

Research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU

Independent Expert Report



Research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU

European Commission Directorate-General for Research and Innovation Directorate D — People Unit D4 — Democracy & European Values

Contact Nora Allavoine

Email Nora.ALLAVOINE@ec.europa.eu

RTD-PUBLICATIONS@ec.europa.eu

European Commission B-1049 Brussels

Manuscript completed in March 2023

This document has been prepared for the European Commission, however it reflects the views only of the authors, and the European Commission shall not be liable for any consequence stemming from the reuse.

PDF ISBN 978-92-68-01054-9 doi:10.2777/936254 KI-09-23-116-EN-N

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2023

© European Union, 2023



The reuse policy of European Commission documents is implemented by Commission Decision 2011/833/EU of 12 December 2011 on the reuse of Commission documents (OJ L 330, 14.12.2011, p. 39). Unless otherwise noted, the reuse of this document is authorised under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) licence (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). This means that reuse is allowed provided appropriate credit is given and any changes are indicated.

For any use or reproduction of elements that are not owned by the European Union, permission may need to be sought directly from the respective rightholders. The European Union does not own the copyright in relation to the following elements:

Image credits for cover page: © Maria Petrish # 495157042, 2023. Source: Stock.Adobe.com.

Research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU

Independent expert review

Written by Virginie Van Ingelgom, Senior Research Associate Professor F.R.S. – FNRS at the Institut de Sciences Politiques Louvain-Europe, UCLouvain

Foreword



Participatory and deliberative democracy is essential to meet the challenges of the day. The green transition, for example, is an existential issue, requiring profound and sometimes uncomfortable change for all of us. Empowering people and civil society strengthens democracy and is an integral part of this Commission's legislative proposals for the defence of democracy. Indeed, research shows, and this expert report confirms, that deliberative democratic processes that include actively and intentionally diverse groups, voices, and ideas have the proven added benefit of helping to overcome polarisation and increase democratic legitimacy, trust in governance and acceptance of policies.

Furthermore, young people today have a different relationship to democracy: they vote less but are engaged activists on concrete issues. They are less inclined to join traditional political parties, trade unions, or other formalised organisations to participate in shaping our societies and economies. Raised in the internet age, they have different expectations about how often and quickly their views should be taken on board. For them, more than holding an election every few years is required. We need to respond by upgrading our democracies

with additional tools for citizen participation, enriching and complementing the traditional ways of participation established by representative democracies.

This is why the Commission has ensured that we fund research and develop innovations in new and better forms of citizen participation. Our research has ranged from deliberative workshops on nanotechnologies to experimenting with ways to re-engage the politically disengaged. This expert report contains specific recommendations for decision-makers, based on projects funded by the EU Framework Programme for Research and Innovation, on how to get the best out of participatory and deliberative practices for the most pressing issues of our time. I can only endorse its recommendation that more needs to be done to promote an authentic culture of participation and deliberation, with quality public engagement from elected politicians, public administrations, and citizens.

Marc Lemaître

Director General, Directorate General for Research and Innovation,

European Commission

Table of contents

EXEC	JTIVE SUMMARY	4
Introdu	ction: The issue at stake and the objectives of the report	7
	e of play of research on deliberative and participatory tices in the EU	7
1.1.	Mapping the converging results in existing research	8
1.2.	Identifying gaps in existing research	13
2. Recommendation		16
2.1.	General recommendations	16
2.1.1.	Adopting a holistic view on participatory and deliberative democracy in the context of existing representative institutions	16
2.1.2.	Being inclusive and engaging the disengaged	17
2.1.3.	Lowering the hurdles to participation	20
2.1.4.	Impact matters	21
2.1.5.	Developing a culture of participation and deliberation among citizens and policymakers	22
2.2.	Specific recommendations	24
2.2.1.	Multilevel governance and policy fields	24
2.2.2.	Online and offline tools	25
	clusion: Establishing a European Charter for Citizen icipation	27
Refere	nces	29
ANNEX	1	33
ANNEX	2	50

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EU institutions are committed to guaranteeing a productive dialogue with citizens, enabling citizen participation and engagement in policymaking. EU-funded research on deliberative and participatory practices can provide insights for policymakers seeking more and better engagement with citizens.

This report pursues three main objectives:

- to map research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU, and identify gaps requiring further research, and
- II. to make recommendations to policymakers at all levels (EU, national, regional, and local) about possible ways forward. Specifically, the report suggests how to engage better with citizens and how to coordinate, consolidate and expand the implementation of deliberative and participatory practices, considering their multi-level dimensions in a diverse EU.
- III. Furthermore, in its conclusion, the report proposes general principles for establishing a European Charter for Citizen Participation (not included in this executive summary), which was a request emanating from the Conference on the Future of Europe.

<u>I.</u> European democracies are faced with a 'democratic paradox': most citizens believe that democracy is the best system of collective governance, the functioning of representative democracy is increasingly criticised at all levels of governance, the EU being no exception. In this context, democratic reform has stood high on the agenda of both academics and practitioners at all levels of government. Existing research on democratic innovations – such as direct democracy, mini-publics or deliberative assemblies, e-democracy as well as cogovernance, is structured based on three main research questions and sets of results:

Who supports (or not) democratic reform? (1) Most European citizens support democratic reform that aims at fostering their involvement in decision- and policymaking. (2) The two main determinants of citizens' support for democratic reform are dissatisfaction with representative politics and political resources. (3) Citizens assess democratic innovations based on their expected (or perceived) outcomes.

Who participates in participatory and deliberative democracy? (1) When participation is voluntary, existing research stresses the overrepresentation of more advantaged citizens – economically, socially, and politically. (2) To avoid this **overrepresentation of more advantaged citizens**, sortition – that is, the random selection of citizens in the population at large, and targeted recruitment, have attracted the attention of scholars and policymakers. (3) In practice, the political actors organising deliberations make choices on who is participating. (4) The issue of whose voice is heard in the debate is as important as who participates.

What are the impacts of deliberative and participatory practices? (1) Research on the impacts of deliberative and participatory practices has mainly focused on short-term impacts on participating citizens (e.g., opinion change, civic education). (2) Scattered evidence in empirical studies shows, overall, a **low policy impact**, which is closely associated to the low level of political actors' commitment to deliberative and participatory practices.

Based on this state of the play, the report identifies four main gaps in the existing literature and research. Further research should tackle these gaps head-on. (1) Despite voluminous literature on citizen engagement in public life, in general, too little is known on how citizens'

attitudes towards representative democracy are altered by their experiences of participation in these new participatory and deliberative practices. (2) Emerging research calls for more nuance than simply distinguishing between supporters and opponents to democratic reforms to shed light on the complex combinations of support and willingness to participate. (3) The long-term and structural outcomes of deliberative and participatory practices should be studied. (4) Studying the outcomes of democratic reform should include studies of non-participants as the new modes of participation affect them as well.

<u>II.</u> Following this state of the play, the report aims to illuminate what decision- and policymakers can learn from existing European research on participatory and deliberative democracy. The report offers **five general recommendations**:

- (1) Develop a model of hybrid representative democracy that integrates different forms (electoral, participatory, and deliberative based) of political representation and participation. This implies extending representatives' accountability for decision-making associated with participatory and deliberative practices, and acknowledging that democratic reform could change citizens' expectations regarding their involvement in decision- and policymaking.
- (2) Be inclusive and engage the disengaged by identifying who the disengaged are, developing specific inclusion strategies to better engage them, and devoting specific attention to the younger generations. Considering the specificity of European citizenship, it would be most inclusive to opt for residency over national citizenship as a criterion for participation.
- (3) **Lower the hurdles to participation** by reducing the resources needed for participation, mobilise a diversity of channels for citizens' participation, prioritising participants' (shared) experiences over their political knowledge, and providing multiple incentives to participate.
- (4) Make impact matter by being explicit and transparent about the outcome of participatory and deliberative practices on decision-making and policymaking. Consider making certain outcomes binding, to foster participation. Evaluate and communicate actively and broadly about the concrete impacts and outcomes of participatory and deliberative practices.
- (5) Develop a culture of participation and deliberation among citizens and policymakers, by having a detailed communication strategy on ongoing participatory or deliberative practices, to generate broader support also from non-participants. Develop civic education on participatory and deliberative democracy, with a specific focus on the European level. And create specifically concrete and coordinated support for participatory and deliberative democracy directed to decision-makers and policymakers.

Besides these five general recommendations, the report gives specific attention to specific recommendations related to **multilevel governance**. Indeed, citizens may ask for things during participatory practices which are the competence of a different level of government than the organising authority. And certain complex challenges — such as the climate transition — require the coordination of different levels of government in their deliberative and participatory practices as well. This report therefore recommends initiating participatory and deliberative practices where policymakers have policy competences, and with binding decisions at stake. This report also recommends including other relevant policymakers if policy competences are shared, and **developing multi-level partnerships** to exchange knowledge on know-how, and to pass on citizens' recommendations to other levels of government. And when it comes to the EU specifically, avoiding modifying the existing distribution of power.

This report also considers the specificities of **online and in-person participation**, and recommends investing special efforts to make online deliberative and participatory practices socially inclusive, combining offline and online channels to promote a wider diversity of practices and participants, promoting online interactions between non-experts, experts and policymakers that can have an impact on policy, and dedicating resources to design and operate professional and efficient online platforms of participation and deliberation.

<u>III.</u> Since the early 2000s, EU institutions have promoted a variety of participatory and deliberative practices to improve citizens' engagement in EU decision- and policymaking. The most recent and ambitious deliberative and participatory practice has been the Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFE). In its Communication of 17 June 2022 on the CoFE (COM/2022/404), the European Commission gives an overview of the next steps, among which to develop a European Charter of Citizen Participation promoting the general principles that are essential for successful citizen engagement. The conclusion of the report summarizes general principles stemming from existing EU research, which can be used to elaborate a **European Charter of Citizen Participation**.

Introduction: The issue at stake and the objectives of the report

EU institutions are committed to guaranteeing a productive dialogue between citizens and public officials, ensuring citizen participation and engagement in decision-making and policymaking. In parallel, the European Commission has supported significant and strong research on deliberative and participatory democracy under its Horizon 2020 and, more recently, Horizon Europe programmes. As European research on civic engagement has benefited from important support over the last decades, the time seems right to take stock of EU research results on deliberative and participatory practices.

This report pursues the following objectives:

- take stock of and mapping the state of play of research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU¹, as well as identifying the gaps in the existing research:
- provide recommendations for EU, national, regional, and local policymakers about how to engage better with citizens, and how to coordinate, consolidate and expand the implementation of deliberative and participatory practices, considering their multi-level dimensions in a diverse EU.

These objectives must be considered within the broader context of a discussion on a European Charter for Citizen Participation². In its conclusion, based on the two previous sections, the present report therefore proposes general principles for establishing a European Charter for Citizen Participation.

1. State of play of research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU

The literature on participatory and deliberative democracy is spread across scientific fields. A review of its findings is therefore welcome: this report takes a first step in this direction through a mapping of converging results in research and the identification of existing gaps. The adopted approach is comprehensive as it draws from a systematic literature review³.

_

¹ The list of ongoing and closed democracy-related projects under H2020 considered is the following: BROKERS [679614]; CATCH-Eyo [649538]; CIMULACT [665948]; CLAiR-CITY [689289]; Co-VAL [770356]; CUREORCURSE [772695 – ongoing]; EMPATIA [687920]; ENABLE.EU [727524]; EUENGAGE [649281]; GoNano [768622]; HETEROPOLITICS [724692]; Making Sense [688620]; PaCE [822337]; PARTISPACE [649416]; PEREDEP [798502]; PROSO [665947]; REACH [769827]; RECONNECT [770142]; TROPICO [726840]. These projects result in strong and illuminating results – all of them could however not be summarised in this report. Therefore, Annex 1 presents a description of these projects for the interested reader to get an overview of each of them as well as recommendations for further readings.

² (COM/2022/404)

³ Systematic reviews consist of 'a specific methodology that locates existing studies, selects and evaluates contributions, analyses and synthesizes data, and reports the evidence in such a way that allows reasonably clear conclusions to be reached about what is known and what is not known' (Denyer and Tranfield 2009: 672). This approach aims to ensure transparency and reproducibility in the review

1.1. Mapping the converging results in existing research

Democratic reform to solve the 'democratic paradox'

European democracies are faced with a 'democratic paradox' (Celis, Knops, Van Ingelgom & Verhaegen, 2021): while most citizens believe that democracy is the best system of collective governance (Anderson, *et al.*, 2021; Norris, 2011), the functioning of representative democracy is increasingly criticised at all levels of governance, the EU being no exception. Citizens are more and more distrustful towards political actors and institutions, they are reluctant to participate in basic democratic practices such as voting, and they doubt the effectiveness of the decision- and policymaking processes. At the core of the democratic paradox is the gap between democratic aspirations and democratic practices. Democratic discontent is thus rooted in how citizens define democracy, and their expectations of the way democratic decisions should be taken (Heinisch & Wegscheider, 2020 – PaCE).

In this context, **the topic of democratic reform has stood high on the agenda** of both academics and practitioners at all levels of government (e.g., Dryzek, et al., 2019; European Committee of the Regions, 2019; Geissel & Newton, 2012; OECD, 2020). Democratic reform is mainly thought of as the implementation of **democratic innovations** defined as 'institutions that have been specifically designed to increase and deepen citizen participation in the political decision-making process' (Smith, 2009). Democratic innovations include new practices of democratic engagement, such as direct democracy⁴, mini-publics or deliberative assemblies⁵, e-democracy⁶ as well as cogovernance⁷. They heavily focus on citizens' inputs into decision- and policymaking⁸.

process. Recently, it has been increasingly relied on in political science (e.g., Laloux 2020; van der Does & Jacquet, 2021a). The main steps of data selection and analysis are presented in Annex 2.

⁴ In the context of democratic reform, direct democracy is defined as a democratic practice 'in which citizen power and authority is exercised without the mediating influence of the elected representatives and officials of representative government' (Newton, 2012: 9). Direct democracy-related innovations include referenda or direct participation in lawmaking. These innovations aim to give citizens decision-making power on key issues.

⁵ The term 'deliberative mini-public' refers to a body of citizens selected by lot to mirror, as far as possible, the broader population, and who gather to deliberate on specific policy topics (Bedock & Pilet, 2020 – CUREORCURSE). Mini-publics include citizens' assemblies, consensus conferences, and citizens' juries.

⁶ The term 'e-democracy' highlights the role of digital participatory schemes in potentially expanding the scope of participation to decision- and policymaking (Defacqz & Dupuy, 2021 – TROPICO). E-participation is thus defined as the use of ICTs to involve citizens and other stakeholders in decision-making processes and policy deliberation (Royo, Pina & Garcia-Rayado, 2020 – TROPICO). E-rulemaking is defined as the development of lawmaking environment online which enables and facilitates public participation, a procedure which is expected to inform the final law and result in citizen centered policymaking (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a – PEDEREP).

Ollaborative governance or co-governance refers to collective decision-making arrangements engaging state institutions with ordinary citizens and/or other non-governmental actors that rest upon deliberative processes (Dupuy & Defacqz, 2021 – TROPICO). These innovations aim to give citizens significant influence during the process of policymaking. Co-creation in this specific context is defined as the involvement of citizens (users) in the initiation and/or design of public services (Arundel, et al., 2021 – Co-VAL).

⁸ Participatory and deliberative methods have also been extensively used for social innovations. This line of work is informed by a shift towards participatory approaches to science, technology, or environmental action. A stronger orientation of research towards societal needs has recently become a main argument under the header of RRI

Deliberative and participatory practices enable democracies to beneficially use the time between two elections and to escape the excessive focus on the electoral moment of democracy (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a – PEDEREP). Democratic innovations are intended to cure the democratic malaise by solving the democratic paradox.

Who supports (or not) democratic reform?

As part of elected representatives' initiatives to foster active citizenship and/or of the new public management agenda of good governance, these new ways of involving citizens in decision- and policymaking are often implemented in a top-down fashion⁹. In this context, the questions of **whether and why citizens do (or do not) support democratic innovations** have attracted substantial academic attention. Three main findings emerge from the existing research:

- (1) Most European citizens support democratic reform that aims at fostering their involvement in decision- and policymaking. More opportunities for citizen participation – whether they have a consultative, deliberative, or direct democratic nature - are preferred to the elections-only option (Schäfer, Treib & Schlipphak, 2022 -RECONNECT). Deliberative settings are relatively popular, even if less so than referenda (Rojon & Pilet, 2021 - CUREORCURSE). Also, regardless of their general attitude toward the EU, that is, irrespective of whether they are Europhile or Eurosceptic, citizens react positively to increases in citizens' involvement in decision-making at the EU level (Schäfer, Treib & Schlipphak, 2022 - RECONNECT), At the same time, many citizens have neither strong nor detailed opinions about procedural alternatives to representative politics (VanderMolen, 2017). Indeed, while citizens are, in principle, supportive of direct citizen participation, they are neither enthusiastic nor critical about it: they are mostly indifferent to it (Kersting, 2021; Rojon & Pilet, 2021 -CUREORCURSE). Improving the operation of representative politics remains more important to most citizens than offering them news forms of more deliberative participation (Stoker & Hay, 2017).
- (2) The two main determinants of citizens' support for democratic reform are first, dissatisfaction with representative politics and second, dissatisfaction with political engagement and resources (Pilet, et al., 2023 CUREORCURSE). On the one hand, two groups of dissatisfied citizens must be considered (Webb, 2013). The

⁽Responsible Research and Innovation) in the EU (Gudowsky, et al., 2017 – CIMULACT). As an example, the project MAKINGSENSE has developed a toolkit based on the Smart Citizen platform for bottom-up citizen science (Camprodon, Barberán & Perez, 2017 - MAKINGSENSE). Societal engagement in research and innovation is also very high on the agenda of policymakers and has attracted massive attention from European research (e.g., projects CIMULACT, ENABLE.EU, MAKINGSENSE and PROSO). As an example, participatory action research with young people has been mobilised as part of the project PARTISPACE (Percy-Smith, et al., 2019a/b; Roy, et al., 2021 - PARTISPACE); and the project ENABLE.EU has mobilised participatory foresight workshops to develop sustainable energy choices together with experts and citizens (Delair, Magdalinski & Pellerin-Carlin, 2019 - ENABLE.EU).

