

Olga Julita JANIKOWSKA¹

Challenges of the energy transition in Poland – deliberative democracy as a tool for activating the civil society

ABSTRACT: The Polish political transformation of 1989 brought significant changes not only on the political and social levels but also on the economic level. The Polish economy, which until then had been a centrally planned economy, had to be rapidly changed into a free market economy. As a result of this, a lot of areas of the economy had to be transformed including the mining industry, especially hard-coal mining. In 1990, there were seventy-one mines in operation in Poland, employing nearly 400,000 people. The process of decommissioning these mines, which continues to this day, began in 1994. Walbrzych coal mines were among the first to be liquidated. Poland has long been dependent on coal for energy production, but the country is facing increasing pressure in the transition to cleaner and more sustainable energy sources in order to reduce carbon emissions and mitigate the effects of climate change in order to fulfil EU climate policy assumptions.

Civil society organizations in Poland were associated with the political transformation, as the changes in the system has opened the doors for the social participation in decision-making processes. Civil society organizations in Poland have been actively pushing for policies and initiatives that promote renewable energy, energy efficiency, and the phasing out of coal. However, it should be underlined that the role of civil society in energy transformation is crucial as on the one hand, it

✉ Corresponding Author: Olga Julita Janikowska; e-mail: olgajan@min-pan.krakow.pl

¹ The Division of Strategic Research, Mineral and Energy Economy Research Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland; ORCID iD: 0000-0003-2692-7122; e-mail: olgajan@min-pan.krakow.pl



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should be an advocate of change, but on the other hand, civil society has to take an active part in the discussion on the challenges of the transformation, such a change in the employment structure which is an inevitable consequence of the energy transition. The scope of the paper is to provide a set of tools for the civil society participating in energy transformation processes.

KEYWORDS: restructuring, NGOs, civil society, energy transformation, renewable energy sector, political transformation

Introduction

The essence of the energy transformation is to move away from fossil fuels towards renewable energy sources. This is a multilevel process combining policy, societal pressure and technological progress. The EU ambitious target address the issues surrounding achieving climate- neutrality by 2050, which is correlated with the European Green Deal and is in full compliance with the EU's commitment to global climate action under the Paris Agreement ([Paris Agreement 2015](#)). Additionally, The European Commission ([EC 2020](#)) claims that the transition must be inclusive as such, which means that there is a strong need to engage various social groups in order to not leave anyone behind. Furthermore, civil participation in the transformation process will quarantine the legitimacy of the transition at the local level, based on active multi-stakeholder participation. In 2020 the European Commission published the EU Governance of Transitions Toolkit. This document underlines that a just transition is one that “captures the opportunities of the transition to sustainable, climate neutral systems, while minimising the social hardships and costs” ([EC 2020a](#)). There are two major factors that have an impact upon energy transformation. Firstly, there is an obligation to reduce greenhouse emission, in respect to the combat climate change. There is also a secondary need to reduce dependence on imported fossil fuels, which can be both costly and politically sensitive. Increasing the share of renewable energy in the energy mix helps to reduce this dependence, as well as creating jobs and economic growth ([European Union 2020](#)). The energy transition in Poland already has a long history, and has gone through several phases.

The political transformation in Poland began in 1989 and the transformation had a great impact on all the dimension of the reality. The goal of the transition was to move from a socialist society to a democratic society, and from a centrally planned economy to a free market economy. The transition plan adopted by the authorities used the tenets of modernization theory. The purpose of the “thick line policy,” was to completely dissociate from the previous system; this determined the choice of the Polish authorities associated with the neoliberal option, with a deficit of theoretical and practical background ([Jarosz 2009](#)). Due to the subject matter of the article, the author will focus on only two outcomes of this process correlated with the labor market restructuring and civil society.

