Inclusive Citizenship in a world in Transformation: Co-Designing for Democracy

IN CITE -DEM

IN CITE -DEM Citizens Reinventing Democracy

Inclusive Citizenship in a world in Transformation: Co-Designing for Democracy

D1.1 Report and timeline of (e)participation and engagement practices

29-02-2024

Authors: Roberto Falanga, José Duarte Ribeiro, João Moniz, Vanessa Buth

Grant Agreement 101094258

Co-funded by the European Union

Funded by the European Union (INCITE-DEM, GA nº 101094258). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or of the European Research Executive Agency (REA). Neither the European Union nor the granting authority (REA) can be held responsible for them.

Deliverable	Data
Lead Beneficiary	ICS
Deliverable Number	D1.1
Deliverable Name	Report and timeline of (e)participation and engagement practices
Work Package and Task	WP1, Task 1.1
Document type:	Report
Dissemination level:	Public
Number of Pages	145
Key words	democratic innovations; sustainability; civic participation and engagement; historical review; Europe
Author:	Roberto Falanga, José Duarte Ribeiro, João Moniz, Vanessa Buth
Contributors	Angela Pagano (Kyoto Club), Boštjan Remic (FOCUS), David Lamas (TLU), Erica Löfström (NTNU), Eugenio Barchiesi (Kyoto Club), Francesc Cots (ECO-UNION), Jeremie Fosse (ECO-UNION), João Limão (FC.ID),Lidija Živčič (FOCUS), Petteri Repo (HU); Sandra Oliveira (FC.ID), and Wander Jager (UG)
Planned submission date	29/02/2024
Actual submission date	29/02/2024
Reviewers	Doris Fuchs, Oliver Treib, Francesc Cots

Document History

Version number	date	authors	reviewers	description
1	08-01-2024	Roberto Falanga, José Duarte Ribeiro, João Moniz, Vanessa Buth	Doris Fuchs, Oliver Treib Francesc Cots	Provided suggestions to shorten the deliverable. All feedback from reviewer was adopted.
2	15-02-2024	Roberto Falanga, José Duarte Ribeiro, João Moniz, Vanessa Buth	Doris Fuchs, Oliver Treib Francesc Cots	Revised pre-final version
3	25-02-2024	Roberto Falanga, José Duarte Ribeiro, João Moniz, Vanessa Buth	Doris Fuchs, Oliver Treib Francesc Cots	Final version to submission

INCITE-DEM Consortium Partners

Organization	Type	Country
FCiências.ID - Associacão para a Investigacão e Desenvolvimento de Ciências (FC.ID)	Private Non-profit Association	Portugal
University of Muenster (WWU)	University	Germany
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)	University	Norway
University of Groningen (UG)	University	Netherlands
University of Helsinki (UH)	University	Finland
Tallinn University (TLU)	University	Estonia
Instituto de Ciências Sociais -University of Lisbon (ICS)	University	Portugal
Asociacion Eco-Union (ECOU)	Non-Governmental Organization	Spain
Focus Association for Sustainable Development (FOCUS)	Non-Governmental Organization	Slovenia
Kyoto Club (KC)	Non-Governmental Organization	Italy

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. METHODOLOGY OF THE HISTORICAL REVIEW: EXPLORATORY AND SCOPING REVIEWS 3

2.1 METHODOLOGY OF THE EXPLORATORY REVIEW 3
2.2 METHODOLOGY OF THE SCOPING REVIEWS 4
2.2.1 IDENTIFICATION AND COLLECTION PHASE 6
2.2.2 SELECTION PHASE 7
2.2.3 ANALYSIS PHASE 8
2.3 INTERVIEWS WITH INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS 9
2.4 ARCHIVAL RESEARCH 10
2.5 LIMITATIONS 11

3. MAIN CONCEPTS 13

3.1 CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND ENGAGEMENT 13
3.2 DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS 14
3.2.1 WORKING DEFINITION OF DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS 17
3.2.2 TYPOLOGIES AND CATEGORIES OF DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS 17
3.3 DEFINING SUSTAINABILITY 25

4. HISTORICAL REVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS 29

4.1 DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS: MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL STAGES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRACY 29
4.1.1 "THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN'" 29
4.1.2 1960'S AND 1970'S: EARLY CRITICISM OF PARTICIPATORY INITIATIVES AND THE REVIVAL OF PARTICIPATORY THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY 33
4.1.3 1980'S AND 1990'S: INNOVATIONS FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH WITH THE EMERGENCE OF PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING 36
4.1.4 1990'S AND 2000'S: THE TURN TOWARDS DELIBERATION 43
4.1.5 THE 2010S THROUGH TO THE 2020S: DEFINING AND RE-THINKING THE CONCEPT AND THE PRACTICE(S) OF DEMOCRATIC INNOVATION(S) 47

5. SCOPING REVIEWS OF DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS AND SUSTAINABILITY 52

5.1 INTERNATIONAL MIRROR CASES 53
5.1.1 BRAZIL 53
5.1.2 AUSTRALIA 55
5.2 HISTORICAL STAGES OF DIS AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY 58
5.3 HISTORICAL STAGES OF DIS AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY 63
5.4 DIGITAL PARTICIPATION & ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY 68
5.5 HISTORICAL STAGES OF CITIZEN-LED DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS 71

5.5.1 Defining the "citizen-led" concept 71
5.5.2 Chronological analysis of Citizen-led Democratic Innovations 72
5.5.3 Geographical analysis of Citizen-led Democratic Innovations 73
5.5.4 Citizen-led Deliberative Mini Publics and sustainability 73
5.5.5 Citizen-led Participatory Budgeting and sustainability 74
5.5.6 Citizen-led Participatory Governance and sustainability 75
5.5.7 Citizen-led Collaborative governance and sustainability 77

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS 79

7. REFERENCES 81

8. APPENDIX 104

1. Archival Research 104
8.1.1 Main findings from the archival research 108
8.2 Interviews: scripts and consent forms 135
8.3 Participant Informed Consent Form 137
2. Appendix – Participant Information Sheet 138
8.4 Seminar Series and Podcasts 142

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BCCA	British Columbia Citizen's Assembly
CG	Collaborative Governance
CLDI	Citizen-led Democratic Innovation
CoFoE	European Green Deal and the Conference on the Future of Europe
DI	Democratic Innovation
DMP	Deliberative Mini-Public
ECID	Citizen Space for Democratic Interpellation
ER	Exploratory Review
ES	Environmental Sustainability
EU	European Union
MST	Brazilian Landless Workers Movement
NGO	Non-governmental Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PB	Participatory Budgeting
PG	Participatory Governance
SGG	Sustainable Development Goals
SR	Scoping Review
SS	Social Sustainability

List of Figures

Figure 5.1) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and social & environmental sustainability by typology 53

Figure 5.2) Number of publications on Democratic innovations & Environmental Sustainability Goals in South America 54

Figure 5.3) Number of publications on Democratic innovations & Social Sustainability Goals in South America 55

Figure 5.4) Number of publications on Democratic Innovations and Social Sustainability in Oceania 56

Figure 5.5) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability in Oceania 57

Figure 5.6) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability across time 58

Figure 5.7) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability across the globe 59

Figure 5.8) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability across time in Europe 60

Figure 5.9) Research on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability in Europe by time of study 61

Figure 5.10) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability in Europe 62

Figure 5.11) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and social sustainability across time 63

Figure 5.12) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and social sustainability across the globe 64

Figure 5.13) Number of publications Democratic innovations and social sustainability across time in Europe 65

Figure 5.14) Research on Democratic innovations and social sustainability in Europe by time of study 67

Figure 5.15) Number of publications Democratic innovations and social sustainability in Europe 68

Figure 5.16) Number of publications on Citizen-led Democratic innovations across time 72

Figure 5.17) Geographical distribution of the number of publication on Citizen-led Democratic Innovations 73

List of Tables

Table 2.1) Eligibility criteria for the Scoping Reviews 6

Table 3.1) Research themes and motivations of research on e-participation 23

Table 4.1) Definitions and typologies of Democratic Innovations retrieved from the literature review 51

Table 8.1) Template for the archival research 104

Table 8.2) Consent form for permission to publish 105

Table 8.3) Synthesis of the main findings of the archival research 109

Executive Summary

This report presents the main findings retrieved from the historical review of civic participation and engagement towards sustainable solutions. Findings emphasise the role of citizen participation in policy and decision-making by highlighting emerging trends and patterns in Europe.

We delimit our focus on civic participation and engagement through the concept of Democratic Innovations (DIs). In parallel, we examine social and environmental sustainability through the classification proposed by the United Nations as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

On the one hand, DIs hold, from both conceptual and empirical stances, an explanatory potential about emerging forms of citizen participation and deliberation within representative democracies. On the other hand, the SDGs allow a critical analysis of whether and how DIs contribute to the multiple areas of intervention pointed out by the United Nations and echoed by public bodies and private organisations worldwide.

The report builds on the exploratory and Scoping Reviews of DIs for environmental and social sustainability in Europe since the aftermath of the Second World War. The review of scientific literature is supported by interviews with internationally acknowledged experts in this field and archival research of exemplary cases from nine European member countries.

Through the Exploratory Review we learn that social and political upheavals of the 1960's and 70's were significant attempts of democratisation in policy and decision-making, both from the societal level upwards and governmental institutions downwards. In the 1980s and 1990s, participatory budgeting and the "deliberative turn" took centre stage with new democratic practices. In the 2000s, the international acknowledgment of DIs was grounded on scholarly discussion about different typologies and institutional designs for civic participation and engagement. The hybridisation of in-person and online practices has become a case in point in the last few years, as well as new horizons of mixed participatory and deliberative initiatives. Today, scholars agree on the potential of DIs to trigger systemic transformations when they effectively challenge established modes of governance and gain the support of civil society.

Scoping Reviews were based on an original working definition elaborated by the authors of this report, and the identification of three main categories of DIs: deliberative mini-publics; participatory budgeting; collaborative and participatory governance. Such categories were chosen according to international discussion among scholars about the most globally diffused DIs. The analysis of the three DIs through the angle of both institution and citizen-led participation was paired by a critical analysis of the emerging role of e-participation in Europe through the last decades.

From the Scoping Reviews we learn that deliberative mini-publics are deemed to enhance informed, inclusive, and reflective discussion among citizens; participatory budgeting is acknowledged as an effective way to provide citizens with a direct say in political decisions; participatory and collaborative governance are considered to bring potential by straddling together multiple stakeholders within decision-making processes. When it comes to the role of DIs for sustainable solutions, social inclusion and policy effectiveness stand out as main goals, with an emphasis on the role that marginalised communities can have to improve democratic governance. In fact, citizen-led DIs underscore how bottom-up approaches can amplify the scope and magnitude of participation in democratic processes, thus going over mere governance-driven processes. However, DIs are not without their challenges. Public powers often struggle to ensure inclusivity, maintain citizen engagement, achieve tangible impacts and embed DIs within the public administration.

Moreover, we learn that despite the capacity of deliberative mini-publics to influence climate policies, they should not be understood as a panacea, as they necessarily need to rely on a broader set of systemic changes to steer meaningful change. As regards participatory budgeting, its significance extends through social and environmental sustainability with a focus on the empowerment of local communities, which resonates with goals of democratic governance pursued through the participation and collaboration of multiple stakeholders.

In sum, what DIs can add to the current debate on democracy, is the concrete opportunity to combine goals of more inclusive, effective, and sustainable improvement of our democracies. This report can positively encourage future research on emerging issues about civic participation and engagement for sustainable solutions.

1. Introduction

The concepts of political and citizen participation, as well as civic engagement encompass a wide range of activities where individuals engage with the policy- and decision-making process at various levels of governance as well as within communities. According to Dalton (2009), political participation can be distinguished between "conventional" and "unconventional". The former includes voting, contacting politicians and working for political parties, whereas the latter includes consumerist boycotting for political reasons, signing petitions and participating in protests and demonstrations. Conceptual borders between unconventional political participation and civic participation are not consensual though.

A broad range of participatory and deliberative initiatives (e.g. consensus conferences, deliberative polls, citizen juries, etc.) have been implemented in the search for greater consensus on new solutions for policy issues (Delli Carpini, et al. 2004; Sintomer, et al., 2008). The coming together of social actors and decision-makers are deemed to improve democratic values and effectively respond to community needs by empowering the "have-not[s]" (Arnstein 1969). However, entrenched relations between political and economic elites are often seen as a strategy to depoliticise the political debate and make less accountable decisions (Hajer 2003).

Considering the central role that concepts of citizen participation and deliberation have played in the last few decades, this report provides the first ever documented historical review of multiple forms and approaches to environmental and social sustainability, with a focus on Europe. We frame our historical review through the concept of "Democratic Innovations" (DIs). To this end, we elaborated a working definition based on key contributions retrieved from the historical review:

> *DIs encompass institutions or processes that employ deliberative and/or participatory means to increase and diversify citizen's participation in the policy cycle with the overarching goal of improving the quality of democracy by tackling specific contextual deficits.*

We focus on three main categories drawn from scientific literature: Participatory Budgets (PB); Deliberative Mini-Publics (DMP), Participatory Governance and Collaborative Governance (PG&CG). The latter is assumed as a single category, although the literature often refers to PG and CG in interchangeable ways (see Heinelt 2018).

(i) DMPs are representative small groups of citizens engaged in quality deliberations to provide informed judgments.

(ii) PB provides mechanisms for ordinary citizens to engage in budgetary decision-making processes.

(iii) PG&CG emphasise citizen involvement in policy and decision-making on a wide range of domains.

The report will also provide researchers, policymakers, and practitioners with the results of three Scoping Reviews (SR). These SRs are not new to the topics of citizen participation and of DIs (see, for example, Elstub and Escobar 2019; Elkjær et al. 2021; Sonnenfeld et al., 2022), as far as the research team was able to establish, this is the first ever documented SR on DIs, both in terms of scope and thematic focus, with a focus on Europe. In articulation with the historical review, these SRs aim to offer the community with an up-to-date portrayal of the current state of the literature and research on DIs and sustainability.

The report is structured as follows:

- In Section 1, we present the Exploratory Review on DIs, further expanded through three interconnected SRs on DIs and environmental sustainability, DIs and social sustainability, and citizen-led DIs (CLDI) in connection with both environmental and social sustainability.
- In Section 2, we describe the methodology that supports the research for this report, including the empirical strategy of the SR, the interviews with international experts and the archival research. This section also discusses the main limitations of the methodology.
- In Section 3, we discuss the main concepts of this report by engaging with seminal contributions and insights gathered from interviews with experts. We rely on the framework provided by the United Nations (UN) on the SDGs to frame environmental and social sustainability.
- In Section 4, we trace the history of DIs from the end of the Second World War to the present based on findings from the historical review and interviews.
- Finally, Section 5 presents the results from the three SRs and expands the scope of analysis to other regions of the world, such as Brazil and Australia, taken as mirror cases as birthplace of PB and development of DMPs respectively.

2. Methodology of the Historical Review: Exploratory and Scoping Reviews

The methodology adopted in this report assumes, at the outset, that the concept of "participation" is anything but a linear and unambiguous one. We decided to frame our analysis by focusing on the practices of citizen participation in policy and decision-making that have been promoted by representative democracies in Europe. The concept of DIs was chosen by the research team in agreement with the members of the consortium accordingly. DIs allow us to unfold a consistent search of scientific literature on practices of democratic participation that involve public authorities and civil society in a dialogue upon issues of public matter. This methodological choice further allows us to pave a clear venue of understanding on citizen participation, being this last concept prone to ambiguous interpretations and encompassing dimensions of social life that do not necessarily affect policy and decision-making.

Preliminary conditions for the historical review were set out through two main steps: (i) one Exploratory Review (ER); and (ii) three SRs.

2.1 Methodology of the Exploratory Review

The ER relied on a combination of methods:

- Search through the most broad-reaching engine for ERs: Google Scholar. This search engine indexes scholarly literature across disciplines, making it a valuable starting point for identifying relevant articles, books, and conference papers. It offers a broad scope of resources, enabling researchers to explore diverse perspectives and identify key publications. This exploratory search used the term "democratic innovation(s)" as a keyword. Its result was instrumental to the second stage of the ER, which adopted tools described below.
- Complementary tools aimed at supporting the ER: scite.ai and Litmaps, which integrate artificial intelligence and advanced research algorithms. Scite.ai focuses on citation analysis and provides a unique feature by displaying the context and sentiment of citations, which help evaluate the impact and quality of cited works, by enabling a deeper understanding of the scholarly debate. Litmaps offers an interactive visualisation of key concepts, connections, and research clusters, which help identify research gaps, emerging trends, and influential authors within a field. By importing selected references into Litmaps, it is possible to run "seed maps'', which account for the 20 more relevant associated sources based on two criteria: 'cited by' and 'date'

(i.e., which means number of citations, and division between older and newer sources).

The combination of Google Scholar, scite.ai, and Litmaps provides a comprehensive approach to gathering relevant scholarly sources, allowing for the visualisation of citation impact, and the academic landscape. We identified a sample of 86 key sources that helped set out the scene for the three SRs in the following step.

By reading through the abstracts, as well as by taking into consideration the criteria listed below, we handpicked a final sub-library of 20 references out of the total 86 references.

Selection criteria:

- Number of citations: for the publications with more citations, we run a "seed paper" analysis to see the ones that were the most cited by other authors.
- Year of the publication: a representative pool of older and more recent references was created accordingly.
- Abstract: presence of at least one of the following concepts: 'participation', 'citizen participation', 'participatory democracy', 'deliberative democracy', and 'democratic innovations'.

The review of the 20 selected historical sources allowed setting out the basis for the historical review of DIs.

As a result, we built a timeline of DIs, based on the selected literature. We also took advantage of the ER to identify some of the international scholars interviewed in the first step of the historical review. Inputs provided by international experts helped us frame the working definition of DIs introduced in Section 3.2.

2.2 Methodology of the Scoping Reviews

SRs have become much in vogue in the social sciences in the past years (see Jungherr, 2016; Lourenço, 2021; van der Veer and Haverland, 2019 for instance). In SRs the researcher applies a pre-established methodology to the identification, selection, categorisation, and analysis of an existing body of literature, as well as to the presentation of the findings (Denyer and Tranfield, 2009). By presenting themselves with a transparent and replicable method to the wider scientific community, SRs have several advantages as they reduce the biases that traditional reviews are more prone to (Dacombe, 2018). As Tricco et al (2018, p. 467) argue, SRs "map available evidence on a topic and identify main concepts, theories, sources, and knowledge gaps". In other words, they are useful to assess the extent and quality of existing research while underscoring the areas where the literature is lacking, and thus reveal avenues for future research.

Following Tricco et al (2018), we divided the protocol into three distinct phases: 1) the identification and collection phase; 2) the selection phase; and 3) the analysis phase. Each phase of this process is described in detail below.

Against this backdrop, we conducted three interconnected SRs based on the combination of DIs with environmental and social sustainability, as well as a dedicated SR on CLDIs. In the three SRs, we focus on three categories of DIs: PBs, DMPs, and PG&CG:

(iv) DMPs are representative small groups of citizens engaged, recruited through sortition methods, in quality deliberations to provide informed judgments (Fishkin, 2009). The historical roots of DMPs date back to the development of so-called planning cells in Germany in the 1970s–1980s (Dienel 1999). In the following years, the introduction of Deliberative Polling by Fishkin (1988) and the innovative real-world implementation of British Columbia's Citizens' Assemblies in 2004, mark a significant milestone. In the 2000s, DMPs gained international traction in several countries, especially in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom with the diffusion of citizens' juries and consensus conferences (Smith and Wales, 2000).

(v) PB provides mechanisms for ordinary citizens to engage in budgetary decision-making processes (Baiocchi, 2005). PB underscores the direct role of citizens in shaping these decisions. This approach champions the inclusion of marginalised groups, more transparent public expenditure, and wider civic engagement. The historical trajectory of PB started in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1989, aiming to address social inequality by involving marginalised populations in budgetary decision-making (Souza, 2001). It gained momentum during the 1990s in Brazil and was subsequently introduced to Europe and beyond in the 2000s, with countries adapting it to local conditions (Sintomer et al., 2008).

(vi) PG&CG emphasise citizen involvement in policy and decision-making on a wide range of domains (Fung and Wright, 2003), stressesing citizen influence in shaping decisions for transparency and accountability (Gaventa, 2006), and underscoring continuous citizen engagement in policymaking (Della Porta, 2013). This approach, rooted in democratic theories of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, was championed by authors like Pateman (Cornwall, 2008). The 1980s-1990s gave primacy to the role of local governments (World Bank, 1996), while the 2000s witnessed global institutionalisation, including the UN endorsement of PG&CG. By the 2010s, diverse models, including digital ones, emerged (Fung, 2006). While CG is more devoted to involving public agencies and non-state stakeholders in formal and consensus-driven decision-making processes (Ansell and Gash, 2008; Emerson et al. 2012). PG emphasises the involvement of specific groups of citizens in policy-making - specifically those directly affected by them (Heinelt, 2018).

2.2.1 Identification and collection phase

In the three SRs, we focussed on how the scholarship debate has captured the dissemination of DIs in connection with sustainability across time and space. Additionally, we traced the production of peer-reviewed literature on the topics at hand by differentiating between theoretical, empirical, and literature reviews. Literature was selected according to the following set of eligible criteria showed in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1) Eligibility criteria for the Scoping Reviews

Topic	Studies must employ the concept of DIs and/or CLDIs and Social and Environmental Sustainability
Source	Social Sciences Citation Index
Year of publication	Studies published until the end of 2022
Language	No language restrictions

First, we accepted peer-reviewed articles published from the beginning of the historical record until the end of 2022, with no limitations on the language of publication. Therefore, books, book chapters and conference proceedings were deliberately excluded.

Second, we focused on studies indexed in the Social Sciences Citation Index (Web of Science). This index combines comprehensiveness and a commitment to high standards of scientific and academic quality.

Third, we devised a set of keywords to conduct our search in the aforementioned index. Keywords combined our focus on the three typologies of DIs retrieved from the main literature, such as Smith (2009) and Elstub and Escobar (2019), namely: PB, DMP, PG&CG. As for social and environmental sustainability, we relied on the widely accepted definitions provided by the UN.

- For social sustainability the keywords used were: *“Social Sustain*” OR “Inequalit*” OR “Equality” OR “Equity” OR “Inclusi*” OR “Social Cohes*” OR “Social Well-being" OR “Social Wellbeing” OR “Social Capital” OR “Divers*” OR “Welfare” OR “Public Service*” OR “Education” OR “Healthcare”.*
- For environmental sustainability the keywords used were*: “Environment*” OR “Environmental Sustain*” OR “Environmental Polic*” OR “Environmental Governance” OR “Conservat*” OR “Biodivers*” OR “Climate” OR “Climate Change” OR “Climate Polic*” OR “Carbon” OR “Ecosystem*” OR “Green” OR “Natural Resource*”*
- For CLDIs the keywords used were*: "citizen-led” OR “citizen initiative*” OR “Citizen driven” OR “Citizen owned” OR “Civil society rooted” OR “Social movement*” OR “Movement” OR “Community-led” OR “locally-led” OR “grassroot*” OR “claimed” OR “bottom-up*” OR “Invented” OR “Spontaneous” OR “Democracy-driven Governance”.*

By combining the keywords, we formulated the final set of terms used for the search in the Social Sciences Citation Index. This result was 1441 distinct documents, published between 1976 and 2022, for social sustainability and in 923 documents, published between 1994 and 2022, for environmental sustainability[1]. As for the CLDI, SR combined the keywords from both sustainability dimensions with the citizen-led dimension. As such we formulated the set of terms used for the search in the Social Sciences Citation Index. This exercise resulted in the identification of 54 documents published between 2001 and 2022, applying the environmental sustainability dimension, and 63 documents published between 2001 and 2022, applying the social sustainability dimension.

2.2.2 Selection phase

For the selection phase, we devised a strategy to assure that the collected documents complied with our objectives. As such, documents had to feature at least one term associated with DIs and at least one term associated with social sustainability and environmental sustainability either in the title, abstract or in the keywords. The same principle was applied to the SR on CLDIs. Documents that did not feature both conditions were excluded.

We reduced the collected pool of sources accordingly. For the social sustainability related SR, we excluded 1024 documents while for the SR on environmental sustainability, we excluded 265. As for the citizen-led themed SR, through the application of this criteria, 26 documents were removed from the SR on environmental sustainability collection, and 26 documents were removed from the SR on social sustainability.

We also noticed that a subset of the literature employed the concepts of CG and PG in ways that were not fully congruent with our working definition. The definition employed in this study focuses on the inclusion of citizens in policy-making processes. However, some of the consulted documents centred either on the collaboration between public authorities and private companies or on the power of organised interest groups. To filter such articles out of our SRs, a further 154 documents were removed from the poll of the social sustainability SR, and 381 were removed from the environmental sustainability SR.

Furthermore, we noticed a considerable lack of literature on DMPs. We, therefore, decided to include the different types of DMPs such as: citizens' juries; citizens' assemblies; citizens councils; citizen dialogues; citizens' initiative reviews; reference panels; planning cells; consensus conferences; transnational agenda-setting conferences; deliberative polls; G1000; and town hall meetings (see Harris 2019)

[1] The collection of the social sustainability related research was conducted on the 6th of July 2023, and of the environmental sustainability documents on the 11th of the same month/year.

These two reasons have justified the decision for a complementary SLR protocol reliant on a fourth extra protocol focussed on "deliberation and sustainability"[2].

Last, we added 14 handpicked[3] references to the pool on social sustainability, and 5 transferred[4] from the initial pool of environmental sustainability, resulting in **347** references. As for SR on environmental sustainability, 30 references were handpicked plus 7 transferred from the initial pool of social sustainability, for a total number of **345** references. It is from this universe of scientific research that we proceeded with the analyses of democratic innovations and sustainability. Finally, six handpicked documents were added to the overall SR for the DI + CLDI + Environmental Sustainability (3+6) and two were added to the overall SR for the DI + CLDI + Social Sustainability (8+2). This produced the final total number of **59** references for CLDI and sustainability.

2.2.3 Analysis phase

In order to proceed with the analysis and systematisation of the insights from the collected and selected references, we devised a coding schema wherein each one of the references acted as units of analysis. Such units of analysis were classified according to predetermined criteria. Specifically, in 1) which type of DIs (PB; DMP, PG&CG) the bibliographic reference pertained to; in 2) which of the UN's SDGs[5]. Moreover, we also classified each of the references according to the 3) region of the globe covered by the research[6], as well as to 4) the type of research conducted[7]. It must be noted that, apart from regional scope and type of research, all other categories were not mutually exclusive. Meaning that the same reference could be coded in multiple DIs and cover more than one SDGs.

[2] Regarding the selection phase of this extra protocol, criteria are identical to the others: documents must mention at least 1 term associated with deliberative practices either in the title, abstract or keywords ("Citizen juries" OR "Citizen assembly" OR "Citizen council" OR "Citizen dialogue" OR "Citizen initiative review" OR "Reference panel" OR "Planning cell" OR "Consensus conference" OR "Transnational agenda-setting conference" OR "Deliberative poll" OR "G1000" OR "Town hall meeting") and 1 term associated with the thematic focus either in the title, abstract or keywords.

[3] Handpicked refers to academic publications that were identified earlier (ER) or during expert interviews that were not caught by respective protocols, but which assumed relevance and congruence to be included.

[4] Transfers occurred when, during the selection stage of the initial protocol, references were marked in SS as more relevant for ES and vice-versa.

[5] For the social sustainability themed SR, the references were only classified according to the SDGs directly related to social issues, while for the environmental sustainability SR only the goals associated directly with environmental topics applied. As for the CLDI SR, since its objective was to trace how the literature has discussed the role of citizens in promoting DIs, this framework was not applied.

[6] The globe was divided into 6 distinct regions: Africa; Asia; Europe; North America; Oceania; and South America. Additionally, we added a Multiple Regions option to classify research conducted on multiple regions.

[7] Each of the bibliographical references could be labelled as 1) empirical; 2) literature review; 3) theoretical article.

2.3 Interviews with international experts

The first round of interviews with eight internationally acknowledged experts[8] in the field of DIs took place between June 14 and July 11. Invited experts were:

- **Brigitte Geissel**. Professor for Comparative Politics and Director of the Research Unit "Democratic Innovations" at the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main.
- **Francesco Veri**. Senior Researcher at the Centre for Democracy Studies at the University of Zurich.
- **Expert C.** Professor of Politics and expert on Democratic Theory and DIs.
- **Mark Warren**. Professor of Democratic Theory at the University of British Columbia.
- **Oliver Escobar**. Professor of Public Policy and Democratic Innovation at the University of Edinburgh.
- **Expert F.** Senior Research on DIs and Public Policy.
- **Stephen Elstub**. Professor of Democratic Politics and Director of Research for the School of Geography, Politics, and Sociology at the University of Newcastle.
- **Expert H.** Senior Researcher on DIs in Latin America.

The aim of these interviews was to strengthen knowledge on the following issues:

- Definition(s) of DIs
- Goal(s) of DIs
- Typologies of DIs
- Relation between public authorities and civil society within DIs
- Link between DIs and social and environmental sustainability.

All the interviews relied on a preliminary open-ended question regarding the historical trajectories of DIs. This question inspired experts to share their thoughts that ended up corroborating our timeline (see Appendix 8.1.).

During the second stage of the research involving the SRs, we conducted a second round of interviews with international experts in the field of the three typologies selected for this historical review - PBs, DMPs, PC&CG. Interviews took place between July 27 and September 1 and the invited experts were:

- **Andrea Felicetti**. Assistant Professor at University of Padua.
- **Expert J.** Professor Political and Social Sciences and expert on Social Movements and Participatory Governance
- **Ernesto Ganuza**. Researcher at the Institute for Public Goods and Policies in Madrid.
- **Expert L.** Retired Professor of Deliberative Democracy and Governance.

[8] Experts that are not identified by name preferred to remain anonymous and/or did not specify in the consent form the option for their name to be published.

- **John Dryzek**. Distinguished Professor and former Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow in the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra
- **Nicole Curato**. Professor of Political Sociology at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra.
- **Expert O.** Emeritus Professor of Planning and Regional Development.
- **Selen Ercan**. Director of the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra.
- **Shane Epting**. Assistant professor of Philosophy at the Missouri University of Science and Technology.
- **Yves Cabannes**. Urban planner and Emeritus Professor of Development Planning since 2015

The aim of these interviews was two-fold: (i) to better understand the historical dissemination of the three DIs - especially less known or documented aspects of them; (ii) to reflect on the potential of each DI to further the agenda of social and environmental sustainability.

2.4 Archival Research

The archival research was conducted to provide insights to the historical review through the analysis of a sample of exemplary practices of participation undertaken in nine European member countries. To this end, a collaborative approach was set out with members of the consortium based on common guidelines about goals and methods of the historical review.

We encouraged our colleagues to look for historical practices of participation in environmental and social sustainability, either led by institutions (public authorities at multiple levels; public agencies; foundations; etc.) or citizens (grassroots groups; movements; non-governmental organisations; associations; etc.).

Accordingly, the guiding criteria were:

- Actors (institutions and/or citizens);
- Scope (environmental and/or social sustainability);
- Chronology (from the aftermath of WWII to today).

Moreover, we identified two types of archives:

- Digital archives: websites; blogs; YouTube channels; social media; digital newspapers collections; etc.
- Physical archives: public libraries (both for newspapers that are not digitised, and for any fund deposited by civil society organisations, groups, associations and/or movements).

A short template to systematise information was provided to all members (see Table 8.1 on the appendix), as well as a consent form for the permission to publish the materials (see Table 8.2 on the appendix). Collected materials were classified according to:

- Type:
    - Primary source (information that was created at the same time as an event or by a person directly involved in the practice);
    - Secondary source (a document that gets its information from somewhere else or by a person not directly involved in the practice);
    - Private source (i.e., documents intended for internal group use, drafts, etc.);
    - Public source (published documents).
- Category:
    - Written documents;
    - Iconographic/Photographic material (including posters and flyers);
    - Video;
    - Interviews.

The materials covered by the archival research focus on different forms and cases of political participation and engagement (see Appendix 8.1). Despite not following the same scientific rigour as ER and SRs, the case studies exemplify and illustrate empirical knowledge collected on purpose by the members of this consortium. Moreover, they contribute to situate some key insights retrieved from the historical review. The Spanish and Portuguese practices focus on democratic transitions. The German and Italian practices centre around the 1970s antinuclear movements, and the Norwegian case highlights indigenous protests against wind power. The Finnish and Slovenian practices emphasise public ownership reclamation in the 1970s-1980s. The Estonian and the Dutch practices tell of community engagement in promoting social values and defending public space.

2.5 Limitations

While this report yields valuable insights, some limitations should be acknowledged and considered when interpreting and generalising our findings. Main limitations are related to:

- **Conceptual framing:** DIs are a conceptual proxy that carries opportunities and challenges. Despite being extensive and comprehensive on participatory and deliberative practices, this concept narrows down the broader spectrum of citizen participation.
- **Academic sources:** the inclusion of academic sources from higher-ranked journals indexed in the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) ensures academic rigor. However, this approach sidelines a significant body of research on DIs in journals that are not

ranked in the SSCI, which especially applies to publications in languages other than not English.

- **Non-academic sources:** related to the above, the selection of academic sources operated two additional choices that reveal main limitations: the exclusion of books and national grey literature. While we handpicked international reports, the omission of sources other than scientific articles limits the scope of our findings.
- **Recruitment of international experts:** interviewed international experts comprise academics with a view to include those with experience on the ground. The exclusion of other key actors, such as activists may limit our understanding of DIs in Europe.

3. Main Concepts

In this Section of the report, we aim to delineate and review the main concepts of this document, namely citizen participation and DIs, as well as sustainability.

3.1 Civic participation and engagement

The concepts of civic participation and engagement rely on a long-standing scholarly debate. Here we focus on participatory and deliberative traditions of practices that stem from two main schools of thought in studies on democracy (Barber, 1984; O'Flynn, 2019):

- Participatory democracy stresses principles of democratic inclusion in decision-making by unfolding egalitarian principles of open engagement between participants and stakeholders. Participatory democracy emphasises the active, direct, and meaningful involvement of the citizenry in the definition of policies and decision-making processes (Pateman 1970; 2012), thus advocating for structural changes from representation and representative institutions towards a more engaged society (Barber, 1984). Arnstein's seminal contribution in 1969 laid the groundwork for understanding the different levels of citizen participation, presenting a conceptual framework that has been foundational in the field (Arnstein, 1969). Fung (2006) highlights the various forms of participation in complex governance systems, illustrating how these participatory processes can enhance democratic practices. Pateman's "Participation and Democratic Theory" (1970) explores such forms, providing a comprehensive understanding of how citizens can engage in democratic processes.
- Deliberative democracy focuses on the merits of political decisions made through open, reasoned, and rational exchanges between citizens (Rawls 1993; 1997). Citizens' thoughtfulness is based on ideals of coercion-free communication aimed at reciprocal transformation of preferences and the building of consensus (Habermas, 1992; Seifert, 2006; Fishkin, 2012). Deliberative democracy assumes, therefore, that individuals are rational agents capable of formulating their interests within settings of equality, inclusivity, and mutual respect (Ryfe and Stalsburg, 2012). According to the normative principles of coercion-free communication (Habermas, 1992), deliberative democracy is a political ideal that aims at free discussion of political issues based on equal status and mutual respect (Bächtiger et al. 2019). However, some criticisms emerge as to existing barriers and social exclusion via religious, racial, and other forms of discrimination that end up delegitimizing ideals of free communication (Ercan and Dryzek, 2015).

In general, while participatory conceptions of democracy place more salience on active and direct engagement of citizens with the structures that govern their lives, deliberative democracy is more concerned with discursive exchanges between citizens made under conditions of equality, freedom, and rationality. Nevertheless, citizen participation and deliberation are not without challenges. Young (2000) identifies various obstacles that can hinder effective citizen engagement, such as socio-economic disparities and accessibility issues. This underscores the need to address these barriers to ensure inclusive and effective participation. Young's work (2002) on inclusion and democracy emphasises the need for fairness and inclusivity in participatory processes, ensuring that all voices are heard and considered.

The enhancement of the quality of public policies through the coming together of social actors and decision-makers has been argued to improve democratic values (Smith 2009). King et al. (1998) discuss how citizen engagement influences the formulation and implementation of public policies, highlighting the importance of authentic public participation in public administration. More recently, the advent of digital technology has introduced new dynamics in the realm of citizen participation. Loader and Mercea (2011) examine the role of social media and other digital platforms in facilitating or, at times, hindering citizen engagement in political and community processes.

The concept of citizen participation and deliberation also varies significantly across different cultural and political contexts, necessitating a cross-cultural perspective. Mansbridge (1999) explores these variations, providing insight into how participation is perceived and implemented in diverse settings.

3.2 Democratic Innovations

Civic participation and engagement go hand in hand with DIs if democracy is expected to increase and deepen its quality and performance. As some interviewees highlighted, it seems that the scholarly debate on DIs did not appear at the same time as real-world practices though. Rather, it developed to make sense of empirical evidence on civic participation and engagement:

> *When you look at current materials, it might seem as if deliberative democracy invented citizens' assemblies, but this stuff was happening way before the emergence of deliberative democracy. [Likewise] Participatory initiatives were happening before participatory democracy was recognised as a theoretical idea.*
>
> (Expert C, interviewed on July 11, 2023)

> *When examining democratic innovations, we see a variety of families. If we look at referendums and citizens' initiatives, for instance, they have a much longer history. (…) Each family has its own particular history that needs to be investigated, but it's*

predominantly since the 1990s and primarily this century, except for referendums, which have a long history. The term itself has been in vogue since 2010. Even though it's a relatively new concept, it retroactively applies to many practices that have been with us for a long time.

(Stephen Elstub, interviewed on June 15, 2023)

The practices referred to in the quotations above build on the theories of participatory and deliberative democracy. Early reference to the need of "innovations in democracy practices" can be found in Stewart (1996, p. 32) when the author argued for significant changes in the management processes of the British local government considering poor democratic processes. The "earliest inception" (Asenbaum, 2022, p. 682) of the term "democratic innovation" is given by Saward (2003), as the author tied the term to deliberative democracy, arguing for a model of democracy that goes beyond simple aggregation of votes and involves deep, inclusive, and informed public discussion.

