

*Anna Kobiernacka**

URBAN MOVEMENTS AS AN EXPRESSION OF CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACY

ABSTRACT

Urban movements are nowadays a frequent example of civic activity. They are becoming an inseparable element of both contemporary democracy as well as local governments. Taking into consideration the fact of growing popularity of this kind of civic activity it is worth to analyze the specifics of this phenomena and possible future impact on local governments' policy. The aim of this article is to examine the urban movements' phenomena and their actual possible influence on local governments' policy's directions.

Keywords: urban movements, local government, contemporary democracy

Contemporary democracy differs significantly from the one created in Greek Polis. Politics does not exist without Internet and other media any more. And those again cause that politics becomes more ubiquitous, available and closer to the society. Also the social determination to influence the world of politics and the directions of changes dictated by the

* University of Lodz.

authorities are increasing. Urban movements, more and more popular those days, are growing in power and are becoming an indicator of modern democracy. Latest elections to local governments showed a significant shift in previous electoral tendencies – mostly the growth of popularity among younger candidates, often related to the new movements rather than traditional and most influential political parties (Filar, 2014). What is more, urban movements seem to become a tool in hands of experienced politicians in electoral run. Przemysław Filar, president of Association for Embellishing Wrocław, claims that Jacek Jaskowiak who is linked to Urban Movements in Poznań and Hanna Zdanowska who won post of President of Łódź, were successful in the elections owing to their close cooperation with urban movements. At the same time, he highlights the fact that such organizations still have insufficient formal structures to be a significant political alternative for traditional parties, however they undeniably have a great intellectual potential and their postulates are much closer to the local society (Filar, 2014).

The same aspects of urban movements are highlighted by Łukasz Maślanka from Association for Embellishing Wrocław. He stresses the fact, that urban movements have a flexible and broad structure which allowed them to acquire knowledge about real needs of citizens. He also claims, that such movements can be an intellectual backup for politicians and political parties (Maślanka, 2014). But is this really a goal for urban movements? Do they want to be only a backup for political parties or maybe they strive for a revolution in politics – a shift in electoral support and distribution of votes?

It is worth analyzing, what in fact is behind this kind of public activity – whether urban movements are a way of rebellion or resistance against the current shape of politics? Is it another way of expressing political views and a basis for further development of democracy and the state itself? Are they an answer to a complicated and bureaucratically overloaded system, where an average man tries to find his own channel of communication with the state? Finally, are they a probable substitute for political parties? The aim of this article is to take an attempt of finding an answer to the questions above. It will enable at least partially to evaluate urban movements and their role in local government functioning. It will also enable to verify the

hypothesis that urban movements are becoming an inherent element of contemporary democracy.

The analysis conducted in the article is largely based on systems theory. The author finds this method as mostly useful when analyzing the urban movements functioning in the environment of local governments. The undertaken method assumes that urban movements (inputs) have an important impact on the local government and its policy and actions (outputs). All those elements are highly interrelated and it is almost impossible to analyze their functioning without recognizing their mutual relations. Urban movements can be acknowledged as pressure groups whose actions can influence the local governments' policy. Going further, their actions may be even noticeable on the central level.

WHAT ARE THE URBAN MOVEMENTS?

The term urban movement has been used in the 70^s by Manuel Castells, who in his research focused on the urban sociology issue (Pickvance, 2003, p. 102). Castells distinguishes two forms of movements: urban movements and social urban movements, where only the second category has an actual ability of changing the system's structure (Fainstein, Hirst, 1995, p. 183). For the use of this article, the author will not follow the above division, perceiving urban movements as a form of social activity influencing the shape of local policy.

