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Ethical values and norms in the communication systems of public institutions

Abstract

Objectives: This article aims to provide a theoretical analysis of communication in public institutions with regard to ethical values and norms. More specifically, the objective is to try to understand how ethics is anchored in communication systems in organizations acting on behalf and for the community.

Research Design & Methods: The paradigm which the authors refer to is the social communication theory, theories of professional ethics and writings of management specialists who work in the field of organisational communication.

Findings: While exploring the literature in the said fields, the authors draw analytical conclusions regarding values and norms which should (normative approach) characterise the system of internal and external communication in public institutions, undertaking an attempt to build a theoretical model at the same time.

Implications / Recommendations: The analysis shows that the values and norms necessary for public institutions to operate properly are connected primarily with the need for all groups of stakeholders focused around this process to co-operate.

Contribution / Value Added: The authors try to organise the values and norms typical for communication systems in public institutions into a model.

Article classification: theoretical article: conceptual article

Keywords: ethics, communication, morality, norms, values, public institution

JEL classification: M140

Introduction

Communicating and communication[1] are key terms existing nowadays and analysed both in studies of social sciences and humanities and in daily life of individuals, groups and organisations. Many scientific articles have been written, numerous studies carried out, and textbooks and handbooks written on this topic, even though it is only about 45 years old (Watzlawick et al., 1967; Habermas,

[1] Many languages do not distinguish between those two terms, e.g. in English there is only one term: *communication*. For the purposes of this article a distinction has made between these two terms: communicating is understood as a process of interaction between entities (people and/or groups, organisations), which consists of creating and negotiating meanings through symbolic, verbal and non-verbal interaction (Cheney et al., 2011, p. xii; Mumby, 2013, p. 14); and communication is a term underlining the existence of a system within the meaning of a set of elements which are in a mutual relationship (Bertalanffy, 1984, p. 86).

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1981a, 1981b; Johannesen, 1990; Graber, 2003; Huang, 2004; Welch & Jackson, 2007; Stewart, 2011; Maigret, 2012). Nevertheless, there are many areas requiring investigation, expert evaluations, analyses or discussions (Donsbach, 2006). The topic which has so far been examined poorly seems to be the issue of ethics in the communication process and communication system. Probably the first, and definitely the first comprehensive, book discussing this issue is a handbook titled *The Handbook of Communication Ethics,* published in 2011 (Cheney et al., 2011).

The etymology of the word "communicating" itself shows implicit values and ethical norms. It is derived from Latin word *communicare* and originally meant participating and connecting rather than passing on content. Today it combines both these elements, because it means both the participation of the sender and the receiver in the same process and the act of exchange which takes place between them as with the help of various techniques, a symbolic transaction occurs between the sender and the receiver of the message (Maigret, 2012, p. 35). A significant contribution to the understanding of this process has been made by research carried out by culture anthropologists and developmental psychologists, who not so much want to learn the ways and forms of communicating but rather understand the reasons for the occurrence of communication as a process that takes place between people (Tomasello, 2015). Their research shows that communication evolved as part of group ventures (Tomasello, 2015, p. 75); for example, children communicate with each other by informing and interpreting in such way as to encourage co-operation at the same time (idem, p. 39). This means that co-operation was a norm which contributed to the establishing of relationships between people using intentional information. This is why the analysis of relations between communication and ethics seems to be a topic enabling one to understand the nature of the communication process better.

The connection between communicating and ethics can be studied at least in four areas. The first one is the interpretation of the placement of ethics in the very process of communicating (Johannesen, 1990); the second is the topic of ethical communicating; the third is the practical issue, meaning how to communicate ethical behaviours; and the fourth is the ethics of communicating in individual fields, such as management, marketing, public relations, human resources, media, linguistics and everyday social practice, with particular emphasis put on cultural diversity. Communicating and ethics are thus strongly connected with each other through humans, because they are the communicators (Johannesen, 2001, p. 126) and because it is the entity that is the bearer of ethical values and norms. As many researchers in this field underline, humans are moral agents, rational subjects and communicators who make choices (Stewart, 2011, p.18).

One of the important questions those researching the communicating process and communication systems pose relates to an alternative choice: research should be a description and/or explanation free of normative assumptions or should have a clear normative goal of indicating norms and rules that people should follow at all levels of communicating, from interpersonal to social (Donsbach, 2006, p. 446). That is why the goal of this article is a theoretical analysis of communicating in public institutions with regard to ethical values and norms. In more detail, the goal is an attempt to understand the anchoring of ethics in communication systems in organisations operating on behalf of society and for its benefit.

One of today's particularly appreciated systems in every organisation is the communication system, because all organisations generate, receive, use and manage information (Graber, 2003). Communication is considered a factor preceding trust (Grudzewski et al., 2007, p. 113). Organisations are thus communication structures constituted by the communicating process, so they exist because people communicate and make structural associations as a result (Mumby, 2013, p. 14). What also applies to people is the issue of the ethicality of their actions. Ethics is a primaeval afterthought

tackled by people since the very beginning of their existence both in a scientific and casual way. In the most basic sense, ethics is a science dealing with discerning what is good and what is bad. Ethics is divided into two basic branches: descriptive ethics and normative ethics. It is this division that has particular significance in the analysis of processes and systems of communication typical for public institutions, because the following question comes up: which branch of ethics should examine these systems? The descriptive one, which means recreating the values and norms that the entities follow in communicating processes, or the normative one, which means determining what should characterise these values and norms?

Communicating as a process of interaction taking place between people is one of the oldest processes known to man. Due to the meaning and role of communicating in the lives of entities and social life, today it is tackled by researchers from various scientific fields, who try to understand what influences behaviours, attitudes, emotions, decision-making process, tasks performed by people, changes taking place in the world and many other issues which are still not recognised sufficiently and which we simply want to understand. The prevalence of various forms of communicating and functions performed by this process makes people form real communication communities (Apel, 1973, p. 431 after Borowicz-Sierocka, 2016, p. 195). If only on the basis of the fact that both ethics and communicating accompany people from the very beginning, ethics can be regarded as an integral part of communicating. However, this does not mean that every instance of communicating and every communication system are ethical. Therefore, since the ancient times the philosophers for whom morality was significant tried to indicate the norms and rules allowing people to communicate in an ethical way. Communication also became a subject of consideration by philosophers and some of them talk directly about the philosophy of communication (Apel, 1990). As Borowicz-Sierocka underlines, "It is our communication competence, the specific human capacity for communicative co-operation, that decides (one would like to say, in the final instance) about the specific nature of the highest ethical duty, its universal dimension and timeless character." (Borowicz-Sierocka, 2016, p. 189). That author, summarising the considerations of Michael Tomasello (Tomasello, 2002), states that communication is characterised by the following: co-operation in the scope of culturally determined co-creation of knowledge, intentionality hidden in symbols via which communication takes place, joint participation and joint intentionality (Sierocka, 2012). These features result from the understanding of communication as a concept wider than just message conveyance. This is so as communication is "Symbolically mediated and co-intentionally shaped cooperation in the field of information conveyance, expression of sensations and emotions, regulation of behaviours and co-shaping of norms, knowledge and social institutions" (Borowicz-Sierocka, 2016, p. 190).

The multitude of approaches to the issue of communicating and numerous perspectives analysing the role and meaning of ethics make it difficult to expressly define what communicating/communication means when described with the adjective by "ethical". Generally, it is specified through the following issues: (a) utilitarianism, in the sense of communication as a means to do moral good; (b) openness and access to information, as a foundation for forming relationships between people; and (c) social responsibility, as a moral interpretation of the communicating process because two parties are involved the process, so both are jointly responsible for the result (Huang, 2004, p. 335).

The following ethics values and norms resulting from the co-creation of a communication community can be identified from a brief analysis of the relationships between communicating and ethics.

a. Values: (1) openness, because the condition for this process to be successful is transparency of information; (2) honesty, because access to information is necessary in order to communicate; (3) trust, because in order to achieve

goals (pragmatism and utilitarianism in pursuit of moral good) communicating is necessary, as it is the immanent feature of human communities.

b. Norms: (1) the co-responsibility of the sender and the receiver for the communicating process in order to ensure the possibility of maintaining the communication community (Borowicz-Sierocka, 2016, p. 195); (2) co-operation between the sender and the receiver, because without that there is no option to implement the communicating process; (3) engagement of the sender and the receiver, without which it is not possible to form any relationship between them.

Public institutions: characteristics and functions

Public institutions are organisations, operating in a legally regulated public space, the primary task of which is to protect the public interest. Under Polish law they are equated with public organisations such as: government administration authorities, state control and legal protection authorities, courts, prosecutor's office organisational units, local government entities and their bodies, budgetary entities, local government budgetary institutions, target funds, health care centres, the National Health Fund, and other state or local government legal entities. Their activity primarily consists of offering and providing social services. Social services can be defined in many ways. For the purposes of the analysis, the term presented by Szarfenberg is adopted, which emphasises that those are services offered by the state via welfare benefits (monetary, material and service-based) meeting the needs of people, contributing to their well-being and levelling out differences (Szarfenberg, 2011). Social services are provided by various entities, including social institutions, which address social problems in this way (Grewiński, 2013, p. 29).

Therefore public institutions providing specific services serve specific functions (Grewiński, 2013, p. 31):

a. they satisfy the vital needs of people, primarily of the weaker groups in the society;
b. they ensure protection against various threats and crises;
c. they support families;
d. they protect human rights;
e. they integrate the members of the population;
f. they combat expressions of discrimination.

All tasks performed by public institutions result from goals which are to be achieved and are based on rules of co-operation established earlier. Tomasello, continuing his considerations regarding the co-operation between people, states, with reference to numerous studies and experiments, that people had to develop institutional practices covering public social norms and determining the scope of responsibilities of individual social roles (Tomasello, 2002, p. 64). People live in an institutional and cultural world, which they have created themselves. They use two main norms: co-operation (including moral norms) and adjustment (including constitutive principles). Tomasello's further considerations show how important norms are in the functioning of societies. He emphasises that the strength of norms derives from the mutually recognised correlation and reaction to setbacks (Tomasello, 2002, p. 88). The social practices on which people co-operate in order to achieve goals creates mutual expectations which in turn lead to subjectively normative judgments.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned tasks which are expected to be performed by public institutions, specific values and ethical norms that result from them can be indicated. Therefore the overarching values will be solidarity, family, human rights, integrity, equality, human dignity and responsibility. The ethical norms resulting from the function of public institutions will be as follows: subsidiarity, protection of the weak against threats, support for the weak, support for families, protection of those in need, social integrity and active participation in social life through the resolution of problems which occur.

Literature review: communication systems in public institutions

Organisational communicating is a process of creating and negotiating a certain collective, co-ordinating systems of meaning through symbolic practices oriented towards the achievement of organisational goals (Mumby, 2013, p. 15). There are numerous models of communicating, which shows the diversity of communication systems operating in the practice of social life (van Ruler, 2004).

Public institutions are required by law to communicate with the social environment through appropriate conveyance of information and receipt of information coming from society. The need to inform the community about planned and performed actions of public institutions results from Polish law. The Act of 6 September 2001 on access to public information (Journal of Laws No. 112, item 1198, as amended) provides for general principles of citizens' access to public information in the possession of public authorities and other entities performing public tasks. Obligations in the scope of sharing information differ depending on the entity which is in possession of such information, in particular with regard to the necessity to publish information in the Public Information Bulletin.

Article 4 of the aforementioned Act states that public authorities and other entities performing public tasks are required to disclose public information, including, but not limited to, the following:

1. public authorities;
2. authorities of economic and professional self-government;
3. entities representing the State Treasury under separate regulations;
4. entities representing state legal persons or local government legal persons and entities representing other state organisational entities or local government organisational entities;
5. entities representing other persons or organisational entities which perform public tasks or dispose of public assets as well as legal persons in which the State Treasury, local government entities, economic local government entities and professional local government entities which have a dominant position as per regulations on competition and consumer protection.

Despite the concept of new public management and the approaching of operation of public institutions to commercial organisations, what should be emphasised are the differences and specific nature of each, resulting primarily from the characteristics of the environment in which these entities operate. Researchers studying the process of public institutions' communicating after the terrorist attacks on 9 September 2001 noted eight factors influencing one of forms of communication – or rather of organisational communication management – which is public relations: politics, common welfare, legal restrictions, meaning of communication lesser than in business, negative public opinion, low level of professional development and simultaneous dependence on central and local authorities (Liu & Horsley, 2007; Adamus-Matuszyńska & Austen, 2011, p. 28–29). Other authors add to those factors even more complex ones, such as non-stable environment of the public sector, numerous rigid procedures and very diverse products (Gelders et al., 2007, p. 334). The number and meaning of factors determining the communication system of public institutions results in the fact that such communication must be burdened with additional properties of the system in order to meet the expectations of the stakeholders they represent and have to co-operate with to satisfy those needs. What is more, public institutions are legally defined and determined, which means that all of their functions, tasks, measures, procedures, relationships with the environment and other factors are limited by legal and ethical norms.

The literature regarding the possibilities to transfer some management models from the private sector to public institution management, including communication management, is relatively rich, but at the same time it does not provide any clear-cut findings (Gelders et al., 2007, p. 327). A significant factor determining the communication

of public institutions is the need for potency and effectiveness, but most important is the pursuit of adherence to democratic values (Gelders et al., 2007, p. 334).

Public institutions convey information and encourage certain behaviours (e.g. during a crisis), but they are also carriers of some meanings in the process of policy formation, e.g. the need to explain a waste sorting policy to the local community (Gelders et al., 2007, p. 334). Therefore they are not just passive entities performing tasks and meeting responsibilities imposed on them. Treating both the internal and external communication of those institutions as a process of information conveyance is an understatement of its significance. Public institutions, due to their functions and social expectations, participate in the process of co-responsibility for the community for which they operate. The anthropological communication model examining the human being as a *homo communicativus* (Borowicz-Sierocka, 2016) allows one to investigate the relationship between communicating and ethics in a manner different than in management sciences traditionally analysing the communicating process in organisations. Communication in a public institution concerns the following:

– communicating policies of the social surroundings the problems of which the institution solves and has impact on;
– strategies for building the image of the institution and social groups represented by the given institution;
– interpersonal communication, both at the level of internal communication (personnel management) and external communication (direct and indirect contact with specific people);
– organisational communication as part of which activities related to public relations or marketing can be indicated;
– communicating with the local or regional community for which the institution operates;
– intercultural communication and – in the era of globalisation – international communication.

Each of the above-mentioned tasks of communicating of public institutions with the environment – the internal one and the external one – is characterised by specific rules and values. What is more, message receivers have specific expectations with regard to each such task, often not crystallised but burdened with ethical and legal responsibility.

Discussion 1: Ethical values and communicating process of public institutions with the environment

The communicating process always has a bi-directional nature, from the sender to the receiver and the vice versa, it is sometimes intentional and sometimes not, but, as a result, the sender always has some effect on the receiver and vice versa (Griffin, 2003). This basic pattern shows the significance of ethicality because de facto every instance of communicating determines behaviours, attitudes, opinions, knowledge and experience of both parties involved. This is why both sender and receiver should acknowledge the dignity and independence of the other party of the process (Jaska & Pritchard 1988; Nilsen 1974).

The public zone, in which public institutions play a special role, according to the theory of Jurgen Habermas, creates the space of mutual, public interest and transparency is a fundamental value but also a rule (Habermas, 2007). Thus the values significant in the communication system of public institutions are as follows:

a. adequacy of information;
b. correctness of information;
c. timeliness of information;
d. accuracy of information;
e. confidentiality of some information.

However, as emphasised above, the communication of public institutions is not merely the conveyance and receipt of information it: is a responsible process of co-creation of communication community. This is why the values of openness (transparency) and integrity (honesty) entail the result of bi-directional communication

between the public institution and the citizen. Subsequently, this bi-directionality of communicating determines the level of trust between participants of this process (Maeda; Miyahara, 2003). The need to convey and receive information also results from the value of tolerance, which contributes to pro-social behaviours (Tomasello, 2002, p. 85).

The internal communication of public institutions determines the attitudes and behaviours of their employees (Wright, 2004; Organ 1988, Pandey, Garnett, 2006; Garnett et al., 2008) and has a direct impact on the level of trust in the organisation (Porumbescu et al., 2013). The external communication of public institutions plays a part in the creation of the local or regional community, thus being co-responsible for its achievements and failures (Adamus-Matuszyńska & Austen, 2009). Therefore the communication of public institutions is a system which actively participates in the formation of the community and in the building of its identity.

Nowadays, many organisations – wishing to organise their norms and values, which are, as Edgar Schein (1985) observed, a partially invisible and unconscious element of the organisational culture – compile ethical codes consisting of a set of values professed by the organisation and the ethical norms postulated to be adhered to. These are documents in which the organisation refers to basic values such as integrity, trust, honesty and solidarity (Murphy, 2005). Apart from that, organisations define specific rules the adherence to which is expected from all entities included in them.

Rest (1986) proposed a theoretical framework for moral decisions in organisations: (1) identification of the moral nature of a given issue; (2) moral evaluation; (3) establishing of moral intent; and (4) engagement in moral action. This model is useful and determines the expectations of ethical behaviours in organisations (Ki & Kim, 2010, p. 268). Research shows that there is a positive correlation between ethical codes and ethical behaviours (Adam & Rachman-Moore, 2004; Boo & Koh, 2001; Ki & Kim, 2010). Research also shows that employees of public institutions, for example municipal offices, have full awareness of the magnitude of ethical codes in their professional work (Kapias et al., 2011, p. 182). Every organisation has a lot of freedom when defining the content of its ethical code, hence the codes are so diverse. The majority of them inform about and recommend certain norms rather than set out detailed rules and regulations (Tomczyk-Tołkacz, 1994; Kapias et al., 2011).

Analysis of preferred ethical values in institutions such as municipal, regional and provincial offices shows that the basic value is honesty, followed by impartiality, responsibility, respect and lawfulness (Kapias et al., 2011, p. 186). Because one of the basic functions of public institutions is the promotion of law, this surely impacts the value system used in the communication practice. Values such as lawfulness, truthfulness or fairness should be characteristic for the communication systems used by public institutions. Research conducted in Polish offices shows that they are really preferred and values appealing to relations between people are not valued that much (Kapias et al., 2011).

Discussion 2: Ethical norms and the communication of public institutions with the environment

Taking into consideration Tomasello's work regarding the mechanism of the formation of public institutions, it should be noted that such institutions are created and operate on the foundation of specific norms contributing to the co-operation of people undertaking joint activities contributing to the fulfilment of goals. Co-operation is inscribed in the structure of their mutual relationship. However, in the case of complex social references resulting from cultural or moral-and-ethical diversity, for example, there is a need to indicate common norms shaping the human conduct and integrating it. Such norms usually appear in different types of ethical codes, i.e. in documents containing a collection of rules and principles

of conduct both for co-workers and the entire external environment (Kryk, 2001, pp. 341–342).

Those types of ethical codes are a record of performance standards for the management and for the other employees. In this case it is difficult to speak of any kind of Decalogue: the norms of which are inviolable, permanent and indisputable. Though the fundamental principles included in them should be essentially undeniable and timeless. As a rule, greater modifiability concerns more detailed issues, which may change depending on the occurrence of new situations or the specification of existing regulations for better understanding of them and compliance with them.

Declaration of legalism is something which in particular characterises ethical codes. This way the assumption suggesting the need to comply with the law is made at the very foundations. There stands another condition behind this one, equally universal, suggesting the necessity for a given institution to satisfy various moral obligations towards all stakeholders.

Very often, the principles presented in such codes are the result of patterns of behaviour already existing in a given environment, adopted due to historical conditions or on the basis of artificially created ideals necessary for joint and efficient operation of a given organisation. What is important is to pay attention to the required procedures, if possible, to be rooted in the axiological systems of the employees and in the culture of a given organisation (Zbiegień-Maciąg, 1996, p. 105). Creation of a common position of conduct in this way largely favours the acceptability of such action by the environment and, in turn, better mutual communication.