The Polish economy, which until transformation had been a centrally planned economy, had to be rapidly changed into a free market economy. As a result, these areas of the economy that

were traditionally a “golden egg” in the socialist block economy had to be transformed, and these definitely include the mining industry, especially hard coal mining. Mining as such did not suit free market economy rules. Overproduction, overstaffing, and the lack of a plan to get out of this impasse have necessitated the development and implementation of reforms in the Polish mining industry. One of the measures, the implementation of which provided opportunities to not only reduce employment and excess capacity, was the liquidation of mines that were deemed permanently unprofitable. The process of decommissioning the mines, which continues to this day, began in 1994. The Walbrzych coal mines were among the first to be liquidated. Over the course of a dozen years, eight government programs have been implemented to bring the industry to profitability. By contrast, the priority of each of these plans was to reduce employment and eliminate excess capacity. In 1990, there were seventy-one mines in operation in Poland, employing nearly 400,000 people. The process of decommissioning the mines, which continues to this day, began in 1994. The Walbrzych coal mines were among the first to be liquidated. A total of thirty-eight mines were completely decommissioned in the period from 1994 to 2005. During this time, more than 260,000 employees left the mining industry. Subsequently, from 2005 to 2015, five mines were put into complete liquidation, while from 2015 to 2022, another fourteen mines were put into complete liquidation (Jarosz 2009).

In the process of restructuring the hard-coal mining industry in Poland, two strategies were used:

- ◆ direct liquidation, which meant putting the plant into liquidation,
- ◆ indirect liquidation, which meant combining mines scheduled for liquidation with those mines that had prospects for operation and neighboring mining fields.

Transformation in Poland is continuous process, as the Polish government has set ambitious targets for increasing the share of renewable energy in the country’s energy mix with a goal of 15% by 2020 and 20% by 2030 (Energy Policy of Poland unit 2040 2019). What needs to be underlined is that the consequences of the energy transformation in Poland would have an impact not only on the economic situation but also on the social dimension at large. Civil society should play a significant role in the energy transformation. Social involvement in the processes can be based on various ways of its contribution such as active participation, advocacy, community building, innovation implementing, monitoring and accountability.

The energy transition will cause long-term social-economic and environmental consequences. Additionally, the main premise of Just Transition is to leave no one behind. In order to guarantee the legitimization of the process of change, the role of the civil society seems to be essential. The main goal of the paper is to assess the challenges of energy transformation in Poland in the context of social participation in the process in the context of using a deliberative democracy as a tool for activating civil society. The research question of the paper is whether deliberative democracy can be a tool for deepening civil engagement in the process of change. To this end, a critical theoretical review was attempted that aimed to synthesize the discussion on the triptych of, deliberative democracy, and civil society engagement in just transition governance.

1. Materials and methods

The review was performed using both the standard method of critical literature review, web-based literature research and a study of academic multidisciplinary databases such as Scopus and Google Scholar. Search phrases such as “energy transformation”, “energy transformation in Poland” and “civil society” were used. It was shown that one of the most common approaches to defining civil, as such which is made up of voluntary associations, organizations, and institutions that are independent of the state and engage in collective action to pursue shared interests and values (Berman 1993, 1997, 2020; Bobbio 1988). Additionally, civil society can be seen as a civil society in which a self-organized and central authority is kept to a mini-

