

# Project: ACT.WB - Active citizenship: promoting and advancing innovative democratic practices in the Western Balkans

Working Paper: Democratic innovations: an overview of approaches and tools

DATE: 30<sup>th</sup> March 2019



This project has received funding from the *European Union's Erasmus+ programme – Jean Monnet Networks* under grant agreement No 2018-1755/001/001

**ACT.WB** is a 3-year project funded by the European Union's Erasmus+ programme - Jean Monnet Networks. It aims to generate and disseminate knowledge on innovative democratic practices in Western Balkans, through a process of networking, knowledge sharing and collaboration in practical issues between academic scholars, civil society actors and practitioners.

**Project coordinator**

Irena Fiket (University of Belgrade)

**Authors of the working paper**

Stefania Ravazzi, Daniela Piccio, Laura Cataldi

## Aims of the working paper

ACT.WB aims to generate and disseminate knowledge on innovative democratic practices in Western Balkans, through a process of networking, knowledge sharing and collaboration in practical issues between academic scholars, civil society actors and practitioners.

The second Working paper “Democratic innovations: an overview of approaches and tools” aims to develop a conceptual and methodological framework of democratic innovations, that could be useful for countries with few or no experience in the topic, by:

- Exploring the international theoretical and empirical literature on the existent approaches to citizen involvement in policy making;
- Creating a toolbox for practitioners and scholars who want to experiment democratic innovations in their contexts.

This Conceptual working paper contains the ACT.WB main methodological assumptions, setting the path for the realization of the two experimental democratic innovations, to be realized in Serbia at the beginning of the second year.

## 1 Introduction

Over the last decades, although a general retrenchment of the State in terms of direct intervention in the Market, public intervention to address collective problems has been enlarged, challenged by the emergence of new needs, demands and socio-economic risks. In front of new challenges and unsolved old problems, policy-making has also been gradually evolving towards more inclusive governance models. Expressions like ‘horizontal governance’, ‘collaborative Public Administration’ ‘participatory governance’ and ‘democratic innovations’ are now spreading in many countries (Fung and Wright 2001; Fischer 2006; Smith 2009). Local authorities, in particular, are effectively experimenting the involvement of extra-institutional actors to address public issues, by sharing their decisions and management power with citizens and stakeholders (Michels and De Graaf 2010).

These inclusive innovative democratic practices should, on the one hand, favour community building and conflict management, especially in contexts with low political confidence, low trust in public institutions and low political participation; on the other hand, they should improve the problem-solving capacity of the Public Administration, by improving the understanding of community assets, needs and requirements and by increasing the government departments’ capacity of collaborating and communicating between them.

These inclusive innovative democratic processes can be designed and managed in different ways. Over the last decades, two approaches have emerged in the public participation field.

## 2 Involving citizens and civil society actors in policy-making: an overview of the approaches

Collaborative and inclusive policy-making has spread in many countries, through various kinds of involvement processes, which have the aim of integrating the viewpoints of politicians and bureaucrats with the ones of civil society actors, target groups and beneficiary groups or service users. Although these processes do not always follow ideal formats explicitly, a common typology distinguishes between *participatory processes* and *deliberative processes* (Ravazzi 2006).

### 2.1 Participatory processes and deliberative processes

**Participatory processes** have the main aim of mobilizing and activating citizens in public affairs, in order to influence political decisions directly. Since the Seventies, some countries begun to experiment public audiences, town meetings, participatory planning and participatory budgeting. According to the participatory approach, the public sphere should be open to civil society voices by integrating the traditional democratic procedures with public assemblies of direct democracy, in which ordinary citizens and civil society actors can contribute to shape public decisions. From this perspective, public participation is good *per se* and public engagement must be spontaneous and give space to confrontational forms of interaction among citizens, associations and political authorities. The legitimacy of participatory practices lie in the number of citizens that they manage to involve and in the strength of the voice that they manage to transmit to the political authorities (Smith 2009).

In summary, participatory approaches to collaborative policy-making is based on the following main principles:

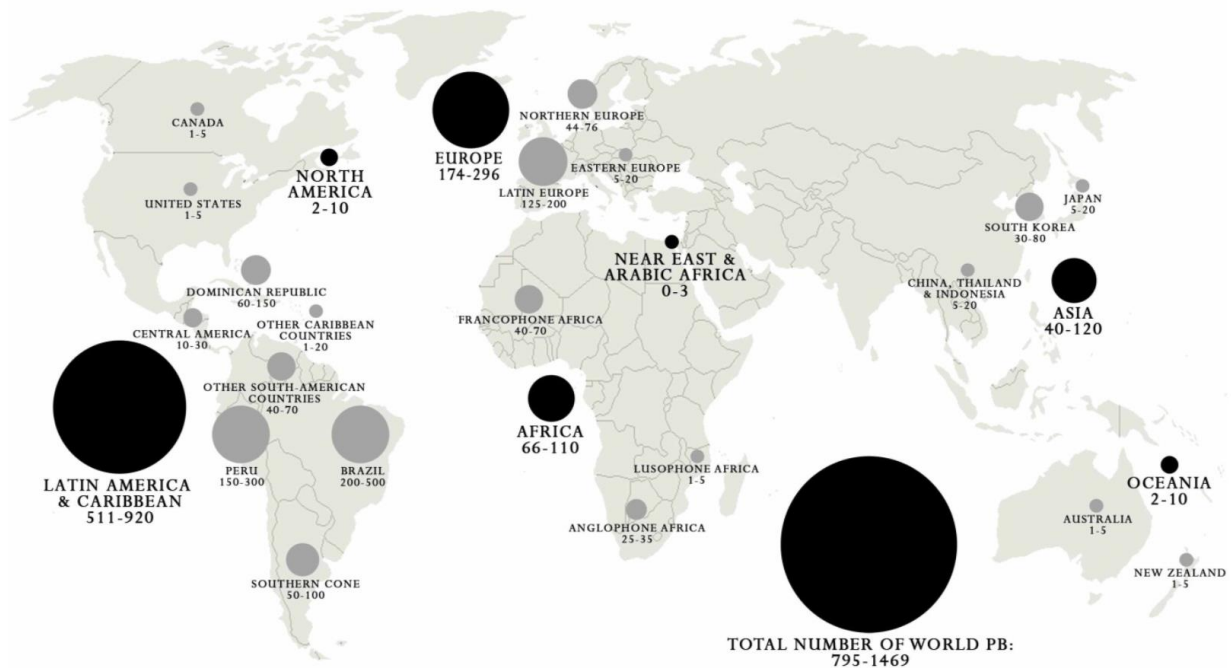
- the search for high mobilization as a good *per se*, in order to strengthen civic virtues and grassroots democracy,
- the importance of direct confrontation between political representatives and citizens, in order to increase popular control on politicians,
- the need for direct democracy (vote and referendum), in order to clearly show majoritarian opinions on public decisions.

Participatory budget is the most common participatory device, through which population is invited to participate in order to contribute to the allocation of the budget voices. Born in Brazil in late Eighties, participatory budget found wide application in Europe starting from the following decade (Fig. 1). This type of practice appears to be among the most adopted not only in the new world<sup>1</sup>, but also in the old continent, as confirmed by the literature on the subject (Sintomer and Allegretti 2009, Allegretti 2010, Dias 2014).

---

<sup>1</sup> The website of the Participatory Budgeting Project, a nonprofit association, collects a series of case studies of participatory budgeting mainly on the new continent, in particular Canada and the USA, but also in the rest of the world.

Figure 1. Participatory budgets in the world.



Source: Sintomer *et al.* (2012, 4).

**Deliberative processes** have a partially different aim: creating public spaces of discussion between different viewpoints, reasons, ideas and interests, in order to take decisions in a constructive and consensual way. From this perspective, democratic innovations should not be introduced to involve active citizens, but to create the conditions that allow citizens to listen to other viewpoints, to discuss on arguments and reasons, to question preconceived opinions and to formulate decisions that satisfy different needs and interests. For this reason, deliberative processes pay more attention to the balance between different voices, than to the detection of a majoritarian voice in civil society; to the quality of the dialogues, than to the quantity of participants; to the search for a consensual agreement, than to the empowerment of the most representative opinions (Bobbio 2010; Mansbridge *et al.* 2010; Cuppen 2012; Steiner 2012).

In summary, deliberative processes are based on the following principles:

- the importance of dialogue between different voices regardless of their strength in terms of mobilization potential or social support, in order to take into consideration all the viewpoints and interests on a particular issue,
- the search for balanced information and rational argumentation, in order to favour the construction of reasoned decisions and opinions,
- the search for constructive interactions between citizens, experts and stakeholders, in order to favour the emergence of consensual decisions.

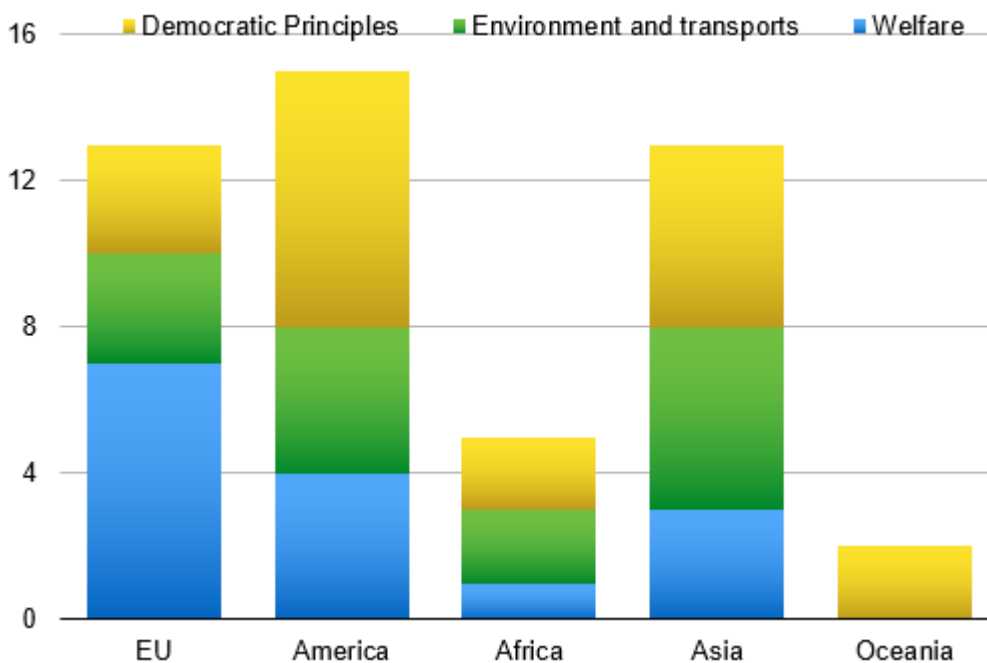
As a consequence, deliberative processes give only small room to spontaneous forms of participation and they tend to be somewhat 'artificial': they are highly structured, involving citizens,