Despite these earlier references, the consolidated conception of DIs was laid out by Smith in two publications in the first decade of the 2000s. The first was a report commissioned by the POWER Inquiry in 2005 where the term was first coined to refer to distinct practices by which citizens participate in democracy. The second is provided by his book *Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation*, published in 2009.

Smith's report in 2005 provides a comprehensive analysis of fifty-seven DIs, with a focus on eleven detailed case studies. The innovations are scrutinised based on their selection mechanisms, forms of involvement, and roles in decision-making. Central to Smith's argument is the disconnection between the governed and government, not only in Britain but across several established democracies. This disconnection prompts a need for novel approaches to citizen participation in political decision-making. The report also identifies barriers to effective participation, which include conflicting policy priorities, poorly executed participation programs, lack of resources, scepticism about participation's impact, and resistance to participation within institutions. The report also emphasises the necessity of cultural change within political authorities, the involvement of independent bodies in facilitating participation, the allocation of dedicated resources, and the need for creativity in participation strategies. Additionally, it underscores the importance of respecting citizens and providing them with incentives to participate, thereby revitalising democracy.

According to his book, Smith (2009) defines DIs as "institutions that have been specifically designed to increase and deepen citizen participation in the political decision-making process" (ibidem, p. 1). The framework to analyse such innovations builds on inclusiveness, popular control, considered judgment, and transparency. Smith distinguishes popular assemblies, mini-publics, participatory budgeting, direct legislation, and e-democracy[9]. More

[9] Some scholars make other types of distinctions (see, for example, Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2017, and Geissel, 2013).

recently, Elstub and Escobar (2019, p. 11) added that DIs are both institutions and processes "new to a policy issue, policy role, or level of governance, and developed to reimagine and deepen the role of citizens in governance processes by increasing opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence". They acknowledge four families of DIs: mini-publics, participatory budgeting, collaborative governance and referenda, and citizens' initiatives, plus digital participation as a transversal category to the former and instead of a category by its own. Overall, DIs are expected to improve the quality of (representative) democracy (cf. Geissel, 2012) by deepening and reimagining the role of citizens in decision-making (Smith, 2009; Elstub and Escobar, 2019).

As highlighted by Escobar in our interview:

> *It's important to distinguish between democratic innovation and democratic innovations. For us, this is a very important distinction. Democratic innovations are all these processes and institutions like mini-publics, etc., all kinds of crowdsourcing and more. On the other hand, democratic innovation refers to the practice of organising these things, creating the political space for them, and telling the stories of this new way of thinking and doing democracy. Democratic innovation as a practice has a very wide range of practitioners across all kinds of traditional and new spaces of political life.*
>
> (Oliver Escobar, interviewed on June 15, 2023)

According to Wright (2010; 2012), DIs coalesce the potential for transforming power relations to deepen and broaden democracy. By enumerating the characteristics of what the author defines as "real utopias", he makes an argument against the injustices perpetrated by capitalism. By seeking more equality, democracy, and sustainability, DIs should be orientated by desirability, viability, and achievability. In fact, the increase of social power through its democratisation is likely to erode capitalist power relations and generate cumulative effects Given that Wright (2010) puts socialist commitments at the centre of his thought, he argues that activists and communities should be empowered by having equal access to collective decisions over issues of public interest together with the state, and, therefore, challenge human oppression. Technology can play a crucial role here, though simultaneously it can also open other venues for challenges and obstacles to achieve Wright's real utopias.

The growth and expansion of hybrid practices as well as the intertwined nature of top-down and bottom-up institutions and processes puts the ambition of 'typologization' at the forefront of the scholarly debate today. Recent literature highlights three main dimensions:

- the potential of DIs to foster systemic changes and question conventional governance structures (Asenbaum, 2022);
- a growing need for empirical understanding of DIs (Veri, 2022; Pogrebinschi, 2023);
- and an emerging focus on citizen-initiated innovations, particularly at the juncture of social movements and DIs (Smith 2019; Della Porta and Felicetti, 2019).

One key aspect of DIs is the emphasis on inclusive and informed discussions among citizens to reach collective decisions. Deliberative initiatives, such as DMPs, provide citizens with opportunities to voice their concerns and interests, consider alternative viewpoints, and develop informed opinions by fostering active participation. A second key aspect of DIs is the incorporation of mechanisms for direct citizen involvement. In initiatives like PBs, citizens are enabled to directly influence public policies by indicating the allocation of financial resources and aiming to influence final decisions. In doing so, citizens are deemed to strengthen their sense of agency and promote active citizenship.

Dryzek and Hendriks (2020) highlight that DIs contribute to increased political trust and legitimacy. When citizens feel that their voices are heard and their participation matters, they are more likely to develop trust in political institutions and processes. Trust, in turn, encourages ongoing political engagement and citizen participation.

Another major topic is related to DIs' effectiveness to remedy the 'democratic malaise' (Newton and Geissel, 2012) or to face the global crisis in democracies (Fominaya, 2022). The notion of democratic malaise can be described as the major crisis of the current state of representative democracy, from the apparent deficits and failures of conventional political institutions to accurately reflect the electorate's diversity and interests which consequently means low voter turnout, greater distrust of elected officials and the rise of anti-systemic movements.

3.2.1 Working definition of Democratic Innovations

Our working definition of DIs results from the need to make sense of the broad variety of participatory and deliberative practices of civic participation and engagement. To this end, we built our definition from main contributions retrieved through ER, with a focus on the conceptualisations proposed by Smith (2009), Warren (2009), Geissel (2013), Elstub and Escobar (2019), and Pogrebinschi (2023).

> *DIs encompass institutions or processes that employ deliberative and/or participatory means to increase and diversify citizen's participation in the policy cycle with the overarching goal of improving the quality of democracy by tackling specific contextual deficits.*

This working definition accounts for the potential of citizen participation to (help) solve social and environmental deficits in representative democracies. It also guided us in the refinement of the SRs (Section 5).

3.2.2 Typologies and categories of Democratic Innovations

Escobar emphasised in our interview the challenges and risks associated with typologies and (over)classification of DIs:

I'm always worried when we over classify things because once you classify them, you are at risk of excluding things that shouldn't be excluded. You are at risk of creating a particular path dependency for the field, so we wanted to be cautious, but at the same time we wanted to organise things a little bit.

Well, my favourite citation is from a science and technology sociologist. He says, we need to be careful not to distort things into order, right? And when you are creating a typology, you are distorting things into order. And so we are mindful of that. But again, we just need to keep going at it.

(Oliver Escobar, interviewed on June 15, 2023)

By sharing and bearing in mind this concern, and considering the historical trajectories of DIs, we focus on three categories: DMPs, PBs, and PG&CG. Categories neither represent nor complete the existing set of DIs though. As Stephen Elstub put it in our interview, classifications can help make sense of what is happening in practice and capture complexity.

We were able to develop the different families of democratic innovations that we think were included, and they each have use while acknowledging the hybridity they each have different elements of, you know, how you get people to participate, what type of participation they have.

They tend to have different elements of those, so that enables us to sort of classify the different families, and that was useful as well.

(Stephen Elstub, interviewed on June 15, 2023)

Given the contingency of real-world DIs happening in the field, classifications are necessarily prone to new theoretical developments. For example, during our interview, Brigitte Geissel reflected upon some dissatisfaction with her own typology, as some participatory practices no longer align with her understanding of DIs.

I observed various democratic innovations and had a theoretical concept of will formation and decision-making. Combining these, I quickly developed a typology. There are deliberative discussion-oriented types essential for political will formation. Then, there are direct democratic types often involved in decision-making, like consultative referendums, which fall more under the decision-making category. Other innovations don't fit these categories, so I classify them under cooperative governance. However, participatory budgeting, for instance, is just one form of governance. Often, it's not even cooperative governance, but merely consultative.

I'm not entirely satisfied with my typology because many participatory methods don't fit into the categories of deliberative, direct democratic, or cooperative governance.

(Brigitte Geissel, interviewed on June 20, 2023)

Likewise, Expert C reflected on the difficulty of making sense of DIs in his interview and acknowledged that his earlier classification holds limitations, particularly in regard to digital formats. Digital participation was not assumed as a "family of democratic innovations" (to use the author's terminology), but rather as a cross-cutting category.

> *It's really difficult to try and make sense of what's going on out there. I mean, I think there was some sort of logic to processes that are open to all and processes that are selected by random selection. Actually, that doesn't work. Even that doesn't work already. And the processes that are open to all being different between assembly-based and being kind of direct voting.*
>
> *So you can kind of make sense of that. And then suddenly there was this residual category of digital because you've got to remember in 2007, 2008, digital was still quite new, so we were still trying to make sense of it.*
>
> (Expert C, interviewed on July 11, 2023)

Stephen Elstub pointed out that the typologies in his work with Escobar on the Handbook (2019) aimed to develop different families of DIs to give account of their hybrid nature, which increases the complexity associated with this field of study.

By bearing in mind all this, we acknowledge that the three categories only cover a limited range of DIs. However, this choice was made by considering two main reasons:

i) Theory-wise, we are confident that such categories will offer a nuanced understanding of the ways in which the most diffuse forms of participation and deliberation have developed so far[10].
ii) Our focus requires pragmatic choices based on available time and human resources. To effectively carry out our review, we decided to select the three most internationally acknowledged DIs.

Another important aspect of the complexity of the study of DIs resides in the debate about the role of civil society. Alongside institution-led DIs, Citizen-led DIs (CLDIs) tell of the growing relationship between top-down and bottom-up practices, which jeopardise clear-cut distinctions among DIs.

> *We assume that those democratic innovations that have been organised or initiated by governmental actors have more impact. It sounds logical, but maybe I mean, when you look at the involvement in Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, which started with a citizens' civil society, organised citizens' assembly, and the government and society picked it up and said, oh, that's a very good idea. Let's do this, and then it's organised by the government. So, this is maybe…It's not binary.*

[10] It is worth acknowledging that direct democracy was not included in our analysis, despite being referred to by several scholars as a third theoretical source of DIs, alongside participatory and deliberative democracies.

(Brigitte Geissel, interviewed on June 20, 2023)

Della Porta and Felicetti describe CLDIs as follows: “Citizen-led democratic innovations are in fact owned by and responsive to the needs of mobilised activists: they are devised by civil society actors to respond to a popular need for countering a profound political crisis” (2022, p. 75). Bua and Bussu (2023) refer to CLDIs as “bottom-linked” forms of collaboration and social innovation (see also Pares et al. 2017), led by social movements and grassroots politics. Citizen-led thus refers to those innovations that originate in the grassroots, or in other words “democratic experiments that were, in their origins at least, promoted by civil society organisations, even though this does not imply that institutional actors play no role in them, in the implementation of the process or in taking up its outcome” (Della Porta and Felicetti, 2022, p. 70).

3.2.2.1. Participatory and Collaborative Governance: conceptual ambiguities

PG and CG refer to processes that involve multiple actors, including government bodies, communities, citizens, and other stakeholders, in decision-making processes. Although they share similarities in promoting inclusion and multi-actor involvement, there are nuanced differences in scope and focus. In the *Handbook* edited by Elstub and Escobar (2019), empowerment of participation is both referred to as linked to PG (Newig et al., 2019, p. 328) and CG (Karpowitz and Rapahel, 2019, p. 378), without an apparent distinction between them. Both terms are also referred to in relation to the participatory and deliberative processes of participation (Escobar, 2019, p. 182; Ryan, 2019, p. 561).

Newig et al. (2019, p. 327) account for the employment of CG “in addressing different environmental issues at a range of scales”, namely ecosystem-based management, river basins, forests, water resource management programs, and local and community-based restoration and conservation projects. This is consistent with the conclusions reached from the qualitative analysis of the sub-section 5.3.2 of this report dedicated to CG. However, empirical research linking environmental sustainability with PG/CG does not appear to solve the ambiguity problem mentioned earlier: “evidence as to the environmental effects of democratic innovations is sparse, and usually focuses on CG or PG more generally, or on specific participatory, procedural, or contextual variables, largely detached from different forms of democratic innovations in particular” (Ibid., p. 332).

Although difficult, it is possible to suggest differences between the two concepts. While both PG and CG emphasise the involvement of citizens and other stakeholders in the policymaking process (Ansell and Gash, 2008; Heinelt 2018), PG is characterised by a democratic approach in which individuals who are affected by policies have a voice and role in their decision-making (Fung, 2006). On the other hand, CG emphasises collaboration among diverse stakeholders, including government agencies, non-profits, and private entities (Ansell and Gash, 2008). CG aims to solve complex problems by leveraging the diverse resources, knowledge, and skills that different stakeholders can bring to the table. Emerson et al. (2012) provided a detailed

framework for CG, highlighting the integrative processes involved. The framework encompasses nested dimensions within a larger system context, a collaborative governance regime (CGR), and its internal collaborative dynamics and actions, potentially generating impacts and adaptations across the systems.

In summary, although PG and CG share the overarching goal of enhancing the policymaking process through broader involvement, they have different scopes that are often blurred in the literature. This was also noted in our SRs: several studies indicate that while the theory of CG is well established, empirical evidence on its effectiveness or methods of implementation remains scarce (for example, Fliervoet et al., 2016; Avoyan, 2022).

3.2.2.2. Digital participation

The 1990s were characterised by globalisation, the rise of the internet, and the end of the Cold War. This period heralded the beginnings of digital democracy, with an increasing influence of international non-governmental organisations and a focus on global governance. This process would be consolidated in the 2000s with the advent of the digital transition and social media. Phenomena related to e-democracy, social media activism, and the rise of populist movements, challenging traditional democratic institutions have increasingly questioned our understanding of DIs.

At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, an article titled "Characterizing eParticipation" by Sanford and Rose (2008) provided an in-depth examination of the emerging trends around e-participation, considered as an emerging research field. Based on a SR of 99 academic articles, they categorise motivations and themes of e-participation research.

Motivations are divided into: (i) participative imperative, (ii) instrumental justification, and (iii) technology focus. Participative imperative is related with the willingness of researchers to either understand or improve citizen participation rooted in arguments supported by philosophical principles and political science, and how e-participation has a role in that improvement. That can be found in discussions on the future of democracy (Odgen 1994; Gimmler, 2001; Snellen 2001), as well as in proposals aimed to extend the public sphere through digital means (Dahlberg, 2001).

Instrumental justifications are related with the improvement of policy making and governance, namely the improvement of voting (Rosenblatt, 1999; Smith and Macintosh, 2003; Oravec 2005), parliamentary democracy (Kakabadse et al., 2003; Macintosh, et al., 2003; Potekar and Giragaonka, 2004; Seaton, 2005) and political deliberation (Papacharissi, 2004).

Finally, technology focus is associated with the potential of information and communications technology (ICT) to improve participation, in terms of better inclusion, more capacity of storage of information, analysis and dissemination of results and research. It highlights

potential improvements through online participation (Polat, 2005), digital cities and communities (Myles, 2004; Fernandez-Maldonado, 2005) and the more common impact of the internet (George, 2005; Howard, 2005; Koch, 2005).

The Table 3.1 below is based on Sanford and Rose's (2008) work, and it analytically crosses motivations for research and the different themes identified by the authors. The table will be used in sub-section 3.2.1.2 as a reference for the analysis of digital participation, namely articles that fit on sub-themes like e-governance or e-deliberation.

Table 3.1) Research themes and motivations of research on e-participation

Research Theme	Participative Imperative	Instrumental Justification	Technology Focus
e-Democracy	Focus on changing or improving democratic regarding participation.	-----	-----
e-Governance	-----	Engaging in established systems of power and cooperation to manage resources and oversee or guide activities in society and the economy.	-----
e-Accessibility	Making participation available to people with handicaps or disabilities.	----	----
e-Activism	----	----	Use of ICT for organisation of political activity/agitation like protests.
e-Campaigning	----	----	Use of the internet for political campaigns.
e-Community	----	----	Use of ICT for initiation or organisation of local political discussion forums.
e-Consultation	----	----	A stakeholder consultation organised by a government over the internet.
e-Decision making	Use of tools (e.g. geographical information systems) to improve participation in decision making.	----	----
e-Deliberation	----	----	Political deliberation on a topic through an online reasoned discussion.
e-Inclusion	Tackle the digital divide and ensure e-participation to all citizens.	----	----
e-Petition	----	Participation to create support for a political proposition.	----
e-Politics	----	Participation in political parties.	----
e-Polling		Surveys of opinions using sampling.	----
e-Rulemaking	Promotion of participation in creating or promulgation regulations.	----	----
e-Voting	----	----	Voting over the Internet or by other electronic means

Source: Based on Sanford and Rose (2008).

The different sub-themes of research on e-participation in democracy that are considered in Table 3.1 also sustain Elstub and Escobar's argument (2019, p. 13): "When 'digital participation' was mentioned, often it was either as 'e-democracy' or the application of existing forms of participation (innovative or otherwise) online". Authors consider the role of e-participation in DIs under the formulation of 'digital participation'.

We share the view that digital participation is not an independent category or "a family of democratic innovations" (Ibid., p. 26) because it does not possess a core like the other families, namely PB, DMP and PG&CG. This means that digital participation does not have a distinctive set of characteristics that makes it a singular form of participation, but it is rather an emerging feature that cuts across other approaches and can act as a tool for their realisation. Some of the themes in Table 3.1, namely e-deliberation, are a proof that digital participation can be a tool for deliberation, for instance: "although a mini-public selects its participants through sortition, this can be supplemented by a self-selected set of participants making comments on the issue through an online platform" (Ibid., p. 27).

In sum, many-to-many interactions in the digital sphere fill some gaps of traditional forms of participation. The internet has increased possibilities of participation (Olsson, 2008) through more direct forms of expression in a DIY mode (Pickard, 2019). While some scholars argue that online discussions positively feed political knowledge and participation (Hardy and Scheufele, 2005; Price and Cappella, 2002), others call for a more attentive analysis of e-participation (Bakker and de Vreese 2011). Digital tools are part of a broader tech wave that slips into our lives which change the role of socialisers, such as family, school, etc. Buzoff (2019) has long stressed the ubiquitous power of technology and tech companies and criticises their role in democracy. Among the backlashes brought about by technology, the growth of the digital divide, which reflects different abilities to access and use online resources, raises concerns and scepticism (Bright et al., 2020). In fact, Banaji and Buckingham (2010) find a continuing digital divide along socioeconomic lines, both in the quality and extent of access to technology and in the extent of civic engagement. Social factors such as class, ethnicity, age, and religion significantly affect the ways in which people approach and use the Internet, with effects on young people who lack adequate knowledge, skills, or digital literacy.

Nevertheless, digital tools may facilitate the participation of traditionally underrepresented groups, such as young people or time-poor workers (Dahlberg, 2001). In this regard, Mellon and colleagues (2022) invite us to approach e-participation by deconstructing direct connections between the demographics of who participates online and the beneficiaries. The cases examined by the authors "show that citizens who engage online are systematically more privileged than the general population or people who participate offline" (ibidem, p. 28).

3.3 Defining sustainability

Our working definition of DIs is the blueprint to understand the connections between DIs and social and environmental sustainability through recent history, with a focus on Europe. As pointed out by all experts that were interviewed for this report, there is a huge potential for DIs to meet sustainable goals, and this definition helps understand whether and how this potential is fulfilled. The SDGs are used as a reference framework for social and environmental sustainability and allow deconstructing the several dimensions of these concepts in a longitudinal manner.

The concept of sustainability was first defined over 40 years ago to ensure a good quality of living for future generations. In the last few decades, the debate on sustainability has received increasing attention and nurtured the debate on what development can be pursued in the context of ecological destruction and socio-spatial deprivation (UN, 2015). Accordingly, sustainability should be ensured through multi-level changes around two main pillars: society and the environment.

As such, the concept of sustainability has undergone a remarkable evolution, starting from its early roots in the conservation movement of the early 20th century to its status as a comprehensive framework encompassing environmental, economic, and social dimensions. This historical review weaves together the major milestones in the development of sustainability and sustainable development, providing a cohesive narrative of the changing attitudes and strategies towards our planet's resources. In the early 20th century, sustainability was primarily concerned with the use of natural resources, a focus that emerged from the conservation movement. However, the post-World War II era marked a turning point, as awareness of environmental degradation and pollution grew, laying the groundwork for a broader discussion on sustainable development.

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a significant shift in public consciousness regarding environmental issues. Pivotal works like Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' in 1962 highlighted the detrimental effects of pesticides, igniting widespread environmental concern. In 1972, the Club of Rome's 'Limits to Growth' report emphasised the finite nature of Earth's resources, spurring calls for more sustainable development models. The 1980s and 1990s further defined and institutionalised sustainable development. The Brundtland Commission's 1987 report, 'Our Common Future', provided a landmark definition of sustainable development as the ability to meet present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs. The Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and subsequent conferences embedded sustainable development in international policy, leading to significant agreements like Agenda 21.

The 21st century has been marked by the adoption of the SDGs in 2015, offering a global framework to address sustainability across various dimensions. These goals reflect the integrated approach necessary to tackle environmental, economic, and social challenges.

The historical trajectory of sustainability underscores the interconnectedness of the environment and the economy. The concept has evolved from a singular focus on conservation to a holistic view that includes economic and social dimensions. There has been a shift from global-scale concerns, such as climate change, to the importance of local actions and community-led sustainability initiatives. Moreover, there is an increasing trend of integrating sustainability into public policy and business strategies, emphasising corporate social responsibility and ethical practices. This evolution reflects a growing recognition of the need for a balanced approach to managing our planet's resources, ensuring environmental health, and promoting sustainable economic and social development.

The United Nations' SDGs reflect an international commitment to eradicate various global challenges and ensure a sustainable future. This report analyses DIs' contribution to SDGs with a focus on environmental and social sustainability. Regarding social sustainability, we acknowledge the following:

(i) SDG 1 aims to "end poverty in all its forms everywhere", acknowledges the intersection of poverty and environmental sustainability, and recognises that poverty eradication is intrinsically linked to environmental health (Barbier, 2010).

(ii) SDG 2, with its goal of "end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture", emphasises the importance of sustainable agriculture in preserving ecosystem and biodiversity health (Godfray et al., 2010).

(iii) SDG 3's objective is to "ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages", underscores the role that healthy ecosystems play in providing essential services, such as clean air and water, and medicinal resources, which are critical for human health (Whitmee et al., 2015). SDG 4 and 5, committed to ensuring inclusive education and achieving gender equality, respectively, highlight the significance of education in promoting sustainable practices and the pivotal role of women in natural resource management, thereby contributing to sustainable development (Tilbury, 2011; Leach, 2007). SDG 8's endeavour to "promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work underlines the necessity for environmental considerations in economic growth, emphasising the role of green practices in economic sectors (Sen, 2013).

(iv) SDG 10 and 11, are dedicated to reducing inequality and making human settlements sustainable, echoing the themes of social cohesion and eco-

friendly urban planning as vital components of sustainability (Holland et al., 2009; Revi et al., 2014).

(v) SDG 16's aspiration is to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”, reiterates the importance of peace and robust institutions in laying the groundwork for the successful implementation of sustainable environmental policies (Bruch et al., 2016).

Other SDGs closely underscore the link between sustainability goals and the broader aim of ensuring a balanced and healthy environment. Therefore, in the realm of environmental sustainability, we acknowledge the following:

(i) SDG 6 aims to "ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all”, recognising that water is essential for ecological cycles. Proper water management not only ensures quality water for human consumption but also maintains natural ecosystems. When water resources are polluted or mismanaged, biodiversity decreases, habitat changes occur, and ecosystem services are compromised (Biswas, 2008).

(ii) SDG 7's objective is to "ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all" underscores the importance of a transition to clean energy. This shift is crucial for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, mitigating climate change, and curbing the adverse effects of air pollution on human health and ecosystems (Bridge et al. 2013).

(iii) SDG 12 advocates for "sustainable consumption and production patterns." By promoting responsible consumption and production, it emphasises the need to grow economies without over-extracting resources or compromising Earth's natural systems (Lorek and Spangenberg, 2014).

(iv) In SDG 13, the call is to "take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts" is central to environmental sustainability. Addressing the threats of climate change is essential for preserving ecological balance, with consequences such as rising sea levels, extreme weather, and biodiversity loss if left unchecked (Stern, 2015).

(v) SDG 14, with its focus on "conserving and sustainably using oceans, seas, and marine resources," acknowledges the ocean's pivotal role in climate regulation and biodiversity. Disruptions owing to overfishing, pollution, and acidification can significantly affect marine ecosystems and dependent human communities (Halpern et al., 2008).

(vi) SDG 15 emphasises the protection and sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems. These ecosystems, ranging from forests that sequester carbon to diverse habitats with brimming biodiversity, are vital for ecological stability and human wellbeing (Foley et al., 2005).

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) emphasises the importance of citizen involvement in policy decisions, showcasing its efficacy in crafting socially and environmentally sustainable policies (Handl, 2012). Examples, like local community involvement in resource management, indicate a strong alignment with the UN's SDGs, such as Life on Land (SDG 15) and Life Below Water (SDG 14). Furthermore, DIs such as PB and DMP show great potential to harmonise social and environmental sustainability (Daw et al., 2022).

Our working definition of DIs forms the blueprint to understanding the connections between DIs and social and environmental sustainability. As pointed out by the interviewed experts, there is a huge potential for DIs to meet sustainable goals, and we aim to understand whether and how this potential is fulfilled (see section 3.3).

Mark Warren emphasised the strong link between democracy and social sustainability. Good democracies translate people's intelligence, interests, and will into effective governance policies, fostering human welfare. Oliver Escobar highlighted issues with elite-driven decision-making processes across policy areas, advocating for transformed democratic engagement to address challenges, especially climate and ecological emergencies, focusing on legitimacy and capacity. With an explicit concern on structural limitations of representative democracy, Stephen Elstub identified the need to promote public inclusion in decisions regarding environmental sustainability, emphasising CG and DIs like climate assemblies. With similar concerns, Expert H discussed the origin and transformative potential of DIs, emphasising the role of citizen participation in all the stages of the policy-cycle as crucial to achieve sustainable goals.

Emergent crises, like the climate crisis, persuades Brigitte Geissel about the opportunity to open the discussion and collaboration with citizens, viewing DIs as essential for addressing sustainability and climate change while respecting power, legitimacy, and trust between electors and the elected. Also, particularly worried about the climate crisis, Expert C called for new climate governance policies, emphasising the role of climate assemblies for better decisions and political acceptance, although aware of wider systemic deficits in global representative democracies. Likewise, Expert F stressed the need for structural changes of democratic systems, at both individual and political levels, however presenting more scepticism on the transformative potential of Climate Assemblies. Francesco Veri sees potential in DIs for addressing polarised debates and enhancing transparency, advocating for more effective representation. The last two scholars presented a split in perspectives, with Dean emphasising radical transformation and scepticism about current tools, while Veri is more optimistic about the potential of DIs to influence political processes, particularly in depolarization and decision-making efficiency.

4. Historical Review of Democratic Innovations

The story of democracy is nothing if not a story of innovation.
(Saward, 2003, p. 3).

The concept of citizen participation is crucial in political and sociological spheres, spanning an array of activities in which individuals and citizens aim to be involved in different stages of the policy cycle, across multiple governance levels and within their communities. This idea has undergone significant changes through history, mirroring shifts in democratic practices and models of governance. Against this backdrop, the concept of DIs has emerged with the explicit aim of providing an adequate framework to explain the profusion of meanings, institutions and processes that articulate citizen participation in contemporary representative democracies. Such a concept reflects important modern and contemporary developments in democratic theory and carries advantages for our understanding, such as the central idea of citizen participation in democratic policymaking and governance.

This Section is dedicated to tracing the historical trajectory of DIs from the end of the Second World War to the present. This account is grounded in the ER and the insights provided by experts.

4.1 Democratic Innovations: modern and contemporary historical stages of citizen participation in democracy

4.1.1 "The Times They Are A-Changin'"

In the post-World War II era, marked by decolonization and civil rights movements under the shadow of the Cold War, the academic literature increasingly focussed on expansion of civil liberties led by grassroots movements. The concept of participatory democracy began to take shape, particularly in newly independent nations grappling with issues of civil rights and decolonisation. Changes in social and political attitudes in western democracies during the 60's and 70's, both at the societal and institutional levels, precipitated major debates around democratic theory, both within and outside academia.

It was during these years that seminal works like C. Wright Mills' The Power Elite and Seymour Martin Lipset's Political Man were published, which critically examined the structures of power and participation in American society. Mills (1956) analysis of American society focused on a power elite that dominates key sectors of the economy, politics, and the military. According to Mill, the elite's power undermines democracy, as major decisions bypass public

input. Mills emphasises the elites' disconnection from ordinary people's experiences, and how power is institutionalised within these elite positions. His critique centres on the inequality and democratic challenges posed by this power concentration, questioning the fairness of societal structures and the distribution of influence, highlighting systemic asymmetries in power dynamics and the resulting impact on societal equality and democratic functioning. In turn, Lipset (1960) investigates the social conditions crucial for democracy, focusing on factors influencing political participation and voting behaviour. He examines the role of economic development, class struggle, and political legitimacy, highlighting class as a significant determinant of political preferences. Lipset compares political behaviour across countries, emphasising the unique social and economic conditions that shape democracy. His comprehensive approach, blending sociological theory with empirical data, underscores the interplay between social conditions and political behaviour in shaping democratic processes.

Outside the ivory tower, bottom-up pressures agitated by student activists, labour unions, and new social movements such as feminism, antiracism, and environmentalism, offered critiques of both liberal representative democracy in the capitalist world, but also of the Soviet-style central planning and bureaucracy practised throughout the socialist bloc.

In the United States, the 1960's saw the publication of the *Port Huron Statement* by the student activists of the Students for a Democratic Society. Published in 1962, the document made an explicit demand for participatory democracy. The activists aimed for "the establishment of a democracy of individual participation (Students for a Democratic Society 1962, 7) wherein citizens would be able to take part in decision-making that directly concerned their lives through "public groupings". For the writers of the manifesto, politics should function to foster community and promote spaces where citizens can express positions and grievances, and where opposing views can be channelled towards policies and solutions.

Concomitantly, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, the socio-political circumstances that would precipitate upheavals of May 1968 were underway. It was during this period that the Marxist urban theorist Henri Lefevre published his influential essay *The Right to the City* (1968) which, among other radical proposals, argued for greater and more meaningful participation of workers and vulnerable city-dwellers in urban planning issues contra the growing commodification of urban spaces. Overall, these movements demanded a more radical redistribution of power in society. The aftermath of the second World War, namely the rise of movements for civil rights and students' mobilisations in the 60s, was consensually referred to as the historical landmark from which the "predecessor practices" of what we understand as DIs spurred in western countries. This was evident in the first theorisation on citizen participation in decision and policy making. As Escobar and Dean points out:

> *The Second World War, of course, interrupted the debate that happened in the twenties and thirties about the role of the public, the types of public, and the type of*

democracy that can be constructed depending on our view of the public. There was a resurgence of this in the sixties, driven by the start of the modern version of participatory democratic theory, which was driven by many social movements, racial equalities, gender equality, struggles for rights and recognition, and so on.

(Oliver Escobar, interviewed on June 15, 2023)

There was a lot of related activity going on, especially in the U.S. and the U.K., with a lot of experimentation involving people more in participatory housing policy, health policy, people's movements and all these things were coming around the 60s and 70s.

(Expert F, interviewed on June 28, 2023)

Parallel to these developments, governmental institutions and agencies were making the first efforts to incorporate what would nowadays be labelled as DIs into the policy- and decision-making process, especially in urban planning initiatives like urban renewal projects in western societies and poverty reduction schemes in developing countries. In the United States, the *Model Cities* were mainly driven by the growing complexity in industrialised societies that placed further demands on the state and on the policy process. Public officials began to feel the need to timidly open-up the policymaking to citizens and interested parties. Although ideas of citizen participation in social policy have arguably been around since the late 1950's (Marris and Rein, 1967), it was only during President Lyndon Johnson's *War of Poverty* programme that we see a fully government-led initiative to integrate and promote the involvement of vulnerable communities in social policymaking (see Chertow, 1974). In 1964 the Johnson administration created the Office of Economic Opportunity to conduct a series of programs to tackle poverty. Among other dimensions, one of the key planks of these programs was community involvement to assure the "maximum feasible participation" of those affected (Chertow, 1974). In the UK, for example, the Labour Party parliamentarian Arthur Skeffington published the Skeffington Committee Report in 1969 which advocated that local development plans should be subject to full public scrutiny and debate. As Pogrebinschi highlighted in our interview:

It was both a demand from civil society and a response from governments. There were very strong social movements at that time, especially in countries like Brazil. But democratic innovations were, and still are, a product of government design. Governments have reformed old institutions and designed new ones to include citizen participation. However, we must also consider the role of civil society in this process.

(Expert H, interviewed on June 16, 2023)

In the '60s and '70s, participation was operationalised as mostly consultation initiatives with poor communities to raise the capacity of local authorities to craft better and more effective social policies (Chertow, 1974). Even though some authors contended the effectiveness of

such community involvement programmes in overcoming social exclusion, others have highlighted the benefits of these programmes on raising the political efficacy of the communities and their overall involvement with the policymaking (Chertow, 1974). Despite the relative success of these experiments with citizen involvement in policymaking and service provision, they were significantly reduced with the election of the Nixon Administration in 1968. It is interesting to note that the socio-political and institutional context that led to the development of contemporary practices, and their respective theoretical debates, of participation of citizens in decision-making set the stage for a major theme that still structures the field to this day (e.g., Bua and Bussu, 2021; Bussu, 2019). Firstly, an approach that highlights the contribution of governmental institutions and their attempts to invite citizens to participate in decision- and policymaking (see for instance Warren, 2014; Smith, 2009).

> *So, I would say that what we call democratic innovations today began to emerge in the post-World War II period, in places like the United States and, to a lesser degree, Canada. After World War II, there was a fairly rapid expansion of welfare states and welfare state programs. (…) As a result, some amount of administrative rule-making was always delegated to agencies, and this happened much more frequently as programs expanded. In the United States, there was another significant expansion in the 1960s and 1970s. (…) What began to happen just after World War II was that the enabling legislation for these programs began to direct agencies to engage with communities, and later, the term 'stakeholders' was used. The underlying idea was that legislators cannot do it all. I consider this a democratic innovation because it's sort of outside of the electoral process. There are new forms of constituency and opportunities for citizen influence that didn't exist before.*
>
> (Mark Warren, interviewed on June 14, 2023)

Secondly, an approach that focuses on the role of citizens in promoting DIs through bottom-up processes (Blanco et al, 2020). As such, forms of (non)institutionalised citizen participation have emerged through new institutional designs to respond to social demands. As such, the strengthening of theories on participatory democracy at this time should be of no surprise.

> *So, the second category or group of democratic innovations was driven by the activism of the 1960s. Unlike the first group, which was driven by high agencies combined with more veto power from civil society groups, this second group stemmed from movements such as the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and protests against the Vietnam war in the United States and Canada.*
>
> (Mark Warren, interviewed on June 14, 2023)
>
> *Of course, democratic innovations existed before we had the term. I mean, when you look in Germany, we had in the sixties this very broad uprise of more democracy. We*

had a strong social movement, the students' movement, and in the seventies and eighties and then we had a chancellor who said, "we have to dare more democracy" and bring in lots of new ideas like trying more democracy in terms of including citizens in the formation of political will.

(Brigitte Geissel, interviewed on June 20, 2023)

A recent trend in the scholarship, however, can be considered as a new wave of contributions that seek to explore the relationship and interdependency between the two approaches above (Bua and Bussu, 2021; Bussu, 2019).

4.1.2 1960's and 1970's: Early criticism of participatory initiatives and the revival of participatory theories of democracy

It is from the socio-political milieu described above that the first wave of academic debates on citizen participation emerged. Specifically with the publication of *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* by Sherry R. Arnstein in 1969 and *Participation and Democratic Theory* by Carole Pateman in 1970 which according to Smith (2019) are two landmark documents in the development of the field of DIs.

In the former, written from the point of view of a practitioner, the author offers an empirically grounded critical assessment of practices in citizen participation in the United States at the time of publication. From this review emerges a classification of said practices according to their capacity to meaningfully integrate citizens' interests and preferences into the development of public policy, the so-called ladder of citizen participation.

The main impetus of Arnstein's contribution concerned the degree to which institutional-led initiatives of citizen participation serve to redistribute power in society at large and in policymaking in particular. At the core of the author's definitions are normative claims of what citizen participation should mean. Indeed, she argues that:

> Citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic process, to be deliberately included in the future. It is a strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out. In short, it is how they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society. (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216)

Her objective with the metaphor of the ladder was not to categorise specific practices, in the vein of more contemporary authors (see Smith, 2009 and Elstub and Escobar, 2019 for

instance). Rather, her concern focused on the scope with which the actual practices of citizen participation promote the redistribution of power.

Within the wider category of non-participation, the placed practices are described as “manipulation” and “therapy”. Manipulation is defined as an “illusory” mode of integrating citizens into the policy process and occurs when public authorities and institutions merely rely on citizen participation to rubber stamp decisions. While therapy is characterised as a process with the aim of changing the social behaviour of vulnerable citizens. In the tokenism category, Arnstein places practices labelled “informing”, “consultation”, and “placation”. Informing relates to initiatives aimed at sharing information about specific policies with citizens but with little follow through and often with one-way flows of information. Consultation processes, like the name implies, are initiatives designed to receive feedback from citizens. Lastly, placation refers to processes wherein citizens are allowed some measure of limited sway over policy processes, often in the form of participation in committees. Finally, within the broader category of citizen power Arnstein places “partnership”, “delegated power”, and “citizen control”. The first refers to a range of initiatives that enables citizens to effectively influence institutions and policy processes by allowing for negotiation and veto power. The second describes initiatives that forfeit decision making powers from institutions and public officials to citizens. The third occurs when citizens are in effective control of the policy process.

The work of Arnstein already prefigured many concerns over these types of initiatives that still motivate current-day research such as the efficacy of these initiatives to meaningfully integrate citizens in the policy process and their ability to impact the outcomes of processes. Even though Arnstein 1969’s is considered a sort of theoretical landmark on the foundational understandings of the need to integrate citizens’ voice on policymaking, there were earlier developments, such as the ‘advocacy planning’ in the US, of which Paul Davidoff was a pioneer. As referred to by Expert O in our research interview, the movement called ‘advocacy planning’ argued that groups seeking to contest urban development projects needed a committed lawyer to help them.