Norms empowered in these types of codes aim to support the employees in ethical conduct, because they contain various types of indication, in what way general moral rules can be applied in specific problematic cases which occur in the array of public institutions in relation with the environment. These type of activities can also come forward in the form of a series of ethical programs that, in addition to moral instructions, also cover the main principles that an institution uses, such as action strategy, mission, behavioural norms, and even ethical ways of evaluating employees' activities (Szulczewski 2003, p. 622). The aforementioned mission of an institution is a crucial element because, in general, it should be visionary, meaning it looks far ahead. Thanks to this, its influence will not be limited to a given target group, but it will have vistas for development, allowing it to influence next generations to a significant extent.

One should note that shaping ethical attitudes of employees in various institutions very much translates to how the society existing around them behaves. After all, the norms are a reflection of the axiological system adopted in a particular community. Unification of this system translates into a greater acceptance of these norms, and thus a more efficient and insightful process of mutual communication between entities with each other.

Finally, it needs to be highlighted that if codes of ethics are used in an organisation, due to their public nature, one may hope to convey significant ethical attitudes to external stakeholders. Thus, one can notice a specific process of shaping the desirable attitudes in society, a specific "upbringing towards morality" (how those attitudes are communicated and shaped is, of course, an entirely different issue). At the same time, one should also take into account that the environment itself may have an effect the formation of particular normative systems in the aforementioned institutions.

Conclusions

The phenomenon of communication is closely related to mutual interpersonal and intergroup relationships. It can also take a macro scale, which is particularly evident when contacting compact groups, i.e. all kinds of organisations along with their stakeholders. Therefore the existing methods of communication have a huge impact on their participants. Those methods not only shape the mutual image but also strengthen bonds, support integration processes and, last but not least, form desirable attitudes.

A whole set of axionormative activities plays a significant role in this process. It is difficult to build lasting communication bonds without establishing, accepting and implementing common values. Their perception and emphasis significantly facilitate appropriate communication between the institution and the environment. However, the values themselves are not enough. Their acceptance should translate into proper operation. It, in turn, should be shaped through a correct system of norms and principles. In other words, moral responsibility, shaped among employees of various types of social institutions, translates into a better and more dignified approach to the entire environment in a complex communication process.

To sum up the theoretical analysis of the relationship between communicating and communication with ethical values and norms, one can indicate four levels of communication activity of public institutions: the micro level, i.e. relationships between individuals; the meso level, i.e. internal relationships in the institution; the level of the relationships between institutions and the local or regional community; and the macro level, i.e. the relationship with society. Those levels each have their specific nature resulting from the characteristics of entities co-creating the communication community. In turn the values and norms prevailing at each of these levels result from the characteristics of these entities. An attempt

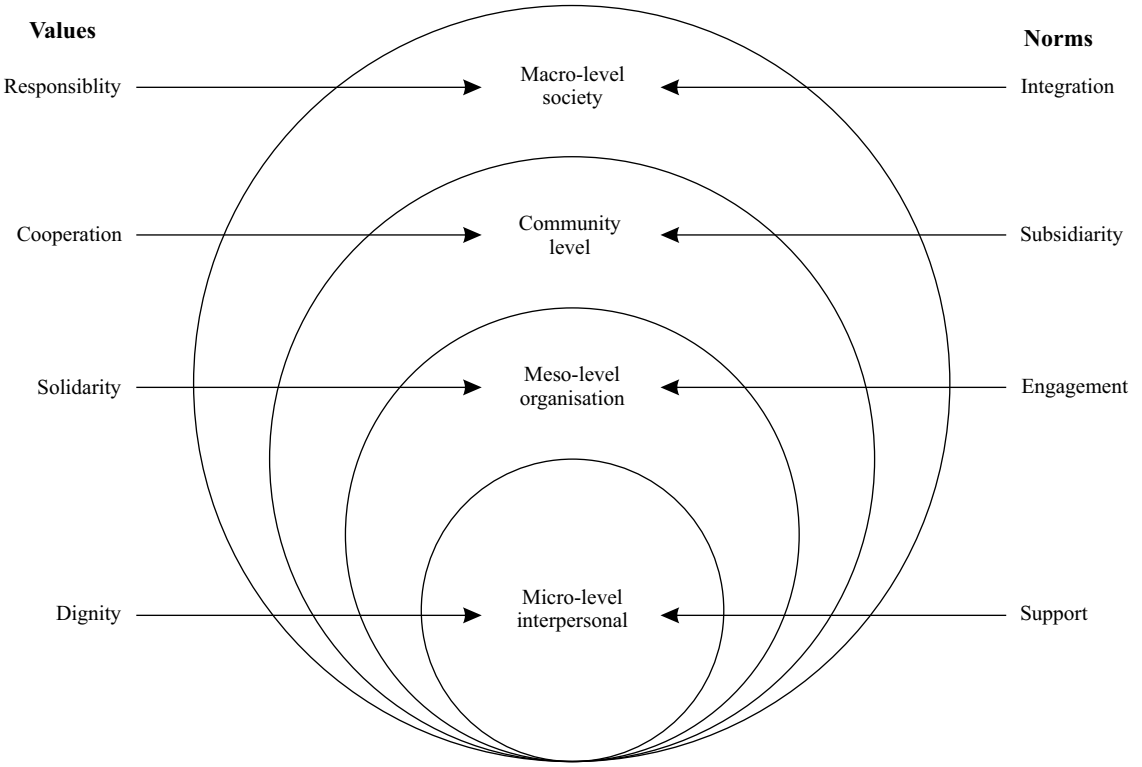

Figure 1. A public institution multi-level communication and its values and norms

to organise the values and norms typical for particular communication systems is presented in Fig. 1.

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Gender and Right-Wing Authoritarianism in a working-class case-study

Abstract

Objective: In this article we attempt to shed light on the changing attitudes American workers may have, specifically authoritarian personality characteristics, by reviewing the results obtained from our survey of 74 retired auto workers.

Research Design & Methods: Part of our survey utilizes the Zakrisson short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarian scale and our interests are to provide any differences found between men and women. Also, we seek to test for the presence of authoritarianism as one aspect to understand the appeal of right-wing politics among the white working class.

Findings: Our findings indicate that men and women are each no more or less likely to develop authoritarian personality characteristics. The differences by gender that we found in our case-study mirror the literature over the last several decades since empirical research began in 1950 – ambivalence.

Implications/Recommendations: As a discontented citizenry searches for answers, by leaning more politically right or left will gender differences widen or converge due to the issues.

Contribution/Value Added: Given the current social and economic climate in the United States we find this research study to be both timely and important. A conservative or liberal orientation by American workers may have important contributions for the direction the US takes not only on pressing economic and social issues at home but abroad as well.

Article classification: research article

Keywords: labor, gender, right wing authoritarianism, labor studies

JEL classification: J1, J7

Introduction

Over the past few years the social fabric of the United States has been stretched in a variety of directions. For many Americans, tolerance and understanding of difference seems to be buttressed against issues of morality and traditionalism. This conflict created starkly antagonistic themes in the Presidential campaigns of two political mavericks, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, and elevated Trump to the Presidency with strong core support from the white working class, especially those who manifest strong authoritarian personality traits (Choma & Hanoch, 2017; MacWilliams, 2016). Far more extensively than the recent national elections, the major issues in the media, such as

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the war on terror (Bayoumi, 2015; Paletta, 2016; Coghlan 2016; Mashal & Shah, 2016), immigration (Santos & Medina, 2016; Campo-Flores, 2016), and gay and transgender rights (Londono, 2016; McGregor, 2016; Kaufman, 2016), provoke strongly polarised perspectives, which speaks of a bifurcated citizenry (Romans, 2016). The broader economic context of an ever-increasing gap between the rich and poor (Fleming & Murphy, 2015) has mostly reduced the traditional working-class to a lower socioeconomic position as a result of stagnant wages and job loss (Goldstein et al., 2016) and detached the wage-earning segment from conventional political moorings and pushed them to look both to the political right and left at the same time (Myers et al., 2016). We are not concerned here with official platforms or the campaign promises a particular candidate makes. Rather, our work draws from the long tradition in Critical Theory to test for the presence of authoritarian personality traits among the traditional unionised working class rather than survey opinions about recent issues or the election. In this way, we seek to test for the presence of authoritarianism as one aspect to understand the appeal of right-wing politics among the white working class.

In this article we attempt to shed light on the changing attitudes American workers may have by reviewing the results obtained from our survey of 74 retired auto workers. Part of our survey utilises the Zakrisson short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarian scale and our interests are to provide any differences found between men and women. As a discontented citizenry searches for answers, by leaning more politically right or left, will gender differences widen or converge due to the issues. A conservative or liberal orientation of American workers may have important implications for the direction the US takes, not only with regard to pressing economic and social issues at home but abroad as well.

Literature review

Right-Wing Authoritarianism

Over the past 60 years, Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) has been well-established in literature. Beginning with Adorno et al. (1950), *The Authoritarian Personality* became the basis of numerous subsequent studies, and with Altemeyer (1981, 1996, 1998) received a substantial conceptual update that collapsed nine measures into three: conventionalism, submission, and aggression. Although various researchers have reformulated the particular survey items and varied the specific number of items, these three variables have remained consistent conceptually as the core of authoritarianism.

Conventionalism refers to a high degree of commitment to authorities or dominant cultural standards that are seen as inherently superior and therefore legitimate. Submission refers to uncritical allegiance to conventional norms and authority. Aggression refers to authoritarian aggressiveness towards people, values, or lifestyles perceived to be different and therefore inferior to and in conflict with conventional norms. Hence, authoritarians overwhelmingly cluster on the right of the political landscape – more conventional, judgmental, and exclusionary compared to liberals found to be more open minded and tolerant (Carney et al., 2008). Authoritarian conservatives adhere to traditional gender-role identity and attitudes (Duncan et al., 1997) and see the world as a dangerous place, which shapes non-political aspects of life as well (Unger, 2002), such as attitudes towards education and religion, all guided by the belief that a disintegrating moral state (Crowson, 2009) allows allegedly lazy and dangerous minorities to invade, undermine and eventually overthrow the hard-working and moral white hegemony (Crawford, 2012; Crowson et al., 2005; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Duckitt 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Hodson et al., 2009; Jost et al., 2003; McFarland, 1998).

RWA and the working class

The relationships between RWA and the working class has been reviewed and debated for many years. With the influential work of Lipset (1959), the working class, being exposed to negative experiences and having low levels of education and cultural capital, develop low levels of political interest, high levels of prejudice and a narrow world view. Since the mid-twentieth century, extensive research has supported Lipset's foundational discoveries (Middendorp & Meloen, 1990; Goodin & Dryzek, 1980; Solt, 2008; Kraus & Stephens, 2012; Kohn, 1977; Oakes & Rossi, 2003; de Regt et al., 2012), while others have fine-tuned and expanded those initial conclusions (Dekker & Ester, 1987; Case et al., 1989; Lott, 2002 and 2012; Diemer et al., 2012; Funke, 2005; Napier & Jost, 2008), namely that the working-class is in general highly ambivalent, which is a highly charged state that results from emotional conflict that pulls people in competing directions at the same time, which may create many and varied behavioural and attitudinal maladjustments.

As the status of the working class eroded with the decline of industrial jobs, members of the working class embraced authoritarian commitment to right-wing ideals of power, moral authority, and hostility towards ethnic minorities as emotional compensation to their disadvantaged status (Brandt et al., 2015; Kohn, 2006). When an RWA loses (or feels he/she loses) status and prosperity, he/she typically embrace a law-and-order mentality, usually attached to racism – black and brown people's criminality will destroy civilisation (Hodson et al., 2017) – because they perceive the world as a fundamental battle between in-group homogeneity and out-group transgressions of normality. For the RWA, diversity is a threat to moral order and consequently, the existence of diversity in any form inherently creates a conflict in which neither can prosper as long as the other survives (Perry et al., 2013). However, the very nature of labour unionisation requires some commitment to collective benefit, and the larger collectivity (workers) supersedes particular attitudes or individual preferences (Kurtz, 2002); the more workers who join a union the better. In essence, workers exhibited high levels of ambivalence.

RWA and gender

In terms of the relationships between gender and authoritarianism, some of the literature points to no differences between the genders (Brandt & Henry, 2012; de Regt et al., 2012, p. 288; Henry, 2011, p. 430; Duncan et al., 1997, p. 45; Feather, 1993; Heaven & Bucci, 2001, p. 52). Although men and women can both register high on the RWA scale, the magnitude of difference within their answers to the questions on the scale can be different. For example, Nagoshi et al. (2007) linked male and female high-responders on the RWA scale and in this way found a decrease in coping strategies for males but no change for females before and after the events of 9/11 (Nagoshi et al., 2007). In a similar way, other researchers have found male and female high-responders approached their personal life orientations differently, such that men and women live in highly gendered worlds with social roles narrowly defined (Peterson & Zurbriggen, 2010), so that while both men and women test equally high, women also exhibit higher countervailing traits. This produces observable differences in applied research, such that high RWA scoring men remained decisively focused on career goals, whereas high RWA scoring women experienced career confusion (Peterson & Lane, 2001). Similarly, Eagly and Karau (1991) found that, overall, men emerged as singularly focused leaders more often than women, who tend to self-reflect to a greater extent, which partially minimises their authoritarian commitments. Eagly et al. (2003) argue that this accounts for consistent differences in leadership styles even among men and women who both score high on the RWA scale. Specifically, men's leadership abilities were seen in the area of task-oriented work groups. On the other hand, women emerged as social leaders (in long-term groups requiring socially complex

tasks) slightly more than men (Eagly & Karau, 1991) and women are opposed to group-based hierarchy more than men (Lee et al., 2011).

Similarly, Sidanius et al. (2000) shows males being more domination-oriented than females and score higher on both the RWA and SDO (Social Dominance Orientation) scales. Lippa (1995) found men to be more authoritarian than women and, accordingly, Lippa and Arad (1999) found that authoritarian individuals, especially men, were defensive and prejudiced. Kemmelmeier (2010) argued that the need for structure in one's thinking predicts authoritarianism and prejudice, and furthermore that women show lower levels of authoritarianism and prejudice than men in this regard. Also, some studies have shown females tend to have more positive attitudes toward culturally different people and display greater empathy than men (Cundiff & Komarraju, 2008, p. 8). Also, women were found to be more socially compassionate and more supportive of equal rights for minorities than men (Eagly et al., 2004).

On the other hand, Cundiff and Komarraju (2008) found that women and men may be more psychologically similar than once believed. Hyde (2005) shows that we have overinflated gender differences by assuming that women are more caring and nurturing and that men lack nurturing skills and naturally take charge, when in fact the differences are an intersection of sociocultural factors. An early study (Kelman & Barclay, 1963) argued that the narrower "breadth of perspective" that many women exhibited made them more amenable to authoritarian thinking because their lives were more regimented with limited social opportunity compared to men. Duncan et al. (1997) reported similar results, that stronger relationships between authoritarianism and traditional gender role attitudes are high for both women and men in groups that extoll traditional gender roles (Duncan, 2006, p. 60). Sibley et al. (2007) correlate RWA with so-called "benevolent sexism" (where women are seen as fragile and need protection) and, although they find that high RWA men exhibit high degrees of benevolent sexism toward women, women in sexist nations are higher in benevolent sexism (more likely to believe in the inherent inferiority of women) than men. This may be due to the need for women to counteract hostility toward them (citing Glick et al., 2000; Sibley et al., 2007), as well as internalised oppression common to hierarchical societies in general. Given that all of the respondents in our sample are union industrial workers, we expect that gender would not produce a significant difference in the results.

Rather than confirming or denying particular aspects of the existing literature, we found something different: ambivalence, which, as stated above, is a highly charged state that results from emotional conflict which pulls people in competing directions at the same time.

Methods

The union membership in this study consists of approximately 150 retired auto workers and their spouses. The survey was administered in October of 2015 to all members that were in attendance at the monthly meeting of the union. Our sample is a case-study.

This survey is divided into five main sections. The first section deals with background information on the respondent (i.e. demographics). The next two sections contain questions concerning the workers' involvement and commitment to their local unions. Next appears the Zakrisson (2005) short version of Altemeyer's RWA scale, and the last part asks about future activities for the retirees (this part was requested by the union).

The four-page, multiple question survey developed was anonymous and endorsed by the union. Each survey was inserted into an envelope containing a pencil. Copied onto each envelope was a description of the study and some general instructions on how to fill out the survey. Once completed, the respondents were directed to place the survey back into the envelope and drop the instrument off at an assigned station, which was monitored by the union.

A total of 74 of the 100 retiree union members present completed and returned the survey, yielding a response rate of just under 50% of the 150 total members.

Results and discussion

Table 1 gives the percentage that answered each of the 10 questions in each category. For readability of this table, slightly disagree and disagree were combined, as were slightly agree and agree. The demographic composition for gender of the sampled auto workers was 68% male and 30% female (2% of responses were missing gender). In addition, 92% of those sampled were white, 3% Hispanic/Latino, 1% Native American/ American Indian, and 1% defined themselves as "other" (3% of responses were missing race.).

To test for differences by gender, a Least-Squares Regression was run with the dependent variable being the rating for the question on a seven-point scale and the independent variable being a dummy variable where 0 = male and 1 = female. To check the validity of the findings, a Mann-Whitney test was also run on the data. The Mann-Whitney test was used to check for differences between the two groups (male and female), since the scoring on each question is on a five-point Likert scale instead of a true continuous scale. According to both of these procedures, there is a difference in the way males and females feel about questions 1 and 2 on this survey.

As shown in Table 2, items 1 and 2 are significant at $p \leq .05$ in both tests. On Question 1, "Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral forces taking over society today", a higher percentage of males were in agreement with this statement than females. While 96% of males agree with this statement (4% slightly agree, 14% agree and 78% strongly

Table 1. Authoritarian and Contrait Items Frequency

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree nor Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Question 1 Country needs a powerful leader	1%	3%	4%	21%	71%
Question 2 Country needs free thinkers	4%	6%	6%	31%	54%
Question 3 Tolerance for gays and lesbians	15%	13%	18%	38%	16%
Question 4 God's laws for abortion, pornography, marriage	6%	14%	15%	35%	29%
Question 5 TV and internet need to be censored	14%	16%	7%	28%	35%
Question 6 Many good people challenge government	0%	9%	9%	52%	31%
Question 7 Silence people who disrespect Founders	7%	21%	11%	32%	29%
Question 8 Free to live by own morals	7%	10%	7%	39%	37%
Question 9 Police allowed to do what is necessary	18%	31%	10%	26%	15%
Question 10 Do what's necessary to stop illegal immigration	7%	13%	11%	29%	40%

Table 2. Significance Testing

Question	Regression p-values	Mann-Whitney p-values
Question 1 Country needs a powerful leader	0.035	0.038
Question 2 Country needs free thinkers	0.016	0.032
Question 3 Tolerance for gays and lesbians	0.967	0.958
Question 4 God's laws for abortion, pornography, marriage	0.759	0.61
Question 5 TV and internet need to be censored	0.708	0.596
Question 6 Many good people challenge government	0.816	0.939
Question 7 Silence people who disrespect Founders	0.717	0.847
Question 8 Free to live by own morals	0.026	0.053
Question 9 Police allowed to do what is necessary	0.367	0.268
Question 10 Do what's necessary to stop illegal immigration	0.181	0.180

agree), only 82% of females agree with this statement (27% agree and 55% strongly agree).

On Question 2, "Our country needs free thinkers, who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways if necessary, even if this upsets a lot of people", again a higher percentage of males were in agreement with this statement than females. While 92% of males agree with this statement (8% slightly agree, 24% agree and 60% strongly agree), only 68% of females agree with this statement (14% slightly agree, 14% agree and 40% strongly agree).

