

TRANSPORT POLICY IN THE APPROACH OF POLITICAL AND SYSTEMIC ANALYSIS

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KEYWORDS: Political system, Political institutions, Public policies, Transport policy.

SUMMARY: The article discusses the process of creation of the national transport policy as a result of the functioning of the political system. The author presented the elements of the political system environment, affecting the shape of transport policy as a public policy. He analyzed the institutions participating in the creation of transport policy and their mutual relations, and characterized these decisions that make transport policy. In the summary he pointed out basic socio-political conditions for creation and implementation of transport policy.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: System polityczny, Instytucje polityczne, Polityki publiczne, Polityka transportowa.

STRESZCZENIE: Artykuł poświęcony jest procesowi kreacji polityki transportowej państwa, jako efektu działania systemu politycznego. Autor przedstawił elementy otoczenia systemu politycznego wpływające na kształt polityki transportowej, jako polityki publicznej. Dokonał analizy instytucji partycypujących w procesie tworzenia polityki transportowej oraz ich wzajemnych relacji oraz scharakteryzował te decyzje, które tworzą politykę transportową. W podsumowaniu wskazał także podstawowe uwarunkowania społeczno-polityczne tworzenia i wdrażania polityki transportowej.

INITIAL THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROVISIONS

Politics is a term functioning in social life that is understood intuitively, but can be defined in various ways. However, all its applied definitions share one common ground—the element of power. It is the power earned and then exercised in order to, among others, solve problems faced by a group of people accepting common governing rules. It seems quite natural that politics understood in such a way can have numerous different aspects, which may pose a challenge in determining its definition. The concept of this term includes different and complex behaviors, such as making personal decisions regarding the choice of persons performing public functions, conducting electoral campaigns, deciding on the amount and character of public expenditure, or in cases related to the community issues about which the community members cannot decide individually. It is worth noting that this last challenge was actually the one which inspired the creation of the first forms of states several thousand years ago.

Current political science covers all these aspects. Political scientists study, among others, the behavior of politicians and citizens, political institutions (such

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as governments, parliaments) and their decision, including these ones which regard specific areas in which the community functions, such as safety, economy, education, culture, etc. In recent years this area of political science study on specific (industry) politics and policies has been dynamically developing as a study of public policies, understood according to A. Zybala's definition, as "a sphere of system, ordered activities of the state and its citizens, undertaken to solve key problems in communities. Such activities are performed with a series of tools, such as legal regulations, but also citizens' and business' self-regulation, cooperation, argumentation, debating, research, shaping positive stimulus for adopting expected approach" [15].

With the above presented approach, transport policy—a subject of interest of the author of this article—is one of numerous public policies. At the same time, however, for many years it remained mostly within the interest of economists and transport systems researchers, with political scientists relatively rarely approaching this topic in their studies. On the one hand, such a state of affairs results from a still developing trend of studying industry policies, which has been dominated in Polish studies by research on mechanisms of transformative processes and Polish democracy consolidation for many years. On the other hand, transport policy, as a relatively narrow, specialized sub-policy of economic policy, has certainly "discouraged" political scientists from approaching this topic because of its specific character and technical complexity, which, in addition to the weaknesses of interdisciplinary studies that cross the borders of science areas, resulted in a marginalization of transport policy in political science. This situation has been commented in an interesting and ironic way by O. Swolkień, who wrote that a person interested in transport policy rather expects numbers and indicators than philosophical considerations [14].

That is why this paper does not aspire to be a complete compendium of knowledge about political aspects of transport policy, and its author intends to expose only one aspect of this problem. The main research objective is then the system analysis interpretation of the process of transport policy creation. To present it, the author intends to answer the following detailed questions: 1. What is transport policy? 2. What is a political system? 3. What is the character of system input related to the process of transport policy creations? 4. To what extent does the system environment affect the shape of transport policy? 5. Which institutions of a political system are creators of transport policy? 6. What is the character of system creations constituting the elements of transport policy?

The methodological basis for the developed arguments will be a systems analysis method adopted on the grounds of the analysis of political system institutions that are active in the process of creation of transport policy and its rules of functioning.

While attempting to define transport policy it shall be emphasized that, as mentioned above, it is in fact an element of economic policy, as, following C. Pirah, "each country executes its transport policy to introduce an order in transport within the whole economy for the good of the entire society, and the main aim of transport policy is to support the country and strengthen its economy by supporting the development and modernization of transport devices" [4]. However, as this article aims to present, currently the economical paradigm is not dominating.