Davidoff's influential article, *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning* (1965), discusses the role of city planning in shaping policy within a democratic society. He argues that city planning should not be confined to a single agency plan but should encompass plural plans, representing diverse political, social, and economic interests.

Davidoff stresses the importance of including citizens in the planning process, allowing them to become well-informed and able to respond in the language of professional planners. He criticises the traditional ‘unitary plan’ approach, where only one agency prepares a comprehensive plan, and advocates which involves the advocacy of alternative plans by different interest groups, which would improve the quality and rationality of public planning. This approach would stimulate better information dissemination and compel public agencies to compete for political support, thus enhancing the quality of their work.

> *There were experiments in participation, encouraging people to participate in all sorts of plans and the legal rights to participate in the production of plans was there, but also there was a lot of experimentation sort of in parallel on community development, particularly in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in cities*.
>
> (Expert O, interviewed on July 20, 2023)

Almost thirty years later, a review of Davidoff's significant work reflects on the most important contributions to the field. Checkoway (1994), starts by considering the history behind Davidoff's 'advocacy planning', a period of significant social change and political turbulence in the United States, especially in urban areas grappling with issues of racial discrimination, segregation, and urban decay. His concept challenged the traditional role of city planners, urging them to become advocates for diverse groups, particularly low-income families, and to engage openly in political processes. As such, the emphasis placed on the need for planners to advocate for the poor and the unrepresented, challenging them to express their values, engage in political processes, and help groups develop their capacity to plan and advocate for themselves are seen as essential for enabling all societal groups to have a voice in planning decisions, so commonly accepted nowadays.

Similarly, in the UK an example of an early development regarding the rationale of creating innovative ways for incorporating public consultation in planning decision-making is given by the, previously and briefly mentioned, Skeffington Report.

The 1969, *People and Planning* report, commonly known as *Skeffington Committee Report* marked a pivotal moment in British urban planning. It responded to the need for greater public participation in local planning, addressing declining confidence in bureaucratic, centralised processes. Criticised for its vagueness and expert-focused perspective, the report nevertheless stands as a historical milestone, recognizing the public's role in planning and setting the stage for more inclusive practices in urban development (Glass, 2017).

> His [Skeffington] committee gained input from more than 400 organisations and individuals, and although the report's impact was originally limited, it nevertheless marks an important moment in the evolution of British town planning, bringing about more recognition of the different stakeholders affected by expert-led redevelopment plans. (Glass, 2017, p. 26).

Although the report is motivated by the argument that public participation is crucial, it also states that the ultimate decision-making power should remain with elected officials, reflecting a focus on planners rather than the public, which also reveals the strength of the elitist framework in the thinking of democracy that historically characterises those years.

Pateman's *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970) also aimed to critique the prevailing theories of democracy at the time of publication and to offer an alternative rooted in much

earlier theories. For Pateman, the elitist framework prevalent in the democratic theories of the mid-20th century, restricted the definition of democracy to a set of institutional arrangements that guarantee fair and competitive elections (see Schumpeter, 1942; Dahl, 1956). In these theories, citizen participation is reduced to voting in elections, or what Pateman describes as "protective participation". Indeed, for Berelson et al., (1954), limited participation has a positive function for democracy in as much as it protects the system from the shock of disagreement, adjustment, and change. In other words, participation's function is the protection of the interests of the majority from the actions of elites via selection of leaders more amiable to the preferences of the electorate. More than this is seen as problematic due to what some of these 20th century theorists claimed to be a lack of political efficacy on the part of the majority (Sartori, 1962). In Pateman's estimation, these theories failed to grasp the potential role that participation can play in the promotion of political efficacy and democratic values in the wider population.

As an alternative, the author develops a theory of participatory democracy through her reading of political philosophers like Rousseau and later John Stuart Mill. For these authors, democracy's aim is not only the realisation of the common good but also the promotion of the capacity of citizens to manage their own affairs, i.e., self-government, as well as the achievement of equality. As such, for supporters of this tradition, participation fulfils more than a protective role. To support this theoretical expectation, Pateman mobilises empirical data on the effects of participation within civil society institutions and how this contributes to political efficacy and participation at the political level.

While both Arnstein's and Pateman's contributions were developed following distinct traditions and approaches, being the first a reflection that arose out of the practitioner's experience, and the second a work framed within political theory, they share a preoccupation with participation as a tool aimed at empowering citizens to affect policy outcomes and to redistribute power in society, concerns that would become extremely important for the further developments associated with DIs in the following decades, specifically the innovations around PBs and the so-called deliberative turn.

4.1.3 1980's and 1990's: Innovations from the Global South with the emergence of participatory budgeting

While the 60's and 70's were seminal in the revitalisation of the participatory tradition in democratic theory, the developments of the subsequent decades centred not only on theoretical innovations related to deliberation but also saw the proliferation of new practices. Most notably the explosion of PB in Brazil and its dissemination across the globe.

Baiocchi (2005) defines PB as a mechanism for democratic deliberation and decision-making where ordinary city residents decide on, or contribute to decisions made about, the city budget. As such and broadly speaking, PB refers to a set of practices that enable citizens to

directly influence the allocation of public money in a specific administrative jurisdiction, at the municipal level, for example (Ganuza and Baiocchi, 2019). Yves Sintomer et al. (2012) describe PB as a democratic process in which citizens and civil society organisations are involved in the preparation of the budget. This perspective highlights the collaborative nature of PB, aiming to foster citizen participation and government accountability.

Despite the great range of variation in PB across time and space (Ganuza and Baiochi, 2012; Sintomer et al, 2013), in these process citizens are often invited to take part in the formulation of the budget by submitting proposal, deliberating, and voting on them (Smith, 2009).

As stated above, the emergence of PB is firmly rooted in Brazil. In 1985 Collares became mayor of Porto Alegre with a programme based on the administration's relations with the urban social movements. In 1988 the Brazilian Constitution was passed, which guarantees the right to participate. In the same year, the Town Hall created advisory councils to debate city policies with the social movements. In 1989 the Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*) won the elections in Porto Alegre with a political programme devised together with the urban social movements. The idea of participatory democracy was present, but no one really knew how to carry it into effect (Baiocchi, 2005, 31). Nevertheless, in 1990 a start was made with the participation of the social movements. These had a privileged position for devising rules and facilitating public meetings, which took place at their premises and were organised by them (Baiocchi, 2005).

As such, PB as we know them today were first conceived in the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil and the conditions that enabled this innovation were very specific. First, the transition to democracy from authoritarianism in the country in the 80's led to intense mobilisation of social movements, labour unions and other civil society actors which demanded more meaningful involvement in the decision-making process (Falanga and Lüchmann, 2019). Second, this transition also meant administrative reforms that guaranteed more autonomy and decentralisation towards the local level (Falanga and Lüchmann, 2019). The combination of these factors allowed the left-wing Worker's Party Municipal Administration to become the articulator of these bottom-up demands for redistribution of power and resources, and when in power at the municipal level, the party began to translate these demands into democratic experimentation. Such was the case in Porto Alegre, and as the political situation developed in Brazil, PBs began to spread across the country and the globe (Ganuza and Baiocchi, 2012).

While the overall aims of these initiatives can vary, the PBs in Brazil had the explicit redistributive objectives to enfranchise traditionally marginalised and vulnerable communities by allowing them to directly influence the direction of travel of public policies and infrastructure spending in their interest (Falanga and Lüchmann, 2019). Indeed, as Sousa Santos recounts (1998) in less than 10 years Porto Alegre managed to develop, through the PB, its water and sewage system to cover most households in the municipality and the street

pavement coverage also drastically increased. The PB also had a lasting effect on the promotion of formal education for the less privileged strata of Porto Alegre's society. Additionally, there is positive evidence that these DIs generated positive outcomes in areas seen to be the domain of conventional welfare states such as healthcare (Gonçalves, 2014; Touchton and Wampler, 2013).

Following the success of the PB in many Brazilian cities and in Latin America more broadly, the practice spread to the rest of the Globe, from Western Europe to Africa and Asia (Sintomer et al, 2013). This global spread was in many ways aided by the support of international organisations such as the OECD, the UN, and the World Bank which saw PB as a tool to improve governance (Ganuza and Baiocchi, 2012). In a seminal paper on the dissemination of the PB in Europe, Sintomer and his collaborators (2008) show that in the first decade of the 00s, PB initiatives became common practice in many European cities and municipalities, both large and small. The first examples of European PB were implemented by local authorities (Sintomer et al, 2012), with countries in Southern Europe like Spain and Italy leading the first wave of adoption (Ganuza, 2007). As the 00's progressed, the PB expanded to other countries like Portugal, UK, France, Germany, and Scandinavia (Sintomer et al, 2012). This initial spread was mostly the result of left-leaning local government initiatives, but the practice also became standard for more conservative public authorities as time progressed (Sintomer et al, 2012).

Some scholars have, however, noticed that PB initiatives experienced a significant change as the practices travelled from Latin America to Europe. Not only did the PB begin to assume a wider variety of designs with different policy implications (Sintomer et al, 2008), but the underlying ideational orientation drastically changed. While the original aims of the PB in Brazil had a specific focus on vulnerable and marginalised communities with the explicit objective of achieving social justice and redistribution (Sousa Santos, 1998), in Western Europe the motivations for the implementation of PBs were quite different. European public authorities at the local level, saw in the PB an instrument to foster transparency, administrative modernization, accountability, and legitimation of decisions (Ganuza and Baiocchi, 2019). As hinted above, given the new objectives undertaken by PBs in Europe, their design also saw wider permutations. As Sintomer et al. (2008) point out, in Germany the implementation of the PB assumed the form of consultation of public finances with the objective of promoting fiscal transparency, while in countries like the UK the PB was mostly targeted towards specific projects dealing with how to spend community funds. It must be noted as well, that in Southern Europe, there were iterations of the PB that were more faithful to the original Porto Alegre design as in the case of Cordoba, Spain, in 2001.

Another vital contribution to this field, and from one of our research interviewees, Cabannes (2004), offers an encompassing view of PB. In his work, he defines PB as a process through which citizens participate directly in different phases of budget formulation, decision-making, and the implementation of budget projects. This definition emphasises the inclusion of marginalised and excluded groups, aiming for transparent and efficient public expenditure,

reducing corruption, and promoting broader civic engagement and democracy. Cabannes' definition resonates with global experiences where PB has been employed, emphasising not just the involvement of citizens in determining budget priorities, but also ensuring that budget allocations reflect the actual needs and demands of local communities.

In our interview, Yves Cabannes contended that before the formal establishment of PB in Porto Alegre, there were earlier experiences on budget discussions from 1985. Catholic movements and the theology of liberation played a significant role in laying the groundwork for PB. These movements provided a "fertile ground" for the conceptualisation and adoption of PB. Similarly, Ernesto Ganuza argued that the role of the Workers' Party led by Lula was more on the administrative reorganisation within public authorities, as an innovation resulting from earlier debates.

> *The elections gave some power to the Workers party, but primarily to organise. If you look historically at who was pushing to set up participatory budgeting, it came from the citizens level where the grassroots of association of neighbourhoods were not necessarily from the workers party. There was some contribute from the Communist party too. So, the parties were important but not only. The grassroots were neighbourhood's association and there was also the importance of the Catholic movements.*
>
> (Yves Cabannes, interviewed on August 8, 2023)

> *We try to understand very well how participatory budgeting works in Porto Alegre at the beginning. So, which were the dynamics between... political parties, social organisations, people, even academic researchers. Partido dos Trabalhadores [Worker's Party] mostly made the administrative reform to be able to fit participatory budgeting in the logic of public administration.*
>
> (Ernesto Ganuza, interviewed on July 31, 2023)

During the 1990s, PB spread rapidly to other Brazilian cities, adapting to different political contexts and priorities. This expansion marked a critical phase in legitimising PG at the local level (Baiocchi, 2005). Cabannes describes the process between the emergence of PBs in Porto Alegre and the expansion in Brazil because of the transition to democracy, the decentralisation of funds from Federal to local governments, and the engagement of grassroots neighbourhood associations. He emphasises the unique financial situation and the role of the wider context of decentralisation in Latin America, which allowed municipalities to develop original processes like PB.

After the first 15 years after its origin, PB became a highly effective tool for civic engagement, it quickly spread throughout Latin America, with over 1,000 of the 16,000 municipalities implementing it (Cabannes, 2006). In the 2000s, the concept reached Europe and other parts of the world, influenced by the success in Latin America. In Europe, PB were introduced almost simultaneously in several countries, like France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and the UK, each with unique adaptations to local conditions (Sintomer et al., 2008). This included major urban areas like Seville, Spain, and districts in capital cities such as Paris, Rome, Lisbon, Berlin, and London. The article's main goal is to establish a theoretical framework grounded in the Weberian tradition to categorise and comprehend various forms of citizen participation which resulted in six ideal-typical models to categorise the different forms of PB in Europe. Regarding the wider global traction, Sintomer, et al. (2012) presents a comprehensive analysis and typology of PB across different global contexts. Alike the six-ideal type model developed to characterise cases in Europe, this article also offers six distinct models to classify practices of PB globally.

- The first model, Participatory Democracy, is characterised by integrating direct or semi-direct democratic procedures where non-elected inhabitants hold real decision-making power. This model is predominantly seen in Latin America, with notable examples being Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte in Brazil. However, its influence extends to other regions with instances such as Seville in Spain, Dong-ku in South Korea, and to some extent, Kerala in India. African examples include Fissel in Senegal and Villa El Salvador in Peru, while Cotacachi in Ecuador represents a less pronounced adaptation of this model.
- Proximity Democracy, the second model, emphasises geographical closeness and enhanced communication between citizens, public administrations, and local authorities. This model is prevalent in Europe, North America, Australia, Korea, and Japan. It is particularly notable in Roma XI in Italy, Lisbon in Portugal, the French region Poitou-Charentes, and Dong-Ku Ulsan in Korea. These examples embody the model's focus on 'selective listening' and a more consultative approach to citizen involvement.
- The third model, Participatory Modernization, aligns with New Public Management strategies, where participation serves as a component of state modernisation efforts. This model is significant in Germany and Northern Europe and includes specific cases like Bagira in Bukavu, Congo, Zeguo in China, Cologne in Germany, and the public transport system in Shanghai, China. Here, participation is seen as a top-down, non-political process with a consultative value, focusing on service improvement rather than broad citizen empowerment.
- Multi-Stakeholder Participation, the fourth model, involves a diverse array of actors, including private enterprise and local government, in a top-down approach. This model is visible in Eastern Europe, with examples like Płock in Poland, and is also evident in Africa, where PBs often rely on external support from organisations such as the United Nations.

- The fifth model, Neo-Corporatism, features strong involvement of the local government in collaboration with organised groups like NGOs, trade unions, and employers' associations. This model aims to establish broad consultation and achieve social consensus. It is predominant in Local Agenda 21 processes and participatory strategic plans. Spain stands out in this model, particularly with associative democracy forms in Albacete.
- Lastly, Community Development, the sixth model, involves participation in the project implementation phase, driven by both bottom-up and top-down dynamics. It is marked by its focus on community-led initiatives. Notable examples include the Toronto Housing Company in Canada, Tower Hamlets in London, Ichikawa in Japan, indigenous towns like Cotacachi in Ecuador, rural villages such as Fissel in Senegal, and poor suburban communities like Villa El Salvador in Peru. This model also finds representation in neighbourhood councils in Venezuela.

The global spread of PB is also related, in the 2000s, with the fact that it gained endorsement and recognition from international organisations such as the World Bank and United Nations, acknowledging its potential to foster inclusive governance (Cabannes 2004; World Bank, 2008). Ernesto Ganuza, in our interview, offers a nuanced analysis of the evolution and current state of PBs globally, highlighting both its expansion and the challenges it faces in retaining its original transformative intent. Ganuza's reflections on the global aspect of PB underscore its remarkable journey from a local initiative to a worldwide phenomenon.

> *It became part of worldwide politics... was really amazing and everybody was around participation around social justice. Was really something very strong for many people.*
>
> (Ernesto Ganuza, interviewed on July 31, 2023)

This statement illustrates the initial excitement and broad interest in PB, seen as a potent tool for social change and democratic deepening. It further acknowledges the World Bank's role in this expansion, in disseminating PB practices beyond Latin America, embedding them into the global discourse on social justice and PG.

For example, the interview with Shane Epting, reflects, aligned with his work on PB (Epting, 2020) a rather optimistic view of the application of these processes and practices in the US as an improvement regarding the need for democracy to reach the marginalised.

Epting argues that PB can be a tool for social and environmental justice by allowing communities to decide on environmental remediation and infrastructure projects. This approach shifts the power dynamics from traditional governmental decision-making to a more community-centred process.

> *The difference between participatory budgeting in Europe and the United States is that in the US, there's a significant focus on people who have been typically excluded from*

democratic processes... It's not just a way to give the middle class or the upper-class access to their pet projects, but a way to actually help people.

(Shane Epting, interviewed on July 27, 2023)

He concludes by suggesting that PB, while not a complete solution, offers a way forward for community self-determination in addressing environmental issues and encourages municipalities to adopt PB strategies to empower their communities.

I like to look at participatory budgeting as a democratic technology... it's something we invent to help us get a job done... If we can use participatory budgeting to help facilitate [people thriving], then it's a great democratic technology that can actually put power in people's hands.

(Shane Epting, interviewed on July 27, 2023)

Despite clear successes over 30 years after its origin, PB has faced challenges such as unequal participation, bureaucratic resistance, and implementation issues. Critics have pointed to the potential tokenism of participation and the limitations in truly democratising budgetary processes (Souza, 2001). Cabannes points out that the impact of PB is often limited by the small scale of budgets relative to the needs and expectations of the people. The criticisms can be divided into two main issues: scale and resource allocation; maintaining authenticity and effectiveness.

On the former, Cabannes argues that without significant financial resources, the potential for social redistribution and priority inversion is marginal. On the latter, he expresses concern about the "elastic" nature of PB, where it is sometimes diluted or depoliticized, losing its radical elements of democratising democracy. He criticises practices labelled as PB that miss the political inversion of priorities, suggesting that they become institutionalised forms of participation without actual empowerment, and presents the need in differentiating genuine PB from superficial implementations.

It was a political inversion of priorities. Political inversion giving power to the powerless. If the PB misses that political inversion, it's like in remembering the cigarettes when you had the filter. Now it is like no nicotine, just smoke. It's the best image I can give you. Smoke in the air. It's just a practice with lots of participation but the budget is minimal. It's like a walk with a very short budget leg and a very big participatory one, you fall very quickly. You can't walk very, very far.

(Yves Cabannes, interviewed on August 8, 2023)

Ganuza agrees on the main limitations and challenges of PB. He observes a depoliticization trend as PB spread to Europe. This remark points to a dilution of the political enthusiasm that initially characterised PB, suggesting a shift towards a more technocratic and less

transformative approach. Moreover, Ganuza critiques the narrowed focus of contemporary PB practices in Europe, highlighting a critical gap between the original radical intent of PB and its current implementation, which often limits itself to minor urban projects, bypassing broader political and policy discussions. This reflects a pragmatic shift in PB's application, focusing on visible results that can influence social indicators but perhaps missing the broader political engagement and empowerment goals.

> *Participatory budgeting... it's around small urban investments. I don't think it is much more now. [Recently] I never saw a participatory budget in doing other things or just trying to involve people to think about the politics, so fiscal policies or something like that. [But] At the beginning in the nineties was a political revolution. It was really radical.*
>
> (Ernesto Ganuza, interviewed on July 20, 2023)

In summary, both the literature and the interviewees' insights present a picture of PB's journey from a politically radical concept and practice to a more mainstream governance tool. While acknowledging its global spread and impact, there is a critical evaluation of the dilution of its political essence and the narrowing of its scope, urging a new evaluation of practices in light of its original transformative aspirations.

4.1.4 1990's and 2000's: The turn towards deliberation

While democratic innovations like PB were spreading across the globe, the academic debate was developing in parallel towards other directions. During the 1990's, democratic legitimacy was increasingly seen as based on the capacity of citizens to participate in deliberative settings (Dryzek, 2002). Whereas participation of those affected by the outcomes of decision-making processes was still considered as crucial to integrate their interests and preferences into the policy process, the focus of deliberation was on reflexive discussion and action. This development was labelled as the 'deliberative turn' (see Hansen, 2012). Deliberation can be described as:

> *a social process that is distinguished from other kinds of communication in that deliberators are amenable to changing their judgements, preferences, and views during the course of their interactions, which involve persuasion rather than coercion, manipulation, or deception*. (Dryzek, 2000, p. 1)

The author draws a clear distinction between deliberation and other democratic approaches. Deliberative processes are a more authentic expression of democracy unlike aggregative democratic methods, e.g., voting, interest advocacy, constitutional rights, and self-government. Through deliberation, citizens are enabled to effectively exercise democratic control over democratic institutions.

There are two important concepts that deliberative democrats claim to be foundational of deliberation, namely the public sphere and public reason.

The first is the concept of the public sphere, which was developed by the German critical philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1989). The public sphere can be described as the space where political participation takes place through communicative action and dialogue about shared concerns. Habermas (1985) explores the concept of communicative rationality as a contrast to instrumental rationality, central to understanding human action. He argues that social interactions are based on communicative action, where participants aim for mutual understanding and consensus rather than individual success. According to Habermas, this space exists outside the realm of the state and market relations. Nonetheless, deliberation can critically influence society. However, Nancy Fraser's essay Rethinking the Public Sphere (1990) would later critically re-examine Habermas's concept of the public sphere, arguing for a more inclusive and pluralistic model. Fraser critiques Habermas's singular, bourgeois-centred framework, advocating for the recognition of multiple publics, especially those representing marginalised groups. Fraser highlights the impact of social inequalities on deliberation, calling for the inclusion of private interests in public debates. The author differentiates between 'strong' and 'weak' publics. She challenges the use of privacy rhetoric to exclude topics from public discourse and proposes a post-bourgeois public sphere, which recognises diverse interests and identities and addresses systemic inequalities in contemporary societies. The call for the rethinking of the public sphere but also on the social inequalities that can be reproduced by citizen participation spaces, like deliberation, without the recognition of systemic inequalities has been highly influential in the later scholarly debate on DIs given that it has tight connections with the contributions from participatory and deliberative democracy.

The second foundational concept is John Rawls' notion of public reason (Rawls 1993; 1997). Public reason relates to one's ability to justify his/her political and moral preferences in acceptable ways. Rawls also emphasises issues of justice and equality. Rawls' (1971) work presents justice as fairness, abstracting traditional social contract theory to a higher level. He emphasises justice as a fundamental virtue in social institutions, necessary for cooperation, and rejects the notion of sacrificing individual freedom for greater societal welfare. Rawls' concept of an "original position", where rational individuals agree on just principles in a situation of equality, forms the basis of this theory, highlighting fair cooperation among citizens in a well-ordered society.

Following Dryzek's definition of deliberation, the concept of public reason necessarily articulates with the concept of public sphere in creating a consistent and alternative vision of democracy where it unfolds in non-coercive settings for cooperation and common reasoning between equal citizens.

Still, as Elstub (2010) put it, the earliest theorists of deliberation like Habermas and Rawls did not adequately factor into their vision of democracy the implications of social complexity, such as the intractability of disputes through public reasoning in the public sphere among different social interests. Likewise, early theorists did not adequately tap into the problems related to the institutionalisation of deliberative procedures. These concerns were taken up by later theorists, such as Barber and Bartlett (2005), O'Flynn (2006), and Parkinson (2006). According to these authors, greater emphasis should be placed on the empirical backing of theoretical claims. More recently, the field of deliberative democracy has developed into a new set of concerns that emphasise the role of deliberative procedures within systems and institutions (Parkinson and Mansbridge, 2012). This approach posits that deliberation occurs in multiple and diverse spaces within and across society, being such spaces often overlapping.

The "deliberative turn" has been mostly operationalised through DMPs (see Harris, 2019). DMPs cover a wide range of practices that seek to engage relatively small groups of citizens to deliberate on specific policy issues and/or problems (Ryan and Smith, 2015). DMPs also aim to be as diverse and representative of the population as possible, as such the recruitment is often based on a random selection of a representative sample of the wider population or affected community. DMPs are seen as a vehicle for the enhancement of democracy with the engagement of citizens with societal problems and the realisation of the ideal of public reason. Supporters of deliberative democracy consider that such initiatives can mitigate the shortcomings of representative democracy, by deepening it (Fung and Wright, 2003) and complementing it (Chambers 2003) or helping overcome social and political antagonisms (Parkinson and Mansbridge, 2012) generated by elite capture affecting citizen's level of trust in democracy (Gherghina and Geissel 2020).

DMPs have become a focal point in redefining the landscape of public policy decision-making in this field of study. As outlined by James S. Fishkin (2009), DMPs are representative small groups of citizens engaged in quality deliberations to provide informed judgments. Echoing this, Carson and Martin (1999) highlight their nature as alternative spaces for democratic dialogue, often through random citizen selection. John Gastil (2000) underscores their structured approach, aiming for reflective policy judgments, while Kimmo Grönlund et al. (2015) stress their role in making democratic processes more inclusive. John Dryzek delves further into the concept, describing these forums as distinct from political elites, largely randomised, thereby ensuring a diverse societal representation. Dryzek's (2000) insights accentuate DMPs' potential in enriching democratic discussions on complex issues.

Historically rooted, while DMPs owe their theoretical origins to the 1960s–1980s, its real-world practice began in the 70s and 80s. Peter C. Dienel's introduction in the 1970s of the practice in urban planning, using the format of planning cells, in Germany (Dienel 1999), James Fishkin's development of Deliberative Polling in the USA (Fishkin 1988), the Danish Board of Technology's consensus conference in the 1980s, and the innovative real-world implementation of British Columbia's Citizens' Assemblies in 2004, mark significant

milestones. Snider's (2008) article offers an insightful analysis of deliberative democracy through the lens of citizen's assemblies, with a particular emphasis on the British Columbia Citizen's Assembly (BCCA). The paper scrutinises how such assemblies function as platforms for engaging citizens in deep, informed discussions about significant policy matters, thereby enhancing the democratic process. The BCCA serves as a prime example, showcasing the potential of citizen's assemblies in fostering public deliberation and decision-making.

The BCCA was a groundbreaking initiative in Canada, where randomly selected citizens deliberated on electoral reforms. This assembly provided a unique opportunity for ordinary citizens to play a direct role in shaping an important aspect of their democratic system. Snider highlights the assembly's success in creating an informed and inclusive environment, where diverse perspectives were considered, and consensus was sought. The process involved extensive learning phases, deliberation, and consultations, culminating in recommendations that were then put to a public referendum. Snider's (2008) exploration into the BCCA and similar initiatives provides valuable insights into how deliberative processes can be effectively integrated into contemporary democratic governance, offering a model for other jurisdictions to consider.

In the interview with John Dryzek, he also discusses the historical trajectory of DMPs, tracing its origins back to ideas proposed by Robert Dahl in the 1970s further developed by practitioners like Ned Crosby through the Citizens Juries in the US, and the Planning Cells in Germany, as well as the Consensus Conferences in Denmark. Dryzek observes that academic interest in these innovations has grown over time, eventually merging with practitioner-led developments. He highlights the expansion of DMPs, especially with the advent of Citizens Assemblies in places like British Columbia, and notes their growing application in addressing climate change, which demonstrates the potential utility of citizen's assemblies in democracy. It not only validates their role in promoting informed citizen participation but also in enhancing the legitimacy and quality of democratic decision-making.

Considering the above, the 2000s saw DMPs gaining international traction, with varied models like citizens' juries and consensus conferences taking centre stage (Smith and Wales, 2000). Today, DMPs can differ substantially in terms of institutional design, which heavily depends on context and purposes (Harris, 2019). Designs can range from deliberative opinion polls, citizens' assemblies, consensus conferences, or planning cells, and they vary according to their size, duration, method of selecting participants, and outputs (Elstub, 2014). For instance, the number of participants in deliberative opinions polls and planning cells can be quite large compared to citizen juries or consensus conferences. Concerning the duration, citizen's assemblies can take several weeks or months, while deliberative opinion polls usually take up to a few days. Despite the differences between DMPs' designs, some common features revolve around: information delivered by experts in specific policy fields, then followed by deliberation with the aim of producing recommendations and/or reports that will inform decision- and policy making.

An interesting and important academic effort on revealing the differences in the realm of DMPs is provided by the POLITICIZE dataset. Functioning as an inventory of these processes in Europe (Paulis et al., 2020), the dataset introduces a comprehensive information on 105 DMPs that took place between 2000 and 2020. The dataset is a result of coding by experts on real-life deliberative experiments in 18 European countries. It details the core features of DMPs in Europe across three crucial dimensions: composition (who deliberates?), format (how do they deliberate?), and role (what do they deliberate about and what are their prerogatives?). This systematic and comprehensive data collection represents a significant contribution to understanding DMPs in Europe and enables a deeper examination of these DIs, such as their participants' recruitment and selection, deliberation formats, and the political roles and impact of these mini-publics.

Citizen assemblies, as highlighted in recent academic discourse, stand out as a notable DI that has captured the imagination of practitioners and citizens dissatisfied with representative democracy (Pilet, et al., 2022). Besides the link between citizen participation and environmental issues, these assemblies have expanded their scope and magnitude in western democracies, placing new challenges to this deliberative format due to the complexity of the topic (Elstub, et al., 2021). Climate assemblies embody a progressive approach to governance, valuing the contributions of everyday citizens in the complex dialogue surrounding environmental challenges. As noted by Duvic-Paoli (2022), this model has shown, from the outcomes of citizen assemblies at the national level in Ireland, France and the UK, the potential and ability to improve the substance of climate laws. The "growing traction of climate citizen assemblies" in various national contexts, reflects a significant shift towards more inclusive and deliberative methodologies in environmental policymaking and implementation (European Climate Foundation, 2021).

4.1.5 The 2010s through to the 2020s: defining and re-thinking the concept and the practice(s) of Democratic Innovation(s)

The conceptual field of DIs after the 2010s is marked by diverse perspectives and approaches. While there is a consensus on the centrality of citizen participation and the potential of DIs to address contemporary democratic challenges, differences arise in the authors' definitions, evaluation criteria, focus on the policy cycle, and perspectives on the dominant deliberative paradigm. The debate reflects an evolving understanding of DIs, encompassing both top-down and bottom-up approaches, and highlighting the dynamic interplay between institutional innovation, PG and the roles of citizens in democratic processes.

Smith (2009) characterises DIs as institutions designed to enhance citizen participation in political decision-making, emphasising the involvement of non-partisan citizens over experts or organised groups, evaluating such institutions on their inclusiveness, popular control, considered judgement, transparency, efficiency, and transferability. In turn, Geissel (2012; 13) views DIs as practices and processes that improve democratic quality, focusing on citizen

involvement in decision-making, deliberation, and influence. She proposes dimensions to assess the impact of participatory institutions on democracy, including input-legitimacy, democratic process, effectiveness, and civic education.

More recently, Elstub and Escobar (2019) broadened the definition of DIs to include governance processes, aiming to democratise governance and reimagine citizens' roles. They consider participant recruitment, participation mode, decision-making, and authority/power, acknowledging four families of DIs: mini-publics, participatory budgeting, collaborative governance, referenda, and citizens' initiatives, with digital participation added. Pogrebinschi (2023) builds on this definition by centring DIs within the policy cycle, emphasising institutions, processes, and mechanisms that enhance democracy through citizen participation, including participatory institutions, processes, and mechanisms like plebiscites and referendums.

The concept has gained traction in the scholarly debate, not without controversies. As is recognised by the author, Smith's coining of 'democratic innovations' was driven more by political motivation than scientific rigour, aiming to capture the imagination of policymakers and activists. In our research interview with him, the author acknowledged that his initial intention aimed at grasping the complexity of practices of citizen participation out there for a report he was invited to write (Smith, 2005) and for which he identified 57 practices.

However, this has led to ambiguities in the scientific debate, with concerns that the focus on 'innovation' might undervalue more established forms of participation as Smith himself admits.

> *Now, why did I call them democratic innovations? In a way, it's a kind of branding exercise. If you call something an innovation, you're trying to say this is interesting and new. It wasn't particularly new. Some of the innovations I was looking at were 30, 40 years old. But it was a way of trying to say, "Look, this is something interesting." And by calling it a democratic innovation, you're also saying, "And it's about democracy." And so, it was a kind of way of trying to capture interest and attention in something which I thought was really interesting.*
>
> (Graham Smith, interviewed on July 11, 2023)

Additional concerns about the concept have been raised by other authors, specifically as to its relationship with the concept of citizen participation. During Expert F's interview, he argued that the concept of "democratic innovations" is useful in as much as it encapsulates, and does not deny, other approaches and typologies of participation and deliberation processes within democratic governance. While rhetorically powerful and attractive to policymakers, defining this term precisely can be problematic. It can be framed both descriptively, as in Fung's Democracy Cube, focusing on concrete institutional forms and deconstructing previous normative models like Arnstein's ladder, or seen from different

normative perspectives that encompass various modes of participation. For example, Dean proposed a typology that includes participation as knowledge transfer, collective decision-making and action, choice and voice, and judgement and oversight. However, focusing solely on DIs as institutional designs risks oversimplifying the political context. A recent example given by Dean is from Climate Assemblies in Europe, showing that a narrow focus on institutional design can lead to wrong empirical inferences.

> *Because they're all called Climate Assemblies and they're all relatively similar in that they're all Citizens' Assembly models with 100 to 150 people in a facilitated space discussing for an extended period of time with expert evidence, we tend to think of them as if they're the same thing. A Citizens' Assembly would do very different things if used within one participation mode, like as a form of judgement and oversight, then if it was used as a form of knowledge transfer. The way it's used within those kinds of modes of operation will lead to different forms of integration into the political system, like different relations to the politicians or the administrators commissioning this process.*
>
> (Expert F, interviewed on June 28, 2023)

Thus, while DIs provide a useful conceptual framework, understanding citizen participation should be based on the recognition of different modes of operation and integration into the broader political landscape.

As such, the goals pursued by DIs resonate with the different emphasis placed on different, however interconnected, dimensions: citizen empowerment, the enhancement of democracy, citizens' role in governance and the policy cycle, and specific democratic problems via data-driven analysis. Another aspect regarding the definition of DIs is the understanding of processes and/or institutions, as well as practices. Practices should not be only considered in terms of effectiveness, but rather on the capacity to influence policy- and decision-making. Evaluating DIs on their capacity to be part and influence other stages of the policy-cycle is a case in point.

Different conceptualisations on innovating democracy are equally important. Warren (2009; 2017) defines 'governance-driven democratisation' as a domain of political experiments to increase the influence of those affected by collective decisions, assessing it based on democratic values like inclusion, empowerment, representation, and deliberation. Bua and Bussu (2021) innovate on Warren's framework by introducing the distinction between governance-driven democratisation (GDD) and democracy-driven governance (DGG), where GDD is elite-led, aimed at improving policymaking and the legitimacy of traditional institutions, while DGG is more bottom-up, transformative, and aimed at advancing social justice. Indeed, Della Porta and Felicetti (2022) highlight the role of social movements as

agents of DIs, emphasising the need for synergy between DIs and movements to address democratic stress.

Veri (2022) and Asenbaum (2022) call for a more multi-perspectival approach to DIs, challenging the dominance of the deliberative paradigm and advocating for the inclusion of participatory, agonistic, and transformative perspectives. Veri criticises existing top-down approaches that overlook the conceptual stretching of DIs. He argues that these approaches often employ descriptive and explanatory attributes to construct ideal types without sufficient connection to real-world examples. Veri proposes a bottom-up approach that maps real-world DIs with the help of Participedia, the most known crowd-sourcing platform in this field of practice.

In a similar fashion, Asenbaum proposes to understand DIs by assuming a multi-perspectival stance by calling for a study that goes beyond the deliberative paradigm and that embraces participatory, agonistic, and transformative accounts of DIs. A new generation of DI's scholarship is expanding the definition of DIs beyond the deliberative paradigm. His approach thus challenges the dominance of the deliberative paradigm and expands the understanding of the structures that govern our everyday lives.

Table 4.1) Definitions and typologies of Democratic Innovations retrieved from the literature review

DIMENSIONS	SMITH (2010)	GEISSEL (2012;13)	ELSTUB & ESCOBAR (2019)	POGREBINSCHI (2023)
1. Definition of Democratic innovations (DIs)	**Institutions** to enhance citizen participation.	**New practice or process** with the aim of improving the quality of democracy	**Processes or institutions** for governance	**Institutions, processes, and mechanisms** for policy participation
2. Citizen Engagement	Direct engagement of non-partisan citizens	democratic innovations 'involve citizens in the decision-making process'	Increased opportunities for participation, deliberation, and influence processes.	Collaboration and deliberation among citizens and officials
3. Participation	institutionalized forms of participation in political decision-making & citizens w/ formal role in shaping policy, legislation, or constitutional decisions.	Citizen-centered innovations have the potential to revitalize democracy by increasing political awareness, participation, and discussion.	Expands the focus from "political decision-making" to include "governance" processes.	Institutions, processes, and mechanisms in the policy cycle.
4. Evaluation of Participation	Not specified.	Suggests four dimensions to assess how participatory institutions affect the quality of democracy (see point 5).	Features: Governance; Policy Area; Policy Stage.	Means: Deliberation; citizen representation; digital engagement;direct voting.
5. Evaluation of Democratic Innovations	Inclusiveness; popular control; considered judgment; transparency; efficiency and transferability	input-legitimacy; democratic process; effectiveness; and civic education.	Participant selection; mode of participation; mode of decision-making, and participant authority and power.	Accountability; responsiveness; rule of law; social equality, and political inclusion.
6. Emphasis of the analysis	Democratic legitimacy through potential of DIs for institutionalization & citizen participation can be at the city, national, or transnational/global level.	The aim of democratic innovations is to 'improve the quality of democratic governance' or in general the quality of democracy. This improvement could be informed by participatory and/or deliberative democracy.	The combination of features allows assessment and characterization of specific democratic innovations & reimagining the role of citizens is possible through this holistic analysis.	participation not an end in itself but a means to enhance democracy (for that Dis combine the 4 means with 5 ends).
7. Categories of DIs	popular assemblies, mini-publics, direct legislation and e-democracy.	Cooperative governance; Deliberative procedures and Direct democratic procedures.	mini-publics; participatory budgeting; collaborative governance, and referenda initiatives.	Same as means of participation above.

