

History

Participatory democracy is by no means a novel concept. It began in its purest form in **Athens in sixth century BC**, expressed through the use of sortition (random selection by drawing lots) to choose (qualifying) individuals for public office. Various religious groups and socio-political movements have adopted some form of 'consensus-based decision-making'

Participatory democracy as we think of it today, as a mode of citizen participation within a representative democratic system, began to develop more clearly during the 1960s and 1970s (although there were versions of it thirty years earlier), before rising to prominence again since the 2008 financial crash.



Image: Philipp Foltz, "Pericles' Funeral Oration" (c. 1877)

Sources: Aristotle, Politics, book vi: (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc= Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0058%3Abook%3D6%3Asection%3D1316b) Francesca Polletta, 'Participatory Democracy's Moment', Journal of International Affairs (2014), 79-92 at 79. Anarchist Republicans established a model of participatory democracy close to the Athenian model during the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s. G. Orwell, Homage to Catalonia (1952).

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Why are we doing this?

The **Civil Society Strategy** will set out a vision to create active, mobilised citizens. In the Civil Society in the 21st Century speech, the government committed to:

"...put power in the hands of ordinary people."

- Former SoS, Matt Hancock

"Many people feel disempowered and disengaged from politics, this programme is an opportunity to get people involved in the decisions that affect their daily life"



CIVIL SOCIETY STRATEGY: BUILDING A FUTURE THAT WORKS FOR EVERYONE

- Head of Community Action and Giving, Miriam Levin

Sources: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/civil-society-strategybuilding-a-future-that-works-for-everyone



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What's available?

If you are selected to take part in the Innovation and Democracy Programme, you can get up to £60,000 to cover the costs.

You will also have the assistance of an expert Democracy Support Contractor to support the design, implementation and facilitation of the participatory deliberative processes in your local authority context, using a Citizens' Assembly model. You will also receive advice and support to enable you to develop an appropriate online engagement strategy to complement the face-toface work.





The cost & risks of public participation

The analysis of the costs and risks of participation is far less detailed, but includes the following:

- Monetary costs, including staff time (paid and unpaid), staff expenses, external staff / consultants, fees to participants, participants' expenses, training for staff and participants, administration, venue hire, other event costs (e.g. refreshments, equipment), newsletters, leaflets, monitoring and evaluation fees.
- Non-monetary costs, including time contributed by participants, and skills needed for the new approach (taking time from other work);
- Risks, including risks to reputation (from bad participatory practice), stress, uncertainty and conflict;
- There is a danger of being seen as a publicity exercise if not followed by real outcomes;
- Gaining a broad **representative group** of people can be challenging and expensive.

Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/knowledge-base/what-impact-participation/benefits-and-costs-public-participation

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Definition: what is a citizens' assembly?

A Citizens' Assembly is a body of randomly citizens who are representative of the local demographics (eg: in terms of age, gender, ethnicity). They are brought together to hear from experts from all sides of the debate, and deliberate on an issue/ issues over a series of events. The aim of the discussions is for participants to reach a consensus on the best way forward on the issue; this will be presented back to the commissioning body (in this case, the local authority) as a series of recommendations. Citizens' Assemblies can take place at a neighbourhood, regional, national or international scale.

Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/methods

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Four stages of a citizens' assembly

There are **four stages** to a citizens' assembly:

- 1 Attendees receive an overview of the issue.
- 2 Attendees **hear from 'expert witnesses'**, including 'neutral' experts, stakeholders and advocates representing all sides, receiving a balanced and complete picture.
- 3 The rest of the time is set aside for the attendees to have final **deliberations** on the issue and answer the crucial charge question(s). The final decision is reached by either **consensus or voting**.
- 4 A **final day public forum** is held where the attendees present their findings and recommendations and explain how they reached their decision. About two to three weeks later a final report is issued and made available to the public.

Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/methods/citizens-jUIY

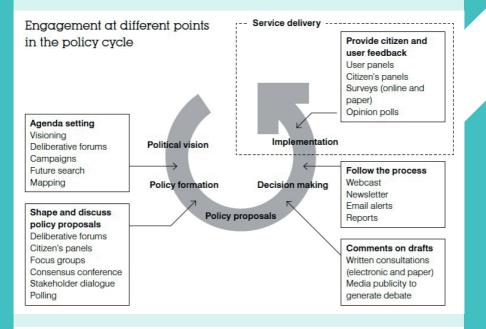




Opportunities for citizen engagement in the policy cycle

If there is room for change in the policy and the results of the engagement will make a difference, it is worth considering public engagement.