⁹ This is of course not to say that bottom-up experiences do not exist. In fact, two types of democratic innovations can be distinguished: those taking place in invited spaces — participatory spaces designed by a government/organization to involve citizens — from those taking place in 'invented spaces' —e.g., participatory spaces claimed by social movements (Copello, 2017 – EMPATIA). As this report aims to providing recommendations to European stakeholders, it focuses on the former.

'dissatisfied democrats' are politically interested and believe that their actions may have an impact on the functioning of the system. Thus, they prefer intensive modes of engagement such as deliberation. Citizens who are at once politically dissatisfied and politically engaged are also more likely to support more radical reforms of representative democracy, such as binding uses of sortition, including the replacement of elected politicians by citizens selected by lot (Bedock & Pilet, 2020 – CUREORCURSE). By contrast, the 'stealth democrats' are less politically interested and less confident in their possible impact on the functioning of the system. Therefore, they prefer easier modes of engagement such as referenda (Webb, 2013).

These results underline the need to design democratic reforms and adopt measures that specifically and separately aim to mitigate alienation, apathy or even populism (Dahl, et al., 2018 – CATCH-EyoU; Heinisch & Wegscheider, 2020 – PaCE). Alienated citizens are more inclined to participate in democratic innovations than indifferent (apathetic) citizens. Indeed, political alienation, which refers to a citizen's sense of estrangement from politics and the government of her society, does not preclude citizens to be politically engaged. As an example, the experience of injustice within formal institutions motivates young people to change things through participatory practices (if they have the resources) (Cuconato, et al., 2018 – PARTISPACE). On the contrary, politically indifferent or apathetic citizens, who feature a lack of a desire, or motivation to take an interest in politics, do not participate politically, whether conventionally or unconventionally.

On the other hand, interestingly, and somewhat unexpectedly, the most supportive citizens of democratic reform are less educated and have a low sense of political competence (Pilet, et al., 2023 – CUREORCURSE). As a correlate, skeptics towards democratic innovations are to be found in the highest educated group of the population. They appear to view that citizens are not competent enough to perform the functions of elected officials – as illustrated by their lower score on anti-elitism and confidence in their fellow citizens (Rojon & Pilet, 2021 – CUREORCURSE). In addition, stronger support is also present among social groups who tend to be more politically disengaged such as women and the young (Pilet, et al., 2023 – CUREORCURSE). Finally, while populism is primarily directed against representative forms of democratic decision-making that supposedly disregard the general will of the people, no effect of populism on preferences for deliberative procedures exists (Heinisch & Wegscheider, 2020 – PaCE).

(3) Citizens assess democratic innovations based on their – expected or perceived – outcomes. The lack of transparent goals and clear possibilities for change explain why many citizens refuse to participate in democratic innovations (Jacquet, 2017). Also, citizens' support for democratic innovation increases when they expect the result of democratic innovations to result in an outcome that is favourable to them (Pilet, et al., 2023 – CUREORCURSE; van der Does & Kantorowicz, 2021). This finding suggests that democratic innovations may re-engage dissatisfied and disengaged citizens; but their participation is conditioned by their expectation of a favourable outcome.

Supporting democratic innovations in principle is one thing, participating is another¹⁰. A decisive empirical and normative issue is thereby to explore the support-participation gap (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2001, 2002). Understanding who do (not) participate in participatory and deliberative democracy is key since inclusiveness is a defining feature of democratic innovations. Four main results can be distinguished in existing research.

(1) When participation is voluntary, existing research stresses overrepresentation of more advantaged citizens - economically, socially, and politically. Several characteristics known as drivers of electoral participation, namely age, education, gender, income, and political interest, are also determinants of participation in democratic innovations. From this perspective, the increasing variety of forms of participation has not broadened the scope of involved citizens - it has merely expanded the activities undertaken by already active citizens. Interestingly, the profile of citizens supportive of democratic reform - the less educated with a low sense of political competence – does not match the profile of participating citizens (Pilet, et al., 2023 – CUREORCURSE).

The gap is even stronger for deliberative and participatory practices conducted at the EU level: a higher socio-economic background is more strongly related to participation than at the national level (Šerek & Jugert, 2018 - CATCH-EyoU). As an example, in the 2015 Better Regulation Agenda, stakeholders and citizen participation was possible and enabled throughout the whole policy cycle. However, the participatory instruments available to EU citizens to influence EU decision- and policymaking were in fact not suitable for 'ordinary' citizens, but instead for organised interests and expert communities (Russack, 2018). This asymmetry in participation relies partly on selfselection bias, the complexity of the procedure and is explained by the high level of knowledge required to participate (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a - PEDEREP). As an illustration, the ENABLE.EU participatory foresight workshop on sustainable energy choices was organised through three transition workshops with experts and citizens. Due to the selection bias of participants (e.g., capacity and willingness to speak English, volunteering to participate and ability to attend the workshops during weekdays), the participating citizens could not be considered as representative households by the organisers (Delair, Magdalinski & Pellerin-Carlin, 2019 - ENABLE.EU). Most of them were either early adopters of sustainable practices, energy-curious or environmentally concerned citizens. The question of the language used to deliberate is also key when it comes to participatory and deliberative practices at the EU level 11.

-

¹⁰ This section summarizes the reasons that citizens must participate or not to participate. The PROSO project has found several factors that can negatively affect the willingness of citizens and third-sector actors to get involved with societal engagement in research. Their findings show a preference towards dialogue formats that give citizens a more active role and a greater say in research policy or research funding. Their results further suggest that those who seek to broaden citizen participation in dialogues about research should consider the role of relevance, impact, trust, legitimacy, knowledge, and time and resources as factors that can motivate or discourage citizens to participate (Dreyer, *et al.*, 2021 – PROSO).

¹¹ The EUCOMMEET project is currently working on the development of a platform that integrates mechanisms of automated translations in order to allow for interactions among citizens from different countries.

- (2) To avoid this overrepresentation of more advantaged or interested citizens, **sortition that is the random selection of citizens in the population at large, and targeted recruitments have attracted the attention of scholars and stakeholders.** Sortition aims to include a diversified pool of participants that tend to descriptively represent the population, notably in terms of gender, socioeconomic status, or ethnicity (Jacquet, Niessen & Reuchamps, 2022). However, sortition falls short of bypassing the overrepresentation of the 'usual suspects', since a self-selection bias nonetheless persists: not all invited citizens accept to participate, only the most willing do (Basile, *et al.*, 2018 EUENGAGE; Jacquet, 2017). Moreover, the limited size of participating groups, the unequal distribution of skills between participants, along with the self-selection of participants, impede claims of representativeness (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b PEDEREP).
- (3) In practice, organising political actors make consequential choices on who is participating. They sometimes restrict or extend the participation to specific groups of citizens (Allegretti & Hartz-Karp, 2017 - EMPATIA). As an example, the Bologna Regulation – enacted by the city of Bologna in 2014 – is a tool of legal experimentation in shared governance of the city. It is addressed to a wide range of actors in the city, from ordinary residents to private owners and commercial businesses, encouraging them to collaborate in neighbourhood associations, cooperatives, and foundations to manage public space and buildings (Kioupkiolis, A., 2022 - HETEROPOLITICS). The authorities invite specific individuals to act as representatives of other citizens - while others position themselves as voluntary representatives. These specific citizens, who are increasingly present in democratic urban governance, play the role of brokers in the sense of 'assemblers', connective agents who bring together different actors, institutions and resources (Koster, 2016; Koster & van Leynseele, 2018 - BROKERS). Brokers are citizens who officially 'speak for' and 'act on behalf of' their fellow citizens vis-àvis the state. They are active in, for instance, residents' committees, community-run social centres or sports facilities. In other cases, organising political actors make explicit inclusive choices by inviting the participation of residents regardless of their citizenship and suffrage status for example commuters, migrants, and children (Allegretti & Hartz-Karp, 2017 – EMPATIA).
- (4) The issue of whose voice is heard in the debate is as important as who participates. Identifying who effectively participates in deliberative and participatory democracy is not the only factor determining how inclusive these practices are. Moderators also need to ensure that all participants are engaged, and have the same opportunity to express their opinions (Olmastroni, Bianchi, & Duguid, 2020 EUENGAGE). Research comparing the relative outcomes of deliberations performed face-to-face and in computer-mediated settings shows that both online and face-to-face deliberation can increase participants' issue knowledge, political efficacy, and willingness to participate in politics (Min, 2007), and that the quality of online debate can be surprisingly high (Basile, et al., 2018 EUENGAGE).

What are the impacts of deliberative and participatory practices?

Advocates of democratic innovations argue that they can have a spill-over effect on the larger public, by improving the quality of representation, and by improving policymaking and, thus, public policies. However, while research on the impacts of deliberative and participatory practices has only been recently initiated, it has mainly focused on short-term impacts on participating citizens (e.g., opinion change, civic education) (van der

Does & Jacquet, 2021a). Based on surveys administered before and just after participatory and deliberative experiences, research shows that participating in these new forms of engagement tends to have transformative effects on participants in the short run (Dryzek, et al., 2019). As an illustration, participants' general support for EU integration, and for the scope of EU policies, increased after taking part in e-Voice, an online European deliberative event (Olmastroni, Bianchi, & Duguid, 2020 – EUENGAGE). However, a few months after deliberation, support for the EU policy scope was not significantly higher among participants than it was among non-participants. Moreover, online deliberation does not dissolve citizens' pre-existing resentment of political elites. There is a marked difference between mere consultations, and deliberations: consultation-based participation, as opposed to deliberation-based participation, rarely resulted in increased trust in governance (Allegretti & Hartz-Karp, 2017 – EMPATIA).

Some research also touches upon the content and process of policymaking (Jacquet & van der Does, 2021). There are a few examples of deliberative and participatory practices that are connected to clear expected policy outcomes — the Citizens' Assemblies in Ireland (Suiter *et al.*, 2016); the Canadian British Columbia Citizens' Assembly (Smith, 2009); and most recently, the Ostbelgien Permanent Citizens' Assembly (Macq & Jacquet, 2022). However, overall, scattered evidence in empirical studies shows a low policy impact of deliberative procedures. This 'policy deficit' describes situations where citizens' inputs through deliberative practices are not included in policymaking (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a — PEDEREP). It may be explained by the policy issue at stake or the institutional architecture (Michels & Binnema, 2019). More importantly, policy impact remains low where policymakers' level of commitment to deliberative and participatory practices in decision-making is also low (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021c — PEDEREP).

1.2. Identifying gaps in existing research

This report identifies four main gaps in the existing literature and research. Further research should tackle these gaps head-on.

(1) Despite voluminous literature on citizen engagement in public life, in general, too little is known on how citizens' attitudes towards representative democracy are altered by their experiences of participation in new participatory and deliberative practices. Specifically, existing research provides only partial or contradictory evidence on how citizens' participation in democratic innovations impact on their relationships with their representatives. The normative idea that experiences of interactions between representatives and the represented would result in greater trust in government or elected politicians is not fully supported (Coleman, 2004). Interestingly though, experiences of deliberation at the EU level have slightly increased participants' awareness of the accountability processes of representative democracy (Basile, et al., 2018 – EUENGAGE). Also, research suggests that after deliberation, the proportion of participants who declare that decisions should be taken by elected politicians increases; while the proportion of those who think that decisions should be taken by ordinary citizens remains unaltered (Basile, et al., 2018 – EUENGAGE). In a similar vein, formal settings of youth participation such as youth and student councils that aim to educate young people into models of formal citizenship, create citizens who enjoy bureaucratic political participation (Pais, 2022 - PARTISPACE).

- (2) A second gap pertains to citizens' attitudes toward democratic innovations. Previous research has distinguished between enthusiastic supporters and critics, but emerging research calls for more nuance and sheds light on the complex combinations of support for democratic innovations, and willingness to participate in them (Rojon & Pilet, 2021 CUREORCURSE). A sizeable share of the population the indifferent citizens, who are neither enthusiasts nor critics have been understudied (Van Ingelgom, 2014). Research should account for citizens who do not yet have defined attitudes about procedural alternatives to representative politics (Rojon & Pilet, 2021 CUREORCURSE). The stakes are high, as indifferent citizens are politically disengaged and alienated citizens. Therefore they need to be convinced to participate in democratic innovations, if these innovations are to cure the current democratic malaise.
- (3) The long-lasting outcomes of deliberative and participatory practice should also be studied. We do not know how long the studied short-term effects on participants lasts (Olmastroni, Bianchi, & Duguid, 2020 - EUENGAGE). We also lack an analysis of what legitimacy citizens grant to decision-making through democratic innovations (Dupuy & Defacqz, 2021 - TROPICO). Research has shown that citizens' conceptions of democratic decision-making constitute the individual yardstick for evaluating the functioning of democracy in practice (Landwehr & Steiner, 2017; Heinisch & Wegscheider, 2020 - PaCE). Thus, new democratic (dis)content rooted in how citizens define democracy, and their expectations of the way democratic decisions should be taken, could emerge from democratic reforms. The long-term effects to be considered also include the relevance and social acceptability of the policies that have been decided by citizens and stakeholders engaging in co-creation. In this view, policies aim to be designed for a more diverse group of citizens (Standal, Talevi & Westskog, 2020 -ENABLE.EU). The idea of using co-creation is to identify the potential gaps between the understanding of citizens and policymakers, and to reinforce the congruence between them (Repo, et al., 2018 - CIMULACT). Existing research is scarce, but underlines that deliberative engagement of citizens and policymakers only partially fills the existing gap between the masses and the elite (Olmastroni, Bianchi, & Duguid, 2020 - EUENGAGE).

Analysing the long-term effects would require moving away from a focus on the immediate, short-term, effects of a democratic innovation, to expand data collection well after it was organised and took place. The systematic study of negative cases is also crucial to understand the mechanisms behind the often-observed lack of impact on policymaking (Spada & Ryan, 2017). At the same time, analysing these effects on a large amount of deliberative and participatory practices warrant appropriate methods for analyzing their outcomes (Repo, Matschoss, & Timonen, 2017 – CIMULACT). Finally, considering the multilevel dimension of European governance is required, as new deliberative and participatory practices are currently taking place at the local, regional, national, and European levels. Thus, the implications for European multilevel governance should also be studied systematically.

(4) Questioning the outcomes of democratic reform also urges to **study non-participants**, as the new modes of participation affect them as well. Not much is known empirically about their potential impact on the maxi public, and how elites and the public in general perceive and react to these practices (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP). The existing research mainly considers positive impacts based on the expectation of a spill-over mechanism (Jacquet & van der Does, 2020; van der Does &

Jacquet, 2021). However, this **spill-over from the mini to the maxi-public may not occur**. Non-participants may emphasize that participating citizens, by design, and unlike elected politicians, are not accountable to the rest of the society (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP). It may also be that non-participants are comparatively satisfied with electoral representation and with the performance of political elites, whom they perceive as better equipped to take decisions than ordinary citizens (Pilet, *et al.*, 2023 – CUREORCURSE). Alternatively, the disengaged and dissatisfied non-participants may in the long-term reject democratic innovations if they feel alien to the participants, their preferences, and their decisions (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP). Last, and very importantly, the issue of the losers' consent should also be considered, that is, the propensity of citizens to accept the possibility of losing without challenging the decision-making process and the related institutions (Pilet, *et al.*, 2023 – CUREORCURSE).

2. Recommendation

What can decision-makers and policymakers learn from existing European research on participatory and deliberative democracy? This section of the report aims to inform EU, national, regional, and local policymakers about the possible ways forward, by providing them with concrete recommendations. The report proposes five general recommendations and two sets of specific recommendations, each developing a subset of practical recommendations.

2.1. General recommendations

2.1.1. Adopting a holistic view on participatory and deliberative democracy in the context of existing representative institutions

While deliberative and participatory innovations are often presented as a remedy to the 'malaise' of representative democracy, they do co-exist with and are developed within representative democracies. What is more, **the principles of representative democracy are not challenged as such by most citizens** (Celis *et al.*, 2021; Jacquet, 2019). A fundamental recommendation is thus for decision-makers and policymakers to acknowledge this and, consequently, to develop a holistic view of democratic innovations within existing representative institutions.

Citizens perceive democratic reform – e.g., mini-publics – to enrich the linkage between voters and their representatives, without forsaking the logic of electoral delegation (Jacquet, 2019). They think of engagement in deliberative and participatory experiences and electoral participation as complementary ways to hold elected politicians accountable. Moreover, while experiences such as mini-publics may be understood as a mirror of society, they are not accountable to society (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP); policymakers who initiate them are. In terms of process therefore, representatives' accountability should be extended to decisions made through participatory and deliberative processes.

Relatedly, democratic innovations put pressure on elected representatives and public administrations as they redefine citizens' expectations regarding their role as representatives. In citizens' views, their role extends beyond formal political representation to include participatory and deliberative processes as well. This observation yields implications for elected politicians and public administrations' decision-making (Mureddu & Osimo, 2019 - COVAL). Citizens perceive democratic innovations as alternative channels to connect to their representatives. The fact that they take place between two elections informs representatives and influences decision-making and policymaking, and allows for contact to be maintained between the public and their representative (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP). The realisation of this potential hinges on decision-makers' and policymakers' adoption of an extended conception of their representative role. The new forms of participation should thereby be integrated into decision-makers' routine activities, and not be regarded merely as suggestion boxes (Dupuy & Defacqz, 2022 - TROPICO). A key to the success of democratic innovations is therefore for decision-makers and policymakers to acknowledge the expectations they raise amongst citizens regarding how decisions are to be made and to consider that the outcomes of participatory and deliberative processes are to be part of their representative roles.