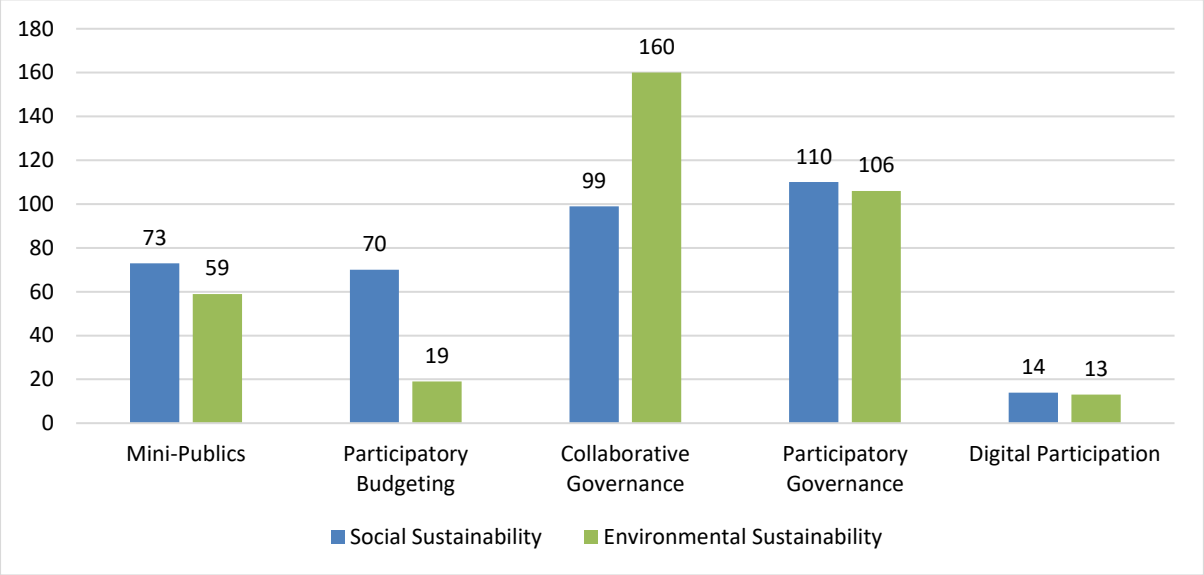
Note: The table only includes authors that have proposed a definition and a typology.

5. Scoping Reviews of Democratic Innovations and Sustainability

DIs hold the potential for more legitimacy on decisions that need to be taken and prove that citizens' inclusion in decision-making has positive effects on long-term strategies and policies. Therefore, we aim to understand whether and how this potential fulfills expectations. This section aims to provide an in-depth overview of the findings from the three SRs on DIs in connection to social and environmental sustainability. To this end, we coded all the collected articles (see section 2.2) into the corresponding categories of DIs, for both social and environmental sustainability.

As shown by Figure 5.1., PG&CG owns the most articles, followed by DMPs and PBs. PG&CG tend to have more loose institutional designs as they include multiple actors besides standard decision-making processes led by public authorities. There is a balanced distribution of PG in connection to environmental and social sustainability, although CG is more oriented to environmental and climate issues due to its multi-stakeholder nature, which seems to better fit situations prone to conflict and/or disagreement, such as environmental management issues and climate related issues.

Figure 5.1) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and social & environmental sustainability by typology[11]



Despite the growth of interest and debate on the DMPs and climate issues, as evident in the spread of climate assemblies, DMPs are more connected to social sustainability related issues.

As regards PBs, they are less oriented to environmental sustainability when compared to social issues. This is congruent with main literature on the redistributive nature of PBs as well as emerging trends of depoliticization in favour of a good governance-oriented process dealing with accountability and transparency issues.

5.1 International mirror cases

5.1.1 Brazil

The institutionalisation of DIs in Latin America, particularly in the context of Brazil, began in the 1980s as a response to the new constitution enacted after the end of dictatorship. This era marked a significant opportunity for civil society, which played a crucial role in the institutionalisation of DIs. Expert H, an expert on DIs developed in Latin America, emphasises that these are not just government initiatives, as they often stem from civil society's efforts.

[11] The sum of the total number of articles for each SR is higher than the stated for the final pool of articles in the methodology section. The reason for this is that in some cases (19 for social sustainability and 12 for environmental sustainability) articles were coded within more than one category. This happened for cases of PG&CG as well as digital participation, which is not a category on its own but a cross-cutting dimension through the three main categories. Figures displaying the number of publications (Y axis) in Section 5 result from data gathered via SRs' protocols described in Section 2.

As an expert on Latin America, I can tell you that the institutionalisation of democratic innovations in the region started in the 80s. This was a response to new constitutions enacted after dictatorships ended, and an opportunity was presented for more citizen-led initiatives.(…)

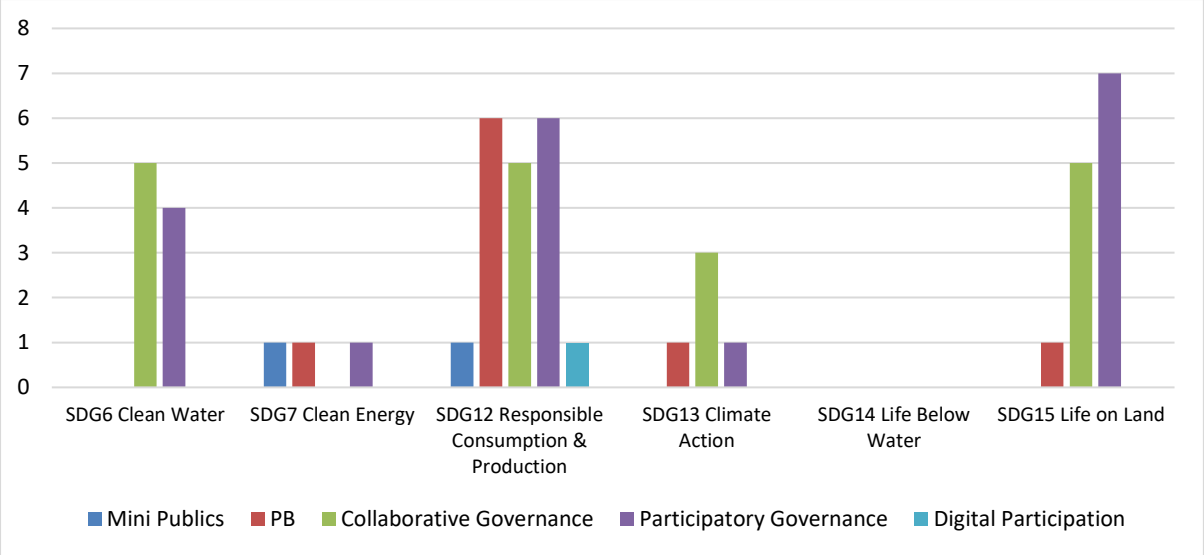
The misconception is that democratic innovations are something that governments do, like designing new ways to include citizens in decision-making processes. But in my view civil society was responsible for the institutionalisation of democratic innovation in Latin America.

(Expert H, interviewed on June 16, 2023)

Pogrebinschi's (2023) empirical data-driven typology focuses on Latin America and identifies similarities in institutional designs and primary means of participation (deliberation, citizen representation, digital engagement, direct voting) across several countries. Despite different names, DIs often work in a similar manner when it comes to rules, structures, and goals.

The figure below shows that SDG6 (Clean Water) benefits most from PG&CG, while SDG7 (Clean Energy) shows less significant evidence. SDG12 (Responsible Consumption & Production) shows a more balanced outlook, albeit with limited Digital Participation. Contributions to SDG13 (Climate Action) and SDG14 (Life Below Water) are either low or non-existent, whereas SDG15 (Life on Land) sees significant contributions from PG&CG.

Figure 5.2) Number of publications on Democratic innovations & Environmental Sustainability Goals in South America



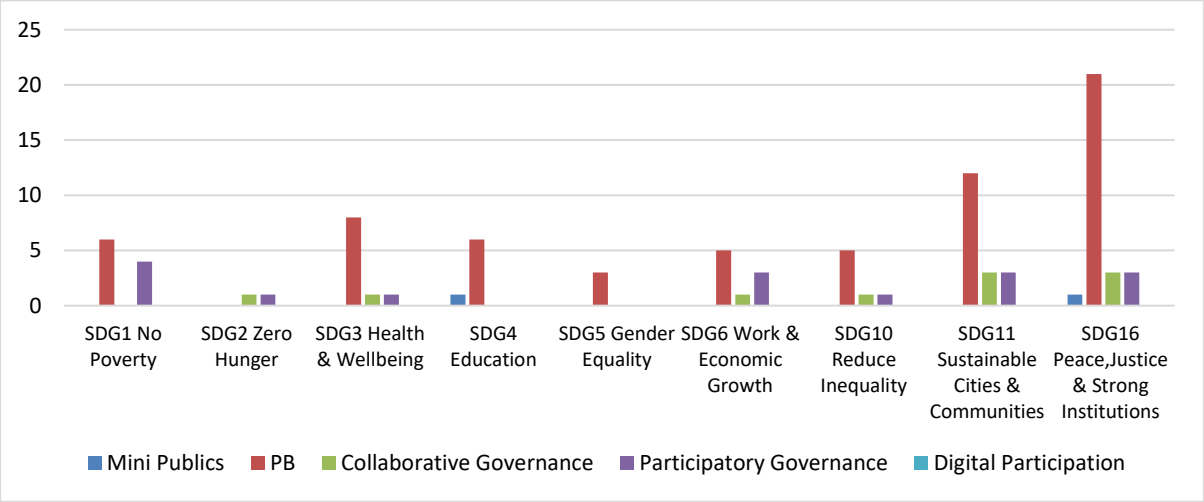
PBs in Brazil are linked to environmental and social sustainability as witnessed by several scholars. Souza (2001) underscores PB's role in integrating marginalised communities into the political realm, suggesting a potential inclination towards environmental concerns due to increased inclusivity. Menegat (2002) explicitly ties PB to urban environmental management,

citing Porto Alegre's improvements in living standards, sanitation, and green spaces, aligning with UN's SDGs like Clean Water and Sustainable Cities.

Baiocchi (2005) notes how PB in Porto Alegre brought marginalised groups into decision-making, potentially prioritising environmental challenges. Cabannes (2006) focuses on youth in Barra Mansa, implying their potential role in environmental activism. Barros and Sampaio (2016) discuss electronic PB, highlighting trust as vital for public support in environmental projects. Friant (2019) links PB in Porto Alegre with urban environmental sustainability, intertwining social justice and environmental concerns. Cabannes (2021) directly connects PB with climate change mitigation, emphasising climate justice.

Although not all studies directly associate PB with environmental issues, themes of inclusivity and democratisation suggest PB's potential in advancing environmental SDGs. Key contributions from Menegat, Friant, and Cabannes illustrate PB's direct impact on sustainability and climate action.

Figure 5.3) Number of publications on Democratic innovations & Social Sustainability Goals in South America



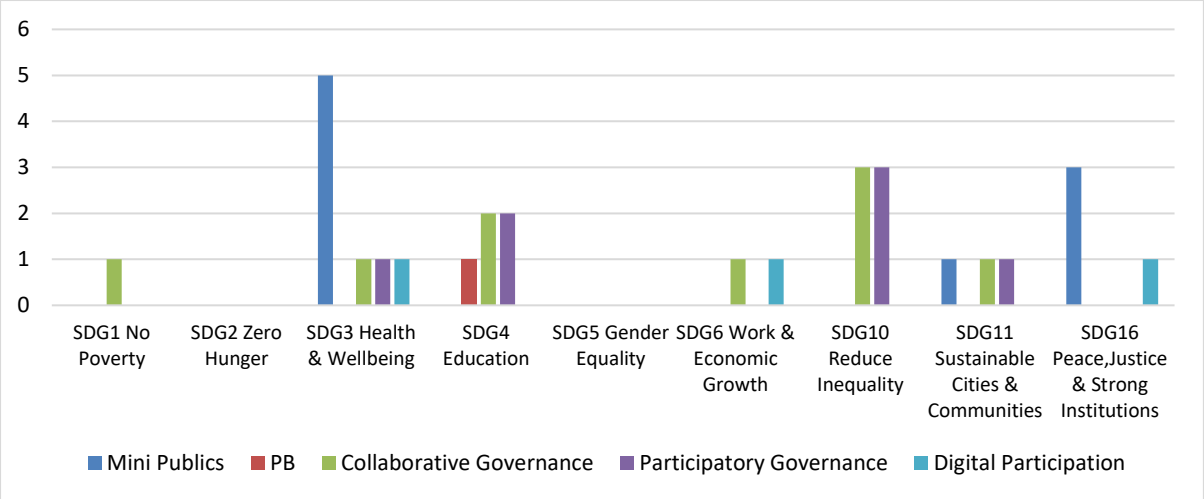
DIs in South America reveal, therefore, a predominant focus on PB, which is reflected in several SDGs, such as strengthening democratic institutions (SDG16), fostering sustainable cities (SDG11), enhancing health and wellbeing (SDG3), and alleviating poverty (SDG1). This data underscores PB's comprehensive impact on social sustainability goals. The significant focus on PB in South America, and particularly in Brazil, highlights its significance for DIs.

5.1.2 Australia

The second international mirror case is Australia. This country is of particular interest given its internationally recognised status as a hub of democratic experimentation. Oceania, and specifically Australia, is often considered to be one of the regions of the world wherein

deliberative and participatory innovations are most consolidated (see Hendriks 2021). Still, when surveying the results of the analysis of the bibliographical materials collected for this SR, one sees a decisively diminutive number of works (n=9). The works that were integrated into the SR and that cover research conducted about countries in this part of the Globe investigate mostly the role of PG&CG. Much of the research deals with the reduction of inequalities (SDG10), on one hand, and with education policies (SDG4) on the other. Figure 5.4. provides a descriptive overview of the findings.

Figure 5.4) Number of publications on Democratic Innovations and Social Sustainability in Oceania

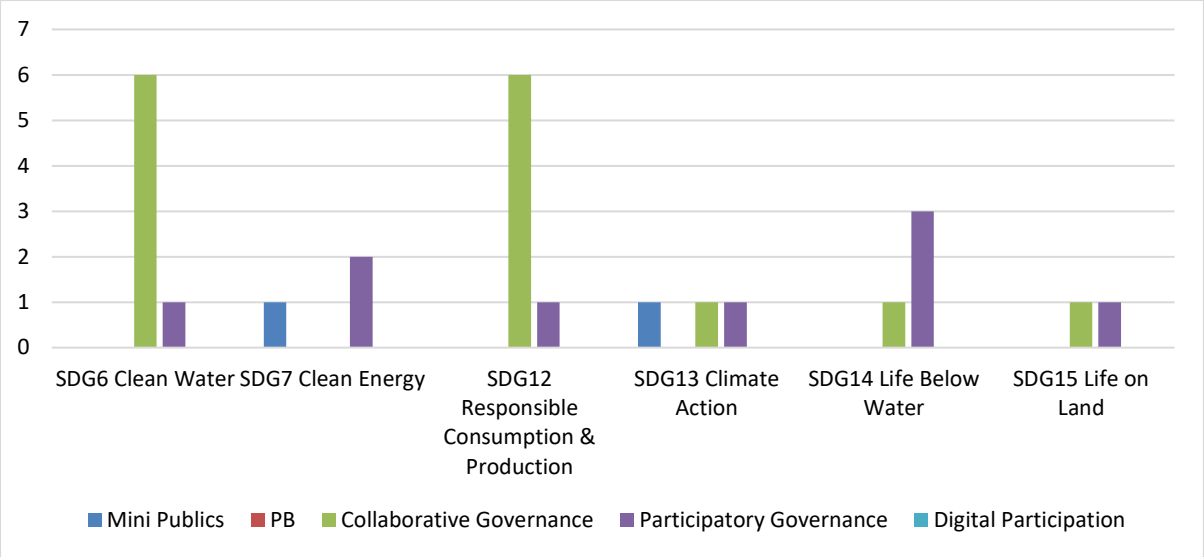


Australia has developed, despite its majoritarian political system which tends towards more adversarial politics, a thriving ecosystem of democratic deliberation and innovation in which citizen involvement in decision- and policy-making is an enduring feature (Carson et al. 2015). As Parry et al. (2019) argue, DMPs have become increasingly widespread across Australia with hundreds of documented examples with local and state governments leading these DIs in partnership with organisations such as the new Democracy Foundation. Despite that, Parry et al. (2019) contend that DIs are still to be fully embedded in the wider political system since public authorities often implement such initiatives in an ad hoc manner. Given these circumstances, Australia is an interesting lens from which to look at how the scholarship has approached DIs in the country, especially as it relates to both environmental and social sustainability.

The analysis of DIs in Australia reveals a heavy reliance on PG&CG across various SDGs and a significant lack of involvement from other strategies, hinting at substantial opportunities to enhance and diversify DIs. Figure 5.5. highlights a distinct preference for CG (5) in addressing Clean Water goals, with slight input from PG (1). The absence of other media indicates an unexplored avenue to bolster clean water and sanitation initiatives. Concerning Clean Energy, PG (2) leads, with a minor contribution from DMPs (1), suggesting the potential to enhance the role of absent strategies in advocating for clean, affordable energy. Responsible Consumption & Production see CG at the forefront (seven contributions), again revealing

opportunities for involving other unrepresented strategies. The equal distribution in Climate Action contributions indicates a distributed approach, yet the overall low numbers emphasise the need for intensified focus and effort. For Life Below Water goals, PG (3) dominates, indicating significant opportunities for increased and varied engagement with other DIs. Life on Land demonstrates modest contributions, pointing out the untapped potential in this sector due to the absence of mini-publics, PB, and digital participation.

Figure 5.5) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability in Oceania



The results of Osborne et al's (2016) study about the inclusion of young people in urban planning decisions, shows that municipal officials should incorporate youth-friendly policies and collaborative government approaches to tackle power asymmetry between young and adult citizens. For McKivett et al (2021), CG processes can be essential to achieve inclusion of racialized minorities' views and values, in this case First Nations Peoples, in the elaboration of health policies thus aiding the reduction of inequalities in healthcare access. In a similar vein, the research conducted by Frost et al's (2021) confirms the contribution that CG arrangements can have on the reduction of racial inequalities. The authors survey the collaborative innovations introduced in the overarching governance of Australian Rules Football aimed at empowering indigenous players. The results show that such collaborative arrangements can produce better socio-economic outcomes for indigenous and other underprivileged group

5.2 Historical stages of DIs and environmental sustainability

Data collected through the SRs clearly show that citizen participation plays an important role in advancing environmental sustainability. This involvement encompasses a wide range of activities, from grassroots initiatives to participating in policy-making processes. It empowers individuals and communities to contribute actively to environmental protection and management. The engagement of citizens in environmental decision-making processes can lead to more sustainable outcomes by ensuring that policies and actions reflect local needs and values. Such participation also fosters a deeper awareness and understanding of environmental issues, driving collective action towards sustainable practices.

Figure 5.6) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability across time

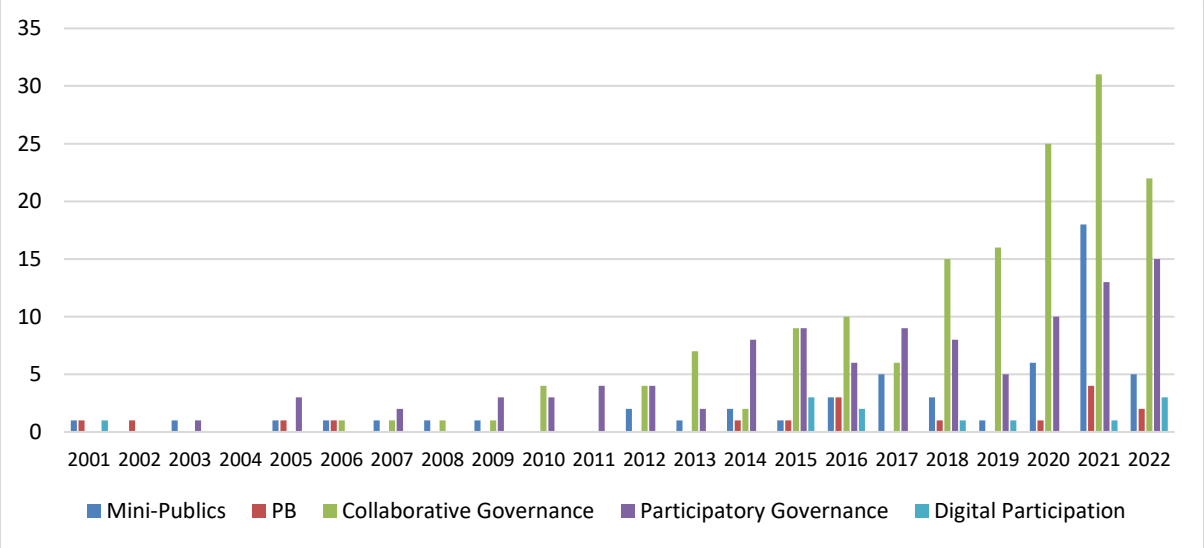


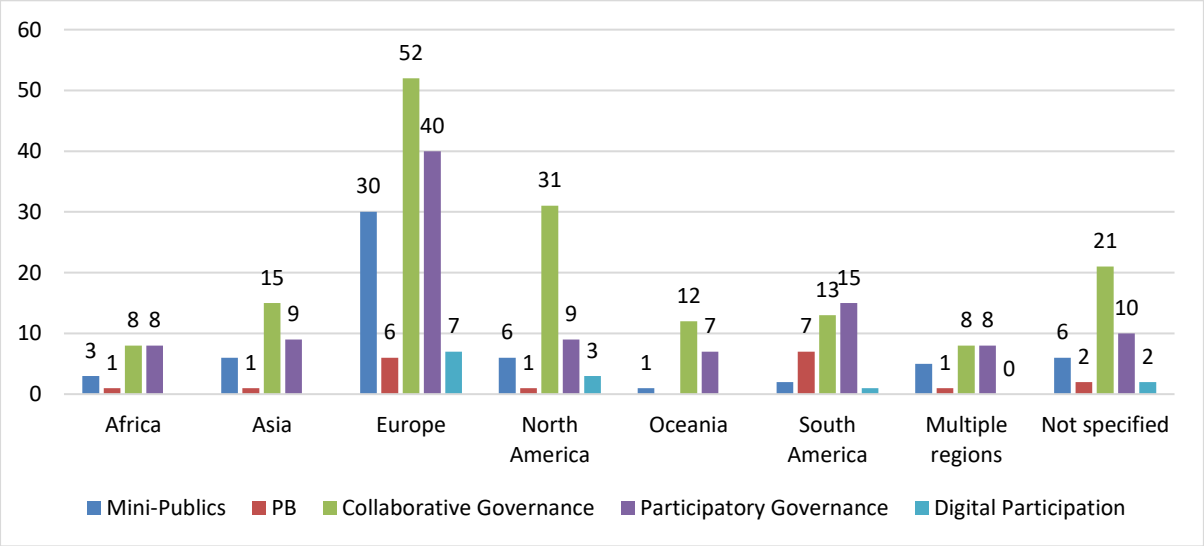
Figure 5.6. above displays the distribution of publications (Y axis) in categories of DIs (X axis) over a 22-year period (2001 to 2022), with a focus on environmental sustainability. Emerging trends on the field are reflected in the scholarly debate. The increase of scientific publications since 2009 suggests the impact of Smith's seminal work (2009) and the international acknowledgment of the potential brought by DIs in environmental sustainability. In parallel, the global debate on environmental challenges has accelerated in the last decades, which creates favourable conditions for the experimentation of DIs. A shift from PG to CG (after 2013 as shown by the figure above) is a case in point, as it may reflect a broader shift in democratic theory and practice towards different governance strategies. CG goes beyond citizen participation and aims to include multiple stakeholders, which seems to better fit environmental problems. Literature on PB has relatively higher weight in 2016 and from 2020 onwards. In a slightly different way, DMPs become more prominent in 2017 and after 2020. These patterns may represent a response to specific political and environmental issues. More

academic work on DMPs may reflect a growing interest in matching democratic decision-making and environmental policies.

The trajectory of the research on DMPs shows an initial ascent after 2004, likely an acknowledgment of the environmental sustainability framework within which Citizens' Assemblies operated in British Columbia. When considering research on PB, its evolution in terms of environmental sustainability is not fully retrievable from the graph. Interestingly, there is a somewhat steeper climb after 2014. This pronounced rise could potentially confirm the versatile nature of PB, which seemingly started to address and incorporate environmental challenges.

The ascent of PG's research during the 2000s is conspicuous in relation to environmental sustainability, which indicates growing emphasis on the role of citizen participation in environmental issues. For example, a peak is evident in the transition from the 2000s to the 2010s. This could be attributed to the emphasis placed on environmental policies within the realm of CG.

Figure 5.7) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability across the globe

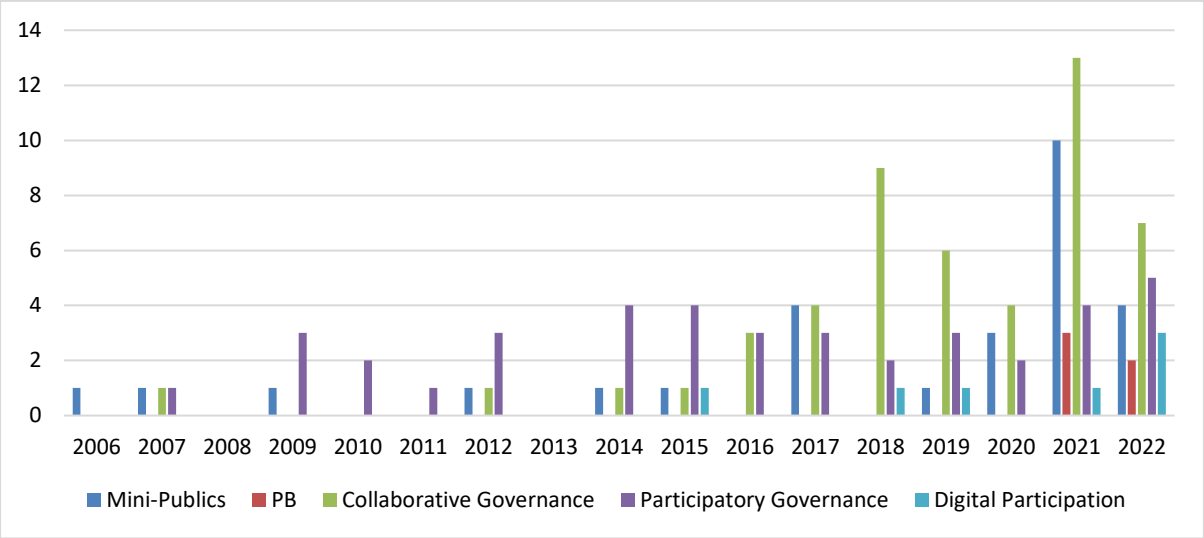


As regards the geographical distribution of publications on DIs for environmental sustainability, Europe stands out as the region with the highest number of articles across the three typologies. The primary focus in Europe is on CG followed by PG. North America also has a significant number of contributions associated with the study of CG. In Asia, CG and PG are the most prominent approaches in literature. South America shows a balance between CG and PG, with emerging work on PB. Both Africa and Oceania hold fewer articles overall. In Africa, CG and PG hold more articles. Oceania also shows more distribution between CG and PG. Finally, there is a considerable number of articles related to multiple regions: PG&CG is the most prevalent category, with CG relying on 160 selected articles, which reflects a broad interest across all regions. PG is relying on 106 articles, which are well distributed around the

globe. DMPs and PBs are less represented, with more research on DMPs in Europe and PBs in South America. Digital Participation is a cross-cutting dimension that is explicitly referred to in 13 articles, mainly focused on Europe.

By zooming in on Europe, Figure 5.8. shows a starting point for our analysis in 2006 with a publication by Zurita (2006) on the relevance of consensus conferences, an innovation created and promoted by the Danish Board of Technology, for environmental policy-making. From then on, research on DMP has become a significant feature in this field of study, which peaked in 2021 in number of peer-reviewed articles and reflects the growing popularity of Climate Assemblies in Western European countries in the last two decades.

Figure 5.8) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability across time in Europe

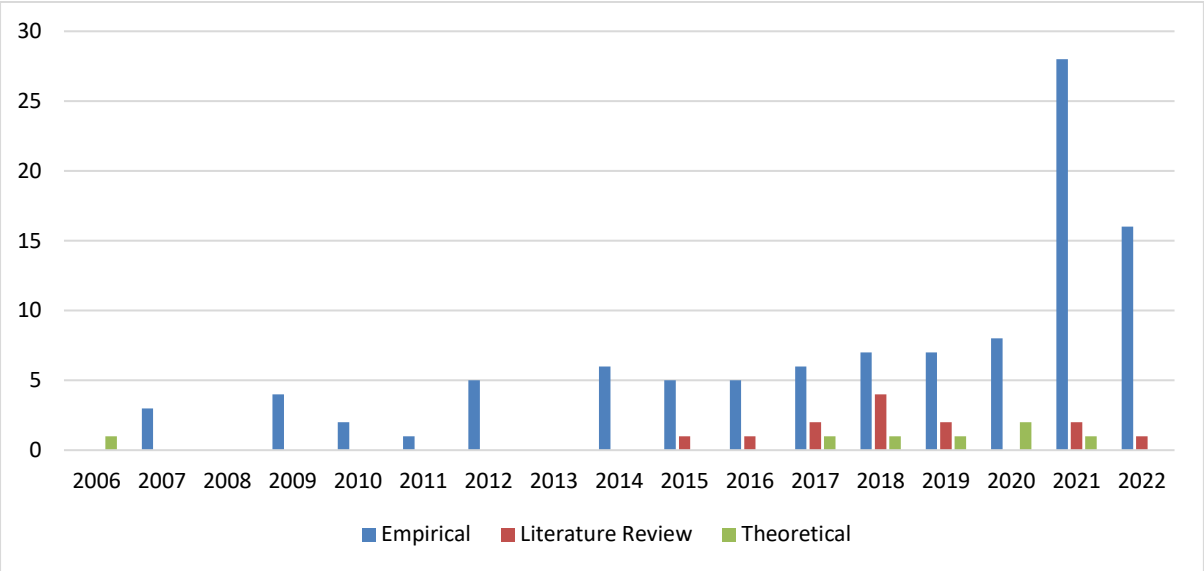


Like the trajectory observed in Figure 5.8., the overall field of study on DIs and environmental sustainability had a momentum after the publication of Smith's (2009) landmark study. The most constant feature in this field is research on PG with a steady stream of peer-reviewed papers published between 2009 and 2022. According to our data, research on CG and environmental issues is stronger in 2017/18 with a series of publications focusing on stakeholder involvement in, among other topics, strategic adaptation planning (Wamsler, 2017) and implementation (Challies et al. 2017), as well as in agri-environmental management (Westerink et al. 2017), as well as sustainable natural resource management (Thellbro et al. 2018). In 2021, there is a peak of scientific contributions focusing on CG and environmental sustainability.

The absence of research on PB and environmental topics in Europe is evident until very late in our analysis. Only in 2021 there was the publication of three distinct scientific pieces on that, and the trend continued in the following year.

We decided to classify each of the collected peer-reviewed study according to the adopted research method: empirical study[12], literature review, and theoretical reflection as shown in Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9) Research on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability in Europe by time of study



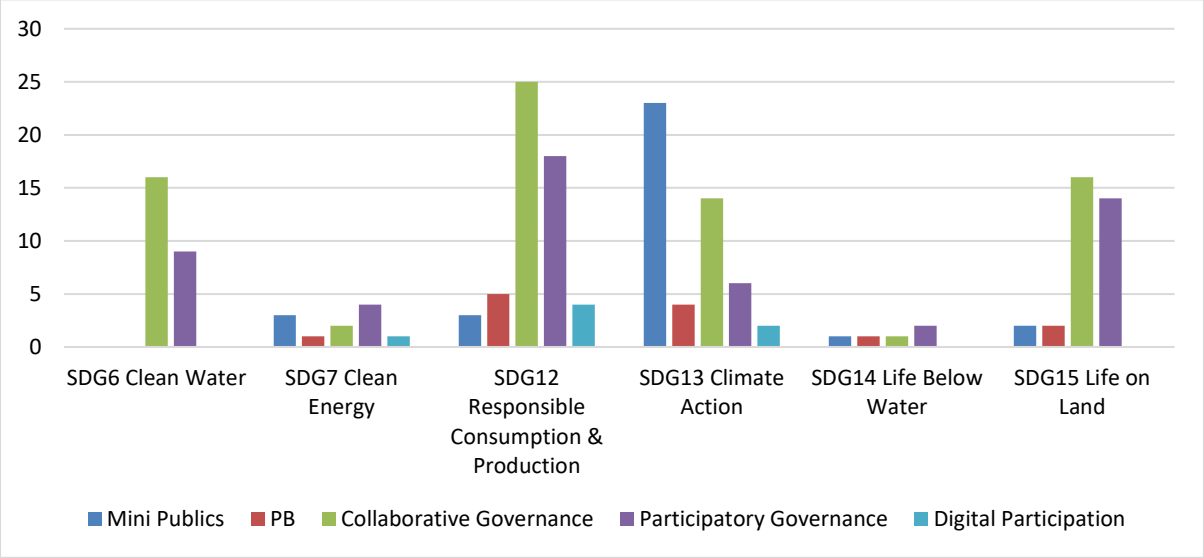
As shown in the Figure above, the number of publications (Y axis) conducted on DIs and environmental sustainability in Europe has a marked empirical orientation. While the first peer-reviewed paper about these topics was theoretical, scholars engaged with theoretical reflection towards the end of our period of analysis, mostly in the field of DMPs (Roberts et al. 2020; von Essen and Allen, 2017a) and PG (Schiavon et al., 2021; Zakhour, 2020).

A closer look at SDGs in the three typologies reveals, as shown in Figure 5.10. below, the weight of PG&CG, which covers the six SGDs about environmental sustainability. The analysis was conducted by cross checking the focus of each article with the definitions of the SDGs[13], we found that DMPs are prominently associated with SDG13 (Climate Action), as evidenced by the 33 sources, with a focus on climate-related issues and main literature on Climate Assemblies. There is a moderate emphasis on SDG7 (Clean Energy) and SDG12 (Responsible Consumption and Production), and less presence of DMPs associated with SDGs 6 (Clean Water), SDG14 (Life Below Water) and SDG15 (Life on Land).

[12] For a paper to qualify as an empirical study it must feature a methodological section.

[13] It is worth of note that numbers presented on the relation between types of DIs and SDGs do not match the numbers by articles/types of DIs as each article contains multiple associations with different SDGs.

Figure 5.10) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and environmental sustainability in Europe



As regards PB, SDG12 (Responsible Consumption & Production) is at the forefront with 15 articles. PB is frequently promoted "as an innovative urban management theme with an enormous potential to promote principles of good urban governance" (Cabannes, 2005, 5).

SDG13 (Climate Action) also saw traction with 6 articles, whereas SDG7 (Clean Energy), SDG14 (Life Below Water), and SDG15 (Life on Land) have a more limited outreach. Last, we found no documented evidence of PB associated with SDG6 (Clean Water).

CG shows a significant frequency associated with SDG12 (Responsible Consumption & Production), SDG6 (Clean Water), SDG15 (Life on Land) SDG13 (Climate Action). SD7 (Clean Energy) and SDG14 (Life Below Water) receive little attention. In contrast, PG is associated with SDG12 (Responsible Consumption & Production) with 40 articles, followed by SDG15 (Life on Land), SDG6 (Clean Water) and SDG13 (Climate Action) with 31, 24 and 23 articles respectively. SDG7 (Clean Energy) and SDG14 (Life Below Water) show moderate expression with 12 and 8 articles, respectively.

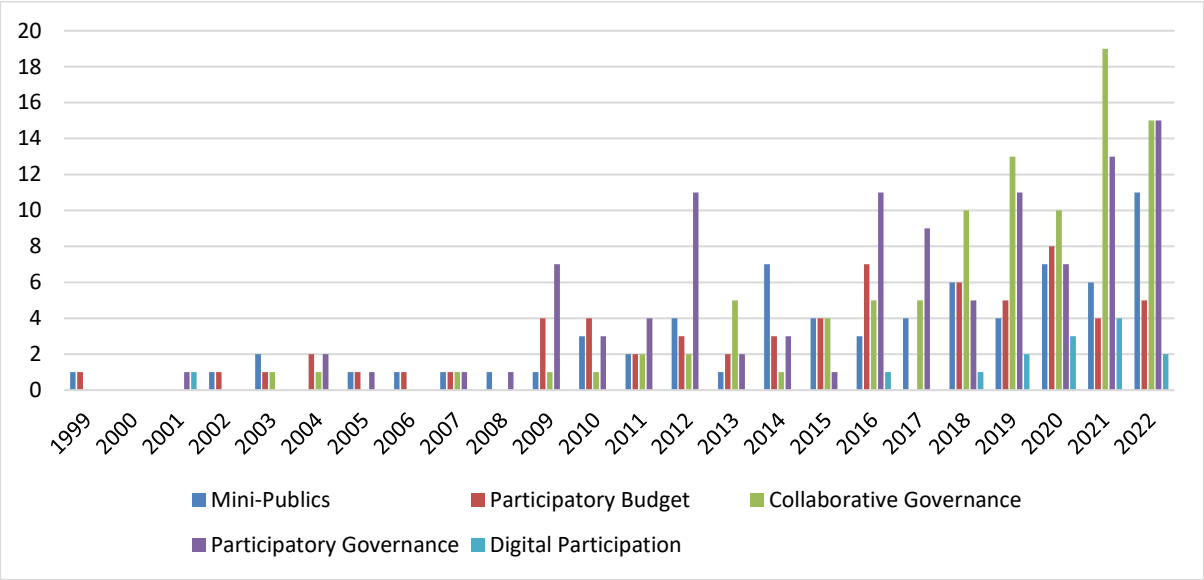
Lastly, the cross-cutting dimension of Digital Participation is explicitly associated with SDG12 (Responsible Consumption & Production) with 8 articles. SDG13 (Climate Action), SDG7 (Clean Energy) and SDG14 (Life Below Water) are less prominent, as no literature was found on e-participation in relation to SDGs 6 (Clean Water) and SDG15 (Life on Land).