experts and stakeholders in strictly regulated arenas, and they are usually designed and conducted with the support and consultancy of professional facilitators (Fung 2003; Dryzek 2010; Moore 2012).

From the Nineties onwards, several deliberative processes have been experimented all over the world, like Deliberative polls, Citizen juries, Consensus conferences, Planungszelle, and 21st Century Town Meetings.

Thanks to the activity of the Center for Deliberative Democracy, housed in the Department of Communication at Stanford University, deliberative polls are among the most applied deliberative processes. Deliberative polls recruit randomly representative samples of the population and these samples are first polled on the targeted issues. Participants are then invited to gather at a single place for a weekend in order to discuss the issues. Carefully balanced briefing materials are sent to the participants and are also made publicly available. The participants engage in dialogue with competing experts and political leaders based on questions they develop in small group discussions (6-12 people) with trained facilitators. After the deliberations, the samples are again asked the original questions. The resulting changes in opinion represent the conclusions the public would reach, if people had opportunity to become more informed and more engaged by the issues. To date, deliberative polling experiments on different issues have been conducted over seventy times in 24 countries, but only 49 deliberative polls made worldwide have been cataloged on the website, of which 13 in Europe (Fig. 2). In 2007 EU was the scene of the first attempt to apply the model on an international scale, with the project "Tomorrow's Europe, the first EU-wide Deliberative Poll". This project involved for the first time a random sample of 362 citizens from all 27 EU countries that spent a weekend deliberating about key social, economic, and foreign policy issues affecting the future of the EU and its member states.

**Figure 2. Cataloged deliberative polls by countries and issues.**



Source: <http://cdd.stanford.edu>

Citizens' juries, consensus conferences and Planungszelle are processes aimed at including in the decision-making arena a few dozen citizens, selected from a random or stratified sample of the population, who are gathered for a very short period (usually in the order of 2-5 days) to discuss and decide on a highly controversial issue (Font 1998). Some processes take place within a few days, others last several months, reaching a maximum duration of one or two years. Citizens' juries are common practices mainly in the United States, Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain (Crosby 1996, Smith and Wales 1999). Planungszelle (planning cells) were first tested in Germany (Garbe 1986, Dienel 1997) and have a quite similar format to citizens' juries. Consensus conferences are a Danish innovation, but have also arrived in Great Britain and the Netherlands (Hörning 1999, Boy, Kamel and Roqueplo 2000) and are mainly focused on new and controversial scientific issues.

The selected citizens, who receive cash compensation for the entire duration of the inclusive process, have the opportunity to speak with experts and stakeholders on the subject, who, in addition to concisely presenting and arguing their views on the issue under discussion, are required to discuss with the participants and answer their questions. The whole decision-making process is assisted and regulated by professional facilitators, whose function is to ensure that the public dialogue is conducted impartially and according to pre-established rules, to allow all actors to interact with each other on an equal footing.

At the end of the sessions, participants have to draw up a detailed report and make a final decision on the controversial issue. The primary objective of the participants is to arrive at a shared decision, so the decision-making procedure generally does not include majority voting. The final report is then forwarded to the competent political authority with the aim of influencing its decisions.

The XXI Century Town meetings are very similar to the deliberative polls, but with the addition of a relevant technological component. The discussion tables are equipped with computers, on which the table verbalizers report the ideas, the controversial issues and the common proposals of the participants. The computers of the tables are connected to a central workstation, where a team of people (the so-called 'theme team') works to integrate the comments coming from the various tables, merging the similar ones and highlighting the divergences. Experts and stakeholders present their points of view to the whole audience, but during the discussion sessions they are available to the individual groups for clarification and discussion. These sessions are followed by moments of collective synthesis, in which the theme team reports the main ideas that emerged from the tables, the controversies on the issue to debate, the opinions and the main arguments on a big screen.

The final survey is also carried out with the application of technology, by means of a tele-vote between options that the themes team has elaborated on the basis of the comments coming from the tables. The results of the tele-vote are shared with the participants in real time (Americaspeaks 2002).