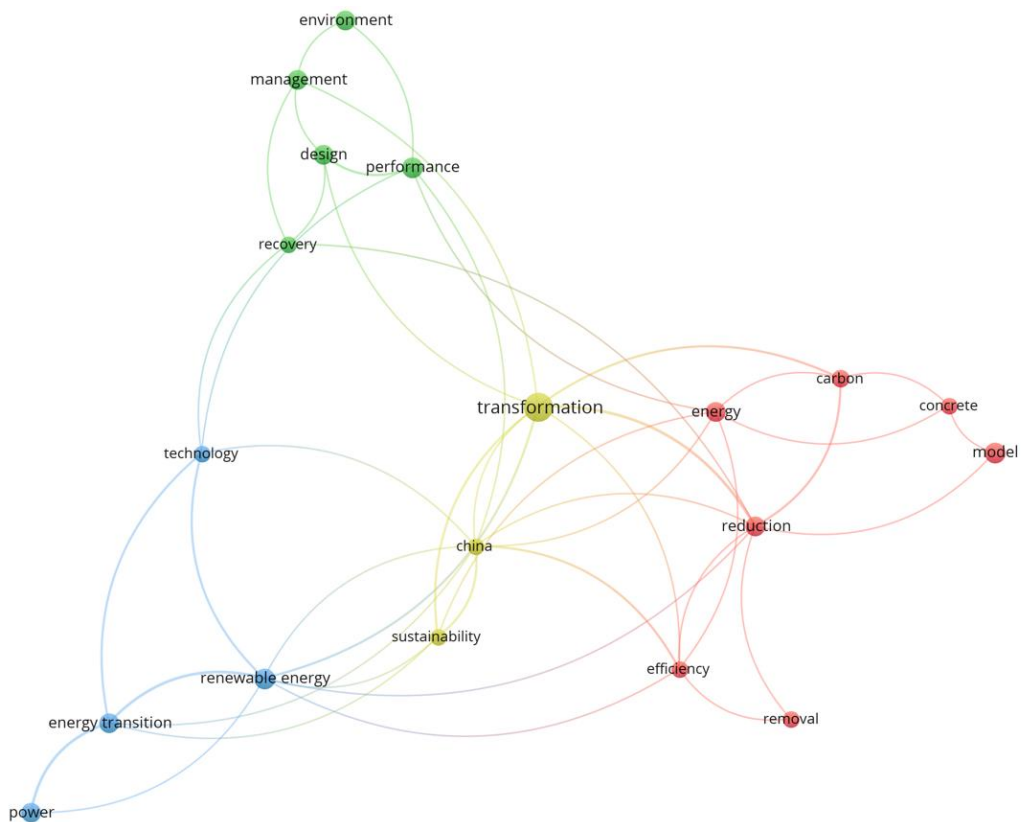


Fig. 1. Mapping of literature flow in the area of Energy Transformation and Civil Society
 Source: VOSviewer

Rys. 1. Mapowanie przepływu literatury w zakresie Transformacji Energetycznej i Społeczeństwa Obywatelskiego

imum, the maximum amount of authority is delegated to the people (Hauser and Benoit-Barne 2002). More literature review indicated that the process of energy transformation in Poland had a long history (Jarosz 2009). The research pointed out that there is correlation between energy transformation in Poland and civil society engagement in decision making processes (Energy Policy of Poland unit 2040 2019). The next step of research was mapping of literature flow in the role of civil society in energy transformation, for that VOS-viewer has been used. The result of the mapping was not satisfactory and the correlation between civil society and energy transformation lead to the issues related to environment, management, renewable energy and others. At that point, a gap in publications on tools for civil society to participate in energy transformation was pointed out.

The next step of research was conducted on the review of the history of energy transformation in Poland as well as the political transformation, as the first desk research indicated a strong correlation between political transformation, mining restructuring and emergence of modern civil society in Poland. The critical review of literature indicated that civil society in Poland is engaged in the process of transformation, but its role is diverse, which can generate tensions and conflicts. Taking into consideration these facts, research on deliberative democracy as a tool for civil society was performed. The last part of the paper brings new to the science, as it proposes deliberative polling as an instrument for social actor participation in energy transformation processes.

2. Civil society in Poland

Civil society refers to the space of social life that exists between the state (government) and the private sector (business). It is made up of voluntary associations, organizations and institutions that are independent of the state and engage in collective action to pursue shared interests and values (Cohen and Arto 1992). Civil society is also sometimes referred to as the “third sector” or the “non-profit sector.” Civil society as the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations (World Bank 2010). It can also be described as the arena of collective action around shared interests, purposes and values, generally distinct from government and commerce (Berman 1997). Civil society refers to a set of intermediate associations which are neither part of the state nor of the market, and which constitute a realm of autonomous voluntary activity (Putnam 1993), civil society is a self-organized society. Central authority is kept to a minimum, the maximum amount of authority is delegated to the people so that at the bottom, they can decide for themselves and solve their own problems. Civil society is one that activates initiative, entrepreneurship, and local ties based on knowledge of each other’s needs which are highly developed (Keane 1998).

The functioning of civil society requires social participation, understood as the active participation of the residents of a territory in matters of importance to them. Social activism in its essence is the ability to self-organize (Bobbio 1988). What is worth emphasizing is that social participation takes place when two or more parties cooperate in the preparation of plans, the implementation of specific intentions and in decision making (Foley and Edwards 1996). There are three levels of civic activity:

- ◆ basic, concerning small social groups,
- ◆ intermediate, concerning communities and local communities,
- ◆ collective, concerning large collectivities.