Recently, activists and even political leaders have called for the institutionalisation of democratic innovations such as citizens' assemblies, precisely to address the perceived failures of the electoral model of democracy and avoid politicians' tendency to cherry-pick issues and recommendations stemming from participatory and deliberative processes (Landemore, 2020). Without going all the way to institutionalization, there is a need for new standardised procedures that involve citizens in representative democracy. In that regard, democratic innovations have the potential to restructure policymaking in representative democracies towards a more structural inclusion of citizens' inputs. The level of power delegated to deliberative and participatory practices is closely associated with their integration at different instances of the formal policy-making cycle either ex ante (agenda-setting), in tandem (decision-making) or ex post (evaluation of policy-making) to existing institutions (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP).

A model of a hybrid representative democracy that integrates different forms of political representation and participation – electoral, participatory, and deliberation-based – could potentially result in increased legitimacy of decision-making procedures (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP). There are early manifestations of such an institutionalised hybrid democracy (e.g., Citizens' Assemblies in Ireland). Very recently, the German-speaking Community of Belgium has institutionalised a permanent citizens' assembly – the *Permanenter Bürgerdialog* (PBD), composed of randomly selected citizens (Macq & Jacquet, 2022).

Summary recommendations: developing a holistic view of participatory democracy

- Develop a model of hybrid representative democracy that integrates different forms (electoral, participatory, and deliberation-based) of political representation
- Extend representatives' accountability to decision-making associated to participatory and deliberative practices
- Acknowledge that democratic reform could change citizens' expectations regarding decision- and policymakers' representative role

2.1.2. Being inclusive and engaging the disengaged

Democratic reform is concerned with the inclusion of citizens who are disengaged from electoral politics, while also enabling citizens who are already involved and interested in politics to play a more proactive part in public affairs. Yet, in practice, participatory and deliberative processes primarily appeal to the already engaged. Scholars and practitioners alike have therefore argued that, without careful planification and monitoring, democratic innovations could reinforce inequalities by giving an even greater role in policymaking to the educated and the politically engaged (Pilet, *et al.*, 2023 – CUREORCURSE). Being as inclusive as possible in democratic innovations is thus an obviously important recommendation.

However, being inclusive is not straightforward and necessitates careful preparation, targeting recruitment and monitoring during the process. **Sortition does not overcome self-selection bias** as a basic problem in (online) participation is the lack of interest (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021c – PEDEREP). As an example, while the *e-Voice* event involved about 300 citizens randomly selected from 10 European countries, 49 % of participants had a university degree, despite a selection based on sortition (Basile, *et*

al., 2018 – EUENGAGE). Moreover, inclusion should not be limited to participation but should be considered from the early stages, from design to decision-making. As an illustration, in the CIMULACT project, more than 4500 citizens, stakeholders and experts from 30 European countries engaged online and offline to co-create research topics that are supposed to serve as input for the next round of calls in Horizon 2020, national research agendas as well as the ninth framework programme in the making (Gudowsky, et al., 2017 – CIMULACT). Four main recommendations to reinforce inclusion can be made:

- (i) Achieving inclusion requires to carefully and actively identify the groups who are in fact not participating and the reasons why they do so. There are the 'usual suspects' of non-participation whom specific attention should be devoted to in each and every setting, including the lower educated, women, the youth and the politicallymarginalised. Further consideration should also be given to the large and very diverse category of the politically disengaged citizens. Explanations for nonparticipation delineate different groups. For instance, non-participants' political knowledge distinguishes apathetic and alienated non-participants (Dahl, et al., 2018 - CATCH-EyoU). The former do not care enough about politics to partake in political activities, whereas the latter refuse to participate based on their knowledge of politics. The strategies to include these two different profiles are thus fundamentally different. While the assumption that political knowledge matters for political participation must be overcome to reach apathetic citizens (e.g., by emphasising their unique experiences over their political knowledge); the successful inclusion of alienated citizens hinges on their perception that their voice will be heard.
- (ii) Therefore, better engaging difficult-to-reach segments of the population in democratic innovations is conditioned by an analysis of their specific reasons for nonparticipation and the related targeted recruitment strategy. Targeted recruitment has to deliver a high level of diversity. To achieve this diversity, different channels of recruitment are to be used depending on who the recruitment is targeting: advertising in different media (newspapers, radio, online etc.); identifying and relying on brokers to reach the hard-to-reach citizens, using researchers' professional and personal networks (Gudowsky, et al., 2017 - CIMULACT)¹². Using their particular knowledge, skills and authority, brokers - citizens who officially 'speak for' and 'act on behalf of' their fellow citizens vis-à-vis the state, can help to bridge gaps between populations, usually disadvantaged, and policymakers (Koster & van Leynseele, 2018 - BROKERS). The transparency of the entire recruitment process is also critical in defusing any non-participant's suspicion regarding participating citizens while the release of the sample recruitment details can underpin its legitimacy (Fishkin, 2018; Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b -PEDEREP).
- (iii) Specific attention should be dedicated to the inclusion of young people. Youth (dis)engagement from politics has featured prominently in public discussions, citizenship education and academic debates alike. The involvement of the European

¹² In a catalogue developed to provide information for science, technology and innovation experts as well as for participation experts and practitioners, the CIMULACT project gathers different methods of recruitment as well as of moderation (Dagorne & Gudowsky, 2015 – CIMULACT).

Commission in increasing youth participation and involving young people in policymaking dates back to the 1980s (Andersson, *et al.*, 2016 – PARTISPACE). There is indeed evidence that political apathy is more widespread among younger generations relative to other generations, and that it is stronger than in the past. However, while young people are less likely to participate in traditional forms of political involvement (e.g., voting, standing for election, being involved in parties' activities), they are more likely than older groups to engage in non-formal or informal forms of participation¹³ (e.g., protesting, boycotting) (Andersson, *et al.*, 2016 – PARTISPACE; Landberg, *et al.*, 2018 – CATCH-EyoU). Interestingly, research shows that young people's preference for non-formal and informal engagement reflects generational change, rather than life-cycle effects. In that respect, young people's opposition to the established political system may forecast future generations' relations to politics.

Importantly therefore, including the younger generations in democratic innovations is a key recommendation for the present and the future sake of representative democracies. Paying specific attention to the more invisible and latent forms of youth engagement, as well as to their 'everyday' practices of engagement (Vromen & Collin, 2010) - specifically those mobilising ICT, could help to overcome the wide gap, and misunderstandings, between what institutions and most young people mean by participation (Andersson, et al., 2016 -PARTISPACE)¹⁴. The increasing preference of young people for more informal forms of participation reflects a shift whereby young people construct their own modes of participation and 'remake democracy' in their own terms and according to their own needs (Percy-Smith, McMahon & Thomas, 2019 - PARTISPACE). Youth participation combines recognised (e.g., volunteering, organising cultural events, artworks) and unrecognised practices (e.g., squatting, rioting, graffiti) (Pitti, Mengilli & Walther, 2023 - PARTISPACE). Finally, participatory practices are not equally accessible to all young people (Bečević & Dahlstedt, 2022 - PARTISPACE). Social inequalities and intersectionality are thus also key in understanding youth (dis)engagement.

(iv) The issue of inclusion should be broadened by expanding participation in democratic innovations beyond formal citizenship. Participatory and deliberative democracy lives up to its own claim of being more inclusive when participation is open to all relevant social groups, namely including those that do not have a political right to participate due to their age or nationality (Batsleer *et al.*, 2017 – PARTISPACE). As an example, many experiences of participatory budgeting 15 have

-

¹³ Formal forms of participation are youth councils, youth parliaments; non-formal forms of youth participation include youth work and youth organizations and informal forms of youth participation include youth cultures/scenes, youth protests and youth consumerism (Andersson, et al., 2016 – PARTISPACE).

¹⁴ A training module on youth participation has been developed from the PARTISPACE research project (Percy-Smith, et al., 2018 – PARTISPACE). The aim of the module is to use key findings from this project to support learning and development amongst youth workers and other practitioners working with young people, as well as students of youth policy and practice.

Participatory budget is a democratic innovation that pertains to the formulation of institutional budgets through negotiations between the local government and/or their agencies and participants, citizens and/or stakeholders (Allegretti & Hartz-Karp, 2017 – EMPATIA).

included non-citizens, specifically residents not entitled to vote (e.g., commuters, migrants, children) (Allegretti & Hartz-Karp, 2017 – EMPATIA). The inclusion of children and young people makes them co-citizens rather than citizens 'in the making' (Andersson, et al., 2016 – PARTISPACE). Actively seeking dialogue between young people and older generations is imperative if young people are to achieve any sense of inclusion as equal citizens (McMahon, et al., 2018 – PARTISPACE). The inclusion of European non-national citizens in democratic innovations conducted in their country of residence would additionally be likely to contribute to building a heightened sense of belonging to their place of residence.

Summary recommendations: Engaging the disengaged

- Reflect actively on and identify who the disengaged are
- Develop specific inclusion strategies to better engage relevant difficult-to-reach groups of the population, by combining and customising outreach strategies targeting different groups
- Devote specific attention to the younger generations
- Opt for the most inclusive criteria e.g. residency over national citizenship

2.1.3. Lowering the hurdles to participation

People need specific resources to participate politically. The resource model of participation stresses that citizens with higher levels of socio-economic resources and political competence are more likely to be politically engaged. Thus, the more demanding participation is (one-off vote referendum vs. days-long deliberations; online consultation vs. in-person participation), the more burdensome participation is and the less inclusive the process is likely to be (Kiesouw, S. & Ziętek, A., 2021 – PaCE). Lowering the hurdles to participation in democratic innovations by making it less resource-intensive and by rightly incentivising it is thus a key recommendation. This could be achieved by different means:

- (i) Diversifying the channels of engagement comes first. In the realm of democratic innovations, diversification refers to the integration of distinct channels of engagement with different objectives, different procedures, and different publics (Copello, 2017 – EMPATIA). The aim of diversification is both to mitigate the risk that one single channel turns out to be ineffective in terms of the inclusion of broader categories of citizens, and to better accommodate the interests and goals of different groups of people. Whereas e-democracy such as online consultation may work well to include the young or citizens living in remote parts of the country, it is likely to perform badly when it comes to including older generations or disadvantaged socioeconomic groups. As an illustration, Womenspeak in the UK included many lowincome participants and single mothers. Online consultations allowed them to take part in a parliamentary inquiry without travelling to London (Coleman, 2004). Online participation is less time consuming for participants compared to face-to-face consultations (Dagorne & Gudowsky, 2017 - CIMULACT). Different channels must be implemented to accommodate the level of political resources of each relevant group whose participation in democratic innovations is sought after.
- (ii) Thinking of citizens' contributions in terms of lived experiences rather than knowledge is a second way to make participation less resource-intensive. Research shows that citizens' feelings of lack of expertise are at the root of their non-

participation in democratic innovations. Focusing on citizens' lived experiences rather than political knowledge, and considering topics close to their everyday experiences, may not only facilitate the participation of hard-to-reach groups, but also expand the relevance of such processes in citizens' eyes. As an example, young people considered new activities of participation as meaningful when they helped them to cope with challenging or painful experiences (Cuconato, *et al.*, 2018 – PARTISPACE). Focusing on 'practical' kinds of knowledge enables people to develop a more active role in deliberative and participatory practices. This includes assisting the development of practical forms of knowledge (Woods, Fazey & Hemment, 2016 – MAKINGSENSE). Co-creation in research relies precisely on the assumption that citizens are better placed than anyone else to identify the way the research results can become meaningful for them (Dagorne & Gudowsky, 2017 – CIMULACT). Citizens are regarded as **experts of everyday life**.

(iii) Providing the right incentives is crucial to ensure citizens' participation in deliberative and participatory practices. If material rewards alone may fail to convince citizens to participate in democratic innovations (Cucciniello, et al., 2019 -COVAL), financial compensation (e.g. vouchers) is still essential to reduce the burdens of participation faced by less advantaged citizens (e.g. commuting, and childcare costs) (Kiesouw & Zietek, 2021 - PaCE). Financial compensation motivates some people that would not have come otherwise, and thus helps to bring more diversity within the group. It offers a guarantee that participants will be eager to come back if it is a process spanning several days (Dagorne & Gudowsky, 2017 -CIMULACT). Information is another decisive incentive for participation. Specifically, when information about a participatory or deliberative process is conveyed by a participating fellow citizen, potential participants are shown to display more willingness to take part in co-production (Cucciniello, et al., 2019 - COVAL). In addition, the opportunity to interact with representatives or citizens sharing common experiences (community building) is reported as a major reason for taking part to democratic innovations (Coleman, 2004).

Summary recommendations: lowering hurdles to participation

- Reduce the resources needed for participation
- Integrate multilevel channels of engagement
- Prioritize participants' (shared) experiences over their political knowledge
- Provide (multiple) incentives to participate

2.1.4. Impact matters

Most existing experiences of citizens' assemblies have worked as mere advisory bodies (Paulis, et al., 2020 – CUREORCURSE): elected institutions had no formal obligations to follow and accept their recommendations. From a citizen's perspective, however, the ultimate test for the value of participatory and deliberative practices is whether they contribute to making better policy or, at least, whether they have an impact on policymaking. That is why policymakers' commitment to consider the results of democratic innovations as binding, independently of the number of participants, was key to the successful implementation of Decide Madrid (Royo, Pina & Garcia-Rayado, 2020 – TROPICO). Citizens' most important motivation to participate is the assurance that their contributions will be included in decision-making. Citizens thus need to be provided

with information about the role of their contributions in policymaking, the expected impacts of new or ongoing public consultations, as well as the outcomes of projects already approved. To warrant effectiveness and transparency, a specific commitment on how citizens' participation will be considered by decision- and policymakers is to be stated clearly from the beginning (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a – PEDEREP).

Relatedly, the contributions of participatory and deliberative processes should be specific enough to allow for an evaluation of the congruence with the decided policies ¹⁶. Were the overall impact of democratic innovations to be non-existent, they would only burden everyday people with new responsibilities without much empowerment (Lee, 2015). In addition, when failing to fulfil their promises, they depress citizens' trust in institutions (Empatia Consortium, 2018). Thus, neglecting or superficially including citizens' inputs may be disappointing for citizens and could backfire on future initiatives (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021c – PEDEREP). In other words, democratic innovations need to cultivate the feeling that individual political action does have an impact on decision-making and policymaking. To do so, evaluating and communicating actively and broadly about the concrete impacts and outcomes of participatory and deliberative practices is a crucial task to be performed by decision-makers and policymakers.

Summary recommendations: impact matters

- Be explicit and transparent about the expected role of participatory and deliberative practices in decision- and policymaking
- Consider binding decisions over consultation to foster participation
- Evaluate and communicate actively and broadly about the concrete impacts and outcomes of participatory and deliberative practices

2.1.5. Developing a culture of participation and deliberation among citizens and policymakers

The success of democratic innovations depends upon two groups of actors: citizens and policymakers, each of them must acquire new skills and learn to develop new practices of deliberation and participation. In this regard, three courses of action should be taken by decision-makers and policymakers:

(i) Gain support from the maxi-public and from non-participants. As participation in participatory and deliberative practices is limited to a sample of people, albeit as representative and inclusive as possible, their direct benefits concern predominantly their participants (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b – PEDEREP). Relevant communication channels should be selected to reach the different targeted audiences (Randma Liiv & Vooglaid, 2019 – TROPICO). Policymakers would gain from implementing a

¹⁶ In the framework of the PEDEREP project, a policy impact tool (PIT) for e- rulemaking initiatives has been developed. 'The PIT aims to set the criteria and the critical indicators to assess the potential of citizens' deliberation to produce a policy impact on a final law or other policy documents. It aspires to assist policymakers and scholars in measuring public participation and in arriving at well- informed conclusions for policymaking. The PIT establishes the links between the quality of deliberative discourses (throughput) and policy- valuable outcomes.' (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021c: 357 – PEDEREP).

detailed and professional communication strategy to generate broader citizens' support.

- (ii) Foster active citizenship through education. The analysis of the youth policies, educational policies and welfare systems of the different national contexts has shown that it seems that youth policy is not really a prioritised political area on the national agenda (Andersson, et al., 2016 - PARTISPACE). Moreover, active citizenship is only marginally addressed in textbooks (Albanesi, 2018 - CATCH-EyoU). To date, research indicates a predominance of national level citizenship-related content in existing teaching materials, while EU topics are either totally absent, or focusing only on student mobility. Overall, current European recommendations on citizenship education are far from being incorporated in the architecture and the contents of textbooks (Albanesi, 2018 - CATCH-EyoU; Piedade, et al., 2018 - CATCH-EyoU). This is a significant shortcoming, as existing findings highlight the role of young people's political competence and school opportunities for learning about Europe as predictors of an active EU citizenship and trust in European institutions (Serek & Jugert, 2018 - CATCH-EyoU). In line with the Commission Communication on a European strategy for universities¹⁷, enhancing cooperation of higher education and upper secondary education to develop civic education on participatory and deliberative democracy is highly recommended.
- (iii) Use democratic innovations as new ways to enact the relationship between the governing and the governed with the public; and not merely as a showcase for proximity to the people (Macq & Jacquet, 2021). This objective, however, may conflict with the established practices of elected representatives, political administrations and civil society alike. Multiple stakeholders must share the political space, and allow other groups of actors to exert political influence (Secchi, Cordeiro & Spada, 2016 EMPATIA). Thus, this shift towards deliberative and participatory practices also entails the acceptance of citizens as new actors of decision-making and policymaking by established stakeholders (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021b PEDEREP).

Summary recommendations: developing a culture of participation

- Have a detailed communication strategy on ongoing deliberative and participatory practices to generate broader citizens' support
- Develop and coordinate civic education on participatory and deliberative democracy, with a specific focus on the European level
- Create specifically a culture of participatory and deliberative democracy for decisionand policymakers

_

¹⁷ COM/2022, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European economic and social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European strategy for universities.

2.2. Specific recommendations

2.2.1. Multilevel governance and policy fields

The claim that democratic innovations would only be suited for issues that are neither too complex nor too technical does not hold in face of the diversity of fields and topics covered by deliberative mini- publics organised across Europe at the regional and national levels (Paulis *et al.*, 2020 – CUREORCURSE). Of course, some topics are more frequent than others, as health and environment, or the reform of existing political institutions. Other policy fields have also featured centre-stage in participatory and deliberative practices in experience of co-creation in research, specifically on the impacts of scientific and technology air quality practices (e.g., Csobod & Szuppinger, 2018 – CLAiR-CITY), cultural heritage (e.g., REACH) or circular economy (e.g., Repo, *et al.*, 2018 – CIMULACT).