The differences by gender that we found in our case-study mirror the literature over the last several decades since empirical research began in 1950: ambivalence. Our respondents want both a strong leader and, at the same time, more free thinkers. Such apparent contradictions are typical of ambivalence. Although strong leaders seldom tolerate the dissent that free thinkers inspire, ambivalence is this very type of contradiction: a person pulled in competing directions with no logical resolution. Rather, both sentiments "feel right" and "feel justified" even if they defy rational resolution. While only two significant items may seem like a non-finding, we argue differently, that men and women are each no more or less likely to develop authoritarian personality characteristics. Both are equally high, moderate, or low depending on social roles and cultural norms. The literature predicts that social stability exerts considerable influence on the expression of authoritarian attitudes, so even for those who exhibit moderate to high levels of authoritarianism, high levels of social stability in the form of pay and status will minimise authoritarian attitudes. Since 1950, the *frequency* of authoritarian characteristics has changed very little in the American population, but the *strength* of authoritarian attitudes varies with social stability (Bremmer, 2006; Kohn, 2006). As people feel a loss of economic livelihood, threats to status, or perceived dangers from outsiders, the more likely they are to embrace authoritarian attitudes. In our case, these manifest as a desire for a strong

leader who will right all the wrongs, and restore moral order. In the case of authoritarianism, any sense of strength and order, whether moral, legal, or otherwise, refers to traditional and conventional normative values, including conventional gender roles. While female factory workers were much less common when the women in our study started work, the presence of authoritarianism negates rational assessment of social or personal conditions, and, instead, a person embraces emotions of power and normativity even if that doesn't really match their own experiences; these are working women who completed a lifelong career as industrial workers, which does not suggest they needed special care or protection because of some alleged frailty. Yet, and like the men, they long for a strong leader who will right all the wrongs.

Conclusion

One of the ironies of the working class in the United States has been that they only minimally identified as working class – working people yes, but not as working class. From a scholarly standpoint, many have legitimately argued that class has decisively shaped social life and politics in the United States since its founding, even if most Americans don't use that perspective. However, few Americans from any class have ever identified by class. As a nation of immigrants from diverse ethnic groups, people identified instead around religion, cultural traditions, and race (Olson & Beal, 2010), such that white workers often sided with owners and the wealthy against black workers and other non-whites (Pearson, 2016). Consequently, race and gender overwhelmingly eclipsed class awareness in any sense (Kendi, 2016; Pearson, 2016; Walker, 2002), despite sometimes radical labour activism (Dray, 2011; Smith, 2006). In the US context, the traditional working class has been strongly ambivalent in general – torn between class and cultural identity – and our case-study supports that historical consistency. As they fought for higher wages and safer working conditions, they also at times sided with management and conservative political interests against ethnic and gender inclusion and interpreted race and class as the same thing. Today, with unions largely broken in the private sector and marginalised in the political realm, the ambivalence has perhaps resolved with a decisive rightward shift. As found, Donald Trump's core support comes from the white working class. Our research suggests that strong authoritarian tendencies are one reason and they are gradually winning over more inclusive and rational tendencies. In the end, the working class may, in fact, be the revolutionary class, but at present, the revolution they support is something more like white nationalism over and against democracy.

We recognise that our case study may not be generalisable across the population, given our statistical measures due to our sample size. With a greater number of respondents, we could have added more explanatory statistical power to our research. Also, the link between authoritarianism, ambivalence and gender needs further analysis above and beyond what we have reviewed. Since the literature is quite varied in those areas, a greater number of case studies could greatly add to the literature.

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Management of the Kraków Functional Urban Area, in Poland, using a European Union Instrument: Integrated Territorial Investments

Abstract

The *objective* of this paper is to analyse the ways in which one of the European Union's Cohesion Policy instrument, i.e. the Integrated Territorial Investment (the ITI), can be used, with specific reference to the example of the Kraków Functional Urban Area (the KFUA). ITI is an instrument of EU policy and was introduced during the 2014–2020 program period. It was designed to promote the development of functional areas, especially on a metropolitan scale, and to strengthen the co-operation ability of local entities.

Research design: The reasoning utilised in this article uses participant observation as the primary research method. The complimentary analytical methods are desk research of documents, written questionnaires and individual direct interviews. It is important to underline the direct involvement of the author in the preparation of the ITI Strategy for the KFUA, participative workshops concerning the introduction of ITIs, and expert reports commissioned by the Kraków Metropolis Association (the KMA).

The *findings* enable one to clarify mechanisms disclosed in the national scale with specific features also present in the KFUA. The first part of this paper includes a brief review of the literature concerning the nature of the metropolitan scale, management of the development of functional urban areas, and deliberation procedures. In the second part, the author presents the results of his qualitative research revealing the way an instrument of ITI is implemented by the KMA. Tools used by the KMA, taking into consideration juridical and cultural conditioning, demonstrate how the ITI instrument can become, beyond financial support for communities, a real creator of a co-operative ecosystem of entities.

The *added value* is to show that the ITI instrument, despite some bureaucratic sluggishness, can be, thanks to understanding the essence of "metropolitan governance", an approach which builds real territorial co-operation.

Article classification: research and conceptual article

Keywords: metropolitan governance, metropolitan scale, functional urban area, EU cohesion policy, integrated territorial investments, Poland, Kraków

JEL classification: D04, R11, R58

Introduction

Functional urban areas (FUAs) are entities composed of core cities and peri-urban interfaces (Allen, 2003; McGregor et al., 2006). They are identified on the metropolitan scale with its all complex determinants of economic, spatial and political nature (d'Albergo & Lefèvre, 2018; Fricke

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& Gualini, 2018). Pro-development interventions in such a scale have to take into consideration assumptions resulting from the reflection on the efficient management systems (Davoudi et al., 2008; Noworól, 2018a; Parks & Oakerson, 2000) as well as broader factors related to social and political constraints (d'Albergo & Lefèvre, 2018; Gorzelak, 2012). The EU Cohesion Policy then brings an essential stimulus in that context in the form of the Integrated Territorial Investments, ITIs (CSF, 2012; PA, 2014, 2017). The spotlight on problems of the FUA of the city of Kraków (the Kraków Functional Urban Area, the KFUA) can be described based on the author's own experiences. Those practices include direct participation in the building of the ITI Strategy, research work on Polish ITIs, being a part of the analysis of territorial instruments of the Polish State's development policy, and, finally, consulting services provided for the Kraków Metropolis Association (Noworól et al., 2018; Noworól, 2018b).

Management on the metropolitan scale

The accurate reflection on the management on the metropolitan scale has been deepened by various approaches undertaken during the last 20 or so years. During that period, we observe consideration for two significant perspectives of understanding the dichotomy of "metropolitan government" vs "metropolitan governance" (Kaczmarek & Kociuba 2017; Lefevre, 2009; Parks & Oakerson, 2000; Pyka, 2016). If we observe the evolution of public management models (Hausner, 2006 and 2019; Izdebski, 2007; Mazur, 2015; Pollitt & Bouchaert, 2011), that dichotomy was well identified by the reflection on the New Regionalism (Savitch & Vogel, 2000). In that concept, government "…is an elaborate machine that operates through hierarchical layers of political authority and accountability" while governance "conveys the notion that existing institutions can be harnessed in new ways, that cooperation can be carried out on a fluid and voluntary basis among localities, and that people can best regulate themselves through horizontally linked organizations" (Savitch & Vogel, 2000, p. 161).

The reflection on metropolitan government/governance has to raise the question of the metropolitan scale. There is a rich set of references in that respect. Recently, a comprehensive study has been presented by d'Albergo and Lefèvre (2018). Against a backdrop of the review of definitions, theories, and research questions, d'Albergo and Lefèvre construct their "perspective on metropolitan development processes as understood through the economic, spatial and political dimensions of the metropolitan scale". They underline three approaches. The first approach is based on policy networks as inter-organizational governance structures. The second attitude refers to the theories of growth coalitions and urban regimes (mostly public–private interactions). The third represents the constructionist approach focusing on the discursive construction of scale, "the collective construction of meanings" (d'Albergo & Lefèvre, 2018, pp. 152–154).

E. d'Albergo and Ch. Lefèvre evoke the concept of rescaling of local governments or policy networks in which multiple actors exercise different levels of authority, and action to determine the organisations or leaders to make decisions in a selected context (see also: Brenner, 2003 and 2004; Mansfield, 2005; Reed & Bruyneel, 2010). In the management context, the duality of "government" and "governance" takes the shape of the opposition between the Neo-Weberian concept (Kattel, 2015; Lemay-Hébert, 2013; Mazur & Kopyciński, 2017; Pollitt & Bouchaert, 2011) and the many ways of understanding "governance" (Blackmond Larnell, 2018; Pollitt & Bouchaert, 2011; Reed & Bruyneel, 2010; Sroka, 2009). The meaning of "governance" or "good governance" reflects multiple references through such tools as networks, joining-up, partnerships, multi-level relationships, etc. (Chrabąszcz & Zawicki, 2016). It is associated with the way a public administration acts in a political, social and technological environment supported by information and communication technologies. Pluralistic and

multi-level relationships of organisations from different levels of authorities and different sectors of stakeholders represent a broad understanding of activities on a metropolitan scale. In that context emerges the notion of "territorial governance". In a broad understanding it is "the process of territorial organisation of the multiplicity of relations that characterize interactions among actors and different, but non-conflictual, interests" (Davoudi et al., 2008, p. 37). Research proves that municipal leaders treat cities as ecosystems which are structured and managed/governed "either as "extended enterprises" where inputs from specialized organizations are coordinated and integrated into the final service or as "platform markets" where direct interactions between third-party service providers and citizens are facilitated by the city leaders" (Visnjic et al., 2016, p. 109). Municipal governments are then understood as ecosystem managers that are involved in managing local activities and delivering services. The real challenge of management on the metropolitan scale consists then of the ability to erect and to maintain a network of entities able to move development processes in different dimensions of territorial activities. The metropolitan governance thus relies on negotiations and on balancing interests. It is therefore necessary to ensure that all parties come to consent in the correct way. In effect, the deliberation procedure should be the tool essential for the successful goal achievement in the ITI partnership. Cohen (1997) uses the notion "deliberation" to describe a public process of communication oriented towards searching for appropriate arguments advocating specific evaluations and solutions in the issues under discussion. Sroka (2009), taking into consideration various theoretical approaches, presents a set of postulates of deliberation procedures. He picks out following features (inter alia): the argumentative character of deliberation, inclusiveness and accessibility to the discussion, liberating debates from internal and external pressures, and a rule that problems can be regulated in the equal interest of everyone (Sroka, 2009).

Integrated Territorial Investments in EU Cohesion Policy 2014–2020 and the introduction thereof in Poland

Rationale, general concept and legal framework

The European Union has given significant support to rescaling processes. It is related to the concept of what is known as "a place-based policy" expressed for the European Commission authorities in the Barca report concerning "a place-based approach" (Barca, 2009). That report emphasized the functional linkages and flows in the territorial scale non-compatible with the administrative boundaries of local communities. Skipping the historical aspects of the introducing the territorial dimension to the EU Cohesion Policy (Europe 2020 Strategy, 2010; Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020, 2011; Treaty of Lisbon, 2007; Urban Agenda for the EU, 2016), it is worth noting that the concept of relevant activities took legal and binding form in the Common Strategic Framework (the CSF, 2012). That document depicts the new Cohesion Policy instrument called the Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI), dedicated to Functional Urban Areas (FUA).

While the FUA represents an urban area on the metropolitan scale, with all its economic, social and political determinants, the ITI tool gives national authorities an opportunity to support an integrated approach involving investments under more than one priority axis of one or more operational programmes (all in terms of the Cohesion Policy). Article 99 of the Common Strategic Framework indicates that Member States "may designate one or more intermediate bodies, including local authorities, regional development bodies or non-governmental organisations, to carry out the management and implementation of an ITI" (CSF, 2012, p. 99). On 23 May 2014, the European Commission and the Government of Poland adopted a partnership agreement (the PA), which is a crucial document defining

the strategy of interventions of European funds within the framework of EU policies, including the Cohesion Policy, in Poland in the years 2014–2020 (PA, 2014–2017). The PA emphasises the territorial dimension of the intervention, which should be introduced by inter alia, applying ITIs. Integrated Territorial Investments are dedicated mostly to FUAs of the major Polish cities, i.e. capitals of voivodships (regions). "In total at the level of all Regional Operation Programs, the allocation earmarked for this purpose in relation to the total allocation of particular funds for Poland is at least 5.2% of ERDF allocation and 2.4% ESF allocation" (PA, 2014, p. 214). The PA specifies the following three goals of the use of the ITI instrument in Poland, i.e.:

– the promotion of a partnership model of co-operation between various administrative units in FUAs;
– the increased effectiveness of the interventions made via the introduction of integrated projects responding to the needs and problems of cities and areas comprehensively having functional ties with them;
– the increased influence of units within FUAs on the shape and manner of execution of actions supported in their territory under the cohesion policy.

The PA sets conditions for ITI introduction, specifying an institutionalised form of partnership (the establishing of an ITI union or association) and the preparation of an ITI Strategy. ITI associations will play the role of joint representation of public authorities of the FUA. This means that the PA restricts the co-operation to the relevant local governmental units (*gminas* or/and *poviats*). The Polish government has published the mandatory guidelines defining the way in which ITI strategies have to be prepared (Principles…, 2013). Respecting the EU requirements, the national, overly precise, instructions, brought ITI strategies to something nearer to an action plan, concentrated on using European Funds. In order to ensure the compliance of the activities of ITI beneficiaries (the proceedings of initiators of the projects executed under the ITI model of intervention) with the relevant EU regulations, and the relevant PA, ITI unions/associations were entrusted the role of administrative controllers known as "intermediate bodies" (IB). That decision empowers ITI unions, but at the same time burdens them with a significant number of managerial tasks of minor importance with respect to each ITI strategy's goals (Implementation Act, 2014, Article 30).

Current phase of the introduction of ITIs in Poland

The introduction of instruments of the EU Cohesion Policy has been associated in Poland with a relevant scientific reflection. It also involves the case of the ITI or intervention on a metropolitan scale, analysed in various contexts: policymaking in regional scale (Gorzelak, 2012; Szafranek, 2014, 2015; Śleszyński, 2013); territorial management/governance (Kaczmarek & Kociuba, 2017; Kociuba, 2017; Noworól, 2018a); and overall results for a region (Kociuba, 2018; Noworól et. al., 2018; Smętkowski et al., 2018; Wolański et al., 2018).

As ITIs have been introduced in practice since 2015, several reports and scientific papers summarised in 2018 the state and on-going status of their introduction in Poland. Analyses cover the allocation of ITIs in voivodships, dilemmas with regard to the delimitation of FUAs, types of intercommunity co-operation as the basis for the establishing of ITI unions/associations, and, finally, problems identified during execution of tasks. Researchers study the projects of ITIs and correlate them with the EU Cohesion Policy goals. Relevant findings bring forward a set of conclusions concerning the overly detailed policy guidelines created by the Polish government, a certain short-sightedness of local governments in the preparation of ITI strategies (selection of projects), and the relatively successful process of structuring partnership co-operation (Kociuba, 2018; Noworól, 2018a).

Important conclusions arise from the evaluation analyses of the ITI instrument, contracted by the National Government, i.e.:

– "Evaluation of the system of implementation of ITI in the 2014–2020 program period" (Wolański et al., 2018, p. 147–150),
– "Analysis of the effectiveness and efficiency of territorial instruments implemented on the national, regional and local levels in the framework of the Cohesion Policy – recommendations for the system of implementation of NSRD[1] 2030" (Noworól et al., 2018).

It should be underlined that the results of all the cited papers and studies firmly support the concept of the introduction of ITIs based on intergovernmental co-operation. On the one hand, that concept is near to the idea of "metropolitan governance", as a way in which independent local governments co-operate in the sake of development of the functional urban area. However, we should stress that the process of mobilisation of local and regional actors on a metropolitan scale is almost entirely limited to public authorities. NGOs and companies are not sufficiently included in such a type of territorial management. The organisational culture of Polish society can explain this "administrative" orientation of the activities of ITI unions/associations. According to published comparative studies,[2] the organisational culture in Poland is not favourable to participative and deliberative attitudes (ESS, 2016). In many cases, a bureaucratic schematism overwhelms the activities of all the governmental levels. The ITI instrument has an essential meaning in that respect.

Introduction of the ITI Instrument in the Kraków Functional Urban Area

The Kraków Functional Urban Area

The Kraków Functional Urban Area (the KFUA) is located in the south of Poland, around the city of Kraków, the second Polish city in terms of the number of inhabitants, approximately 770,000 (Kraków Metropolitan Area, 2016), and in terms of the share of the national GDP, 3.3% (op. cit.). The Kraków FUA, with the population over 1 million inhabitants, covers the area of 15 local *gminas*, including the city of Kraków, the towns of Skawina, Wieliczka, Niepołomice and Świątniki-Górne, and seven village-type localities in the peri-urban zone. The delimitation of the KFUA was set by regional authorities in the process of the preparation of the Regional Operational Program of Malopolska for the 2014–2020 program period (RPO MV, 2014). This delimitation was an arbitrary administrative decision, approved mostly to facilitate the introduction of the ITI instrument.

Kraków Metropolis Association and its roles

In 2014 local communities in the Kraków FUA formed a partnership/union in the form an association of gminas. That was one of the conditions determined in the PA for participation in the ITI instrument and for obtaining support from the EU Cohesion Policy. The Kraków Metropolis Association (KMA) voted upon the ITI Strategy for Kraków FUA, satisfying the second necessary condition of "ITI eligibility". The national Government also assigned the Association as the intermediate body (the IB) with regard to the process of ITI implementation. The agreement between the KMA and the regional authority designates a set of purely administrative activities in that respect.

The ITI Strategy for the Kraków Urban Functional Area was adopted in 2015. The document was prepared by a consulting company, with significant participation of the KMA. The strategy had to follow the national guidelines (Principles…, 2013). Without going into details, it is important to note that the Kraków FUA ITI Strategy has gone beyond strictly following the EU and national exigencies, linked to the goals of the EU Funds. So, taking into consideration the vision statement "Kraków and the Kraków Functional Urban Area – the metropolis of the national and the international

[1] National Strategy for Regional Development 2030.

[2] https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/

rank", the strategy indicates three following goals (the following are synthesized): (1) a high level of competitiveness of the sub-regional economy; (2) a high quality of living of the inhabitants of the FUA; and (3) integrated management of the Kraków FUA.

Summarising above observations, the Asso= ciation plays two primary roles in the introduction of the ITI. On the one hand, it satisfies the goals of the ITI Strategy, designed more widely than it is expected, according to regional and national documents. On the other hand, the KMA comes down to the role of "a mini-office" administrating, through the execution of projects, the allocation of the EU Funds, as designated in the Regional Operational Program.

Procedures and Co-operation Tools used in the Association

The analysis of selected management systems of the Association was conducted in terms of the ability to participate in a flexible, participatory co-creation of the developmental potential of the Kraków FUA.

It should be emphasized that at the stage of developing the ITI Strategy and during current activities, the Association applies in practice the principles described above as a deliberative procedure. The processes of decisions in the Association are the result of debates between the heads of the gminas in the ITI. Never in the history of the KMA has there been a need to use voting to make decisions. When pursuing the objectives and tasks of the ITI instrument, participants are free from external coercion and are entirely sovereign. There have been no problems in the work of the KMA that were not able to be regulated in the equal interest of all members. Despite the considerable differences in terms of economic and financial potential between the city of Kraków and other members of the Association, internal debates are free of internal coercion, i.e. everyone has the same chances of being heard, being criticised, etc. All of the members of the KMA are provided with equal access to the mechanisms of social communication.