Civil society can be seen as an important component of democratic governance as it allows citizens to participate in shaping public policy and holding governments accountable. Civil society is an essential attribute of a democratic system (Kumar 1994). The functioning of modern civil society in Poland was associated with the political transformation. In the new political framework, which guaranteed citizens full rights and freedoms, and under the conditions of a free market economy, it was assumed that citizenship in society would arise spontaneously. Changes in the political system opened the way for the development of these structures based on grassroots activities of citizens.

In Polish society, we can distinguish such forms of activity as verbal, potential, enclave activity. The first of these is appropriate for citizens who are aware of the situation in public space. They realize their involvement in matters that concern the general public by articulating their views, comments and opinions, as well as proclaiming advice on what to do to rectify a given situation (Antoszewski et al. 1993). In practice, this means that verbal activity rarely turns into action. Potential activity, on the other hand, is the willingness to actively support and participate in the structures of organizations aimed at representing the interests as well as the affairs of citizens in the public space. What is important here is the openness of local governments to civic initiative, as well as their role in skillfully consuming the activism of their residents. Enclave activism, on the other hand, manifests itself in the increased activity of citizens in specific areas of social life (Bernhard 1993). This is primarily involvement in various organizations or social initiatives with a civic dimension. This activity approached the formation of third sector structures based on NGOs. The state of civil society is expressed primarily in the universality of citizen association in the sense that citizens establish or join voluntary organizations, associations, parties, committees, councils and other social unions.

Poland has a relatively strong civil society with many active non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and a tradition of civic engagement (Bernhard 2020). Civil society in Poland remains active and vibrant (Day 2021), with NGOs working on a wide range of issues such as human rights, environmental protection, and social justice (Statistic Poland 2020). According to the data, there were 138,000 registered NGOs in Poland in December 2021, or 107,000 associations and 31,000 foundations. However, according to the Central Statistical Office, only about 50% of the organizations on the register actually carry out their activities. The others have suspended or terminated them but have not deregistered from the registers. This means that there are about 70,000 associations and foundations actively operating in Poland (Bernhard 2020).

Non-governmental organizations in Poland focused on the following thematic issues:

TABLE 1. Focus areas of the Polish NGOs

TABELA 1. Obszary działalności polskich organizacji pozarządowych

35%	Sports, tourism, recreation, hobbies
15%	Culture and art
14%	Education and upbringing
7%	Social services, social assistance
6%	Local development
6%	Health care
4%	Health care, ecology
3%	Maintaining national identity
10%	Other

Source: own study based on Statistics Poland, The non-profit sector in 2020 Associations, foundations, faith-based charities, business and professional associations 2020.

The number of registered associations and foundations varies depending on the region of Poland – by far the largest number is in Mazovia (24,000) with more than half of them in Warsaw alone. More than twelve thousand organizations each are registered in Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Silesia and Lower Silesia. By far the smallest number of organizations are in Opolskie, Lubuskie, Podlaskie and Swietokrzyskie provinces at about three to four thousand each (Costa 2005).

3. Energy transformation in Poland

Energy transformation refers to the move from fossil fuels towards renewable energy sources, EU has set ambitious targets for the share of renewable energy in its total energy mix, with a goal of 32% by 2030. The role of hard coal in the Polish energy sector has decreased since the 1994. Since then, Poland has gone through six phases of transformation, and 2049 is the year of definitive coal exit (Energy Policy of Poland unit 2040 2019). Energy transformation is a massive challenge both for the country and for regions with a mining tradition. As they would not only have to deal with the transformation itself, but also with its consequences. From the social point of view, the major challenge would be to deal with the significant transformation of the labor market.

In following years, Poland has adopted the following documents setting energy transition goals:

- ◆ 2018 Strategy for the coal sector in Poland until 2030,
- ◆ 2019 National Energy and Climate Plan for 2021–2030,
- ◆ 2021 adopted the Energy Policy until 2040.