There is, however, more than one caveat to the observation that democratic innovations do not discriminate between policy fields:

- (i) While virtually any policy field can be the focus of participatory and deliberative practices, when aiming at binding decision-making, policymakers should refrain from initiating them outside of the scope of their formal policy responsibilities. Indeed, existing research has stressed in no uncertain terms that impacts matter. Thus, deliberative, and participatory practices aiming at policymaking should be organised either when the organising policymakers has exclusive policy competences, or by including other relevant public institutions as early as possible in the process when policy competences are shared (Mureddu & Osimo, 2019 COVAL).
- (ii) In the case of shared competences, the participatory exercise should be organised at the level of governance where the issues and consequences are more immediate and concrete from a citizen's perspective (Rojon & Pilet, 2021 CUREORCURSE). The smaller the community, the more participants will share common experiences, which is a key determinant of easing political discussion in a group (Van Ingelgom, 2020). As the local level doesn't have always the resources understood both in material terms, but also in terms of know-how, the burden of participation in democratic innovations should be lower for them as well (Empatia Consortium, 2018). Building dedicated public administrations, whose tasks would include providing direct support and specific guidelines may foster the use of democratic innovation in each EU member state at different levels (Mureddu & Osimo, 2019 COVAL).
- (iii) In the context of European multilevel governance, and with many contemporary issues like the climate transition being complex, multilevel, and cross-cutting, partnerships should be developed across levels of government and/or across policy fields when running participatory and deliberative exercises that touch on several levels of government competence, to foster knowledge exchanges between decision-makers and policymakers. This transfer of knowledge has at least two dimensions. First, establishing a learning process around good and bad practices and methods. Second, transferring knowledge of policy recommendations between level and across policy fields. When deliberating on complex, multilevel, and crosscutting issues, citizens' ideas and recommendations do not necessarily

target a specific level of government or policy area. Partnerships across levels of government and policy fields could ensure that knowledge circulates between stakeholders and, as a plausible consequence, enlarges the expected impact¹⁸.

(iv) For deliberative and participatory practices organised at the EU level, existing experiences report that suggested policies should easily travel between different contexts – e.g. environmental policies. There is indeed a tension between practices that are context-sensitive, and developing a European model of deliberative and participatory practices. Moreover, when it comes to institutional reform in particular, research underlines that citizens support EU policies that complement national policies (Cotta, 2018 – EUENGAGE) without challenging the current distribution of power across government levels (Schäfer, Treib & Schlipphak, 2022 – RECONNECT). In contrast, there is evidence that reforms which would alter the existing allocation of policy responsibilities would be highly contested and should therefore be avoided.

Summary recommendations on multilevel governance and participatory democracy

- Initiate participatory and deliberative practices where policymakers have extended policy competences
- In the case of shared policy competences, include other relevant policymakers, and locate the participatory and deliberative practices closest to citizens
- Develop partnerships across levels of government, and across policy fields, to exchange knowledge on know-how as well as on citizens' recommendations
- When it comes to the EU, avoid modifying the existing distribution of power through deliberative and participatory practices

2.2.2. Online and offline tools

At the EU level, e-participation has largely followed the logic of e-consultation with the 'Your Voice' and the 'European Citizens Consultation' platforms being the main instruments (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a – PEDEREP). The rapid development of new technologies has sparked hope among scholars and practitioners of democracy that new technologies would enhance democratic engagement and make politics more inclusive.

Yet, the 'digital divide' in all its dimensions remains a concern. Income, education, gender, age, and race mediate **access** to new technologies. This is a severe setback for online deliberation and participation, which reinforces rather than address existing problems – except for young people, whose political participation is supported by online tools. In addition to access, **impact** should also be considered: when people participate online, they do not all have an equal chance to be heard. Asymmetries in power relations and skills exist, which implicitly or explicitly favor some participants over others (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a – PEDEREP). **Overall, dedicated efforts to make online deliberative and**

¹⁸ As research on the multilevel dimension of deliberative and participatory practices is still scarce, this section has been developed based on interviews realised with team members of the DEMOTEC, EUCOMMEET and EUARENAS projects. We thank them for their time and their valuable insights. More information on these outgoing projects can be found on Cordis.

participatory practices socially inclusive are needed. These include the provision of public Internet access for participants, training in the necessary ICT skills, and explicit rules of conduct and professional moderation (Kiesouw, & Ziętek, 2021 – PaCE). Consequently, when designing e-participating initiatives, it is important to pay attention to making procedures user-friendly and attractive to an ordinary citizen (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021 – PEDEREP). In order to reinforce attractiveness, serious games could be included as an online tool of participation. As an example, ClairCity Skylines Game is designed to capture citizen decision-making about issues in their city. Players travel between areas representing a city's environment, economy, and its citizen's health & satisfaction, collecting ideas for policies to enact a low carbon, clean air, healthy future before 2050 (King & Hayes, 2019 – CLAIR-CITY).

In addition, hybridisation, that is, the combination of offline and online channels of engagement, is more likely to promote a wider diversity of participants (Empatia Consortium, 2018). Benefits for participants include a choice of their preferred mode of participation, a possibility to switch between channels, and/or to participate in multiple channels at the same time. New technologies can be relied on to simplify and scale up face-to-face events, to reinforce community bonds, or to reach out to marginalised or vulnerable social groups. Another potentially significant benefit of hybridisation is to strengthen the relationships between participating citizens and involved representatives or public administrations, by layering an additional channel of communication to existing ones. As an example, in e-rulemaking, there is a mixed-participation mode where citizens and experts coexist (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021c – PEDEREP). Turning this potential into reality, however, requires a shift of perspective on the part of policymakers (Defacqz & Dupuy, 2021 – TROPICO). While e-participation platforms have experienced an upsurge in the last decade, the use and the integration of their outcome in policymaking remains elusive (Deligiaouri & Suiter, 2021a – PEDEREP).

Finally, a proper and efficient use of technology is necessary. Research repeatedly reports users' frustrations towards perceived amateur online tools of participation and deliberation. Channelling resources dedicated to design professional and efficient online platforms is therefore necessary.

Summary recommendations on online and offline tools for participatory democracy

- Invest special efforts to make online deliberative and participatory practices socially inclusive
- Combine offline and online channels to promote a wider diversity of participants
- Promote online interactions between participants and policymakers that have an impact on policy
- Dedicate resources to design and operate professional and efficient online platforms of participation and deliberatio

3. Conclusion: Establishing a European Charter for Citizen Participation

Since the early 2000s, EU institutions have promoted a variety of participatory and deliberative practices to improve citizens' engagement in EU decision-making and policymaking. The most recent and ambitious deliberative and participatory practice has been the Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFE). At this occasion, the need to increase citizen participation to help shape policymaking was widely discussed by participants. Among other things, they recommend further and resolute action to 'increase citizens' participation and youth involvement at the European Union level to develop a 'full civic experience' for Europeans, ensure that their voice is heard also between elections, and that participation is effective'. Increasing the frequency of online and offline interactions between citizens and EU institutions and creating a European charter for citizen participation were two concrete examples of concrete action for EU institutions to focus on. In its Communication of 17 June 2022 on the CoFE (COM/2022/404), the European Commission gives an overview of the next steps, among which to develop a European Charter for Citizen Participation promoting the general principles that are essential for successful citizen engagement. Table 1 summarises general principles stemming from existing research that could be used for such a Charter:

Table 1. General principles for establishing a European Charter for Citizen Participation

- 1. Develop a hybrid model of representation by including participatory and deliberative practices in existing representative institutions and by extending representatives' accountability to participatory and deliberative practices.
- 2. Actively and intentionally include diverse groups, voices, and ideas to lay the groundwork for broader democratic legitimacy through citizen participation in decision-making and policymaking.
- 3. Identify who the disengaged citizens are, and develop specific inclusion strategies to better engage relevant difficult-to-reach groups of the population, including the younger generations.
- 4. In the specific context of the EU, think about inclusive participation beyond national citizenship when appropriate.
- 5. Reduce as much as possible the burden of participation for citizens and stakeholders and provide (multiple) incentives to participate.
- 6. Consider participants' personal context (social, moral, economic, geographic) and experiences as valuable resource for deliberation and participation along their political knowledge and specific expertise.
- 7. Be transparent and explicit about the role of deliberative and participatory practices in decision-making and policymaking, both to participants and to policymakers.
- 8. Implement a 'participatory and deliberative contract' where participants' and policymakers' commitments and responsibilities are clearly stated from the beginning.
- 9. Ensure that deliberative and participatory practices will have visible and meaningful policy impacts.
- 10. Have a detailed, professional communication strategy on ongoing participatory and deliberative practices to generate broader citizen support, including how participants were selected.
- 11. Promote a culture of participation and deliberation with programs and institutions that support and coordinate quality public engagement from elected politicians, public administrations, and citizens.
- 12. Initiate participatory and deliberative practices where policymakers have extended policy competences when binding decision-making is at stake. In the case of shared policy competences, include other relevant policymakers and locate the participatory and deliberative practices the closest to citizens.
- 13. Develop multi-level and cross-cutting policy fields partnerships to foster the transfer of know-how as well as the transfer of citizens' recommendations.
- 14. Pursue special efforts to make online deliberative and participatory practices socially inclusive, including by combining offline and online channels.
- 15. Dedicate adequate resources to design and operate professional and efficient online platforms of participation and deliberation.

References

- Albanesi, C. (2018). Citizenship Education in Italian Textbooks. How Much Space is There for Europe and Active Citizenship? *Journal of Social Science Education*, 17:2, 21-30. *[CATCH-EyoU] Albrecht, S. (2006) Whose voice is heard in online deliberation? A study of participation and representation in political debates on the internet. *Information, Community and Society*, 9:1, 62-82.
- Allegretti, G., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2017). Participatory budgeting: a methodological approach to address sustainability challenges. In J. Hartz-Karp & D. Marinova (Eds.), *Methods for Sustainability Research*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 203–216. *[EMPATIA]
- Anderson, C. J., Bol, D., & Ananda, A. (2021). Humanity's attitudes about democracy and political leaders: Patterns and trends. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 85(4), 957–986.
- Andersson, B., Cuconato, M., De Luigi, N., Demozzi, S., Forkby, T., Ilardo, M., Martelli, A., Pitti, I., Tuorto, D. Zannoni, F., (2016). WP2 National Contexts Comparative Report (PARTISPACE Deliverable, D 3.2). *[PARTISPACE]
- Arundel, A., Desmarchelier, B., Es-Sadki, N., Lagunes, H., Nordii, A., Magnussen, S., Rohnebaek, M., Ronning, R., Strokosch, K., Tsabouraki, D., & Triantafillou, A. (2021). *D2.1 Mapping and instruments providing data on the co-creation of public services*. Co-VAL Deliverables. *[Co-VAL]
- Bächtiger, A. & Parkinson, J. (2019). *Mapping and Measuring Deliberation: Towards a New Deliberative Quality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Basile, L., Isernia, P., Olmastroni, F. & Parnet, O. (2018). Mind the Gap: Effects of the Online Deliberation on Citizens' Participation and the Public-Elite divide. *The EUENGAGE Working Papers*. *[EUENGAGE]
- Batsleer, J., Andersson, B., Liljeholm Hansson, S., Lütgens, J., Mengilli, Y., Pais, A., Pohl, A., Wissö, T. (2017). Non-formal spaces of socio-cultural accompaniment. Responding to young unaccompanied refugees reflections from the Partispace project. *European Educational Research Journal*, 17(2), 305-322. *[PARTISPACE]
- Bečević, Z. & Dahlstedt, M. (2021). On the margins of citizenship: youth participation and youth exclusion in times of neoliberal urbanism. Journal of Youth Studies, 24, pp. 1–18. *[PARTISPACE]
- Bedock, C. & Pilet, J.-B. (2020). Enraged, Engaged, or Both? A Study of the Determinants of Support for Consultative vs. Binding Mini-Publics. *Representation.* *[CUREORCURSE]

- Bedock, C. & Pilet, J.-B. (2021). Who Supports Citizens Selected by Lot to be the Main Policymakers? A Study of French Citizens. *Government and Opposition*, 56(3), 485-504. *[CUREORCURSE]
- Camprodon, G., Barberán, V., & Perez M. (2017). D2.4 Documentation on toolkit add-ons. MAKINGSENSE Deliverables. *[MAKINGSENSE]
- Celis, K., Knops, L., Van Ingelgom, V., & Verhaegen, S. (2021). Resentment and Coping with the Democratic Dilemma. *Politics and Governance*, 9(3), 237-247.
- Coleman, S. (2004). Connecting Parliament to the Public via the Internet, *Information, Communication & Society*, 7:1, 1-22.
- Copello, K., (2017), D1.4: Models, Methodologies, Scenarios & Requirements Final (EMPATIA Deliverable 1.4). *[EMPATIA]
- Cotta, M. (2018). Recommendations for a more accountable, social, equal, and visible Europe, EUENGAGE Newsletter, Special issue. *[EUENGAGE]
- Csobod, E. & Szuppinger, P. (2018). D4.16 Mutual Learning Workshop Analysis Report. *[CLAiR-CITY]
- Cucciniello, M., Nasi, G., & Oprea, N. (2019). *D1.3* Research report on experiments. *[Co-VAL]
- Cuconato, M., McMahon, G., Becquet, V., Ilardo, M., Liljeholm Hansson, S., Lütgens, J., Demozzi, S., & Maunaye, E. (2018), Biographies of young people's participation in eight European cities (PARTISPACE Deliverable 6.2). *[PARTISPACE] Dagorne, E. & Gudowsky, N. (2017). Deliverable
- Dagorne, E. & Gudowsky, N. (2017). *Deliverable* 5.1 Inspiration Catalogue for consulting different groups. *[CIMULACT]
- Dahl, V., Amnå, E., Banaji, S., Landberg, M., Šerek, J., Ribeiro, N., Beilmann, M., Pavlopoulos, V. & Zani, B. (2018), Apathy or alienation? Political passivity among youths across eight European Union countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15:3, 284-301. *[CATCH-EyoU]
- Defacqz, S. & Dupuy, C. (2021). Usages of an E-participation platform by legislators: lessons from the French parliament. *French Politics*, 19, 372–393 (2021). *[TROPICO]
- Delair, M., Magdalinski, E. & Pellerin-Carlin, T. (2019). *D6.4. Participatory foresight evaluation report.* ENABLE.EU Deliverables. *[ENABLE.EU]
- Deligiaouri, A. & Suiter, J. (2021a). Evaluation of public consultations and citizens' participation in 2015 Better Regulation Agenda of the EU and the need for a deliberative e-rulemaking initiative in the EU. *European Politics and Society*, 22:1, 69-87. *[PEDEREP]
- Deligiaouri, A. & Suiter, J. (2021b). Oscillating Between Representation and Participation in Deliberative Fora and the Question of Legitimacy:

- Can 'Hybrid Representative Democracy' be the Remedy? *Representation*. *[PEDEREP]
- Deligiaouri, A., & Suiter, J. (2021c). A policy impact tool: Measuring the policy impact of public participation in deliberative e-rulemaking. *Policy Internet*, 13, 349–365. *[PEDEREP]
- Denyer, D. & Tranfield, D. (2009). Producing a systematic review. *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Research Methods*, 671–689.
- Dreyer, M., Kosow, H., Bauer, A., Chonkova, B., Kozarev, V. & Timotijevic, L. (2021). Public engagement with research: Citizens' views on motivations, barriers and support. *Research for All*, 5 (2), 302–19. *[PROSO]
- Dryzek, J., Bächtiger, A., Chambers, S., Cohen, J., Druckman, J.N., Felicetti, A., Fishkin, J., Farrell, D.M., Fung, A., Gutmann, A., Landemore, H., Mansbridge, J.J., Marien, S., Neblo, M., Niemeyer, S.J., Setälä, M., Slothuus, R., Suiter, J., Thompson, D. & Warren, M.E. (2019). The crisis of democracy and the science of deliberation. *Science*, 363, 1144 1146.
- Dupuy, C. & Defacqz, S. (2022). Citizens and the legitimacy outcomes of collaborative governance an administrative burden perspective. *Public Management Review*, 24(5), 752-772. *[TROPICO]
- Empatia Consortium (2018). *D6.2 Final Report.* EMPATIA Deliverables. *[EMPATIA]
- European Committee of the Regions (2019). From Local to European: Putting Citizens at the Centre of the EU Agenda, Brussels: European Union.
- Fishkin, J. S. (2018). Democracy when the people are thinking: Revitalising our politics through public deliberation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geissel B. & Newton, K. (2012). Evaluating Democratic Innovations. Curing the democratic malaise? Abington: Routledge.
- Gudowsky, N., Sotoudeh, M., Bechtold, U. & Peissl, W. (2017). Contributing to an European vision of democratic education by engaging multiple actors in shaping responsible research agendas. Public Philosophy & Democratic Education, Special Issue Participatory Methods for Information Society, 5, 29-50.
- Heinisch, R., & Wegscheider, C. (2020). Disentangling How Populism and Radical Host Ideologies Shape Citizens' Conceptions of Democratic Decision-Making. *Politics and Governance*, 8(3), 32-44. *[PaCE]
- Hibbing J.R. & Theiss-Morse E. (2001). Process Preferences and American Politics: What the People Want Government to Be. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 145–153.
- Hibbing, J.R. & Theiss-Morse, E. (2002). Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs About How Government Should Work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Jacquet, V. (2017), Explaining non-participation in deliberative mini-publics. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56: 640-659.
- Jacquet, V. (2019). The Role and the Future of Deliberative Mini-publics: A Citizen Perspective. *Political Studies*, 67(3), 639–657.
- Jacquet, V., & van Der Does, R. (2020). The consequences of deliberative minipublics: Systematic overview, conceptual gaps, and new directions. *Representation*, 57(1), 131–141.
- Jacquet, V., & van der Does, R. (2021). Deliberation and Policymaking: Three Ways to Think About Minipublics' Consequences. *Administration & Society*, 53(3), 468–487.
- Jacquet, V., Niessen, C., & Reuchamps, M. (2022). Sortition, its advocates and its critics: An empirical analysis of citizens' and MPs' support for random selection as a democratic reform proposal. *International Political Science Review*, 43(2), 295–316.
- Kapoor, K. K., Omar, A., & Sivarajah, U. (2017). Enabling Multichannel Participation Through ICT Adaptation. *International Journal of Electronic Government Research (IJEGR)*, 13(2), 66-80. *[EMPATIA]
- Kersting, N. (2021). Participatory democracy and sustainability: Deliberative democratic innovation and its acceptance by citizens and Germany local councilors. *Sustainability*, 13, 7214.
- Kiesouw, S., & Ziętek, A. (2021). *D5.4:* Recommendations on new forms of public participation. *[PaCE]
- Kioupkiolis, A. (2022). Transforming city government: Italian variants on urban communing. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 44:3, 186-204. *[HETEROPOLITICS]
- Koster, M. (2016). Brokers in Participatory Urban Governance: Assembling Formal and Informal Politics, *L'Espace Politique* [Online], 29(2). *[BROKERS]
- Koster, M. & van Leynseele, Y. (2018). Brokers as Assemblers: Studying Development Through the Lens of Brokerage, *Ethnos*, 83(5), 803-813. *[BROKERS]
- Lafont, C. (2015). Deliberation, participation, and democratic legitimacy: Should deliberative minipublics shape public policy? *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 23(1), 40–63.
- Laloux, T. (2020). Informal negotiations in EU legislative decision-making: a systematic review and research agenda. *European Political Science*, 19, 443–460.
- Landberg, M., Eckstein, K., Mikolajczyk, C., Mejias, S., Macek, P., Motti-Stefanidi, F., Enchikova, E., Guarino, A., Rämmer, A. & Noack, P. (2018). Being both A European and a national citizen? Comparing young people's identification with Europe and their home country across eight European countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15:3, 270-283. *[CATCH-EyoU]