In sum, SDG12 (Responsible Consumption & Production) stands out across all DIs. We suppose that its role is related to its broad scope. SDG13 (Climate Action) is predominant in relation with DMPs, followed by SDG6 (Clean Water) and SDG15 (Life on Land), all linked to PG&CG. In contrast, SDG14 (Life Below Water) displays a gap that may be related to the more regulatory nature of the theme, namely issues like fisheries and ocean biodiversity may be less prone to citizen participation.

5.3 Historical stages of DIs and social sustainability

Citizen participation is equally crucial for social sustainability, as it fosters inclusiveness and ensures that diverse voices and perspectives are heard in the decision-making process. This inclusivity is essential for building resilient and cohesive communities that can withstand social challenges. Engaging citizens in the development and implementation of policies and initiatives that affect their lives leads to more equitable and just outcomes. Moreover, such participation strengthens social bonds and promotes a sense of belonging and responsibility towards the community, which are foundational elements of a sustainable society.

Figure 5.11) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and social sustainability across time



The Figure above illustrates the evolution of five DIs from 1999 to 2022. Before 2009, little research articulated DIs and social sustainability, as scientific production boomed after the seminal work published by Graham Smith (2009), with a lead role of CG and PG, followed by PBs, and DMPs and digital participation at the end.

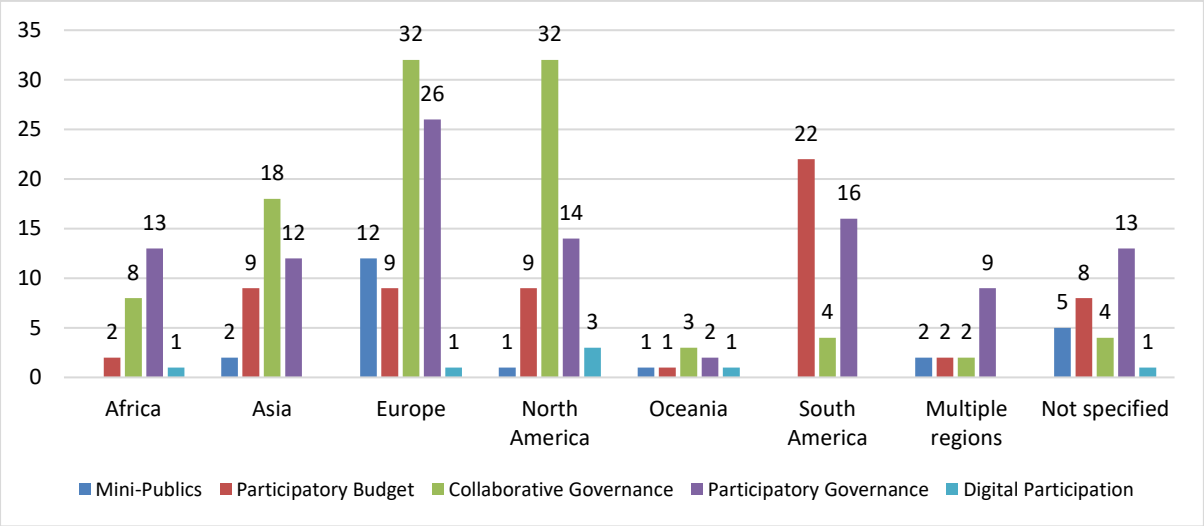
Regarding DMPs, we found a growth in academic production in the 2000s. This data is confirmed by widespread dissemination of DMPs in countries such as Australia, Canada, and the UK. After 2004, academic interest on DMPs grew exponentially, which could be the effect of one of the most known DMP ever implemented: the BCCA. From 2017 onward, interest remained steady, perhaps due to the global recognition by organisations like the OECD and the emerging role of online platforms.

As regards PB, the first experience in Porto Alegre in 1989 marked the momentum of its global dissemination through the 1990s and 2000s. PB is still one of the most implemented DIs around the globe, testifying a renewed interest based on the rampant role of digital tools in the context of public administration in the last decades as over 80% of United Nations Member States use technologies for governance processes (Palacin, et al., 2021), although

the "potential for empowering and involving citizens appears to be more easily achieved in face-to-face PB" (Eleonora et al., 2011, p. 40).

PG occupied a significant presence in the scholarly debate during the 1990s, which resonates with the endorsement given by local governmental bodies across the world. Moreover, at the turn of the 21st century, a remarkable peak in scholarship interest is noticeable. This may be the result of a global debate promoted by international agencies, such as the UN. Interest in CG processes has fostered a rich scholarly production since the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s. Its application in several policy domains and its adoption across the globe have offered evidence of that. In the 2010s, academic production has mostly focused on technological development in this realm.

Figure 5.12) Number of publications on Democratic innovations and social sustainability across the globe



The second analytical dimension is the geographical scope of DIs, as shown in Figure 5.12. Most of the literature on DIs and social sustainability are concentrated in Europe and North America[14]. We see a predominance of research on CG and significant differences in the distribution of DIs between the two regions: PG is more prevalent in Europe when compared to North America, and the same is true for DMPs, which are poorly covered by research on North America. In contrast, literature on DMPs in Europe emerges as more present. This distinction suggests meaningful differences in the state-society connections across different polities, as well as in the ways in which the participation of citizens in policymaking is promoted by public authorities.

In the Global South, the most studied region is South America, followed by Asia while Africa is featured less prominently. In South America, literature is overwhelmingly focused on the articulation between PB and social sustainability. These results corroborate the role of Latin

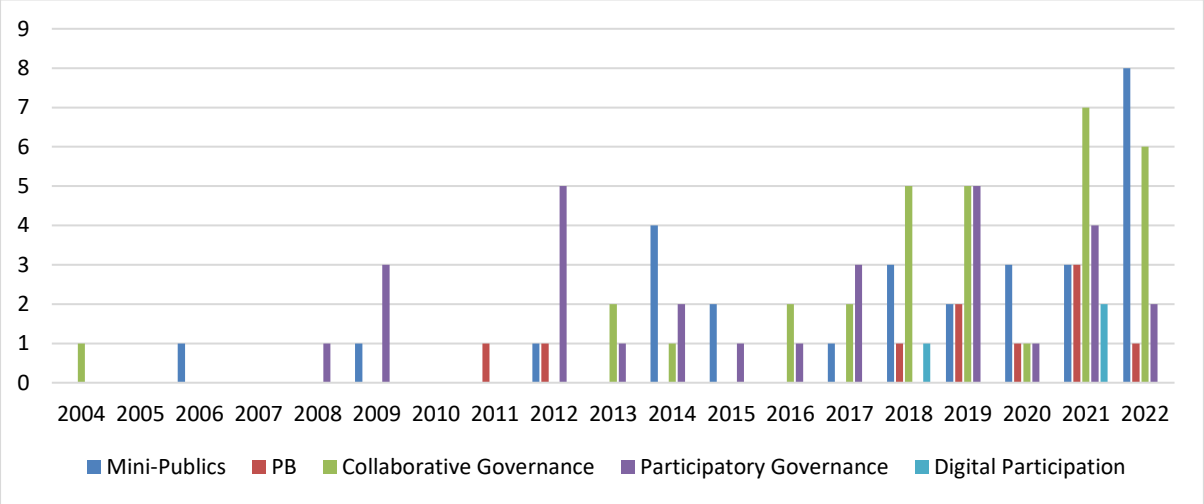
[14] The region of North America includes countries like the United States of America, Canada, and Mexico.

America - and Brazil in particular - in this field of practice (Cabannes and Lipietz 2018). In Asia, the research is mainly focused on the role of CG, with a significant number of studies on the People's Republic of China. In Africa, research is centred on PG and CG as they relate to development policies. Finally, as regards Oceania, we found a low number of studies on DIs and social sustainability.

Similar to how we approached the research on environmental sustainability, it is important to look more deeply into the articulation between DIs and social sustainability in Europe across time.

As we can see from Figure 5.13., the earliest publication that effectively approached this subject was published in 2004. This study was Newman et al.'s (2004) paper on policies designed to foster citizen participation and CG. However, the academic interest in collaborative forms of governance and social sustainability only gathered serious momentum in the late 2010s. In 2018 saw the publication of five distinct studies in this field, covering topics from food security in Italy, Netherlands, and Ireland (Galli et al. 2018), to street-level bureaucrat-led collaborative efforts to reduce deprivation in vulnerable communities, and to police-community relations at the neighbourhood level in UK. Nevertheless, 2021 marked the pinnacle of academic production on CG and social sustainability in Europe.

Figure 5.13) Number of publications Democratic innovations and social sustainability across time in Europe



PG is one of the most consistently studied DIs in Europe according to our data with 2012 and 2019 being the most productive years in terms of publications. This field of inquiry began in 2008/09 with a particular focus on local government. For instance, Callaghan and Wistow's (2008) investigation on the efforts of local governments in the UK to involve local communities in public service management or Chorianopoulos' (2009) study on the impact of PG arrangements in tackling social exclusion in the Greek city of Komotini. This link between PG and local government remained a consistent feature of this literature in Europe as is made evident by the research published in 2019 – nevertheless the focus shifted from the

institutional level to the citizen level. For instance, Kvartiuk's (2019) study on the citizen-level conditions that explain participation rates in PG approaches in rural Ukraine, or Jäske's (2019) survey of the effects of PG innovations on citizen's perceptions of legitimacy at the local level in Finland. This shift in emphasis is also salient in studies that go beyond the boundaries of local government. A case in point is Dean's (2019) paper on the diversity of citizen's ideas about engagement with PG in UK's social policymaking. Overall, one can trace a marked evolution in the research problems tackled by scholars regarding PG and social sustainability in Europe during the last decade.

The formal relationship between DMP and social sustainability topics stretches back to 2006, according to our data. In that year, Green (2006) published a reflection on the potential role of Deliberative Polling on public assessments about crime. The most productive years in terms of scientific production on this front were 2014 and 2022. The research published in 2014 is not explicitly concerned with specific policy domains or aspects of the policy- and decision-making process. Rather, it is focused on issues related to broader political questions. For instance, Luskin et al. (2014) study assess the merits of Deliberative Polling in bridging deep political divides in the context of religious cleavages in Northern Ireland, while Fiket et al. (2014) investigate the feasibility of deliberation in transnational and pluri-lingual settings. In turn, Himmelroos and Christensen (2014) analyse the effects of deliberative citizens forum in promoting changes in policy preferences.

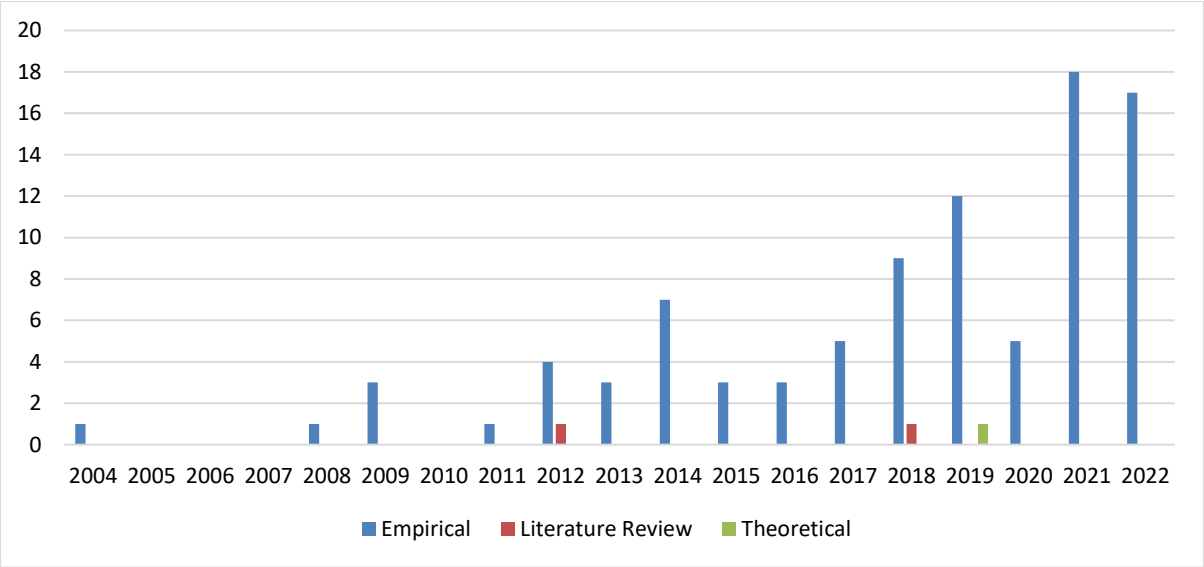
Despite this focus on broader issues, the research on DMP and social sustainability evolved between 2014 and 2022 to deal in more detail with specific aspects of the policy-making process. This becomes clear when we look at the studies collected for this SLR. To illustrate this, Baltz (2022) study on the use made by Swedish municipalities of DMPs, highlights that such institutions perceive the role of these deliberative mechanisms as ways to gather information, inform the public of their decisions, and to include citizens in the process. Similarly, Pawlowska and Radzik-Maruszak (2022) research on deliberative advisory councils in Polish local government shows that such arrangements have yet to fulfil their promise of co-governance and have instead remained a mechanism of advice and consultation. From another angle, Dean et al. 's (2022) empirical research on Germany's citizens assemblies shows that the sortition associated with DMPs promote a more comprehensive and considered citizen input into policymaking than what self-selected participation allows. Consequently, Eriksson and colleagues (2022) investigated how such citizen inputs are considered by local planners and found that there are two modalities: inclusive and selective sorting of inputs. In sum, the surveyed literature bears witness to a significant evolution in this field of study towards a preoccupation with how DMP impacts specific processes from broader concerns with deliberative effects at the polity level.

Finally regarding PB, we can see from Figure 5.13 that the scientific production is sparse and scattered throughout the period of analysis. The first study to be featured in our collection deals with the PB process in Spanish municipalities. Rodriguez-Garcia et al's (2011) research

examines the gender gap in citizen participation and concludes that PB performs better in gender parity when compared with territorial councils.

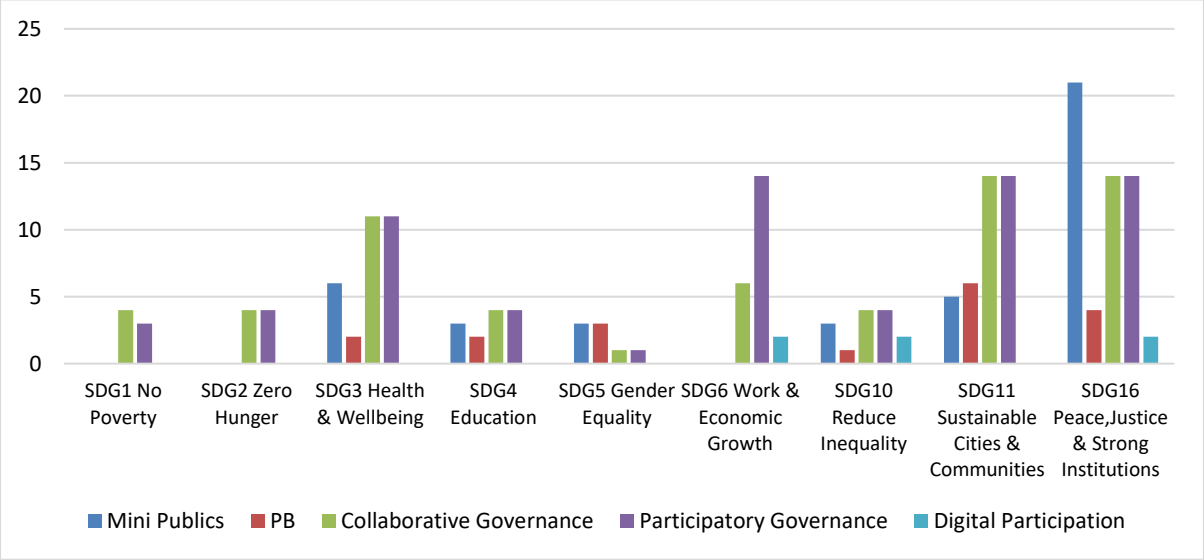
Taking a meta-approach to the collected research on the role of DIs in promoting social sustainability, we can observe that this field is overwhelmingly oriented towards empirical research, as depicted in Figure 5.14. Indeed, only three single papers (two literature reviews and a single theoretical contribution) escape this categorisation.

Figure 5.14) Research on Democratic innovations and social sustainability in Europe by time of study



As shown in Figure 5.15., the distribution of SDGs per category is diverse in the European context. Patterns emerge as to strengthening institutions (SDG16), promoting inclusive communities and cities (SDG11), sustainable economic development (SDG8), and health care policies (SDG3). For these SDGs, PG and CG stand out. DMP has a relative weight on goals related to the promotion of strong institutions in Europe. As per the other SDGs, we observe a clear predominance of research that intersects PG and CG and social sustainability: tackling economic inequalities (SDG10), achieving gender equality (SDG5), designing education policies (SDG4), poverty reduction (SDG1), and food security (SDG2). PB is also relatively important for gender equality in the European context, while DMP stands out, in comparative terms, on issues of social inequality. Finally, digital participation is noticeably absent from most SDGs.

Figure 5.15) Number of publications Democratic innovations and social sustainability in Europe



5.4 Digital participation & Environmental and Social Sustainability

As mentioned earlier on sub-section 3.2.1.2 of this report regarding digital participation, the frame of analysis of Sanford and Rose (2007) and whose findings are summarised in table 3.1, is used to analyse papers that were coded under 'digital participation' for addressing explicitly this topic. Nevertheless, it is worth reminding that digital components were found in several other sources, which corroborates that the "digital" should be understood as cross-cutting dimension rather than as a category per se.

Table 5.1. below applies Sanford and Rose's framework of analysis to explore e-participation in the context of social and environmental sustainability. The table categorises research papers under different themes of digital participation in democracy, such as e-Governance, e-Accessibility, e-Community, e-Decision making, e-Deliberation, and e-Inclusion. Each entry summarises key findings or approaches from the respective papers.

For instance, under e-Governance, studies like Schulz and Newig (2015) and Møller et al. (2019) discuss the potential and challenges of online participation mechanisms in governance. The theme of e-Accessibility is exemplified by Trevisan (2022), focusing on inclusivity in digital politics, especially for marginalised groups. e-Community is represented by Godinho et al. (2021), highlighting citizen e-participation in policy co-creation during COVID-19. Similarly, the e-Decision making theme includes papers like Sieber et al. (2016) and Mouter et al. (2021), discussing digital participation in government policies and energy transition. e-Deliberation is

covered by Barros and Sampaio (2016) with a focus on citizen engagement in online forums, and e-Inclusion includes Del-Real et al. (2020), addressing the need for inclusive smart city strategies. Important to say that all papers fit into the theme of e-Democracy, not only because this formulation is interchangeably used with e-participation and digital participation in democracy, but also because it is defined as a focus on changing or improving democratic practices concerning participation - a concern that all papers share.

Table 5.1) Types of e-participation and relation with results from the Scoping Review on social and environmental sustainability

Governance	Schulz and Newig (2015) highlight that digital tools can improve governance interactions but require careful design and a cultural change in public administration.
	Møller et al. (2019): focuses on the rising use of digital tools in urban governance for urban green infrastructure, noting both their benefits in citizen engagement and challenges like the digital divide.
	Young, et al. (2020) Explores the role of digital technologies in enhancing public participation in state and federal governance, specifically examining the accessibility of State Boards of Education
e-Accessibility	Trevisan (2022) investigates digital inclusivity in politics, focusing on people with disabilities. It examines factors shaping inclusivity through interviews and strategy reviews, distinguishing digital inclusivity as a process from broader inclusion outcomes.
e-Community	Godinho et al. (2021) proposes a framework for citizen e-participation in policy co-creation during COVID-19, emphasising information generation and social capital to build institutional trust and advance an 'e-society'.
e-Decision making	Sieber et al. (2016) discusses how Web 2.0, open-source tools, and geosocial networks, alongside mobile devices, and government data, have transformed place-based digital participation.
	Mouter et al. (2021) examines the integration of citizens' needs into energy transition policies using Participatory Value Evaluation, through an online experiment in the Netherlands allowing citizens to advise the government.
	Itten and Mouter (2022) reports on a three-step model involving a mini-public in Súdwest-Fryslân drafting policy alternatives, consultation through digital participation tools, and a citizen forum making policy recommendations.
e-Deliberation	Barros and Sampaio (2016) provide a comparative study of citizen comments in Electronic PB forums in Brazil, highlighting the need for interaction and feedback in e-participation initiatives for sustained citizen engagement and trust.
e-Inclusion	Del-Real et al. (2020) emphasise the need for a people-centred approach in the smart city paradigm in the U.S., advocating for the inclusion of all local stakeholder perspectives.
	Mokre and Ehs (2021) discusses how participatory democracy innovations, especially digital tools, struggle to engage socio-economically disadvantaged groups, a challenge intensified by crises like COVID-19.
	Pietilä et al. (2021) focus on enhancing youth participation in societal discussions through inclusive digital tools, addressing the current lack of engagement among diverse youth groups.

5.5 Historical stages of Citizen-Led Democratic Innovations

Citizen participation is a cornerstone of modern democratic governance, and innovative approaches to bottom-up and top-down involvement of citizens in decision-making processes have gained significant attention within both academic and policy circles.

CLDIs, an increasing focal point of participatory, deliberative, and social movement literature, are innovations initiated by citizens and characterised by the authority of citizens over the topic, process, and design of the innovation, with the aim to change the political status quo in response to popular need. By mapping the literature in this field, this review seeks to provide clarity in how far the attribute "citizen-led" plays a role in DIs. Our aim is to provide a complementary view to institution-led DIs, which represent most of the cases discussed in the main literature. CLDIs were categorised as a lens through which we discuss whether and how activists, movements, and grassroots groups more widely have played a relevant role in the typologies DMPs, PB, PG and CG.

5.5.1 Defining the "citizen-led" concept

The social movement literature looks at citizen and movement driven DIs, as well as their interaction with deliberative institutional design. Della Porta and Felicetti describe CLDIs as follows: "Citizen-led democratic innovations are in fact owned by and responsive to the needs of mobilised activists: they are devised by civil society actors to respond to a popular need for countering a profound political crisis (2022, p. 75)". Bua and Bussu (2023) refer to citizen-led innovations as "bottom-linked" forms of collaboration and social innovation (Parés Franzi et al., 2017), led by social movements and grassroots politics and often grounded in the everyday democracy of the commons, [that] attempt to institutionalise more prefigurative politics with a renewed emphasis on social justice and bringing issues of political economy centre stage."

CLDIs are therefore often referred to as "claimed spaces" by citizens, as opposed to "invited spaces" by government authority or agencies. In this regard, Bua and Bussu (2021) have developed the "concept of democracy-driven governance", which "describes the kinds of participatory projects that arise when social movements engage with participatory deliberative institutional design, as part of their strategy to reclaim the state (Wainwright, 2003). We use the term as a counterpoint to Warren's (2009) governance-driven democratisation, which refers to DIs mostly initiated by public agencies to respond to specific policy issues and enhance epistemic value (Bua and Bussu, 2023)". Citizen-led thus refers to those innovations that originate in the grassroots: "By citizen-led innovations we refer to those democratic experiments that were, in their origins at least, promoted by civil society organisations, even though this does not imply that institutional actors play no role in them, in the implementation of the process or in taking up its outcome (Della Porta and Felicetti, 2022, p. 70)."

Other terms for describing cognate definitions of CLDIs are proposed by Bua and Bussu (2023): “social-movement led processes for democratisation”, and Fleuß (in Bua and Bussu, 2023, p. 20) “citizen-led initiatives for democratic renewal and reform”.

5.5.2 Chronological analysis of Citizen-led Democratic Innovations

Figure 5.16) Number of publications on Citizen-led Democratic innovations across time

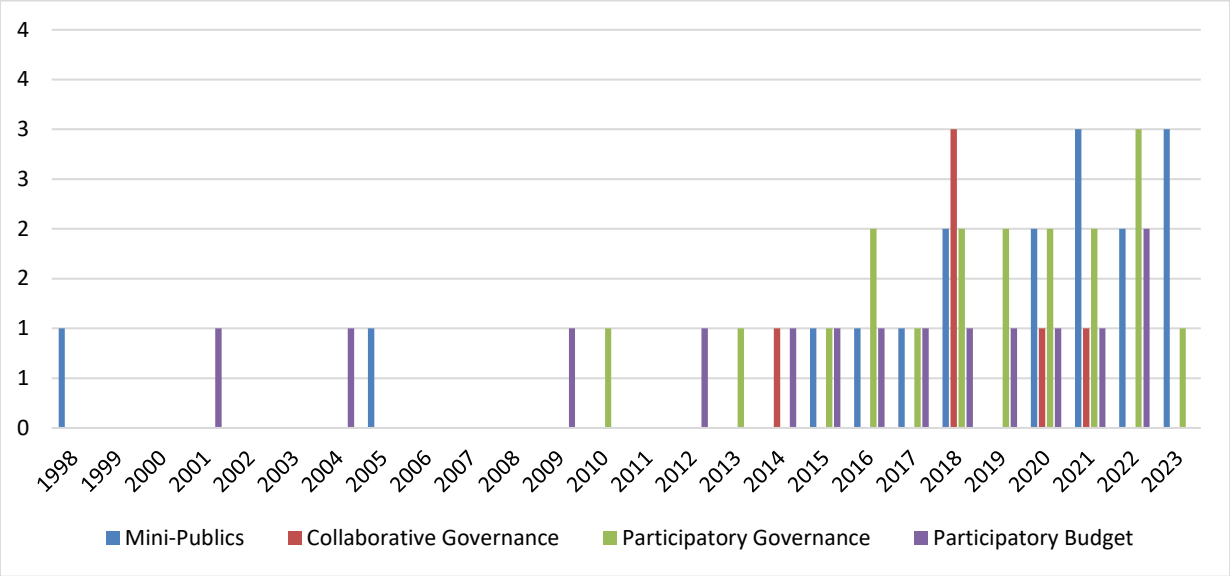


Figure 5.16 shows that by zooming CLDIs in on DMPs, PB, PG&CG are a recent field in both empirical and theoretical studies. With the exception of a few early studies on PB and DMPs, the research really only first became more established in the mid-2010s, with an explosion in 2018. Perhaps not surprising, the CG typology is the least present in the study of CLDI. The SR found a clear dominance of empirical studies in all typologies.

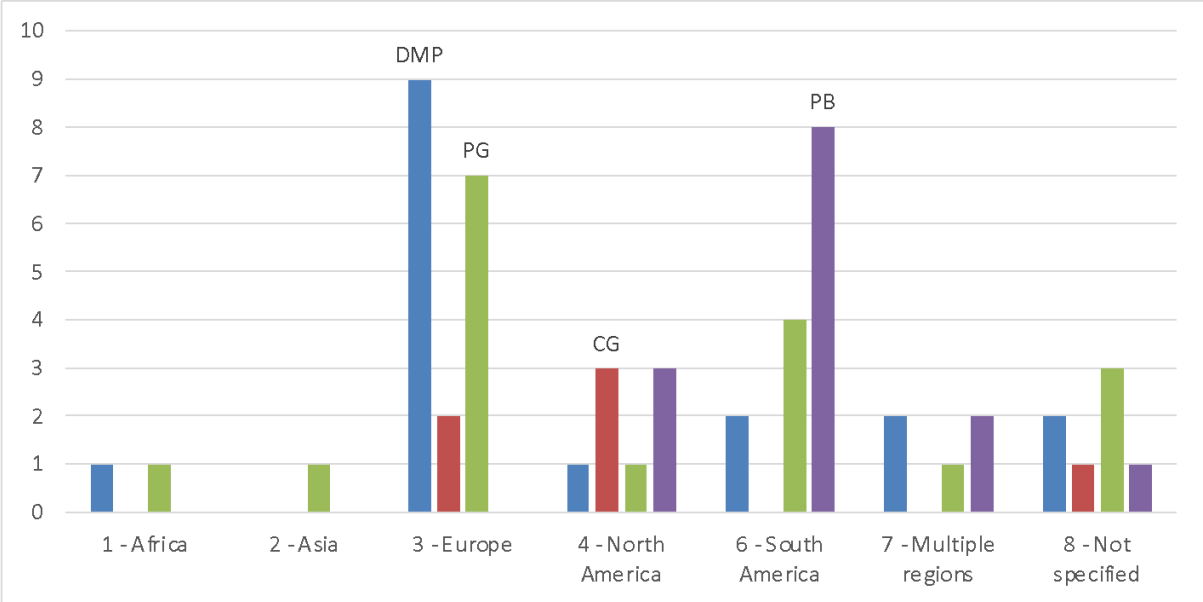
According to Polletta (2016), we live in a participatory age, and the prominent involvement of social movements, or grassroots actors more broadly, in this culture signifies a highly intriguing advancement. The gradual integration of participatory and deliberative abilities within certain social movements, along with a constructive endeavour towards embracing a more grassroots-oriented strategy for DIs seen in numerous recent democratic trials, could potentially stem from mutual learning experiences among these actors (Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2016).

Since the involvement of social movements in participatory practices introduces a new player, namely social movement activists, onto the scene, the academic focus has shifted towards examining the roles of these actors in initiatives of CLDIs. Della Porta and Felicetti (2022) elucidate that this shift also reflects the inadequacy of conventional analytical tools when applied to the study of CLDIs. A different light is also shed onto the role of government. Della Porta and Felicetti (2022, p. 75) point

out that "[t]op-down DIs tend to focus on the predicaments for the involvement of citizens in the policy cycle. Since CLDIs are growing out of and shaped by the grassroots, the focus is instead on whether, to what extent and how, democratic institutions should be involved in democratic innovation experiment". The shift in focus also meant that deliberation no longer was understood as in opposition to contestation, but instead that the disruptive or contesting role of activists could serve to instigate crucial discussions that tackle deficiencies and diverse governance issues within democratic systems (Della Porta and Doerr, 2018; Mansbridge et al., 2012; Stevenson and Dryzek, 2014).

5.5.3 Geographical analysis of Citizen-led Democratic Innovations

Figure 5.17) Geographical distribution of the number of publication on Citizen-led Democratic Innovations



There is an interesting observation in terms of the geographical distribution of the CLDI scholarship. By far the most studies are European and South American (empirical) studies. North America and the study of multiple regions are to a lower degree the focus of CLDI scholars. Africa and Asia feature only very few studies. Notably, whilst the vast majority of European studies are on DMPs and PG, few on CG and none on PB, the picture is quite a contrast in South America. Here most studies are on PB, few on PG and DMP and none on CG.

5.5.4 Citizen-led Deliberative Mini Publics and sustainability

Deliberative theory informs the design and implementation of DMPs, providing the theoretical framework and principles for conducting DMPs. Deliberative theory emphasises the importance of inclusive and representative participation, reasoned deliberation, and the exchange of diverse

perspectives. While theorists of deliberation tend to emphasise dispassionate, rational discourse, the normative perspectives of activists highlight the significance of narratives and emotions within deliberative processes. Additionally, activists underscore the value of informal relationships that form the foundation of decision-making and democratic practices within social movement groups (Polletta, 2009).

Around the year 2000, social movements advocating for global justice began to cultivate a grassroots democratic model centred on participatory and deliberative principles, in opposition to conventional representative and majoritarian models of democracy, which were perceived as being in a state of deep crisis (Della Porta, 2015; Della Porta and Rucht, 2013). The concepts of democracy that originated from movements such as the Zapatistas in Mexico, the Sem Terra in Brazil, the Picqueteros in Argentina, and indigenous communities in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, transcended geographical boundaries, challenging the predominant representative and majoritarian paradigms prevalent in the Western world (Della Porta and Felicetti, 2022). Emphasising the respect of differences, the World Social Forum initiative facilitated an extensive face-to-face experiment of grassroots democracy and deliberation that originated from below in Porto Alegre in 2001 (Smith, 2007). Initiatives like the Forum of the Global Justice Movements since 2001 and the gatherings of anti-austerity protests especially in Europe have emerged as significant cooperative experiments within diverse and unequal contexts (Della Porta and Doerr, 2018). These concepts have been adopted and reinterpreted in succeeding mobilizations within movements such as Occupy and Indignados, and Extinction Rebellion.

5.5.5 Citizen-led Participatory Budgeting and sustainability

PBs in most cases is institution-led, as it is governments and municipalities that decide upon the area and amount of public budget available to PBs. Still, one can argue that "[a]s the discussions are centred on the distribution of financial resources, participatory budgets have a higher degree of empowerment than most of the other European innovative democratic institutions" (Talpin, 2007, p. 100).

Comparing bottom-up to top-down PBs, some scholars find that voluntary participatory fora, as in rural Peruvian municipalities, show that bottom-up PB was strongly associated with more active and effective agricultural policy than top-down PB processes. These voluntary fora provide a platform for shared discussion of problems and serve as an efficient mechanism for the transmission of information between citizens' groups and the government (Jaramillo and Wright, 2015).

During the early 1990s, isolated experiences of more grassroots PG emerged in the Global South, with initiatives such as PBs in Porto Alegre (Baiocchi, 2001). But the globalisation of PBs meant a loss of its critical edge, for the benefit of "good governance" and co-optation. PBs in South America as

well as in Spain, France and Italy originate in leftist parties cooperating with social movements (Talpin, 2007). For one French example, Morsang-sur-Orge, the Municipality enacts decisions taken by the so-called Neighbourhood Councils assembled of citizens, and thus "it can be said that neighbourhood councils almost have a direct decision power on these issues" (Talpin 2007, p. 118). However, debates are moderated and largely framed by officials of the Municipal Council, limiting the authority of citizens over the process.

5.5.6 Citizen-led Participatory Governance and sustainability

Scholars find that social movements and citizens play an active role in coproduction, which is the participation and involvement of citizens and end users in the provision of public goods and services. Local stakeholders such as residents, prisoners or parents actively develop structures for participation based on their unique circumstances and needs (Fatch et al., 2010; Tarlau, 2013; Weaver, 2019). The collaborative outcome is influenced by the levels of social mobilisation and government orientation (Tarlau, 2013).

Similar to the above discussion on citizen-led DMPs, some coproduction scholars challenge the conventional view of social movements, which tends to categorise them as either wholly independent or co-opted by the state. Tarlau argues that autonomy from the state, while valuable, is not necessarily the most effective strategy for achieving the goals of social movements. However, activists can actively participate in coproduction processes while preserving their autonomy and simultaneously engaging in nonroutine political activities against the state (Tarlau, 2013).

Again, other scholars emphasise the generative qualities of bottom-up coproduction processes fostering the common good and allowing for the creation of new norms and interactions. These collaborative and dialogic approaches underpinning coproduction are considered to enable diverse individuals to collectively pursue shared goals (Weaver, 2019).

Citizen-led PG mechanisms are considered particularly relevant in situations of crises, such as confronting the impacts of climate change or conflict. Here, bottom-up processes predicated on dialogue and inclusivity can create meaningful spaces for the inclusion and interaction of various local societal groups (Bau, 2016). In Portugal for example, rural socially innovative initiatives were found to potentially enhance adaptability and resilience in regions vulnerable to land abandonment and degradation in the face of climate change (Campos et al., 2016).

Citizen-led PG methods can also be successful through informal public participation (Cao, 2022) and/or can lead to informal institutional change (Meijer and Van Der Krabben, 2018). Citizen-led PG faces different challenges, one of them is the cooptation of grassroots groups themselves and the resulting consequences, such as unequal access to resources within the affordable housing market in Chicago, for example (Robinson, 2020).

Social movements have the potential for driving social change and addressing structural inequalities, for example by employing education as a tool as seen in Brazil (Tarlau, 2021). Opportunities for citizen-led political protest, inclusive of the poor, also depends on the participatory structures of a country. A participatory landscape for example dominated by a well-off middle-class as in post-2013 Brazil, opens up the political influence of conservative sectors, whilst progressive forces are side-lined (Avritzer, 2017).

More recently, scholars have taken on a systems-oriented approach to participatory DIs and their implications for democratic legitimacy (Bellamy et al., 2022; Dean et al., 2020). This approach transcends the conventional understanding of democratic legitimacy, which often revolves around individual, isolated DIs. Instead, it directs attention to the distribution of deliberative and democratic functions across diverse settings. This conceptual shift posits that democratic legitimacy is contingent not solely on the ideal configuration of individual processes but on the overall operation and legitimacy of the entire system. Consequently, it engenders both conceptual and pragmatic considerations regarding how legitimacy is conceived within a system where different forms of legitimacy may coexist. Although the practical implications of a systems-oriented approach in shaping the design of DIs have been underexplored, it has frequently served as a normative benchmark for evaluating the democratic vitality of a polity and interpreting the consequences of DIs within systemic contexts (Dean et al., 2020).

Other scholars look at the role of grassroots participation within the broader, systemic picture of urban transformation. Some scholars critique prevailing Weberian and Tocquevillian concepts of civil society, advocating for a framework termed by Klein and Lee (2019) as the "politics of forward and backward infiltration". The central argument revolves around the necessity of adopting a dynamic understanding of civil society that transcends the narrow confines of the politics of influence. Instead, it calls for an exploration of the broader and more intricate processes of mutual infiltration occurring between civil society, the state, and the economy. The paper identifies three distinct modes within this new framework. First, the "politics of substitution" aims to bolster civil society's self-governance capabilities while preserving organisational identities. Second, the "politics of occupation" entails civil society forces directly entering the formal arenas of state or economic institutions. Combining these two modes can yield positive-sum dynamics and empower civil society organisations, although outcomes are contingent upon historical timing, sequencing, and the actors involved. Importantly, the politics of forward infiltration is detailed, emphasising civil society actors' influence and penetration of the state and the economy to shape political and economic functions.

Conversely, the concept of "backward infiltration" is introduced as a strategic manoeuvre employed by incumbent actors within the state and economic spheres. Klein and Lee explain it seeks to mobilise or reshape civil society in ways that consolidate the existing regime's legitimacy or advance specific political and economic agendas. Backward infiltration encompasses the politics of influence,

substitution, and occupation, each corresponding to different strategies aimed at achieving political and economic actors' objectives within civil society. This strategic endeavour goes beyond coercion, aiming to restructure civil society itself to privilege certain issues, identities, and interests. Ultimately, Klein and Lee assess, backward infiltration seeks to establish dominance, regulation, and discipline, contrasting sharply with the objectives of forward infiltration.