In conclusion, for the purposes of these considerations I define transport policy pursuant to A. Grzelakowski, M. Matczak and A. Przybyłowski's idea as a set of basic strategic and tactically-operational decisions in a systemic order, regarding both functioning and the development of transport system in average and long perspective". Such decisions refer to all aspects of transport system development: technical and technological, working and organizational, economic and financial, legal and institutional, and also social, ecological and administrative ones. They have program and executive character, specifying the set of objectives (priorities) to be achieved in a set perspective of time, and a group of tasks necessary to achieve these objectives, as well as methods, forms and tools for their execution" [3].

THE CONCEPT OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM

The system analysis method in transport policy has been used from 1950s and 1960s, when, while questioning the traditional, static approach to the analysis of political life, a new dynamic method grounded in the general theory of systems by L. von Bertalanffy was introduced. Key representatives of this methodological approach, such as D. Easton, T. Parsons, G. Almond, and K. Deutsch, believed that the method of systems analysis would ensure the execution of three assumed targets: the objectification of research result, as it is based on the empirical and no normative theory of a policy; a comprehensive, holistic, and, at the same time, dynamic analysis of political life; and the ability to separate the political (a political system) from the elements that constitute a system environment, and which have an unquestioned impact on political life, though they are not a part of it [1,6]. Naturally, a cognitive optimism of the representatives of this trend has gradually been subjected to criticism, and the method itself has revealed numerous shortcomings, such as its disregard of individual interests and motivations, as well as the problems with determining the limits of the system and clear, credible catalog of the elements forming the system. Nevertheless, this method remains in use in the scientific environment, as it is suitable for building models.

A natural problem faced by the researchers of this trend was the issue of defining the political system as an analytic category. However, given the multiplicity of theoretical approaches, it can be assumed that a political system is a separate set of public institutions, whose aim is to integrate the community (society at the state level), the issue of distribution of material and symbolic values within this community, the rules of the functioning of these institutions (political regime), and the relations created during the competition for control over them.

Following A. Antoszewski and T. Langer, it can be assumed that the essence of functioning of the political system is the presumption that political life is subject to various influencing factors, such as economic, cultural, physical, and social environment [at a state or internal level, and internationally (external level)]. The environment is a source of influence, to which a political system reacts, adapting to current conditions. The functioning of a political system starts with the input (demands of the environment regarding specific content and character of industry policies, the direction of public resources

redistribution, personal, administrative, and symbolic decisions). In turn, the source of resources guaranteeing the system capacity to function is found in the proofs manifested in symbolic and material supports for political actions and participation of political institutions, etc. Both requests and proofs are introduced to the system via a set of so-called inputs.

In contrast, the products of the system include statements, for instance established laws and performances (activities related to the implementation of specific policies, personnel decisions, the directions in the redistribution of public resources). System communication with the environment takes place in this case by means of a set of outputs. The primary function of the system is processing contributions to the creations, namely the intra-system conversion, and the effects of statements and performances influence the content of the demands and the scope of support. In this perspective, the primary effect of existing political system is to reduce the tensions that arise between demands directed to the centers of power and their decisions, resulting in an equilibrium between the system and its environment, guaranteeing that system is preserved, and the elites in power maintain their position. As seen in practice, there are many examples of interference in the functioning of political systems, which can result in consequences, the scale of which depends on of the nature of interference, including the change within the elites in power, political crises, system transformation, and, finally, the system breakdown, resulting in the so-called transition and the birth of a new system [1,6].

System structure presented in Figure 1 includes specific institutions, as this model has been adapted to the needs of the analysis of transport policy. Therefore, the model included only those institutions that are most relevant from the point of view of policy creation. What should be emphasized is the leading position of the government (The Council of Ministers) as a body responsible for actual governance, the process of determining priorities within all industry (foreign, defense, security, economic, agricultural, educational, cultural, and scientific, etc.) policies, and the means for their implementation [2].