The main factor in deciding on how to engage citizens is the **purpose of the engagement**, which means thinking about **specific objectives**. The stage of the policy process will also give an indication of appropriate methods of engagement:



Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/knowledge-base/what/public-

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Fiscal benefits: willingness to pay tax

Research shows that involvement in decision-making processes can lead to a belief from citizens that civic **institutions are working to their benefit** [1], raising tax morale and making them more likely to pay their taxes, something seen in the Swiss cantons where direct democracy is prevalent.[2]

Sources: [1] B. Torgler and F. Schneider, 'The impact of tax morale and institutional quality on the shadow economy," Journal of Economic Psychology 30(2), 228-245. aAnalysis', CESifo Working Paper no. 760 (August 2002); Frey, Matthias Benz, and Alois Stutzer, 'Introducing Procedural Utility: Not Only What, but Also How Matters', Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics 160(3): 377–401 (2004); Torgler, 'Tax morale and Direct Democracy', European Journal of Political Economy 21 (2005), 525 – 531.

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Fiscal benefits: more efficient service provision

Involving citizens in service provision can produce better-tailored services that operate at lower overall cost, with closer public oversight[1].

For example: In Rio Grande de Sul state, Brazil, citizen participation improved local government financial planning, leading to **better allocation of funds to services**, so officials could plan more efficiently for the entire financial year, reducing overall costs and expenditure.[2]



Sources: [1] A. Zacharzewski, 'Democracy pays. How democratic engagement can cut the cost of government', Democratic Society (2010) [2] A. Schneider and B. Goldfrank, 'Budgets and ballots in Brazil: participatory budgeting from the city to the state', IDS Working Paper 149 (2002).

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Fiscal benefits: understanding where money might need to be cut

Enabling people to participate in difficult decisions on budget cuts gives them more ownership over the outcomes and greater understanding of the **complexities and compromises around budget decisions** [1], while increasing participants' opinion

of the government.

Sources: [1] 'Communities in the driving seat: a study of participatory budgeting in England', MHCLG (2011)



Communities in the driving seat: a study of Participatory Budgeting in England Final report



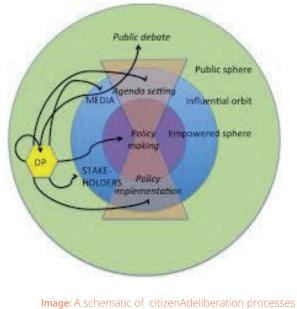




Societal benefits: better relationships between citizens and government

Citizens' Councils in Austria were shown to be the ideal method to, 'bridge the gap between government and governed'. Further evidence shows that attitudes towards politicians and government shift, with less cynicism and more appreciation of the challenges facing them.[1]

Sources: [1] Dr. W. Russell, 'The macro-impacts of citizen deliberation processes', (2017), p13, https://www.newdemocracy.com.au/docs/researchpapers/2017/DrAWendyRussell_nDF%20 ImpactReport_18Apr17. pdf



(DP) in a wider political system [1].





Societal benefits: increasing political legitimacy

Involvement in participatory democracy processes leads to increased turnout at elections. It also increases political literacy and people's sense that they can influence decisions in their areas, and a better understanding of how decisions are taken.[1].

So what can government do to strengthen legitimacy?

Recommendations:

- Work together with people towards a shared vision
- Bring empathy into government
- Build an authentic connection
- Enable the public to scrutinise government
- Value citizens' voices and respond to them



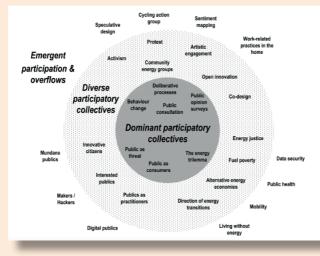
Sources: [1] Centre for Public Impact, 'Finding a More Human Government' (2017)





Societal benefits: better policy & decision-making

Evidence from Austria's Citizens' Councils showed that by involving people in decision-making, a broader range of expertise was tapped into to solve public issues, helping officials develop the most effective solutions.[1] Selecting participants at random, but sorting for ethnicity and gender (for example) increases the opportunity for marginalised voices to be heard [2].