- Landemore, H. (2020). Open democracy: Reinventing popular rule for the twenty-first century. Princeton University Press.
- Landwehr, C., & Steiner, N. D. (2017). Where democrats disagree: Citizens' normative conceptions of democracy. *Political Studies*, 65(4), 786–804.
- Lee, C. W. (2015). *Do-it-yourself Democracy. The* rise of public engagement industry, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Macq, H. & Jacquet, V. (2023), Institutionalising participatory and deliberative procedures: The origins of the first permanent citizens' assembly. *European Journal of Political Research*, 62: 156-173
- McMahon, G., Percy-Smith, B., Thomas, N., Bečević, Z., Liljeholm Hansson, S., & Forkby, T. (2018). Young people's participation: learning from action research in eight European cities (PARTISPACE Deliverable, D 5.3). *[PARTISPACE]
- Michels, A., & Binnema, H. (2019). Assessing the Impact of Deliberative Democratic Initiatives at the Local Level: A Framework for Analysis. *Administration & Society*, 51(5), 749–769.
- Min, S. J. (2007). Online vs. face-to-face deliberation: Effects on civic engagement. *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, 12(4), 1369-1387.
- Mureddu, F. & Osimo, D. (2019). Co-Creation of Public Services Why and How. Co-VAL Policy brief. *[Co-VAL]
- Newton, K. (2012). Curing the democratic malaise with democratic innovations. In B. Geissel & K. Newton, *Evaluating Democratic Innovations*. *Curing the democratic malaise?* Routledge, 3-20.
- Norris, P. (2011). Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- OECD (2020). Catching the Deliberative Wave: Innovative Citizens Participation and New Democratic Institutions, Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Olmastroni, F., Bianchi, V. & Duguid, A. (2020). A Deliberative Bridge over the Mass-elite Rift: Effects of online deliberation on support for European integration. In M. Cotta & P. Isernia, The EU through Multiple Crises. Representation and Cohesion Dilemmas for a "sui generis" Polity, London: Routledge. *[EUENGAGE]
- Pais, A. (2022). What Do Young People Learn in Formal Settings of Youth Participation? In Z. Bečević and B. Andersson (Eds.). Youth Participation and Learning. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 139–149. *[PARTISPACE]
- Paulis, E., Pilet, JB., Panel, S., Vittori, D., & Close, C. (2021). The POLITICIZE dataset: an inventory of deliberative mini-publics (DMPs) in Europe. European Political Science, 20, 521–542. *[CUREORCURSE]

- Percy-Smith, B., Cuconato, M., Reutlinger, C. & Thomas, N. P. (2019). Action research with young people: possibilities and 'messy realities'. *Discourse. Journal of Childhood and Adolescence Research*, 14(3), 255–270. *[PARTISPACE]
- Percy-Smith, B., Thomas, N., Bečević, Z., Pitti, I. (2018). Youth participation training module (PARTISPACE Deliverable, D 7.2). *[PARTISPACE]
- Percy-Smith, McMahon & Thomas (2019) Recognition, inclusion and democracy: learning from action research with young people. Educational Action Research, 27:3, 347-361. *[PARTISPACE]
- Piedade, F., Ribeiro, N., Loff, M., Neves, T., Menezes, I. (2018). Learning About the European Union in Times of Crisis: Portuguese Textbooks' Normative Visions of European Citizenship, *Journal of Social Science Education*, 17:2, 31-40. *[CATCH-EyoU]
- Pilet, J.-B., Bol, D., Vittori, D. & Paulis, E. (2023), Public support for deliberative citizens' assemblies selected through sortition: Evidence from 15 countries. *European Journal of Political Research*. *[CUREORCURSE]
- Pitti, I., Mengilli, Y., & Walther, A. (2023). Liminal Participation: Young People's Practices in the Public Sphere Between Exclusion, Claims of Belonging, and Democratic Innovation. *Youth & Society*, 55(1), 143–162. *[PARTISPACE]
- Randma Liiv, T., & Vooglaid, K.M. (2019). *Policy Brief 3: Success factors for organising and administering e-participation.* *[TROPICO]
- Repo, P., Matschoss, K. & Timonen, P. (2017). Sustainable Futures: Comparing Methodologies for Analyzing Citizen Visions in Europe, Sociology Study, 7. *[CIMULACT]
- Repo, P., Anttonen, M., Mykkänen, J. & Lammi, M. (2018). Lack of Congruence between European Citizen Perspectives and Policies on Circular Economy. *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, 7, 249-264. *[CIMULACT]
- Rojon, S. & Pilet, J.-B. (2021). Engaged, Indifferent, Skeptical or Critical? Disentangling Attitudes towards Local Deliberative Mini-Publics in Four Western European Democracies. Sustainability, 13, 10518. *[CUREORCURSE]
- Roy, A., Kennelly, J., Rowley, H. & Larkins, C. (2021). A critical discussion of the use of film in participatory research projects with homeless young people: an analysis based on case examples from England and Canada. *Qualitative Research*, 21(6), 957–974. *[PARTISPACE]
- Royo, S., Pina, V. & Garcia-Rayado J. (2020). Decide Madrid: A Critical Analysis of an Award-Winning e-Participation Initiative. *Sustainability*, 12(4):1674. *[TROPICO]
- Russack, S. (2018). Pathways for citizens engage in EU policy making. In S. Blockmans & S. Russack (Eds.), *Direct democracy in the EU: The*

myth of a citizens' union. Brussels: Rowman & Littlefield International, Centre for European Policy Studies, 8-40.

Schäfer, C., Treib, O. & Schlipphak, B. (2022). What kind of EU do citizens want? Reform preferences and the conflict over Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*. *[RECONNECT]

Šerek, J. & Jugert, P. (2018) Young European citizens: An individual by context perspective on adolescent European citizenship. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15:3, 302-323. *[CATCH-EyoU]

Smith, G. (2009). Democratic innovations. Designing institutions for citizen participation. Cambridge University Press.

Spada, P., & Ryan, M. (2017). The Failure to Examine Failures in Democratic Innovation. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50, 772 - 778.

Standal, K., Talevi, M. & Westskog, H. (2020). Engaging men and women in energy production in Norway and the United Kingdom: The significance of social practices and gender relations. Energy Research & Social Science, 60, 101338. *[ENABLE.EU]

Stoker, G., & Hay, C. (2017). Understanding and Challenging Populist Negativity towards Politics: The Perspectives of British Citizens. *Political Studies*, 65(1), 4–23.

Suiter, J., Farrell, D., & Harris, C. (2016). The Irish constitutional convention: A case of 'high legitimacy'? In M. Reuchamps & J. Suiter (Eds.), Constitutional deliberative democracy in Europe. ECPR Press, 33–54.

van der Does, R., & Jacquet, V. (2021a). Small-Scale Deliberation and Mass Democracy: A Systematic Review of the Spillover Effects of Deliberative Minipublics. *Political Studies*.

van der Does, R., & Kantorowicz, J. (2021). Why do citizens (not) support democratic innovations? The role of instrumental motivations in support for participatory budgeting. *Research & Politics*, 8(2).

Van Ingelgom, V. (2014). Integrating Indifference: A Comparative, Qualitative and Quantitative Approach to the Legitimacy of European Integration. Colchester: ECPR Press.

Van Ingelgom, V. (2020). Focus groups: from data generation to analysis. In L. Curini, L. & R.J. Franzese, Sage Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations, Sage, 1190-1210.

VanderMolen, K. (2017). Stealth democracy revisited: Reconsidering preferences for less visible government. *Political Research Quarterly*, 70, 687–698.

Vromen, A., & Collin, P. (2010). Everyday youth participation? Contrasting views from Australian policymakers and young people. *Young*, 18(1), 97–112.

Webb, P. (2013). Who is willing to participate? Dissatisfied democrats, stealth democrats and

populists in the United Kingdom. European Journal of Political Research, 52(6), 747–772.

Woods, M., Fazey, I., Hemment, D. (2016). D5.1 Recommendations and Guidelines for Engaging Communities with Agencies and Policy Bodies Using Powerful Deliberate Practices. *[MAKINGSENSE]

ANNEX 1

Description of the research projects included in the report:

Factsheets

BROKERS – Participatory Urban Governance between Democracy and Clientelism: Brokers and (In)formal Politics

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/679614

Grant agreement ID: 679614

Start date: 1 August 2016 - End date: 31 January 2022

Total cost: € 1 497 570

Programme(s): EXCELLENT SCIENCE - European Research Council (ERC)

Coordinated by: STICHTING RADBOUD UNIVERSITEIT, Netherlands

Objective

The emergence of participatory governance has resulted in the delegation of governmental responsibilities to citizens. Individuals position themselves as voluntary mediators, or brokers, between the government and their fellow citizens. This research asks: what are the roles of such brokers in participatory urban governance, and how do they influence democratic governance? This study will investigate ethnographically how brokers position themselves in administrative schemes and examine the formal and informal dimensions of their performance. It will analyse the practices, discourses and networks, both in and out of officially sanctioned channels and government institutions. The research approaches brokers as 'assemblers', connective agents who actively bring together different governmental and citizen actors, institutions and resources.

The scholarly debate on brokerage within participatory governance is divided into two different arguments: first, an argument about neoliberal deregulation located in the Global North, which encourages the practices of active citizen-mediators, and second, a modernization argument in the Global South, which sees brokers as remnants of a clientelist political system. This research will combine these arguments to study settings in both the North and the South. It employs a comparative urbanism design to study four cities that are recognised as pioneers in democratic participatory governance, two in the North and two in the South: Rotterdam (NL), Manchester (UK), Cochabamba (Bolivia) and Recife (Brazil).

This research builds upon theories from political anthropology, urban studies, citizenship studies and public administration to develop a new framework for analyzing brokerage in participatory urban governance. Understanding how the formal and informal dimensions of participatory governance are entwined will contribute to our ability to theorize the conditions under which this type of governance can give rise to more democratic cities.

Selected publications

Eiró, F., & Koster, M. (2019). Facing bureaucratic uncertainty in the Bolsa Família Program. *Focaal*, 85, 84-96.

Jaffe, R. and Koster, M. (2019), The Myth of Formality in the Global North: Informality-as-Innovation in Dutch Governance. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43: 563-568.

Koster, M. (2016). Brokers in Participatory Urban Governance: Assembling Formal and Informal Politics, *L'Espace Politique [Online]*, 29(2).

Koster, M. & van Leynseele, Y. (2018). Brokers as Assemblers: Studying Development Through the Lens of Brokerage, *Ethnos*, 83(5), 803-813.

CATCH-EyoU – Constructing AcTive CitizensHip with European Youth: Policies, Practices, Challenges and Solutions

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/649538

Grant agreement ID: 649538

Start date: September 2015 - End date: 30 September 2018

Total cost: € 2 498 786

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe In A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: ALMA MATER STUDIORUM - UNIVERSITA DI BOLOGNA, Italy

Objective

The proposal will investigate young people's views of the EU and of their role in building the EU through their participatory practices at EU, national, regional and local levels. These issues will be examined from an interdisciplinary perspective (Political Sciences, Sociology, History, Media and Communications, Education, Psychology) as building blocks for a new and groundbreaking conceptualization and theoretical model of youth active citizenship in the EU, including "psychological" citizenship and practices of social and political engagement.

To achieve this aim, the proposal will adopt an innovative approach combining traditional theoretical hypothesis testing with empirical-phenomenological analysis and allowing to integrate the perspectives of young people, as co-producers of knowledge, with those of researchers and other stakeholders. A wide range of research methods will be used including documentary and media analysis, interviews and focus groups, a crossnational longitudinal study, ethnographic case studies of participatory practices and a socially innovative intervention. These quantitative and qualitative methods will allow to develop a new, robust and cutting-edge conceptualization of youth active citizenship in the EU and new evidence-based multilevel integrated theoretical model.

This approach will offer a multifaceted understanding of the different factors influencing the perspectives of "native EU citizens" and the ways in which they engage in society, leading to groundbreaking changes in the ways in which youth engagement, participation and active citizenship are understood. Moreover, the project will provide policy makers with a set of evidence-based ideas, recommendations and instruments to integrate young people's perspectives into various areas of policymaking. The findings of the project will thus fully cover the challenges, scope and impact of bringing the EU closer to its young citizens and boosting their participation.

Selected publications

Albanesi, C. (2018). Citizenship Education in Italian Textbooks. How Much Space is There for Europe and Active Citizenship? *Journal of Social Science Education*, 17(2), 21-30.

Dahl, V., Amnå, E., Banaji, S., Landberg, M., Šerek, J., Ribeiro, N., Beilmann, M., Pavlopoulos, V. & Zani, B. (2018), Apathy or alienation? Political passivity among youths across eight European Union countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15(3), 284-301.

Landberg, M., Eckstein, K., Mikolajczyk, C., Mejias, S., Macek, P., Motti-Stefanidi, F., Enchikova, E., Guarino, A., Rämmer, A. & Noack, P. (2018). Being both – A European and a national citizen? Comparing young people's identification with Europe and their home country across eight European countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15:3, 270-283.

Piedade, F., Ribeiro, N., Loff, M., Neves, T., Menezes, I. (2018). Learning About the European Union in Times of Crisis: Portuguese Textbooks' Normative Visions of European Citizenship. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 17(2), 31-40.

Šerek, J. & Jugert, P. (2018) Young European citizens: An individual by context perspective on adolescent European citizenship. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15:3, 302-323.

CIMULACT - Citizen and Mutli-Actor Consultation on Horizon2020

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/665948

Grant agreement ID: 665948

Start date: 1 June 2015 – End date: 31 March 2018

Total cost: € 3 414 383.08

Programme(s): H2020-EU.5.c. - Integrate society in science and innovation issues, policies and activities in order to integrate citizens' interests and values and to increase the quality, relevance, social acceptability and sustainability of research and innovation outcomes in various fields of activity from social innovation to areas such as

biotechnology and nanotechnology

Coordinated by: FONDEN TEKNOLOGIRADET, Denmark

Objectives

CIMULACT has as a main objective to add to the relevance and accountability of European research and innovation – Horizon 2020 as well as national – by engaging citizens and stakeholders in co-creation of research agendas based on real and validated societal visions, needs and demands. The project will expand the outlook and debate on STI issues, increase scientific literacy in a broad sense, which includes the understanding of the societal role of Science, Technology and innovation (STI), and create shared understanding between scientific stakeholders, policymakers and citizens. This multi-actor approach will embrace EU28 plus Norway and Switzerland.

The CIMULTACT builds on the principle/conviction that the collective intelligence of society gives Europe a competitive advantage, which may be activated to strengthen the relevance of the European science and technology system. By establishing genuine dialogue between citizens, stakeholders, scientists, and policymakers' visions and scenarios for the desirable futures will be developed and debated and transformed into recommendations and suggestions for research and innovation policies and topics.

In short, CIMULACT will

- Create vision and scenarios that connect societal needs with future expected advances in Science and their impact on technology, society, environment etc. in connection to the grand challenges
- Provide concrete input to Horizon 2020 through recommendations and policy options for R&I and simulated calls for the Horizon2020 Work Programmes.
- Engage citizens and stakeholders in a highly participatory debate/consultation/process on scenarios for desirable sustainable futures and research
- Build capacities in citizen and multi-actor engagement in R&I through development, experimentation, training and assessment of methods for engagement
- Facilitate dialogue and shared understanding between policymakers, citizens, and stakeholders
- Reveal the relative merits of the citizen focused consultations

Selected publications

Dagorne, E. & Gudowsky, N. (2017). Deliverable 5.1 Inspiration Catalogue for consulting different groups.

Gudowsky, N., Sotoudeh, M., Bechtold, U. & Peissl, W. (2017). Contributing to an European vision of democratic education by engaging multiple actors in shaping responsible research agendas. *Public Philosophy & Democratic Education*, Special Issue Participatory Methods for Information Society, 5, 29-50.

Repo, P., Anttonen, M., Mykkänen, J. & Lammi, M. (2018). Lack of Congruence between European Citizen Perspectives and Policies on Circular Economy. *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, 7, 249-264.