The activities of the Association go far beyond obligatory tasks. The KMA office has the will and the ability to strengthen the co-operation between the gminas around critical themes for the functioning of the peri-urban zone of Kraków. The manifestation of this is the implementation of metropolitan co-operation procedures in the form of what are known as forums. Despite the lack of formalisation, the forums constitute an effective mechanism of collaboration, covering in each case all of the members of the Association. The activity of the forums focuses on the areas of the KMA's operations which require more intensive involvement of the ITI communities than in the case of the execution of projects carried out by individual members. Three forums have been established:

- The Clean Air Forum of the Kraków Metropolis sets its goals and tasks concerning improving air quality. The related activities aim at unifying the policies of municipalities, in the scope of removal of coal boilers, in five areas: 1) inventory, 2) management, 3) finalisation, 4) control, and 5) information and promotion;
- The Forum for Integrated Transport of the Kraków Metropolis is oriented towards facilitating co-operation with regard to the development of bicycle infrastructure in the Kraków FUA, integration of public transport of gminas and strengthening co-operation within the framework of integrated agglomeration public transport;
- The Forum for Public Procurement in the Kraków Metropolis improves the competences of municipalities' officials.

It is worth underlining that the subject matter of the above-mentioned forums is at the heart of KFUA's needs. It is not only about the execution of the projects submitted and agreed at the introduction stage of the ITI Strategy. A much more difficult challenge is creating a climate of mutual understanding of gminas and co-ordinating activities the time-horizons and

needs of which, in terms of resources involved, go beyond the current EU program period. Co-operation forums are a unique platform for dialogue, enabling one to believe that the ITI becomes a lesson in the co-ordination of significant area-related socio-economic activities.

Challenges with regard to networking between ITI gminas

An essential aspect of the functioning of the KMA is the position of the Association with regard to other entities affecting the introduction of the ITI instrument, and in the future metropolitan co-operation in the Kraków Functional Area. Many factors disclosed in the current practice should be considered here. The experience of the KMA Office indicates two aspirations. On the one hand, there is a conviction in the KMA that the real challenge is "a shared vision of the metropolitan idea", which is a fulfilment of the process of grassroots integration of communities living in individual gminas/municipalities. The organising of the forums described above, and the mode of determining the areas of metropolitan collaboration testify to this. Also, the Directorate of the KMA Office emphasises the logic of establishing closer managerial links between the Associations and the voivodship as well as the ITI governance systems of the gminas. This is related to the fact that, at present, the Kraków Metropolis Association functions outside the formal system of gminas, and makes it difficult to identify the metropolitan contexts of certain investments and tasks, and ultimately to formulate proposals for actions. The challenge for the KMA management is to reconcile these requirements with the Association's intentions to become a "metropolis of a network of contacts, a metropolis of standards understood as an agreed way of responding to a given problem" (Noworól, 2018b).

It seems that a vital aspect of the functioning of the KMA is determining the status of the Association with regard to crucial entities that are stakeholders of the ITI instrument. Useful here may be theories concerning multi-level governance (MLG), especially in the aspect of revealing the causes and mechanisms of co-operation between entities from various levels of governance/management. At the same time, it is worth looking at the Association as an organisation with a limited amount of real power and influence on the ITI gminas, while also an entity dependent on regional and national authorities.

A vast amount of literature attempts to classify the theories of MLG (Rhodes, 1997; Sørensen & Torfing, 2005 and 2007). Essentialising various approaches, Sroka (2009) indicates four groups of these theories. Two groups reflect rivalry and calculation as the principle of creating multi-level networks. They are theories of **interdependency** –the exchange of resources – and **governability**, which consists of a kind of manipulation to regain an ability to govern. The second group of theories is built on references to the anthropological discourse, in which culture plays a key role. Sroka indicates the concept of **governmentality** in which the government influences the people's imaginations through media and the theory of **integration**, relying on building a network based on reconciling different goals and strategies on organisational fields, created by various entities (Olsen, 2007; Sroka, 2009, pp. 47–48).

In practice, the activities of organisations are a melange of the approaches mentioned above. In the case of the KMA, we can confirm the relevance of two of those approaches. There can be no doubt that joining the introduction of the ITI instrument resulted primarily from the efforts to obtain EU funds dedicated to this tool. So, the first step is – following the theory of interdependence – exchange of resources. The gminas decide to co-operate in exchange for an opportunity to obtain external funds. It is undoubtedly the starting position for building a co-operation network, a standpoint based on calculation and a stern look at what is happening in each gmina. And the Association must somehow "rule it", in the sense of co-ordination and mediation.

The key – for the essence of the ITI Instrument – methods of networking co-operation are related

to the developing of a culture of collaboration. Integration theories accentuate the importance of what are known as "organisational fields" produced by co-operating bodies. It is inside these fields that the process of negotiated adaptation of the actions of many actors takes place. This means conducting specific activities in the areas of mutual interest of each organisation interested in integration. Within organisational fields, specific ways and styles of the gminas' activities are reconciled, enhancing the process of reciprocal adaptation. If understanding and mutual benefits accompany this, authentic network logic should emerge, reinforced by knowledge, symbols and "good practices". The experience of the Association confirms the legitimacy of continuing this form of its activity.

Conclusions

Conclusion of this paper can be formulated in theoretical and practical contexts. The crucial observation of the performed research concerns the organisational aspects of intervention on a metropolitan scale. It is worth noting that territorial strategies are not strategies of administration offices, but development plans of the entire community/communities living in a given area. This means that the management of development must go beyond the domain of public administration. Effective introduction of the territorial strategy should refer to what is happening in the local economy, to social and cultural activities carried out by entities from all sectors. The challenge consists then of influencing a complex and hybrid institutional ecosystem of differentiated bodies. The critical challenge is capability with regard to the 'animation' of intersectoral co-operation, to networking and stimulating pro-development activities of organisations, public, business and non-governmental, operating in a specific geographical area.

With reference to the two models of development management in functional areas ("metropolitan government" vs "metropolitan governance"), this author is clearly in favour of accepting the latter. The complexity of existing organisational ecosystems including entities from public, private and social spheres require with regard to metropolitan management the bottom-up mobilisation of potentials of local actors.

Taking into consideration the experiences of the KMA in building a co-operative environment/ecosystem of ITI implementation, this author is of the opinion that instead of administering the ITI Strategy projects, the KMA should act more in the "metropolitan governance" formula. The real challenge facing Polish communities with regard to European Union standards of governance is broadening and developing managerial skills to co-operate through identifying common themes, platforms for exchanging information and knowledge, good practices, etc. The main task of the Association should be working on another co-operation strategy: developing a vision of the KFUA. That should be done regardless of whether there will be EU support via the ITI instrument or not. For the KMA, this results in the need to include entities from outside the public sphere in the work of the Association. It is reasonable to use the Association's experience and delineate – at the beginning – a limited circle of operation, so that, over time, this circle will expand, including further entities and residents.

The main observation in terms of the introduction of the EU Cohesion Policy in Poland consists of a demonstration of the benign role of the Integrated Territorial Investments on a metropolitan scale. The well-programmed organisation responsible for the introduction can bring added value in excess of the results of ITI projects. This overall benefit signifies the building of a co-operative ecosystem of entities, hopefully, ready to act together independently from external financial support. The EU Cohesion Policy becomes a guide of future action and not only a source of funds.

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Spatiotemporal analysis of Polish municipal budget expenditure on selected categories of cultural institutions in the years 2003 to 2016

Abstract

Objectives: The main aim of the article is to analyse changes in spending on culture with regard to four selected groups: libraries, community cultural centres, heritage and monument protection, and others in the years 2003 to 2016. This article also looks at the sum of municipal budgets in individual provinces.

Research Design and Methods: For the selected years, location quotients (LQ) were used to show the spatial diversity of cultural expenditure in the municipalities of particular voivodships. To illustrate the diversity of municipal expenditure on culture in particular years of the analysis was made using a dynamic modification of Knudsen's regression model of share transfers proposed by Berzeg (the SSANOVA model).

Findings: The increase in the share of cultural expenditure followed by a decline thereof may indicate that in 2011–2014 the municipalities in Poland made significant expenditure on culture, which could have been aimed at improving both hard and soft cultural infrastructure. Analysis using the Knudsen model revealed a disturbing tendency to decrease the share of municipal expenditure devoted to culture in total expenditure

Implications/Recommendations: The fact that the majority of municipalities in Poland in the analysed period devoted a higher share of expenditure to cultural purposes than average spending of this type for Poland may indicate a change in the approach of local authorities to the culture as a potential factor for the development of a municipality, rather than unnecessary budget expenditure. The downward trend in the share of cultural expenditure of municipalities in their total expenditure may, though not necessarily does, indicate a change in the direction of cultural policy of local governments in Poland.

Contribution/Value Added: This approach opens new possibilities for analysing cultural expenditure from local budgets, as well as local cultural policies and the effectiveness of public finances.

Article classification: research article

Keywords: spatial shift-share analysis, cultural economics, public finances, municipal budgets

JEL classification: Z1, H7, C5

Introduction

In most countries the provision of cultural services is divided between the public and the private sectors. The public sphere is further divided into different administrative levels: the central level, regional and county levels, and local municipalities (Håkonsen & Løyland,

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2015) The main purpose of the changes to the system in the field of culture after the systemic transformation was the introduction of mechanisms supporting an efficient and fair management of public resources, the introduction of changes in the public administration competencies relating to the organising of the culture financing process, and the introduction of new solutions in the scope of the financing, organising and managing of cultural institutions, such as decentralisation of cultural institution management, increasing of the autonomy of cultural institutions and development of legal frameworks for patronage and sponsorship in this area (Wrona, 2011). One of the most important changes in management processes and financing with regard to self-government units was the transmission of cultural tasks to the municipalities as obligatory own tasks. On one hand that gave to a significant scope of financial autonomy to Polish municipalities, but, on the other hand, those changes forced the municipalities to supply the financial background of all transmitted tasks from their own incomes. This situation resulted in a great variety of municipal revenues for culture and national heritage protection, correlating with municipal wealth and the way in which local politicians treat cultural matters with respect to socio-economic categories.

Literature review

The studies of various aspects of local cultural policy and local cultural spending can be grouped into two types. Most of those studies analyse local cultural expenditures as a whole, i.e. an aggregate of all cultural expenditure in a municipality (Depalo & Fideli, 2011; Benito et al., 2013; Werck et al., 2008) In addition, some studies analyse a specific local or regional cultural institution, such as an opera house (Schulze & Ursprung, 2000) or a theatre (Getzner, 2004). In this study, the author will combine the two types mentioned above and begin with by analysing the aggregated expenditures of municipal budgets in Poland on culture and national heritage for the economic background according to the structure and types of cultural expenditures in the years 2003–2016. To point out the spatial diversity of cultural spending in municipalities of the particular voivodships the location quotient (LQ) has been used. A great variety of municipal revenues for the culture and national heritage protection correlated with the municipal wealth and the way in which local politicians treat cultural goods with respect to socio-economic categories. So, trials of quantitative evaluations of this category of municipal revenues have been carried out with consideration given to spatial-sectional and time range. This multi-dimensional approach made it possible to evaluate and estimate the level of the regional development according to the reference area and to analyse the speed and the structure of changes. One of the methods used to such analysis are methods involving Shift-Share Analysis (SSA) and its modifications enlarged with regard to the time dimension (Knudsen, 2000; Berzeg, 1984). The collected sample of statistic data considers the information about cultural revenues of Polish municipalities (by the voivodship) in the years 2003–2016, split into four groups of expenditure: libraries, community cultural centres, heritage and monument protection, and others (for example galleries and artistic exhibition offices). The statistical information considers the multi-dimensional data about municipal expenses in 16 regions with regard to four categories of cultural goods and services in a 14-year period (2003–2016).

Methods

The general description of expenses incurred by particular provincial governments for cultural institutions shows that these expenses are characterised by spatial diversity. Taking this into account, it seems advisable to perform a comparative analysis of the average of these expenses in Poland.

One of the tools used for spatial quantitative analysis are location quotients (LQ), in this case

calculated for the expenditure of provincial governments on particular cultural institutions.

In general, the location quotients (also known as concentration indices) are a commonly applied and practical planning tool used to understand local economic specialisation and economic dependency (Shaffer et al., 2004) applied in the analysis of the spatial distribution of dependence relationships between two variables, in this case between the total expenditure on culture and the expenditure on types of cultural institutions. Location quotients are also used as a management tool (Marcouiller et al., 2009). To calculate a location quotient one uses concentration indices determined on the basis of the Lorenz concentration curve. The Lorenz curve is a useful tool because it illustrates a natural order of distributions from the most even one to the most concentrated one (Suchecki, 2010).

While interpreting location quotients one should take into consideration the values above and below unity. An LQ greater than 1 indicates that in the analysed area the spending on a particular type of cultural institutions is higher than the average spending in Poland, while an LQ below 1 indicates that the regional government spending on a particular type of cultural institutions is lower than the average spending in the reference field.

For studying spatiotemporal relationships the tools that consider the specificity of the analysed phenomenon or process are often used. Among them, a group of methods for analysing shift-share deserves particular attention. These tools fall within the scope of spatial statistics and econometrics. They are multi-dimensional in space–sector–time. This approach makes possible the assessment and examination of the level of a given area against the background of the reference area. It also allows one to account for the dynamics and structure of changes. Generally, two different models are considered: the Berzeg model and a dynamic modification thereof, the Knudsen model. In this research, the multi-dimensional data of the Polish municipal cultural expenditures by regions (NUTS 2, voivodships) on the different types of cultural goods and services in the period of fourteen years (2003–2016) has been completed. This makes it possible to use more complex methods of the analysis with regard to dynamic aspects.

The collected sample of statistic data looks at information about cultural spending by Polish municipalities (by region) in the years 2003–2016 split into four groups of expenditure: libraries, community cultural centres, heritage and monument protection, and others (for example galleries and artistic exhibition offices). The statistical information covers multi-dimensional data about municipal expenses in 16 regions with regard to four categories of cultural goods and services in the 14-year period (2003–2016). That structure and the large number of statistical samples ($16 \times 4 \times 14$ observations) make it possible to use the SSANOVA panel model as a tool to analyse municipal cultural expenditures in Poland.

In the literature on the subject, the two most commonly used variants of SSA models are most often mentioned: the Berzeg model (Berzeg, 1984) and the Knudsen model (Knudsen, 2000). These are practical simplifications (used in empirical studies) of the general form of the total variance decomposition model for multi-dimensional data (Marimon & Zilibotti, 1998)

$$y_{rit} = h(i) + m(r,i) + b(t) + f(i,t) + g(r,t) + \varepsilon_{rit},$$

which includes: constant in time and in region structural variation $h(i)$, constant in time regional-sectoral variability $m(r,i)$, the trend of national growth rate $b(t)$, specific effects of sectoral growth trend $f(i,t)$, effects of changes in the time of regional growth of individual regions $g(r,t)$ and the random component of the model: ε_{rit}.

This article presents and discusses the results of the Knudsen model:

$$tx_{rit} = \Sigma_t a_{0t} + \Sigma_i a_i . s_i + \Sigma_r b_r w_r + \varepsilon_{rit}$$

which is a dynamic decomposition of the increase in spending on culture, in which the variable growth rate in the following years is explained

(decomposed) txt = [(xt-xt-1) / xt] including the division into components according to four types of expenditure and 16 voivodships with a variable effect of the temporal dimension, i.e. with different values of the total growth parameter (differentiation of the free expression) in particular years.

Results and discussion

The spending on culture from Polish municipal budgets was growing from 2003 until 2014 (Table 1). After that year the slight fall in cultural spending has been noted. In the first year of analysis, the amount of spending on culture by Polish municipalities was PLN 1,911.065 million and reached the level of PLN 5,274.949 million in the last estimated year. The highest level of spending on culture by Polish municipalities was in 2014 (PLN 6,243.012 million).

In the years 2003 to 2016 the highest level in cultural expenditure were noticed for municipalities in the Mazowieckie and Śląskie regions. The spending on culture by municipalities in Mazowieckie was highest in 2016, at PLN 890.024 million; while the municipalities in the Śląskie region spent the largest amount on culture in 2014: PLN 831.339 million. The year-to-year changes in cultural spending by Polish municipalities have been on a downwards trend since 2011. The percentage of the cultural spending in total budgetary expenses of municipalities in the analysed period averaged 2% to 4% and was highest in the municipalities of the Dolnośląskie region in 2014.

In the analysed period, municipal spending on culture increased until 2014 (Table 1). In the years 2003–2016, the share of spending on culture and national heritage protection in most municipalities in Poland was higher than the average

Table 1. The total cultural spending from municipal budgets in 2003, 2011 and 2016 (in PLN thousand) and its percentage in total expenditures (in percent)

Voivodship	2003	%	2011	%	2016	%
Poland	1,911,065	3	5,245,835	3.8	5,274,949	3.3
Dolnośląskie	189,685	4	521,547	4.0	565,099	4.6
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	84,684	2	251,269	3.3	234,337	2.6
Lubelskie	89,524	3	288,593	5.0	257,979	3.6
Lubuskie	47,068	2	174,989	6.8	129,841	2.4
Łódzkie	117,137	3	332,941	4.4	319,139	3.4
Małopolskie	164,627	3	428,639	4.9	466,831	3.9
Mazowieckie	288,558	3	791,225	3.7	890,024	3.4
Opolskie	47,996	2	140,163	6.0	133,599	3.9
Podkarpackie	89,300	2	238,897	2.6	227,789	2.3
Podlaskie	52,939	3	150,123	2.9	133,809	2.5
Pomorskie	109,283	3	383,461	4.6	358,286	3.9
Śląskie	267,808	3	538,853	3.2	567,693	2.8
Świętokrzyskie	42,068	3	144,005	2.9	116,290	2.3
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	62,228	3	167,994	2.4	157,335	1.8
Wielkopolskie	170,770	3	439,382	3.5	475,477	3.1
Zachodniopomorskie	87,340	3	253,353	4.0	241,421	3.1

Source: GUS, https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2017-roku,2,15.html.

share of such expenditure in the reference area (Table 2). For municipalities in the Dolnośląskie and Małopolskie voivodships, the level of location quotient remained above one in the whole period covered by the study. In 2014, the municipalities of the Dolnośląskie Voivodship recorded a record-breaking LQ ratio of 2.13. This means that the share of cultural spending from municipal budgets in this voivodeship was more than 100% higher than the share of cultural spending of municipal budgets in their total expenditure in Poland. The location co-efficients value above unity in the majority of the analysed period was also recorded in the Lubelskie, Łódzkie, Mazowieckie, Opolskie and Pomorskie voivodships. Particularly noteworthy are the municipalities located in the Opolskie voivodeship: ln their case, the LQ increased from 0.64 in 2003 to 1.21 in 2016.

The literature emphasises that a dynamic approach in structural and geographical analyses makes it possible to obtain better, more reliable results, due to the better allocation of growth between components. Dynamic analysis also provides additional information, e.g. that the transformation of the regional economy is characterised by a specific development tendency.

The results of the Knudsen model analysis presented above, in addition to the sectoral components (expenditure and regional groups), also demonstrate the ability to draw conclusions about the trends of changes in the analysed fields of economic and social activity, in particular to take into account the variability of temporal effects of the national component, illustrated in Figure 1. The next points in the chart show a clear reduction in spending on culture, especially in 2011 compared with the previous year, down by more than 3%. Also, a large negative change is visible in 2015, down by more than 10% compared with the previous year (Table 2).