Poland has implemented several legislative initiatives in recent years aimed at promoting energy transition and increasing the use of renewable energy sources. The most important legal framework for this transition is the Act on Renewable Energy Sources which was adopted in 2015. The act provides a range of incentives for the development of renewable energy, including tax exemptions, reduced grid access fees, and the possibility of selling excess energy to the grid. Additionally, Poland has committed to the European Union's goal of increasing the share of renewables in its energy mix to 15% by 2020 and to at least 32% by 2030, as set out in the Renewable Energy Directive ([Energy Policy of Poland until 2040 2019](#)). This commitment is reflected in the National Energy and Climate Plan (NECP), which outlines the country's strategy for meeting these targets and promoting energy efficiency. The Polish government has also taken steps to support the development of offshore wind energy, with the adoption of the Offshore Wind Energy Act in 2018. This act provides a legal framework for the development of offshore wind farms, including regulations on planning and construction, as well as environmental and safety requirements. Overall, Poland's legislative initiatives on energy transition are aimed at promoting the use of renewable energy sources, increasing energy efficiency, and reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

The leading document in Polish legislation is Poland's energy policy until 2040, which defines the framework for energy transformation and is a response to the EU climate policy. The policy aims to address the challenges of the national economy's need to adapt to the EU's regulatory environment, which is linked to the 2030 climate and energy targets. What needs to be emphasized is that Poland's Energy Policy has been updated regularly, but so far it has lacked social emphasis, as it focuses primarily on the environment, energy security and transformation towards RES. In line with what the energy transition to be performed in Poland should be; just what indicate, that no one should be leave behind, participatory, as such it require civil society participation in the decision making processes, focusing on modernization and innovation whilst also stimulating economic growth, efficiency and competitiveness.

The transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy in Poland is governed by a combination of regulatory and market-based mechanisms. Regulatory mechanisms include the implementation of EU directives such as the Renewable Energy Directive and the Energy Efficiency Directive, which set targets for the use of renewable energy and energy efficiency in Poland. Additionally, the Polish government has introduced incentives such as subsidies, tax credits, and feed-in tariffs to encourage the development of renewable energy sources.

Market-based mechanisms include the creation of a renewable energy market, in which producers can sell their energy to the grid and consumers can purchase it. The Polish Power Exchange also plays a role in the transition by allowing the trading of certificates for renewable energy. The transition to renewable energy is also influenced by the private sector, with companies investing in renewable energy projects and implementing energy efficiency measures ([Energy Policy of Poland until 2040 2019](#)).

Taking these under consideration, the energy transition in Poland should involve various stakeholders, including government agencies, private companies, environmental organizations and the general public. To ensure that the transition takes into account the perspectives and needs

of all stakeholders, various forms of consultation and engagement are used (Darby 2006). One key form of consultation is public consultation on energy projects, which is required by law in Poland. This process involves consulting with local communities and other stakeholders to gather their views and feedback on proposed energy projects, such as wind farms or solar parks. This feedback is then taken into account in the decision-making process for the project. Another form of consultation is the use of expert committees which are established to provide advice and recommendations on specific aspects of the energy transition, such as the development of offshore wind energy or the implementation of energy efficiency measures. These committees bring together experts from various fields, including energy, environment and finance, and provide a forum for discussing and advancing the energy transition. There is also a growing use of stakeholder engagement initiatives, such as workshops and roundtables, which bring together stakeholders to discuss and find solutions to common challenges in the energy transition. These initiatives provide an opportunity for stakeholders to exchange ideas, share experiences, and build relationships, which can help to ensure a more inclusive and effective transition (Smith 2010). This model of public engagement is similar in all EU countries.

4. The diverse role of civil society in the energy transformation in Poland

Civil society organizations have played an important role in energy transformation in Poland. The country has long been dependent on coal for energy production, but Poland is facing increasing pressure to transition to cleaner and more sustainable energy sources in order to reduce carbon emissions and mitigate the effects of climate change (Brauers and Oei 2020). The role of civil society in the energy transformation in Poland is definitely diverse, and it can be stated that different social groups represents different values, ideas and approaches with regard to transformation in Poland.