Repo, P., Matschoss, K. & Timonen, P. (2017). Sustainable Futures: Comparing Methodologies for Analyzing Citizen Visions in Europe, *Sociology Study*, 7.

CLAiR-CITY - Citizen Led Air Pollution Reduction in Cities

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/689289

Grant agreement ID: 689289

Start date: 1 May 2016 - End date: 31 July 2020

Total cost: € 6 692 547,50

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Climate action, Environment, Resource

Efficiency and Raw Materials

Coordinated by: TRINOMICS BV, Netherlands

Objective

CLAiR-City will apportion air pollution emissions and concentrations, carbon footprints and health outcomes by city citizens' behaviour and day-to-day activities in order to make these challenges relevant to how people chose to live, behave and interact within their city environment. Through an innovative engagement and quantification toolkit, we will stimulate the public engagement necessary to allow citizens to define a range of future city scenarios for reducing their emissions to be used for supporting and informing the development of bespoke city policy packages out to 2050.

Using six pilot cities/regions (Amsterdam, NL; Bristol, UK; Aveiro, PT; Liguria, IT; Ljubljana, SI; and Sosnowiec, PO), CLAiR-City will source apportion current emissions/concentrations and carbon emissions not only by technology but by citizens' activities, behavior and practices. CLAiR-City will explore and evaluate current local, national and international policy and governance structures to better understand the immediate policy horizon and how that may impact on citizens and their city's future. Then, working with the new methods of source apportionment to combine both baseline citizen and policy evidence, CLAiR-City will use innovative engagement methods such as Games, an App and Citizen Days to inform and empower citizens to understand the current challenges and then subsequently define their own visions of their city's future based on how their want to live out to 2050. The impact of these citizen-led future city scenarios will analysed, to develop city specific policy packages in which the clean-air, low-carbon, healthy future, as democratically defined by the city citizens, is described and quantified. The results of the CLAiR-City process will be evaluated to provide policy lessons at city, national and EU levels. Additionally, the toolkit structure will be developed for all EU cities with more than 50,000 citizens establishing a basis to roll out the CLAiR-City process

Selected publications

Csobod, E. & Szuppinger, P. (2018). *D4.16 Mutual Learning Workshop Analysis Report.* CLAiR-CITY Deliverables.

King, A. & Hayes, E. (2019). *D4.10 ClairCity Skylines Game User Manual and Data Report.* CLAiR-CITY Deliverables.

Co-VAL – Understanding value co-creation in public services for transforming European public administrations

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/770356

Grant agreement ID: 770356

Start date: 1 November 2017 - End date: 30 April 2021

Total cost: € 4 461 508,75

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe In A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: ATHENS TECHNOLOGY CENTER ANONYMI VIOMICHANIKI EMPORIKI KAI TECHNIKI ETAIREIA EFARMOGON YPSILIS TECHNOLOGIAS,

Greece

Objective

The main goal of Co-VAL is to discover, analyze, and provide policy recommendations for transformative strategies that integrate the co-creation of value in public administrations. The project aims to accomplish these objectives by conducting research on the paradigm shift from the traditional top-down model to demand and bottom-up driven models when citizens, civil servants, private, and third sector organizations voluntarily participate in the development of transformative innovations addressing changing needs and social problems.

Co-VAL will push the boundaries of both research and practice by providing: i) a comprehensive and holistic theoretical framework for understanding value co-creation in public services from a service-dominant logic and a service innovation multiagent framework, ii) measurement and monitoring for transformations in the public sector by using both existing data and new metrics (large-scale survey), iii) investigation on 4 public-service-related co-creation areas of public sector transformation: digital transformation (including open platforms, big data, and digital service delivery), service design (including service blue-printing), government living labs, and innovative structural relationships (public-private innovation networks and social innovation), and iv) generation of sustainable impacts in public administration policy and practice by delivering actionable policy recommendations that build on the research findings, by tracking and monitoring how governments' pilot projects and actions, and by facilitating peer to peer knowledge exchange to facilitate implementation.

Co-VAL is a consortium of 13 teams from 11 EU countries formed by leading experts in public administration, co-creation and open governance, digital economy and service innovation. The consortium is organised to co-work with stakeholders representing central, regional and local administrations.

Selected publications

Arundel, A., Desmarchelier, B., Es-Sadki, N., Lagunes, H., Nordii, A., Magnussen, S., Rohnebaek, M., Ronning, R., Strokosch, K., Tsabouraki, D., & Triantafillou, A. (2021). *D2.1 Mapping and instruments providing data on the co-creation of public services*. Co-VAL Deliverables.

Cucciniello, M., Nasi, G., & Oprea, N. (2019). D1.3 Research report on experiments. Co-VAL Deliverables.

Mureddu, F. & Osimo, D. (2019). Co-Creation of Public Services - Why and How. Co-VAL Policy brief.

CUREORCURSE - Non-elected politics. Cure or Curse for the Crisis of Representative Democracy?

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/772695

Grant agreement ID: 772695

Start date: 1 September 2018 – End date: 28 February 2025

Total cost: € 1 981 589

Programme(s): EXCELLENT SCIENCE - European Research Council (ERC)

Coordinated by: UNIVERSITE LIBRE DE BRUXELLES, Belgium

Objective

Evidence of a growing disengagement of citizens from politics is multiplying. Electoral turnout reaches historically low levels. Anti-establishment and populist parties are on the rise. Fewer and fewer Europeans trust their representative institutions. In response, we have observed a multiplication of institutional reforms aimed at revitalising representative democracy. Two in particular stand out: the delegation of some political decision-making powers to (1) selected citizens and to (2) selected experts. But there is a paradox in attempting to cure the crisis of representative democracy by introducing such reforms. In representative democracy, control over political decision-making is vested in elected representatives. Delegating political decision-making to selected experts/citizens is at odds with this definition. It empowers the non-elected. If these reforms show that politics could work without elected officials, could we really expect that citizens' support for representative democracy would be boosted and that citizens would re-engage with representative politics? In that sense, would it be a cure for the crisis of representative democracy, or rather a curse? Our central hypothesis is that there is no universal and univocal healing (or harming) effect of non-elected politics on support for representative democracy. In order to verify it, I propose to collect data across Europe on three elements: (1) a detailed study of the preferences of Europeans on how democracy should work and on institutional reforms towards non-elected politics, (2) a comprehensive inventory of all actual cases of empowerment of citizens and experts implemented across Europe since 2000, and (3) an analysis of the impact of exposure to non-elected politics on citizens' attitudes towards representative democracy. An innovative combination of online survey experiments and of panel surveys will be used to answer this topical research question with far-reaching societal implication.

Selected publications

Bedock, C. & Pilet, J.-B. (2020). Enraged, Engaged, or Both? A Study of the Determinants of Support for Consultative vs. Binding Mini-Publics. *Representation*, 1-21.

Bedock, C. & Pilet, J.-B. (2021). Who Supports Citizens Selected by Lot to be the Main Policymakers? A Study of French Citizens. *Government and Opposition*, 56(3), 485-504.

Gherghina, S. and Pilet, J.-B. (2021), Populist Attitudes and Direct Democracy: A Questionable Relationship. Swiss Political Science Review, 27: 496-505.

Paulis, E., Pilet, JB., Panel, S., Vittori, D., & Close, C. (2021). The POLITICIZE dataset: an inventory of deliberative mini-publics (DMPs) in Europe. *European Political Science*, 20, 521–542.

Pilet J.-B., Talukder D., Sanhueza M.J. & Rangoni S. (2020). Do Citizens Perceive Elected Politicians, Experts and Citizens as Alternative or Complementary Policy-Makers? A Study of Belgian Citizens. *Frontiers in Political Science*.

Pilet, J.-B., Bol, D., Vittori, D. & Paulis, E. (2023), Public support for deliberative citizens' assemblies selected through sortition: Evidence from 15 countries. *European Journal of Political Research*.

Rojon, S. & Pilet, J.-B. (2021). Engaged, Indifferent, Skeptical or Critical? Disentangling Attitudes towards Local Deliberative Mini-Publics in Four Western European Democracies. *Sustainability*, 13, 10518.

EMPATIA - Enabling Multichannel PArticipation Through ICT Adaptations

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/687920

Grant agreement ID: 687920

Start date: 1 January 2016 - End date: 31 March 2018

Total cost: € 1 483 625

Programme(s): INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP - Leadership in enabling and industrial

technologies - Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) Coordinated by: CENTRO DE ESTUDOS SOCIAIS, Portugal

Objective

Participatory budgeting (PB) represents one of the most successful civic innovations of the last quarter-century. At a time when voter turnout in Europe is lagging and public institutions struggle to maintain trust and legitimacy within a framework of growing budgetary cuts, PB has proved itself to be a powerful tool for citizens to join in the essential tasks of governing, not only as voters but also as decision-makers themselves.

EMPATIA aims at producing the first ICT platform capable of fully encompassing both the decision-making cycle and the implementation cycle of PB whose integration is considered indispensable by literature as the main driver of the self-sustainability process. It will harness the collaborative power of ICT networks applied to PB, seeking to radically enhance the inclusiveness and impact of PB processes, enabling citizens, individually and collectively, to take deliberate and informed action for the public good. This will lower barriers to information and participation, deepening citizen engagement and trust in public institutions, collaborating alongside them to make their communities more sustainable.

EMPATIA consists of multidisciplinary consortium, with expertise in adjacent fields – research and implementation of participatory and voting processes, ICT integration, evaluation of technological and societal impacts among others – that will include in its activities the implementation of three distinct PB Pilots, with citizens from the municipalities of Lisbon (Portugal), Ričany (Czech Republic) and Bonn (Germany), allowing a thorough analysis and validation of the EMPATIA platform.

Selected publications

Allegretti, G., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2017). Participatory budgeting: a methodological approach to address sustainability challenges. In J. Hartz-Karp & D. Marinova (Eds.), *Methods for Sustainability Research*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 203–216.

Copello, K., (2017), D1.4: Models, Methodologies, Scenarios & Requirements - Final (EMPATIA Deliverable 1.4). EMPATIA Deliverables.

Empatia Consortium (2018). D6.2 Final Report. EMPATIA Deliverables.

Kapoor, K. K., Omar, A., & Sivarajah, U. (2017). Enabling Multichannel Participation Through ICT Adaptation. *International Journal of Electronic Government Research (IJEGR)*, 13(2), 66-80.

Ruesch, M. (2018). D3.2 Pilots implementation – final. EMPATIA Deliverables.

ENABLE.EU - Enabling the Energy Union through understanding the drivers of individual and collective energy choices in Europe

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/727524

Grant agreement ID: 727524

Start date: 1 November 2016 - End date: 31 October 2019

Total cost: € 3 337 416,25

Programme(s): H2020-EU.3.3. - SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Secure, clean and efficient

energy: H2020-EU.3.3.6. - Robust decision making and public engagement.

Coordinated by: ISTITUTO DI STUDI PER L'INTEGRAZIONE DEI SISTEMI (I.S.I.S) -

OCIETA'COOPERATIVA, Italy

Objective

The Energy Union Framework Strategy laid out on 25 February 2015 has embraced a citizens-oriented energy transition based on a low-carbon transformation of the energy system. The success of the energy transition pillar in the Energy Union will hinge upon the social acceptability of the necessary reforms and on the public engagement in conceptualising, planning, and implementing low carbon energy transitions. The ENABLE.EU project will aim to define the key determinants of individual and collective energy choices in three key consumption areas - transportation, heating & cooling, and electricity – and in the shift to prosumption (users-led initiatives of decentralised energy production and trade). The project will also investigate the interrelations between individual and collective energy choices and their impact on regulatory, technological and investment decisions. The analysis will be based on national household and business surveys in 11 countries, as well as research-area-based comparative case studies. ENABLE.EU aims to also strengthen the knowledge base for energy transition patterns by analysing existing public participation mechanisms, energy cultures, social mobilisation, scientists' engagement with citizens. Gender issues and concerns regarding energy vulnerability and affluence will be given particular attention. The project will also develop participatory-driven scenarios for the development of energy choices until 2050 by including the findings from the comparative sociological research in the E3ME model created by Cambridge Econometrics and used extensively by DG Energy. The findings from the modelling exercise will feed into the formulation of strategic and policy recommendations for overcoming the gaps in the social acceptability of the energy transition and the Energy Union plan. Results will be disseminated to relevant national and EU-level actors as well as to the general public.

Selected publications

Delair, M., Magdalinski, E. & Pellerin-Carlin, T. (2019). *D6.4. Participatory foresight evaluation report.* ENABLE.EU Deliverables.

Giuffrè, G., Sessa, C., Pellerin-Carlin, T., Magdalinski, E., Bartek-Lesi, M., Standal, K., Westskog, H., Werthschulte, M., Silvestri, A., & Lopez, E. (2019). *D6.2. Transition Practice Backcasting Workshops' Report.* ENABLE.EU Deliverables.

Standal, K., Talevi, M. & Westskog, H. (2020). Engaging men and women in energy production in Norway and the United Kingdom: The significance of social practices and gender relations. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 60, 101338.

EUENGAGE – Bridging the gap between public opinion and European leadership: Engaging a dialogue on the future path of Europe.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/649281

Grant agreement ID: 649281

Start date: 1 March 2015 – End date: 28 February 2018

Total cost: € 2 496 633

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe In A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: UNIVERSITA DEGLI STUDI DI SIENA, Italy

Objective

The goal of the EUENGAGE Project is twofold: first, to inquire into the current tensions between supranational EU governance and popular mobilization at the national level, critically questioning EU-driven policies and EU legitimacy; and second, to propose remedial actions based on sound empirical research on the relationship between public opinion, national and supranational political elites. The medium to long-term evolutionary trend of the EU system of supranational governance has already in the past given rise to a manifestation of problems. It has become clear that the pace of integration proposed from the top, and some side-effects of integration—austerity, transnational redistribution, economic insecurity, immigration—are difficult to accept for large parts of Europe's citizens. This misalignment is obviously a crucial issue for any system of governance that aims - as the European Union has repeatedly affirmed - to be inspired by democratic principles.

The EUENGAGE project takes seriously the present state of affairs and identifies in the conflicting messages emanating from the functioning of political representation a critical and urgent problem for the future of the EU. The EUENGAGE proposes to set up an interactive, dynamic, multilevel and replicable quasi-experimental research design. Using a variety of instruments and techniques, this design will allow us not only to study the process of representation in vivo, but also to test experimentally how innovative and efficient interactions between citizens and politicians can increase citizens' awareness of the common problems of the Union, and the ability of the European leadership to respond innovatively to the discontent of public opinion.

Selected publications

Basile, L., Isernia, P., Olmastroni, F. & Parnet, O. (2018). *Mind the Gap: Effects of the Online Deliberation on Citizens' Participation and the Public-Elite divide.* The EUENGAGE Working Papers.

Cotta, M. (2018). Recommendations for a more accountable, social, equal, and visible Europe, *EUENGAGE Newsletter, Special issue*.

Olmastroni, F., Bianchi, V. & Duguid, A. (2020). A Deliberative Bridge over the Mass-elite Rift: Effects of online deliberation on support for European integration. In M. Cotta & P. Isernia, *The EU through Multiple Crises. Representation and Cohesion Dilemmas for a "sui generis" Polity*, London: Routledge.

Olmastroni, F., & Basile, L. (2018). Mind the gap: effects of online deliberation on the EU publicelite divide. *EuVisions*. http://www.euvisions.eu/effects-online-deliberation/

GoNano - Governing Nanotechnologies through societal engagement

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/768622

Grant agreement ID: 768622

Start date: 1 September 2017 – End date: 31 December 2020

Total cost: € 1 998 366,25

Programme(s): INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP - Leadership in enabling and industrial

technologies - Nanotechnologies

Coordinated by: FONDEN TEKNOLOGIRADET, Denmark

Objective

GoNano has as its main objective to improve the responsiveness of research & innovation processes to public values and concerns. The project builds on previous projects in public engagement and new technologies to develop a pilot project in each of the nanotechnology research areas 'Health', 'Energy' and 'Food'. The pilot projects will engage citizens with researchers, professional users, civil society organisations, industry, and policy makers in a continuous process of deliberative workshops and online consultations to co-create concrete suggestions for future nanotechnologies. GoNano will build a broad community of 'change agents' for integrating an 'RRI way' of working on research and innovation, and it will develop and disseminate an RRI business case to align public values, needs and concerns with industry' for profit ambition. GoNano builds on the basic assumption that several types of knowledge are needed to define sustainability, acceptability, and desirability of nanotechnologies, as well as the belief that online and offline engagement activities must be combined with a creative approach to dissemination and communication to ensure continued interest and engagement in the debate on nanotechnologies future application. GoNano believes that its interactive and open approach to: developing the nanotechnology product suggestion; writing policy recommendation and building an RRI business case; informing and educating about nanotechnology as well as the value of co-creation will build trust and mutual understanding among all the stakeholders, including public and private stakeholders and citizens.

Selected publications

Moore, V., Horgan, G., Moore, R. (2017). *D.1.2: Understanding the role of culture, gender and communication traditions, and their implications for engagement methodologies, communication and dissemination.* GoNano Deliverables.

Schuurbiers, D. (2020). D4.4 Final report on the insights and lessons from the engagement activities. GoNano Deliverables.

Schuurbiers, D., Hebáková, L., Pour, M., Vančurová, I., Jansma, S., Dijkstra, A., Richmond, C., Kogon, B., Wright, P. (2020). *D4.5 Concrete Product Suggestions for Future Nanotechnologies*. GoNano Deliverables.

HETEROPOLITICS - Refiguring the Common and the Political

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/724692
Grant agreement ID: 724692

Start date: 1 April 2017 – End date: 31 December 2020

Total cost: € 758 031

Programme(s): EXCELLENT SCIENCE - European Research Council (ERC) Coordinated by: ARISTOTELIO PANEPISTIMIO THESSALONIKIS, Greece

Objective

Heteropolitics is a project in contemporary political theory which purports to contribute to the renewal of political thought on the 'common' (communities and the commons) and the political in tandem. The common implies a variable interaction between differences which communicate and collaborate in and through their differences, converging partially on practices and particular pursuits. The political pertains to processes through which plural communities manage themselves in ways which enable mutual challenges, deliberation, and creative agency.