The accuracy of the Knudsen's estimation is also evidenced by the values of Student's t-statistics

Table 2. Location quotients (LQ) for municipal budget spending on culture in selected years of the period 2003–2016

Voivodship	2003	2005	2008	2011	2014	2016
Dolnośląskie	1.32	1.32	1.36	1.05	2.13	1.42
Kujawsko-pomorskie	0.77	0.69	0.85	0.86	0.47	0.79
Lubelskie	0.98	0.84	1.09	1.32	1.04	1.11
Lubuskie	0.52	0.50	0.56	1.79	0.68	0.74
Łódzkie	1.02	0.89	1.01	1.14	0.98	1.04
Małopolskie	1.07	1.36	1.01	1.30	1.58	1.19
Mazowieckie	1.02	1.18	1.20	0.96	0.70	1.04
Opolskie	0.64	0.76	0.82	1.57	1.07	1.21
Podkarpackie	0.68	0.64	1.06	0.69	0.46	0.70
Podlaskie	0.97	0.61	0.65	0.77	0.54	0.76
Pomorskie	1.04	0.90	1.06	1.20	1.32	1.19
Śląskie	1.03	0.99	0.82	0.84	1.05	0.85
Świętokrzyskie	0.86	1.00	0.62	0.77	0.60	0.71
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	0.83	0.82	0.97	0.63	0.50	0.55
Wielkopolskie	0.97	0.78	0.75	0.92	0.86	0.94
Zachodniopomorskie	1.03	0.89	0.84	1.05	0.93	0.94

Source: GUS, https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2017-roku,2,15.html.

Table 3. Results of the analysis using the Knudsen dynamic model of the decomposition of the growth rate of expenditure on culture by four groups of expenditure and 16 voivodships in Poland in 2004/2003 to 2016/2015

	Parameter	Evaluation	in %	in %*13	t – stat	p – value
Domestic factor	A0	0.0163	1.63	162.95	res.	
Libraries	A1	–0.0193	–1.93	–193.37	–4.78	0.00
Cultural Centres	A2	–0.0096	–0.96	–95.84	–2.76	0.01
Heritage Protection	A3	–0.0248	–2.48	–247.83	–3.74	0.00
Others	A4	0.0700	7.00	700.00	res.	
Dolnośląskie	B1	0.0053	0.53	52.98	0.67	0.50
Kujawsko-pomorskie	B2	–0.0051	–0.51	–50.64	–0.53	0.60
Lubelskie	B3	0.0129	1.29	129.34	1.39	0.17
Lubuskie	B4	–0.0150	–1.50	–150.45	–1.41	0.17
Łódzkie	B5	–0.0023	–0.23	–23.13	–0.26	0.80
Małopolskie	B6	0.0061	0.61	60.59	0.74	0.46
Mazowieckie	B7	–0.0031	–0.31	–30.95	–0.41	0.68
Opolskie	B8	–0.0025	–0.25	–24.75	–0.22	0.83
Podkarpackie	B9	–0.0058	–0.58	–57.72	–0.61	0.55
Podlaskie	B10	0.0014	0.14	14.25	0.13	0.90
Pomorskie	B11	0.0071	0.71	71.31	0.82	0.41
Śląskie	B12	–0.0206	–2.06	–205.77	–2.63	0.01
Świętokrzyskie	B13	0.0138	1.38	138.09	1.21	0.23
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	B14	–0.0053	–0.53	–52.95	–0.50	0.62
Wielkopolskie	B15	0.0139	1.39	139.20	1.67	0.10
Zachodniopomorskie	B16	–0.0195	–1.95	–194.53	res.	
2004/2003	A43	0.1465	14.65		5.30	0.00
2005/2004	A54	0.1748	17.48		9.05	0.00
2006/2005	A65	0.2408	24.08		6.50	0.00
2007/2006	A76	0.1239	12.39		4.10	0.00
2008/2007	A87	0.1635	16.35		7.02	0.00
2009/2008	A98	0.1799	17.99		5.09	0.00
2010/2009	A109	0.1971	19.71		7.57	0.00
2011/2010	A1110	–0.0302	–3.02		–1.27	0.21
2012/2011	A1211	0.0470	4.70		2.12	0.04
2013/2012	A1312	0.0405	4.05		1.95	0.06
2014/2013	A1413	0.1451	14.51		6.47	0.00
2015/2014	A1514	–0.1018	–10.18		–4.48	0.00
2016/2015	A1615	–0.0108	–1.08		–0.44	0.66

Source: own elaboration based on the implementation of myr procedure (SUR – UWMNK), GUS, https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/kultura-turystyka-sport/kultura/kultura-w-2017-roku,2,15.html.

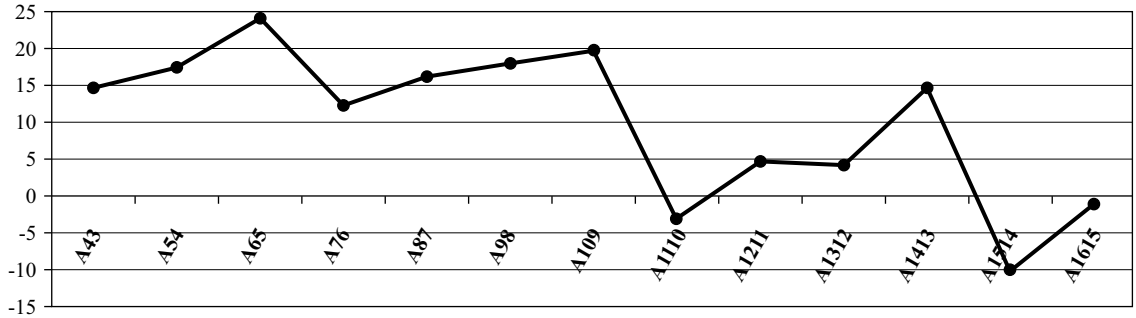

Figure 1. Changes in the domestic factor assessments value (free expression) in the period 2004/3 to 2016/15 on the basis of the results of analysis using the Knudsen model equations (decomposition of the spending on culture in Poland)

Source: own elaboration based on data from Table 3.

and p-value. Most assessments of the components of changes over time and sectoral components are here statistically significantly different from zero, at a 5%-level of significance. Spending on particular sectoral components in the analysed period were falling. A large increase in spending on culture from municipal budgets (7%) involved expenditures in the remaining category.

Conclusions

Despite the fact that the nominal spending from municipal budgets on culture in 2003–2016 in Poland grew, reaching a high-point in 2014, the share of this spending in total expenditure remained at a more or less stable level (slightly above 3%). An increase in the percentage share of cultural spending by municipalities in their total expenditure was visible only in the middle years of the analysed period (2011–2014). After this increase, in municipalities located in some voivodships, even falls in such shares were noted, e.g. in the municipalities of the Warmia-Masuria voivodeship the share of spending on culture in total expenditure fell from 3% in 2003 to 1.8% in 2016. This increase in the share of cultural spending followed by a decline may indicate that in 2011–2014 the municipalities of Poland made significant spending on culture, which could have been aimed at improving both hard and soft cultural infrastructure. This situation, as well as the fact that the majority of municipalities in Poland in the analysed period had a higher share of expenditure on cultural purposes than average spending of this type for Poland, which was measured by means of location indicators, may indicate a change in the approach of local authorities to culture that manifests itself in the increasingly frequent perception of this sphere of the economy as a potential factor for the development of a municipality, rather than unnecessary budget expenditure.

On the other hand, the analysis using the Knudsen model revealed a disturbing tendency to decrease the share of municipal spending dedicated to culture in total expenditure. It is also impossible to explicitly indicate a component that would have the greatest impact on changes in the movements of these shares in the audited period. Only municipalities from five voivodships had positive assessment values in the case of regional growth component shares. These were municipalities from the following provinces: Wielkopolskie, Świętokrzyskie, Lubelskie, Małopolskie and Dolnośląskie. The occurrence of a clear downward trend in the share of cultural spending by municipalities in their total expenditure may, though not necessarily, mean a change in the direction of cultural policy of local governments in Poland. Most likely, the current direction of local government spending related to meeting infrastructural needs with regard to culture

and modernisation of already existing cultural organisations has been replaced by another, much more complex from the research point of view, direction, which is to increase cultural activity of local communities and fight the exclusion of certain social groups (e.g. large families or seniors) from participating in cultural events. In this case, expenses related to the implementation of the new objectives of cultural policies of local governments are not borne directly by the cultural sector and its institutions, but rather by the sectors of public expenditure, such as education and social assistance.

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The barriers to co-operation in the food safety system in Poland

Abstract

Objectives: The official food safety system in Poland is divided between a number of specialised inspection bodies. The effective implementation of the entire inspection and supervision process requires multi-direction co-operation. The aim of the study presented was the identification of the barriers to and boundaries of the inter-organisational co-operation between the inspection bodies involved in the official food safety process.

Research Design & Methods: Qualitative research methods: analysis of organisational documentation, industry reports, post-audit reports and in-depth interviews with employees of five inspection bodies.

Findings: The co-operation between the inspection bodies should be multi-threaded and multi-lateral. In fact, the mechanisms that encourage co-operation are relatively weak and there are numerous barriers between them. The lack of the inter-organisational co-operation is caused by various factors: cultural, social, political, legal, and organisational norms and values. The key source of the barriers is the fragmentary perception of the food safety supervision process by employees, which results from the lack of a systematic approach to this process. The employees of the inspection bodies perceive the remaining inspections as external entities and not co-workers taking part in a common process aimed at common good.

Implications/Recommendations: This article suggests some policy implications. The evolutionary solutions may include measures to eliminate the differences between inter-organisational co-operation postulated in legal regulations and real practices. The revolutionary activities may consist of building a comprehensive system of official food safety which will lead to consistent supervision over the entire food chain, and not only over the individual stages thereof. The construction of such a system may require changes in the number and the scope of tasks of the existing inspections.

Contribution/Value Added: The inter-organisational co-operation problems as part of the official food safety process are not specific to only the system in Poland: similar difficulties are found in many countries. Therefore these research findings have potentially wide application.

Article classification: research article

Keywords: inter-organisational ties, public management, food safety

JEL classification: H79, M54

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Introduction

The issue of inter-organisational co-operation[1] is widely explored in relation to the enterprise sector. Meanwhile, researchers indicate that the changes taking place in recent years in public management include, inter alia, the intensification of inter-organisational co-operation (Osborne, 2010; Wiatrak, 2006; Plawgo et al., 2006). Kożuch (2007) emphasises that co-operation is a pre-condition for achieving the objectives of every modern public organisation, but, at the same time, it is a factor that presents many difficulties. This is a particularly important problem in the system of official food safety, which in Poland involves five organisations (inspection bodies) which are subordinate to three ministries. Effective performance by the whole system requires co-operation between its participants.[2]

In Poland there has been for many years an ongoing debate around the weaknesses of the official food safety system, indicating that it requires numerous improvements, and perhaps also a fundamental change in structure. In the last few years several projects for change have been drawn up, but none of them have been fully implemented (Wojciechowski, 2014).

The aim of the study presented in this article is to identify barriers to inter-organisational co-operation between the Veterinary Inspectorate (IW) and other inspection bodies involved in the official food safety process. The scope of this article does not include co-operation with foreign inspection bodies.[3] The interpretative paradigm was accepted in the study; the research methods used included analysis of organisational documentation, industry reports, post-audit reports of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK), statements from experts and, above all, individual interviews with 56 employees of five inspection bodies.

Poland is an EU Member State and, according to the relevant international requirements, each and every Member State has to ensure the safety of the food produced or/and processed within its borders. Taking into consideration the fact that the food produced in any Member State can be freely transported to and sold and exchanged in every Member State, the official food safety system must provide full and thorough information concerning any given food item that is being introduced on the market. Thus, the functioning of the system in Poland is very much connected with food safety in all Member States. Therefore, the knowledge and awareness of the real and possible barriers in terms of inter-organisational co-operation may lead directly to the excellence of the national system, and, indirectly, to the system on the European and global levels.

Literature review

The importance of co-operation in the official food safety system

Food safety is understood as ensuring that food does not cause any harmful effects on the health of the consumer, provided it is prepared and consumed as intended (Knechtges, 2012). In Polish legislation (Ustawa, 2006) food safety is defined as all conditions and actions that must be taken at all stages of the production or trading of food to ensure human health and life.

To ensure food safety, it is vital to have a process which ensures that food is safe and does not pose a threat to human health (Federal Ministry

[1] The authors understand *inter-organisational co-operation* as a relationship in which two or more entities engage in a mutually beneficial exchange leading to the achieving of common goals (Mattessich et al., 2001).

[2] One may wonder how much co-operation between inspection bodies that take part in the official food safety system is internal and external. However, one should note that individual inspection bodies constitute separate legal entities, and at the same time during the conducted research it turned out that the participants perceive each other as external entities.

[3] Inspection bodies from Member States co-operate with each other in the Rapid Alert System for Food and Feed.

of Food and Agriculture [Germany] 2016). In turn, the efficient performance of this process requires appropriate organisation of official food inspection services. This issue is addressed by researchers around the world. This is due to, inter alia, many changes made in recent years in the organisation of national services, which in turn is often the result of crises related to food safety, such as scandals involving BSE ("mad cow disease").

Lie (2010 and 2011) draws attention to the involvement of many public entities in the official food safety system. The precondition for achieving the objectives of the system becomes the creation of mechanisms of inter-organisational co-ordination, which encourages the participants of the process to co-operate. The researcher analyses the functioning of such mechanisms in Norway and New Zealand, before and after reforms of the relevant organisations. A publication by Ansell & Vogel (2006) is similar in nature, analysing the reforms in the official food safety systems in a number of countries (inter alia France, Germany and the UK). Barling et al. (2002), when analysing the British system, indicate that the issue of food safety requires co-operation between and integration of many different organisations. Lie emphasises that integration should cover not only the organisation of the system, but also individual policies, for example in the areas of health, trade, foreign policy, agriculture, fishing and consumer protection (Lie, 2010). An organisational solution that is often used in practice is the creation of "regulatory agencies" (Gilardi, 2004; Jordana & Sancho, 2004).

In Poland, the official process of ensuring food safety is carried out by five main inspection bodies[4]: the State Sanitary Inspectorate (PIS); the Veterinary Inspectorate (IW); the Trade Quality Inspectorate for Agricultural and Food Products (IJHARS); the State Plant and Seed Protection Inspectorate (PIORiN); and the Trade Inspectorate (IH). The inspection bodies are subordinate to the Ministry of Health (PIS), the Office of Competition and Consumer Protection (IH) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (the other three inspectorates). It should be emphasised that food safety is only part of the duties of IJHARS, PIORiN and IH.

The inspections were separated on the basis of two criteria:

– the type of food (of plant or animal origin);
– the stage in the process of creating and distributing the food product (cultivation/slaughter, production, processing, transport, sale).

Not always are the accepted criteria adapted to the market and technological realities. This applies to composite products containing both plant and animal components, e.g. fish oil in capsules and ready-to-eat products of meat origin. In this case, there is a risk that the product will not be covered by supervision or duplication of tasks. In turn, the separation of control over the food chain between five inspectorates hampers the free flow of documents and data about the given product and the inspected entity. In this way, none of the organisations have full information about the entire process of creating and distributing a food product (Jendza, 2015). As a result, despite the precise division of tasks between individual inspectorates, the co-ordination of activities and active co-operation between these organisations become extremely important. Co-ordination can be understood as co-operation between inspection bodies, which results in the exchange of resources, such as knowledge and information during every stage of the official process of ensuring food safety.

Co-operation between the food safety inspection bodies is one of the key elements of the content of numerous European and national regulations, according to which appropriate procedures should be established in the Member States regarding the co-operation of inspection bodies performing inspections at individual stages of the food chain (Regulations No. 882/2004, 178/2002, 854/2004, 852/2004, 853/2004). The requirements which are set forth in these documents have been implemented

[4] There are some additional smaller inspections, eg. Military Veterinary Inspectorate, Military Sanitary Inspectorate, Inspectorate of Sea Fishing, Chief Pharmaceutical Inspectorate.

into Polish law. According to Polish food law the co-operation between these entities, as public administration units, can take various forms, e.g.:
- providing information about threats and suspected threats, and breaches of law, via information exchange systems;
- organising and conducting joint inspections;
- the joint withdrawal from the market of food products that may pose a threat to human life and health;
- sharing information, documents, decisions and resolutions;
- mutual use of resources in situations of threat to sanitary/veterinary safety;
- organising and conducting joint training;
- co-operation of laboratories operating in inspection bodies.

It would be obvious, therefore, to say that inspection bodies with common or similar goals achieve better results when they co-operate with each other and provide mutual assistance than when each of them operates in isolation (Leoński, 2004), thus it seems that this assumption of inter-organisational co-operation constituted the basis of the aforementioned legal acts.

Barriers to inter-organisational co-operation in management theory

The issue of inter-organisational co-operation is undertaken in relations to various entities. In their research Adamik and Matejun (2010) analyse the co-operation of enterprises with business environment institutions. Research on inter-organisational co-operation in the SME sector has been conducted by Ernst (2000), Zeng et al. (2010), and Ujda-Dyńka (2013). Ujda-Dyńka (2013) emphasises that these entities, due to their numerous developmental constraints, can benefit most from shaping the inter-organisational co-operation. Many researchers (Geisler, 1995; Veugelers & Cassiman, 2005; Bryła et al., 2013; Cyran, 2015; Kopeć, 2013) deal with the problem of co-operation between universities and the economic environment, in particular analysing barriers that hinder such co-operation. Research on inter-organisational co-operation for many years has also been conducted in the public sector (e.g. Tung-Mou & Maxwell, 2011; Casalino et al., 2014; Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2016).

Inter-organisational co-operation, which has a durable, long-term nature and is treated more strategically, leads to the creation of cross-organisational links. Czakon defines inter-organisational ties as such interactions between entities in which information, material or energy exchange takes place, and exchange parties' manifest mutual engagement. Inter-organisational ties are long-term, non-hierarchical and non-capital (Czakon, 2007).

Adamik (2009) emphasises that such bonds will function properly when:
- there will be a smooth two-way exchange between the partners of the bond, i.e. material, energy and information flows;
- due to the active involvement of the parties the existing relationship will be deepened and expanded;
- the parties will try to enrich this exchange as much as possible;
- reciprocity will be realised, i.e. symmetry of commitment, significantly related to the community of realised goals.

When describing agreements and relational strategies, the author points out such features as: two-sidedness, equality of the parties, and common goals. On the other hand, De Rond & Bouchkhi (2004) indicate that there is some equality of parties in some inter-organisational ties, but effective ties can also be based on domination by one of the parties, as long as it is accepted by other participants of the ties. Klimas (2015) indicates that the prerequisite for initiating inter-organisational ties is that the organisation has a relational competence.

Research on barriers to inter-organisational co-operation presents diverse results. For example, in the SME sector the most significant barriers identified were (Adamik, 2009): unwillingness to share information and resources; partners' poor involvement in joint ventures; a partner's

dominance; and poor preparation with regard to managing relationships of co-operation. Other barriers included: problems with the adaptation of partners to mutual needs; differences in perception of the essence of a partner relationship between partners; cultural distance; higher operating costs; longer decision-making time; and lack of informal contacts.

In turn, among the barriers to establishing and conducting co-operation between universities and businesses, one finds mentions of: mentality barriers (cultural); organisational behaviour barriers; information barriers; financial barriers; organisational barriers; and legal barriers (Santarek et al., 2008).

Kamiński (2017), pointing to the barriers of co-operation between the cultural and education sectors, lists: mutual perception of "culture" and "education"; communication problems; attempts to dominate co-operation; fears of stronger partners; fears that co-operation will not bring them benefits; inability to share successes; and lack of trust and openness.

Research on inter-organisational co-operation in the public sector has been carried out by Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek (2014). This researcher identified a number of problems related to co-operation in the public security management system, which includes a number of entities. The work mentions, inter alia, technical barriers (IT systems), financial barriers, insufficient number of procedures facilitating co-operation, encapsulation of information in units, and various assessments of the importance of a given issue in different units.

Thomson & Perry (2006) identified five dimensions crucial for co-operation in public management: governance, administration, organisational autonomy, mutuality and norms. They emphasised that the process of collaboration should be the result of a more systematic approach.