Two major approaches to energy transformation can be identified. Those that strongly support the transformation process, which is reflected by social pressure on the government to accelerate and strengthen the transformation process. They are actively pushing for policies and initiatives that promote environmental protection, energy efficiency renewable energy, and the phasing out of coal. Many of the key civil society organizations involved in this effort include environmental NGOs, consumer advocacy groups, and grassroots organizations focusing on promoting sustainable living. One of the most notable civil society-led initiatives in Poland is the “Climate Strike” movement, which involves regular protests and demonstrations calling for urgent action on climate change. This movement has gained significant momentum in recent years, with thousands of people taking to the streets to demand a transition to clean energy and greater government action on climate change. Civil society in Poland has also been actively involved in shaping policy and legislation related to energy transformation, for example, environmental

NGOs have been pushing for the development of a national energy and climate plan that sets clear targets for reducing carbon emissions and increasing the use of renewable energy sources (Statistic Poland 2020).

The social voice expressing concerns about the energy transition is becoming increasingly vocal. Concerns are particularly related to the social consequences of the transformation and come from trade union backgrounds. It should be underlined that job reduction in mining is associated with job reductions in the sector. A total of 400,000 employees are employed in the mining facilities sector. Taking into consideration the mining multiplier effect, it can be predicted that job reduction in mining will be associated with a reduction in jobs in sectors providing goods and services for mines. The number of employees associated with the activity undertaken by the mining sector is 56,700, i.e., about 0.4% of the number of employees in Poland.

On May 28, 2021, after months of work, the Social Agreement on the Transformation of the Coal Mining Sector was successfully signed. The agreement includes mutually agreed provisions on:

- ◆ the mechanism for financing companies in the coal mining sector,
- ◆ indexation of salaries,
- ◆ rules for the construction and implementation of the so-called “clean coal” installations,
- ◆ establishment of a special Silesia transformation fund,
- ◆ employment guarantees,
- ◆ a package of social benefits for employees of liquidated production units.

The document sets deadlines for the completion of coal operations at individual mines in the run-up to the end of 2049. A key element of the social agreement is a social protection package for employees from decommissioned mines. This package includes both mining leave, processing leave, one-time severance pay and a comprehensive allocation system. All of these solutions have been designed to guarantee stability in the Silesian labor market. The agreement also stipulates that work will be undertaken to create an additional support system for specialized mining companies cooperating with coal mining and for mining municipalities.

It can thus be concluded that energetic transformation in Poland is a complicated process, which involves different stockholders. Therefore, it seems necessary to create appropriate instruments that will allow the creation of the conditions and space for civil society participation in energy transformation in Poland.

5. Deliberative democracy as a tool for civil society participation in energy transformation

As indicated earlier, the energy transition in Poland, is a complex process, and while it involves civil society, divergent interests and demands can be distinguished within it. It becomes necessary to consider whether it is possible to develop a rational consensus within a liberal democratic society, a consensus that is inclusive.

In the face of these challenges, one can point to a model referred to as deliberative democracy (Akerman and Fishkin 2002). Theorists working on it propose to bring issues of morality and justice into politics and present a different idea of democratic citizenship (Anderson-Gold 2009). By proposing to see reason and rational argumentation instead of interest and aggregation of preferences, as key elements of politics, they replace the economic model with a moral one (Benhabib 2020). Deliberative democracy is a conception of democracy that emphasizes the importance of conversation, discussion and debate for democratic practice rather than the importance of voting (Chambers 2003; Cook 2000). Its proponents argue that debate improves the quality of collective decisions and increases the chance that they will be accepted (Costa 2005). The key features of deliberative democracy include: Inclusion – deliberative democracy seeks to include a diverse range of citizens in the decision-making process, particularly those who are traditionally excluded or marginalized from political decision-making (Dryzek 2008; Dryzek 2001); Dialogue – deliberative democracy emphasizes the importance of dialogue and reasoned argumentation, rather than coercion or the exercise of power, in reaching collective decisions (Elstub 2010); Reason-giving – deliberative democracy requires that participants give reasons for their opinions and engage with the reasons given by others in order to arrive at a shared understanding of the issue at hand (Fishkin et al. 2004); Publicity – deliberative democracy requires that the process of decision-making be transparent and open to public scrutiny in order to promote accountability and legitimacy (Fishkin 2003); reflection – deliberative democracy values the opportunity for citizens to reflect on their own values and beliefs in the context of public discussion, and to potentially revise their opinions in light of new information or persuasive arguments (Fishkin 2010, 2011). Deliberative democracy is based on the assumption that solving complex social problems should be based on being free of violence discourse, which can be a basis to legitimize political decisions. To be fully implemented in decision-making processes, deliberative democracy must be guaranteed the following institutional conditions: pluralism of values, strong civic education program, public culture and public institutions supporting the development of mature and informed preferences, public funding for deliberative institutions and practices and the associations that support them. Additionally main features of the deliberative democracy are deliberative polls, deliberation days, citizen panels, e-government-type initiatives, e-democracy-type programs, group analysis and group shaping of policy proposals, deliberation at various levels of public life, from microphones to supranational institutions and new forms of the application of referendums. This is illustrated in Table 2.