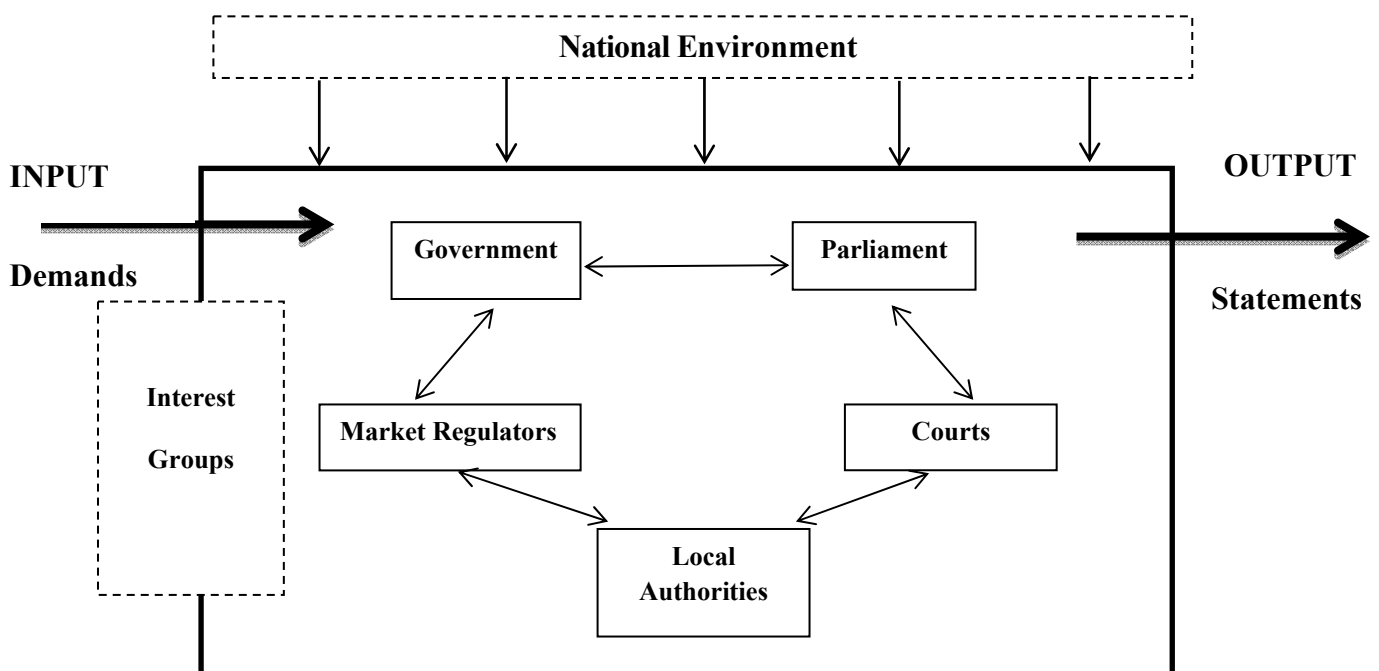
In the creation of detailed policies, the government forms a significant relationship with the parliament—a legislative institution (though it should be noted that in the Polish legal system the role of the parliament is complemented by the government functioning, firstly, as the primary designer of laws and, secondly, as the body authorized to issue executive acts. The parliament, as a representative body, should represent the whole spectrum of political views and social interests functioning within the community. This political assumption is modified by the rules of the political regime, such as the electoral law and political practice, in order to ensure political system effectiveness. In this context the most important conclusion is that the parliament is the arena of political debate between the supporters of statist and market solutions, the advocates of ecological and traditional economics, and between the supporters of protecting the national economy and the advocates for its opening and subjecting to the pressure of foreign markets.

This model also includes market regulators, i.e. the institutions of an administrative nature, which, while formally remaining a part of the government administration structure, function as control bodies of certain public policies (such as financial or transport policy), creating operating principles for the industry and supervising the implementation of these rules by entities in a given market. A special role of market regulators is related to transformation

processes of modern administrative structures, including the decentralization of administration, privatization of public services, and deconcentration—the process of appointing specialized agencies and regulators that were not politicians-dependent. These changes constituted a reaction to the crisis of traditional forms of governing problematic in the 1970s and 1980s as a consequence of social crises, manifested in the events of 1968 in Western Europe and the US, and in the economy collapse in the next decade (the so-called oil crisis). This trend was revised in Western Europe in the 1990s, but in Poland mentioned activities and processes were carried out primarily as a form of political and administrative negation of the governing practices typical for an ending period of authoritarian socialism [12].