Since the dawn of the 21st century, a growing interest in rethinking and reconfiguring community has spread among theorists, citizens and social movements (see e.g. Esposito 2013; Dardot & Laval 2014; Amin & Roberts 2008). This has been triggered by a complex tangle of social, economic and political conditions. Climate change, economic crises, globalization, increasing migration flows and the malaise of liberal democracies loom large among them.

These issues are essentially political. Rethinking and refiguring communities goes hand in hand thus with rethinking and reinventing politics. Hence 'hetero-politics', the quest for another politics, which can establish bonds of commonality across differences and can enable action in common without re-enacting the closures of 'organic' community or the violence of transformative politics in the past.

Heteropolitics will seek to break new ground by combining an extended re-elaboration of contemporary political theory with a more empirically grounded research into alternative and incipient practices of community building and self-governance in: education; the social economy; art; new modes of civic engagement by young people; new platforms of citizens' participation in municipal politics; network communities, and other social fields (Relevant cases include Sardex, a community currency in Sardinia; Barcelona en Comú, a citizens' platform governing the city of Barcelona, etc.)

Selected publications

Kioupkiolis, A. (2022). Transforming city government: Italian variants on urban communing. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 44:3, 186-204.

Making Sense - Making Sense

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/688620

Grant agreement ID: 688620

Start date: 1 November 2015 - End date: 31 December 2017

Total cost: € 1 547 774.50

Programme(s): H2020-EU.2.1.1. - INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP - Leadership in enabling

and industrial technologies - Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)

Coordinated by: STICHTING WAAG SOCIETY, Netherlands

Objective

The raise of Fab Labs and maker spaces are creating new opportunities for citizendriven innovation in a myriad domain ranging from open hardware to digital fabrication, community informatics, and participatory sensing. In the past five years, the broad availability of open hardware tools, the creation of online data sharing platforms, and access to maker spaces have fostered the design of low cost and open-source sensors that independent communities of citizens can appropriate to engage in environmental action. By collectively measuring and making sense of changes in environmental phenomena citizens can become aware of how their lifestyle affects the ecosystem and be inspired to adopt more sustainable behaviours at the individual and community levels.

Making Sense will show how open-source software, open-source hardware, digital maker practices and open design can be effectively used by local communities to appropriate their own technological sensing tools, make sense of their environments and address pressing environmental problems in air, water, soil and sound pollution. To achieve this, the project will develop a Making Sense Toolkit based on the Smart Citizen platform for bottom-up citizen science, developed at Fab Lab Barcelona. The toolkit will be tested in pilots in Amsterdam, Barcelona and Prishtina, aimed at deepening our understanding on the processes enabling collective awareness. Based on the pilots, we will develop a conceptual and methodological framework for participatory environmental maker practices. It will show how to provide citizens and communities with appropriate tools to enhance their everyday environmental awareness, to enable active intervention in their surroundings, and to change their individual and collective practices. And finally, we will develop will develop a scientifically informed framework for citizen co-inquiry and action towards hands-on transformation of their surroundings.

Selected publications

Camprodon, G., Barberán, V., & Perez M. (2017). D2.4 Documentation on toolkit add-ons. MAKINGSENSE Deliverables.

Alexandre Pólvora, A., Nascimento, S., Sanders, E., & Graell, M. (2016). *D4.2 Co-Designing Participatory Approaches for Communities?* MAKINGSENSE Deliverables.

Woods, M., Fazey, I., Hemment, D. (2016). *D5.1 Recommendations and Guidelines for Engaging Communities with Agencies and Policy Bodies Using Powerful Deliberate Practices*. MAKINGSENSE Deliverables.

PaCE - Populism and Civic Engagement - a fine-grained, dynamic, contextsensitive and forward-looking response to negative populist tendencies

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/822337

Grant agreement ID: 822337

Start date: 1 February 2019 - End date: 30 April 2022

Total cost: € 3 003 308,75

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe in A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: THE MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY, United Kingdom

Objective

The populist movements that have emerged across Europe claiming to challenge liberal elites and represent the 'ordinary people' contain tendencies threatening the EU. The EU-funded PaCE project aims to confront these negative tendencies of the populist movements, perform specific interventions, and contribute to the making of a solid democratic and institutional foundation for EU citizens. The project will analyse the causes, rise, specific challenges to liberal democracy, transitions related to leadership changes and consequences of these movements. PaCE will propose responses and develop risk analyses for each type of movement and transition by employing an agent-based simulation of political processes and conducts. The project team will develop new tools relying on machine learning algorithms.

Selected publications

Heinisch, R., & Wegscheider, C. (2020). Disentangling How Populism and Radical Host Ideologies Shape Citizens' Conceptions of Democratic Decision-Making. *Politics and Governance*, 8(3), 32-44.

Kiesouw, S., & Ziętek, A. (2021). *D5.4: Recommendations on new forms of public participation.* PaCE Deliverables.

PARTISPACE – Spaces and Styles of Participation. Formal, non-formal and informal possibilities of young people's participation in European cities.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/649416

Grant agreement ID: 649416

Start date: 1 May 2015 - End date: 30 April 2018

Total cost: € 2 575 965

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe In A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE-UNIVERSITAET FRANKFURT AM

MAIN, Germany

Objective

Existing research suggests that political participation and European orientation of young people depend on how they experience influence and involvement at local level. This reflects that individuals need the experience of self-efficacy to engage in wider communities. Research also reveals that only few young people engage in formalised participation (parties, trade unions, or youth councils) as these are not flexible enough for individualised concerns, biographies and lifestyles and they reflect patterns of social inequality.

The project Spaces and Styles of Participation (PARTISPACE) starts from the assumption that all young people do participate while not all participation is recognised as such. The study asks for the different ways in which young people participate in decisions "which concern them and, in general, the life of their communities". How do 15- and 30-year-olds engage with the public in formal, non-formal and informal settings and how is this supported or inhibited by local youth policies and youth work? The countries involved – Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the UK – secure contrasting contexts of young people's growing up as well as differing orientations towards Europe.

The design of PARTISPACE includes:

- National research literature reviews and policy analysis;
- Analysis of European Social Survey data on young people's participatory orientations;
- Local case studies in one major city per country including expert interviews, focus groups discussions, city walks and biographical interviews with young people, ethnographic case studies of formal, non-formal, and informal participatory spaces.
- Activating and supporting participatory action research by young people themselves.

The analysis relates local constellations with national and European patterns and discourses of youth participation. Findings are constantly discussed with representatives of the youth sector at local and European level.

Selected publications

Andersson, B., Cuconato, M., De Luigi, N., Demozzi, S., Forkby, T., Ilardo, M., Martelli, A., Pitti, I., Tuorto, D. Zannoni, F., (2016). *WP2 – National Contexts Comparative Report* (PARTISPACE Deliverable, D 3.2).

Batsleer, J., Andersson, B., Liljeholm Hansson, S., Lütgens, J., Mengilli, Y., Pais, A., Pohl, A., Wissö, T. (2017). Non-formal spaces of socio-cultural accompaniment. Responding to young unaccompanied refugees – reflections from the Partispace project. *European Educational Research Journal*, 17(2), 305-322.

Bečević, Z. & Dahlstedt, M. (2021). On the margins of citizenship: youth participation and youth exclusion in times of neoliberal urbanism. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 24, pp. 1–18.

Cuconato, M., McMahon, G., Becquet, V., Ilardo, M., Liljeholm Hansson, S., Lütgens, J., Demozzi, S., & Maunaye, E. (2018), *Biographies of young people's participation in eight European cities* (PARTISPACE Deliverable 6.2).

McMahon, G., Percy-Smith, B., Thomas, N., Bečević, Z., Liljeholm Hansson, S., & Forkby, T. (2018). *Young people's participation: learning from action research in eight European cities* (PARTISPACE Deliverable, D 5.3).

Pais, A. (2022). What Do Young People Learn in Formal Settings of Youth Participation? In Z. Bečević and B. Andersson (Eds.). *Youth Participation and Learning*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 139–149.

Percy-Smith, B., Thomas, N., Bečević, Z., Pitti, I. (2018). Youth participation training module (PARTISPACE Deliverable, D 7.2).

Percy-Smith, McMahon & Thomas (2019) Recognition, inclusion and democracy: learning from action research with young people. *Educational Action Research*, 27:3, 347-361.

Pitti, I., Mengilli, Y., & Walther, A. (2023). Liminal Participation: Young People's Practices in the Public Sphere Between Exclusion, Claims of Belonging, and Democratic Innovation. *Youth & Society*, 55(1), 143–162.

Roy, A., Kennelly, J., Rowley, H. & Larkins, C. (2021). A critical discussion of the use of film in participatory research projects with homeless young people: an analysis based on case examples from England and Canada. *Qualitative Research*, 21(6), 957–974.

PEREDEP - Promoting E-Rulemaking in the EU through Deliberative Procedures

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/798502

Grant agreement ID: 798502

Start date: 2 August 2018 – End date: 1 November 2020

Total cost: € 187 866

Programme(s): H2020-EU.1.3. - EXCELLENT SCIENCE - Marie Skłodowska-Curie

Actions

Coordinated by: DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY, Ireland

Objective

This project assesses the potential and limitations of 'e-rulemaking' in the European Union (EU). The theoretical approach employed in this research project addresses citizen participation and e-rulemaking through the lens of deliberative democracy theory and new media theory with specific references to legal theory. Along with the novel theoretical dimension that this project will propose regarding law-making procedures in the EU, the researcher aims to produce outcomes that are informed by relevant empirical analysis and are of practical value. To this end, she proposes to examine the specific erulemaking initiative at EU level, through the organization of a workshop with participants from all over Europe that will participate in a real e-rulemaking event in order to assess the potential and possible shortcomings of an e-rulemaking initiative in the EU. As the project aspires to provide valuable contribution to the current 'Better Regulation' of the EC the researcher will reach her final conclusions after formal engagement and consultation with the Secretariat General of the EU and the newly established Regulatory Scrutiny Board (2016) which exercises a 'quality assurance role" in the 'Better regulation Agenda' of the EC. The researcher aims to organize two short study visits at the European Commission for consultation with EU institutions and sharing of research results. The project addresses two major topics: responsible citizenship and the prerequisites for qualitative civic participation in an e-rulemaking initiative followingdeliberative procedure. The project is in nature interdisciplinary as the research it proposes stands at the crossroads of political science (with specific attention to deliberation theory and participatory democracy), media studies (with specific attention to new media theory and e-participation) and certainly law as it refers to law making procedures in the EU.

Selected publications

Deligiaouri, A. & Suiter, J. (2021). Evaluation of public consultations and citizens' participation in 2015 Better Regulation Agenda of the EU and the need for a deliberative e-rulemaking initiative in the EU. *European Politics and Society*, 22:1, 69-87.

Deligiaouri, A. & Suiter, J. (2021). Oscillating Between Representation and Participation in Deliberative Fora and the Question of Legitimacy: Can 'Hybrid Representative Democracy' be the Remedy? *Representation*.

Deligiaouri, A., & Suiter, J. (2021). A policy impact tool: Measuring the policy impact of public participation in deliberative e-rulemaking. *Policy Internet*, 13, 349–365.

RECONNECT – Reconciling Europe with its Citizens through Democracy and Rule of Law

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/770142

Grant agreement ID: 770142

Start date: 1 May 2018 - End date: 30 April 2022

Total cost: € 4 999 686,25

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe In A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN, Belgium

Objective

RECONNECT starts from the observation that the European Union (EU) and the Member States are confronted with an existential crisis of the entire European project. As a result of several successive crises an increasingly large share of the population perceives the EU as an undemocratic and unjust political system. Overall trust in institutions at both Union and Member State levels is waning, while ever louder calls for a repatriation of powers to the national level are shaking the EU to its core. Against this background, our underlying assumption is that the deeply diverse and pluralistic Union of today needs to be more firmly rooted in justice and solidarity in order to be sustainable. Our working hypothesis is that European governance can regain authority and legitimacy through democracy and the rule of law, provided citizens' aspirations and preferences are duly taken into account. This will allow for a renewed trust and recognition of the EU as a policy-provider that acts with a view to genuinely establishing a "society in which ... justice [and] solidarity ... prevail", as Art. 2 TEU requires. With a unique multidisciplinary consortium of researchers, we analyse the existential challenges to the EU's authority and legitimacy, through a comprehensive examination of principles, practices, and perceptions of democracy and the rule of law in the EU. Our end-user approach enables us to point to how democratic and rule of law principles and practices of institutions resonate with the actual aspirations, perceptions and preferences of citizens. Our ultimate objective is to contribute to a new comprehensive narrative for Europe that "reconnects" European governance with citizens. By means of an impact and dissemination strategy and through tailor-made policy recommendations and proposals for Treaty changes, RECONNECT will strengthen the EU's normative foundations.

Selected publications

Navarro, J. (2020). Electoral Accountability in the European Union: An Analysis of the European Parliament Elections with Respect to the EU's Political Deficit. *European Papers*, 5(1), 209-223.

Schäfer, C. (2021). Indifferent and Eurosceptic: The motivations of EU-only abstainers in the 2019 European Parliament election. *Politics*, 41(4), 522–536.

Schäfer, C., Treib, O. & Schlipphak, B. (2022). What kind of EU do citizens want? Reform preferences and the conflict over Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*.

TROPICO - Transforming into Open, Innovative and Collaborative Governments

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3030/726840

Grant agreement ID: 726840

Start date: 1 June 2017 - End date: 30 November 2021

Total cost: € 4 953 196.25

Programme(s): SOCIETAL CHALLENGES - Europe In A Changing World - Inclusive,

Innovative And Reflective Societies

Coordinated by: UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN, Norway

Objective

The TROPICO project (Transforming into Open, Innovative and Collaborative Governments) aims to comparatively examine how public administrations are transformed to enhance collaboration in policy design and service delivery, advancing the participation of public, private and societal actors. It will analyse collaboration in and by governments, with a special emphasis on the use of information and communication technologies (ICT), and its consequences.

Assessing the institutional conditions and individual drivers and barriers is crucial for understanding the transformation of governments towards greater collaboration. The state structures and administrative traditions provide different 'starting points' of the public sectors in Europe. Likewise, individual attitudes, skills, and expertise of officials play a decisive role in understanding this transformation. Subsequently, TROPICO will examine collaboration practices within governments (internal) and between public, private and societal actors (external), across a variety of policy sectors. We will study the actors and means of innovative collaboration, including ICT, and how they are interlinked. Lastly, assessing the effects of collaboration for legitimacy, accountability and government efficiency is essential to provide a comprehensive analysis of the transformation towards open, innovative, and collaborative governments.

Our multidisciplinary project will follow a truly comparative approach, examining ten countries representing the five administrative traditions in Europe: Nordic (Norway, Denmark), Central and Eastern European (Estonia, Hungary), Continental (Netherlands, Germany), Napoleonic (France, Spain; Belgium (mixed)), and Anglo-Saxon (United Kingdom). We will combine rigorous quantitative and qualitative research methods. TROPICO puts a strong emphasis on the inclusion of stakeholders and users throughout the project to test and reflect upon the applicability of our key findings and policy recommendations.

Selected publications

Defacqz, S. & Dupuy, C. (2021). Usages of an E-participation platform by legislators: lessons from the French parliament. *French Politics*, 19, 372–393.

Dupuy, C. & Defacqz, S. (2022). Citizens and the legitimacy outcomes of collaborative governance an administrative burden perspective. *Public Management Review*, 24(5), 752-772.

Randma Liiv, T., & Vooglaid, K.M. (2019). *Policy Brief 3: Success factors for organising and administering e-participation.* TROPICO Deliverables.

Randma Liiv, T., & Vooglaid, K.M. (2020). *Delivrable D5.2: Organising for e-participation: learning from European experiences.* TROPICO Deliverables.

Royo, S., Pina, V. & Garcia-Rayado J. (2020). Decide Madrid: A Critical Analysis of an Award-Winning e-Participation Initiative. *Sustainability*, 12(4):1674.

ANNEX 2

Scoping and Methodology:
Overarching research questions,
data selection and analysis

1. The general objectives of the report and overarching research questions

The present scoping paper presents the research strategy that is implemented to achieve the report's stated objectives. The report pursues two main objectives: (1) taking stock of and mapping the state of the art of research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU (2) summarising research results and transferrable innovative practices. These objectives must be considered within the broader context of a discussion on a Charter for Citizens' Participation whereby informing EU, national, regional and local policymakers about the existing knowledge and possible ways forward is paramount.

Specifically, the report aims to suggest how to engage better with citizens and how to coordinate, consolidate and expand the implementation of deliberative and participatory practices, considering their multi-level dimensions in a diverse EU. The report addresses nine overarching questions. They are presented below.

Table 1. Overarching questions

- Q1 What are the convergent findings of the identified cluster of projects on deliberative and participatory democracy in the EU? Is there any diverging result?
- Q2 Are there identified gaps in the research on deliberative and participatory democracy in the EU?
- Q3 If such gaps exist, how could further research help overcome them?
- Q4 In light of their results, what are the structures, practices and tools that should be put in place? Which structures, practices and tools should not be implemented?
- Q5 Do these structures, practices and tools vary between levels of government in the EU? If so, how?
- Q6 What are the policy areas where deliberative and participatory tools are more (and least) likely to be successfully implemented and give better policy outcomes?
- Q7 What can be learned from these results in terms of designing policies that better engage with citizens through deliberation and participation?
- Q8 What are the (in-)appropriate actions to involve citizens in the EU decision-making process?
- Q9 What are the general principles that should guide the establishment of a European Charter for Citizens' Participation?

2. The collection and selection of data: mapping the findings of published research financed under H2020

The literature on citizens' engagement and participatory and deliberative democracy is spread across scientific fields. A *systematic* review of the findings of published research financed under H2020 on this topic is therefore needed. The collection and selection of data included in this systematic review are key steps as the answers that the report is able to deliver hinge on the findings of the collected and selected documents. This section discusses the methodological choices pertaining to the collection and selection of documents.