Klimas (2015), based on a review of research, indicates as the most important of the many barriers to initiating co-operation ties those related to human capital. The author mentions, inter alia, the resistance of employees to changes, a lack of trust towards potential co-operation partners, excessive cultural dissonance of human resources, varied levels of engagement and quality of human capital, communication difficulties, and mental-cognitive differences between employees.

Materials and methods

The aim of this study was to identify barriers to inter-organisational co-operation between the Veterinary Inspectorate and other participants in the official process of ensuring food safety. For this study the authors decided to adopt the dominant interpretative paradigm. In this approach it is not assumed that reality is objective, measurable and described by means of universal laws. It is assumed that reality is constructed socially, and for the determination of the actual manner of co-operation and barriers to establishing and functioning of co-operation, the convictions of the inspection units are the element determining the construction of mutual relations (Hatch, 2002; Jemielniak, 2012; Smircich & Morgan 1982).

The Veterinary Inspectorate is an institution responsible for the safety of all products of animal origin, and therefore for human and animal health in Poland. It employs 5,000 people at the central, provincial and poviat levels. The performance of its tasks requires co-operation with three of the four other main food safety inspection bodies in Poland and many other institutions.

This article partly uses the results of tests carried out in units of food safety inspection bodies, the purpose of which was to learn about the conditions for the functioning of these units and to examine their preparation for the performing of tasks in the conditions of the changing external environment. The research was carried out from 2012 to 2015 in two stages. The first stage concerned the analysis of the organisational (internal and external) documentation used by the inspection bodies during the performance of tasks. In addition, industry reports, post-audit reports of the Supreme Audit Office and expert statements were analysed. In the second stage in-depth interviews were

conducted with employees of inspection bodies. The selection of units of these bodies was deliberate, because the type of inspection, management level and location were taken into account, which means that the units selected for the study were located in different provinces of the country. A total of 56 interviews were conducted with employees of inspection bodies performing various functions at different levels of central, provincial and poviat management (tab. 1). This allowed for extending the study of inter-organisational co-operation to include internal co-operation within inspection bodies. A standard protocol (a scenario with questions) was used in interviews.

All examined organisations have common features. First of all, they are public administration and inspection units specialising in supervision and inspections in a specific scope. They all carry out their tasks in similar legal, political, economic and cultural conditions. Therefore, the essence of the research was not to conduct interviews in each unit (of a certain type or level), but rather the main issue was to get to know the meanings that that employees of these institutions give to the conditions and processes in which they participate. However, due to the fact that the research was conducted in different types of units, it was possible to discover their diversity: to compare the meanings and check if there are differences between them and if so, what those concern.

Interviews were recorded and 53 hours of recorded conversations were obtained, which were subsequently transcribed. The research material obtained in this way was analysed both in terms of the content of the statement (preliminary analysis) and the view of the organisational reality (proper analysis) (Polanyi, 1997). The creation of a list of intermediate threads, which were then ordered, was the result of this stage, thus creating the main cognitive categories. This article describes one of many threads selected during the research analysis concerning inter-organisational co-operation between inspection units.

Table 1. Number of interviews conducted

Level of management / position	IW	PIORiN	IJHARS	IH	PIS	Total
Central	**1**	**2**	**–**	**–**	**–**	**3**
Chief Inspector	*–*	*1*	*–*	*–*	*–*	*1*
General Director	*1*	*1*	*–*	*–*	*–*	*2*
Provincial	**8**	**14**	**3**	**2**	**7**	**34**
Provincial manager	*3*	*2*	*2*	*–*	*1*	*8*
Head of department	*3*	*4*	*1*	*1*	*2*	*11*
Inspector	*2*	*8*	*–*	*1*	*4*	*15*
Poviat / branch	**10**	**Lack of this level**			**9**	**19**
Poviat manager	*3*				1	4
Head of department	*2*				1	3
Inspector	*5*				7	12
Total	**19**	**16**	**3**	**2**	**16**	**56**

IW – Veterinary Inspectorate, PIORiN – State of Plant Health and Seed Inspectorate, IJHARS – Trade Quality Inspectorate for Agricultural and Food Products, IH – Trade Inspectorate, PIS – National Sanitary Inspectorate.

Source: own study.

Results and discussion

The formal scope of co-operation of the Veterinary Inspectorate with other inspection bodies

The examination of legal acts and organisational documentation of inspection bodies shows that the activities undertaken in the framework of inter-organisational co-operation between the Veterinary Inspectorate and the State Sanitary Inspectorate are described in the most comprehensive manner. They concern the preparation of lists of establishments at which food of plant and animal origin is produced, processed or stored. In addition, these units may organise joint training on the functioning of the food safety systems, including the HACCP system. They can also appoint their representatives to the examination boards in the field of basic hygienic issues. These units are required to provide information on cases of zoonotic diseases and food poisoning, mutually agreeing the official food inspection plans. In addition, IW co-operates with the Chief Sanitary Inspector in the field of providing information on dangerous food products and animal feeds.

Sea fisheries inspectorates should also co-operate with IW in the area of organising and conducting joint inspections, providing information on suspected violations of fisheries regulations and veterinary requirements. While the co-operation of IW inspectorates with IJHARS units should consist of (in particular): organising and conducting joint inspections of premises used for storing or processing fishery products; and providing mutual information on infringements of fisheries regulations (Jendza, 2010).

On the basis of the analysis of legal acts, it can be concluded that co-operation between inspection bodies that supervise and inspect the successive stages in the production process, processing, distribution and sale of food should be multi-threaded and multi-lateral (Fig. 1).

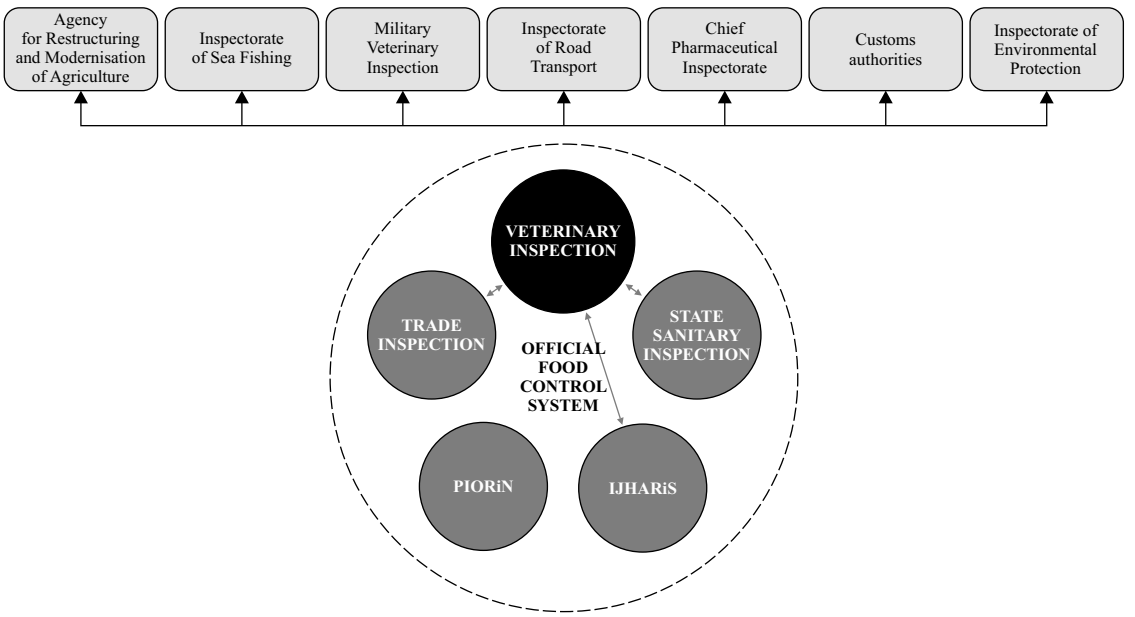

Figure 1. Co-operation of inspection bodies supervising food safety in the light of legal provisions

IJHARS – Trade Quality Inspectorate of Agricultural and Food Products, PIORiN – State Plant and Seed Protection Inspectorate.

Source: own study.

The actual scope of co-operation of the Veterinary Inspectorate with other inspections

The research was carried out at both the provincial and poviat levels. The research shows that voivodeship inspectorates of the Veterinary Inspectorate (provincial level):

- did not co-operate or very rarely co-operated with units of other inspection bodies responsible for food safety, even when the scope of supervision or inspections coincided with the selected areas;
- more often undertook co-operation with bodies supporting their functioning, e.g. with the Police, than with units of other inspection bodies;
- if co-operation with units of other inspection bodies was undertaken, a written form of communication was used, while all forms of communicating the information were used with poviat units and other voivodeship units of own inspection and with the Police (direct contact, e-mail, fax, letters, etc.);
- practically did not co-operate with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, to which they are subject.

It was interesting that even internal co-operation between different provincial (voivodeship) inspectorates of IW has been rarely engaged in.

In turn, poviat units of the Veterinary Inspectorate:

- did not co-operate or very rarely co-operated with units of other inspection bodies responsible for food safety;
- co-operated with other poviat IW units (internal co-operation) and units supporting their work more often than the provincial inspectorates;
- used a more direct form of communication during co-operation than that used by provincial units.

The research also shows that most often the co-operation with units of other inspection bodies was engaged in due to the existing legal provisions, e.g. regarding the transfer of inspection documents or information about the inspected entity and about products that do not meet the requirements (forced co-operation). However, in general, inspection bodies did not co-operate with each other during the execution of projects or the performing of tasks within inter-organisation inspection teams, they also performed joint inspections very rarely (i.e. there was a lack of voluntary co-operation).

Barriers to inter-organisational co-operation between the Veterinary Inspectorate and other inspection bodies

The analysis presented above referring to the formal aspect of co-operation shows that the organisational documentation, in a general way, describes with whom the Veterinary Inspectorate should co-operate during the performance of tasks and what actions it should take as part of co-operation. Meanwhile, the conducted research shows that inspection bodies, at various levels of management, did not or only very rarely decided to engage in inter-organisational co-operation. At this point a question should be asked about the reasons for the discrepancy between the officially formulated postulates and real practices. When identifying the barriers of inter-organisational co-operation, the classification proposed by Santarek and his team (Santarek et al., 2008) has been used. The description of barriers is the result of the conducted studies.

The first of the barriers is of a semantic nature, concerning concepts and the interpretation thereof. In individual legal acts regulating the operation of individual inspections non-homogenous terminology is used when defining the scope of tasks and competence thereof. The result is that there are numerous doubts and interpretation problems (Wojciechowski, 2014, p. 55), which has a negative effect on the mutual understanding of employees of various inspection bodies. In addition, it is worth noting that legal acts regarding the official system of ensuring food safety were issued "in relation to the achieving or performing of various goals and tasks, among which protection of food safety or food quality is, in most cases, one of many actions of bodies appointed under these acts"

(Wojciechowski, 2014, p. 64). This means that individual inspection bodies had various, often divergent priorities in their activities.

The diverse organisational structure of individual inspections was the organisational barrier to establishing co-operation. The field structure of individual inspections was non-homogenous, due to the different number of levels and the legal situation: some field inspections are governed by a unified administration and others in a non-uniform way. This made it difficult for field inspectors to identify partners for co-operation in other inspection bodies.

The organisational and legal barriers are not the only reasons for the very limited inter-organisational co-operation. The conducted study also identified process, cultural and information barriers, as well as organisational behaviours. The following were most frequently noted among them:

– fragmentary perception of the official system of ensuring food safety by employees;
– not recognizing the stages of the process for which other inspection bodies are responsible;
– conviction about self-sufficiency and, as a result, feeling a lack of need for co-operation;
– lack of experience of co-operation with other units;
– negative experiences related to co-operation;
– perception of other units as rivals and not as partners ("us vs them" syndrome).

A more detailed list of diagnosed barriers can be found in Table 2.

Many of the barriers listed above have been previously identified by other researchers (e.g. Kamiński, 2017; Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2014). As noted by Klimas (2015), the most important barriers are those related to human capital.

Table 2. Barriers to undertaking and conducting inter-organisational co-operation between the Veterinary Inspectorate and other inspection bodies

Barrier category	Barrier description
Mentality barrier (cultural)	Perception of other units as rivals Lack of atmosphere of trust, respect and openness
Barrier of organisational behaviour	Lack of or unfavourable experience of co-operation with other units Failure to notice the benefits of co-operation Employees' fear of more work as a result of establishing co-operation Inter-level misunderstandings and desire to please the decision-makers
Information barrier	Lack of knowledge among employees about the scope of supervision of other inspection bodies Lack of knowledge about whom to contact Lack of developed informal channels
Process barrier	Division of the supervision process into fragments carried out by various inspections Fragmentary perception of the process of food safety supervision (through the prism of own inspection)
Political barrier	Political appointment of key decision makers at the level of voivodeship (provincial) inspectorates limits engaging in co-operation
Organisational barrier	Non-uniform field structure of individual inspections (no equivalent to contact at a given level of an organisational structure)
Semantic barrier	Different understanding of terminology in the legal acts regulating the operation of individual inspection bodies
Legal barrier	Divergent priorities in the operations of individual inspection bodies Lack of detailed legal regulations concerning co-operation Fragmentary definition of tasks for inspection

Source: own study.

The fragmented perception of the official system of ensuring food safety by employees was a specific barrier to the studied units. This is a problem that, in the opinion of the authors, should be treated as a separate category: a process barrier.

The barriers of co-operation described above caused the inspection bodies to co-operate with each other very rarely, more often co-operation was established within the organisation: between poviats, or between the voivodeship (provincial) and poviat levels. Most often, inter-organisational co-operation was enforced by legal regulations. What is interesting is the fact that inspection units engaged in external co-operation more often with bodies "supporting" their work, for example, with the Police or the Road Transport Inspectorate, than with other inspection units of the official system for ensuring food safety. Activities involving joint inspections or the execution of other joint projects improving the functioning of units were not carried out at all. It can be concluded that identified barriers block both voluntary and forced co-operation.

Policy implications

Inter-organisational co-operation problems between parts of the official system of ensuring food safety are not specific only to the system in Poland. Similar difficulties are observed in many countries. Therefore these research findings have potentially wide application. The actions aimed at improving the process of ensuring food safety may be of an evolutionary or revolutionary nature.

Evolutionary solutions may include measures to eliminate the differences between inter-organisational co-operation postulated in legal regulations and real practices. Their goal should be to clear the co-operation channels between the five existing inspectorates.

Revolutionary activities may consist of building a comprehensive system for ensuring food safety which will lead to consistent supervision over the entire food chain, and not only over individual stages of it. The construction of such a system may require changes to the number and the scope of tasks of the existing inspections bodies. Inter-organisational co-operation problems as part of the official system of ensuring food safety are not specific only to the national system. Similar difficulties were noted in many foreign systems made up of a number of entities. In the search for solutions, quite radical actions have been being taken that involve the consolidation of inspection bodies into one organisation consisting of central body and field bodies.[5] However, when deciding on the integration, one should consider change not only in the legal or structural terms, but also think about the mechanisms for combining these inspection bodies in mental terms or organisational behaviour. It should be made ensured that the "islands" isolated from each other are not formed within the integrated organisations but that the institution instead operates as one "body".

Conclusions

In these times of the rapidly changing global environment and the introduction of new food products and production technologies, "acting alone" has no reason for existence, while joint action based on equality and appreciation of the importance of each inspection body is a strength. Meanwhile, the research conducted shows that there is a significant discrepancy between legal regulations which set out the rules of co-operation of the Veterinary Inspectorate with other inspectorates and the actual inter-organisation co-operation (not) engaged in as part of the process of ensuring food safety.

[5] In the last twenty years, such changes have been introduced in, inter alia, Denmark (1997), Canada (1997), Ireland (1998), the UK (2000), Finland (2002), the Netherlands (2002), Germany (2002), and New Zealand (2002); see Wojciechowski, 2014, p. 64. Mergers of existing inspection bodies may pose some risks, in particular disturbances in operational activity during the integration phase, increased bureaucracy, and internal competition between combined entities.

The lack of co-operation in accordance with the formal guidelines is due to cultural conditions, organisation, information, processes, legal and organisational behaviour. It seems that the key source of barriers is the fragmentary perception of the food safety supervision process by staff, which results from the lack of a systematic approach to this process (i.e. a process barrier). The tasks within the process are clearly divided between the participants, and the employees of the inspection bodies focus on their own activities, without being involved in the work of other inspection bodies. However, the stages of the inspection process are interrelated and their effectiveness would be higher if inter-organisational co-operation took place. However, the mechanisms that encourage co-operation are relatively weak, and there are numerous barriers to co-operation between inspection bodies. As a result, each inspection body focuses on its own goals, which does not mean that the goals of the whole process are achieved. As a consequence, employees of inspection bodies perceive the other inspection bodies as external entities and not colleagues taking part in a common process. Therefore, it is difficult to talk about the official system of ensuring food safety, but rather about isolated inspection bodies.

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Does behavioural economics equip policy-makers with a complete (enough) picture of the human: the case of nudging[1]

Abstract

Objectives: The article offers a critical discussion of the policy of nudging and suggests so far unexplored evaluation criteria for behavioural policy experts and practitioners.

Research design: A multi-disciplinary approach is taken here to fill out the thin anthropology of *homo economicus* – which is shown to inform the concept of nudging – with selected aspects of human agency which are commonly discussed in moral, political and economic philosophy. The aim of this paper is twofold: 1) to outline the conceptual shortcomings of the behavioural foundations of the nudge theory as it has been originally proposed by Thaler and Sunstein; 2) to suggest several non-behavioural aspects of human agency and action which extend the original concept of nudging and should be accounted for by policy-makers in their design of nudge-like behavioural interventions.

Findings: It is claimed that mere inclusion of cognitive biases and irrationalities in the behavioural approach to policy does not sufficiently extend the artificial concept of the rational agent; in particular this narrow understanding of human failure misses important aspects of the rich concept of well-being.

Implications: The use of nudges requires a comprehensive knowledge of the application context. In underspecified decision contexts, choice architects need to apply more care and critical reflection in order to prevent unintended or harmful consequences of nudging.

Contribution: It is rare for pragmatically oriented public policy research to focus on the philosophical concepts that inform its theory and practice. This paper is a philosophical reflection on some key elements inherent in nudging. It helps better to understand the ambiguous design, potential and limitations of nudge policy.

Article classification: theoretical/conceptual.

Keywords: nudges, behavioural economics, behavioural public policy, well-being, human choice, practical reason

JEL classification: B4, B5, D6, D9, H1, H8, I3

Introduction

Behavioural sciences, not least behavioural economics, have inspired policy-makers with a new approach to improve social welfare. The new approach suggests that policies can be designed to minimise the influence of various distorting – mostly cognitive – factors on people's choices, so that they make better decisions which increase their welfare. This approach has been popularised

[1] The views expressed in this paper are the views of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Polish Economic Institute. I thank two anonymous referees for their constructive reviews and valuable suggestions.

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by a bestselling 2008 book *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness* by behavioural economist Richard Thaler and legal philosopher Cass Sunstein. The book has provided an important argument for third-party intervention in the preferences and choice decisions of citizens and given rise to a rich academic and professional debate about the legitimacy and usefulness of nudges and other forms of non-coercive use of behavioural tools in policy.

Insights from the original nudge theory and its abounding later developments, broadly conceived of as behavioural policy tools, promise to enable policy-makers to improve the design of public policies. In essence, this is possible because they are said to provide a deeper understanding of human behaviour and how it can be influenced (Bubb and Pildes, 2014; European Commission, 2016). Whereas traditional policy instruments are based on the assumption that people make rational decisions, behavioural policy insights – informed by a broad array of findings from behavioural economics, psychology and neuroscience – rely on the understanding that most of the decisions people make are not rational, but subject to many different biases and heuristics. This creates new opportunities for influencing people's behaviour and, therefore, it is said to also increase effective decision-making. Not surprisingly then, many policy-makers have recently embraced this new approach internationally, with several forms of what are known as nudge units now featuring in national and international policy-making.