Increased interest in contemporary urban movements had been visible in the literature especially in the 80^s. Surveys conducted at that time concentrated on so called new movements focused on equal right issues, youth movements, ecology and environment, peace or civic right promotion (Schuurman, p. 9). They often went beyond the city's borders and took the character of general critics of sociopolitical order (Hasson, 1993, p. 4). It was especially visible in the case of states, where the role played by the government in regulating education issues, goods and services distributions was significant. The character of such movements is typically grass-roots – they are created by ordinary people for their own sake such as protection of their interests.

Although the term *urban movements* occurred relatively late, the phenomena itself has been known earlier. An example of Parisian Commune from the year 1871 could be evoked. This event is often perceived as the first significant revolt with an evident political resonance (Castells, 1983, p. 15). Parisian Commune showed, that social class, having its own political expectations and what is the most important, being aware of those expectations, can at least temporarily impact the politics. Therefore, the workers' movements fighting for their rights and embittering the work conditions can be assumed to be the first urban movement.

Contemporary urban movements, also called new social movements, break with the tradition of social class distinction and perceiving the reality in terms of production and goods distribution. In contrast, they rely on striving for creating cities based on autonomous local cultures and decentralized participation democracy. It is therefore evident that previous perception of urban movements only in the category of workers' movements has been widened and the meaning of this term has been stretched from the work environment to the urban environment (Fainstein, Hirst, 1995, p. 184). Together with globalizing world new problems and challenges for contemporary societies occurred.

The urban movements' activity is strictly connected with territorial dimension, which grants such organizations its identity. The second important aspect, besides the territorial one, is class awareness. It is based on self-consciousness concerning the existence of community not only based on territory, but also on the common identity and common interests (Schuurman, p. 17). Those aspects enable the creation of urban movement which concentrate its actions on certain desires, political and social expectations towards local governing elite. Mentioned above Manuel Castells lists a number of elements defining urban movements, among others striving for political self-management (Schuurman, p. 18).

Taking into consideration the above, it can be assumed that urban movements are the ones concentrated on certain territory, making use of group actions with the aim of widely understood emancipation. Their goals can take many forms and movements themselves can strive for different considerations and rights, such as goods redistribution, changes in law, increasing social participation in decision making process, fight

for maintenance of cultural identity or local community's development (Hasson, 1993, p. 1).

An example of such urban movement can be Critic Mass from Lodz, which essence is to convince local government to provide the city with more bike lanes and create bikers friendly city. The case of Critic Mass will be developed in further parts of the article. Other examples can be observed in Japan¹, where urban movements are exceptionally popular. Owing to cultural preconditions, the idea of collective action in the name of common interests finds a sympathetic ear. Many sociological and anthropological surveys confirm that Japanese conduct group action for a large scale, which does not loose on popularity in spite of high development of Japanese society (McKean, 1981, p. 6).

Knowing what an urban movement is and what are its constant elements, one should consider the reason of their creation. Naturally, the existence of common interests or goals is not a sufficient incentive for their coming into being. Within modern local community we have to take into consideration local governments. According to the area – urban, rural or mixed – those authorities are equipped with different competences. The character of the local government itself and the importance of local government in the political system as a whole, which is the level of authority decentralization, have a meaning as well. Urban movements, as a rule, should be created where the possibilities of using formal channels of influencing the authorities are rather limited, or do not exist at all (Castells, 1983, p. 326). Therefore, urban movements play an important role of alternative means of expressing expectations of certain groups or societies. They are also a form of common action, which allows real influencing local authorities by using less conventional methods. It is also important, that urban movements bear reactional rather the proactive character. It means that they are a reaction to certain limitations within society. They are also decreasingly a mean of expression used by groups socially contested, discriminated or oppressed. Currently, the involvement in urban movement's activity is rather connected with noticing imperfec-

¹ More information concerning urban movements in Japan in: Sorensen, Funck, 2007; Karan, Suganuma, 2008; LeBlanc, 1999.

tions of the system as well as the possibilities of amending them. It can be true at least in the case of stable states, not rocked by any internal crisis, poverty or blatant social inequalities.