5.5.7 Citizen-led Collaborative governance and sustainability

Citizen-led CG is considered crucial in challenging power structures, from the international level down to the local level. The closer to the ground the power struggle, the more outspoken the attributes of protest and resistance in activism.

In the realm of food, agriculture, and environmental disputes, where global socioeconomic questions and resource distribution lie at the core, collaboration, including with activists, has become a key tool for conflict resolution. Sociolegal studies claim that engaging in decision-making through CG implies that actors need to compete to control conflict through dialogues, which requires their framing and strategic reframing of disputes (Canfield, 2018). This strategic (re)framing favours actors that have the symbolic and material resources to wield the power to shape narratives and control the discourse surrounding contentious issues. In other words, the frame through which CG is deployed ultimately reconstitutes conflict in terms of the meanings and values of the dominant frame. The transnational dimension then adds an additional layer of complexity. As a result, activists and social movements entering CG processes may find themselves entangled in the same power game that they came to challenge.

Recognizing the multifaceted nature of disputing frames is essential for a comprehensive understanding of how disputes evolve, how power relations are negotiated, and how new governance structures come into being.

Interest representation within CG frameworks thus may appear to be in danger of co-opting social movements into the projects of elites. At the same time, Canfield (2018) acknowledges the involved activists' perception of CG as not being a neoliberal technology, but rather a space of socio legal struggle where they have the opportunity to develop their own visions of collaboration and insert them into the process.

In the context of neo liberalisation, citizen participation is an element of CG used to decrease state responsibility for social service provision, and citizen volunteers are compelled to fill welfare deficiencies resulting from lapsed government spending (Perkins 2010). Traditional neoliberalist power structures also have intensified the contestation surrounding community development policies and practices (Berglund and Peipinen, 2018; Gaynor, 2020; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014).

Neoliberalism's emphasis on market-oriented approaches and individualism has repercussions for how community development is conceptualised and implemented. In many European cities, for example, urban activism is no longer solely seen as a form of protest but is increasingly acknowledged and recuperated as a valuable resource. This shift in perception has significant implications for urban governance and planning. Importantly, the concept of the "good citizen" is evolving in response to the changing nature of urban activism (Berglund and Peipinen, 2018). Citizens are now expected to be not just responsible but also self-responsible and even activist in shaping their urban environments. Thus, by challenging the dominant discourse that equates urban progress with private ownership, economic growth, and gentrification, activism like squatting or the creation of community gardens plays a vital role in calling for a different political imagination that prioritises the well-being of citizens over profit. Citizen participation in urban spaces can be a means of resuscitating urban spaces that have been marginalised economically and politically.

In conclusion, the CLDI literature reveals that citizen-led inputs can be found in all typologies of DIs included in the study. Across the typologies distinct features, benefits, and challenges are highlighted. Citizen-led innovations have been associated with increased citizen engagement and improved deliberations. Deliberative forums have shown promise in fostering informed and inclusive decision-making. Despite their potential, citizen-led innovations face challenges such as issues of representativeness, and potential co-optation by powerful actors. Maintaining long-term sustainability and integrating outcomes into policy-making processes remain ongoing concerns. Various methodologies, including qualitative case studies, surveys, and participatory action research, have been employed to assess the effectiveness of CLDIs. There is a growing emphasis on evaluating both process and impact. The literature presents a range of citizen-led initiatives from diverse geographic contexts, showcasing the adaptability and contextual nature of these innovations. Out of the case selection, most articles cover Europe and South America, and are empirical studies.

6. Concluding remarks

This report accounts for the historical evolution of civic participation and engagement in Europe over the last decades, with a focus on DIs for sustainable goals. By considering the asset for SDGs made by the United Nations and echoed by public bodies and private organisations worldwide, this report presents the main findings of the first documented historical review of this kind.

The report first describes the methodology adopted by the research team to trace the historical evolution and trajectories of DIs in Europe. The ER of the main scholarly contributions on DIs set out the bedrock of SRs on three categories of DIs – DMPs, PBs, and PG&CG – for environmental and social sustainability. The Exploratory and SRs also relied on the original contribution of international experts interviewed by the research team. Moreover, the archival research provided by the members of this consortium on exemplary historical cases of civic participation in nine European member countries offers additional inputs to the goals of our review.

The report discusses the main underlying concepts of the historical review, with a focus on civic participation and engagement, and DIs, followed by the historical analysis of DIs from the aftermath of World War II to the current times. Significant social and political changes in the 1960s and 70s are discussed considering earlier theories of participatory democracy. The spread of PBs and the rise of DMPS in the 1980s and the 1990s are identified as key stepping stones in this field of study and practice. Since the 2000s, the scope and magnitude of research on DIs has uncovered the emerging potentialities and challenges of such innovations within current democratic processes.

Overall, our findings reinforce the notion that DMPs, PBs, and PC&CG initiatives have played a major role in the enhancement of inclusive participation for more effective policy and decision-making in Europe. These goals intercepted the SDGs through variable settings. In most cases, public authorities have played a prominent role in the design and implementation of DIs. In other cases, civil society has taken the lead in both existing and new practices of civic participation and engagement. Moreover, the growing hybridisation of formats - through the application of digital principles and tools, as well as the combination of normative insights from Participatory and Deliberative democratic theories - indicates emerging avenues of research that may be explored in the future.

Theoretical and empirical evidence discussed in this report suggests that DIs, through various formats, offer transformative pathways for civic participation and engagement. DIs can bridge the growing gap between citizens and decision-makers, facilitating a more nuanced understanding of public issues and generating more informed and balanced decisions. The participatory nature of DIs

not only enhances the democratic legitimacy of decisions by involving those affected by them but also strengthens the social fabric by fostering a sense of community and shared responsibility.

Moreover, the sustainability of democratic systems is intricately linked to their adaptability and responsiveness to citizens' needs and challenges. DIs have been shown to contribute to sustainability by enabling more agile and responsive governance structures. They provide mechanisms for continuous feedback and adaptation, ensuring that democratic systems remain relevant and effective in addressing contemporary issues.

However, as the present report makes clear, the success of DIs in achieving these outcomes is contingent on several factors. The design and implementation of these initiatives must be carefully considered to ensure inclusivity, equity, and accessibility. This entails addressing potential barriers to participation, such as socioeconomic disparities, lack of information, and political marginalisation. Additionally, the institutionalisation of DIs by embedding them within existing political frameworks is crucial for their effectiveness and longevity. This requires commitment from political leaders and institutions to genuinely integrate citizen inputs into the policymaking process.

The report also highlights the importance of evaluating the impact of DIs on the quality of democracy, thus providing guidance for future research on DIs. This involves assessing how these innovations affect citizens' political efficacy, trust in institutions, and overall satisfaction with the democratic process. Such evaluations are vital for understanding the real-world impact of DIs and informing future initiatives.

7. References

Ahn, B., Friesenecker, M., Kazepov, Y., & Brandl, J. (2023). How Context Matters: Challenges of Localizing Participatory Budgeting for Climate Change Adaptation in Vienna. *Urban Planning*, 8(1).

Ansell, C., & Gash, A. (2008). Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4), 543-571.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.

Arpini, E., Panez, A., Cumbers, A., & Pearson, B. (2022). New municipalism in South America? Developing theory from experiences in Argentina and Chile. *Urban Studies*.

Asenbaum, H. (2022). Rethinking Democratic Innovations: A Look through the Kaleidoscope of Democratic Theory. *Political Studies Review*, 20(4), 680-690.

Avoyan, E., & Meijerink, S. (2021). Cross-sector collaboration within Dutch flood risk governance: Historical analysis of external triggers. *International Journal of Water Resources Development*, 37(1), 24–47.

Avoyan, E. (2022). Collaborative governance for innovative environmental solutions: qualitative comparative analysis of cases from around the world. *Environmental Management*, 71(3), 670-684.

Avritzer, L. (2017). Participation in democratic Brazil: From popular hegemony and innovation to middle-class protest. *Opinião Pública*, 23(1), 43–59.

Baber, W. F., & Bartlett, R. V. (2005). D*eliberative environmental politics: Democracy and ecological rationality*. MIT Press.

Baiocchi, G. (2001). Participation, activism, and politics: The Porto Alegre experiment and deliberative democratic theory. *Politics & Society*, 29(1), 43–72.

Baiocchi, G. (2005). *Militants and citizens: The politics of participatory democracy in Porto Alegre*. Stanford University Press.

Baiocchi, G. & Ganuza, E. (2016). *Popular Democracy: The Paradox of Participation*. Stanford University Press.

Baiocchi, G., & Summers, N. (2017). Controversies, authority, and the limits of participation: Chicago's 49th Ward. *Polar-Political And Legal Anthropology Review*, 40(2), 311–325.

Bakker, T. and Vreese, C. H. d. (2011). Good news for the future? young people, internet use, and political participation. *Communication Research*, 38(4), 451-470.

Baltz, A. (2022). Disseminating and collecting information: Municipalities' communicative practices and deliberative capacities. *Local Government Studies*, 48(1), 48–67.

Banaji, S., Burn, A., Buckingham, D (2010). *The Rhetorics of Creativity: A literature review*. 2nd ed. London: Creativity, Culture and Education.

Barber, B. R. (1984). *Strong democracy: Participatory politics for a new age*. University of California Press.

Barbier, E. (2010). Poverty, development, and environment. *Environment and Development Economics*, 15(6), 635-660.

Barbier, R., Bedu, C., & Buclet, N. (2009). Portée et limites du dispositif « jury citoyen »: Réflexions à partir du cas de Saint-Brieuc. *Politix*, n° 86(2), 189.

Barnes, M., Newman, J., & Sullivan, H. (2007). *Power, participation and political renewal: Case studies in public participation* (1st ed.). Bristol University Press.

Barros, S. and Sampaio, R. C. (2016). Do citizens trust electronic participatory budgeting? public expression in online forums as an evaluation method in Belo Horizonte. *Policy & Internet*, 8(3), 292-312.

Bau, V. (2016). Citizen engagement in peacebuilding: A communication for development approach to rebuilding peace from the bottom-up. *Progress In Development Studies*, 16(4), 348–360.

Baudoin, L., & Arenas, D. (2023). "Everyone Has a Truth": Forms of Ecological Embeddedness in an Interorganizational Context. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 185(2), 263–280.

Baudoin, L., & Gittins, J. R. (2021). The ecological outcomes of collaborative governance in large river basins: Who is in the room and does it matter? *Journal of Environmental Management*, 281, 111836.

Bächtiger, A., Dryzek, J. S., Mansbridge, J., & Warren, M. E. (Eds.). (2019). Deliberative democracy: An introduction. In *The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy* (pp. 1-31). Oxford University Press.

Beuermann, D. W., & Amelina, M. (2018). Does participatory budgeting improve decentralized public service delivery? Experimental evidence from rural Russia. *Economics of Governance*, 19(4), 339–379.

Bedessem, B., Morère, L., Roblin, L., Dozières, A., & Prévot, A.-C. (2022). Participatory Biodiversity Governance: A Comparison of Two French Initiatives. *Sustainability*, 14(13), 7715.

Bednarska-Olejniczak, D., Olejniczak, J., & Klímová, V. (2021). Grants for Local Community Initiatives as a Way to Increase Public Participation of Inhabitants of Rural Areas. *Agriculture*, 11(11), 1060.

Bednarska-Olejniczak, D., Olejniczak, J., & Svobodová, L. (2020). How a Participatory Budget Can Support Sustainable Rural Development—Lessons From Poland. *Sustainability*, 12(7), 2620.

Becker, P. (2021). Tightly coupled policies and loosely coupled networks in the governing of flood risk mitigation in municipal administrations. *Ecology and Society*, 26(2), art34.

Bellamy, R., Chilvers, J., Pallett, H., & Hargreaves, T. (2022). Appraising sociotechnical visions of sustainable energy futures: A distributed deliberative mapping approach. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 85.

Ben Yahia, N., Eljaoued, W., Bellamine Ben Saoud, N., & Colomo-Palacios, R. (2021). Towards sustainable collaborative networks for smart cities co-governance. *International Journal of Information Management*, 56, 102037.

Bennett, W. L. and Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action. Information, *Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739-768.

Berelson, B.R., Lazarsfeld, P.F. and Mcphee, W.N. (1954) *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Berglund, E., & Peipinen, V. (2018). Creating spaces of insurgent citizenship: Squatting in activist-friendly Helsinki. *Urbanities*, 8, 34–49.

Beswick, D., & Elstub, S. (2019). Between Diversity, Representation and 'Best Evidence': Rethinking Select Committee Evidence-Gathering Practices. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 72(4), 945–964.

Biswas, A. K. (2008). Integrated water resources management: is it working? *International Journal of Water Resources Development*, 24(1), 5-22.

Blanco, I., Salazar, Y., & Bianchi, I. (2020). Urban governance and political change under a radical left government: The case of Barcelona. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 42(1), 1–21.

Blok, A. (2007). Experts on public trial: On democratizing expertise through a Danish consensus conference. *Public Understanding of Science*, 16(2), 163–182.

Blue, G. (2015). Representing global public concern: A critical analysis of the Danish participatory experiment on climate change. *Environmental Values*, 24(4), 445–464.

Böker, M. (2017). Justification, critique and deliberative legitimacy: The limits of mini-publics. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 16(1), 19–40.

Boltanski, L., & Chiapello, È. (2018). *The new spirit of capitalism* (G. Elliott, Trans.; New updated edition). Verso.

Borowski-Maaser, I., Graversgaard, M., Foster, N., Prutzer, M., Roest, A., & Boogaard, F. (2021). WaterCoG: Evidence on How the Use of Tools, Knowledge, and Process Design Can Improve Water Co-Governance. *Water*, 13(9), 1206.

Boswell, J., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2023). Integrating citizen deliberation into climate governance: Lessons on robust design from six climate assemblies. *Public Administration*, 101(1), 182–200.

Bridge, G., Bouzarovski, S., Bradshaw, M. J., & Eyre, N. (2013). Geographies of energy transition: space, place and the low-carbon economy. *Energy Policy*, 53, 331-340.

Brink, E., & Wamsler, C. (2018). Collaborative Governance for Climate Change Adaptation: Mapping citizen-municipality interactions: Collaborative governance for climate change adaptation. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 28(2), 82–97.

Brownill, S., & Carpenter, J. (2009). Governance and `Integrated' Planning: The Case of Sustainable Communities in the Thames Gateway, England. *Urban Studies*, 46(2), 251–274.

Bruch, C., Muffett, C., & Nichols, S. (Eds.). (2016). *Governance, Natural Resources and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Bua, A., & Bussu, S. (2021). Between governance-driven democratisation and democracy-driven governance: Explaining changes in participatory governance in the case of Barcelona. *European Journal of Political Research*, 60(3), 716-737.

Bua, A., & Bussu, S. (Eds.). (2023). *Reclaiming participatory governance: Social movements and the reinvention of democratic innovation*. Routledge.

Busscher, T., Zuidema, C., Tillema, T., & Arts, J. (2014). Bridging gaps: Governing conflicts between transport and environmental policies. *Environment and Planning A-Economy and Space*, 46(3).

Bussu, S., Bua, A., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2022). Embedding participatory governance. *Critical Policy Studies*, 16(2), 133–145.

Cabannes, Y. (2004). Participatory budgeting: A significant contribution to participatory democracy. *Environment and Urbanization*, 16(1), 27-46.

Cabannes, Y. (2005). Children and young people build participatory democracy in Latin American cities. *Child Youth Environ*, 15(2), 185–210.

Cabannes, Y. (2006). Les budgets participatifs en Amérique latine: De Porto Alegre à l'Amérique centrale, en passant par la zone andine: tendances, défis et limites. *Mouvements*, 128-138.

Cabannes, Y. (2018). The contribution of participatory budgeting to the achievement of the sustainable development goals: lessons for policy in commonwealth countries. *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, 21, 6707.

Cabannes, Y., & Lipietz, B. (2018). Revisiting the democratic promise of participatory budgeting in light of competing political, good governance and technocratic logics. *Environment and Urbanization*, 30(1), 67-84.

Cabannes, Y. (2021). Contributions of participatory budgeting to climate change adaptation and mitigation: current local practices across the world and lessons from the field. *Environment and Urbanization*, 33(2), 356-375.

Caluwaerts, D., & Reuchamps, M. (2015). Strengthening democracy through bottom-up deliberation: An assessment of the internal legitimacy of the G1000 project. *Acta Politica*, 50(2).

Campos, I., Vizinho, A., Truninger, M., & Lopes, G. (2016). Converging for deterring land abandonment: A systematization of experiences of a rural grassroots innovation. *Community Development Journal*, 51(4), 552–570.

Canfield, M. (2018). Disputing the global land grab: Claiming rights and making markets through collaborative governance. *Law & Society Review*, 52(4), 994–1025.

Cao, L. (2022). Participatory governance in China: 'Informal public participation' through neighbourhood mobilisation. *Environment and Planning C-Politics and Space*, 40(8), 1693–1710.

Carson, L., & Martin, B. (1999). *Random selection in politics*. Praeger.

Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Challies, E., Newig, J., Kochskämper, E., & Jager, N. W. (2017). Governance change and governance learning in Europe: stakeholder participation in environmental policy implementation. *Policy and Society*, 36(2), 288-303.

Chambers, S. (2003) Deliberative Democratic Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6(1): 307–326.

Checkoway, B. (1994). Paul Davidoff and advocacy planning in retrospect. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 60(2), 139-143.

Chertow, D. (1974). Literature review: Participation of the poor in the war on poverty. *Adult Education*, 24(3), 184–207.

Chesters, G. (2009). Social movements and regeneration: Within, without, against? *Local Government Studies*, 35(3), 371–384.

Coelho, V., & Waisbich, L. (2016). Participatory mechanisms and inequality reduction: Searching for plausible relations. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 12(2).

Cornwall, A. (2008). Unpacking 'participation': Models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal*, 43(3), 269-283.

Cunha, E., Allegretti, G., & Matias, M. (2011). Participatory budgeting and the use of information and communication technologies: a virtuous cycle? *RCCS Annual Review*, (3).

Cunningham, J. V. (1972). Citizen participation in public affairs. *Public Administration Review*, 32, 589–602.

Dacombe, R. (2018). Systematic reviews in political science: What can the approach contribute to political research? *Political Studies Review*, 16(2), 148–157.

Dahl, R. A. (1956). *A preface to democratic theory*. University of Chicago Press.

Dahl R. A. (1971). *Polyarchy: participation and opposition*. Yale University Press.

Dahlberg, L. (2001). The Internet and democratic discourse: Exploring the prospects of online deliberative forums extending the public sphere. *Information, Communication and Society*, 4(4), 615–633.

Davidoff, P. (1965). Advocacy and pluralism in planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 31(4), 331-338.

Davies, J. S. (2011). *Challenging governance theory: From networks to hegemony* (1st ed.). Bristol University Press.

Davies, A. L., & White, R. M. (2012). Collaboration in natural resource governance: Reconciling stakeholder expectations in deer management in Scotland. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 112, 160–169.

Davies, A., Castán Broto, V., & Hügel, S. (2021). Editorial: Is there a new climate politics? *Politics and Governance*, 9(2), 1–7.

Daw, T., Lindvall, D., Karlsson, M., Nasiritousi, N., Lindell, M., West, S., … & Downing, A. S. (2022). Deliberative minipublics' potential for sustainability science and transformations. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

De Balanzo, R., & Rodriguez-Planas, N. (2018). Crisis and reorganization in urban dynamics: The Barcelona, Spain, case study. *Ecology and Society*, 23(4

Dean, R., Boswell, J., & Smith, G. (2020). Designing democratic innovations as deliberative systems: The ambitious case of NHS Citizen. *Political Studies*, 68(3), 689–709.

Dean, R., Hoffmann, F., Geissel, B., Jung, S., & Wipfler, B. (2022). Citizen deliberation in Germany: Lessons from the 'Bürgerrat Demokratie'. *German Politics*, 1–25.

Dean, R. (2023). Deliberating like a state: Locating public administration within the deliberative system. *Political Studies*, 0(0).

Della Porta, D. (2013). *Can democracy be saved? Participation, deliberation and social movements*. Polity Press.

Della Porta, D., & Rucht, D. (2013). *Meeting democracy: Power and deliberation in global justice movements*. Cambridge University Press.

Della Porta, D. (2015). *Social movements in times of austerity: Bringing capitalism back into protest analysis*. Polity.

Della Porta, D., & Doerr, N. (2018). Deliberation in protests and social movements. In A. Bächtiger, J. S. Dryzek, J. Mansbridge, & M. Warren (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy* (pp. 391–406). Oxford University Press.

Della Porta, D., & Felicetti, A. (2022). Innovating democracy against democratic stress in Europe: Social movements and democratic experiments. *Representation*, 58(1), 67–84.

Delaney, A. E., & Hadjimichael, M. (2017). Forming perceptions and the limits to public participation on ocean commons: Evidence from a citizens jury workshop. *International Journal of the Commons*, 11(1), 200.

Delli Carpini, M. X., Cook, F. L., & Jacobs, L. R. (2004). Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 315-344.

Dendler, L. (2022). Participatory Science Communication Through Consensus Conferences: Legitimacy Evaluations of a German Consensus Conference on Genome Editing. *Science Communication*, 44(5), 621–655.

Denyer, D., & Tranfield, D. (2009). Producing a systematic review. In D. Buchanan & A. Bryman (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Research Methods* (pp. 671–689). SAGE Publishing.

Devaney, L., Torney, D., Brereton, P., & Coleman, M. (2020). Ireland's citizens' assembly on climate change: lessons for deliberative public engagement and communication. *Environmental Communication*, 14(2), 141-146.

Dienel, P. (1999). Planning Cells: The German Experience. In U. Khan, *Participation Beyond the Ballot Box: European Case Studies in State-Citizen Political Dialogue*. Routledge.

Dressel, S., Johansson, M., Ericsson, G., & Sandström, C. (2020). Perceived adaptive capacity within a multi-level governance setting: The role of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 104, 88–97.

Dressel, S., Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., Johansson, M., Ericsson, G., & Sandström, C. (2021). Achieving Social and Ecological Outcomes in Collaborative Environmental Governance: Good Examples from Swedish Moose Management. *Sustainability*, 13(4), 2329.

Dryzek, J. S. (2000). *Deliberative democracy and beyond*. Oxford University Press.

Dryzek, J. S., & Braithwaite, V. (2000). On the prospects for democratic deliberation: Values analysis applied to Australian politics. *Political Psychology*, 21(2), 241–266.

Dryzek, J. S. (2002). *Deliberative democracy and beyond: Liberals, critics, contestations*. Oxford University Press.

Duvic-Paoli, L. (2022). Re-imagining the making of climate law and policy in citizens' assemblies. *Transnational Environmental Law*, 11(2), 235-261.

Easton, D. (1965). *Framework for political analysis.* Prentice Hall.

Eckerberg, K., Bjarstig, T., & Zachrisson, A. (2015). Incentives for collaborative governance: Top-down and bottom-up initiatives in the Swedish mountain region. Mountain Research and Development, 35(3), 289–298. *International Mountain Society*.

Elkjær, L. G., Horst, M., & Nyborg, S. (2021). Identities, innovation, and governance: a systematic review of co-creation in wind energy transitions. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 71, 101834.

Elstub, S. (2014). *Mini-publics: Issues and cases*. In S. Elstub & P. McLaverty (Eds.), Deliberative democracy: Issues and cases (pp. 166–188). Edinburgh University Press.

Elstub, S., & Escobar, O. (2019). Defining and typologising democratic innovations. In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Elstub, S., Carrick, J., Farrell, D. M., & Mockler, P. (2021). The scope of climate assemblies: Lessons from the climate assembly UK. *Sustainability*, 13(20), 11272.

Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T., & Balogh, S. (2012). An integrative framework for collaborative governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(1), 1-29.

Epting, S. (2020). Participatory budgeting for environmental justice. *Ethics, Policy & Environment,* 23(1), 22-36.

Ercan, S. A., & Dryzek, J. S. (2015). The reach of deliberative democracy. *Policy Studies*, 36(3), 241-248.

Eriksson, E., Fredriksson, A., & Syssner, J. (2022). Opening the black box of participatory planning: A study of how planners handle citizens' input. *European Planning Studies*, 30(6), 994–1012.

European Commission. (2023). Commission Recommendation (EU) 2023/2836 of 12 December 2023 on promoting the engagement and effective participation of citizens and civil society organisations in public policy-making processes. Official Journal of the European Union. Retrieved from https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:L_202302836

Falanga, R., & Lüchmann, L. H. H. (2019). Participatory budgets in Brazil and Portugal: Comparing patterns of dissemination. *Policy Studies*, 41(6), 603-622.

Fatch, J., Manzungu, E., & Mabiza, C. (2010). Problematising and conceptualising local participation in transboundary water resources management: The case of Limpopo river basin in Zimbabwe. *Physics and Chemistry of the Eart*h, 35(13–14), 838–847.

Farrell, D. M., Suiter, J., & Harris, C. (2019). 'Systematizing' constitutional deliberation: The 2016–18 citizens' assembly in Ireland. *Irish Political Studies*, 34(1), 113–123.

Feichtinger, J., & Pregernig, M. (2016). Beyond Mandated Participation: Dealing with hydropower in the context of the water framework directive: Beyond Mandated Participation. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 26(5), 351–365.

Fiket, I., Olsen, E. D. H., & Trenz, H.-J. (2014). Confronting European Diversity: Deliberation in a Transnational and Pluri-Lingual Setting. *Javnost - The Public*, 21(2), 57–73.

Fischer, M., & Schläpfer, I. (2017). Metagovernance and policy forum outputs in Swiss environmental politics. *Environmental Politics*, 26(5), 870–892.

Fishkin, J. S. (2009). *When the people speak: Deliberative democracy and public consultation*. Oxford University Press.

Fliervoet, J. M., Geerling, G., Mostert, E., & Smits, A. (2015). Analyzing collaborative governance through social network analysis: A case study of river management along the Waal River in the Netherlands. *Environmental Management*, 57(2), 355-367.

Foley, J. A., DeFries, R., Asner, G. P., Barford, C., Bonan, G. B., Carpenter, S. R., … & Snyder, P. K. (2005). Global consequences of land use. *Science*, 309(5734), 570-574.

Fominaya, C. F. (2022). Reconceptualizing democratic innovation. *Democratic Theory*, 9(2), 78-100.

Frantzeskaki, N. (2019). Seven lessons for planning nature-based solutions in cities. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 93, 101–111.

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26, 56–80.

Fredriksson, M., Eriksson, M., & Tritter, J. Q. (2018). Involvement that makes an impact on healthcare: Perceptions of the Swedish public. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 46(4), 471–477.

Friant, M. C. (2019). Deliberating for sustainability: lessons from the porto alegre experiment with participatory budgeting. International *Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, 11(1), 81-99.

Fung, A., & Wright, E. O. (2003). *Deepening democracy: Institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance*. Verso.

Fung, A. (2006). Varieties of participation in complex governance. *Public Administration Review*, 66(s1), 66-75.

Ganuza, E., & Baiocchi, G. (2012). The power of ambiguity: How participatory budgeting travels the globe. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2).

Ganuza, E., Nez, H., & Morales, E. (2014). The struggle for a voice: Tensions between associations and citizens in participatory budgeting. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(6), 2274–2291.

Ganuza, E., & Baiocchi, G. (2019). The long journey of participatory budgeting. In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance* (pp. 77-89). Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Ganuza, E. (2007). Tipología y modelos de los presupuestos participativos en España. Working Paper, IESA, Cordoba.

Gastil, J. (2000). *By popular demand: Revitalizing representative democracy through deliberative elections*. University of California Press.

Gaventa, J. (2006). Finding the spaces for change: A power analysis. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), 23-33.

Gaynor, N. (2020). Neoliberalism, deliberation and dissent: Critical reflections on the 'community activation' turn in Ireland's community development programme. *Community Development Journal*, 55(4), 645–661.

Geissel, B. (2012). Impacts of democratic innovations in Europe. In B. Geissel & K. Newton (Eds.), *Evaluating democratic innovations: Curing the democratic malaise* (pp. 163–183). Routledge.

George, C. (2005). The Internet's political impact and the penetration/participation paradox in Malaysia and Singapore. *Media Culture and Society*, 27(6), 903–920.

Gerber, M. (2015). Equal Partners in Dialogue? Participation Equality in a Transnational Deliberative Poll (Europolis). *Political Studies*, 63(1_suppl), 110–130.

Gherghina, S. and Geissel, B. (2020). Support for direct and deliberative models of democracy in the UK: understanding the difference. *Political Research Exchange*, 2(1), 1809474.

Gherghina, S., & Tap, P. (2021). Ecology Projects and Participatory Budgeting: Enhancing Citizens' Support. *Sustainability*, 13(19), 10561.

Ghose, R., & Pettygrove, M. (2014). Urban community gardens as spaces of citizenship. *Antipode*, 46(4), 1092–1112.

Gimmler, A. (2001). Deliberative democracy, the public sphere and the Internet. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 27(4), 21–39.

Green, D. A. (2006). Public Opinion Versus Public Judgment About Crime. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 46(1), 131–154.

Fernandez-Maldonado, A. M. (2005). Virtual cities as a tool for democratization in developing countries. *Knowledge, Technology and Policy*, 18(1), 43–61.

Glass, M. R. (2017). People and planning: Report of the committee on public participation in planning (the Skeffington Committee Report). The AAG Review of Books, 5(1), 26-27.

Goldfrank, B. (2012). The World Bank and the globalization of participatory budgeting. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2), Article 7.

Goncalves, S. D. (2014). The effects of participatory budgeting on municipal expenditures and infant mortality in Brazil. *World Development*, 53, 94-110.

Goodin, R. E. and Dryzek, J. S. (2006). Deliberative impacts: the macro-political uptake of mini-publics. *Politics & Society*, 34(2), 219-244.

Grönlund, K., Bächtiger, A., & Setälä, M. (Eds.). (2015). *Deliberative mini-publics: Involving citizens in the democratic process*. ECPR Press.

Gudde, P., Oakes, J., Cochrane, P., Caldwell, N., & Bury, N. (2021). The role of UK local government in delivering on net zero carbon commitments: You've declared a Climate Emergency, so what's the plan? *Energy Policy*, 154, 112245.

Godfray, H. C. J., Beddington, J. R., Crute, I. R., Haddad, L., Lawrence, D. P., Muir, J. F., … & Toulmin, C. (2010). Food security: the challenge of feeding 9 billion people. *Science*, 327(5967), 812-818.

Habermas, J. (1989). *Structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of Bourgeoise society*. MIT Press.

Habermas, J. (1996). *Between facts and norms: Contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy* (W. Rehg, Trans.). MIT Press. (Original work published 1992)

Hagelskamp, C., Schleifer, D., Rinehart, C., & Silliman, R. (2018). Participatory budgeting: Could it diminish health disparities in the United States? *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 95(5), 766–771.

Hajdarowicz, I. (2022). Does participation empower? The example of women involved in participatory budgeting in Medellin. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 44(1), 22–37.

Hajer, M. (2003). Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void. *Policy Sciences*, 36(2),175-195.

Halpern, B. S., Walbridge, S., Selkoe, K. A., Kappel, C. V., Micheli, F., D'Agrosa, C., … & Watson, R. (2008). A global map of human impact on marine ecosystems. *Science*, 319(5865), 948-952.

Hammersley, M., Scott, C., & Gimblett, R. (2018). Evolving conceptions of the role of large dams in social-ecological resilience. *Ecology and Society*, 23(1), art40.

Handl, G. (2012). Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm Declaration), 1972 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, 1992.

Hansen, K. Møller. (2012). Deliberative Democracy: Mapping Out the Deliberative Turn in Democratic Theory. In C. Kock & L. Villadsen (Ed.), *Rhetorical Citizenship and Public Deliberation* (pp. 11-27). University Park, USA: Penn State University Press.

Hardy, B. W. and Scheufele, D. A. (2005). Examining differential gains from internet use: comparing the moderating role of talk and online interactions. *Journal of Communication*, 55(1), 71-84.

Harris, C. (2019). Deliberative mini-publics: Defining and designing. In S. Elstub & O. Escobar (Eds.), *The Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*. Edward Elgar.

Harris, C., Farrell, D. M., Suiter, J., & Brennan, M. (2021). Women's voices in a deliberative assembly: An analysis of gender rates of participation in Ireland's Convention on the Constitution 2012–2014. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(1), 175–193.

Healey, P. (2006). *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Heinelt, H. (2018). *Handbook on Participatory Governance*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Hetland, G. (2012). Grassroots democracy in Venezuela: One town's participatory budget has attracted activists and officials from around the world. *Nation*, 294(5), 20–22.

Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Participation, from tyranny to transformation? Exploring new approaches to participation in development*. Zed Books; Distributed exclusively in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan.

Himmelroos, S., & Christensen, H. S. (2014). Deliberation and opinion change: Evidence from a deliberative mini-public in Finland. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 37(1), 41–60.

Hix, S. (2020). Remaking democracy: Ireland as a role-model the 2019 Peter Mair lecture. *Irish Political Studies*, 35(4), 585–601.

Hofstad, H., Sørensen, E., Torfing, J., & Vedeld, T. (2022). Designing and leading collaborative urban climate governance: Comparative experiences of co-creation from Copenhagen and Oslo. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 32(3), 203–216.

Holdo, M. (2016). Reasons of power: Explaining non-cooptation in participatory budgeting. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 40(2), 378–394.

Holdo, M. (2019). Cooptation and non-cooptation: Elite strategies in response to social protest. *Social Movement Studies*, 18(4), 444–462.

Holland, S. P., Hughes, J. E., & Knittel, C. R. (2009). Greenhouse gas reductions under low carbon fuel standards? *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 1(1), 106-146.

Hossu, C. A., Iojă, I. C., Pătroescu, M., Dușa, A., & Hersperger, A. M. (2019). Dispute Resolution and Collaborative Decision-Making: What Accounts for Their Effectiveness? The Case of Romania. *Sustainability*, 11(24), 7072.

Howard, P. N. (2005). Deep democracy thin citizenship: The impact of digital media in political campaign strategy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 597, 153–170.

Ihnen, C., Millaleo, S., & Soto, F. (2020). El debate constitucional sobre el derecho a la educación y su impacto en la ciudadanía. *Revista de Ciencia Política* (Santiago).

Itten, A., & Mouter, N. (2022). When Digital Mass Participation Meets Citizen Deliberation: Combining Mini- and Maxi-Publics in Climate Policy-Making. *Sustainability*, 14(8), 4656.

Isernia, P., & Fishkin, J. S. (2014). The EuroPolis deliberative poll. *European Union Politics,* 15(3), 311–327.

Isernia, P., & Smets, K. (2014). Revealing preferences: Does deliberation increase ideological awareness among the less well educated? *European Journal of Political Research*, 53(3), 520–540.

Jacquet, V. (2017). Explaining non-participation in deliberative mini-publics. European *Journal of Political Research*, 56(3), 640-659.

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.

Jabola-Carolus, I., Elliott-Negri, L., Jasper, J., Mahlbacher, J., Weisskircher, M., & Zhelnina, A. (2020). Strategic interaction sequences: The institutionalization of participatory budgeting in New York City. *Social Movement Studies*, 19(5–6), 640–656.

Jaramillo, M., & Wright, G. D. (2015). Participatory Democracy and Effective Policy: Is There a Link? Evidence from Rural Peru. *World Development*, 66, 280–292.

Jensen, C. B. (2005). Citizen Projects and Consensus-Building at the Danish Board of Technology: On Experiments in Democracy. *Acta Sociologica*, 48(3), 221–235.

Johansson, J. (2018). Collaborative governance for sustainable forestry in the emerging bio-based economy in Europe. C*urrent Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 32, 9–16.

Johansson, M., Sjölander-Lindqvist, A., Dressel, S., Ericsson, G., & Sandström, C. (2022). Expectations about voluntary efforts in collaborative governance and the fit with perceived prerequisites of intrinsic motivation in Sweden's ecosystem-based moose management system. *Ecology and Society*, 27(2), art20.

Joss, S. (1998). Danish consensus conferences as a model of participatory technology assessment: An impact study of consensus conferences on Danish Parliament and Danish public debate. *Science and Public Policy*.

Jungherr, A. (2016). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. Journal of Information *Technology & Politics*, 13(1), 72–91.

Kakabadse, A., Kakabadse, N. K., & Kouzmin, A. (2003). Reinventing the Democratic Governance Project through information technology? A growing agenda for debate. *Public Administration Review*, 63(1), 44–60.

Karjalainen, M., & Rapeli, L. (2015). Who will not deliberate? Attrition in a multi-stage citizen deliberation experiment. *Quality & Quantity*, 49(1), 407–422.

Karpowitz, C. F., & Raphael, C. (2019). Democratic Innovations in North America. In S. Elstub & O. Escobar (Eds.), *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*. Edward Elgar Publishers.

King, C. S., Feltey, K. M., & Susel, B. O. (1998). The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic Public Participation in Public Administration. *Public Administration Review*, 58(4), 317-326.

Kirsop-Taylor, N., Russel, D., & Winter, M. (2020). The Contours of State Retreat from Collaborative Environmental Governance under Austerity. *Sustainability*, 12(7), 2761.

Klein, S., & Lee, C. (2019). Towards a Dynamic Theory of Civil Society: The Politics of Forward and Backward Infiltration. *Sociological Theory*, 37(1), 62–88.

Klemens, B. (2022). Environmental Aspects of City Participatory Budgeting in Poland. IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science, 1111(1), 012038.

Koch, A. (2005). Cyber citizen or Cyborg citizen: Baudrillard, political agency, and the commons in virtual politics. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 20(2/3), 159–175.

Komendantova, N., Riegler, M., & Neumueller, S. (2018). Of transitions and models: Community engagement, democracy, and empowerment in the Austrian energy transition. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 39, 141–151.

Koontz, T. M., & Newig, J. (2014). Cross-level information and influence in mandated participatory planning: Alternative pathways to sustainable water management in Germany's implementation of the EU Water Framework Directive. *Land Use Policy*, 38, 594–604.

Kotilainen, J. M., Peltonen, L., & Reinikainen, K. (2022). Community Benefit Agreements in the Nordic mining context: Local opportunities for collaboration in Sodankylä, Finland. *Resources Policy*, 79, 102973.

Kübler, D., Rochat, P. E., Woo, S. Y., & Van Der Heiden, N. (2020). Strengthen governability rather than deepen democracy: Why local governments introduce participatory governance. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 86(3), 409–426.