An illustrative mapping of ecologies of participation in the UK energy system as constitution. [3]

Sources: [1] M. Hellrigl and M. Lederer, 'Wisdom Councils in the Public Sector' in R. Zubizarreta and M. zur Bonsen (eds), Dynamic Facilitation (2014), 1-13. [2] H. Pallett and J. Chilvers, 'A decade of learning about publics, participation and climate change: institutionalising reflexivity', in Environment and Planning A45(5) 1162-1183 (2013). [3] J. Chilvers et al., Energy Research & Social Science 42, (2018) 199-210, fig. 1.

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Societal benefits: increased wellbeing & social captial

A government report assessing the efficacy of participatory budgeting (PB) concluded that PB improves participants' selfconfidence in dealing with local issues and with public sector bodies; it helped create **community cohesion**, fostered more **engagement**, and increased **social capital**.[1]



Image: dawid-zawila-279998-unsplash

Sources: [1] Gov.uk, 'Communities in the driving seat: a study of participatory budgeting in England' (2011), 5-7.

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Societal benefits: increased political awareness

Evidence from citizens' juries in Gdansk, Poland showed that participants **take ownership** over their local area and **find solutions** to the major issues they face, helping society to thrive.[1]



Sources: [1] http://www.resilience.org/stories/2017-11-22/solutions-how-the-poles-are-making-democracy-work-again-in-gdansk/ (2017).

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Case study 1: Ireland

Participatory democracy was the impetus for this year's overwhelming referendum vote to amend the Irish Constitution on abortion, laying the foundations for change that would have otherwise been impossible to contemplate. [1]

Ireland's Constitutional Convention (ICC), established in 2012, is made up of 100 members: 66 randomly-selected members of the public, 33 elected officials (including from the Northern Ireland Assembly), and an independent chair appointed by the Government. The ICC's power to deliberate on issues such as marriage equality, led to a constitutional change in 2015 (the first identifiable example of such a deliberative assembly leading to an amendment). A version of the ICC, a **Citizen's Assembly** (with no elected officials and 99 randomly-selected citizens) met over five weekends in 2016 to deliberate on the question of abortion in Irish law. The Citizen's Assembly recommended tha tthe law be changed, setting the course towards a referendum on the issue in May 2018. In both cases, direct democracy has the potential to lead to real life change



democratic system, demonstrating that the two can work in conjunction.

Sources: [1]https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/08/how-99-strangers-ina-dublin-hotel-broke-irelands-abortion-deadlock and https://www.thetimes.co.uk/ article/citizens-assembly-to-vote-on-abortion-laws-nv58w3s2k

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Case study 2: Porto Alegre

During the 1980s, PB emerged as a vehicle for re-democratisation and decentralisation in Brasil following twenty years of military rule.[1] The most well-known model was developed in Porto Alegre model and is based on three forms of assembly that continue year round:

1. **Neighbourhood assemblies** - there are sixteen of these with power to discuss matters that affect the neighbourhood, such as water supply, sewage, street paving, parks.

2. **City-wide thematic assemblies** - take place to discuss matters that affect the entire city, such as environment, education, health.

3. **Council of the Participatory Budget** - delegates from the neighbourhoods are sent here 'to refine and apply the budget rules developed by the neighbourhood and thematic assemblies and put forward by the government administration beforehand'.[2]

There have been several positive results. The number of households served by mains water rose from 75% in 1988 to 98% in 1997 thanks to PB affording citizens to raise awareness of and tackle local problems.[3]



Sources: [1] C. Souza, 'Participatory budgeting in Brazilian cities: limits and possibilities in building democratic institutions', Environment & Urbanization (2001), 160. [2] https://www.local.gov.uk/case-study-porto-alegre-brazil. [3] D. Bhatnagar et al., 'Participatory Budgeting in Brazil', World Bank Case Studies, 1-6.

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Case study 3: Surrey Travel Smart

Surrey Council's TravelSMART scheme adopted **Participatory Budgeting** (PB) to allocate funding to community-led projects designed to promote sustainable travel and/or improve access to jobs and employment skills.

The scheme ran between 2012 and 2015 and ran in five areas of Surrey[1]. £1.5 million was allocated to 222 community projects and over 1000 residents participated[2]. The PB scheme ran on much the same basis as the Paris model: project proposals followed by a vote.

Achievements include improved cycling and walking routes for local people[3]; a local park and ride scheme to reduce congestion[4]; and improved signposting[5]. The project ensured people were engaged in an issue that had implications for them in the short term (improved travel) and long term (health benefits of walking and cycling).