URBAN MOVEMENTS CONGRESS

In Poland the social awareness concerning the condition of politics and means of influencing it is constantly increasing. An excellent example for this is the fact, that in many cities we can observe a growing number of initiatives created owing to ordinary residents commitment. They desire to engage themselves into public debate and decide on the development of their own community or city. Introducing by My-Poznaniacy Association in 2011, Urban Movements Congress is an evidence for growing popularity of this form of activity (*O kongresie*). The idea inspiring the creation of forum for cooperation of certain urban movements was ensuring additional, nation-wide level for urban movements and therefore strengthening their position and activity in influencing local authorities. The creation of such Congress is not entirely an innovative idea, since nation-wide conventions have taken place earlier and an agreement Common Space have been functioning (*O kongresie*).

The creation of the Urban Movements Congress is a meaningful step towards even further development of urban democracy. The proceedings during annual meetings are conducted within several workgroups: spatial policy, revitalization, sustainable transport, ecology, metropolis, small city – big problems, urban democracy, social policy, housing policy, culture (*Polityka przestrzenna*). Those working groups encompass almost all aspects connected with the city's development and local policy. It provides full professionalization within certain areas of cooperation by engaging experts into their actions, and therefore allows to boost local living conditions. An interesting achievement of the Congress is elaboration of list of thesis that should be subject to further public debate, among others:

1. Residents have indefeasible right to their city.
2. The participating budget means creating it as a whole. It concerns not only procedures but a wide social movement (...).

3. Revitalization of historical areas can sustain city's identity and is a condition for its further development. It cannot be limited to only renovations but has to be an integrated process elaborated together with the residents.
4. Enough chaos! Spatial culture guaranteed by law will allow to increase the quality of life in the city.
5. Democracy is not only about elections. Residents have the right for real and based on mutual respect participation in decision making process (...).
6. Placing national institutions in several cities fosters the development of the state as a whole (*Polityka przestrzenna*)."

The creation of the Congress, which provides additional forum for grass roots civic initiatives, shows the need of more significant engagement of the society into local political deciding. It also reveals that existence of direct channels of influencing local governments are still limited. Those structures are yet to be created and developed and urban movements, which are constructing them, have a very narrow and modest experience in the field of shaping the local decision making process within the city. The more impressive is fact, that such movements are able to vibrantly mobilize grass roots actions and are indeed building a better urban space.

The evidence for the attention paid to the cities' development inspired by bottom-upped processes was undertaking in 2011 by in that time Ministry of Regional Development (now Ministry of Infrastructure and Development) works on creation of the National Urban Policy, which should indicate the directions of further urban development and ways of achieving it. The Ministry's representatives met with urban movements representatives during the IIIrd Urban Movements Congress in Białystok last year (Dobrzański, 2013).

CRITICAL MASS

The most popular example of urban movement in Lodz is the mentioned above Critical Mass, drawing together the cyclists. The slogan that guides the movement is: "We do not block traffic, we are the traffic" (*Istota*

masy krytycznej, 2015). The idea of such initiative had been borrowed from United States, from San Francisco precisely, where for the first time in 1992 the cyclist had organized their action and since then it takes place regularly (Madden, 2003). Organizing Critical Mass has become popular not only in USA, but identic actions take place in more than 300 cities all over the world. Participants, by organizing lasting several hours rides through the cities, demonstrate their right to use the streets on the same rights as car drivers (Garofoli, 2002). It is also a way of promoting expansion of bike lanes, which is a major problem in Polish reality. The Lodz Critical Mass declares that its main aim is to tell the city's authorities what is the essence of the problem and the need of creating for cyclists safe conditions for free traveling within the city. Every ride of Critical Mass comes with a leading slogan – "Sometimes we ride to claim for new infrastructure (bike paths or lanes, bicycle stands), sometimes to pay attention to the problem of youngest cyclists' safety and sometimes to support schools in their claims for safer and more functional bicycle parking lots" (*Cel masy krytycznej*, 2015). The Critical Mass initiative is also undertaken in Warsaw, where the main goal is the same as for other Critical Masses. In Warsaw additionally happenings, promotional actions and lobbying in local offices are organized, besides the rides through the city. Sometimes, next to demands connected strictly to cycling traffic in the city, in particular rides other postulates related with city districts may be promoted (Muszczyńko, 2015).