Krause, E. A. (1968). Functions of a bureaucratic theology: Citizen participation. *Social Forces*, 16(2), 129-143.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

Landemore, H. (2018). Referendums Are Never Merely Referendums: On the Need to Make Popular Vote Processes More Deliberative. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 24(3), 320–327.

Lazdinis, M., Angelstam, P., & Lazdinis, I. (2007). Maintenance of Forest Biodiversity in a Post-Soviet Governance Model: Perceptions by Local Actors in Lithuania. *Environmental Management*, 40(1), 20–33.

Leach, M. (2007). Earth mother myths and other ecofeminist fables: how a strategic notion rose and fell. *Development and Change*, 38(1), 67-85.

Lefebvre, H. (1968). *Le droit a` la ville*. Paris: Anthropos.

Legard, S., & Goldfrank, B. (2021). The Systemic Turn and Participatory Budgeting: The Case of Rio Grande do Sul. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 53(1), 161–187.

Leminen, S., Rajahonka, M., Westerlund, M., & Hossain, M. (2021). Collaborative innovation for sustainability in Nordic cities. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 328, 129549.

Lima, V. (2019). The limits of participatory democracy and the inclusion of social movements in local government. *Social Movement Studies*, 18(6), 667–681.

Lipset, S.M. (1960) *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Library of Congress, United States of America

Loader, B. D., & Mercea, D. (2011). Networking Democracy? Social Media Innovations in Participatory Politics. Information, *Communication & Society*, 14(6), 757-769.

Lourenço, P. (2021). Studying European Radical Left Parties since the Fall of the Berlin Wall (1990–2019): A Scoping Review. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 27(4), 754–777.

Lorek, S., & Spangenberg, J. H. (2014). Sustainable consumption within a sustainable economy – beyond green growth and green economies. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 63, 33-44.

Lund, D. H. (2018). Governance innovations for climate change adaptation in urban Denmark. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 20(5), 632–644.

Lund, P., Lidén, G., & Nyhlén, S. (2022). Who talks and who listens? A qualitative analysis of citizen dialogues in rural Sweden. *Local Government Studies*, 48(1), 129–149.

Luskin, R. C., O'Flynn, I., Fishkin, J. S., & Russell, D. (2014). Deliberating across Deep Divides. *Political Studies*, 62(1), 116–135.

MacArthur, J., Hoicka, C. E., Castleden, H., Das, R., & Lieu, J. (2020). Canada's Green New Deal: Forging the socio-political foundations of climate resilient infrastructure. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 65, 101442.

Macintosh, A., Robson, E., Smith, E., & Whyte, A. (2003). Electronic democracy and young people. *Social Science Computer Review*, 21(1), 43–54.

Mancheva, I. (2021). The role of legitimacy in the implementation of outputs from collaborative processes: A national dialogue for forest water consideration in Sweden. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 120, 42–52.

Manes-Rossi, F., Brusca, I., Orelli, R. L., Lorson, P. C., & Haustein, E. (2023). Features and drivers of citizen participation: Insights from participatory budgeting in three European cities. *Public Management Review*, 25(2), 201–223.

Mannarini, T., & Fedi, A. (2018). Using Quali-Quantitative Indicators for Assessing the Quality of Citizen Participation: A Study on Three Citizen Juries. *Social Indicators Research*, 139(2), 473–490.

Martin, G. P. (2012). Public deliberation in action: Emotion, inclusion and exclusion in participatory decision making. *Critical Social Policy*, 32(2), 163–183.

Mc Morran, R., Scott, A. J., & Price, M. F. (2014). Reconstructing sustainability; participant experiences of community land tenure in North West Scotland. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 33, 20–31.

McCarthy, J., Meredith, D., & Bonnin, C. (2021). Actor motivations to engage with collaborative agri-environmental policy: An assemblage based exploration. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 87, 88–98.

Mockler, P. (2022). Measuring the inclusiveness of deliberation: Structural inequality and the discourse quality index. *Comparative European Politics*, 20(1), 53–72.

Mokre, M., & Ehs, T. (2021). If no vote, at least voice ? The potential and limits of deliberative procedures for the creation of a more inclusive democracy. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 34(5), 712–728.

Muradova, L., Walker, H., & Colli, F. (2020). Climate change communication and public engagement in interpersonal deliberative settings: Evidence from the Irish citizens' assembly. *Climate Policy*, 20(10), 1322–1335.

Mansbridge, J. (1999). On the idea of participation in democratic governance. *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 7(3), 241-270.

Mansbridge, J., Bohman, J., Chambers, S., Christiano, T., Fung, A., Parkinson, J., Thompson, D. F., & Warren, M. E. (2012). A systemic approach to deliberative democracy. In J. Parkinson & J. Mansbridge (Eds.), *Deliberative Systems* (1st ed., pp. 1–26). Cambridge University Press.

Marris, P., & Rein, M. (1967). *Dilemmas of social reform*. Atherton Press.

McGovern, R., & Thorne, P. (2021). Citizens assemble: A study on the impact of climate reporting in the Irish media 'before', 'during' and 'after' the Citizens' Assembly on 'how the state can make Ireland a leader in tackling climate change'. *Irish Political Studies*, 36(2), 214–234.

McKivett, A., Glover, K., Clark, Y., Coffin, J., Paul, D., Hudson, J. N., … & Omara, P. (2021). The role of governance in indigenous medical education research. Rural and Remote Health.

Meijer, M., & Van Der Krabben, E. (2018). Informal institutional change in De Achterhoek region: From citizen initiatives to participatory governance. *European Planning Studies*, 26(4), 745–767.

Mellon, J., Peixoto, T.C. and Sjoberg, F.M. (2022). The haves and the have nots civic technologies and the pathways to government responsiveness. Policy Research Working Paper 10195, World Bank.

Menegat, R. (2002). Participatory democracy and sustainable development: integrated urban environmental management in porto alegre, brazil. *Environment and Urbanization*, 14(2), 181-206.

Mills, C. Wright (1956). *The power elite*. New York: Oxford University Press

Mistry, I., Beaudoin, C., Kotecha, J., Evans, H., Stevens, M., Vermaire, J., Cooke, S., & Young, N. (2021). Action research to improve water quality in Canada's Rideau Canal: How do local groups reshape environmental governance? *Local Environment*, 26(5), 575–594.

Myles, J. (2004). Community networks and cultural intermediaries: The politics of community net development in Greater Manchester. *Media, Culture and Society*, 26(4), 467–490.

Nagel, M., Stark, M., Satoh, K., Schmitt, M., & Kaip, E. (2019). Diversity in collaboration: Networks in urban climate change governance. *Urban Climate*, 29, 100502.

Newig, J., Challies, E., Jager, N. W., Kochskaemper, E., & Adzersen, A. (2018). The Environmental Performance of Participatory and Collaborative Governance: A Framework of Causal Mechanisms: Environmental Performance of Participation. *Policy Studies Journal*,

Newig, J., & Koontz, T. M. (2014). Multi-level governance, policy implementation and participation: The EU's mandated participatory planning approach to implementing environmental policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(2), 248–267.

Newig, J., Jager, N. W., Kochskämper, E., & Challies, E. (2019). Learning in participatory environmental governance – its antecedents and effects. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 21(3), 213-227.

Newton, K. (2012). Curing the democratic malaise with democratic innovations. In B. Geissel & K. Newton (Eds.), *Evaluating democratic innovations curing the democratic malaise?* (pp. 3–20). Routledge.

Niemeyer, S. (2013). Democracy and climate change: what can deliberative democracy contribute? *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 59(3), 429-448.

Niessen, C. (2019). When citizen deliberation enters real politics: How politicians and stakeholders envision the place of a deliberative mini-public in political decision-making. *Policy Sciences*, 52(3).

OECD (2020), *Innovative Citizen Participation and New Democratic Institutions: Catching the Deliberative Wave*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

O'Hagan, A., MacRae, C., O'Connor, C. H., & Teedon, P. (2020). Participatory budgeting, community engagement and impact on public services in Scotland. *Public Money & Management*, 40(6), 446–456.

O'Flynn, I. (2006). *Deliberative Democracy and Divided Societies*. Edinburgh University Press.

O'Flynn, I. (2019). Democratic innovations and theories of democracy. In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*.

Ogden, M. R. (1994). Politics in a parallel universe—is there a future for cyberdemocracy. *Futures*, 26(7), 713–729.

Olsson, T. (2008). For activists, for potential voters, for consumers: three modes of producing the civic web. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11(5), 497-512.

Oravec, J. A. (2005). Preventing e-voting hazards: The role of information professionals. Journal of Organizational and End User Computing, i–iv.

O'Riordan, M., Mahon, M., & McDonagh, J. (2015). Power, Discourse and Participation in Nature Conflicts: The Case of Turf Cutters in the Governance of Ireland's Raised Bog Designations. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 17(1), 127–145.

O'Riordan, M., McDonagh, J., & Mahon, M. (2019). Unlikely alliances? Knowledge, power and the collaborative governance of Irish peatlands. *Geoforum*, 100, 188–198.

Oross, D., Mátyás, E., & Gherghina, S. (2021). Sustainability and Politics: Explaining the Emergence of the 2020 Budapest Climate Assembly. *Sustainability*, 13(11), 6100.

Osborne, C., Baldwin, C., Thomsen, D. C., & Woolcock, G. (2016). The unheard voices of youth in urban planning: using social capital as a theoretical lens in Sunshine Coast, Australia. *Children's Geographies*, 15(3), 349-361.

Pahl-Wostl, C., Craps, M., Dewulf, A., Mostert, E., Tabara, D., & Taillieu, T. (2007). Social Learning and Water Resources Management. *Ecology and Society*, 12(2), art5.

Palacin, V., Zundel, A., Aquaro, V., & Kwok, W. M. (2021). Reframing e-participation for sustainable development. 14th International Conference on Theory and Practice of Electronic Governance.

Papacharissi, Z. (2004). Democracy online: Civility, politeness, and the democratic potential of online political discussion groups. *New Media and Society*, 6(2), 259–283.

Parés Franzi, M., Ospina, S., & Subirats, J. (2017). *Social innovation and democratic leadership: Communities and social change from below*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Parkinson, John (ed.) (2006). *Deliberating in the Real World: Problems of Legitimacy in Deliberative Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Parkinson, J., & Mansbridge, J. (2012). *Deliberative Systems: Deliberative Democracy at the Large Scale*. Cambridge University Press.

Parry, L., Alver, J., & Thompson, N. (2019). "Democratic innovation in Australasia". In *Handbook of Democratic Innovation and Governance*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Pateman, C. (1970). P*articipation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge University Press.

Pateman, C. (2012) Participatory Democracy Revisited. *Perspectives on Politics*, 10(1): 7–19.

Paulis, E., Pilet, J., Panel, S., Vittori, D., & Close, C. (2020). The politicize dataset: an inventory of deliberative mini-publics (dmps) in Europe. *European Political Science*, 20(3), 521-542.

Pawłowska, A., & Radzik-Maruszak, K. (2022). From Advice and Consultation to Local Co-governance. The Case of Advisory Councils in Polish Cities. *Lex Localis - Journal* of Local Self-Government, 20(1), 55–76.

Perkins, D.D. (2010). Empowerment. In R.A. Couto (Ed.), *Political and Civic Leadership: A Reference Handbook* (pp. 207-218). SAGE Publications.

Pilet, J., Bol, D., Vittori, D., & Paulis, E. (2022). Public support for deliberative citizens' assemblies selected through sortition: evidence from 15 countries. *European Journal of Political Research*, 62(3), 873-902.

Pimbert, M., & Barry, B. (2021). Let the people decide: Citizen deliberation on the role of GMOs in Mali's agriculture. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 38(4), 1097–1122.

Pickard S. (2019). *Politics, protest and young people: political participation and dissent in 21st century Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan UK, London.

Pogrebinschi, T. (2023). *Innovating Democracy? The Means and Ends of Citizen Participation in Latin America* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Polat, R. K. (2005). The Internet and political participation—Exploring the explanatory links. *European Journal of Communication*, 20(4), 435–459.

Polletta, F. (2009). *It was like a fever: Storytelling in protest and politics*. University of Chicago Press.

Polletta, F. (2016). Participatory enthusiasms: A recent history of citizen engagement initiatives. *Journal of Civil Society*, 12(3), 231–246.

Potekar, S. D., & Giragaonkar, K. P. (2004). Application of ICT for better decision making in egovernance. In Proceedings of the international conference on information and communication technologies: From theory to applications, April 19–23.

Price, V., & Cappella, J. N. (2002). Online deliberation and its influence: The electronic dialogue project in campaign 2000. *ITI & Society*, 1(1), 303-329.

Prutzer, M., Morf, A., & Nolbrant, P. (2021). Social Learning: Methods Matter but Facilitation and Supportive Context Are Key—Insights from Water Governance in Sweden. *Water*, 13(17), 2335.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice: Original Edition*. Harvard University Press.

Renauld, M. (2016). The Esquel effect: Political opportunity structure and adaptation mechanisms in anti-mining mobilisation in Argentine Patagonia. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 37(4), 524–540.

Revi, A., Satterthwaite, D., Aragón-Durand, F., Corfee-Morlot, J., Kiunsi, R. B. R., Pelling, M., Roberts, D., Solecki, W., Gajjar, S. P., & Sverdlik, A. (2014). Towards transformative adaptation in cities: the IPCC's Fifth Assessment. Environment and Urbanization, 26(1), 11-28.

Roberts, J. J., Lightbody, R., & Low, R. (2020). Experts and evidence in deliberation: scrutinising the role of witnesses and evidence in mini-publics, a case study. *Policy Sciences*, 53(1), 3-32.

Robinson, J. (2020). Capitalizing on community: Affordable housing markets in the age of participation. *Politics & Society*, 48(2), 171–198.

Rocha, G. H. D. H. D. R., & Costa, C. (2022). Participatory budgeting and climate change: A bibliometric analysis [Preprint]. In Review.

Rodriguez Garcia, M. J., Mateos Mora, C., & Navarro Yanez, C. J. (2011). Performance of Participation Mechanisms: Gender and Institutional Design. Territorial Councils and Participatory Budgets in Spanish Cities. *Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia*, (50), 143

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(19).

Rosa, A., Kimpeler, S., Schirrmeister, E., & Warnke, P. (2021). Participatory foresight and reflexive innovation: Setting policy goals and developing strategies in a bottom-up, mission-oriented, sustainable way. *European Journal of Futures Research*, 9(1), 2.

Rosenblatt, A. J. (1999). On-line polling—Methodological limitations and implications for electronic democracy. *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics*, 4(2), 30–44.

Ryan, M., & Smith, G. (2015). Defining mini-publics. In K. Grönlund, A. Bächtiger, & M. Setälä (Eds.), *Deliberative mini-publics: Involving citizens in the democratic process* (pp. 9–26). ECPR Press.

Ryfe, D. M., & Stalsburg, B. (2013). The participation and recruitment challenge. In T. Nabatchi et al. (Eds.), *Democracy in motion: Evaluating the practice and impact of deliberative civic engagement*. Oxford Academic.

Sancino, A., Stafford, M., Braga, A., & Budd, L. (2022). What can city leaders do for climate change? Insights from the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group network. Regional Studies, 56(7), 1224–1233.

Sanders, D. (2012). The Effects of Deliberative Polling in an EU-wide Experiment: Five Mechanisms in Search of an Explanation. *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(3), 617–640.

Sanford, C. and Rose, J. (2007). Characterizing eparticipation. *International Journal of Information Management*, 27(6), 406-421.

Sartori, G. (1962). *Democratic theory*. Wayne State University Press.

Saward, M. (2003). Enacting democracy. *Political Studies*, 51(1), 161-179.

Schiavon, E., Taramelli, A., & Tornato, A. (2021). Modelling stakeholder perceptions to assess green infrastructures potential in agriculture through fuzzy logic: a tool for participatory governance. *Environmental Development*, 40, 100671.

Schulz, D., & Newig, J. (2015). Assessing Online Consultation in Participatory Governance: Conceptual framework and a case study of a national sustainability-related consultation platform in Germany: Online Consultation in Participatory Governance. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 25(1), 55–69.

Schumpeter, J. A. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Harper & Row.

Seaton, J. (2005). The Scottish Parliament and e-democracy. Aslib Proceedings, 57(4), 333–337.

Seifert, J. W. (2006). E-government in the United States. In P. Hernon, R. Cullen & H. C. Relyea (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on e-government: Serving today and building for tomorrow* (pp. 25-54). Scarecrow Press.

Sen, A. (2013). The ends and means of sustainability. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14(1), 6–20.

Sintomer, Y., Herzberg, C., & Röcke, A. (2008). Participatory budgeting in Europe: Potentials and challenges. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 164-178.

Smith, E., & Macintosh, A. (2003). E-voting: Powerful symbol of e-democracy. In Electronic government proceedings, 2003, (pp. 240–245).

Smith, G. (2005). *Beyond the ballot: 57 democratic innovations from around the world*. Power Inquiry.

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

Smith, G., & Wales, C. (2000). Citizens' juries and deliberative democracy. *Political Studies*, 48(1), 51-65.

Söderberg, C., Sandström, A., Lundmark, C., & Nilsson, J. (2021). The link between collaborative governance design and markers of legitimacy: Comparing Swedish water- and large carnivore management. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 31(6), 563–579.

Stöhr, C., & Chabay, I. (2010). Science and participation in governance of the Baltic Sea fisheries. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 20(5), 350–363.

Suiter, J., Farrell, D. M., & O'Malley, E. (2016). When do deliberative citizens change their opinions? Evidence from the Irish Citizens' Assembly. *International Political Science Review*, 37(2), 198–212.

Sundqvist-Andberg, H., & Åkerman, M. (2022). Collaborative governance as a means of navigating the uncertainties of sustainability transformations: The case of Finnish food packaging. *Ecological Economics*, 197, 107455.

Szczepańska, A., Zagroba, M., & Pietrzyk, K. (2022). Participatory Budgeting as a Method for Improving Public Spaces in Major Polish Cities. *Social Indicators Research*, 162(1), 231–252.

Snellen, I. (2001). ICTs, bureaucracies, and the future of democracy. *Communications of the ACM*, 44(1), 45–48.

Snider, J. H. (2008). Designing deliberative democracy: the British Columbia citizens' assembly. *Regular Issue*, 4(1).

Sonnenfeld, A., Stevenson, J., & Waddington, H. S. (2022). Does citizen engagement improve development outcomes? A realist-informed systematic review of participation and accountability mechanisms. *Journal of Development Effectiveness*.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (1998), "Presupuestacion Participativa: Hacia una Democracia Redistributiva", *Ruralter*, 16-17

Souza, C. (2001). Participatory budgeting in Brazilian cities: Limits and possibilities in building democratic institutions. *Environment and Urbanization*, 13(1), 159-184.

Stern, N. (2015). Economic development, climate and values: making policy. Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences, 282(1812), 20150820.

Stevenson, H., & Dryzek, J. S. (2014). Democratizing global climate governance. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 65, 101442.

Swyngedouw, E. (2005). Governance innovation and the citizen: The Janus face of governance-beyond-the-state. *Urban Studies*, 42(11), 1991–2006.

Talpin, J. (2007). *Schools of democracy: How ordinary citizens become competent in participatory budgeting institutions*. European University Institute.

Tarlau, R. (2013). Coproducing rural public schools in Brazil: Contestation, clientelism, and the Landless Workers' Movement. *Politics & Society*, 41(3), 395–424.

Tilbury, D. (2011). Higher education for sustainability: A global overview of commitment and progress. In Higher Education in the World 4: Higher Education's Commitment to Sustainability from Understanding to Action (pp. 18–28). Palgrave MacMillan.

Thellbro, C., Bjärstig, T., & Eckerberg, K. (2018). Drivers for public–private partnerships in sustainable natural resource management—lessons from the swedish mountain region. *Sustainability*, 10(11), 3914.

Thompson, A. G. H., Escobar, O., Roberts, J. J., Elstub, S., & Pamphilis, N. M. (2021). The Importance of Context and the Effect of Information and Deliberation on Opinion Change Regarding Environmental Issues in Citizens' Juries. *Sustainability*, 13(17), 9852.

Tricco, A. C., Lillie, E., Zarin, W., O'Brien, K. K., Colquhoun, H., Levac, D., Moher, D., Peter, M. D. J., Horsley, T., Weeks, L., Hempel, S., Akl, E. A., Chang, C., McGowan, J., Stewart, L., Hartling, L., Aldcroft, A., Wilson, M. G., Garrity, C., … Straus, S. E. (2018). PRISMA Extension for Scoping Reviews (PRISMA-ScR): Checklist and Explanation. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 169(7), 467–473.

Tufekci, Z. (2018). *Twitter and tear gas*. Yale University Press.

van der Veer, R., & Haverland, M. (2019). The politics of (de-)politicization and venue choice: A scoping review and research agenda on EU financial regulation and economic governance. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(9), 1395–1416.

Van Zeben, J. (2020). The European Green Deal: The future of a polycentric Europe? *European Law Journal*, 26(5–6), 300–318.

Vedeld, T., Hofstad, H., Solli, H., & Hanssen, G. S. (2021). Polycentric urban climate governance: Creating synergies between integrative and interactive governance in Oslo. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 31(4), 347–360.

Veri, F. (2022). Mapping democratic innovations: a bottom-up empirical perspective. *Representation*, 59(2), 171-188.

Vihma, P., & Toikka, A. (2021). The limits of collaborative governance: The role of inter-group learning and trust in the case of the Estonian "Forest War". *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 31(5), 403–416.

Von Essen, E., & Allen, M. P. (2017a). From Obstructionism to Communication: Local, National and Transnational Dimensions of Contestations on the Swedish Wolf Cull Controversy. *Environmental Communication*, 11(5), 654–666.

Von Essen, E., & Allen, M. P. (2017b). Solidarity Between Human and Non-Human Animals: Representing Animal Voices in Policy Deliberations. *Environmental* Communication, 11(5), 641–653.

Wainwright, H. (2003). Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy. London: Verso.

Wampler, B., & Avritzer, L. (2004). Participatory publics: Civil society and new institutions in democratic Brazil. *Comparative Politics*, 36(3), 291–312.

Wamsler, C. (2017). Stakeholder involvement in strategic adaptation planning: Transdisciplinarity and co-production at stake? *Environmental Science & Policy*, 75, 148–157.

Wamsler, C. (2016). From Risk Governance to City–Citizen Collaboration: Capitalizing on individual adaptation to climate change. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 26(3), 184–204.

Warren, M. E. (2009). Governance-driven democratization. *Critical Policy Studies*, 3(1), 3-13.

Warren, M. E. (2017). A problem-based approach to democratic theory. American *Political Science Review*, 111(1).

Wamsler, C., & Raggers, S. (2018). Principles for supporting city–citizen commoning for climate adaptation: From adaptation governance to sustainable transformation. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 85, 81–89.

Weaver, B. (2019). Co-production, governance and practice: The dynamics and effects of User Voice Prison Councils. *Social Policy & Administration*, 53(2), 249–264.

Wells, R., Howarth, C., & Brand-Correa, L. I. (2021). Are citizen juries and assemblies on climate change driving democratic climate policymaking? An exploration of two case studies in the UK. *Climatic Change*, 168(1–2), 5.

Westerink, J., Jongeneel, R., Polman, N., Prager, K., Franks, J., Dupraz, P., & Mettepenningen, E. (2017). Collaborative governance arrangements to deliver spatially coordinated agri-environmental management. *Land Use Policy*, 69, 176–192.

Whitmee, S., Haines, A., Beyrer, C., Boltz, F., Capon, A., Dias, B. F. d. S., … & Yach, D. (2015). Safeguarding human health in the Anthropocene epoch: report of the Rockefeller Foundation–Lancet Commission on planetary health. *The Lancet*, 386(10007), 1973-2028.

Widmer, A., Herzog, L., Moser, A., & Ingold, K. (2019). Multilevel water quality management in the international Rhine catchment area: How to establish social-ecological fit through collaborative governance. *Ecology and Society*, 24(3), art27.

Willems, J. J., Kuitert, L., & Van Buuren, A. (2023). Policy integration in urban living labs: Delivering multi-functional blue-green infrastructure in Antwerp, Dordrecht, and Gothenburg. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 33(3), 258–271.

Willis, R., Curato, N., & Smith, G. (2022). Deliberative democracy and the climate crisis. *WIREs Climate Change*, 13(2).

Witkin, J. K. (2012). The what, why, who, and how of collaboration. In J. K. Witkin (Ed.), *Collaborative governance: Private roles for public goals in turbulent times* (pp. 1-30). Princeton University Press.

World Bank. (1996). The World Bank participation sourcebook.

World Bank. (2008). Participatory budgeting. Public Sector Governance.

Wright, E. O. (2010). *Envisioning Real Utopias*. Verso.

Young, I. M. (2002). *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford Political Theory. Oxford University Press.

Zakhour, S. (2020). The democratic legitimacy of public participation in planning: Contrasting optimistic, critical, and agnostic understandings. *Planning Theory*, 19(4), 349–370.

Zurita, L. (2006). Consensus conference method in environmental issues: relevance and strengths. *Land Use Policy*, 23(1), 18-25.

8. Appendix

1. Archival Research

Table 8.1) Template for the archival research

Archival research

Name of the practice:

Actors:

Scope:

Chronology:

Brief description of the practice:

Type of material (select one or more options and provide a brief description):

- Primary source
- Secondary source
- Private source
- Public source

Brief description of the type(s) of material:

Category of material (select one or more options and provide a brief description):

- Written documents
- Iconographic/Photographic material (including posters and flyers if any)
- Video
- Interviews

Address/link/email contact:
Any other comment:

Table 8.2) Consent form for permission to publish

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO PUBLISH, EXHIBIT OR BROADCAST

Permission to make collected material public through the INCITE-DEM project should be requested, and granted, via this form. Possession of a copy does not constitute permission to publish, exhibit or broadcast it. The INCITE-DEM project reserves the right to refuse to publish material that do not provide the following information:

Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive: Collection No.: Item description:	Credit line:
Archive:	Credit line:

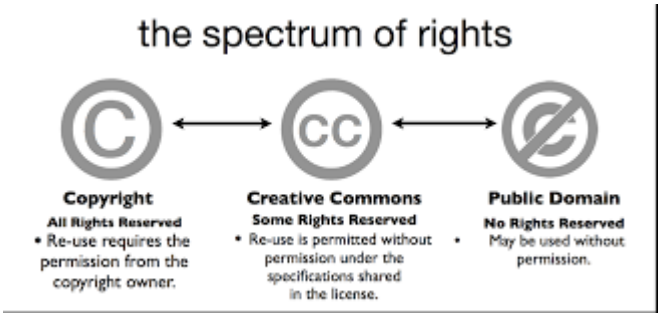
Collection No.: Item description:	

Permission is hereby granted to publish, exhibit, or broadcast the above items, provided the applicant meets the conditions listed above.

Archive representative or Responsible Researcher:	Date: Signature:

CREATIVE COMMONS MATERIALS

If your material is a Creative Commons (CC) licensed image, please follow the terms of the specific license associated with that image. The Creative Commons licenses come in different versions, each with its own set of permissions and requirements. However, providing proper attribution is a common requirement for most CC licenses.

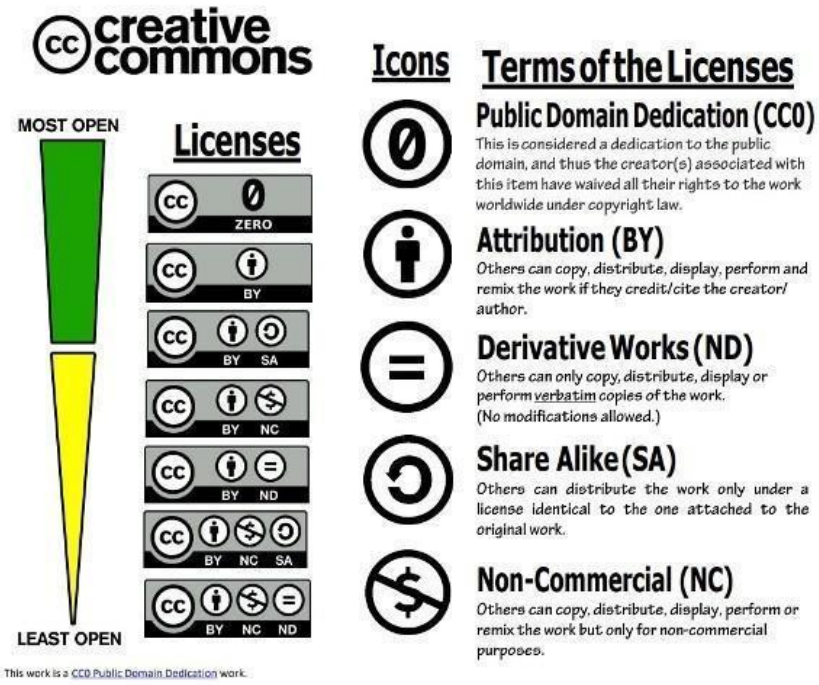


Check the License:

Visit the source where you obtained the image and look for information about the Creative Commons license.

Note the specific license type (e.g., CC BY, CC BY-SA) and any additional requirements mentioned by the licensor.

Understand Attribution Requirements:



Here is a general guide on how to quote or attribute a Creative Commons image:

CC licenses often require you to provide attribution to the original creator. The attribution should include certain details, such as the creator's name, the title of the work, a link to the source, and the specific license type.

Include the Required Information:

Typically, you should include the following information in your attribution:

- Creator's Name: The name of the original creator of the image.
- Title: The title of the image (if applicable).
- Source: A link to the original source of the image.
- License: Mention the type of Creative Commons license (e.g., CC BY, CC BY-SA).
- License Link: Provide a link to the full text of the license.

Format the Attribution:

The format of the attribution can vary, but here's an example:

"Image Title" by [Creator's Name] is licensed under [CC License Type]. Source: [Link to the image source].

Placement of Attribution:

The attribution should be placed in a location that is reasonable and customary for the medium you are using. For example, if you're using the image on a website, you might place the attribution near the image or in the image caption.

- Remember that these are general guidelines, and you should always refer to the specific terms of the Creative Commons license associated with the image you are using. If the license specifies a different format or additional requirements, make sure to comply with those.

8.1.1 Main findings from the archival research

An overview of the main findings from the archival research allows identifying similarities and emerging historical clusters.

- First, the so-called "third-wave democracies" of our consortium, Spain and Portugal, similarly focus on participatory practices emerging through the democratic transition. In Spain, materials more clearly relate to environmental issues, whereas in Portugal the analysed case of SAAL taps into issues of social sustainability and improvement of living conditions against poverty.

- In Germany and Italy, the archival research similarly revolves around the antinuclear movement spreading in the middle of the 1970s, thus covering claims of environmental sustainability.

- In a slightly similar manner, Norway focuses on more recent protests of indigenous communities against wind power plants.

- As regards Finland and Slovenia, the archival research throws light on key experiences aimed at reclaiming public ownership over the commons through the 1970s and 1980s. The Finnish case is clearly related to environmental sustainability issues, whereas in Slovenia the analysed practice crosscuts several policy domains and places social values at the centre of the public governance.

- Finally, a fourth cluster that emerges from the archival research deals with the engagement of local communities towards specific issues, such as the promotion of social values in Estonia, and the defence of public space in the Netherlands.

Table 8.3) Synthesis of the main findings of the archival research

Main themes	Countries and chronology
Democratic transition	Spain (1969-1986) and Portugal (1974/76)
Movements against the state	Germany (1973/77), Italy (1978-1986), and Norway (2010/2020)
Defending the commons	Finland (1970s-1990s) and Slovenia (1986)
Local community engagement	Estonia (1997- 2013) and Netherlands (1975- 1994)

8.1.1.1. Spain

In Spain, the archival research focused on three environmental conflicts in the aftermath of Franco's dictatorship: El Saler, Valencia (1973 – 1986); La Industrial Química, Zaragoza (1976 – 1983); Erandio protests "Movilizaciones del Gas", Vizcaya (1969 - Present). Conflicts involved government, citizens and workers around the "environmental" topic that was integrated if so in the Spanish Democratic Transition. The environment was not a relevant issue at that time in Spain, although an international movement had emerged as the publication of the Rome Club report, the Stockholm Conference on the Environment in 1972 or the creation of the first Environmental Agencies (NEPA in the United States, etc.) attest. Nevertheless, the right to a safe environment was included in the 1978 Spanish Constitution. El saler involved groups of citizens protesting against plans to urbanise a natural area in the locality. The urbanisation plans were promoted by the economic and tourist development of Manuel Fraga (Franco's minister of tourism) and real estate developers. The urbanisation was not built. La Industrial Química involved neighbours, students and workers struggling for the relocation of the chemical industries of Zaragoza. The neighbourhood movement encouraged workers to integrate environmental demands into their struggle. Erandio protests "Movilizaciones del Gas" involved different chemical industries that caused a level of pollution in towns such as Barakaldo and Erandio (Basque Country). Cases of throat and lung diseases attributed to industrial activity were recorded. This led to protests in 1969. They ended with the death of two protesters. To this day there are still neighbourhood movements in Erandio and Barakaldo that denounce air pollution by chemical companies.

Figure 8.1) Illustration used from the campaign "El Saler per al poble"



El saler al poble, [details of a poster]1974, Asociación Española de Ordenación del Medio Ambiente

Figure 8.2) Poster for the exhibition "El Saler: datos para una decisión colectiva”



El Saler: Datos para una decisión colectiva, poster, 50x70, 1974, Fons de Documentació del Medi Ambient en la Casa Verda, Valencia.

During the summer of 1974, a citizens' campaign was launched under the slogan "El Saler per al poble” through the collection of signatures and the City Council was forced to rectify, approving in December of that year a remodelling of the Zoning Plan la Devesa, which meant the cancellation of 23 apartment towers, the rescue of 70 hectares of the sand area and the transfer of the buildable part to the southern area.

One of the initiatives undertaken in the summer of 1974 included the organization of an exhibition. It took place at the College of Architects in Valencia in June t with the primary objective of advocating for the cessation of urbanization and the restoration of the forest.

8.1.1.2. Portugal

In Portugal, the archival research focused on the “Operations SAAL - Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (Local Ambulatory Support Service)” which were developed in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution in the mid-1970s. Architects, engineers, social workers, sociologists, civil servants joined in residents’ commissions from different neighbourhoods with a view to improve living conditions in poor and informal settlements. Interviews were conducted with a psychologist that coordinated the “Operation SAAL Bº 25 de Abril” in Linda-a-Velha; and an architect responsible for urban design of the “Operation SAAL Bº 25 de Abril” as well as coordinator of the “Operation SAAL Bairro Luta pela Casa” in Carnaxide. Operations were placed in multiple parts of the country, holding different characteristics accordingly, all moved by the same participatory ethos though. The SAAL was a significant experiment of participatory architecture and urban planning that fostered social cohesion. The SAAL of Bairro 25 de Abril in Linda-a-Velha, a slum on the outskirts of Lisbon, is the most complete process the current research has found in terms of local residents’ appropriation and self-organisation, participatory diagnosis, validation and democratic decision-making up until the funding, the construction, choice of first settlers and delivery of the last of the circa 200 houses. As time went by, SAAL faced several challenges emerging from political, bureaucratic, and financial issues. There was some ideological tension as well, due to land expropriations and the reduction of the role of local authorities. In two years of operation, SAAL carried out more than 150 operations in various municipalities across the country. The operations involved more than 40 thousand families, 14 affordable housing cooperatives, 16 residents' committees and 128 residents' associations, which received support from SAAL through 1023 technical brigades. SAAL officially ended in 1976 and the new government shifted towards a more centralised and top-down approach to housing. Until its extinction, SAAL supported the construction of more than 2000 houses. However, many SAAL projects were never completed or were altered significantly.

Figure 8.3) SAAL pictures from December 1974 to 1982



Figure 8.4) SAAL pictures from December 1974 to 1982



8.1.1.3. Germany

Archival research in Germany was conducted on the early days of the ecological and antinuclear power movement in Germany. The protest led to the scrapping of the contested project, thus holding influence over government/administrative actors, who eventually gave up initial plans. The Archive of Social Movements in Freiburg was consulted accordingly, where documents on the anti-nuclear power protest in the Southern German town Wyhl 1973-1977 are held. The regional government wanted to build a nuclear power plant there, which prompted powerful protests from local citizens. Interestingly, this protest was first predominantly motivated by concerns over negative consequences for the environment beyond the dangers of a nuclear disaster (warming of the river Rhine, more clouds and fog as a consequence of the cooling towers etc.). Perils of radioactivity also played a role later on. There was a (non-binding) local referendum ("Bürgerentscheid" – 'citizens' decision') on whether the ground on which the plant was deemed to be erected should be sold to the energy company. The supporters of the plans to build the plant, hoping for more jobs for the region, narrowly won this referendum, so the plans first went ahead. In the end, however, the continuing protests, which also had a transnational dimension (given the closeness of the site to France, also French activists protested against the plant) led the regional government to abandon the plans, which made the case one of the early success stories of the German ecological movement.