Sources: [1] These were Sheerwater and Maybury; Westborough; Stoke and Stoughton; Redhill West; Mertsham. [2] https://www.travelsmartsurrey.info/achievements/ community-funding. [3] https://www.travelsmartsurrey.info/achievements/cycling-andwalking-improvements-in-Surrey. [4] https://www.travelsmartsurrey.info/achievements/ onslow-park-and-ride. [5] https://www.travelsmartsurrey.info/achievements/wayfinding

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Case study 4: Vorarlberg Citizens' Councils



Since 2006, Vorarlberg have held 35 **Citizens' Councils**, each with 12 to 16 randomly-selected people deliberating over a day and a half. Councils report to the Citizens' Cafe, consisting of council members, politicians, administrators, and the general public, and follow up work is carried out by a resonance group, who report in to political bodies who can incorporate this work in to their agenda and provide feedback to the Councils.

Councils can consist of a particular target group (young people), can deliberate on a particular topic (infrastructure projects), or can take a geographic focus (a particular town, for instance).

The Councils can also act as a place where policy officials can bring policy programmes and/or programme designs to have the citizens pre-evaluate them, ensuring there is some manner of participation in the design process[1].



image: Martin Rausch

Sources: [1] M. Hellrigl and M. Lederer, 'Wisdom Councils in the Public Sector' in R. Zubizarreta and M. zur Bonsen (eds), Dynamic Facilitation (2014), 1-13.

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Case study 5: Gdansk Citizen Assembly

The Gdansk Citizen Assembly consists of around 56 or 57 people from the local population, with the intention being that its membership is as diverse and representative as possible. The entire selection process is decided by a dice roll (a take on the sortition/lots model).

The assembly meets over several weekends and have, so far, discussed matters as wide ranging as **flood defences**, **LGBT integration** in the city, **air pollution**, and increased **civic participation**.

The assembly hear from experts on the matter at hand, break into small groups, and deliberate, before putting together some key recommendations that are presented to the city authority. Any proposals must have support from at least 80% of the assembly before they are put forward. Costs have been around €30,000 per assembly, to date[1].



Sources: [1]http://www.resilience.org/stories/2017-11-22/solutions-how-the-poles-are-making-democracy-work-again-in-gdansk

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Case study 6: Decide Madrid

Following years of decline in public confidence in local government and in the midst of austerity and corruption scandals in Spain, Madrid City Council designed and launched the Decide Madrid online platform in 2015. The platform now engages 400,000 citizens, 12.6% of the city's population, **powered by open source software Consul**. The online platform, which also has options to engage offline, allows Madrid's citizens to engage with the local government in four ways:

- Participatory budgeting citizens can make spending proposals for projects in the city up to a budget of €100 million
- **Proposals** citizens can shape government actions by directly proposing and supporting ideas for new legislation (that fall within
- **Consultations** Madrid City Council gives citizens the opportunity to provide opinions about and vote on council proceedings
- **Debate** a platform for deliberation which doesn't lead to direct decision making but gives the City access to public opinion

Institutions from more than **90 cities and regions worldwide are replicating the model**, incuding Buenos Aires, Paris, Turin and Uraguay.



Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/case-studies/decide-madrid





Case study 7: Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review

Following a pilot in 2008, the Oregon legislature created the Citizens' Initiative Review Commission (CIRC) in 2011. It was modelled on a Citizens' Jury with the intention to bring together voters to **evaluate the ballot measures** in a moderated environment, which are then formally shared back with the the public.

How does it work?

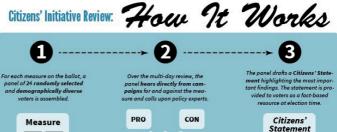
During the review 24 randomly selected citizens - balanced across age, party-affiliation, location, gender, ethnicity, education attainment and voting history - spend 5 days meeting with experts, inititivative sponsors and opponents. At the end of the review, the Citizens' Initiative Panel puts their findings into a 'Citizens' Statement' which is **published in the official Voters' Pamphlet** and sent to every registered voter in the state.

Independent research in 2012 demonstrated that the reviews were unbiased, widely used, and that they helped voters learn more about the ballot measures than other parts of the Voters' Guide.

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Sources: https:// www.involve.org.uk/ resources/case-studies/ oregon-citizensinitiative-review









Pamphlet





Case study 8: Democracy Matters assemblies, UK

In 2015, two pilot Democracy Matters Assemblies were used to **stress test Citizens' Assemblies** as a new method of public engagement in UK policymaking, and also to come to **recommendations on local government and devolution** within England. The team ran two assemblies; Assembly North in Sheffield (45 citizens), and Assembly South in Southampton (30 citizens and 15 politicians), recruiting Assembly Members through project partner YouGov.