In spite of laudable aims declared by Lodz Critical Mass, it is a subject to frequent critique, mainly coming from the car drivers. The idea of increasing safety on the roads and fighting for better infrastructure give way to frustration caused by gridlocks related to the rides organized by Critic Mass. Every ride means at least momentary stoppage in the traffic on the route, and therefore causes jams. The argument of attempt to pay more attention to the problem of insufficient infrastructure, which would solve the problem of cyclists on the roads or sidewalks (where cyclist can be dangerous for pedestrians) seem to be not convincing for the residents.

THE MEANING OF URBAN MOVEMENTS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONING

The society can make use of wide access to mass media, is in possession of information concerning actual news. All this contributes to increase in political awareness and of own expectations towards politicians and local governments. Together with the increase of the political awareness, expectations towards possibilities of influencing the politics and participating in decision making process appear. Until now, existing structures as foundations, non-governmental organizations etc. turn out to be insufficient. Their functioning methods often are not elastic enough in order to enable efficient and fast reaction to changing conditions and reality. Former President of capital city of Poland – Marcin Świączicki emphasized that in 2012 in Warsaw almost 30 commissions on social dialogue were working. Those channels were not adequate due to fixed structures of territorial subsidiaries within local government (*Ruchy miejskie...*, 2012).

Looking for alternative ways of reaching local authorities became a solution of the problem of relatively low engagement among citizens in political life of their closest vicinity – city or district. Beside typically grass roots initiatives – creating urban movements and associations serving city's development – politicians also decide to initiate some actions. President Bronislaw Komorowski noticed the importance of providing the possibility of citizens' contributing to decision making process in local governments, treating this as a mean of defusing social tensions together with giving the possibility of fulfilling goals common for the community. President proposed among others working on law concerning the increase of attendance of citizens in local government and creating funds for grass roots initiatives (*Ruchy miejskie...*, 2012).

Since undertaking grass roots initiatives is becoming much easier, we can now observe significant popularity of urban movements and other actions of similar character. Citizens by organizing happenings and actions can avoid long and arduous process of licensing official party or non-governmental organization. Local government cannot ignore such activity, since not recognizing voters' expectations and needs would be tantamount

to electoral fiasco. What is more, ignoring the turbulent society could in fact lead to weakening of public safety.

Many initiatives undertaken by the residents seem to be another problem and a big challenge for local government. Nowadays most of the groups within society become active – cyclists, ecologists, parents, artists or sportsmen. Each of these groups desires to fight for their rights and force their ideas for the city's functioning. For the local authorities however, it is difficult to consider all expectations of different social groups. Additionally, we have to take into consideration the fact, that certain movements can join their efforts and therefore go beyond the borders of single city. The rule “the force is within a group” starts to work. This path of development of urban movements in time perspective can foster the creation of further local organizations or even political parties (*Ruchy miejskie...*, 2012).

Other interesting example of activating residents is creating civic budget. In Lodz in 2014 this kind of initiative has been undertaken for the second time. It turned to be a great success – more than 174 thousands of citizens voted in the poll (Lenkowski, 2014). Civic budget is a part of normal budget and amounts an earlier decided sum. Residents of all districts can take part in internet voting and therefore decide about the subject of expenditures (*Jak to działa?*, 2015). Those can be infrastructural investments, sport investments, cultural investments, bailouts for foundations, funding revitalization of public properties etc. What is more, residents are fully independent in proposing their own suggestions, what should be placed on the voting ballot in the civic budget poll instead of being presented with a *fait accompli*.