The analysis of the core values and tools of deliberative democracy indicate that one of the tools of deliberative democracy that can be successfully applied in conducting discourse with civil society is deliberative polling, which is an attempt to use social science aimed at improving the quality of consultation with the public. It attempts to realize two core values of democracy, namely representativeness and deliberation (Fishkin et al. 2000). A deliberative poll provides an opportunity to forecast what public opinion on an issue would be if the public were more informed and involved in particular public policy or political issues (Goodin 2012). Deliberative polls are conducted on randomly selected samples of the population, specifically, a macrocosm taken from the electorate (Griffin 2012). While an ordinary poll examines what people who don't

TABLE 2. Deliberative democracy

TABELA 2. Demokracja deliberatywna

Ideological basis: The conditions of a political community depend on the free and deliberate consent of its citizens. “The ability of citizens to socially legitimize (justify to each other)” political decisions is a legitimate basis for finding solutions to the collective’s problems.		
Main features:	↑ ↑	the renewal of representative democracy
Deliberative polls, deliberation days, citizen panels		
E-government-type initiatives – from posting in extenso reports online, to opportunities for direct contact with politicians		
E-democracy-type programs, including public online forums		
Group analysis and group shaping of policy proposals		
Deliberation at various levels of public life, from microphones to supranational institutions		
New forms of application of referendums – in combination with deliberative polls, among other options		radical-deliberative and participatory democracy
↓ ↓		
General Conditions: Pluralism of values Strong civic education program Public culture and public institutions support the development of mature and informed preferences Public funding for deliberative institutions and practices and the associations that support them		

Source: own study.

know everything think, a deliberative poll examines what these people would think if they could be made to think hard. A deliberative poll seeks to represent everyone in a given population by a statistical microcosm of the entitled (Gutman and Thomson 2002).

The idea of deliberative polling is a so-called double survey of a representative sample, the first survey involves learning the “raw” views of selected people. This is followed by a two-stage deliberation, in the first stage, the people surveyed have the opportunity to interact with expert groups, who should provide comprehensive answers to the questions asked. This stage is followed by a debate among the participants, where they can share their views and insights on a given issue. The purpose of such a debate is to discuss the possibility of reaching common positions in a public forum. The views of the participants are then examined again and compared with those before the deliberation. Very often, the opinions of the respondents change after the deliberation (Öberg and Svensson 2012)

Inextricably intertwined with equality of opportunity to participate in a deliberative poll is equality in the interaction of participants. The two key components of a deliberative poll are representativeness and deliberation.

This carries mutual benefits; first, citizens who actively participate in deliberative processes will gain a sense of real influence over political processes. Secondly, policymakers, thanks to their current and actual knowledge of the needs, opinions and beliefs of their constituents, will be able to address them in their programs, agendas, decisions on an ongoing basis, which, it seems, will influence the favorability of voters (Koenig-Archibugi 2011).

A model of discourse in the development of consensus should be based on the following assumptions:

- ◆ participation in deliberation is based on norms of equality and symmetry – everyone has the same opportunity to initiate acts, ask questions and open discussions;
- ◆ all have the right to challenge the designated topics of discussion;
- ◆ all have the right to initiate a dispute over the rules of discourse procedure and the form of their application or execution. There is no *prima facie* rule limiting the objects of deliberation or determining the identity of the participants as long as each excluded person or group is able to prove that they are in some way subject to the operation of the norm that is the subject of deliberation (Hauser and Benoit-Barne 2002).

In terms of considerations related to public participation in the energy-transition process, deliberative democracy appears to be a tool that contains a set of basic principles that aim to establish fair conditions for cooperation. Deliberative democracy assumes that the deliberation of free and equal citizens on public issues is the core of legitimate political decision-making and self-governance.