The next category of institutions presented in the model includes local (provincial, district, communal) authorities as entities creating industry policies at regional and local level, as a result of which they enter into complex relations with the government, market regulators, and the parliament. In this case it should be noted that, on the one hand, local governments have independent competences and authorizations, but on the other hand, these institutions are not able to freely execute their plans without subject- and content-related and material support of the state government. What is more, actions taken by local governments are subject to the control of market regulators.

In the presented analysis, also courts have been included, as the series of various legal and economic phenomena in recent years raises the significance of courts as institutions participating in the decision making process, acting as an arbitrator deciding about the disputes in the increasingly complex legal system. In this context, mentioned phenomena refer to the increasing jurisdiction of social life, growing significance of law as social relations regulator. This leads to the extension of regulating function of public sector and the process of law internationalization, which requires the process of adoption to the state law, to the economic transformations, e.g. the creation of new services as a result of technological progress that require regulations, and to the influence on the content of legislative acts of various interest groups, which aim at satisfying their economic interests by influencing legal regulations [13].



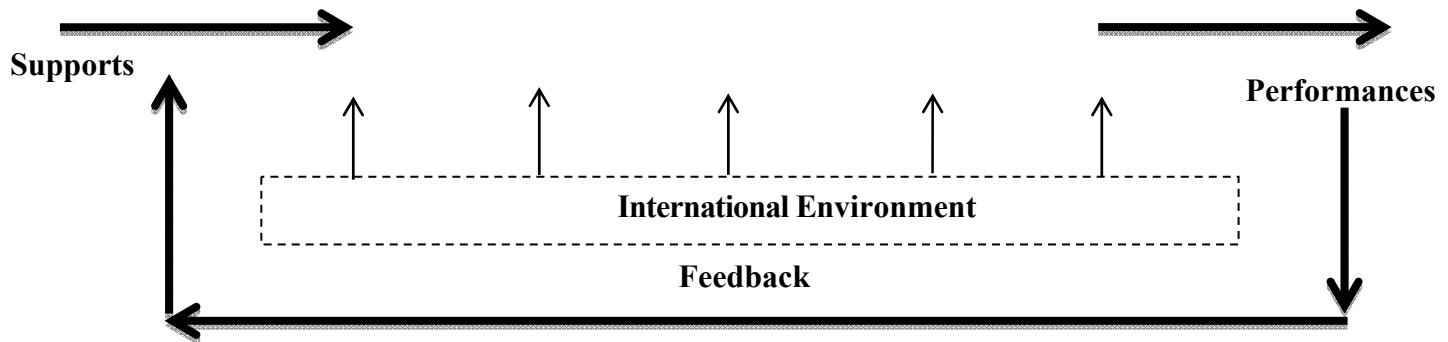


Figure 1 Model of political system

TRANSPORT POLICY AS A CREATION WITHIN A POLITICAL SYSTEM

Analyzing the above presented model of the political system from the perspective of the process of creation and implementation of transport policy, one must first determine the nature of the input, or demands and supports for these collective problems regarding the area of transport. In order to perform such an analysis, one more category of entities included in the figure but not presented before must be specified—the category of interest groups. These organizations may take various legal forms, and their aim is to influence the content of the decisions taken by political institutions, usually without actively participating in political life, as such an activity entails the necessity to engage many resources, and the risk of getting involved into relations that could be disadvantageous from their point of view. Therefore, the status of interest groups is ambiguous, and whereas some authors treat them as a part of the political system, others see interest groups as a part of the environment. In reality interest groups are characterized by a peculiar duality of their role, and only the nature of their applied strategies determines their place within the system or outside of it.

In the case of this article's interest, the entities of such type include, among others, the associations representing the interests of entrepreneurs and employers operating in transport sector, such as Związek Pracodawców Transport i Logistyka Polska (En. Polish Transport and Logistics Association of Employers), Izba Gospodarcza Transportu Lądowego (En. Land Transport Chamber of Commerce), Polska Izba Gospodarcza Transportu Samochodowego i Spedycji (Polish Chamber of Commerce for Car Transport and Forwarding), Ogólnopolska Izba Gospodarcza Drogownictwa (En. Polish National Road Chamber of Commerce), Krajowa Izba Gospodarki Morskiej (En. National Maritime Chamber of Commerce), Związek Armatorów Polskich (En. The Association of Polish Vessel Operators), Związek Pracodawców Kolejowych (En. The Association of Railway Employers). The second important segment functioning in group interest transport economy includes trade unions representing the employees within this sector. Depending on the sector, the number of such unions ranges from several ones (e.g. in Zespół Trójstronny ds. Żeglugi i Rybołówstwa Morskiego (Trilateral Team for Maritime Navigation and Fishing) at the Ministry of Maritime Economy and Inland Waterway Transport there are representatives of three trade unions) to over dozen union (e.g. in

Zespół Trójstronny ds. Kolejnictwa (Trilateral Team for Railway Sector) at the Ministry of Infrastructure and Construction, 15 trade union organizations are represented).