Both Assemblies met for two weekends each, tasked with considering the future of local governance in their areas. The discussions were structured to allow for three key phases; learning, consultation and deliberation.

The gap between the weekends was used as time for members to reflect, read briefing papers, discuss the topic with their friends and family, and for the research team to itterate the second weekend assembly, giving members some influence over the assembly design.



Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/case-studies/oregon-citizens-initiative-review





Case study 9: Wisdom Council

Vorarlberg State Government in Austria, bases its 'Citizens' Councils' on the "Wisdom" Council model, which applies Dynamic Facilitation methods to help citizens deliberate on a matter. It is a creative means of approaching a problem that takes a range of participants' views and explores the problem from a number of angles, to create something close to consensus. Voting may also be used for larger assemblies.



Sources: https://www.involve.org.uk/resources/methods







Matthew Taylor - Royal Society of Arts

"Criminal juries and citizens' juries rely on the same powerful assumption in the minds of the public; namely, that if I too had heard the evidence from each side I would have reached the same conclusion.

Deliberative democracy has the potential to bring new life and legitimacy to our ailing democratic system."

- Matthew Taylor; Chief Executive, Royal Society for the Arts



Source: https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/matthew-taylor-blog/2018/05/21st-century-social-contract





James S. Fishkin - Centre for Deliberative Democracy

'[Previous] cases show that when a random sample of ordinary citizens deliberate in moderated small groups, they actually listen to each other and make decisions based on the substance of policy choices.

"Some political scientists say that democracy is just an edifying myth, that the people are simply not competent enough for self-government. But it depends on our institutions. **Under the right conditions, ordinary people are perfectly capable of making complicated policy choices.**"

> - James S. Fishkin, Janet M. Peck Chair in International Communication and Director of the Centre for Deliberative Democracy, Stanford University

Source: https://www.wsj.com/articles/yes-ordinary-citizens-can-decide-complex-issues-1533310053





David van Reybrouk - historian and author

'...deliberative democracy can give a powerful boost to the ailing body of electoral-representative democracy... Irrespective of whether it's a matter of citizens' juries, mini-publics...citizen's assemblies, people's parliaments...the organisers have consistently found it worthwhile to hear the voice of citizens between elections. Electoral-representative democracy has been enriched by a form of aleatoric-representative (sortitionbased) democracy.'

> David van Reybrouck, historian and author of Against Elections: the case for democracy

Source: Reybrouck, D. (2018). *Against Elections: the case for democracy.* New York: Seven Stories Press





MASS LBP - Pioneering democratic processes in Canada

'If poor choices and a feeling of powerlessness contributes to a democratic deficit, we believe good processes can and should pay a democratic dividend.

For individuals, **this dividend includes an expanded** sense of voice, agency and personal efficacy. For societies, it includes greater mutual awareness and cohesion, allowing it to overcome divisions."

- MASS LBP

Source: https://www.masslbp.com/work/





Omidyar Network

"The UK's departure from the European Union gives us cause to consider what effective governance and citizen engagement might look like over the next few years.... Risks include the potential weakening of rights and standards, though there will also be opportunities to adopt more ambitious policies too.

The work we have done so far seeking opportunities, as well as these first investments, suggests that **the UK is fertile** ground for reforming the way citizens organise, advocate, interact with government and hold decision makers accountable."

> - Andrew Clarke; Principle, Governance and Citizen Engagement, Omidyar Network.

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OMIDYAR NETWORK

Omidyar Network invests in entrepreneurs commited to advancing and scaling social good with focus on building prosperous, stable, and open societies, including Governance & Citizen Engagement.

Source: https://medium.com/positive-returns/omidyar-network-expands-support-for-uk-focussed-governance-and-citizen-engagement-initiatives-2c8206c93d86

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newDemocracy Foundation

"It's almost ingrained in our psyche that we cannot have government without opposition. ...you give people the opportunity to comment on it and we find that there are other ways to do it."

> - Luca Belgiorno-Nettis; founder of newDemocracy Foundation, Australia [1]

"You need to have three criteria to determine the power of a political body: One is appropriate representation. The other is a deliberative space. And the third is influence. If you don't have those three you don't really end up with a good political status."