The first edition of civic budget in 2013 in Lodz anticipated absorption of 20 million PLN for the needs of the residents. The idea found such a big approval from the society, that in the next year, City Council decided to double the civic budget (*Zmieniaj Łódź*, 2014). Similar undertakings are also practiced in other Polish cities – among others in Gdansk (*Budżet obywatelski*, 2015), Cracow (*Budżet obywatelski 2015. Postęp...*, 2015), Wrocław (*Wrocławski budżet...*, 2015) or Poznan (*Spotkania zespołu...*, 2015). Creating civic budgets is another evidence for attention paid by local governments to even more hearable voice of cities' residents. Transferring a part of the city's budget in the hands of the residents for most important

causes in their opinions can be assumed as an ideal way of engaging them into the decision making process and at the same time, giving them the feeling of real impact on their closest environment. On the other hand, civic budget gives citizens large amounts at their disposal which generates the risk of unreasonable exploitation of funds. For example, in 2014 in Lodz the victorious project concerned financing construction of sports fields (Lenkowski, 2014). It can be discussed, whether such investment is an added value for the whole urban society.

Many of the urban movements seem not to be interested in direct participation in local government – they rather focus on promotional and informational actions, happenings, that would voice their expectations towards local authorities and visions of further changes ongoing in the city. They aim to achieve their goals via local government, however without straight engagement into authorities' structures. Urban movements' endeavors to close ranks mentioned above suggest however, that they might be as well interested in entering political scene. What is more, in case of such willingness there is a noticeable chance for success. Edwin Bedyk on the blog *Cities Portraits* outlines that people after twenty five years after freedom recovery in Poland seem to be tired by the presence of the same, often disgraced politicians who do not keep their promises. Citizens expect changes here and now – in their closest environment (Romanowski, 2014). Urban movements' and urban activists' postulates may be an answer to the most important and most current social moods in political terms. A great example for those tendencies is an association *City is Ours*, which brings together a group of Warsaw's residents – activists interested in changing their city. First information placed on the association's web site is: "We are residents of Warsaw who are not correlated with any political party. We enter the electoral race to the districts' councils (*Funpage Miasto...*, 2015)." The association have participated in elections in November 2014. 30 000 of residents gave their vote for the association and its representatives sit in three district councils (*Miasto Jest...*, 2014).

In many cases, urban movements are successful in mobilizing citizens and motivating them to wake from social lethargy. But at the same time they still lack a proper, solid and consistent political agenda. They do not try to focus on rational economic diagnosis and have no realistic financial

policy (Lenkowski, 2014). They rather concentrate on highlighting major urban problems but have little understanding for real possibilities of solving them. They often do not think about e.g. possibilities of financing the reforms. What is more, by using general and catchy slogans they hide the fact that they have no proper political agenda. Since their actions are mostly concentrated on the urban areas it seems not to be such a problem. However, preaching typically populist political agenda can in fact attract significant groups of potential voters who often do not realize that such postulates are rather hard to fulfill. Therefore, electoral success of such movement with no “real” and solid agenda can lead to wasted political tenure and often cause many economic, financial and political damages that will be difficult to amend.

Jaroslaw Makowski, who is director of Civic Institute in Poland, in his interview for *Polska the Times* outlines that urban movements are mostly based on revolt and contestation (Wróblewski, Dobroszek, 2014). Gaining political mandate gives an opportunity of actual action. It means that rioting while being part of political scene is not an option. It requires creating a consistent political agenda and cooperating with other political parties. At the same time, Makowski states that in his opinion, urban movements will not be a significant threat for political parties and that the last ones will not have to adjust to or obey urban movements. He claims that social renaissance in urban areas can be perceived as a much wider phenomena and it is not only connected with urban movements but also with greater mobility. People, especially young, travel and observe how can city life look in other parts of the world. They want the same in Poland. Urban movements are only one of many possibilities of accentuating their expectations.