Conclusion

In this paper, the possible role of civil society in energy transformation was discussed. As civil society in Poland already plays an important role in the decision making process according to the research results, there is a need to reinforce their participation in the energy transformation. An in-depth study of the participation of civil society in the energy transformation pointed out that, despite the fact that this society is active, its role in the process is diverse due to different ideas, values and approaches to transformation in Poland, which can cause conflicts. Additionally, energy transformation in Poland should be just, participatory, focused on modernization and innovation, and stimulating economic growth, efficiency and competitiveness. Thus, it should be a priority to develop a set of tools for civil society to be feasible participant of change. In this paper deliberative polling was introduced as a possible tool for civil society engagement in energy transformation.

Its advantages include the fact that public deliberation triggers the distribution of information and knowledge, can remodel the consciousness of individuals and raise their ability to understand complex problems. By engaging in reflection, people can come to comprehend elements of their position that they had not previously appreciated, for example, certain aspects of the interdependence of public issues or the intended or unintended consequences of acting in a certain direction.

Secondly, public reflection can reveal the ideological aspect of certain forms of preferences – their ties to vested interests, their one-sidedness and piecemeal nature, which take away their power to represent broader interests. It also reveals the limitations inherent in adaptive preferen-

ces, i.e. those that arise when one reduces one's own expectations by adjusting to circumstances deemed inviolable.

Thirdly, public deliberation is capable of replacing “the language of interest with the language of reason”. By not stopping at the functions of disseminating information and exchanging peeps but reaching out to analyse them and verify the arguments put forward, it allows the refinement of collective judgments.

Democracy's most important arguments for deliberative democracy should include the educational power of public deliberation processes, the process of generating commonality among citizens, the fairness of social deliberation procedures, the quality of the results of public deliberation and the appropriateness of political ideas aggregated by deliberative democracy.

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Olga Julita JANIKOWSKA

Wyzwania transformacji energetycznej w Polsce. Demokracja deliberatywna jako instrument aktywizacji społeczeństwa obywatelskiego

Streszczenie

Polska transformacja ustrojowa w 1989 roku przyniosła istotne zmiany nie tylko na płaszczyźnie politycznej, społecznej, ale także gospodarczej. Polska gospodarka, która do tej pory była gospodarką centralnie planowaną, musiała zostać gwałtownie przekształcona w gospodarkę wolnorynkową. W związku z tym przeobrażeniom musiało ulec wiele dziedzin gospodarki, w tym górnictwo zwłaszcza węgla kamiennego. W 1990 roku w Polsce działało 71 kopalń, zatrudniających blisko 400 tysięcy osób. Trwający do dziś proces likwidacji kopalń rozpoczął się w 1994 roku. Wałbrzyskie Kopalnie Węgla Kamiennego były jednymi z pierwszych, które zostały zlikwidowane. Polska od dawna jest uzależniona od węgla w produkcji energii, ale kraj stoi w obliczu rosnącej presji na przejście na czystsze i bardziej zrównoważone źródła energii w celu zmniejszenia emisji dwutlenku węgla i złagodzenia skutków zmian klimatycznych, aby wypełnić założenia polityki klimatycznej UE.

Organizacje społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce były związane z transformacją polityczną, ponieważ zmiany ustrojowe otworzyły drzwi dla społecznej partycypacji w procesach decyzyjnych. Organizacje społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce aktywnie włączają się do debaty związanej z transformacją energetyczną. Podkreślić należy jednak, że rola społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w tym procesie jest zróżnicowana. Z jednej strony wywierana jest presja na rządzących, związana z szybkim odejściem od węgla, z drugiej

jednak strony społeczeństwo obywatelskie wyraża swój niepokój dotyczący zmian w strukturze zatrudnienia, która jest nieuniknioną konsekwencją transformacji energetycznej. Celem artykułu jest zaproponowanie narzędzia pozwalającego zwiększyć społeczną partycypację w procesie transformacji energetycznej przy jednoczesnej budowie konsensusu społecznego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: restrukturyzacja, organizacje pozarządowe, społeczeństwo obywatelskie, transformacja energetyczna, sektor energii odnawialnej, transformacja ustrojowa