The scope of nudge-like solutions to public policy problems is very broad and the list of new forms and applications of nudges is constantly growing.[2] Some of these new policy tools are introduced to supplement conventional policy measures (e.g. SMS reminders about upcoming appointments at a doctor or behaviourally designed letters prompting payment of overdue tax), while others have started to replace ineffective conventional regulations which are often (mis)informed by the assumptions of rational behaviour (e.g. a pre-defined default option instead of a voluntary contribution to pension schemes). Nudges seem especially attractive in the context of pressing societal and economic problems, such as obesity or insufficient savings, which are encouraging governments to constantly rethink the ways in which to address these issues. While in general the idea of the state attempting to manipulate preferences via its institutions appears highly dubious, the discovery that people could, without coercion, be 'nudged' into certain beneficial behaviours has been welcome with enthusiasm.[3]

In what follows, the claim that the behaviourally-informed approach to policy is based on an accurate image of the human is challenged. It will be shown that insights from behavioural sciences and behavioural economics, in particular,[4] only partially reform the abstract image of the rational decision maker and that accounting for merely – or primarily – cognitive biases and irrationalities might not suffice as a reliable basis for policy making. It will be argued that the new perspective does not pay enough attention to some important aspects of human agency which are not captured or sufficiently accounted for by behavioural sciences but are thoroughly discussed by philosophers and social scientists. Since these neglected qualities are

[2] The extensive research literature on the subject together with elaborate policy reports and guidelines produced by the forerunners of the new approach show a wide array of policy dilemmas and challenges which are increasingly tackled by behavioural tools. The list of important publications on various aspects of behavioural policy in general and specific elements of nudging in particular is too long to mention here. Examples are included in the bibliography at the end.

[3] The growing scope of various attempts undertaken to this effect can be seen in annual and periodical publications of the British Behavioural Insights Team, the OECD, the World Bank and an increasing number of specialist journals dedicated to behavioural policy analysis.

[4] One ought to be mindful of the common mislabelling of applied behavioural sciences as behavioural economics (cf. Introduction in Shafir, 2013). The reason for putting a particular emphasis on behavioural economics in the argument of this paper is its concept of rationality which – as it is shown below – the nudge philosophy has confused, and not without consequences.

important factors with regard to human welfare, ignoring them in the behavioural approach to policy making risks bringing about unintended and adverse effects on individual and social well-being. "Choice architects" responsible for implementing nudges and similar tools as an innovative governance practice need to be mindful of this danger so as to avoid long-term financial and social costs of their innovations. This paper thus qualifies the premature enthusiasm for this new type of government intervention. While it relies on a richer model of human psychology than traditional policy tools, its lasting success requires more critical reflection and non-behavioural insights.

A number of typologies of behavioural interventions in public policy have been proposed since the publication of *Nudge*, and the eponymous nudge itself is now widely considered to be merely one among several other possible forms of behavioural policy. It is, however, the original concept of nudging that is put under special scrutiny here to show how the economic vision of agency which takes on a new role in this approach – one of a normative standard – narrows the applicability of nudges and of analogous behavioural tools in policy.

Some of the arguments brought up here have been discussed more or less broadly by other authors. The controversies regarding nudging in particular have received an exceptionally rich treatment in the literature.[5] What is distinctive in the approach of this paper is the focusing of these various sources of critical reflection in the perspective of human practical reasoning and the recognition of the undetermined character of many of human goals.

The argument advanced in this paper necessarily crosses the boundaries of several disciplines. It tackles the important problem of conceptualisation of the human in economic and political theory with a mix of tools borrowed from economic methodology as well as political and moral philosophy. Such a multi-disciplinary approach seems necessary, given the narrow confines in which modern social sciences (including its behavioural branch) picture human choice and action. Selected explanatory limitations of this narrow framework are identified and important qualifications which should be considered in its application in behaviourally informed policy are suggested. Simplistic moral philosophy of well-being is given special attention in questions of policy objectives which are ethical in nature and need to be considered in a broader context than that of instrumental means-ends reasoning. Thus, reintegration of the economic image of the human, which has arguably been retained as a normative standard in behavioural policy of nudging, into the philosophical and moral discussion about human actions and human goals has been the proposed method of analysis.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 1 reviews the definitional characteristics of nudges. Section 2 discusses normative and epistemic foundations on which the original nudge theory rests. Section 3 challenges the limitations of the image of human agency painted by the authors of nudging by contrasting it with some constitutive aspects of human personhood. Section 4 provides cursory policy recommendations. The final section concludes this paper.

What is nudging?

For decades public policy has relied on the economic assumptions about human behaviour. It is not surprising, then, that refutation of these assumptions by empirical findings of behavioural sciences and development of behavioural economics in particular have also affected the perception of human decision making and choice behaviour in public policy. Contrary to the assumptions of the rational choice theory, behavioural research has shown that individuals often do not come to decision problems with pre-existing preferences. They rather form those only when confronted with particular problems, and they are sensitive to

[5] For example, Grüne-Yanoff (2012), Rebonato (2012), Sugden (2008) and White (2013).

details of 'framing'.[6] Thus, the authors of the nudge strategy claim that the decision-making situation can be designed to improve choices, so that they are closer to what the individual would choose in a situation free from obstacles. They have concluded that the findings of behavioural science justify policies which "nudge" individuals towards those choices that are in their best interests.

Although the image of nudging does a lot of work, the concept itself, originally, was not clearly defined.[7] Thaler and Sunstein define nudges mainly by example. The most unified account of the concept they propose describes nudge as "any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their (…) incentives" (2008, p. 6). In a later formulation Sunstein defines nudges as "initiatives that maintain freedom of choice while also **steering** people's decisions in the **right** direction (**as judged by people themselves**)" (2014, p. 17; emphasis added). That is vague in all the right ways so as to remain open for policy uses.

Thaler and Sunstein demonstrate how policy-makers can assume the role of choice architects and make major improvements to the lives of others by designing "user-friendly environments". Examples of nudge policies range from simple techniques, such as serving drinks in smaller glasses in order to reduce unhealthy consumption, designating sections of supermarket trolleys for fruit and vegetables or redrawing lines on roads to prevent speeding, to requirements that household energy bills contain comparative consumption information (e.g. in period X you have consumed n% more energy than your neighbours) and default enrolment in pension plans. In cafeterias a clever positioning of food – with the less healthy choices placed further away – could make it less likely that individuals choose unhealthy food, say in a sudden moment of weak will. Some nudges work because they inform people, other nudges work because they make certain choices easier, still others work because of the power of inertia or procrastination. By presenting information in particular ways, the state can nudge people towards being more sensitive to salient aspects of a situation. Such policies promise to reduce our exposure to misinformation or offer helpful suggestions of ways to achieve our goals. They do not merely simplify technicalities of a given decision process, but also streamline it so that the beneficial goal is accomplished more efficiently, without much ado.

To count as a **mere** nudge, as opposed to coercion, the intervention must be easy to avoid and avoiding it must not incur the chooser any serious costs. The set of available options should remain "essentially unchanged". The possibility for a person to make his/her own decision must remain. Choice architecture should be primarily intended to facilitate an individual's pursuit of his/her own goals. So, a subsidy is not a nudge, a tax is not a nudge, a fine or a jail sentence is not a nudge.

What is particularly important in the context of this paper, the authors of nudging claim to be offering policy ideas that are "informed by a more accurate conception of choice, one that reflects a better understanding of human behaviour and its wellsprings" (Sunstein 2000, p. 13). They ground their fresh understanding of human behaviour in the psychologically based assumptions about human decisions and choice behaviour. These assumptions are claimed to be more accurate, since they are backed by sound results of scientific experiments. What they hope to gain through this approach is improvement of "law's ability to move society toward desired outcomes" (Sunstein 2000, p. 38).

[6] Kahneman and Tversky (1979)

[7] Many attempts have been made to narrow down and specify the original concept (e.g. Hansen (2016), Hausman (2018)). The analysis of this paper focuses on Thaler and Sunstein's definition, since theirs best reveals its roots in standard economic theory and its account of rationality. It is also this concept which sparked the subsequent debate on behavioural policy. Its critical assessment can thus be useful for the analysis of modified concepts of nudging and other behavioural tools.

Thaler and Sunstein's concept of nudging is but one account of how to use behavioural insights in policy, as well as how to understand those uses normatively. Theirs, however, is the first and best-known policy approach of its kind, and the most widely discussed in current debates. Many of its distinct features have been pointed out and elaborated on. Various qualifications and typologies have been put forward in the debate about legitimacy of behavioural policy tools, not least nudges. The following sections present one more critical approach which contributes, so far unexplored, evaluation criteria for behavioural policy experts and practitioners. What has not been dealt with is a theoretical issue which has important practical implications for the policy of nudging and related behavioural tools, namely the concept's reliance on a confused idea of rationality. I take the original account of nudging as the case-in-point illustrating why philosophical complexities of human choice may deserve more attention in policy application of behavioural findings. Before explaining why these findings should not uncritically increase our enthusiasm for government intervention, I will offer a more in-depth analysis of the normative and epistemic underpinnings of the nudge approach.

The normative and epistemic foundations of nudge theory

Nudging is often referred to as soft or libertarian paternalism, for it claims to draw on the liberal vision of mature and enlightened individuals who are free to act in accordance with their interests. They make their own decisions in accordance with those interests and the available alternatives. They do all that autonomously. Followers of the liberal tradition, according to which people themselves know best what is good or bad for them and even a democratically legitimised government does not have the right to judge their convictions (Kirchgässner 2017), often reject paternalism. They are also sceptical about its softened version manifest in the policy of nudging, for by harnessing the modified vision of a mistake-prone individual, nudge advocates seem to be undermining this traditional liberal vision. Advocates of libertarian paternalism claim that once preferences are recognized to be context-dependent and tainted with "behavioural anomalies", the notion of individual sovereignty appears to be not well-defined (Brennan and Lomasky, 1983). Research shows that it is not uncommon for people to mispredict or overlook what is good for them. Human proclivity to choose smaller immediate rewards over larger delayed gratification (a phenomenon known as hyperbolic discounting) is a case in point.[8] This recognition has become the foundation of Thaler and Sunstein's innovative policy of nudging, as they say:

> … we emphasize the possibility that in some cases individuals make inferior choices, choices that they would change if they had complete information, unlimited cognitive abilities, and no lack of willpower (Thaler and Sunstein, 2003, p. 175).

While people no doubt often do make choices they later regret, the belief that they would change those choices in an ideal world of full information, perfect knowledge and unfailing character is not very well founded. In fact, it looks a lot like the assumptions made about choice in the standard neoclassical approach to economic agency which behaviouralists famously question. Thaler and Sunstein recognise that on the behavioural level people are not like the theoretical "homo economicus", but they nonetheless seem to propose this ideal as a normative benchmark for the making of superior choices.

The apparent reliance on homo economicus is even more visible in one of Sunstein's articles (2012). He quotes Rebonato's sceptical characterisation of libertarian paternalism:

> "Libertarian paternalism is the set of interventions aimed at overcoming the unavoidable biases and decisional inadequacies of an individual by exploiting them in such a way as to influence her

[8] See, for example, Ainslie and Monterosso (2003) and Scharff (2009).

> decisions (in an easily reversible manner) towards choices that she herself would make if she had at her disposal unlimited time and information, and the analytic abilities of a rational decision maker (more precisely, of Homo Economicus)." (Rebonato, 2012, quoted in Sunstein, 2013, p. 1860).

Interestingly, Sunstein does not argue with this description of his theory. But this makes the theory all the more debatable, because it implies that a particular – idealised – model of human decision is granted an epistemic priority that is far from being self-evident. It seems, therefore, that libertarian paternalists take behavioural economics seriously in their description of human behaviour, but they otherwise ignore it by normatively adhering to the overly demanding rationality principles endorsed in standard economics.

In what follows I argue that the normative reliance on the homo economicus view of choice is a problematic element in Thaler and Sunstein's theory of nudging and likely the source of much criticism professed against it. It downplays the role of human agency in discovering and learning one's true ends over time. It also fails to appreciate the value of that very process for humans. It overlooks the not uncommon possibility that the chooser's personal experience of his/her choice situations might over time enable him/her to develop insights into what is worthwhile and what is not. In short, this behavioural approach can have an adverse effect on a person's well-being, broadly understood, especially if it aims to affect the person's good merely by influencing causes beyond his/her control without engaging his/her conscious deliberation and action.

What is missing in the behaviourally accurate picture of the human? Three problems behind the theoretical foundations of nudging

The implicit normative foundation of nudging defined by an idealised, static picture of homo economicus can be challenged on (at least) three important notions underlying the theory of nudging: mistaken or inferior choice; good or welfare-increasing choice; and the optimistic status of nudge which can only increase or, at worst, be neutral, but never impair one's welfare. These notions acquire different meaning when seen from the position of a choosing person rather than an artificially constructed rational agent.

A choosing person is a practical reasoner who usually lacks full knowledge of his/her chosen end(s). He/she chooses things under some aspect of the good, and without knowing what those choices really entail until after enacting the choice in his/her life. I chose to marry, not realising all it entailed. My choice might not have been better (or even possible) if I had had full knowledge of the entailment. A model of choice in partial knowledge of what is chosen, and in hope of becoming or remaining a certain kind of person, is a better model of how ordinary moral persons choose, than that proposed either by rational choice theory or by the nudgers. Whereas the former assumes full knowledge of one's preferences, the latter accepts this is not always the case, but focuses merely on psychological factors which make the perfect knowledge impossible. The following three subsections provide examples of alternative non-behavioural explanation of why people tend to make "irrational choices" and show why these cases might not be good candidates for nudging.

Preventing mistakes

Many of Thaler and Sunstein's examples of nudges suggest that the problem they want to address consists of bad choices resulting in decreased well-being of the chooser. Their famous cafeteria example targets the mistake of eating too much unhealthy food. The other often quoted example of automatic enrolment in a pension scheme addresses the fault of not saving enough money for retirement. Other mistaken choices they list can result from unrealistic optimism (e.g. in starting a business), status quo bias,

loss aversion, and other cognitive or volitional factors of choice which are hard to control. More generally, bad decisions are understood here as decisions people "would not have made if they had paid full attention and possessed complete information, unlimited cognitive abilities, and complete self-control" (2008, p. 5).

A serious limitation of Thaler and Sunstein's approach in this regard is that it does not consider the possibility that what might appear to be poor or mistaken decisions are not necessarily or merely results of cognitive or psychological biases. There are many other factors which can lead to mistakes in human judgment and decision-making. While – as empirical experimentation demonstrates[9] – quite often mistaken choices are indeed the result of cognitive biases and heuristics, decision-making processes (for there are many) are influenced by a wide array of motivations and considerations which are neglected in the framework postulated by nudge advocates. Poor choices could, for instance, reflect one's incomplete understanding of what one should value or which of one's values should be pursued. In short, the "mistakes" might result from bad reasoning or poor judgment, which is not easily reversible by the application of a nudge.

Curiously, the architects of nudging do not conceive mistakes as deviations from some objective notion of the good. Instead, they understand mistakes as decisions that people themselves regret upon reflection. Nudging is therefore supposed to help people make choices they will not regret. Its apparent role is to correct or prevent people's mistakes and thus help them to achieve their "true" or more "authentic" ends.

This approach suggests a fairly strong epistemic and normative conclusion, namely that the phenomena observed by behavioural economists and described as deviations, bias, or anomalies can and should be counteracted. When the experiments in psychology and social sciences on which these ideas are based are interpreted from the perspective of standard rationality theory – as is arguably done by the authors of *Nudge* – they are thought to reveal mistakes people would not make if they were like homo economicus. They accordingly show the psychological heuristics and biases people exhibit as incidental and correctable rather than as fundamental to their nature, or even as essential to how people make choices. But if we take the human tendency to value the present more strongly than the future, for example, it is far from obvious that this is an error in decision-making, rather a feature of human nature. Nudges that are supposed to correct for this "mistake" are based on a somewhat arbitrary decision to value long-term preferences more highly than short-term preferences. Since it can be predicted that a person might regret his/her choice in the future, the "mistaken" choice needs to be prevented.

It is, however, not always the case that increasing someone's well-being in the future at the expense of today is the right thing to do. As Sunstein himself admits, "there can be a thin line between a self-control problem and a legitimate focus on short-term pleasure" and, continuing, that "no choice architect should engage in a program of nudging that disregards the importance of short-term pleasures, or pleasures in general, which are of course crucial parts of good lives" (2016, p. 47).[10]

An overtly simplistic diagnosis of a mistaken choice entails one other important difficulty for the original nudge theory. From their understanding of mistaken decisions Thaler and Sunstein infer that the value of nudges can be found in that nudges allow individuals to overcome their various biases and blunders that affect their everyday behaviour, and help them resist temptations. It is hard to see, however, how a nudge which relies on an automatic and essentially unconscious psychological mechanism (e.g. increasing the salience of healthy food at a cafeteria by exposing it more than unhealthy sweets) has anything to do with a demanding and effortful conscious process of overcoming one's weakness. The latter requires an act of will and

[9] AIKhars et al. (2019)

[10] On the importance of purpose and pleasure see Dolan (2014) and Gilbert (2006).

usually a long-term endeavour, sometimes thwarted by failures. Nudging which harnesses cognitive biases and gets around human consciousness has little to do with self-aware attempts to correct one's bad habits.

Lastly and related to the next section, the approach does not account for the possibility that people form their values and ideas of the good in part *through learning* about their biases and weaknesses. Their real or apparent mistakes might, in fact, help them understand what is good for them by providing a formative experience. Sometimes people only arrive at their judgments of well-being and learn to appreciate those in their efforts to overcome difficulties, resist temptations, juggle priorities, etc. A reluctant long-term smoker who makes repeated resolutions to give up his/her addiction is a case in point. An obvious consideration in this regard is that the learning experience may be quite costly for the person concerned and even for the whole society, especially when the mistaken decision is irreversible or the long-term consequences are realised too late. Two commonly discussed examples are poor health decisions and insufficient retirement savings. A nudge put in place to help avoid severe consequences in these and similar circumstances is therefore often seen as a boon.[11]

While this is a complex issue which would benefit from separate treatment, it seems relatively evident that preventing people's mistakes can be less controversial in cases in which it is obvious or generally agreed what is good for people (crossing the street properly would be an obvious example). That the "mistake" is correctly identified and understood seems therefore crucial for the legitimacy and effectiveness of nudges, so that they can indeed help people achieve ends which are good for them. In other cases, where it is not obvious what a person's good consists of, nudges become problematic, since there is a danger that they arbitrarily impose ideas of the good or make discovery of the good for oneself impossible.[12]

Nudging for the good

Nudging is intended to improve welfare of the persons concerned. In order to succeed, choice architects need to know which choice reflects the person's well-being. Is it better for the person if he/she spends or if he/she saves some part of his/her income (and what part in each case)? Is it better for him/her if he/she buys insurance or if he/she does not? Is it better for him/her if he/she sticks to his/her diet or enjoys a family meal, indulging in food he/she would otherwise deny himself/herself? It is hard to see how these questions could be answered merely by simulating what the person in question would choose if he/she had been free from temptation and reasoning imperfections.

This is, however, how Sunstein and Thaler propose to resolve such problems when the authors say that people are not acting in their own best interests if their decisions are ones "they would change if they had complete information, unlimited cognitive abilities, and no lack of willpower". It is difficult to see how such an idealised criterion can be treated as empirical. For example, it is not obvious how we can determine what complete information, unlimited cognition, or complete willpower entail without making normative judgements in relation to specific circumstances. This counterfactual reasoning advocated in *Nudge* has been rightly criticised as (yet another) a "view from nowhere".[13] The argument relies on a purely hypothetical basis: if individuals were fully rational and were choosing according to their informed preferences, they would do *X*. Of course, one may wonder what is it to be "fully rational", and to have "informed preferences". Similarly, how can one know (or even

[11] For this reason default opt-in in pension schemes is gaining popularity around the world (including Poland). An argument to the contrary has been put forward by van Aaken (2016, p. 95).

[12] On the state's responsibility for nudging see Hansen (2016).

[13] See, for example, Sugden (2008), Hédoin (2015).

make sense of) what choice someone endowed with "unlimited cognitive abilities" will make? The "view from nowhere" is a perspective typical of homo economicus, which has no history, no future, no commitments, and no context-specific considerations. This is not the perspective that the practically reasoning moral person assumes in his/her decisions.

In asking after what a person would choose if he/she experienced no problems of cognition or self-control, nudge advocates imply that there is a true choice one would make if one had appropriate conditions for choice. A nudge is in place because it ostensibly creates the appropriate conditions. This perspective entirely neglects the fact that as long as the person has not fully formed the idea of the good he/she wants to pursue, it is hard to say what decision framework can help him/her achieve the end. It does not seem possible to design a choice framework to help realise an unknown good as an end. Therefore, constructing a "proper" decision framework cannot be seen as a sufficient factor determining the proper choice for that person. It will not be sufficient for the person to make a choice he/she will not regret.

This conceptual basis of nudging seems to share the more profound problem entailed in liberalism. That is the assumption that one can be allowed to pursue one's idea of the good within an ethically neutral institutional framework, which itself respects each individual's judgment and does not impose any value criteria on him/her. In a libertarian spirit (here meaning just hyper-liberal and morally libertarian, rather than anti-government) Sunstein and Thaler recommend an unassuming policy tool. It is not to contain a doctrine about what constitutes people's welfare.[14] It merely suggests ways to improve people's own decisions regarding what is good for them.

In this, they want to be able to say that their proposals will steer each individual in the direction that he/she would have chosen for himself/herself under ideal circumstances. In their counterfactual reasoning the authors seem to rely on the idea that anything increasing the extent to which people make choices that they regret less than they otherwise would is respectful of their internal sense of what is important. However, it is one thing to determine what people's preferences would be if they were free of rational foibles, and it is a different thing to determine what is good for people. The approach of *Nudge* seems to suggest that one's decision situation can be modified to help one achieve an outcome that one finds agreeable, without the need to define that outcome in advance. The decision framework itself is meant to be neutral ethically. It is as if one's ends could exist or be formed in isolation from one's decision situation. But in order to determine what is good for people "some grounds independent of their distorted preferences" (Hausman 2012, p. 101) are needed. It is hard to imagine how policy advice could be formulated without a concept of well-being or welfare. What is deliberately undertaken must have a goal. Nudges are no exception. If policy makers can determine what is truly good for individuals and society, then they can devise policies that will lead people to make better choices. A substantive theory about which choices actually make individuals better off, is ultimately needed. When a strong position cannot be worked out, all possible trade-offs should be recognised and weighed against one another. Such might be the decision about using default options in pension schemes and organ donations.

In avoiding taking a position on what is good for persons, nudging offers a procedural approach to welfare. What is not captured in this ostensibly neutral approach is the possibility that one's **formation of ends and ideas of the good itself is**

[14] Sunstein and Thaler avoid defining welfare, claiming that they "are not attempting to say anything controversial about welfare, or to take sides in reasonable disputes about how to understand that term" (Sunstein and Thaler 2003, p. 1163). The abstract character of this concept has been criticised by Sobel (2016, p. 51), who argues that the "the notion of a fully informed self is a chimera", because the great variety of possibilities, choices, and lives an agent might lead are not available to a single consciousness.

an important element of choice and important factor of welfare. The idea of nudging does not account for this possibility. It locates well-being in given end states, outcomes of choices which one would make, if one were a fully-knowledgeable, rational agent. The nature of this outcome is seen as mere utility, or as reducible to utility. As moral persons, however, we do not act to maximise some well-defined utility. Rather, we often act to realise some under-specified value, often in order to learn what that value is and what it means for us. Action is not always or merely outcome-oriented. It could (also) be an expression of one's values (Hargreaves Heap, 1989). Thus the end outcome is not the only criterion defining the right and unmistaken action.

Skipping levels

The third important assumption which is implicit in nudging holds that human limitations are best corrected by a third party through a properly designed nudge. This is so, apparently, because people, in their fallibility and susceptibility to bias, cannot be trusted to correct themselves. The choice architect responsible for the design of choice environment is seen as an impartially benevolent spectator, who helps people to achieve their own ends without influencing them normatively. If therefore, he/she nudges a person into ways of acting which he/she finds in the person's best interest, and it turns out to be in that person's best interest, we should be inclined to welcome nudging as a true improvement to decision making. There are at least two reasons making this optimism unjustified.

Firstly, as argued in the previous section, it is rarely obvious what one's true interests might be. People not only are uncertain whether their actions serve their goals, but in some important circumstances they are also uncertain of the goal itself. When it is not clear what the goal is, the choice architect needs to make a value judgment that is not necessarily in line with what the person's judgment would be if performed in an ideal environment. This creates a danger that the choice architect will be relying on his/her own values and beliefs instead of the chooser's. Since a nudge cannot be neutral among available alternatives, in practice it steers people toward choices that the architect expects are going to be seen as beneficial by the chooser himself/herself. Since there is no 'neutral' frame, any way of presenting a situation of choice will necessarily make an option more salient than another one (by defining, say, a default option, a first option in a list of alternatives, a set of possible options, etc.).

But even if nudges are designed to further ends which choosers approve of, there is a second, more profound, problem with this strategy for welfare-enhancing. Due to its over-reliance on behaviourism, nudging takes people to be (mostly) passive, plastic, malleable entities. It is understood in this approach that humans respond to external modifications in their environment, but underappreciated that they can also influence it themselves. Given that the capacity to form one's ends is an element in a person's well-being, when a person's value formation is replaced by a third party's valuation (which may happen in the process of nudging), he/she can be justified in feeling deprived of his/her inherent capacity to determine his/her own ends based on his/her own values.

As rational agents, in Christine Korsgaard's words we "are faced with the task of making something of [ourselves]" (2009, xii). With the passive, atemporal homo economicus as its implicit normative standard, nudging neither seems interested in nor capable of helping people develop capacities or abilities for this kind of transformative choice (Wartenberg, 1990).

Nudges can alter the behaviour of individuals to coincide with those who accept certain norms, but it cannot provide **the reasons** necessary to alter people's behaviour in the long run. Thus, on their own, successful nudges merely lead people to act **as if** they had a well-established notion of the good they pursue, without attempting to engage with the individual at that deeper level where he/she might be, actually only, trying to establish what end to pursue.

Insofar as nudges are designed to select the "prudent" or "best" alternative without having to invest the otherwise necessary careful deliberation, they do not engage the chooser's key capacities and potential. One could go as far as to claim that nudging could stand in the way of a person making efforts entailed in that person's self-formation. This is especially true if it prevents the person from acquiring the kind of experience in which he/she gains knowledge about what is and is not good for him/her.[15] Imagine a video game in which a player was allowed to win a game **by** skipping a few, perhaps the most difficult, levels. The general concept of nudging does not seem to appreciate this heuristic aspect of personal identity. In their original publication the authors of nudging fail to consider human agency and well-being from a broad enough perspective. They do not account for the fact that welfare can be found in the capacity for self-formation, which homo economicus does not have. In short, thus understood, behaviourally informed attempts to influence and steer behaviour can have an adverse effect on a person's well-being. That is to say, if it aims to affect the person's good merely by influencing causes beyond his/her control without engaging his/her conscious deliberation and action.

More recently, Sunstein himself took up the issue of the threats that nudging might pose to agency (Sunstein 2017). He distinguishes non-educative nudges, which rely on unreflective behaviour and harness cognitive biases (default options, framing, use of emotionally charged graphics), from educative ones, which are devised to increase people's reflective capacities and help them make more informed decisions (disclosure requirements, warnings, reminders). The latter type of intervention arguably respects and perhaps even enhances human agency.[16] Even so, Sunstein still argues in favour of non-educative nudges, mostly on the grounds of their value in simplifying our increasingly complex life. Thus, for instance, nudges might be considered to be less of a threat to agency overall when it comes to basic retirement savings or severe health risks. In a similar vein, Valdman (2010) suggests that nudging could be seen as the product of an act of voluntary partial "outsourcing of self-government" to some external body. He offers a view that there are certain domains where it is plausible to presume that a large majority of citizens benefits from contextual support – from partially "outsourcing their agency" – in order to minimize the risk of severe distress later in life. Similarly, Conly (2013) seems to think that most of us would gladly outsource choices associated with giving up smoking or examining nutritional content which we do not enjoy making. On this reasoning, the public body would "ease us of the responsibility of doing what we would rather not do on our own". Far from finding such restriction of autonomy objectionable, we might welcome such laws and policies as "unburdening" us with regard to doing the things in life we would rather do. It should be noted, however, that the examples offered by Valdman and Conly, respectively, illustrate an important contrast. For there seems to be a significant difference between outsourcing one's agency in order to avoid severe distress in the future and letting a third party decide for one for the sake of being unburdened of difficult choice-making. Conley's line of argument seems to value convenience in a way that is not as explicit in Valdman's analysis. That that convenience may become dangerously "excessive" (Korsgaard 2009) is not considered in Sunstein's analysis of non-educative nudges.

[15] Goodwin (2012) argues that alongside these traditional restrictions on freedom, the process of self-realisation and overcoming internal obstacles to action (e.g. addictions, phobias, aversion and prejudices) may also be important, I would say, as part of positive freedom.

[16] Some authors place non-educative nudges in an altogether different category of so called boosts (e.g. Yanoff & Hertwig (2016)). The educational value of non-coercive policy interventions as opposed to the manipulative character of nudging is also endorsed by John et al. (2013). Distinction that is closest to the argument developed in this paper has been made by Niker (2017).

Cursory lessons for policy

The above discussion exhibits some key assumptions which are implicit in the notion of nudging. It shows that insofar as the design of nudges relies on the conceptual framework which is analogous to that in which the abstract, atemporal homo economicus operates, it is not necessarily fit for furthering well-being broadly understood. Nudging, at least in Thaler and Sunstein's construction, is informed by the counterfactual reasoning of the rational economic man and thus relies on a partially misjudged normative ideal. Its objective is to prevent people from making mistakes they will regret without due consideration for the larger context of mistake-making and its meaning for the individual. What follows from this is that uncritical support for nudging fails to account for a realistic picture of human agency. Trying to influence people's choice behaviour rather than their reasons for choosing neglects that real persons, unlike the rational homo economicus, are often not able to specify or define what they truly want, at least not in an(y given) instant. What they truly want often depends on values which they form over time, and not merely on a choice framework. And those values are valued for reasons unrelated to achieving some specific goal. In other words, the original notion of nudging – and related behavioural policy instruments – neglects the human capacity for practical reasoning and focuses merely on the instrumental aspects of decision making. It thus also fails to account for the broader concept of human welfare, which is in part constituted by one's ability to exercise practical reason, without which rational agency would be inconceivable.

The foregoing analysis should not be read as uncompromising criticism of the entire approach but rather as a call for a deeper reflection on the conceptual construction and the use of nudges and their possible extensions. It also suggests a framework of rarely considered evaluation criteria which should be useful for the assessment of the legitimacy of a particular nudge-like tool. For the nature of nudges is such that they need to be designed and applied in the context of a particular case, with an understanding of all relevant institutional and behavioural particularities. Because nudges vary in form, mechanism and complexity, and their long-term consequences are not always obvious or agreed upon, it is imperative for policy-makers to have a nuanced grasp of how they are meant to work and what they can and cannot be expected to achieve. It is also important, if challenging, to be able to fit nudges into the larger picture of a given policy aside other tools which may or may not be more applicable in a given case. With all its promising qualities, nudging should be seen as an addition to the existing policy practice and not as replacement of traditional regulatory tools. And thus it is the bigger picture of a given policy which should serve as an evaluation framework for most instances of nudging.

On the practical level it is crucial to remember that nudges might help mitigate adverse consequences of myopic or uninformed decisions only if the perceived failures of cognition or attention are indeed the root cause of the problem in question. When the problem is caused by poor motivation, lack of education or infrastructure, behavioural tools should not be employed as a primary remedy. All in all, behavioural insights need to be interpreted with caution so that turning away from the ideal of homo economicus as major reference point for policy is not replaced by an equally distorted perception of people as hyper-irrational creatures. The following theoretical scenario illustrates the danger of excessive focus on people's perceived behavioural biases in policy making.

Take the example of entrepreneurs. From behavioural point of view, it would not be difficult to highlight possible biases inherent in entrepreneurial activity: overestimation of abilities, overconfidence, the desire for self-direction and self-determination which may lead to unpredictable consequences (Astebro et al., 2014). If we accepted the position of nudge advocates who want to use nudges to debias people's excessive optimism, nudges might need to be introduced to prevent entrepreneurs

from initiating risky ventures. Their creative ideas might be viewed as the product of biases that are reported to be destructive to the individual and that lead to behaviours that proliferate market choices or disorder decision-making environments for the rest of society. In the Schumpeterian view, for example, the entrepreneur disrupts the prevailing equilibrium by introducing some new innovation that completely alters existing patterns of supply and demand. Overtly cautious nudge advocates might also say that entrepreneurs are constantly disrupting the stasis of the marketplace, adding and replacing products, services, businesses, jobs, etc., from the market, which simply contributes to the proliferation of choices available to us, thus making new and changing cognitive demands on us. Nudges designed to prevent such "unwelcome" consequences would surely curtail the ability of entrepreneurial individuals to act upon their initiatives. This could be problematic for the otherwise entrepreneurial society and for the individual entrepreneurs.

While the above might not seem like a plausible policy scenario, it does illustrate some conceptual deficiencies in the theory of nudging by taking it to its logical extreme. Yet, an analogous case could be considered in which unintended consequences of business activity are prevented by a slightly different nudge, one that is rooted in a richer normative framework than that proposed by Thaler and Sunstein. A view of entrepreneurial decision making as neoclassical (instrumental) rationality has little to say about an important dimension of entrepreneurship, namely the uncertainty inherent in the development of new business ventures and openness to learning. From the policy perspective, the major problem with entrepreneurship is the fact that a large percentage of newly incorporated companies do not succeed and those which fail cannot therefore provide the benefits they promise to their owners, shareholders and the society. Mere tax incentives and better funding options might not be enough to rescue vulnerable enterprises. A simple nudge aimed at identifying risky cases of vulnerable companies and enable managing their problems at an early stage could be of more help. Here is how it could work.

In an annually filed tax statement, underneath the section in which the business owner states the amount of his/her profit/loss made in a given year, he/she is asked the following question: "Given your performance last year, would you like to take advantage of a free-of-charge consultation/mentoring session in which you can discuss your major ideas, needs and challenges and work out possible ways to improve your track record in the next 12 months?". Entrepreneurs with little or no success in the initial phase of their activity are often discouraged from continuing. Lack of persistence is one of the main reasons for start-up failure. It is conceivable that an optional meeting with a good mentor who can help identify areas of possible improvement – both technical, related to the product itself and personal, aimed at improving the entrepreneur's leadership skills – result in working out realistic milestones for the next 6–12 months and possibly help the business stay on the course longer than would otherwise be possible.

The above example points out an important difference between creating environments that have general characteristics and manipulating environments to create particular outcomes. The paternalism that (at least some of) the nudge advocates endorse is a paternalism that aims to direct individuals toward certain actions in aid of a determinate view of their well-being. This is much different than simply advocating general conditions in which individuals might flourish in the ways they see fit and according to their own decisions. No one would disagree with the critics that how we frame choices reveals our preferences, morals, priorities, and no one would disagree that framing choices in some general way is inescapable. But given that constant, it does not follow that we have no principled objections available to us to avoid endorsing an increasing number of policies that direct individuals to particular ends. The external "scaffolding" which Clark (1997) recommends in the form of institutions

that support practical reasoning and that focus our attention on better comprehension of our ends might be one that helps one along the way of an uncertain and perhaps risky undertaking (be it setting-up a new business venture, starting a career in X, changing jobs, etc.) rather than one which is designed to set us on a pre-defined track or prevent one from making mistakes. This way of support could be exercised explicitly and transparently, unlike automatic nudges, which do not allow for deliberation and are criticised as manipulative. Moreover, it would offer a more direct causal link between affecting individual well-being and contributing to overall social welfare which is not obvious in many "standard nudges".[17]

Concluding remarks

Critical reflection on the conceptual deficiencies inherent in the original theory of nudging reveals potential risks which could affect some but not all areas of its application. It cannot be denied that there are some areas in which the policy of nudging emerges as a convenient, attractive, and innovative regulatory tool designed to help public policy objectives be achieved more effectively and sometimes less expensively. Its helpful potential lies in the recognition that human cognitive biases are not merely an obstacle but also an opportunity for public regulation. It identifies and addresses important sources of many present-day social problems and endeavours to help "busy people trying to cope in a complex world in which they often do not have the time to think deeply about every choice they have to make" (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008, p. 95). Simplifying complex administrative procedures and forms as well as clever communication of professional jargon (financial, legal, technical, etc.) to non-expert clients are examples of areas where un-intrusive and non-manipulative nudging could be welcome and needed. In such cases, its overall intention to make people's lives easier and help them achieve their true interests seems uncontroversial, if optimistic. Whether reducing bias and preventing mistakes by defaulting people into a scheme they do not have sufficient knowledge of or framing their choice situation in a way that hinders deliberation should be treated as analogously beneficial is far from obvious.

The above considerations expound the increasingly recognised fact that there is nothing direct, straightforward and automatic in the use of nudging. Neither is nudging normatively neutral. That nudges can be adapted to a given situation is probably their greatest advantage. The difficulty remains in dissecting the important factors that matter in a given policy context, both functionally and normatively for unambiguous theoretical evaluation of the use of nudges is not possible. The experimental methods which are increasingly applied to serve this objective are a promising source of much needed data.

On a more fundamental level, the foregoing adds to the debate on the role of the state in increasing the well-being of individual citizens. Even in rare conditions of a general agreement that the state does in fact have a great role to play in this regard, the above analysis suggests that special caution is required in the design and implementation of specific nudges so that their proximate success in deterring someone from a harmful choice does not come at a long-term cost of hindering that person's decision abilities. For people might not always benefit from the type of security from mistakes and comfort of having their ends (co-) decided for them which some forms of nudging promise to provide.

The perspective taken in this paper suggests that the tool of nudging could be better used to facilitate people's formation of their goals instead of steering them towards pre-defined ends. Policy-makers could then shift their focus from the micro-level of identifying 'true' preferences to the meso-scale creation of conditions where such preferences stand a better chance of being

[17] Recent research shows that individually targeted nudges can seriously backfire on the collective level and result in decreasing social welfare instead of helping it (see, for example, Bolton, Dimant & Schmidt, 2018).

developed by the person herself. The short case study of entrepreneurship and the alternative form of nudge it proposes shows that there are unexplored ways in which this approach might be possible and useful.

In conclusion, it appears that the full potential of nudging as a policy instrument and means to strengthen public policies will remain underutilised and its long-term consequences far from understood, unless a more comprehensive picture of human choice is considered by nudge experts. As indicated in this paper, such broader perspective is needed for a more nuanced view of the workings of nudging as well as for its normative appraisal.

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$$X = \begin{bmatrix} x_{11} & x_{12} & \cdots & x_{1n} \\ x_{21} & x_{22} & \cdots & x_{2n} \\ \cdot & \cdot & \cdots & \cdot \\ x_{m1} & x_{m2} & \cdots & x_{mn} \end{bmatrix}, \quad Y \begin{bmatrix} y_{11} & y_{12} & \cdots & y_{1n} \\ y_{21} & y_{22} & \cdots & y_{2n} \\ \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\ y_{m1} & y_{m2} & \cdots & y_{mn} \end{bmatrix} \tag{2}$$

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