> - Lyn Carson; Director of newDemocracy Foundation, Australia [1]

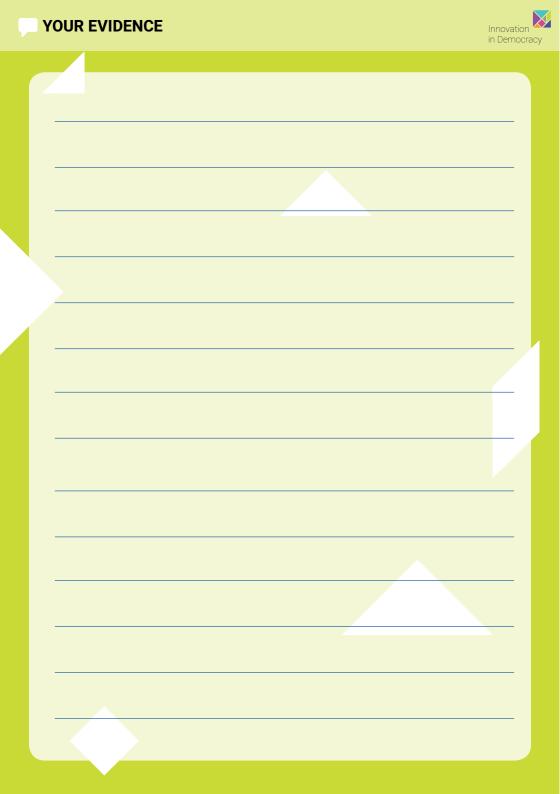
newDemocracy is an independent, nonpartisan research and development organisation in Australia. They aim to discover, develop, demonstrate, and promote complementary alternatives which will restore trust in public decision making. [2]

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Source: [1] http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2009/07/09/2621500.htm. [2] https:// www.newdemocracy.com.au

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- Random selection of participants all members of a citizens' assembly are selected by lot. Every member of the population eligible to take part in a citizens' assembly should be able to potentially receive invitation to participate.
- **Demographic representation** the composition of a citizens' assembly should broadly match the demographic profile of the community participating in the process. A stipend should be provided to all participants to the amount that is above covering the costs of attending the citizens' assembly..
- Independent coordination the citizens' assembly is run by an independent team of coordinators, which is responsible for preparing the process of random selection, developing the agenda, and inviting experts and facilitators. If the citizens' assembly is organized by local authorities, the parliament or funded from public purse, it is important that all members of the coordination team are not part of the civil service. The coordinators should be also impartial, e.g. not active politicians or direct stakeholders.
- Citizens' assembly can invite experts despite the main programme of the educational phase being prepared by the team of coordinators, the citizens' assembly can invite additional experts of their own choice. This may be in the form of a speech in person, a video streaming, a recording, a written note or other.
- Inclusion of a widest practical range of perspectives if there are diverse solutions and perspectives on a subject, ideally all of them should be presented during the educational phase of the citizens' assembly (by expert speakers). A method of combining perspectives due to a limited time or other practical considerations may be applied. Presentations may have the form of a speech in person, a video streaming, a recording, a written note or other.

This set of standards was created by Marcin Gerwin with input from experts around the world - it has been adapted for brevity.







- Inviting all stakeholders any organisation, informal group or an institution whose area of work and expertise is related to the topic of the citizens' assembly has the right to present its opinion to the citizens' assembly in person. The role of the team of coordinators is only to identify the stakeholders – they don't make a selection. A diversity of perspectives should be taken into account.
- Deliberation discussions which include listening to others deeply and weighing options are the key elements of a citizens' assembly. The programme should involve discussions in small groups as well as in the plenary in order to maximize opportunities to speak and to be heard. The deliberation phase should be run by skilled facilitators.
- Openness all members of society should be able to provide input to the citizens' assembly in the form of comments, proposals or suggestions.
- Sufficient time for reflection providing a sufficient amount of time for reflection is necessary to achieve well-thought-out decisions. If the matter is not urgent, it is best not to rush.
- **Impact** the follow-up to the citizens' assembly's recommendations should be clear from the outset. Ideally, recommendations that receive the support of the citizens' assembly at an agreed threshold should be treated as binding.
- Transparency all presentations during the educational, plenary phase should be transmitted live and recorded. All materials presented to the citizens' assembly should be made available online. A report presenting details of methodology used for organizing a citizens' assembly should be provided by the coordination team.
- Visibility each citizens' assembly is an important event in the life of a community and citizens should be informed that it is happening and information on how they can get involved and follow it should be provided. The citizens' assembly should be publicly announced before it is formed.