Corresponding to the above and to opinions voiced by cited at the beginning of the article Lukasz Maslanka and Przemyslaw Filar, it is worth noticing that in current circumstances urban movements should concentrate on cooperating with political parties rather than on just contesting them. Their structural, organizational and financial possibilities can serve urban movements as well in extending their influence on local politics and in putting into practice their postulates. Using both existing political structures and mechanisms together with intellectual

potential, better acknowledgment and understanding of social moods and expectations and finally innovative means of acting can result in fruitful cooperation and actual change both in local politics and in the cities themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

Is the development of urban movements and their growing popularity rather an opportunity for the local government or a threat? First of all, it has to be noticed that urban movements are tantamount with citizens emancipation in some way. Citizens are not only observers and reviewers of politics any more. Instead, they become part of it. Urban movements are not perceived by politicians as groups of rioters or unrest ringleaders any more. Urban movements besides protesting against contested order are more often proposing certain solutions for improving the city. They can be therefore a chance for further democracy development, its deepening and a factor supporting general urban development. Whether the grass roots initiatives will be used properly and efficiently and their political potential will be recognized, depends on the local government's attitude.

Professional politicians or main political parties' representatives can perceive new political forces as a threat. Since urban movements have grass roots descent, they are closer to the society and its needs and therefore can be an attractive alternative for often disgraced politicians and most prominent political parties. On the other hand, intelligent and creative exploitation of urban movements can offer a comprise and a solid foundation for future political debate, considering ordinary citizens' expectations.

Another aspect is the way of perceiving local government by urban movements themselves. Increased activity of citizens can result in lack of trust in local authorities. Local structures are often perceived as not flexible enough and not valid in the XXIst Century. Most of the offices are still highly bureaucratic and at the same time they lack pro-citizen attitude. Urban movements seem to be the missing element which can inspire changes allowing the dialogue between politicians and citizens

instead of just politicians' monolog. They are also an easier and more clear form of communicating between citizens and local authorities.

Taking into consideration the analysis above, urban movements can be considered as inseparable part of contemporary face of urban democracy and local authorities. They enter political scene with impetus and therefore they adopt more formalized shape. Their popularity among citizens increases constantly. All this results in a better recognition of urban movements by local authorities, which cannot ignore their existence and expectations raised by them. Their existence cannot be ignored in local government policy as well as urban movements cannot ignore political parties. Both elements are essential for better functioning of the city, at least for now.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Budżet obywatelski 2015.* (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.gdansk.pl/budzet-obywatelski>
- Budżet obywatelski 2015. Postęp realizacji zadań.* (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.krakow.pl/budzet>
- Castells, M. (1983). *The City and the Grassroots: A cross-cultural theory of urban social movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cel masy krytycznej.* (2015). Retrieved from <http://masakrytyczna.org/o-masie/cel-masy-krytycznej.html>
- Dobrzański, M. (2013, October 23). *Miejski ruch*. Retrieved from <http://www.institutobywatelski.pl/17519/blogi/w-trasie/miejski-ruch>
- Fainstein, S. F, Hirst, C. (1995). Urban Social Movements, In D. Judge, G. Stoker, H. Wolman (Eds.), *Theories of Urban Politics*. (p. 181–204). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Filar, P. (2014, December 5). *Początek zmiany*. Retrieved from <http://www.institutobywatelski.pl/22442/lupa-institutu/poczatek-zmiany>
- Filar, P. (2015, February 2). *Jak wprowadzać zmiany w miastach*. Retrieved from <http://www.institutobywatelski.pl/23203/komentarze/jak-wprowadzac-zmiany-w-miastach>

