań*, Warszawa: CBOS.
- Rousseau J.J., 2007, *Umowa społeczna*, Kęty: Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki.

TNS OBOP, 2012, *Polacy o samorządzie władzach lokalnych oraz zaangażowaniu w funkcjonowanie społeczności lokalnej. Prezentacja wyników badań*, Warszawa.

Turner J.H., 2006, *Struktura teorii socjologicznej*, Warszawa: WN PWN.

Weber M., 2002, *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, Warszawa: WN PWN.

Przyczyny społecznych dysfunkcji samorządu terytorialnego

Streszczenie. *O turbulencji uwarunkowań funkcjonowania samorządu terytorialnego w Polsce świadczy szereg dysfunkcji zidentyfikowanych i szczegółowo scharakteryzowanych w literaturze przedmiotu. Choć pogłębiona analiza funkcjonowania wszystkich szczebli samorządu terytorialnego w Polsce pozwala na rozszerzenie listy tych dysfunkcji, wielu badaczy podkreśla konieczność wskazania przyczyn tej rzeczywistości społeczno-gospodarczej. W artykule zwrócono uwagę na jedną z możliwych interpretacji zagadnienia, biorąc pod uwagę kluczowe ustalenia z zakresu nauk społecznych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ekonomii i finansów, pogłębiając tym samym determinanty dysfunkcji społecznych JST, m.in. autokratyczną, biurokratyczną, niedoskonałą społeczność. W pracy wskazano, że to bezpieczeństwo ontologiczne (pracowników samorządowych szczególnie), a także świadomość dyskursywna, mogą być jednym z istotnych źródeł większości dysfunkcji samorządu lokalnego w Polsce. Podkreślono także, że udział obywateli na każdym szczeblu życia społeczności lokalnej, w tym na szczeblu samorządowym, jest czynnikiem m.in. dynamizującym działalność samorządu terytorialnego. W zakończeniu zaproponowano szereg sposobów wzmocnienia demokracji samorządowej, korespondujących z częścią teoretyczną badania, w tym na podstawie drabiny partycypacji obywatelskiej Arnsteina. Praca ta jest komplementarna wobec współczesnych badań nad samorządnością terytorialną, a wypływające z niej konkluzje stanowią obszerny zbiór dla przyszłych analiz w oparciu o dane pierwotne.*

Słowa kluczowe: samorząd terytorialny, jednostki samorządu terytorialnego, dysfunkcje JST, bariery społeczne, biurokracja, determinanty samorządu terytorialnego