In the report, all types of documents – e.g., journal articles, policy briefs, project reports – are considered for data collection, as long as they focus on participatory and deliberative democracy and were published in the framework of one of identified projects in the cluster group. This *comprehensive* approach means that data collection is limited neither to studies on a specific subtype of deliberative or participatory practice, like democratic innovations, a specific methodology, like quantitative research, nor on a publication type, scientific publications for example. The adopted approach is comprehensive as it draws from the *systematic literature review method*. Systematic reviews consist of "a specific methodology that locates existing studies, selects and evaluates contributions, analyses and synthesises data, and reports the evidence in such a way that allows reasonably clear conclusions to be reached about what is known and what is not known" (Denyer and Tranfield 2009, p. 672). This approach aims to ensure transparency and reproducibility in the review process. Recently, it has been increasingly relied on in political science (e.g., Laloux, 2020; van der Does & Jacquet, 2021).

There are three main steps of data selection in the proposed systematic review. As a *first* step, all the publications available for a specific project, both on the project's website and CORDIS, are considered. *Second*, relevant documents or additional materials¹⁹ are selected based on a keyword search in their title, abstract, or indicated keywords. At least one of the following keywords/expressions must be present: "participation", "deliberation", "citizens", "election", "vote", "referendum", "panel", "consultation", "civil society", or any related word. The list of keywords is iteratively developed and, thus, is further enriched during the process of data selection. Then, in a *third* step, documents that do not deal with either participatory or deliberative practices, or with citizens specifically are excluded.

More specifically, this last, crucial, step of data selection applies a decision tree as presented in *Figure 1*. (1) First, the documents must have a direct link to the concept of participatory or deliberative democracy, as opposed to merely allude to it or broadly frame their study in these terms. Selected documents must discuss participatory or deliberative democracy *per se.* (2) Second, selected works must focus on citizens' engagement in participatory and deliberative democracy, to the exclusion of other mesolevel actors (e.g., political parties; media; civil society organizations). The systematic review is interested in these actors only to the extent that their interactions with citizens

_

¹⁹ 'Additional materials' list blogs or YouTube video for example.

are a direct issue of consideration in each document. (3) Third, selected documents have to offer an original analysis. This includes works that deal with "the people" or "citizens" as generic categories, as well as specific sub-categories. For instance, selected works may focus on Eurosceptics citizens or younger citizens.

By combining these three criteria, the scope of the analysis is limited to citizens' participatory and deliberative democracy practices. The process of data selection remains as focused as possible so that each selected document can then be thoroughly analysed.

(1) Is there an explicit link to participatory or deliberative democracy practices?

No

Yes

(2) Is there any explicit link to citizens?
(e.g., not focusing only on political parties)

Yes

(3) Is the document building on an analysis on citizens?

No

Yes

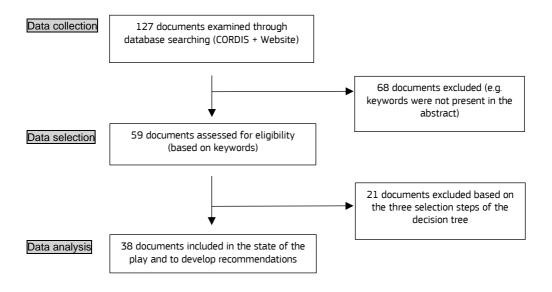
Document not selected

Document selected

Figure 1. Flowchart of the document's selection process

Let's take an illustration from the RECONNECT project. The project website includes 116 documents and the CORDIS platform²⁰ lists 69 documents. In the first step, each document is considered and, after comparing the two lists, a total number of 127 documents is collected, namely 37 articles, 4 books, 11 book chapters, 44 deliverables, 8 policy briefs, 4 project reports, 16 working papers and 3 others. These 127 documents are the results of data collection (see Figure 2). In the second step, the keyword search was applied, and this results in narrowing the list of relevant documents to 59 references, including the 4 project reports. It should be noted that project reports are always considered, even if they were to not include relevant keyworks to get familiar with the project's content and objectives as well as to identify relevant documents. Then, in the third step, documents that according to their abstract do not deal with participatory and deliberative democracy and citizens' political engagement were excluded. Overall, 38 documents met these criteria (for an illustration of selected and unselected document, see Annexe 1) and 21 documents identified in step 3 were excluded on that ground. In the case of the RECONNECT project, these 38 documents are analysed for the purpose of this report. Of course, all the documents are not cited in the report. The first annex presents a selection of the most relevant documents.

Figure 2. Flowchart of the document selection process – The RECONNECT project



²⁰ Reviewing both CORDIS and the project website's databases for data collection is rather time-consuming. However, it seems that only the combination of both allows to collect an exhaustive list of documents. Focusing on one or the other would result in *de facto* excluding potentially relevant documents – the documents presented in the project website and CORDIS overlap, but partly only.

3. Analysing the documents to map the state of the play and to formulate recommendations

Once the documents are collected and selected, the report examines the selected documents based on a coding grid that addresses the overarching questions listed in Table 1. The analysis of the selected documents is designed to be *systematic* and *comprehensive* with the final purpose of mapping existing research and formulating recommendations.

In order to be systematic, the analysis begins by a first step of systematic coding. Practically, each question presented in Table 1 is divided into several variables. The systematic coding relies on 6 groups of variables (see the coding grid in Annexe 2): (1) Project Metadata: The document is coded in order to link it to the project and its sources (CORDIS and/or the website of the project). (2) Document Metadata: this second group of variables describes the document main characteristics such its author(s), title, abstract or the type of document. (3) Data: this group of variables assesses whether the document mobilizes empirical data and if so its quantitative and/or qualitative nature. (4) Results: this group of variables relates to the results of interests presented in the document around three dimensions: their content - if it is related to participation and/or deliberation; their level: if the results are located at the local, regional, national and/or EU level; their policy scope: if the results are policy-specific and if so, the specific policy they focus on. (5) Tools: these variables specify if the document mentions or focuses on any specific tool, practice and if so, if this tool or practice is an online or offline tool. (6) Recommendations: this variable indicates if the document proposes some recommendations to or implications for political actors and/or practitioners.

Thus, these six groups of variables are directly connected to the nine overarching questions presented in section 1. For instance, the 'Tools' variables allow to answer the question 'what are the structures, practices and tools that need to be put in place?'; whereas the 'Recommendations' variable aims to provide answers to 'what are the (in)appropriate actions to involve citizens in the EU decision-making process?'.

This first step of coding aims to map the findings of published research financed under H2020. It will also be instrumental to identifying the gaps in terms of research on deliberative and participatory democracy in the EU. This systematic coding ensures that the final report relies on a systematic analysis of the selected documents. It will thus be used at the beginning of the analysis to map the outcomes of the projects and at the end when drafting the final report to ensure that all results, tools, practices and recommendations are considered.

In order to be *comprehensive*, this first step of coding will be complemented by a rigorous and precise reading of the materials selected. At this stage, the analysis draws on the expert's own knowledge as well, on existing research on relevant issues and/or additional references. During this phase of analysis, the draft of the report is discussed with colleagues involved in ongoing research projects (e.g., DEMOTEC, EUCOMMEET and EUARENAS). This step permits the report to integrate the findings of the cluster of outgoing projects. Once the analysis of the documents is completed, a dedicated moment of the analysis, in a third step, focuses on recommendations to coordinate, consolidate and expand the implementation of deliberative and participatory practices in the EU.

ANNEX 2.1 - Systematic literature review, examples

Document 1

References: Marx A., Van der Loo, G. (2021). Transparency in EU Trade Policy: A Comprehensive Assessment of Current Achievements, *Politics and Governance*, 9/1, 261-271.

https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i1.3771

Abstract: The EU trade policy is increasingly confronted with demands for more transparency. This article aims to investigate how transparency takes shape in EU trade policy. First, we operationalize the concept of transparency along two dimensions: a process dimension and an actor dimension. We then apply this framework to analysis of EU Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). After analyzing transparency in relation to FTAs from the perspective of the institutional actors (Commission, Council and Parliament), the different instruments and policies that grant the public actors (civil society and citizens) access to information and documents about EU FTAs are explored by discussing Regulation 1049/2001, which provides for public access to European Parliament, Council and Commission documents, and the role of the European Ombudsman. The article is based on an analysis of official documents, assessments in the academic literature and case-law of the Court of Justice of the European Union. The ultimate aim is to assess current initiatives and identify relevant gaps in the EU's transparency policies. This article argues that the EU has made significant progress in fostering transparency in the negotiation phase of FTAs, but less in the implementation phase.

Systematic literature review: Keywords = OK; the document doesn't have an explicit link to participatory and deliberative democracy practices; moreover, the document doesn't focus on citizens but on the institutional level and thereafter doesn't build on an analysis of citizens.

=> document not selected

Document 2

References: Treib, O. (2021). Euroscepticism is here to stay: what cleavage theory can teach us about the 2019 European Parliament elections, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28:2, 174-189.

DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2020.1737881

In the 2019 European Parliament elections, Eurosceptic parties were able to consolidate their strong results from 2014. Based on a specified conceptualization of Euroscepticism, this article provides an overview of the Eurosceptic vote and argues that Eurosceptic parties have by now established themselves as a fixed part of the EU party system. It interprets Euroscepticism as the upshot of an emerging centre–periphery cleavage in EU politics. In analogy to the emergence of opposition to processes of administrative centralization and cultural homogenization during nation-building, this perspective sees

Euroscepticism as a reaction to the process of centre-formation at the European level, as a way of defending the specific cultural, economic and regulatory traditions of member states against the process of centralization of authority at the European level since the 1950s. The article concludes by discussing the implications of this argument for both EU scholars and practitioners.

Systematic literature review: Keywords = OK; the document does have an explicit link to participatory democracy practices; however, meso-actors are the only focus on the analysis

=> document not selected

Document 3

References: Fasone C., Gallo D. & Wouters, J. (2020). Re-connecting Authority and Democratic Legitimacy in the EU: Introductory Remarks. *European Papers*, 5(1), 175-189.

DOI: 10.15166/2499-8249/379

Abstract: One of the main problems the Union has to cope with is the difficulty in properly articulating the relationship between authority and democratic legitimacy, in particular the disconnection between the allocation of powers to the EU and to its Member States and the forms of democratic control over their exercise in the Union. Indeed, it seems that the more EU authority expands, the more the democratic legitimacy of the Union is in trouble. In the EU the source of authority is dislocated out of the traditional forms of democratic accountability, which have been shaped domestically by centuries of constitutional history. In addition to this, the "punctiform" nature of many EU decision-making processes, starting at one level of government – regional, national or supranational – and ending up being concluded at a different level, favours this feeling of disorientation amongst European citizens. The attitude of several national governments, which tend to blame the EU for their own failures, exacerbates this problem and leads to the perception of EU institutions as not only distant, but also detached from the needs of ordinary citizens.

Systematic literature review: Keywords = OK; the document does have an explicit link to participatory democracy practices; meso-actors are not the only focus on the analysis; however, the document doesn't build on an analysis of citizens.

=> document not selected

Document 4

References: Schäfer C., Treib, O. & Schlipphak B. (2022). What kind of EU do citizens want? Reform preferences and the conflict over Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy*.

DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2022.2102670

Abstract: How to reform the EU in times of fundamental conflict over the future of European integration? Although Europe's future is fiercely debated, we still know little about what kind of EU citizens want and how their reform preferences relate to the emerging transnational cleavage. We argue that there are two kinds of reform trajectories. First, any changes that touch upon the vertical and horizontal balance of power should be highly contested, as people's EU reform preferences depend on their position in the conflict between Eurosceptics and Europhiles. Second, reforms that do not activate this fundamental conflict, such as reshaping the EU's input, output, and throughput legitimacy dimensions, should be favoured by citizens across the board. Analysing original data from conjoint survey experiments with 12,000 respondents in six EU member states largely corroborates our arguments. These findings carry important implications for the political debate about reforming the EU.

Systematic literature review: Keywords = OK; the document does have an explicit link to participatory and deliberative democracy practices; meso-actors are not the only focus on the analysis; and the analysis builds on an analysis of citizens.

=> document selected

ANNEX 2.2 – Coding grid for the systematic analysis of the selected documents

Variable group	Variable	Explanation	Category
Project Metadata	Project Name	Name of the project	
	ID	Identification number of the document	
	Source	Source of the document	1: CORDIS 2: Website 3: CORDIS and Website
Document Metadata	Document Type	Type of document	1: Article 2: Books 3: Books Chapter 4: Deliverable 5: Project Report 6: Working Paper 7: Other
	Author	Name(s) of the author(s)	
	Title	Title of the document	
	Year	Year of publication	
	Journal	Title of journal (if relevant)	
	Abstract	Abstract or introduction of the document	
Data	Empirics	Does the document rely on empirical data	1: Yes 0: No
	Quantitative	The document relies on quantitative data	1: Yes 0: No
	Qualitative	The document relies on quantitative data	1: Yes 0: No
	Country	Country/Countries of the research and/or city/ region if applicable	
Results	Participation	The document presents results related to participatory democracy	1: Yes 0: No
	Deliberation	The document presents results related to deliberative democracy	1: Yes 0: No
	Level	The document presents results related to one or more level of government	1: EU 2: National 3: Other
	Specific policy field	The document presents results related to a specific policy field	1: Yes 0: No
	Policy field		Open answer
Tools	Tools	The document indicates the use of a tool, structure, practice	1: Yes 0: No
	Offline/Online	The tool is offline or online	1: Offline 2: Online
Recommendations	Recommendations	The document explicitly indicates recommendations to political actors and practitioners	1: Yes 2: No

ANNEX 2.3 – Objectives, Tasks, Research Questions and Table of Contents

Objectives of the report	Task	Overarching questions	Table of contents
Map the outcomes and policy relevance of an identified cluster of H2020 projects	T1: Analyse and synthetize ongoing and closed democracy-related projects funded under H2020 T1.1 Highlight the converging outcomes and findings of such projects (if any common ground exists). T1.2 Detect existing gaps (if any) in the research on deliberative and participatory democracy in the EU, drawing also on own knowledge on national level research on relevant issues, and suggest how further research could help overcome such theoretical gaps.	Q1 – What are the common findings of the identified cluster of projects on deliberative and participatory democracy in the EU? Are there any dissonances in their findings? Q2 – Are there any gaps identified in terms of research on deliberative and participatory democracy in the EU? Q3 – If any such gaps exist, how could further research help overcome them?	2. State of the art of research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU 2.1. Mapping the converging results in existing research 2.2. Identifying the gaps in existing research
Develop recommendations in view of ensuring up-take of the projects' findings and recommendations	T2.1 Report best practices and innovative tools which deserve to be reproduced, and by whom, on a wider scale and/or acquire a permanent or recurring character. T2.2 Present what are the structures, practices, and tools that need to be implemented, at each level of government in the EU, for effective citizen participation. T2.3 Present what are the structures, practices and tools that need to be put in place for coordination of citizen	Q4 – In light of their results, what are the structures, practices and tools that need to be put in place? What are those that should not be put in place? Q5 – Do these structures, practices and tools vary between levels of government in the EU? If so, how? Q6 – In which policy areas deliberative and participatory tools are more likely to be successfully put into practice and give better policy	3. Recommendations 3.1. General recommendations 3.2. Specific recommendations linked to policy field and multilevel governance 2.4. Specific recommendations: Online and offline tools 4. Conclusion: Establishing a European Charter for Citizens Participation

input between all levels of governance in the EU.

T2.4 Explain which are the fields where coordination, improvement and action are most needed.

T2.5 With respect to a possible "Charter for citizen participation", outline its possible form configuration, providing input for its drafting. Define which areas, methods. experiments and practices need special attention by EU policymaker and officials. Suggest how to design and implement further appropriate action to involve citizens in the EU decisionmaking process.

outcomes? On the contrary, what are the policy areas where the chance of success is lower?

Q7 – What can be learnt from these results in terms of policy designing on how to engage better with citizens, regarding the enactment of deliberative and participatory practices?

Q8 – What are the (in-)appropriate actions to involve citizens in the EU decision-making process?

Q9 – What are the general principles that should guide the establishment of a European Charter for Citizens' Participation?

GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE EU

In person

All over the European Union there are hundreds of Europe Direct centres. You can find the address of the centre nearest you online (european-union.europa.eu/contact-eu/meet-us_en).

On the phone or in writing

Europe Direct is a service that answers your questions about the European Union. You can contact this service:

- by freephone: 00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11 (certain operators may charge for these calls),
- at the following standard number: +32 22999696,
- via the following form: european-union.europa.eu/contact-eu/write-us en.

FINDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE EU

Online

Information about the European Union in all the official languages of the EU is available on the Europa website (european-union.europa.eu).

EU publications

You can view or order EU publications at <u>op.europa.eu/en/publications</u>. Multiple copies of free publications can be obtained by contacting Europe Direct or your local documentation centre (<u>european-union.europa.eu/contact-eu/meet-us_en</u>).

EU law and related documents

For access to legal information from the EU, including all EU law since 1951 in all the official language versions, go to EUR-Lex (eur-lex.europa.eu).

EU open data

The portal <u>data.europa.eu</u> provides access to open datasets from the EU institutions, bodies and agencies. These can be downloaded and reused for free, for both commercial and non-commercial purposes. The portal also provides access to a wealth of datasets from European countries.

EU institutions are committed to guaranteeing a productive dialogue between citizens and public officials, enabling citizen participation and engagement in policymaking. EUfunded research on deliberative and participatory practices can provide insights for policymakers seeking more and better engagement with citizens.

This report pursues two main objectives: to map research on deliberative and participatory practices in the EU, and identify gaps requiring further research, and to make recommendations to policymakers at all levels (EU, national, regional, and local) about possible ways forward. Specifically, the report suggests how to engage better with citizens and how to coordinate, consolidate and expand the implementation of deliberative and participatory practices, considering their multi-level dimensions in a diverse EU.

Furthermore, in its conclusion, the report proposes general principles for establishing a European Charter for Citizen Participation (not included in this executive summary), which was a request emanating from the Conference on the Future of Europe.

Studies and reports