- Funpage Miasto Jest Nasze*. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/miastojestnasze/info>
- Garofoli, J. (2002, September 26). *Critical Mass turns 10 / A decade of defiance / Cyclists celebrate 10 years of clogging streets en Mass*. Retrieved from <http://www.sfgate.com/politics/joegarofoli/article/Critical-Mass-turns-10-A-decade-of-defiance-2767020.php>
- Hasson, S. (1993). *Urban Social Movements in Jerusalem. The protest of secondo generation*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Istota masy krytycznej*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://masakrytyczna.org/o-masie/istota-masy-krytycznej.html>
- Jak to działa?*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://budzet.dlalodzi.info/jak-to-dziala/>.
- Karan, P., Sukanuma, U. (Eds.). (2008). *Local Environmental Movements. A comparative study of the United States and Japan*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- LeBlanc, M.R. (1999). *Bicycle Citizens. The political world of the Japanese housewife*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lenkowski, B. (2014, October 23), *Ruchy miejskie – spojrzenie z dystansu*. Retrieved from <http://www.institutobywatelski.pl/22225/lupa-institutu/ruchy-miejskie-spojrzenie-z-dystansu>
- Madden, R. (2003, December 16), *London. How cyclists around the world put a spoke in the motorist's wheel*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/729324/London-How-cyclists-around-the-world-put-a-spoke-in-the-motorists-wheel.html>
- Maślanka, Ł. (2014, December 11). *Aktualiści, wyjdźcie z okopów*. Retrieved from <http://www.institutobywatelski.pl/22483/komentarze/aktywisci-wyjdzie-z-okopow>
- McKean, M.A. (1981). *Environmental protest and citizen politics in Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Miasto Jest Nasze. Historia*. (2014). Retrieved from <http://miastojestnasze.org/historia/>
- Muszczyńko R. (2015, March 27). *Gdzie jest BemowoBike? – Marcowa Masa Krytyczna*. Retrieved from <http://www.masa.waw.pl/index.php/o-masie>
- O kongresie*. (2015). Retrieved from http://kongresruchowmiejskich.pl/?page_id=13

- Pickvance, C. (March 2003). From Urban Social Movements to Urban Movements: A review and introduction to a Symposium on Urban Movements. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(1), 102–109.
- Polityka przestrzenna*. (2015). Retrieved from http://kongresruchowmiejskich.pl/?page_id=418
- Romanowski, R. (2014, July 9), *Sedno/sens buntu mieszczan*. Retrieved from <http://portretymiaast.blog.polityka.pl/2014/07/09/rafal-romanowski-sednosens-buntu-mieszczan/>
- Ruchy miejskie: Protest czy troska o dobro wspólne?*. (2012, May 24) Retrieved from http://www.batory.org.pl/programy_operacyjne/deбаты/2012/ruchy_miejskie_protest_czy_troska_o_dobro_wspolne
- Schuurman, F.J. (1989). Urban civil movements: between regressive utopia and socialist panacea. In F. Schuurman, T. Van Laerssen (Eds.), *Urban social movements in the Third World*. (p. 9–26). Routledge: Routledge Library Editions.
- Sorensen, A., Funck, C. (eds.). (2007). *Living Cities In Japan: Citizens' Movements, Machizukuri and Local Environments* London, New York: Routledge.
- Spotkania zespołu ds. Poznańskiego Budżetu Obywatelskiego*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.poznan.pl/mim/main/poznanski-budzet-obywatelski-2015,p,15574,27284.html>
- Wrocławski Budżet Obywatelski*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.wroclaw.pl/wroclawski-budzet-obywatelski>
- Wróblewski, M., Dobroszek, K. (2014, December 13). *Makowski: W Polsce następuje odrodzenie mieszczaństwa. Jego symbolem są ruchy miejskie*. Retrieved from <http://www.polskatimes.pl/arttykul/3682608,makowski-w-polsce-nastepuje-odrodzenie-mieszczanstwa-jego-symbolem-sa-ruchy-miejskie,5,id,t,sa.html>
- Zmieniaj Łódź*. (2014). Retrieved from http://budzet.dlalodzi.info/o_budziecie