After a careful review of the theoretical and empirical literature, the main differences between participatory and deliberative processes have been summarized in tab. 1.

**Table 1 Collaborative policy-making: deliberative vs. participatory approach**

	deliberative model		participatory model	
	Design element	aim	Design element	aim

<b>arena construction</b>	targeted recruitment of participants	equal room for different voices and interests	open door	maximum mobilization and participation
<b>dialogue conduction</b>	independent facilitation / use of techniques for constructive dialogue	stimulus to reasoned and equal discussion	spontaneous interaction and low structuration	emergence of diffused need and opinions
<b>Information processing</b>	involvement of technicians and experts	development of informed and wiser decisions	direct interaction between politicians and citizens	stronger popular control on politicians
<b>decision rule</b>	unanimity rule	reach of consensual decisions	preference aggregation / vote	identification of the majoritarian view in civil society

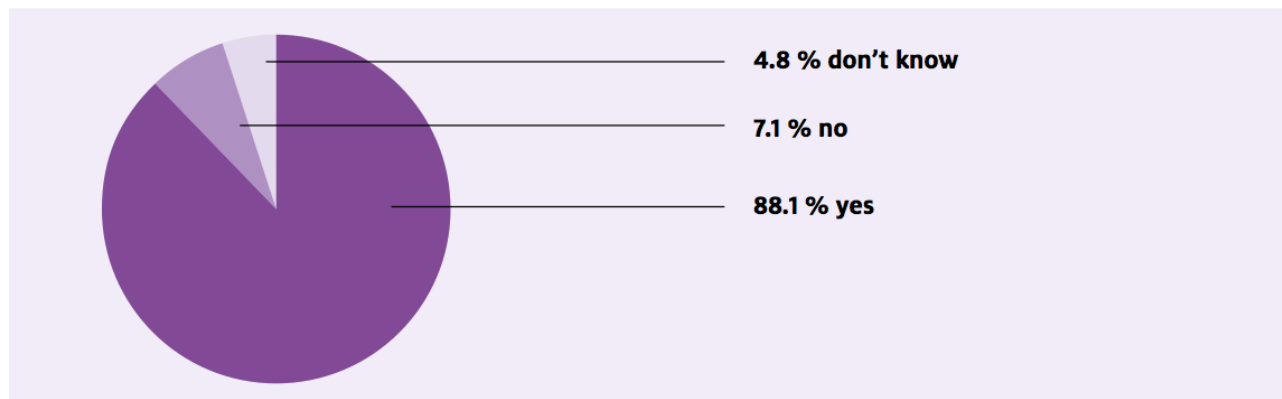
Some collaborative processes meld participatory approach with deliberative approach, for example mixing or alternating more open and spontaneous forms of citizen involvement with smaller, more structured and more dialogue-based arenas that gather ordinary citizens, stakeholders and experts (Ravazzi and Pomatto 2014).

Moreover, some countries and regions **have recently adopted laws that promote citizen involvement in decision-making**. **Peru** and the **Dominican Republic** have distinguished themselves because of their adoption of national policies to promote participatory processes at a local level (McNulty 2012). Some **European countries** have also adopted participatory laws: **Poland** introduced a law that requires local governments to implement participatory processes and some **Spanish** and **Italian** regional governments (Andalusia, Catalonia, Apulia and Emilia-Romagna) introduced regional laws to promote the organization of citizen participation processes at an urban and regional level (Alarcón and Font 2014; Font, Della Porta and Syntomer 2014). Other countries and regions have introduced laws that recall the deliberative ideal more or less explicitly. **France** institutionalized the use of the '*Débat public*' in policy-making processes concerning large infrastructures (Revel *et al.* 2007) with the 1995 Barnier Law and afterwards with the 2002 Law on Democratic proximity, which introduced clear deliberative commitments in the participatory device (Steiner 2012). Tuscany formally initiated a policy to systematically promote deliberative processes in 2007, with the 69/07 Law, afterwards replaced by the 259/13 Law (Lewanski 2013). A similar Law has recently been introduced also in Italy in 2018.

As the chart in Figure 3 shows, even out of regulatory frameworks, in some countries the percentage of local administrators and politicians who has witnessed participatory processes on their territory in the last five years is more than 88 percent.



**Figure 3. Percentage of respondents (politicians and administrators) who took part in participatory projects.**



Source: Interreg Alpine Space, 2016. Countries considered: Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Slovenia, Liechtenstein, France and Germany.

The landscape of collaborative processes in policy making is mostly unknown, since there does not exist any official repository of participatory and deliberative processes. At the moment, the most extensive open-access archive of collaborative processes is the Participedia project. Participedia is an online platform, founded by Archon Fung (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University) and Mark E. Warren (Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia), that provides scholars and practitioners with a series of information on participatory processes, collecting cases from all over the world. While not covering the entire landscape of practices (as cases are collected on a voluntary basis), the database highlights how the participatory practices have been widespread over the last decades ([www.participedia.net](http://www.participedia.net)).

### 3. Some preconditions for a good start

The context in which processes are introduced is important to understand the challenges and opportunities they face and in forecasting its easier or harder management. According to the empirical literature, some contextual aspects seem particularly relevant.

First of all, the emergence or the presence of **local and territorial conflicts** can obstacle the management of an inclusive democratic process by undermining its perceived legitimacy and its capacity to address the issue in a constructive way. According to Petrella (2012), the emergence of conflicts in some cases of sustainable energy policies could be prevented in the cases in which the local authority had integrated the policy into a broader long-term strategic development plan.

Another aspect that should be taken into consideration is the presence of a **legal framework that binds the local authority** and constrains it to adopt specific approaches or to respect specific rules. A higher-level legal framework can also help the process be perceived as more neutral and less linked to a particular political ideology.

Moreover, the **experience of previous participatory or deliberative processes** may also help reduce skepticism and fear. In other words, the new process can be perceived (and also criticized) as a normal way of making policies, instead of a strange and questionable tool.

Finally, some studies on participatory budgeting have shown that the **presence of a local civil society that is willing to actively participate in public decisions** favoured the management of the process (Abers 2000, Baiocchi 2003, 2005). According to Nylén (2003), in some way, the activism of groups and citizen committees acts as a factor that makes the process stronger while facing political pressures and attempts of weakening it (Nylén 2003).

In general, net of contextual conditions, democratic innovations can also benefit from **two main preconditions**: a strong and public commitment of the promoter of the process and an early timing of the process.

In their study on 54 participatory processes on environmental issues in the Great Lakes region (Canada), Beierle and Konisky (2000) pointed out that the most appreciated and well-working processes were the ones in which the institutional authorities showed a **strong commitment** towards the process. Political commitment was also an important precondition in the case of the deliberative process on the new Charter for the city of Chelsea, in Massachusetts (Podziba 2006), in some Spanish citizen juries (Font and Blanco 2007) and in some participatory budgeting in Brazil (Abers 2000; Baiocchi 2003).

**The timing of the process**, that is, its start at an early policy stage in which alternative options are still available, is the second important precondition for any participatory and deliberative process. In the case of a collaborative process concerning public works in Oxford (UK), the participatory process failed from the beginning, because the institutional authority consulted citizens when the project had already been defined in most of its aspects and significant alternatives were not really possible, making the stakes *de facto* non-existent (Brownill 2009). Holzinger (2000), analyzing the reasons for the premature failure of a participatory process concerning the policy of waste management in Neuss (Germany), stressed that the failure in part depended on the lack of a clear degree of freedom of the participatory process in the official policy-making cycle. Gauthier and Simard (2007) have emphasized this factor and highlighted that the major weakness of the citizens' involvement in decision-making promoted by the Bureau d'Audiences Publiques sur l'Environnement in Quebec was the late timing of the processes, which severely limited citizen contribution to the projects under discussion. In all these cases, the late introduction of a participatory or deliberative process plumped diffused distrust and skepticism about the real possibility to influence the policy at stake and about the sincere intentions of the promoters. In many cases in which late participation generates distrust, conflicts and mobilizations usually emerge with particular strength, both against the policy and against the process itself.

#### 4. Three challenges for democratic innovations, no 'best practices' to copy

Democratic innovations, opting for an approach or another or mixing the two approaches, can assume different shapes. This section describes some main process feature and tools, which are used in these processes, and the supposed mechanism that trigger when applied. The tools listed in table 2 have been identified through an extensive review of the empirical literature on participatory and deliberative processes and of the international database of participatory processes Participedia.

Some processes start with the constitution of a **steering committee**, which should gather together every public institution and stakeholder which can have a say in the issue at stake, besides the organizers that are tasked with coordinating and conducting the process. The role of the steering committee is to supervise the design and management of the entire process, in order to give an impartial guarantee because of the balanced composition of the committee. In other processes, this tool is not used.

Political authorities can decide to make an official **public promise** that the outputs of the process will be taken into consideration. In some cases, public promise concerns also clear and quantifiable amounts of financial resources devoted to the process and to the policy at stake, like in most participatory budgets.

Democratic innovations can also be accompanied by **communication campaigns**, because catching the attention of citizens is one of the hardest things in public participation. However, communication campaigns are used not only to excite curiosity and induce citizens and civil society actors to participate, but also to explain the design of the process and convince people of its balance and impartiality. Moreover, some processes also end with a communication campaign in order to make the outcomes more visible.

**Political and technical task forces** are sometimes created with the task of favouring information exchanges between the process, political representatives and civil servants. Information processing, especially for ordinary citizens, can be a hard work and subject to several cognitive shortcomings. A strict and frequent interaction with political and technical information can help increase rationality and reasonability of information processing processes and of decisional processes.

The process can also end with a **referendum**, that allows to participate also other citizens, who couldn't take part physically to the face-to-face process.

Finally, some participatory processes introduce the election or nomination of **'delegates' or 'ambassadors'**, which do not usually have the aim of affecting substantive decisions, but of favouring connections with the general public and/or checking the effective implementation of the outcomes of the process.

**Table 2. Main process tools, functions and mechanisms in democratic innovations**

Process tools that can be used or not	Function or role	Mechanisms
<b>Steering committee</b> composed of public institutions representatives and stakeholders	to supervise the process	Actors' certification <sup>2</sup> Repeated interactions <sup>3</sup> Anticipation of preferences <sup>4</sup>
<b>Official public promise</b> of the political authority	To guarantee that the outputs of the process will be taken into consideration	Pre-commitment <sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> When certification takes place, implementers adopt cooperative behaviour because the actor mandating implementation receives endorsement by another actor (McAdam et al., 2001: 121; Busetti and Dente 2016: 9)

<sup>3</sup> Repeated interactions can favour trust, mutual learning and commitment among partners because implementers learn to value relations, and the costs of defecting become prohibitive (Busetti and Dente 2016: 13).

<sup>4</sup> Under the mechanism of anticipated reactions (Scharpf 1997) if I think the other has any reasons to oppose my actions, I adjust my behavior so as to minimise the bones of contention (for example, by concentrating them in the few essential issues on my agenda). By anticipating preferences, the scope for potential conflict can be limited, making room for consideration of the others' objectives within one's own.

<sup>5</sup> Precommitment is used in deterrence theory to identify a strategy that improves the credibility of a threat, either by imposing significant penalties on the threatening party for not following through, or, by making it impossible to not respond (Schelling, 1966). Elster (1989) identifies precommitment as generic response to the weakness of will. According to Ariely and Wertenbroch (2002), precommitment occurs when people try to control their procrastination tendency by setting

Process tools that can be used or not	Function or role	Mechanisms
		Moral obligation to keep one's promises <sup>6</sup>
<b>Communication campaign</b> by the promoters	to inform citizens and increase visibility of the process and its outcomes	Bandwagon effect <sup>7</sup>
<b>Political task force</b> composed of elected officials	to create an interface between the process and the political groups	Counter-selective perception <sup>8</sup>
<b>Technical task force</b> composed of civil servants	to provide information on the issue at stake and on the feasibility of alternative solutions	Actors' certification Repeated interactions Anticipation of preferences
<b>Final referendum or vote</b>	To favour involvement also to citizens who cannot participate physically	Attribution of threat or opportunity <sup>9</sup>
<b>'Delegates' or 'ambassadors'</b>	to increase connections between the process and the public opinion	Certification of the actors Anticipation of conflicts

A European Union project, the ENLARGE project ([www.enlarge-project.eu](http://www.enlarge-project.eu)), has worked on the effects of the adoption of different tools in democratic innovations in the field of sustainable energy. The project was focused in particular on the impacts on three main dimensions, which can be considered challenges to overcome in order to integrate the democratic innovations into the broader and tortuous policy-making processes.

The first challenge to overcome is **social legitimacy**, namely the capacity of the process to be perceived by public opinion as a legitimate tool to take public decisions and improve policy

---

deadlines for themselves. In the political context, promises can add an immediate reward from the audience but they also add social stigma to negative behavior, thus making more costly the failure to comply of those promises.

<sup>6</sup> The moral obligation to promise keeping is a main point of the social contract theory, and aims to establish and maintain one's good name and honour. It was typical of medieval societies (Rubin, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Bandwagons have a positive feedback loop in which information generated by more adoptions creates a stronger bandwagon pressure, and a stronger bandwagon pressure prompts more adoptions. Not all members of a collectivity necessarily give in to a bandwagon pressure. Threshold models assume that members of a collectivity have varying predispositions against adopting an innovation. Therefore, a member with a high threshold adopts only in response to a strong bandwagon pressure, whereas it only takes a weak bandwagon pressure to cause a member with a low threshold to adopt, and it takes no bandwagon pressure for a member with a zero threshold to adopt (Granovetter, 1978; Rosenkopf and Abrahamson 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Selective perception stems from the observation that human judgment and decision-making are distorted by an array of cognitive, perceptual and motivational biases. The organization theory asserts that each executive will perceive those aspects of the situation that relate specifically to the activities and goals of his department. (Dearborn and Simon, 1958). The creation of political task forces tend to overcome the natural selective perception of the various political actors in charge of different political areas, trying to mainstream a specific goal into a common goal.

<sup>9</sup> Barzelay (2007, 534) notes the importance of the mechanisms of attribution of threat and opportunity to the study of policy change, linking attribution of opportunity to "Kingdon's idea that policy entrepreneurs respond with intense effort to situations when they perceive that the window of opportunity may open." As he suggests, attribution of opportunity is highly mobilizing. The same can be said of threat. In this case, actors mobilize to engage in contentious framing of particular programs as transformational (or not) as they begin to perceive the opportunity to push programs or the need to protect them against threats (Came and Campbell 2010).

implementation (Parkinson 2006). Democratic innovations are in fact short parentheses within the traditional policy-making and people's attention on them and their rationale is hard to catch. Moreover, they can be perceived by civil society organizations and ordinary citizens as political manipulations or simply tools to increase political consensus on already taken decisions (Young 2000). Without a more general and diffused support, these processes risk to generate more problems than benefits in policy-making, therefore the matter of social legitimacy cannot be neglected. The **gender issue** is certainly linked to social legitimacy, since the general recognition of these processes as fair and useful tools of policy making passes also through gender equality, which is still an ideal in political participation. Eurobarometer data (2013) reveal that females are less willing than males to express their political views in public meetings, in front of their representatives and also in social networks. According to various academic studies, gender inequality also affects democratic innovations (Karpowitz *et al.* 2012; Allegretti and Falanga 2016).

The second challenge is **institutional sustainability**, that is the capacity of the process to be integrated in the traditional democratic processes without generating conflicts and resistance by the political authority and civil servants. From a policy analysis perspective, the introduction of these processes can in fact be perceived as a challenge to the traditional political representation, in particular to the legitimacy of the elected officials and in general to the role of politicians (Posner 2004; Smith 2009). If a participatory or deliberative process raises conflicts and resistance in the political and bureaucratic environments, it is hardly integrated into the traditional policy-making and its conduction risks becoming extremely arduous.

The third challenge is **political effectiveness**, namely the capacity of the inclusive process to influence public policies, determining some kind of *change* in the design or implementation of the policy at stake. The matter of political effectiveness is relevant, if these processes "*are to be considered something more than just a human laboratory*" (Font and Blanco 2007, 580). Democratic innovations in policy making are in fact usually consultative, because public authorities do not have any formal obligation to respect their outputs. Therefore, their impact cannot be taken for granted and a systematic analysis of which factors favour their political effectiveness is necessary (Ravazzi and Pomatto 2014).

The project has produced a final deliverable: a **gamebook for public administrators and civil society actors**, that has been constructed in order to help potential promoters and organizers understand how to design a democratic innovation and with which implications (directly readable in the online version at <https://03.stratae.com> or from the project website). This gamebook allows the reader to make his/her own design choices in an imaginary democratic innovation within an imaginary but quite realistic local context. The book, by highlighting different rationales, constraints and unexpected events, shows how the design choices in democratic innovations often imply compromises, if the three aforementioned challenges are considered, because most design choices have positive impact on one or two dimensions, but none of them manages to maximize at the same time all three dimensions. In other words, there is almost always a sort of trade-off between them.

## References

- Abers, R. N. (2000), *Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil*, London, Lynne Rienner.
- Alarcón, P. and Font, J. (2014), «Where Are the Boundaries of Deliberation and Participation? A Transatlantic Debate», *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 10(2), <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol10/iss2/art11>
- Allegretti G. and Falanga R. (2016), *Women in Budgeting: A Critical Assessment of Participatory Budgeting Experiences*, in Ng C. (eds), *Gender Responsive and Participatory Budgeting*, SpringerBriefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace, vol. 22. Springer, Cham
- Allegretti U. (2010), *Democrazia partecipativa. Esperienze e Prospettive in Italia e in Europa*, Firenze University Press, Firenze
- Ariely, D. and Wertenbroch, K. (2002). Procrastination, Deadlines, and Performance: Self-Control by Precommitment, *Psychological Science*, Volume: 13 issue: 3, page(s): 219-224
- Baiocchi, G., ed. (2003), *Radicals in Power: The Workers Party (PT) and Experiments in Urban Democracy in Brazil*, London, Zed Books.
- Baiocchi, G. (2005), *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Bobbio, L. (2010), «Types of deliberation», *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 6(2), <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol6/iss2/art1/>
- Bradwell P. and Marr S. (2008), *Making the most of collaboration. An international survey of public service co-design*, Report 23, Demos, London
- Brownill, S. (2009), «The Dynamics of Participation: Modes of Governance and Increasing Participation in Planning», *Urban Policy and Research*, 4, 357-375.
- Buseti, S., and B. Dente. 2016. "Designing Multi-Actor Implementation: A Mechanism-Based Approach." *Public Policy and Administration*. <http://ppa.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0952076716681207>.
- Came, T. and Campbell C.(2010). *The Dynamics of Top-Down Organizational Change : Donald Rumsfeld's Campaign to Transform the U.S. Defense Department*. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 23(3): 411–35.
- CIPFA and DFID (2004), *Gender and Participatory Budgeting*, London, url: <http://gender-financing.unwomen.org/en/resources/g/e/n/gender-and-participatory-budgeting>
- Cuppen, E. (2012), «Diversity and Constructive Conflict in Stakeholder Dialogue: Considerations for Design and Methods», *Policy Sciences*, 45, 23-46.
- Dias N. (org.) (2014), *Hope for Democracy. 25 years of participatory budgeting worldwide*, In Loco Association, São Brás de Alportel, Portugal, url: [http://www.in-loco.pt/upload\\_folder/edicoes/1279dd27-d1b1-40c9-ac77-c75f31f82ba2.pdf](http://www.in-loco.pt/upload_folder/edicoes/1279dd27-d1b1-40c9-ac77-c75f31f82ba2.pdf)



Dryzek, J.S. (2010), *Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Elster, Jon (1989). *Solomonic Judgements Studies in the Limitations of Rationality*. Cambridge University Press.

Eurobarometer (2013), *Europeans' engagement in participatory democracy*, Flash Eurobarometer 373, survey conducted by TNS Political & Social at the request of the European Commission, url: [http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/flash/fl\\_373\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/flash/fl_373_en.pdf)

Font, J. and Blanco, I. (2007), «Procedural Legitimacy and Political Trust: The Case of Citizens Juries in Spain», *European Journal of Political Research*, 46, 557-89.

Font, J., Della Porta, D. and Sintomer, Y., eds. (2014), *Participatory democracy in Southern Europe. Causes, characteristics and consequences*, London and New York, Rowman & Littlefield.

Fung, A. (2003), «Recipes for public spheres: eight institutional design choices and their consequences», *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11(3), 338-367.

Fung, A. and Wright, E.O. (2001), *Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. *Politics and Society* 29, 5– 42.

Ganuzza E. and Francés F. (2012), *The Deliberative Turn in Participation: The Problem of Inclusion and Deliberative Opportunities in Participatory Budgeting*, in *European Political Science Review*, vol. 4, n. 2, pp. 283–302

Gauthier, M. e Simard, L. (2007), *Le BAPE et l'institutionnalisation du débat public au Québec: mise en œuvre et effets*, In M. Revel, C. Blatrix, L. Blondiaux, J. M. Fourniau, B. Hériard Dubreuil, R. Lefebvre, Eds., *Le Débat public: une expérience française de démocratie participative*, Paris, La Découverte, 78-91.

Granovetter, M. (1978), *Threshold Model of Collective Behaviour*. *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 6: 1420-1444.

Holzinger, K. (2000), «Limits of co-operation: a German case of environmental mediation», *European Environment*, 10, 293-305.

Interreg Alpine Space (2016), *Democratic Innovation and Participatory Democracy in the Alpine Area*, url: <http://www.alpine-space.eu/projects/gaya/results/comparative-report-english>

Karpovitz C., Mendelberg T., Shaker L. (2012), *Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation*, *American Political Science Review*, vol. 16, n.3, pp. 533-547

Mansbridge, J., Bohman, J., Chambers, S., Estlund, D., Føllesdal, A., Fung, A., Lafont, C., Manin, B. and Marti, L. (2010), «The Place of Self-Interest and the Role of Power in Deliberative Democracy», *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 1, 64-100.

McNulty, S. (2012), «An Unlikely Success: Peru's Top-Down Participatory Budgeting Experience», *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2), <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art4/>

Michels, A. and De Graaf, L. (2010), «Examining Citizen Participation: Local Participatory Policy-making and Democracy», *Local Government Studies*, 36(4), 477-491.

Moore, A. (2012), «Following from the front: theorizing deliberative facilitation», *Critical Policy Studies*, 6(2), 146-162.

Nylen, W. R. (2003), *An Enduring Legacy: Popular Participation in the Aftermath of the Participatory Budgets of Joao Monlevade and Betim*, in G. Baiocchi, ed., *Radicals in Power: The Workers Party (PT) and Experiments in Urban Democracy in Brazil*, London, Zed Books.

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

Petrella, A. (2012), *Innovazioni e conflitti nella gestione locale delle energie rinnovabili: quattro casi italiani a confronto, Stato e mercato*, 95, 283-321.

Podziba, S. L. (2006), *Chelsea Story*, Milan, Mondadori.

Ravazzi, S. (2006), «L'inclusione politica: i modelli, gli esiti, le domande ancora aperte», *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 36(2), 259-282.

Ravazzi, S. and Pomatto, G. (2014), «Flexibility, argumentation and confrontation. How deliberative minipublics can affect policies on controversial issues», *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 10(2), <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol10/iss2/art10/>

Reuchamps M. and Suiter J. (2016), *Constitutional deliberative democracy in Europe*, ECPR Press, Rowman and Littlefield International, London

Revel, M., et al., eds. (2007), *Le Débat Public: une Expérience française de Démocratie Participative*, Paris, La Decouverte.

Rosenkopf, L., and Abrahamson E. (1999). Modeling Reputational and Informational Influences in Threshold Models of Bandwagon Innovation Diffusion. *Computational & Mathematical Organization Theory* 5(4): 361–84. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1009620618662>.

Rubin, E.L. (2007). *Beyond Camelot: Rethinking Politics and Law for the Modern State*, Princeton University Press

Scharpf, Fritz Wilhelm. 1997. *Games Real Actors Play : Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research*. Westview Press.

Schelling, Thomas C. (1966). *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press

Schneider, A., e Ingram, H. (1990), «Behavioral assumptions of policy tools», *The Journal of Politics*, 52(2), pp. 510-529.

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

Steiner, J., (2012), *The Foundation of deliberative democracy. Empirical research and normative implications*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Sintomer, Y., Herzberg, C, Roecke, A. and Allegretti, G. (2012), *Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: The Case of Participatory Budgeting*, *Journal of Public Deliberation* 8(2), article 9. <https://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art9/>



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

Young, I. M. (2000), *Inclusion and Democracy*, New York, Oxford University Press.