The nature of relations between interest groups and political institutions, and mostly with the public administration, is conditioned, among others, by a strategy of relationship building between the business and the state accepted by political, administrative, and economic elites—a strategy created in the common ground between ideal pluralism and ideal corporatism. In the ideal pluralism, there is a full independence, within which interest groups use such means as, for example, lobbying or institutionalized forms of consultations to influence political decisions. Ideal corporatism is based on a complex network of institutions that operate on the basis of highly formalized cooperation, within which the state delegates its authority to private entities. In Polish conditions we are dealing with an inconsistent model of an inconsequent moderate corporatism with many elements of pluralism.

It should also be noted that input is created not only by organized interest groups of an industry nature, but also by the so-called promotion groups, focused on promoting specific values or life style (such as ecologists or cyclists), and non-organized or temporarily organized citizens acting as transport services consumers, or simply as inhabitants of a specific regions or city. To sum up the institutional analysis, it shall be noted that in the area of public policies creation, the political system is, in fact, a complex network of relations (a specific multiplayer game) combining national and regional institutions of public power and interest groups of various characters.

Finally, there are also the demands of international environment which need to be considered, and the example of which can be found in the horizontal policies implemented by the European Union, such as the competence policy, which restricts the possibility to grant public support for national entrepreneurs and companies, e.g. PLL LOT [3,5]. It should also be noted that both the national and international environment influence the functioning of the whole system, not only by expressing certain demands, but also by putting indirect market pressure (e.g. the existence of Ryanair on national market forces other airlines (also national ones) to change their competing strategy) on national companies, by forcing image-related changes, or creating standards of operations (e.g. Skytrax).

What can then the tasks directed at political institutions entail? They can include the identification of specific priorities in transport policy (such as promoting the development of a given sector) by the government, financial support for the industry, the guarantee of a determined level of access to public services, restriction of competence regulations, issue of normative acts with technical principles of operating in the sector, consumer rights' protection, a specified level of fiscal burden, etc.

Support can include, in turn, e.g. a content-related and informative support for government's actions, taxes and other forms of supporting the budget in its part directed to the execution of transport policy, the change of consumer behavior (e.g. the increase in the number of passengers in promoted means of public transport), the end of protest actions (such as actions blocking the construction of transport infrastructure objects, social media campaigns promoting the support of government projects, etc.).

Support and demands in the analyzed sphere mostly concentrate on the policy executed by the government and market regulators (Urząd Lotnictwa

Cywilnego (En. Civil Aviation Office), Urząd Transportu Kolejowego (En. Office of Rail Transport), Główny Inspektorat Transportu Drogowego (En. Main Inspectorate of Road Transport). This is caused by the fact that the parliament is most frequently controlled politically by the government's majority (a so-called fusion of power). Moreover, as numerous examples demonstrate, the acts regulating transport policy rarely become a subject of dispute between parties in the Polish parliament. This situation is certainly caused by the lack of a strong party referring to "green politics" in the Polish parliament. Also, it is not insignificant that, as G. Peters notices, public administration institutions find great difficulty in conforming to the mechanisms of democratic (parliamentary) control, as these institutions to a large extent control the information flow in public life spheres that they manage. This type of informative asymmetry is visible even in the relations between the government and the parliament, the members and workers of which do not have knowledge or data resources allowing to fully control bureaucracy [7].

In turn, local governments seem to function as government's clients in the area of national transport policy, e.g. in the program of road construction. However, it shall be noted that at a regional level local governments perform a significant role, as they can revise government strategies (the example of which was visible in the past, for instance in the history of PKP Przewozy Regionalne), and at a local level they are in fact fully autonomous decision-making institutions, functioning in separate political microsystems (by e.g. creating and implementing city and metropolitan transport policies).

Thus, concentrating on the first two mentioned categories of institutions (government and market regulators), it should be noted that the efficiency of the ministry responsible for the form of transport policy and its execution depends on numerous factors, including, among others: the political position of a specific minister, concentration of specific government administration departments in a given department, the character of political priorities of the government and resources directed to the execution of such priorities, e.g. external funding (EU funds), which is especially important in the situation when the large part of budget is constituted by fixed costs.

The structure of Polish government is conditioned, at a normative level, by the Law on Government Administration Operations, and, at a political level, is a consequence of the course of agreements and decisions made to determine its structure. Referring to the first of the above-mentioned criteria, it should be emphasized that at present there are three departments of government administration, in which transport policy is created and implemented. These departments include: transportation within the Ministry of Infrastructure and Construction, maritime and inland waterways within the Ministry of Maritime and Inland Waterway Transport.

These departments cover the following areas, among others: 1. Transport: transport infrastructure functioning and development, specifically the construction, modernization, maintenance, and protection of public roads, including motorways, railway, and airports; transport of persons and objects by means of cars, railway, and air transport; public transport; supervision over the President of the Civil Aviation Office, General Director of National Roads and Motorways, the President of the Office of Rail Transport, the Main Inspector of Road Transport; Transport Technical Supervision, and Polish Air Navigation Services. 2. Maritime economy: sea transport and maritime navigations, ports

and marines, ship-building industry, marine environmental protection. 3. Inland waterways transport: functioning and inland waterways development for inland navigation, water inland waterways traffic, inland waterways transport of persons and objects, the construction and modernization of inland waterways [10].

While evaluating the functioning of government administration in this area, it shall be noted that, according to G. Rydlewski, the government bases its decisions on: 1. Correct identification of legal obligations and the government's knowledge of its own competence; 2. Political obligations that legitimize the government and its political program; 3. External challenges; 4. creating reacting to the needs resulting from system internal situation; 4. Limitations preventing the administration from taking action include, among others; 5. The lack of knowledge on phenomena and processes in the system environment; 6. Errors of environment state interpretation, in the understanding of cause and effect relations, and of the hierarchy of generated needs; 7. The lack of coordination of actions taken within different administrative agendas; 8. Particularisms of various type: structural particularism resulting from an administrative structures competing over the resources, and a political particularism motivated by contrasting strategies of operation of political leaders following the structures [11].

At the same time, in the context of creation and implementation of transport policy, it should be noted that Polish government administration has many flaws, such as a low long-term planning capability, incapacity to overview implemented public policies from the perspective of a general state interest, and the evaluating, planning, and forecasting processes dominated by a so-called "department-based thinking," within which the interest of a given administrative structure always takes priority. It is not then surprising that the success of a country depends, among others, on the effectiveness of choices made by the government, and the ability to overcome the resistance of significant social groups, the so-called veto players, losing as a result of introduced changes. However, in the context of elites in power and their main objectives, it should be taken into account, that they are relatively easy to convince to the compromise with great and powerful social groups, as such a compromise guarantees social peace, with no risk as in the case of expensive reforms.

Thus, when analyzing the character of system creations catalog of transport policy, the above information need to be taken into account, as they significantly influence transport policy content, consistency, and complexity perceived as the ability to solve at least the majority of problems that can be faced by the community in a given area. This results from the fact that transport policy is significantly related to the economic policy, or even its elements, but transport policy can also serve other functions, not only for optimizing land, water, and air transport routes, allowing to use the economic potential of a country to the maximum, thanks to faster and cheaper transport of goods, creating effective supply instruments and logistics.

This is possible because the investments in transport infrastructure are an important factor driving the economic growth, and can even serve as a main driving force of the economy. Orders placed in the industry for the production of means of transport (e.g. in the public sector of railway transport) can become a powerful factor in the creation of industry policy, and the resources for research and development are both an instrument in the creation of innovation-related and research policies and politics in the country.

However, the multidimensional character of transport policy can be seen not only in its economic aspects. It is also visible in transport policy relation to the defense policy (transport routes serving as armed forces and arms supply transport channels), public transport (as a factor motivating the workers on labor market and affecting the efficiency of social policy, especially in dealing with unemployment). Other aspects include the determination of priorities in the development of transport sector, as a response to the challenges related to the state of environment and an element of environmental policy, or the coordination of actions in country border transport, as an element of country's foreign policy.

These issues present only some of numerous examples of the subject complexity, showing that transport policy cannot be created as a public policy completely in isolation from other public policies. What is more, actions conducted in the area of transport policy can also serve for image-related purposes and political promotion. Consequently, we are dealing with a combination of many challenges, solved at different levels and with a limited access to informative, material, and mobilization resources. All this makes transport policy, in specified, previously presented conditions, seems a result (an incidental one at times) of many influencing institutions, interest groups, and often particular priorities that these groups and institutions specify.

What do these priorities refer to—what kind of system creations are we dealing with? These are mostly documents of a strategic character, such as Transport policy for 2006-2025 [9]. This documents determines the implementation objectives, conditions, instruments, and entities. According to this document, the aim of transport policy is to “significantly improve the quality of transport system and its extension in accordance with the rules of sustainable development, as transport system quality is one of key factors determining the standard of life of inhabitants and deciding upon the economic development in the regions and in the country”. Such a specified objective is acceptable, but its execution depends on numerous political factors mentioned earlier, and also on the method of interpretation of assumptions, the understanding of which in system reality is as if filtered through the reasons resulting from the logics of administration competing for resources, conflicts of regional interests, or the “clashes” of arguments of ideological character.

As a result, at the level of using specific instruments co-creating the catalog of system creations, i.e. preparing and issuing legal acts, investing in transport infrastructure, creating redistribution channels for public resources intended for investment in transport in the form of ordering, subsidies, tax preemptions, designing and executing educational programs, public business entity management mechanisms in transport services, or creating the rules of functioning of transport market and its monitoring, we can encounter a catalog of inconsistent statements and achievements. It results from the character of transport policy, just as in the case of any other public policy, formed in a continuous process of solving dilemmas and conflicts in which each party refers to its own numbers and diagrams, mentioned by O. Swolkień [14], and public institutions, acting in the conditions of limited access to informative and material resources, have to make decisions which quite often have long-term consequences and exceed the time of function of a decision-maker. Such decisions are, in fact, a more or less successful attempts to satisfy various social needs, interests of specific groups, and political ideas resulting from

strategies focused on raising to power or maintaining an already achieved position [8].

SUMMARY

In conclusion, it needs to be emphasized that transport policy, as a public policy, is an effect of complex relations between political system institutions, which, when executing their strategies, try to take into consideration some signals (requests and support) from the environment. Policy character also depends on numerous factors, some of which are an indirect effect of political system functioning, e.g. the availability of material resources, supply structure on transport services market, patterns of consumer behavior. Still, in the system itself, in its structure, legal and cultural principles of operation, there are also sources of interference, such as ineffective transport policy contested by its recipients.

To present the reason for such interferences, I have decided to divide them into three categories: structural, cultural, and social interferences. In the first group the following can be seen: 1. Public administration structures instability manifested in, among others, changes in the organization of bodies responsible for executing public policies, and in the excessive exchange of personnel resulting from a changing political situation; 2. Particularisms dividing different administrative structures, resulting in the dispersion of objectives or differences in analytical and evaluating tools; 3. The lack of stable, internalized forms of institutional co-ordination of operations conducted in the area of specific public policies; 4. Relatively low efficiency of courts serving as a regulator of social conflicts arising in the area of public policies.

Cultural ones include: 1. The lack of mechanisms of constant evaluation of strategies executed by administration in the area of public policies; 2. Declarative understanding of long-term plans executed by public administration, resulting from politically motivated need to stay in opposition to the projects of political competitors in case of alternating change in power (one government changed into another); 3. The lack of agreement that it is necessary to include experts' opinions and treating experts presence as a merely "formal ritual"; 4. A certain level of acceptance for non-legal forms of influence existing in the culture of public administration organization (nepotism, corruption, the lack of full acceptance for the category of the conflict of interest); 5. Overuse of legal criteria in the decision-making process, compromising the content-based criteria, which results in e.g. accepting suggested solutions only because they are legal, without analyzing their future consequences and efficiency.

Finally, the social ones include: 1. Lower level of public trust resulting in the incapability to achieve agreements for effective influence on political decision-makers; 2. Low political culture in relation to both political elites and other social groups (confronting behaviors exceeding the co-operating ones); 3. Low level of social organization, resulting in easy marginalization of active and critical social actors in public administration; 4. The lack of social belief in the sense of trying to influence public administration.

To sum up, I think that the example of transport policy as one of numerous public policies shows the weaknesses of institutional solutions in the area of policy creation and implementation. What is more, this type of systemic deficit is strengthened by cultural barriers. Consequently, it seems that these factors are

quite serious and will become a more significant challenge for the development in the country than the lack of resources.

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