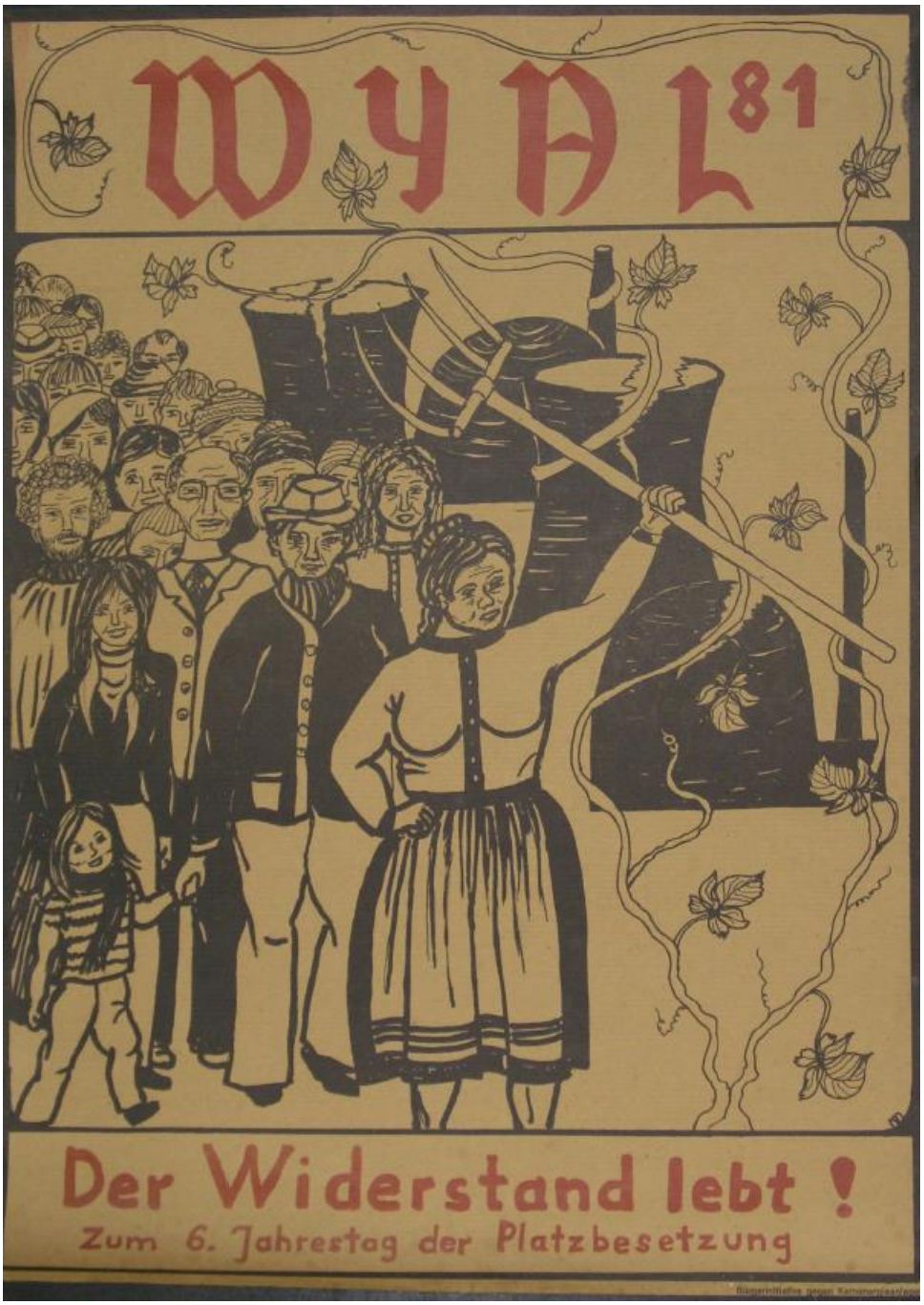
Figure 8.5) Poster produced to protest against police violence against demonstrators who had occupied the site in the Wyhl forest on which the government planned to build a nuclear power plant



Alle Staatsgewalt geht vom Volk aus, 1975, Archiv Soziale Bewegungen Freiburg, CD-ROM "Nai hanmer g'sait!", Freiburg, 2005, Document 7216

The brutal police operation took place on 20 February 1975. The poster shows an armoured police vehicle with flat tires, presumably a water cannon, which the police forces had left behind after demonstrators re-occupied the site on 23 February 1975. The title is Alle Staatsgewalt geht vom Volk aus ("All state authority is derived from the people"), a quotation from Article 20 of the German Basic Law. It plays on the double meaning of the word "Staatsgewalt" in German, which could mean "state authority" but also "state violence". On the vehicle, demonstrators had written "KKW Nein" ("No to the nuclear power plant").

Figure 8.6) Poster commemorating the occupation of the site on which the nuclear power plant in the Wyhl forest was deemed to be built



Bürgerinitiative gegen Kernenegieanlagen, *Wyhl '81 – Der Widerstand lebt! Zum 6. Jahrestag der Platzbesetzung*,1981, Archiv Soziale Bewegungen Freiburg, CD-ROM "Nai hanmer g'sait!", updated version, Freiburg 2023, Document 28869

The figure shows some of the social groups that were among the protesters: traditional Southern German farmers (especially wine growers), intellectuals, priests, and ordinary citizens. Wyhl ’81 – Der Widerstand lebt! Zum 6. Jahrestag der Platzbesetzung (“Wyhl ’81 – Resistance is alive! Commemorating the sixth anniversary of the site occupation”). The poster was produced by Bürgerinitiative gegen Kernenegieanlagen (“Citizens‘action committee against nuclear power plants”).

8.1.1.4. Italy

In Italy, the anti-nuclear movement between the end of the 1970s and mid-1980s was the main object of the archival research, with a focus on local action in Viadana. Movements were composed of students, farmers, other citizens; political movements, not yet formalised (*Lista Verde* – later on entering the Parliament for the first time as the *Federation of Green Lists*); members of the Viadana town council. Their goal was to raise awareness and call for action against the – governmental – decision to select Viadana as one of the (new) nuclear power plants sites in Italy. Viadana is a small town in the Mantova province, close to the Po River, in Lombardy. In 1975, according to the national Nuclear Energy Plan, it was selected as one of the new power plants construction sites. The Viadana anti-nuclear movement, starting with some demonstrations organised by the students and some local environmental associations, went on with strikes, blockades to the ENEL’s soundings, passive resistance. In 1983, nine citizens – including a few members of the town council – were arrested for the blockades to the construction works: the deriving demonstrations are mostly considered as the birth of the Italian Green political movement[15]. The local movement inscribed itself in the broader national framework, which went on with the successful campaign – also “thanks to” the Chernobyl disaster in 1986 - for the 1987 referendum, when the nuclear ban became official. The anti-nuclear archive was presented in October 2023, to celebrate the 40 years since the arrests in 1983. The event had a significant participation, even by considering the “nuclear nouvelle vague” that the current national government is publicly supporting.

[15] ENEL - Ente nazionale per l'energia elettrica (National Electricity Board) - was established as a public body at the end of 1962.

Figure 8.7) Antinuclear blockades in Bellaguarda against the nuclear power plant, which were part of the 1987 referendum campaign



Antinuclear demonstration, 1983, Centro documentazione lotta antinucleare – Biblioteca "Società Storica Viadanese" – Viadana (MN).

The banner reports: "For a not nuclear future", signed by the Antinuclear Committees of the Mantova, Cremona and Reggio Emilia provinces.

Figure 8.8) Blockades against the ENEL soundings in Bellaguarda, to build a new nuclear power plant



Blockade against ENEL soundings, [1983], Centro documentazione lotta antinucleare – Biblioteca "Società Storica Viadanese" – Viadana (MN)

A group from Guastalla (a town in the Reggio Emilia province) put up a show for the participants. In the background, a banner says "Nuclear power: the blind development by ENEL".

8.1.1.5. Norway

In Norway, the archival research was concentrated on wind power resistance by the indigenous local community of Fosen against the state. The Fosen case is a conflict that concerns two wind power plants – Storheia and Roan – on the Fosen peninsula in Trøndelag and the rights of reindeer herding Sami people. In 2010, the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE) granted permission for two large wind power developments. The two plants are located in the winter grazing area of the Fosen reindeer herding district, where two siidas practice reindeer herding. In 2010, the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate approved two wind farms on the Fosen Peninsula, Trøndelag: Roan and Storheia. These became operational in 2019 and 2020, respectively, and are located in the winter grazing lands of the Fosen reindeer herding district, utilised by the South-Fosen sijte and North-Fosen siida. However, the indigenous population appealed the approval,

claiming a violation of Article 27 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which protects minority cultures. In 2018, compensation was awarded to the siidas for losses due to the wind farms. However, disputes over the amount led to reassessment requests from multiple parties. In October 2021, the Norwegian Supreme Court declared the wind farm permissions invalid, as they infringed upon the Sami people's cultural rights. However, the court didn't provide directions regarding the wind farms' future operations. Despite the verdict, the wind farms remain active. Protests have ensued, pressing for the respect of indigenous rights versus Norway's renewable energy goals. The Norwegian government is faced with reconciling the Supreme Court's decision with environmental and energy considerations, and no final resolution has been reached. As such, this case underscores the tension between indigenous rights and sustainable development, marking a significant point of reference in international indigenous and environmental law. It also underlines a major problem with regards to the role of the Norwegian state and puts the role of the legal system and the state in the limelight. The discussions have significant bearing on democracy and the role of minorities, the law and that of commercial companies. The conflict has rendered vast engagement amongst not only the indigenous people, but also other interest groups have shown their support to the protesters. Social – and other media has taken a keen interest in the conflict, and it has given rise to discussions that are relevant for democracy.

Figure 8.9) Constituted political director of "Nordlys" (A Chronicle reflecting on the need for the Norwegian State to stop their secret arbitrations concerning the Fosen-conflict (2023)



Maja Sojtaric, *Constituted Political Director of "Nordlys", in* «Nordnorsk Debatt» [online forum], October 13th 2023 [available at: https://www.nordnorskdebatt.no/hemmelig-mekling-om-fosen-ma-opphore/o/5-124-269056 [last access 10.01.2024]

The picture was published in the online debate section of a Northern Debate Forum, "Nordnorsk Debatt", by Maja Sojtaric.

Figure 8.10) A reader's letter reflecting his own opinion titled: "Should we not all be concerned?" published in the debate section of a Newspaper covering the Northern part of Norway, "Avisa Nordland" (2023), by Jørgen T. Fjørtoft



Jørgen T. Fjørtoft, *Member of the public*, in «Avisa Nordland», March 2nd, 2023, available at: https://www.an.no/burde-ikke-vi-alle-vare-bekymret/o/5-4-1728652 [last access 10.01.2024]

8.1.1.6. Finland

In Finland, all people have the right to enjoy and use nature, regardless of land ownership. Legally, there is no law that establishes this right, but there are many laws that regulate the practice, which is largely cultural and economic in nature. Tuunanen, Tarasti and Rautiainen (2012) identify numerous key legal clauses that regulate everyone's rights, ranging from the Finnish Constitution to the Penal Code, the Nature Conservation Act, the Waterways Act, the Land Transport Act, the Tort Liability Act, the Private Roads Act, the Assembly Act, the Rescue Act, the Fishing Act, the Hunting Act, the Mining Act and the Police Act[16].

Finland's forests were mainly managed as common land (yhteisnautinta) until the Great Partition of the Swedish Empire in 1757, when the farmlands of village communities, which had been distributed according to the mediaeval principle of solar division (solskifte), were gradually transferred to a new

[16] Tuunanen, Pekka, Markus Tarasti & Anne Rautiainen eds. (2012). Jokamiehenoikeudet ja toimiminen toisen alueella. Lainsäädäntöä ja hyviä käytäntöjä. (Everyman's rights and operating on someone else's territory. Legislation and good practices.) Suomen ympäristö 30, 2012. Helsinki: Ministry of the Environment.

system in which each farm owned a contiguous piece of farmland and forest (Gadd 2000)[17]. As a result, those who did not own land also lost out in the opportunities to use the forest. The transfer took a very long time and was still partly incomplete in the 1960s, so that the opportunities for non-landowners were unclear and varied in different parts of the country[18]. Everyone's right has been a culturally and economically contested way of resolving land use. A key legal case for today's everyman's rights was that of widow Ilma Lindgren, who was picking lingonberries on various islands in the Saimaa archipelago in 1914. When the weather deteriorated, Lindgren and her companions, who were travelling in a rowboat, sought refuge on land. The landowner who appeared confiscated the 20 litres of lingonberries they had gathered, claiming that they had been picked on his land and therefore belonged to him. As a widow, Lindgren had the legal status to pursue the case without being represented by her husband[19]. She lost twice in lower courts but won in 1920 in the Supreme Court of Finland, which had gained independence from the Russian Empire in 1917. Picking natural products such as berries and mushrooms remains a source of seasonal vitality for many Finns.

As society has become more urbanised and affluent, the use of the forest has shifted towards recreation. In fact, people's opportunities to move and behave in nature are highlighted in the current materials on everyone's rights[20]. Everyone's rights are essential for camping, sport fishing, berry and mushroom picking, bird watching and outdoor sports such as orienteering and mountain biking. Two particular sources of antagonism also persist: organised and regular berry picking by foreign nationals and nature tourism[21]. These demonstrate the ongoing tension between commercial and recreational use of natural resources, both enabled and constrained by everyone's rights. Contemporary discourses of the public debate on everyone's rights concern the possibilities of what can be done in nature, how rights should be delimited, how rights should be defined, the need to change rights, land ownership, and comparisons with other countries[22]. In this respect, everyone's right is still a central, if constantly contested, practice of using nature in Finland. Allegations of human trafficking of berry pickers are a new concern in debates on everyone's rights[23].

---

[17] Gadd, Carl Johan (2000) Den agrara revolutionen: 1700-1870. Det svenska jordbrukets historia del 3. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.

[18] Huttunen, Anu (2022). Nainen, joka muutti tulevaisuutta – Ilma Lindgren jokamiehenoikeuksien tienraivaajana (A woman who changed the future – Ilma Lindgren and the fight for public access to nature). Vuosilusto, 14, 118-130.

[19] Huttunen, Anu (2022). Nainen, joka muutti tulevaisuutta – Ilma Lindgren jokamiehenoikeuksien tienraivaajana (A woman who changed the future – Ilma Lindgren and the fight for public access to nature). Vuosilusto, 14, 118-130.

[20] Metsähallitus (2023). Everyman's Right. Accessed 23.10.2023 at https://www.nationalparks.fi/everymansright

[21] Naskali, A. & R. Peltola (2017). Metsänomistajuus ja jokamiehenoikeudet (Forest ownership and everyman's rights). Accessed 23.10.2023 at https://www.lapinamk.fi/loader.aspx?id=d0744d95-974a-4301-896e-d02c7f12ab91

[22] Mäkelä, Aleksi (2021). Korpusavusteinen diskurssintutkimus jokamiehenoikeuksista helsingin sanomien verkkoartikkeleissa (A corpus-based discourse study on everyman's rights Helsingin Sanomat's online articles). Master's thesis, University of Jyväskylä.

[23] Ojanperä, Sini & Teemu Kammonen (2023). Poliisi tutkii laajaa marjanpoimijoiden ihmiskauppaepäilyä – kymmenet uhrit työskentelivät eri puolilla Suomea. (Police investigate widespread suspected trafficking of berry pickers - dozens of victims worked in different parts of Finland). Accessed 23.10.2023 at https://yle.fi/a/74-20054954

Figure 8.11) Postage stamp celebrating everybody's freedom to enjoy Finnish nature regardless of its ownership



Jussi Kaakinen, *Jokamiehenoikeudet – marjanpoiminta* (Freedom to roam – picking berries), stamp, 2016, The Finnish Postal Museum, Norma-number 2463, LaPe-number 243

Figure 8.12) Banner for Commemoration Day of Ilma Lindgren who fought for everyone's right to roam free and forage



Maedhbh McMahon, J*okamiehenoikeus* (Everyman's right), banner for Commemoration Day of Ilma Lindgrenn, [fabric], 2023, Helsinki Art Museum HAM, Helsinki Biennal, Available at https://helsinkibiennaali.fi/en/event/open-call-to-participate-in-everyones-right-a-commemoration-for-ilma-lindgren-sat-2-9/ [last access 10.01.2024]

8.1.1.7. Slovenia

In Slovenia, archival research focused on self-imposed contribution to protect and improve the environment. Public authorities, local communities, and socialist alliances of the working people[24], as well as other interest groups in five Ljubljana municipalities have sought to improve living standards since 1986. **S***elf-imposed contribution*[25] (SIC) was introduced in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) consistent with the idea of self-management[26] that distinguished Yugoslav socialism from both Soviet regimes in the East and liberal democratic states in the West. SIC was not treated as a tax, because self-contribution funds were limited in time and space, collected for specific purposes, and decided by a compulsory referendum[27]. SICs were introduced by a referendum of the citizens residing in a given area; they could be introduced for a part of a local community, several local communities together, a municipality or several municipalities together. The duration of the self-assessment was limited to a maximum of five years[28]. The first SIC in Yugoslavia was voted in 1964 in Kranj, Slovenia[29], and its success encouraged other municipalities to follow their example. In contemporary Slovenia, SICs are still legally possible, but the practice almost died out in the early years of the independent state, and the last attempts on a small scale took place in the years before Slovenia's entry into Euro-Atlantic integration. The fourth SIC in the five municipalities of Ljubljana was held under the motto "So that tomorrow there will still be life" and was aimed at protecting and improving the environment. The proposed programme included the ecological renovation of the Ljubljana Thermal Power Plant (installation of filtering devices), improvements to the municipal water supply and upgrading of the sewerage system (with the aim of protecting water), the construction of local water supply systems (mostly in smaller surrounding villages), and the construction of a central sewage treatment plant and a new landfill site for municipal waste. Already in the Ljubljana long-term development plan "Ljubljana 2000" at the end of the 1970s, environmental aspects received considerable attention, partly due to Ljubljana's basin location and due to fast urbanisation. At the same time, it can be assumed that the first three SICs

[24] Socialist Alliance of the Working People (SZDL), was a mass organisation that united individuals and organisations under the slogan of "pluralism of self-governing socialist interests". Although at first it mainly promoted the interests of the CPSU, as an umbrella organisation that brought together and coordinated different interests; it functioned as a "mix of civil society and government" (Repe 2009). This was particularly true in Slovenia, where the SZDL had more weight, as it was formed out of the Liberation Front, a popular-front organisation that successfully led the national liberation struggle from nazi-fascism.

[25] Other terms are also used in the literature: *voluntary local tax* or *self-imposed tax* (Podlipnik and Ilić-Popov, 2018).

[26] Self-management was a form of worker`s control of the economy (especially the production units) that extended to the realm of social-reproduction/local communities and politics in an attempt to move away from the bureaucratic state control of the Soviet-type regimes.

[27] Podlipnik, Jernej and Ilić-Popov, Gordana (2018). Self-imposed contribution in Slovenian and Serbian legislation. Lex localis, letnik 16, številka 3, str. 613-630; Kerševan, Nuša and Košir, Izak (2018). Nuša Kerševan, nekdanja županja Ljubljane. Mladina 31.

[28] Hočevar, Andreja (1990). Raziskovanje o samoprispevkih: metodološko gradivo. Ljubljana: Zavod Republike Slovenije za statistiko.

[29] Petnajst let samoprispevka: 66/81 (1982). Kranj: Sekretariat koordinacijskega odbora za gradnjo družbenih objektov v krajevnih skupnostih občine.

had already achieved a high level of coverage with infrastructure of a social standard. The SAWP city conference announced the processes for the fourth SIC in January 1986, and the referendum was held in the second half of November. In the meantime, a public debate was held in various forms, during which the programme was revised. The main part of the debate was the consultations in the local communities, where – as reported in the newspapers – the response of the citizens was not overwhelming, but the programme was approved at the assemblies. The SIC programme was also discussed in the newspapers, on Radio Glas Ljubljane and at meetings of interest groups and other organisations. The turnout in the referendum was 71 %; the fourth SIC was rejected by the citizens of Ljubljana's municipalities. Four main theses could be put forward as main reasons for the rejection of the fourth SIC, which would have contributed significantly to improving the environmental situation in Ljubljana (the railway and bus stations have not been renovated to date): 1) the referendum was held at a time of economic crisis and pressures on the living standards of the citizens; 2) in the second half of the 1980s, opposition to SFRY was growing, including the formation of new political groups; 3) some ecological groups argued that the state or the polluter should pay for the ecological clean-up and were opposed to the SIC; 4) in comparison to the “case of previous three SICs, when each local community received a tangible benefit, in this case the benefits were not evenly distributed spatially”.

Figure 8.13) Official poster of the 4th SIC in Ljubljana municipalities



Meta Lazar, *Da bo tudi jutri življenje* (So that tomorrow there will still be life), poster, [88x68], 1986, The National and University Library of Slovenia, lG\iB.l.\n1987101, available at: http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:IMG-TT4UMVY8 [last access 10.01.2024]

Figure 8.14) The poster for the 1st SIC in Ljubljana municipalities



Action comittee for the 1st SIC in Ljubljana, *Tu smo – vaši smo,* poster [91x64], 1971, Digital Library of Slovenia, lG\iB.l.\n1971058, available at http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:IMG-BZCWKHTQ [last access 10.01.2024]

The poster was a big success as it focused on nursery-building with the slogan "we are here (the children) – we are yours", by Action committee for the 1st SIC in Ljubljana.

8.1.1.8. Estonia

In Estonia, the archival research focused on Uus Maailm (meaning New World), a name used back in the 2000s by a citizen-led project aiming at triggering positive actions to encourage change in people. At that time, the slogan was "kodu, mis algab tänavalt" and activists moved to a central neighbourhood of Tallinn. Since then, the community has organised several protests with a view to improve living environments. The local government has adopted some of the claims, such as brown signs that display the name of the neighbourhood around the city. The idea behind the signs was "You cannot form an identity if you don't know where you're at." In the archival research, members of the consortium interviewed the poet Mihkel Kaevats in October 2023.

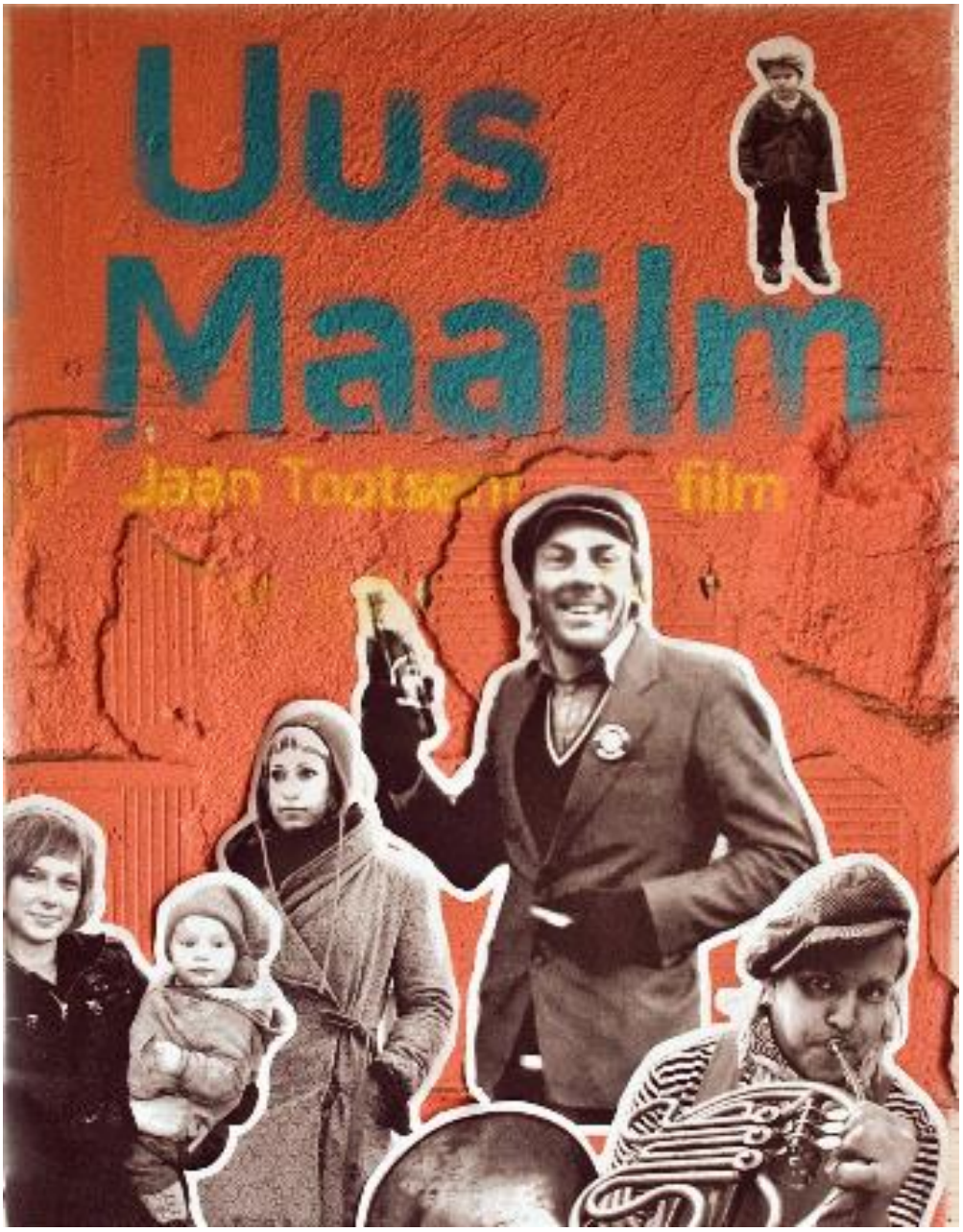
Figure 8.15) Signs that can be found in different locations around Tallinn



Clopy, *The Signs Remain*, [metal signs], photos from Private Archive

The signs display the neighbourhood name "*you cannot form an identity. If you don't know where you're at*".

Figure 8.16) Poster from the film Uus Maailm / The New World directed by Jaan Tootsen (2011)



Jaan Tootsen, *Uus Maalim, Kuukulugur*, 2011. Documentary official poster, available at: https://netikino.ee/uusmaailm?lang=en [last access, 10.01.2024]

The documentary captures how neighbours unite in action.

8.1.1.9. Netherlands

In Groningen, the mobility transition plan was issued by the Mayor and City Council to restrict car traffic in the city centre, making way for cyclists and pedestrians. The primary goal was the promotion of sustainable and active modes of transportation, reducing car usage, and improving the overall quality of life in the city. The goal relied on a long debate about Car Traffic vs. Quality of Life since the mid-1970s, followed by the implementation of the Traffic Circulation Plan (1977). Groningen's City Council faced a critical juncture in its traffic policy, driven by impassioned young members of the Labour Party (PvdA).In the following years, local newspapers have predominantly highlighted the downsides of closing the park to through traffic, with some articles possibly influenced by shopkeeper associations, which persistently campaigned against the park closure, fearing income loss and job cuts. Trade unions also initially opposed the car ban. Neighbourhood resident associations emerged to advocate for their preferred option, mostly favouring park closure to through car traffic, each driven by various motives. Citizen associations like the Echte Nederlandse Fietsersbond (ENFB) (cyclist union) and ROVER (representing public transport users) rallied support for car traffic restrictions by submitting petitions to the local government. Groningen's political landscape showcased differing visions for traffic planning, with the PvdA incorporating the park's car-restriction proposal into their municipal election program. Simultaneously, the Department of Urban Development and Housing (DSenV) endorsed the concept of a car-free park. In 1993-1994, the idea of a referendum gained prominence, primarily driven by the D66 political party. This initiative set the stage for a pivotal decision regarding the presence of cars in Noorderplantsoen park. In the mid-1900s, the car ban was eventually implemented in Noorderplantsoen Park.

Figure 8.17) Images of verkeerscirculatieplan (traffic circulation plan)



Persfotobureau D. van der Veen, *Muziekhandel Vink in Herestraat 91/93 protesteert tegen verkeerscirculatieplan* (Music store Vink Herestraat 91-93 protests against traffic circulation plan), 1975, Groninger Archieven, NL-GnGRA_3099_7660, Originally published in «Nieuwsblad van het Noorden», September 15th, 1975. Picture available at: https://www.beeldbankgroningen.nl/beelden/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&q=verkeerscirculatieplan&rows=1&page=1 [last access 10.01.2024]

Figure 8.18) Images on verkeerscirculatieplan (traffic circulation plan)



Persfotobureau D. van der Veen, *Ondernemers protesteren met spandoeken op de trappen van het Stadhuis tegen het verkeerscirculatieplan (*Entrepreneurs protest with banners on the steps of the City Hall against the traffic circulation plan), 1975, Groninger Archieven, NL-GnGRA_3099_5714. Originally published in «Nieuwsblad van het Noorden», September 16th, 1975. Picture available at: https://www.beeldbankgroningen.nl/beelden/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&q=verkeerscirculatieplan&rows=1&page=1 [last access 10.01.2024]

8.2 Interviews: scripts and consent forms

INTERVIEW SCRIPT - FIRST ROUND OF INTERVIEWS

EUROPEAN UNION HORIZON-FUNDED PROJECT
"INCITEM-DEM - Inclusive Citizenship in a world in Transformation: Co-Designing for Democracy" (2023-2026)
The project aims to expand knowledge on democratic innovations and their role for environmental and social sustainability.
For more information on the project, please consult the website: incite-dem.eu

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ACADEMIC EXPERTS - DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS

Work Package 1 (WP1) – Institute of Social Sciences (University of Lisbon)
Q0. An introduction question about tracing a timeline of democratic innovations.
Q1. Why do you define "democratic innovations" as… [include author's definition]
Q2. Which are the main goals of democratic innovations?
Q3. Your typology of democratic innovations is [include the interviewee's typology]. What criteria did you use to choose this typology?
Q4. To what extent do democratic innovations depend on the action of public authorities and/or civil society?
Q5. Do democratic innovations have the potential to contribute to the fields of environmental and social sustainability?

Note: The WP1 of the INCITE-DEM project has the main aim of producing a scoping review of citizen participation through the concept of democratic innovations. The scoping review has a thematic focus on environmental and social sustainability.

INTERVIEW SCRIPT - SECOND ROUND OF INTERVIEWS

EUROPEN UNION HORIZON-FUNDED PROJECT

"INCITEM-DEM - Inclusive Citizenship in a world in Transformation: Co-Designing for Democracy" (2023-2026)

The project aims to expand knowledge on democratic innovations and their role for environmental and social sustainability.

For more information on the project, please consult the website: incite-dem.eu

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ACADEMIC EXPERTS - DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS

Work Package 1 (WP1) – Institute of Social Sciences (University of Lisbon)

We are postdoc researchers at ICS and team members of the EU-funded project INCITE-DEM. The project aims at examining citizen participation in sustainability and we are carrying out a literature review on the historical trajectory of democratic innovations by focussing on their role in social and environmental sustainability. We are unfolding two scoping reviews accordingly and we would be delighted to gain additional inputs from you, as an expert on democratic innovations and especially on [INSERT SPECIFIC DEMOCRATIC INNOVATION].

Q1: Please tell us about your view on the historical trajectory of Participatory Budgeting and highlight the momentum, if any, when this Democratic Innovation mainstreamed worldwide.

Q2: Please tell us about your view on whether and how Participatory Budgeting has accounted for goals of social sustainability and provide, if you wish, relevant examples of either institution or citizen-led practices.

Q3: Please tell us about your view on whether and how the Participatory Budgeting has accounted for goals of environmental sustainability and provide, if you wish, relevant examples of either institution or citizen-led practices.

Q4: Do you think that the Participatory Budgeting has either been able or holds the potential to account for both goals of social and environmental sustainability at once?

Q5: Is there any other aspect you would like to highlight on the historical trajectory of the Participatory Budgeting?

Q6: Could you provides us with two or three references that, on your opinion, are fundamental to understand the historical trajectory of Participatory Budgeting (for example, references that were fundamental on your work)?

8.3 Participant Informed Consent Form

We thank you for your interest and cooperation during this research.
Please fill the following form, checking each field with an X and signing in the second page. You will receive a copy of this form and of the Participant Information Sheet
(See Appendix below).

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the project's Participant Information Sheet, and I am aware of who is organising, who is funding and what are the purposes of the research, and the expected duration of my participation.	
2. I had the opportunity to read and question the presented information, and I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction.	
3. I understand that the researcher will identify me by name in research outputs related with the project, using information obtained from this interview.	
4. I understand that the data I provide during the study may be available to other consortium team members, when required for research purposes. I hereby allow the members of the research team to have access to this data.	
5. I am aware of the procedures adopted to ensure my data protection, including the duration of storage of personal data, and I have been informed about what will happen to the results of the research.	
6. I wish to receive the final research report. My email address is: _____	
7. I would like to be contacted about any further related research, through the above-mentioned email.	
8. I declare I have not mentioned any potential reason that can become a potential risk for my health or physical integrity.	
9. I declare that I will participate in this study without any remuneration or	

compensation/counterpart, besides eventual required and agreed expenses reimbursement or a symbolic compensation for my time.	
10. I declare that I accept the recording, in audio or video, of my interviews.	
11. I declare that I take this decision completely free of any constraints.	
12. I agree to participate in the research.	

_____ _____

Participant's name Signature

Date ___/____/____

In my opinion the participant understands the relevant aspects of the research information and can make an informed decision.

_____ _____

Main Researcher's name Signature

Date ___/____/____

2. Appendix – Participant Information Sheet

INCITE-DEM Research Coordinator: Dr Inês Campos, Faculty of Sciences of University of Lisbon (FC.ID).

We are pleased to invite you to participate in our research study "INCITE-DEM – Inclusive Citizenship in a world in Transformation: Co-Designing for Democracy project", focused on understanding the processes and models of civic participation and citizenship engagement within democratic life, with an inclusive focus and targeting social and environmental sustainability. Before you decide whether to participate, we would like to present you with further details about this research, its aims, its potential usefulness and what it implies to participate. A member of the research team will accompany you and answer any doubts you might have.

1 - What is the aim of such ‘democratic innovations’ research?

This research aims to understand the conditions that foster civic participation and a more inclusive engagement of citizens in our society’s democratic life - focusing on the discussion of key objectives for the social and environmental sustainability. In such a way, this study departs from historical research of participatory processes in sustainability and the research of ‘democratic innovations’ case studies. These ‘innovations’ consist in such models and processes of civic participation, that have allowed a broad and inclusive engagement of citizens in the design of objectives or public policies - as, for e.g., citizens’ assemblies or participatory budget or other models of 'collaborative governance’. In this sense, this study includes the interviewing of people that have participated in or developed such ‘democratic innovations’ in this town, country, region, country, or locality.

Furthermore, this research also envisages to implement a series of co-creation workshops that we have called Democracy Labs (DLabs), where citizens, representatives of democratic innovation initiatives, policymakers, and other stakeholders - will come together and collaborate in the co-design of new models, more robust and inclusive democratic innovations. The Democracy Labs (DLabs) will take place in six European countries, namely in Portugal, Spain, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, and Norway. The possibility to implement new models of democratic innovation resulting from DLabs, will then be tested with a wider audience, through a choice experiment survey with European citizens. Lastly, the research results will then be debated with a broad range of stakeholders and policy makers at multiple levels of governance in Europe in a way that can search for each democracy innovation viability to be implemented. All results will be published in reports and articles with open access.

2 - Do I have to participate in this study?

Participation is voluntary based. We’ll describe the research and present its content in this Information Sheet, including details about the participation. If you agree to participate, you will sign an Informed Consent Form and receive a copy of the current document and the Informed Consent Form.

3 - What if I wish to back down from this research?

You are free to quit, at any time, without providing any explanation or justification.

4 - What will I have to do as part of the research?

As part of the research, you will participate in an interview. Each session will take a maximum time of one hour, but there is no mandatory minimum time.

The aim of the research is to characterize democratic innovations (such as participatory budgets or citizens' assemblies) in which you have participated or organized, in order to reconstruct the history of these innovations and design new models of participation. It is not intended to evaluate you. All recommendations and suggested improvements will allow the investigation to evolve and are welcome.

5 - What are the disadvantages and risks of participating?
No associated risks are anticipated, and the research team's expectation is that the sessions in which you participate will be a pleasant experience for the participants.

6 - What are the possible benefits of participating?
In our experience, people like to participate in studies that promote communication with scientists. Your involvement will help to understand the conditions for more inclusive citizen engagement and civic participation that will help advance goals for environmental and social sustainability.

7 - What happens when the research is finished?
Data analysis will end in March 2026. Study results will be published in conferences and academic journals. If you would like to know details about the results and implications of the study, we will send you a copy of the research report, but not before April 2026.

8 - What if a problem occurs?
If you have any concerns about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researcher in charge for the project, Dr Inês Campos, who will do her best to clarify and answer your questions, by phone, +351.934972377 or email, iscampos@fc.ul.pt. If you are dissatisfied or want to file a formal complaint, you can do so by contacting the Director of the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon [e-mail: direccao@fc.ul.pt].
9 - Will my information be kept private?
Yes. We will follow all ethical and legal practices and all information about you will be treated with absolute confidentiality. To ensure anonymity, personal records will only be available in their entirety to the researcher in charge, and the members of the research team will only have access to the data they need to know. If your data is used for publications or presentations, it will be completely anonymised, without any direct or indirect reference to your identity. If photographs are taken with the intention to use them in any presentation, you will be asked for prior permission. If you allow us to use photographs or videos for this purpose, we will first ask you to sign specific releases for such objectives.

10 - Did the study go through a review process?
Yes. Indeed, this study was reviewed by the Science Ethics Committee (https://ciencias.ulisboa.pt/pt/comissao-etica-ciencias). This committee analysed the study proposal, as well as all its materials, and raised no objections from an ethical point of view.

11 - Who may I contact about this study?

Below please find the contacts of the main researcher of the Work Package 1 (WP1) of the project, under which the interview will be conducted and the two researchers responsible for conducting the interviews. The WP1 is under the leadership of the Institute of Social Sciences of University of Lisbon (ICS-UL).

Dr Roberto Falanga roberto.falanga@ics.ulisboa.pt	Dr José Duarte Ribeiro jose.ribeiro@ics.ulisboa.pt	Dr João Moniz joao.moniz@ics.ulisboa.pt

Please feel free to contact us for any matter related to this study.
Thank you for taking your time and for considering participating in this study.

8.4 Seminar Series and Podcasts

Following the data collected from the expert interviews the team of the WP1 has decided to further some of the discussions from the interviews by inviting a group of selected interviewees to a seminar series in which they would debate, in pairs, relevant themes related with democratic innovations. A total of four seminar series were organised between September and December 2023. Each event was edited and published as podcast titled "Democratic Innovations podcast". The posters of the seminars are displayed below (links to podcasts on the headings of each seminar)

Figure 8.19) Poster of the 1st INCITE-DEM seminar



Figure 8.20) Poster of the 2nd INCITE-DEM seminar



Figure 8.21) Poster of the 3rd INCITE-DEM seminar



Figure 8.22) Poster of the 4th INCITE-DEM seminar

Democratic Innovations

Seminar Series

CHANGING BUREAUCRACY?



Prof Stephen Elstub
Director of Research for the School of Geography, Politics, and Sociology, Newcastle University



Dr Rikki Dean
Deputy Director of the Democratic Innovations Research Unit, Goethe University Frankfurt

Organisation: *Roberto Falanga, José Ribeiro and João Moniz*

19 December 2023

10-12 AM

Auditório Sedas Nunes
ICS - Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa