

Public participation in an era of governance:

LESSONS FROM EUROPE

For Australian Local Government

Mark Evans with Richard Reid



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Acknowledgements

As apostles of citizen-centric governance, we are extremely fortunate to have had the ability to complete this report at this particular moment in the history of Australian federalism. There is a distinct sense of renewal occurring across federal government in which public participation is taking centre stage. However, it must also be noted from the outset that public participation is not a panacea for all our 'wicked' social problems. *The main conclusion from this review of leading European practice is that what is needed is not more participation, but quality participation aimed at public value creation.*

In addition, I would like to thank Richard Reid for his important contribution to the completion of the case study sections of this report. Most importantly, however, I would like to thank the Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government (ACELG) for not only providing some of the financial resources to help make this report happen but also for the supportive culture it has generated for the completion of evidence based research.

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Executive summary

Context

The purpose of this report is twofold: (1) to provide an academically informed and practical insight into leading European practice in public participation and (2) to assess the implications of these findings for citizen-centric local government in Australia. This involves the provision of a range of tools for identifying and sharing better practice, diagnosing what will work in different social settings, matching different engagement methods to different engagement purposes and identifying where citizen engagement could be useful at four decision points in the policy process (strategic direction; policy design; policy delivery and policy learning). In addition, it also provides a selection of exemplar case studies drawn from across Europe at each decision point. In sum, this report provides a strong knowledge base on leading European practices in citizen-centric governance.

The contribution of this report

It is hoped that this report will be useful to local governments embarking on processes of problem-solving in response to social change. The report is mainly intended as a reference document for public managers with responsibility for managing and delivering different forms of citizen-centric governance. However, it has not been written as a 'one-size fits all' solution to critical challenges in public participation. It provides the start of an ongoing conversation between federal government, other partners in governance and crucially, citizens themselves, about the best way to solve social problems, target scarce resources and prepare for the future.

Five main outputs can be found in this report:

1. An international better practice brief with details of the key assumptions arising from existing academic and practice-based literature on public participation in Europe and the implications of these assumptions for better practice.
2. A tool for diagnosing what will work in different social settings – the CLEAR model.
3. A taxonomy for matching different engagement methods to different engagement purposes.
4. A heuristic device for identifying where citizen engagement could be useful at different decision points in the policy process.
5. Details of exemplar case studies drawn from across Europe at each decision point and including experiences in three countries reflecting contrasting political and social cultures. Denmark, Spain and the United Kingdom have been selected for these purposes.

Key findings

Section 2 observes that although participation has become an essential ingredient in public policy decision-making and delivery in Europe, the problems of participation in practice are not widely understood. The conclusion from much of the academic and practice-based literature is not that more participation is needed but that better participation is needed.

Section 3 notes that existing academic and practice-based research is less insightful on the strategic potential of citizen-centric governance and there are few diagnostics available to help governments and communities identify the forms of engagement that will work best for them. The section therefore presents a diagnostic tool – the CLEAR model – which has been designed for these purposes. The CLEAR tool exists to help public organisations better understand public participation, identify particular strengths and problems with participation and, subsequently, consider more comprehensive strategies for enhancing public participation.

Section 4 notes that the existing taxonomies of citizen engagement lack sufficient detail and tend to focus mainly on degrees of involvement rather than on the appropriateness of specific types of initiatives (e.g. citizen juries or user panels) in specific social circumstances. A more detailed and effective taxonomy which matches different engagement methods to different engagement purposes is presented which identifies four decision points in the policy process which would potentially benefit from citizen involvement: strategic direction; policy design; policy delivery and policy learning.

Sections 5, 6, 7 and 8 present exemplar case study illustrations drawn from three countries reflecting contrasting political and social cultures – Denmark, Spain and the United Kingdom. These cases have been selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- Place – the program has been evaluated as a successful innovation from the perspective of the institutions location and history.
- Novelty – the program demonstrates a leap of creativity from existing practice.
- Significance – the program successfully addresses an important problem of 'public' concern.
- Utility – the innovation made things easier for government.
- Effectiveness – the program achieved tangible results for the citizenry.
- Longevity – the innovation looks set to achieve results over time.
- Transferability – the program, or aspects of it, shows promise of inspiring successful replication by other governmental entities.

Thirteen key observations about the ideal conditions for citizen-centric governance can be derived from these case studies:

1. The design of citizen-centred policy-making and delivery depends on its purpose – it is important to be clear on what this purpose is at the outset (e.g. deep democratisation or feedback on services) as it will lead to very different styles of participation (Involve, 2005).
2. The importance of place – citizen-centred policy-making and delivery means different things in different places – the key is to find out what works in the context you are working in. This philosophy will inevitably lead to co-production with citizens.

3. Using diagnostics tools such as the CLEAR model will help you to identify what works (Lowndes et al., 2006) but only if the tool is used through collaborative analysis with target communities
4. Self-evaluation using the CLEAR model allows governments to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses of their own public participation initiatives.
5. Social mobilisation on specific issues is required prior to intervention and the application of engagement methodologies (see Involve, 2005; Putnam, 1995; USAID, 2008).
6. Representativeness and efficacy are crucial to ensuring continued engagement (Mihaly, 2010).
7. Using existing institutions where participants feel comfortable heightens the potential for success (e.g. community forums, sports clubs, churches or other social institutions or criminal jury system).
8. Participation is not appropriate in all areas of decision-making – we need to identify where and when it is appropriate! Insufficient research has been conducted on when and what type of engagement is appropriate in relation to different types of decision. When is engagement not necessary? When is consultation appropriate? When is co-production crucial and in what form?
9. Where government is viewed to be the main barrier to participation, other socially accepted organisations or actors should play the role (e.g. social movements). Government should view itself largely as an enabler or facilitator of citizen-centric governance.
10. Whether government plays the role of enabler or deliverer both roles require specific capabilities that are often missing in public services.
11. The capacity to spot gaps in service provision, or in methods of delivery, is essential for public service innovation to take place.
12. New technologies can both spark innovations and support their successful implementation.
13. Design issues (about how things are done) are crucial to the achievement of progressive outcomes. Items 1 to 12 can all be constraints on problem-solving with damaging consequences of action if executed poorly.

Public value innovation therefore requires the adoption of at least four public value management principles:

Principle 1: The role of local government should be circumscribed by the search for public value underpinned by a commitment to a public service ethos.

Principle 2: Decision centres in local government structures should be inclusive of the key partners in governance and should include a balance of forces (public service panels consisting of local citizens, political representatives, governance stakeholders and technical support). These could be organised around communities of practice.

Principle 3: The key task of the public managers should be, as neutral arbiters, to enable the determination of public value through communities of practice.

Principle 4: Governance structures should use a participatory learning-based approach to the challenge of service delivery i.e. they should integrate a citizen-centric approach into the work plan of the organisation.

The adoption of these principles would help to bring the politics back into policy deliberation and operational delivery at a time when the public standing of governmental institutions has reached a nadir. It would help to foster problem-solving, reflexive public organisations committed to delivering public value.

The application of these principles would have dramatic practical implications for the work plans of local governments. However, they are very much in alignment with the drivers and thematic priorities of the localism agenda. Five public value practices would be particularly important for local governance:

Practice 1: In an era of cost containment, public managers need to understand the local and regional network environment through scoping the field of action, identifying all potential partners and their resources and bringing them into local communities of practice.

Practice 2: Public managers need to develop strong working relationships with community-based organisations which possess resources that are crucial to the creation of public value.

Practice 3: Determining public value will require the integration of new engagement methods in which public managers should establish clear deliberative rules and intelligent performance indicators linked directly to negotiated policy objectives with elected members. However, a one-size-fits-all approach to engagement should be avoided. It is important for communities to identify those engagement methods that will work best for them using bottom-up devices such as the CLEAR model (Lawrence Pratchett, Gerry Stoker and Vivien Lowndes, 2006a&b).

Practice 4: Monitoring systems should be designed to identify movements towards or away from achieving these objectives.

Practice 5: Work plans should be subject to annual audits and evaluations with effective systems for reporting both to politicians and to the public.

The findings in this report on leading European practice in public participation have significant implications for the nature of public management and the role of the public servant in an era of governance, the design of citizen engagement in policy formulation, delivery and learning and the need to establish a strong knowledge base on what works.

Public management and the role of the public servant in an era of governance

While New Public Management (NPM) with its emphasis on 'economy', 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' continues to provide important tools within the public management toolkit they are no longer sufficient to meet the challenge of public service provision in an era of governance. This is because NPM tends to privilege the role of public servants as the arbiters of the public good. NPM takes the politics out of public policy deliberation and its market orientation is at odds with the concept of public service. NPM sits more easily with the language of the consumer than with the language of the citizen. In an era of governance, citizens' engagement in policy and delivery has become crucial to the achievement of social progress, not least because everything that public organisations do requires co-production and adaptive behaviours from citizens and often stakeholders. In

consequence, the success of public sector reform rests on the development of citizen-centred governance underpinned by the concept of public value. This is the 'Big Idea' to lend principles, form and clarity to the reform process and to confront integrity challenges.

The establishment of a culture of public value innovation is central to the achievement of this aim. By 'public value innovation' we mean the creation and implementation of new products, services and methods of delivery through collaboration with citizens and stakeholders which result in positive social and economic outcomes for the citizenry. This requires the development of 'learning public organisations' that have the capacity to absorb new forms of knowledge and challenge conventional forms of policy-making and delivery, and it requires public servants who can work effectively in a system of soft governance.

The design of citizen engagement in policy formulation, delivery and learning

Public participation is not a panacea for all our wicked problems. The main conclusion from this review of leading European practice is not that more participation is needed, but that quality participation aimed at public value creation is needed. Quality participation requires more understanding of the difficulties of working with citizens to change the ways decisions are made and implemented. Despite the enormous growth of participatory practice and theory however, there is still little shared understanding among all those involved. Participatory practice has emerged from many disciplines and in many sectors, often quite separate from each other, and the lack of effective communication across these disciplines and communities of practice has limited the opportunities for shared learning and the effective development of theory and practice. However, there is significant evidence in this report that developments in design thinking can provide public managers with a unique opportunity to establish a community of practice in citizen-centric governance devoted to the creation and delivery of public value.

The establishment of a strong comparative knowledge base on what works

It is also evident from this survey that European experiments in democratic innovations that seek to extend citizen participation in strategic design, policy delivery and strategic learning have become increasingly commonplace. However, the empirical evaluation of the impact of these initiatives remains relatively unexplored (Michels, 2012). There is less evidence to suggest that the outcomes from such initiatives impact on policy decisions. Indeed several studies have emphasised the role that mini-publics have played in: legitimating decisions that have already been reached; market testing proposals; providing popular oversight; and enhancing social solidarity and trust in government (see: Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Michels, 2012). Moreover, while we have a relatively good idea of what works in enhancing participation, we have a more limited understanding of how to translate progressive experiences into new contexts, or of which organisations are best suited to facilitating citizen-centric governance. It is notable that European governments have increasingly used non-governmental organisations to design, facilitate and report deliberative processes.

NPM also tends to privilege certain forms of knowledge (e.g. quantitative economic data) at the expense of qualitative knowledge that is more difficult to collect or measure. However, we live in an era of 'soft governance' that requires the collection of qualitative data because the achievement of co-production and adaptive behaviours with citizens and stakeholders requires us to understand what citizens think and how they will behave in response to

various social interventions. In sum, the ability of public organisations to adapt and absorb new forms of knowledge is a condition of social progress. These findings suggest that we still have some way to go to establish a strong comparative knowledge base on what works.

Lessons for local government

The benefits of engagement for local governments proceed from the following observations: in a democracy communities have a legitimate voice in decisions which shape their destiny; intractable problems require co-produced solutions with citizens; soft governance – the power to persuade – is the key instrument for winning the war of behavioural change; all communities have the capacity to adapt – the key is to find and nurture those capacities; the majority of community members do not experience barriers to participation – barriers to participation are constructed by governments.

Local governments need to build a strong evidence base on what forms of engagement work in their communities. Diagnostic tools such as CLEAR should be used on a cyclical basis to evaluate the capacity of the community to engage through current and new channels of participation.

The ingredients of effective citizens' engagement have been clearly articulated above. What is important, however, is that these are integrated into a holistic engagement framework in which clear avenues for participation are identified at different decision points in the policy process.

What works will differ from community to community. Hence, the identification of effective methodologies of engagement must use a bottom-up approach involving co-design processes.

Where local government itself is viewed to be the main obstacle to participation other intermediaries should be used.

Elected members should be at the forefront of such initiatives; tensions between representative localism and community localism need to be resolved.

In sum then, public participation which recognises the importance of design and the need to share power can radically improve the quality of life of citizens. It can contribute to creating more active citizens, help in the management of complex problems in public service design and delivery, foster new collaborative relationships required for 21st century governance, and develop political literacy, skills, confidence, and ambition in the citizenry. Public participation is thus not only the essential ingredient in public policy decision-making and delivery but a key measure of the quality of democratic life.

1.

Introduction

1.1. Purpose

The purpose of this report is to provide local government partners with an academically informed and practical insight into leading European practice in public participation. It provides a range of tools for identifying and sharing better practice, diagnosing what will work in different social settings, matching different engagement methods to different engagement purposes and identifying where citizen engagement could be useful at different decision points in the policy process (strategic direction; policy design; policy delivery and policy learning). In addition, it also provides a choice of exemplar case studies drawn from across Europe at each decision point. In sum, this report aims to provide a strong knowledge base on leading European practice in citizen-centric governance. Five main outputs can be found herein:

- An international better practice brief with details of the key assumptions arising from existing academic and practice-based literature on public participation in Europe and their implications for better practice.
- A tool for diagnosing what will work in different social settings.
- A taxonomy for matching different engagement methods to different engagement purposes.
- A heuristic device for identifying where citizen engagement could be useful at different decision points in a policy cycle.
- Details of exemplar case studies drawn from across Europe at each decision point and including experiences in three countries reflecting contrasting political and social cultures. Denmark, Spain and the United Kingdom have been selected for these purposes.

1.2. The rise of localism

There is of course an important political context informing this research – the renewal of interest in the concept of localism at the federal level. We understand localism in this context as the devolution of power and resources away from central control and towards front-line managers, local democratic structures, local institutions and local communities, within an agreed framework of Commonwealth and State minimum standards. Here the role of local government would focus around its community leadership role and its ability to harness the resources of the community (including private and voluntary organisations) more than a traditional direct service provider role (Stoker, 2004). As Table 1.1. illustrates, three overlapping strategies of localism are used in practice, but a top-down managerial tradition has tended to dominate in which devolution of functions occurs but not devolution of power or resources. The crucial observation here, however, is that the localism discourse provides an opportunity structure for local government to become the key conduit for public participation in an era of governance.

	Managerial	Representative	Community
Defining mechanism	Conditional devolution of decision-making based on achieving agreed objectives	Provision of powers and responsibility to local government elected on universal suffrage	Rights and support given to citizens in communities to engage in decisions and action
Delivery mechanism	Intergovernmental networks	Hierarchical delivery networks	Community network governance
Metrics for judging success	Targets and evidence	Electoral triumph or failure	Cohesiveness and capacity of network arrangements. Attainment of network goals and fairness of process
Strengths	Makes sense in the context of multi-level governance and complexity	Delivers clear identification of responsibility and accountability and capacity to meet localised needs	Delivers ownership, local knowledge and engagement by citizens in defining problems and supporting solutions
Weaknesses	Can be too 'top-down', lack of downward accountability, associated with a 'government-knows-best narrative for change', ignores locally derived sources of knowledge. Focus in the end is on externally imposed objectives rather than local choices	Resource issues (both financial and technical) may undermine delivery; accountability in practice may be weak	Potential for network capture by local elite interests persists. Uneven distribution of capacity among communities to respond leads to engagement of some but not all. Accountability structures can be opaque with weak democratic control. Minority voices can be silent.

Table 1.1. Three strategies of localism

1.3. The structure of the report

The report comprises this introductory section, seven substantive sections and a conclusion. Section 2 provides an overview of key academic and practice-based thinking on: (a) the merits and demerits of public participation; (b) the key design issues informing engagement methodology; and (c) the identification of the public management capabilities necessary to

deliver effective citizen-centred policy outcomes. It argues that although participation has become an essential ingredient in public policy decision-making and delivery in Europe, the problems of participation in practice are not widely understood. The conclusion from much of the academic and practice-based literature is not that more participation is needed but that better participation is needed.

Section 3 observes that existing academic and practice-based research is less insightful on the strategic potential of citizen-centric governance and there are few diagnostics available to help governments and communities identify the forms of engagement that will work best for them. The section therefore presents a diagnostic tool – the CLEAR model – which has been designed for these purposes. The CLEAR tool exists to help public organisations better understand public participation, identify particular strengths and problems with participation and, subsequently, consider more comprehensive strategies for enhancing public participation.

Section 4 notes that the existing taxonomies of citizen engagement lack sufficient detail and tend to focus mainly on degrees of involvement rather than on the appropriateness of specific types of initiative (e.g. citizen juries or user panels) in specific social circumstances. The purpose of this section of the report is to establish a more detailed and effective taxonomy to match different engagement methods to different engagement purposes. It identifies four decision points in the policy process which would potentially benefit from citizens' involvement: strategic direction; policy design; policy delivery and policy learning. It also provides illustrations of the forms of citizen engagement which can be effective at these decision points.

The remaining four sections (5, 6, 7 and 8) present four exemplar case study illustrations. These cases have been selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- Place – *the program has been evaluated as a successful innovation from the perspective of the institutions location and history.*
- Novelty – *the program demonstrates a leap of creativity from existing practice.*
- Significance – *the program successfully addresses an important problem of public concern.*
- Utility – *the innovation made things easier for government.*
- Effectiveness – *the program achieved tangible results for the citizenry.*
- Longevity – *the innovation looks set to achieve results over time.*
- Transferability – *the program, or aspects of it, shows promise of inspiring successful replication by other governmental entities.*

The examples are drawn from practices in three European states representing very different political and social cultures: Denmark (Northern Europe), Spain (Southern Europe) and the United Kingdom (Western Europe).

The report concludes by mapping out the key research findings and assessing their implications for public participation practices at the local level.

2. Understanding public participation in theory and practice

2.1. Purpose

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of key academic and practice-based thinking on: (a) the merits and demerits of social participation; (b) the key design issues informing engagement methodology; and (c) the identification of the public management capabilities necessary to deliver effective citizen-centred policy outcomes.

2.2. Defining public participation

Public participation is difficult to define because it means different things to different people and organisations. In one sense defining participation in decision-making should be straightforward. It should merely involve posing the question – do the people decide? If not, then they don't participate meaningfully. However, this depends, of course, on the purpose of the engagement. The purpose may purely be to educate the citizenry or to market test a new idea. The problem is that the rhetoric of policy-makers so often emphasises the importance of citizen participation when in practice they really mean consultation between decision-maker and citizen. Indeed the idea of sharing the process of decision-making itself is unpalatable to most policy-makers. This is why one of the key challenges in contemporary governance is the problem of sharing power in a meaningful sense, whether with citizens, stakeholders or other governments.

The merit of a participatory view of decision-making is really a normative question and may be couched in terms of elitist versus participatory views of democracy. The former is a realist approach that emphasises a belief in the inevitability of elite rule and the limits to public participation in public affairs. In this minimal conception of liberal democracy, apart from the process of voting, political participation is not taken to be an important measure of the quality of democratic life. Political representation or the responsiveness of the elite to the ruled is considered more important. This elitist or 'top-down' conceptualisation of democracy would include the following forms of political institutions and processes: a majoritarian or 'first-past-the-post' electoral system, executive dominance over the legislature, limited access to government information, low levels of participation in the

system of government, persistent inequalities in power resources, a centralised state, and a media system that is vulnerable to manipulation by government.

By contrast, a participatory view of democracy would take as its key aim the establishment of pluralism through a society-led conception of the national interest and the creation of open, decentralised and democratic political institutions and processes based upon popular control and political equality. Examples of institutions and processes which would reflect a 'bottom-up' or participatory view of democracy would include: the protection of individual rights, freedom of information and other forms of open government; electoral systems based on proportional representation; the decentralisation and territorial devolution of power; and high levels of participation in the system of government anchored in the twin concepts of popular control and political equality.

According to the participatory view of democracy, the decisive test of a government is its capacity to empower the population to play an active role in governing (see Beetham ed., 1988 & Evans, 2003). Indeed, as the Nobel Laureate Amartyr Sen puts it in *Development as Freedom* (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1999), the quality of a democracy should be measured as much by how it reaches a decision (and by implication the political or democratic literacy of its citizenry) as by the decisions it reaches.

2.3. What are the merits of public participation?

Over the past two decades the number of contemporary researchers and institutions arguing that public participation is essential for good policy-making has been on the increase (see: Canadian Policy Research Network, 2003 & 2007; Edwards, 2008; European Institute for Public Participation, 2009; Fischer, 1993; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Hendriks, 2005; Involve, 2005 & 2009; Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker, 2001; OECD, 2001; Parkinson, 2004; Rowe and Frewer, 2000; USAID, 2009). This literature may crudely be organised around instrumental and normative justifications for extending public participation into policy and operational delivery.

2.3.1. Instrumental justifications

The value of public participation in policy-making can be conceptualised through an instrumental lens – i.e. it can be argued that public participation is worth having as a means of obtaining something that is considered 'a good'. Hence certain authors argue that public participation can be used as a tool for enhancing trust and confidence in public institutions. Rowe and Frewer (2000) and Bourgon (2009) note that trust in government has been declining since World War Two. Indeed, Rowe and Frewer (2000), Abelson et al. (2003), and Leighninger (2010) all argue that increased public engagement in policy-making can be seen as a response to a loss of faith in government institutions. This is a trend first observed in Almond and Verba's *The Civic Culture* in 1963.

Public participation in policy-making may also be seen as a tool to resolve the complex or wicked problems faced by public administrators – e.g. climate change, energy conservation, water governance. Fung (2006), Bourgon (2007), and USAID (2009) all argue that public participation can assist in: collating the best available evidence and providing opportunities for technocrats to be better informed about the consequences of different options, thereby reducing uncertainty and risk. Public participation may also assist in leveraging resources by

creating opportunities for finding partners that can aid the implementation of policy solutions (Foley and Martin, 2000; Smith, 2003). Moreover, technological advances and mature consumerism should make participatory decision-making more feasible and help with: problems of information overload through the intelligent filtering of information and disaggregation of preferences; providing basic information about rights and responsibilities of citizenship; informing and educating about politics and about issues of public concern; helping voters to make up their minds about candidates, parties and issues in the election process; promoting/offering opportunities for citizens to deliberate on public issues, draft (in preparation) laws, and social problems (allow experience of analysing complicated issues); promoting/offering communication between citizens and politicians; and guiding citizens through the growing jungle of publicly available government and other official information.

2.3.2. Normative justifications

The value of public participation in policy-making can also be conceptualised through a normative lens – i.e. as an essential ingredient of a liberal democratic way of life. From this perspective it is argued that there is more to democracy than exercising a vote every three, four or five years – it requires ongoing engagement with the citizenry. This emphasis on the role of the citizenry in policy-making and delivery is viewed as an important method for generating legitimacy and ownership of government interventions. Curtin (2003) and Foley and Martin (2003) observe that involving citizens early on in the policy process creates broader support for policy options and solutions, reduces the risks associated with new initiatives and therefore makes government policy more effective and legitimate.

Perhaps the most influential expression of this argument can be found in the 'public value' management (PVM) approach. Mark Moore (1995), who coined the phrase, argues that public services can add value to society in the same way that private for-profit organisations create value for their shareholders and other stakeholders. By implication, public intervention should be circumscribed by the need to achieve positive social and economic outcomes for the citizenry. What is and what is not public value should be determined collectively through inclusive deliberation involving elected and appointed government officials, key stakeholders and the public. Conceptually, the notion of public value resonates with other modernisation discourses that seek to address the limits of the liberal democratic model in meeting the requisite needs of the citizenry such as the New Localism (Aldridge & Stoker, 2002), social capital (Putnam, 1995) and deliberative democracy (Fischer 1993 & 2003; Parkinson 2004).

In the same way that Christopher Hood (1995) identified the emergence of an international New Public Management movement in the mid-1990s, a similar observation can be made with regard to PVM in the new millennium. A small number of centrist UK think tanks such as the IPPR, the Work Foundation, Demos, Involve and the Young Foundation have adopted public value as their modernisation concept of choice for reinvigorating the public sector and bringing it closer to the people. In addition, several state-centred public value projects have emerged in Australia (e.g. the National Office of the Information Economy), Germany (e.g. the Civil Service Commission and the 'Red Tape' movement), and, France (e.g. the Ministry of State Transformation and the French decentralisation process). Moreover, civil/public service training organisations such as the Australia-New Zealand School of Government, the Kennedy School at Harvard, the China Academy of Governance and the National School of

Government in the UK have all begun to integrate the concept of public value into their executive training courses.

There have already been several government flirtations with the concept of public value. For example, in the UK during the Blair premiership following the publication of *Creating Public Value* by Gavin Kelly and Stephen Muers in the Strategy Unit in 2002, several high profile government spokespeople included references to achieving public value in policy papers and public lectures (see Balls, 2002; Blunkett, 2003a, 2003b & 2004; Raynsford, 2003; and Turnbull 2002). Indeed, according to the Work Foundation several British public organisations have operated public value assessment frameworks since 2006 including the BBC, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and several local authority recycling schemes such as the London Borough of Lewisham. However, on closer inspection it is evident that public value experiments tend to be characterised by different models of decision-making underpinned by different conceptions of democracy, and that they reflect different modes of public engagement.

2.4. What are the arguments against public participation?

On the surface the value of participation seems obvious as it provides a broad source of legitimacy for government and for policy change. Walters et al. (2000), however, offer an opposing view, arguing that a large number of scholars believe public participation in policy-making to be problematic rather than an essential tool for enhancing policy-making and delivery. Two potential difficulties are worth discussing here. Firstly, the process of canvassing a wide spectrum of opinion and incorporating the interests that they represent into the decision-making process can lead to information overload and make decision-making slow and cumbersome. Secondly, open conflict between competing groups ultimately leads to clientelism and the privileging of certain elite groups. A sectional interest or alliance of sectional interests will ultimately win the war of ideas and there will then be a mobilisation of bias in favour of that sectional interest or alliance of sectional interests. This could lead to more limited participation.

The obstacles to the effective application of PVM in representative democracies have been well documented elsewhere and include: professional and parliamentary resistance and path dependency; the lack of political will; resource constraints; and issues of complexity (see: Gains & Stoker 2009; and Rhodes & Wanna, 2007). The notion of public value, so the argument goes, doesn't sit easily with the representative model as it introduces a concept of public interest that is not determined by the government of the day, but by public servants in consultation with communities and providers. These factors, amongst others, have led Francesca Gains and Gerry Stoker (2009, p. 2) to conclude that, 'this new "public service contract" is likely to be easier to adopt in a local setting than in the executive although in neither case is the adoption of new modes of working between politicians, officials and citizens unproblematic'. It is noteworthy, however, that the majority of the criticisms advanced in these critiques flow from a minimalist conception of public value which views PVM as a method for privileging the role of bureaucrats in policy processes. This was not Moore's intention.

Nonetheless, evaluations of performance in government continue to bemoan: the absence of citizen involvement in service delivery; low productivity and inefficiency; restricted choice and poor outcomes for the disadvantaged; the minimal spreading of best practice and

innovation; and limited government responsiveness to public opinion (see, amongst others, Bichard, 2005).

2.5. What are the ideal conditions for citizen participation?

The key literature in this area in Europe is associated with the work of the European Institute of Public Participation (2009), Europublicin (2006), Involve (2005 & 2009) and Lowndes et al. (2006). Eleven key observations about the ideal conditions for citizen participation can be derived:

1. *The design of citizen-centred policy-making and delivery depends on its purpose* – it is important to be clear on what this purpose is at the outset (e.g. deep democratisation or feedback on services) as it will lead to very different styles of participation (Involve, 2005).
2. *The importance of place* – citizen-centred policy-making and delivery means different things in different places – the key is to find out what works in the context you are working in. This philosophy will inevitably lead to co-production with citizens.
3. *Using diagnostic tools such as the CLEAR model will help you to identify what works* (Lowndes et al., 2006) but only if the tool is used through collaborative analysis with target communities (see Section 2). The CLEAR tool argues that participation is most effective where citizens:

Can do – have the resources and knowledge to participate;

Like to – have a sense of attachment that reinforces participation;

Enabled to – are provided with the opportunity for participation;

Asked to – are mobilised through public agencies and civic channels;

Responded to – see evidence that their views have been considered.

4. Self-evaluation using the CLEAR model allows each local government to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses of their own public participation initiatives. This tool is currently being used across the European Union. Hence:
5. *Social mobilisation on specific issues is required prior to intervention* and the application of engagement methodologies (see Involve, 2005; Putnam, 1995; USAID, 2008).
6. *Representativeness and efficacy* are crucial to ensuring continued engagement (Mihaly, 2010).
7. *Using existing institutions where participants feel comfortable* heightens the potential for success (e.g. community forums, sports clubs, churches or other social institutions or criminal jury system).
8. Effective citizen-centred policy-making and delivery is *a development process* which requires time and resources and cannot be done on the cheap! (Involve, 2005).
9. *Participation is not appropriate in all areas of decision-making* – we need to identify where and when it is appropriate! Insufficient research has been conducted on when and what type of engagement is appropriate in relation to different types of decision. When is

engagement not necessary? When is consultation appropriate? When is co-production crucial and in what form?

10. Where government is viewed to be the main barrier to participation other socially accepted organisations or actors should play this role (e.g. social movements). *Government should view itself largely as an enabler or facilitator of citizen-centric governance.*
11. Whether government plays the role of enabler or deliverer, both roles require specific capabilities that are often missing in public services.

For an alternative (but overlapping) set of conditions, see OECD *Guiding principles for open and inclusive policy-making* (2009, p. 79) presented in Appendix 1.

2.6. What public management capabilities are necessary to deliver effective citizen-centred policy outcomes?

What are the implications of a social participation agenda for public management? As Gerry Stoker (2006, p.16) observes, the public value paradigm demands a commitment to broader goals than those envisaged under traditional and NPM management regimes as managers are tasked with steering networks of deliberation and delivery as well as maintaining the overall coherence of the system (see Table 2.1). The public value paradigm offers, in Stoker's terms, 'a different narrative of reform' in the sense that it centres:

on a fuller and rounder vision of humanity than either traditional or NPM. People are, it suggests, motivated by their involvement in networks and partnerships, by their relationships with others formed in the context of equal status and mutual learning. Some will find its vision attractive but the realists or cynics may prefer to stick with traditional public management or NPM.

This is because it necessarily involves sharing and sometimes delegating power to citizens. Hence, public value management reform would require new values and practices and in certain instances the rediscovery of old ones; for example, Barry Quirk (2011), in the seminal book *Reimagining Government* emphasises the centrality of notions of public service, public interest and public reason to the creation of public value (see Figure 2.1).

Public value has also been developed into a strategic device for enabling public managers to build communities of practice as collective instruments for problem-solving and social entrepreneurship. Moore developed the notion of the strategic triangle for this purpose (see Figure 2.2). The strategic triangle, as Moore terms it, can be used by public managers to understand and mediate the relationship between the 'authorising environment' (those who give you legitimacy), the 'task environment' (what you are asked to do) and 'productive capacity' (those who give you organisational capacity). This allows for public managers to reflect on four key governance problems: What can we do to add value to this service, project or program? Whose resources do we need to get the job done? How does this

service, project or program create public value for our communities? What do our target communities value when they are well informed about the choices they are making?

Table 2.1. Changing administrative culture

New public management	Public value management
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informed by private sector management techniques • Services delivered more flexibly with more managerial autonomy & tailored to the requirements of consumers • Enabling ('steering') • Certain services to be delivered through collaborative partnerships with public, private and voluntary sectors • Service delivery audited to measure economy, efficiency and effectiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The overarching goal is achieving public value that in turn involves greater effectiveness in tackling the problems that the public most care about; spans service delivery to system maintenance • Public managers play an active role in steering networks of deliberation and delivery • Individual and public preferences are produced through a process of deliberative reflection over inputs and opportunity costs • No one sector has a monopoly on public service ethos; shared values are seen as essential • Emphasis on the role of politics in allocating public goods.

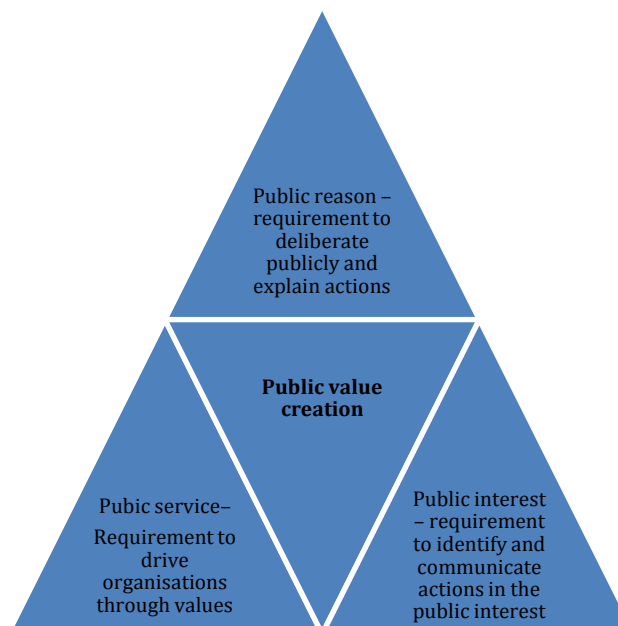


Figure 2.1. The public triangle (Quirk, 2011)

2.7. What are the benefits of a public value approach for government?

There are also both instrumental and democratic benefits from adopting a public value approach to public management. The search for public value – *all that we do should be aimed at enhancing the quality of life for our citizens and future generations* – helps to focus public servants and other partners in governance on solving the problems that the public care most about and these range from service delivery to system maintenance. A public value approach allows for efficient targeting of resources to community needs, the identification of new patterns of need caused by the widening gap between rich and poor and changing social and demographic patterns (e.g. longer life expectancy, smaller families), providing for longer term thinking on community futures and more creative management of rising citizens' expectations. For politicians, it is simply good politics as it gives voice to the preferences of the silent majority who are essential to electoral success.

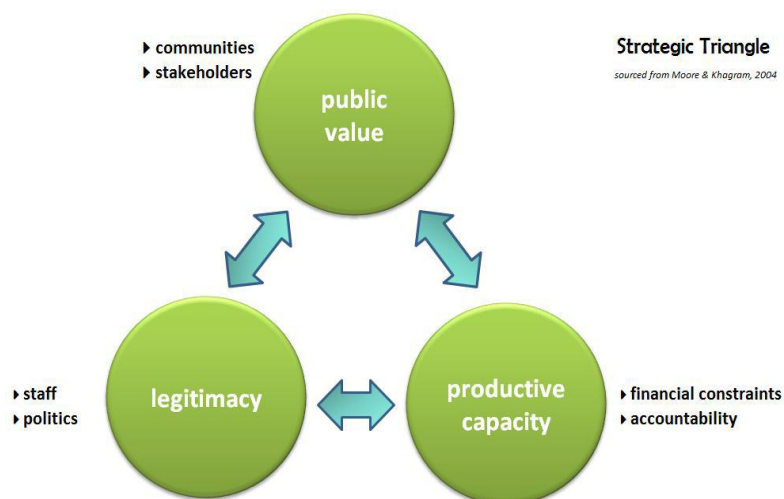


Figure 2.2. Mark Moore's strategic triangle

In an era when the integrity of government is often questioned by an assertive citizenry, the emphasis on the development of public values-driven services should capture the political as well as the administrative imagination. Integrity in local public administration requires a values-driven approach. The democratic benefits of a public value approach are particularly significant in communities experiencing stress due to rapid social change (e.g. adverse demographic trends) or various crises from economic downturns to environmental catastrophes. These communities are more likely to survive and adapt if they are able to build a strong sense of social solidarity and cohesion. Federal government has a

fundamental role to play here in harnessing the energies and resources of the community to develop adaptive capacities. This requires common ownership of community problems and inclusive forms of governance in policy and delivery. Once again this should not undermine the role of elected representatives; quite the contrary, it should enhance their capacity to make the fundamental changes necessary to make a difference to people's lives. Nor should it undermine the expert role of public servants as the search for public value enhances the need for provision of objective, evidence-based advice to inform better decision-making.

In sum then, public value management meets the challenges that government is facing in an era of governance – the need for community ownership of governance problems and solutions to provide the conditions for accountability, legitimacy and sustainable futures as well as the NPM appeal for 'value for money'. This is the 'Big Idea' to lend principles, form and clarity to the public sector reform process and to confront integrity challenges. Table 2.2 provides an overview of recent attempts to measure public value and apply public value management approaches. It is worth noting that many 'triple' or 'quadruple' bottom-line measurement tools can be encompassed within a public value approach as they also proceed from the recognition that narrow economic cost-benefit analysis does not provide an accurate understanding of the potential value of social interventions. See, for example, the Australian ACT Government's (2011), triple bottom-line assessment (available at: <http://www.cmd.act.gov.au/policystrategic/sustainability>, accessed October 2013).

Hence PVM will require new values and practices and in certain instances the rediscovery of old ones; for example, the notion of public service. But how can PVM reform be embedded in governance? Governance should become the instrument for the pursuit of public value through the reformation of governing norms, values and operational rules. This would require the adoption of at least four public value principles:

Principle 1: The role of local government should be circumscribed by the search for public value underpinned by a commitment to a public service ethos.

Principle 2: Decision centres in local government structures should be inclusive of the key partners in governance and should include a balance of forces (public service panels consisting of local citizens, political representatives, governance stakeholders and technical support). These could be organised around communities of practice.

Principle 3: The key task of the public managers should enable the determination of public value through communities of practice as neutral arbiters.

Principle 4: Governance structures should use a participatory learning-based approach to the challenge of service delivery.

Table 2.2. Measuring public value and applying public value management approaches

Measuring public value	
Accenture public service value model	www.accenture.com
Competing values framework	www.theworkfoundation.com
Public value scorecard	http://papers.ssrn.com
Outcomes scorecard	www.raguide.org
Applying public value management	
BBC Trust public value model	www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust
City of Melville	www.melvillecity.com.au
Just Communities	www.clg.uts.edu.au
Porirua City Council 'Livability' strategy	www.pcc.govt.nz
UK National Health Service public value lens	www.institute.nhs.uk
Social Return on Investment framework	www.thesroinetwork.org
Triple bottom-line assessment	www.cmd.act.gov.au/policystrategic/sustainability

The adoption of these principles would help to bring the politics back into policy deliberation and operational delivery at a time when the public standing of governmental institutions has reached its nadir. It would help to foster problem-solving, reflexive public organisations committed to delivering public value.

The application of these principles would also have dramatic practical implications for the work plans of public organisations. However, they are very much in alignment with the drivers and thematic priorities of reform. Five public value practices would be particularly important for governance:

Practice 1: Public managers need to understand the network environment through scoping the field of action, identifying all potential partners and their resources.

Practice 2: Public managers need to develop 'smart partnerships' through policy community-building.

Practice 3: To ensure public value, public managers should establish clear deliberative rules and intelligent performance indicators linked directly to negotiated policy objectives.

Practice 4: Monitoring systems should be designed to identify movements towards or away from achieving these objectives.

Practice 5: Work plans should be subject to annual audits and evaluations with effective reporting systems both to politicians and to the public (Evans et al., 2010).

3.

Diagnosing what works – applying the CLEAR model

3.1. What is CLEAR?

It was observed in the previous section that the secondary literature provides a good understanding of the international drivers of citizen-centric governance, the normative and instrumental arguments in support of the value of public participation, the methodologies of community engagement available to practitioners and the capabilities required to do it well. Existing research is less insightful on the strategic potential of citizen-centric governance and there are few diagnostics available to help governments and communities identify the forms of engagement that will work best for them. This section examines a diagnostic tool – the CLEAR model – which has been designed for these purposes. The CLEAR tool exists to help public organisations better understand public participation, identify particular strengths and problems with participation and, subsequently, consider more comprehensive strategies for enhancing public participation.

This section rehearses the work of two ANZSIG fellows – Professor Lawrence Pratchett and Professor Gerry Stoker. For greater detail on the CLEAR framework and its conceptual and empirical basis, see: V. Lowndes, L. Pratchett and G. Stoker (2006), 'Diagnosing and remedying the failings of official participation schemes: the CLEAR framework' *Social Policy and Society*, 5, 2 pp. 281-91; and, V. Lowndes, L. Pratchett and G. Stoker (2006), *Locality Matters: Making Participation Count in Local Politics*, London, IPPR.

The CLEAR tool is based on a framework for understanding public participation which argues that participation is most successful where citizens:

- C an do** – that is, have the resources and knowledge to participate;
- L ike to** – that is, have a sense of attachment that reinforces participation;
- E nabled to** – that is, are provided with the opportunity for participation;
- A sked to** – that is, are mobilised by official bodies or voluntary groups;
- R esponded to** – that is, see evidence that their views have been considered.

The tool is organised around these five headings and provides a focus for individuals to explore participation in their area. This is a refined version of the tool that reflects the experience of the road test conducted by 23 municipalities in five European Union countries during the spring of 2006.¹ The discussion that follows is organised into two parts. Part one provides guidelines on using the tool and developing the diagnosis. Part two provides the main body of the tool.

3.2. Self-diagnosis using CLEAR

It is important to distinguish the process of self-diagnosis from the audit and evaluation tools that have proliferated in the public sector in recent years. The tool does not seek to provide standardised objective data that can be used to compare localities and reach some ranking or classification of different municipalities. It does not produce a benchmark which judges a particular area. Indeed, any attempt to compare localities on this basis misunderstands the aim of self-diagnosis and misuses the information that is produced from the process. The tool does not generate directly comparable information on participation that can be used by third parties to contrast or evaluate areas.

The self-diagnosis process facilitates reflection and understanding of local political participation among those who are most in a position to do something about it. Potential users of the tool, therefore, include:

- officials in areas of government responsible for citizen engagement
- elected or appointed officials in local government
- other public bodies that have an interest in sponsoring participation initiatives
- the organisations of civil society within a locality
- citizens interested in enhancing the participation opportunities within their localities.

An important feature of the CLEAR framework is that its five factors are neither hierarchical nor sequential. The presence of one factor is not a precondition for others and effective participation does not necessarily depend on all of the components being present, although in an ideal world, they would be. Furthermore, the model does not attach a specific weight or importance to any particular factor: there is no assumed balance between the different factors that should be expected in any given locality. Rather, the underlying assumption of the diagnostic tool is that it will serve two purposes:

1. It will help those conducting the diagnosis to identify and understand the balance of factors affecting participation in their localities.
2. It will provide an opportunity for all those involved in a diagnosis to reflect upon the relative strengths and gaps in participation in their localities and to consider strategies for addressing these gaps.

¹ See documents from the Council of Europe Conference, 'Tools for strengthening democratic participation at the local level', Tampere, 28-29 June 2006.

3.2.1. How to use the CLEAR tool

The tool works by posing a series of questions which those conducting the diagnosis seek to answer. The way in which these questions are asked and the people involved in answering them (government departments, local voluntary organisations, citizens' groups, politicians, individual citizens and so on) will vary between localities, as will the techniques that are employed (e.g. interviews with key stakeholders, surveys of citizens, focus groups of municipal employees and so on). The key point is that the tool is adaptable to local circumstances to enable interested parties to diagnose the strengths and limitations of publicly sponsored participation initiatives in their area, with a view to improving them.

For each of the five factors the tool provides a series of themes which have been elaborated into indicative questions. These questions suggest the types of issues that users of the tool might want to investigate under that heading. Not all questions will be relevant in every context. Moreover, in different local or national contexts it may be necessary to adapt the questions to suit the type of data that is available. For example, some countries can provide very accurate statistical information about the socio-economic conditions of each locality. In others, it may be more appropriate to use specially collected information or even the informed judgments of local people. The tool is for self-diagnosis: the way in which the questions are developed, therefore, should suit local needs while remaining honest to the main themes that the tool is articulating.

Similarly, it may be necessary to adapt the range of questions depending upon the types of respondents to whom the tool is being addressed and the types of method being used. Local politicians might be expected to have different knowledge of the locality and the ability to offer insightful judgments on particular issues that would not be reasonable to expect of citizens who are not politically active.

The methods for collecting information and evidence are deliberately underspecified in the CLEAR tool. The information that municipalities have access to varies both between and within countries, as do the resources that municipalities have to commit to the diagnosis. Similarly, the amount and nature of cooperation with other organisations and citizen groups in the municipality will be locally specific, requiring different approaches to meet those needs. The tool does not assume a single methodology for implementation. Each user can design their own method to suit local needs. However, in implementing the tool, users should be sensitive to the following points:

- *Existing data sources* – what data is already available that can be used to answer the questions and what data will it be necessary to collect fresh? For some questions it may be particularly useful to seek proxy measures – those that give a good indication of the general picture (e.g. measures of educational attainment are normally a good proxy for socio-economic status). For other questions it may be more useful to seek judgments and opinions from a variety of stakeholders. The tool inevitably requires some new data collection but this aspect can be a relatively small and low-cost part of the diagnosis.
- *In-house or consultancy activities* – where data needs to be collected from stakeholders (as opposed to simply being retrieved from existing data) there are a variety of ways in which it can be achieved. Some organisations may feel it is most

appropriate to collect the information themselves, using their in-house expertise. Others may employ specialist consultants to collect and/or analyse the evidence on their behalf. Both approaches are potentially appropriate. However, it is eventually the responsibility of the commissioning organisation to take on board the findings and respond to them.

- *Quantitative and qualitative information* – the tool does not anticipate a particular technique or approach. Some questions lend themselves to collecting quantitative information (e.g. those around skills). Others are more suited to more qualitative techniques such as interviews or focus groups. Inevitably, therefore, organisations will need to have a mixed approach involving, for example, interviews with some stakeholders, perhaps surveys to collect particular information, focus groups with particular citizens, as well as drawing upon existing information sources. The precise mix will depend upon the resources available to the organisation and the amount of effort they want to commit to the diagnosis.
- *Range of stakeholders engaged* – the range of stakeholders in this field is potentially large such as elected politicians and their political parties; employees of various public bodies; organised interests, community groups and, individual citizens with no recognised affiliation. Again, it is up to the sponsoring organisation to decide which stakeholders it will want to involve, although inevitably it will want to ensure that a range of voices are heard, beyond those that are already recognised as being influential. For the tool to be effective, however, it is necessary to reflect the interests of a range of stakeholders.
- *Level of analysis* – the tool is not limited to a particular administrative jurisdiction or geographic community. In some areas it may be best suited for use at the municipal level. However, in cities it may be more appropriate to think in terms of smaller communities or neighbourhoods, or the tool may even be used for comparing neighbourhoods in the same city. In these circumstances the goal would not be to compare absolute levels of participation in different communities but, rather, to diagnose which participation techniques are most useful for engaging different communities.
- *Sequences* – organisations may not want to collect all of the information at the same time. Organisations may want, first of all, to undertake an initial diagnosis in-house, using a small team of officers or elected politicians, before extending the process to other stakeholders or focusing upon specific communities of geography or interest.

Implementing the CLEAR tool, therefore, requires those charged with responsibility for it to think carefully about the techniques they will employ and the way in which they will be sequenced. While they can learn from how others have undertaken the process,² there will always be a requirement to adapt the tool and its questions to local circumstances.

² See the documents from the Council of Europe Conference 'Tools for strengthening democratic participation at the local level', Tampere, 28-29 June 2006.

3.2.2. Analysing the evidence – the CLEAR profile

As the information is collected it is likely that particular problems and issues (as well as strengths) will present themselves. These are part of the diagnosis and will require action on the part of the organisation. However, beyond these very specific responses it is also useful for the organisation to create a 'CLEAR profile' of participation in their locality.

The point of such profiles is to develop an understanding of how the different aspects of CLEAR look in a given city. Chart 3.1 below offers an example of CLEAR profiles for two cities.

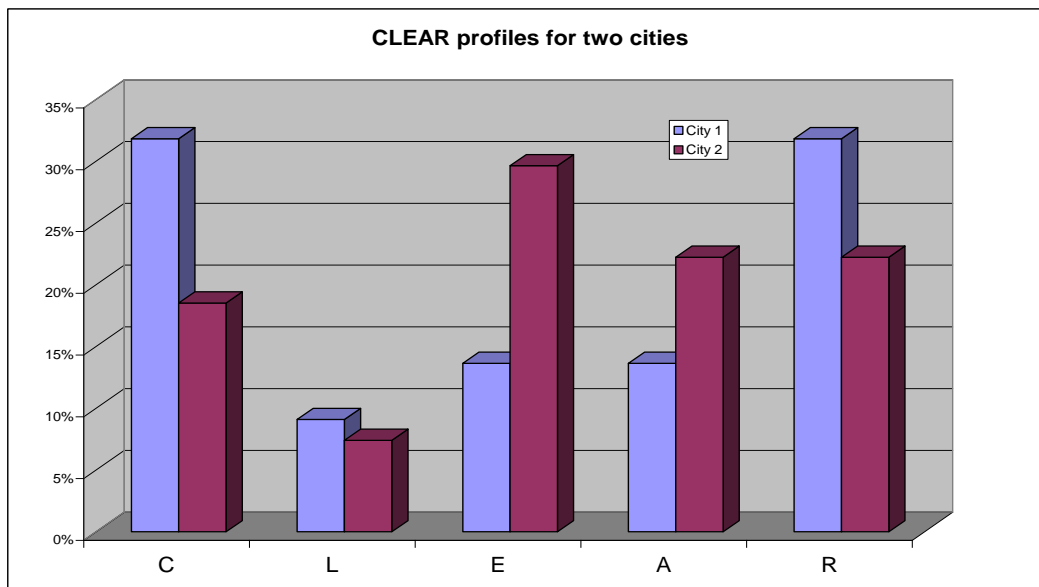


Chart 3.1. A CLEAR profile for two cities

For each city, the total percentages across the five factors add up to 100. The scores are arrived at by adding the responses from all the questions and considering their relative significance. For example, for the two cities presented above, the following analysis was concluded:

	City 1	%	City 2	%
C	Population and socioeconomic profile identified Citizens have access to resources and skills for participation Other forms to engage citizens in participation	32	Socio economic and population profile has been identified Citizens have access to resources and skills for participation	19
L	People do not trust each other No strong community spirit Some group voices are more legitimate than others and some groups are excluded	10	People have low trust in each other and in the municipality No strong community spirit	7
	Voluntary sector is active and some		Several voluntary organisations	

E	organisations are influential Umbrella organisations exist Municipality supports the voluntary sector Sector's weakness identified	13	exist Voluntary sector is very active and influential Voluntary organisations sufficient to reach all citizen groups Umbrella organisations exist Municipality support the voluntary sector Sector's weakness has been identified	30
A	Several forms of participation are promoted Internet used for information purposes Sufficient forms to engage citizens into participation	13	Wide range of forms of participation are promoted Internet used for information purposes Strategy on participation exists Not all forms of participation reach all community groups	22
R	Statutory procedures exist on citizen participation Decision-makers good at understanding citizen views and municipality good at explaining decision to citizens Communication strategy has been improved to engage citizens in decisions Citizen program exists and politicians have been trained	32	Statutory procedures exist Decision-makers are good at understanding citizen views Municipality is good at explaining decisions to citizens Citizen education projects exist and some politicians trained	22

Table 2.3 Analysis of CLEAR profile for two cities

There is, inevitably, an element of judgment in this process. However, the outcome is also objective insofar as it draws upon systematically collected evidence.

Creating such profiles inevitably begs the question, what should be the appropriate profile for a municipality within CLEAR? It is tempting to assume that all factors in the CLEAR framework should be equally distributed and that any deviation from that equal distribution should be subject to correction. If one made this assumption, policy responses to a CLEAR diagnosis would seek automatically to build up those areas for which scores are low and, possibly, to diminish the effects of higher scoring components, in order to achieve balance. However, such an assumption misses a fundamental point in the CLEAR framework: the framework is derived from an analysis of participation in different localities and it takes, as its starting point, the understanding that all localities are different. This difference means that citizen resources, cultures of trust and reciprocity and networks of civil society all vary. As a consequence, the integration of civil society into public life and the extent to which public authorities will need to promote and respond to public engagement will also be different across localities. If the very simple point that all localities are different is accepted, then it is inevitable that the balance of different components in the CLEAR framework will also vary.

It is up to each municipality to determine what the appropriate balance should be and to develop responses that might help to achieve that balance. It follows that this balance, in terms of both reality and what may be deemed desirable, may vary over time as well as

place. As a diagnostic tool, therefore, CLEAR is expected to be subject to several iterations in any one locality. Over a number of years it may be possible to identify significant changes to the CLEAR profile in response to public initiatives.

3.2.3. Policy responses

If a CLEAR diagnosis reveals a profile that the locality is happy with, then there is no need for any policy response. However, it is our assumption that the process will reveal at least some areas where municipalities feel they should take some action to address gaps or limitations in what they currently observe. As Box 3.1 below indicates, there are a range of responses that municipalities could make if their investigation using the CLEAR framework reveals “gaps” or areas of difficulty.

Of course, one of the main areas where municipalities might seek to change their profiles is in relation to their promotion and sponsorship of participation. These changes might involve extending the range of opportunities and initiatives or, more simply, changing the emphasis within them. Box 3.2. presents details of some of the many and diverse ways of asking the public their opinion.

Box 3.1. Responding to investigative lessons from CLEAR

Key factor	Policy Response
Can do	Community development, training and development and practical support through the provision of community centres and resources targeted at those groups or communities that may need help to find their voice.
Like to	Build a sense of community or neighbourliness. People have to feel part of a community to be comfortable with participation; so strategies for building social or community cohesion may be an important part of creating the right environment for participation.
Enabled to	Strong civic institutions can give citizens the confidence to express their views. They may need to be monitored, challenged and managed so that they provide channels for the representation of a wide range of interests rather than a privileged position for a few. Investing in civic infrastructure and community networks, and improving channels of communication are important parts of the policy agenda for municipalities committed to participation.
Asked to	Public participation schemes that are diverse and reflexive provide the best options for making the 'ask' factor work. Different groups will require different forms of mobilisation.
Responded to	A public policy system that shows a capacity to respond – through specific outcomes, ongoing learning and feedback.

3.3. The constituent elements of the CLEAR model

3.3.1. 'Can do'

This section is concerned with the socio-economic arguments that have traditionally dominated explanations for variations in local participation rates. It is the argument that when people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate. These skills range from the ability and confidence to speak in public or write letters, to the capacity to organise events and encourage others of similar mind to support initiatives. It also includes access to resources that facilitate such activities (resources ranging from photocopying facilities through to internet access and so on). These skills and resources are much more commonly found among the better educated and employed sections of the population: those of higher socio-economic status. The questions are designed to help municipalities explore the strengths and limitations of citizens from this perspective.

Educational attainment

What are levels of education like in the locality? Have most people got basic education, or higher level qualifications? How does the picture differ for different groups of citizens – young people, older people, minority groups?

Employment and social class

What is the class make-up of the locality? What is the balance between different occupations – e.g. professional, skilled, semi- or unskilled, self-employed? What are the main employers in the area? Is there a problem of unemployment in the area? Is unemployment concentrated in particular parts of your community?

Box 3.2. Different forms of 'asked to' – applying CLEAR

Form	Description	Illustrative Case	Web Resource
Consultative innovations	Informs decision-makers of citizens' views through a combination of methods to explore public opinion.	Public debate on the future of GM technology in the UK in 2001	www.gmnation.org.uk
Deliberative methods	Enabling a cross-section of citizens to have the time and opportunity to reflect on an issue by gathering opinion and information in order to come to a judgment about an issue or concern.	The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly in Canada was established in 2004 and over eleven months, 160 people were given the task of reviewing the province's electoral system.	www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca
Co-governance mechanisms	Arrangements aim to give citizens significant influence during the process of decision making, particularly when it comes to issues of distribution of public spending and implementation practice.	Participatory Budgeting started its existence as a form of engagement in Porto Alegre, Brazil in the late 1980s but by 2004 it is estimated that over 250 cities or municipalities had practised some version of it.	www.pgualc.org
Direct democracy	Referendums called by citizens come in two broad forms. Popular initiatives allow the recall of decisions made by elected representatives. Citizens' initiatives – allow citizens to set the agenda and put an issue up for public decision	Quite widely practised in Switzerland and the United States.	www.iandrinstitute.org
E-Democracy	The use of information and communication technology to give citizens new opportunities to engage.	The UK National Project on local e-democracy has produced a wide range of tools for e-participation aimed specifically at helping local governments improve democratic engagement.	www.edemocracy.org.uk

Demography

What is the age profile of the population in the municipality? What proportion of the population belongs to an ethnic minority group? How many significant ethnic minority groups are there in the municipality (i.e. groups that the municipality recognises and addresses in its communications with citizens)? What languages are spoken in the locality? Are there other demographic factors that may be significant for participation (e.g. family structure, student concentration, commuters)?

Resources

Do citizens have easy access to appropriate resources for political participation? For instance, are there plenty of accessible meeting venues? Can citizens get access to computers, photocopiers or telephones to help them participate? Are these resources available to those who don't have access to them at work or home? Do the local media support participation by providing information and communication channels (e.g. local TV, newspaper or radio)? Do citizens have time to participate?

Skills/knowledge

Do citizens have the necessary skills for participating in political life (the ability to write letters, speak in public, organise meetings etc.)? Do citizens have the competence to utilise the resources in their community (e.g. to use computers, the internet etc.)? Which skills are in short supply? Do some groups of citizens have more access to resources, and more skills to use them, than others?

3.3.2. 'Like to'

This factor rests on the idea that people's sense of community encourages them to engage. The argument is that if you feel a part of something then you are more willing to engage. Evidence from many studies confirms that where people feel a sense of togetherness or shared commitment they are more willing to participate. This concern about a sense of attachment to the political entity where participation is at stake has been given new impetus in recent years in relation to debates about social capital. A sense of trust, connection and linked networks can, according to the social capital argument, enable people to work together and cooperate more effectively. Sense of community can be a strong motivator for participation. Conversely, an absence of identity or commitment to a locality can militate against participation.

The questions in this section focus particularly on the sense of identity and community that exists in the locality and associated stocks of social capital (in terms of trust and reciprocity).

Identity

What is the main focus of identity for people – the local neighbourhood, the town or city as a whole, or the region they live in? How well do people in the same neighbourhood know each other? Do citizens identify with the municipality? How attached are people to the area in which they live? How important are *non-geographical* sources of identity – like ethnic or

cultural identity, social class, or 'communities of interest' (among young people, or gay people, or those with a particular interest – like sport)?

Homogeneity

How stable is the community – have people lived at the same address a long time or is there a lot of mobility? Does the community have a strong sense of history and tradition? To what extent is there a similarity of identity across the community (i.e. are people largely the same – and if not, where are the main cleavages)? Are values and priorities the same across the community – and if not, where are the major cleavages?

Trust

How much do citizens trust one another? Are people generally helpful to one another or do they tend to put self-interest first? Is anti-social behaviour a problem? How much do citizens trust the municipality to make decisions that are in the interests of the community as a whole? How much do citizens trust the national government to make decisions that are in the interests of the community as a whole?

Citizenship

Is there a strong community spirit that supports collective action? Do people feel a sense of responsibility towards the community? Are there groups or sections of the community that are likely to feel excluded? Is there a sense in the municipality that the voices of some groups are more legitimate than others?

3.3.3. 'Enabled to'

This factor is premised on the research observation that most participation is facilitated through groups or organisations. Political participation in isolation is more difficult and less sustainable (unless an individual is highly motivated) than the mutually reinforcing engagement of contact through groups and networks. Collective participation provides continuous reassurance and feedback that the cause of engagement is relevant and that participation is having some value. Indeed, for some, engagement in this manner is more important than the outcome of such participation. The existence of networks and groups which can support participation, and which can provide a route into decision-makers, is therefore vital to the vibrancy of participation in an area.

The questions in this section focus on the existence and membership of groups to support political participation, and the existence of a 'civic infrastructure' that can encourage the development of such groups and ensure that they remain connected with local decision-makers.

Types of civic organization

What sorts of organisations exist and are active in the locality (e.g. youth groups, environmental campaigns, social welfare organisations, parent-teacher associations, sports or hobby groups, ethnic associations, cultural bodies)? Is there a census of such bodies? Which organisations have the most members? Which have the most influence on municipal

decision-making? Is the range of groups sufficient to address the full range of political issues that citizens wish to engage in?

Activities

How active are civic organisations? Are they increasing in number? Is membership increasing? Do such bodies seek to influence decisions at the municipal level, or get involved in running local services? What are the main ways they do this?

Civic infrastructure

Are there any 'umbrella' or coordinating agencies that exist specifically to support the development or growth of civic organisations in the area? Do they have sufficient resources and capacities to reach out to a range of organisations? What support does the municipality give to civic organisations (e.g. grants, premises, equipment, staff support, access to facilities, opportunities to meet decision-makers)? What are the major weaknesses of the voluntary and community sector in the area? Does the local media support the work of civic bodies (e.g. by publicising their activities)?

3.3.4. 'Asked to'

This factor builds on the understanding, supported by a significant amount of research, that mobilisation matters. People tend to become engaged more often and more regularly when they are asked to engage. Research shows that people's readiness to participate often depends upon whether or not they are approached and how they are approached. Mobilisation can come from a range of sources but the most powerful form is when those responsible for a decision ask others to engage with them in making it. Case studies have demonstrated how open political and managerial systems in local municipalities can also have a significant effect by extending to their citizens a variety of invitations to participate. The variety of participation options for engagement is important because some people are more comfortable with some forms of engagement such as public meetings while others would prefer, for example, to engage through on-line discussions. Some people want to talk about the experiences of their community or neighbourhood while others want to engage based on their knowledge of a particular service as a user.

This section asks questions about the ways in which the municipality is seeking to engage with citizens, the variety of initiatives that it supports, and the ways in which it communicates these initiatives to the public.

Forms of participation

How does the municipality seek to engage citizens in decision-making processes (e.g. surveys, consultations, focus groups, citizens' juries or panels, regular forums)? Does the municipality seek to use the internet for citizen engagement (e.g. by putting information online, online consultations or discussion forums, use of email or SMS texts)?

Strategy

Does the municipality have a strategy for engagement or are initiatives more piecemeal? Does the municipality collaborate with any other organisations in consulting or engaging the

public? Are citizens offered incentives to participate (e.g. honoraria, gifts, IT equipment, service enhancements, discounts on charges)? Are participation activities normally held at official premises? Has the municipality experimented with unusual locations to encourage participation (e.g. citizens' homes, schools, supermarkets)?

Reach and diversity

Are existing forms of engagement sufficient to reach all the different sections of the community (young/old, ethnic minority groups etc.)? Are particular forms of participation used to reach specific citizen groups? Do decision-makers give higher priority to the findings of some forms of participation over others (e.g. those that produce quantitative preferences)?

3.3.5. 'Responded to'

This final factor captures the idea that for people to participate on a sustainable basis they have to believe that their involvement is making a difference and that it is achieving positive benefits. For people to participate they have to believe that they are going to be listened to and, if not always agreed with, that they will at least in be in a position to see that their view has been taken into account. Responsiveness is about ensuring feedback, which may not always be positive in the sense of accepting the dominant view from participants. Feedback involves explaining how the decision was made and the role of participation within that process. Response is vital for citizen education, and so has a bearing on the 'front end' of the process too.

This set of questions investigates how different messages are weighed by decision-makers and how conflicting views are prioritised. They also examine how information on decision-making is fed back to citizens.

Listening

What are the procedures for ensuring that the citizen's voice is considered in decision-making? What mechanisms are used to feed the results of particular consultation or participation initiatives into the decision-making process?

Balance and prioritization

How are the views of citizens balanced against the opinions of professionals and elected members, especially where they diverge? How good are decision-makers at understanding and taking into account the views of citizens?

Feedback and education

How good is the municipality at explaining to citizens the reasons for a particular decision and the ways in which the views of citizens have been taken into account? To what extent do citizens understand and accept the decisions made by municipalities? What efforts is the municipality making to improve its communication with citizens? Does the municipality have a program of citizen education in relation to participation? Does the municipality provide

support to politicians and/or officers in their efforts to learn how to respond more effectively to participation?

3.4. In summary

This section has provided strong insights into how to diagnose what form of engagement might work in specific cultural contexts through 'bottom-up' collaborative analysis. In the next section we will turn to the thorny problem of how to match engagement methods with purposes to generate meaningful engagement.

4.

Matching engagement methods to engagement purposes – when and where is engagement meaningful?

4.1. Purpose

The existing taxonomies of citizen engagement lack sufficient detail and tend to focus mainly on degrees of involvement rather than on the appropriateness of specific types of initiative (e.g. citizen juries or user panels). The purpose of this section of the report is to establish a more detailed and effective taxonomy to match different engagement methods to different engagement purposes.

4.2. Existing taxonomies

Various taxonomies have been devised to match different engagement methods to different engagement purposes. These include Arnstein's Eight Rungs on a ladder of citizen participation (1969, p. 217) developed in 1969 set out below in Figure 4.1.

1) Citizen control	Degrees of citizen power
2) Delegated power	
3) Partnership	
4) Placation	Degrees of tokenism
5) Consultation	
6) Informing	
7) Therapy	Non-participation
8) Manipulation	

Figure 4.1. Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation

Another taxonomy is the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) engagement model shown below in Figure 4.2 which delineates between passive information sharing and active participation in the policy process:

Working definitions	
Information	A one-way relationship in which government delivers information to citizens Government → Citizen
Consultation	A two-way relationship in which citizens provide feedback on issues defined by government Government ↔ Citizen
Active participation	A collaboration in which citizens actively shape policy options, but where government retains the responsibility for final decisions Government ↔ Citizen

Figure 4.2. The OECD's engagement model

A more recent spectrum of levels was developed by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) (see Figure 4.3.) which better reflects the different purposes of participation. Some practitioners do not see participation as having anything to do with politics or democracy but see it simply as a more efficient and effective way of developing and implementing projects and programs. Others see the entire process as fundamentally political, affecting the ways people have or take power in relation to the decisions that affect them, and changing the role of those affected from being 'targets' of policy change to joint designers of that change. Participation exercises can usually satisfy both, but the differences can affect the types of methods chosen.

4.3. Identifying where citizen engagement could be useful at different decision points in a policy cycle

While taxonomies like the IAP2 model may be useful for determining what form of engagement may be necessary in different circumstances, policy-makers also require a heuristic device to enable them to identify where citizen engagement could be useful at different decision points in the policy process. Figure 4.4 provides a starting point to this discussion. Here we understand good policy-making as a process of continuous learning which involves the integration of strategy, policy and delivery and the absorption of citizens and stakeholders into different decision points in the policy process. It is important to be clear about what we mean by strategy, policy and delivery in these contexts:

Inform

Public participation goal: *To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions*

Consult

Public participation goal: *To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions*

Involve

Public participation goal: *To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered*

Collaborate

Public participation goal: *To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution*

**Empower**

Public participation goal: *To place final decision-making in the hands of the public*

Figure 4.3. The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) spectrum of participation

- **Strategy** is an expression of what you want to achieve, not simply what you will do. Remember it is a verb, not only a noun!
- **Policy** is the process by which governments translate their political vision into programs and actions to deliver 'outcomes' –desired changes in the real world
- **Delivery** is the change 'out there' in the system and in people's behaviour. Outcomes are almost all co-produced with citizens. Services are important – but only as means to ends.

There are three main justifications for adopting such an approach: we live in an era of governance and therefore all that we do in policy and delivery requires co-production and adaptive behaviours from citizens and stakeholders; policy is made and remade in the process of implementation and is largely a product of inheritance rather than choice; hence we will only know what people need and desire through an ongoing process of engagement; and, joining up policy and delivery through a process of strategic learning ensures the best possible conditions for success. Figure 4.4 identifies four decision points in the policy process which would potentially benefit from citizens' involvement: strategic direction; policy design; policy delivery and policy learning. Strategic direction refers to the involvement of citizens in the introduction of new organisational missions which impact directly on the nature of decision-making throughout the organisation (e.g. a community plan or poverty reduction strategy). The second and third sites of decision-making relate to the direct involvement of citizens in the design and delivery of policy. The fourth site of decision-making involves the generation of knowledge about organisational performance or public attitudes on specific issues. A wide range of participatory methods for application in these

different sites of decision-making have developed from a variety of fields including various academic disciplines, conflict resolution, marketing, public relations, social research, community and international development. They have been applied in many fields including health, land use planning, housing, and environmental and natural resource management, amongst many others.

Table 4.1. presents an illustrative list of the range of engagement methodologies that may be appropriate at each decision point. All these methods have their strengths and weaknesses and the key is to select the right one for the particular purpose and context. The UK non-governmental knowledge institution Involve (2005), for example, has developed a set of criteria to inform good decision-making in this regard. It focuses on issues of: (1) clear scope; (2) known purpose; (3) sensitive stakeholder inclusion; (4) use of evidence-based outputs; (5) identification of outcomes; (6) sensitivity to context; (7) co-design of the process; (8) effective institutional response to participants; and (9) review, to ensure continuous improvement.

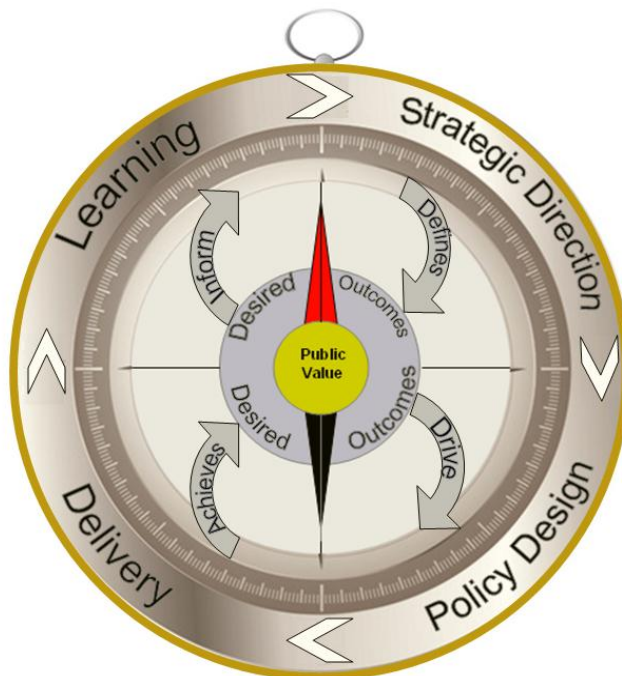


Figure 4.4. Strategic learning and citizens' engagement

It is noteworthy that decision points 1, 2 and 3 involve greater decision-making competency for citizens and are by implication the most controversial as they challenge dominant conceptions of representative democracy and challenge the traditional role of elected representatives. They also tend to involve different forms of mini-publics (Goodin & Dryzek, 2006) and there is an inevitable overlap in the methodological choices available. In the following sections, we will review the most common methods used in different sites of decision-making, noting that they are applicable to more than one site of decision-making.

4.4. Citizen involvement in strategic direction and policy design

There are an increasing number of devices available for exploring new strategic directions and policy initiatives. National Issues Forums, for example, were established by the Kettering Foundation which convenes an annual US-wide network of over 3,000 locally sponsored public forums of varying sizes and selection procedures to discuss selected issues. The Foundation then collates reports on the findings which it distributes to elected officials. The UK sought to emulate this device in June 2003 with the 'GM Nation' Public Debate which was organised at arm's length by government as part of a national consultation on genetically modified foods involving 675 open community meetings. Organisers also convened ten 'narrow but deep' deliberative groups a fortnight apart to generate views on issues that arose in the meetings.

Citizen involvement in...	Methodology of engagement
1. Strategic direction	Appreciative Inquiry, Community Empowerment Networks, Consensus Building/Dialogue Consensus Conference, Future Search Conference, Deliberative Mapping, Deliberative Polling, Participatory Strategic Planning (ICA), Planning for Real
2. Policy design	Appreciative Inquiry, Co-design, Deliberative Mapping, Deliberative Polling, Participatory Appraisal, Everyday makers
3. Policy delivery	Co-design, Deliberative Mapping,
4. Policy learning	Citizens' Juries, Citizens' Panels, User Panels, Electronic processes, Open Space Technology, Planning cells

Table 4.1. Methodological choices in citizen engagement

Consensus Conferences, initiated by the Danish Board of Technology in 1987, are also increasingly common. A Consensus Conference involves a group of 15 lay citizens who hold two weekend-long preparatory meetings to set the agenda for a four-day public forum at which experts give testimony and are questioned and the lay panel retires to write a report. The report is then presented to a press conference. In Denmark, the public forum is followed by a series of local debates. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is a similar approach for creating a vision and planning to achieve it. AI does this through understanding and appreciating the past, as a basis for imagining the future (see Box 4.1., for an example).

The Local Authority in Ryedale, North Yorkshire in England wanted to base their decisions on a vision for the future that was shared with the community. In September 2002 a core group was set up with the help of the New Economics Foundation. A dozen local activists and council officers were trained in using appreciative questions to identify people's important values, aspirations and hopes for the future. The questions were carefully worded so that solutions were emphasised and not just problems.

These questions were then used in conversations, meetings, classrooms and even on a specially setup phone-in line. Following this, the core group read the resulting four hundred and thirty scripts and drew out the recurring themes and issues. This process culminated in the drafting of vision statements around six identified themes. As far as possible, these

propositions incorporated the exact words of the people who had taken part.

Next, the vision statements were taken back to those who had been involved in the process, giving them the opportunity to make changes before the vision became a part of the community plan. The final output was an agreed vision for Ryedale's Community Plan.

Box 4.1. The Ryedale Community Plan Appreciative Inquiry

America Speaks deliberative design, founded by Carolyn Lukensmeyer in 1997, has also been emulated in Europe (see the case of the 2007 European Citizens' Consultation in Section 5). These involve the recreation of '21st century town meetings' in one-day events involving between 500 and 5,000 people deliberating on a specific issue. Selection procedures vary but there is normally an attempt to establish a degree of representativeness. They operate through moderated small group discussions at demographically mixed tables of representatives of 10 to 12 people. Feedback from these tables is pooled via networked computers and filtered by the organisers to form the basis for subsequent discussions. Large video screens present data, themes and information in real time over the course of the deliberations: as themes emerge and votes are taken, recommendations gel. Key stakeholders produce background materials and, together with public authorities, typically attend the event.

These devices are useful for generating a representative view of what the public's considered/ deliberated opinion might look like, and for increasing public understanding of an issue through broadcasting of the event. In addition, they often include people that would not normally choose to get involved (the 'silent' majority).

4.5. Citizen involvement in policy delivery and learning

Citizen involvement in policy delivery and learning is often explored using a set of similar devices for either getting feedback on performance or identifying social attitudes to specific problems or initiatives. Originally initiated in the United States by Ned Crosby and the Jefferson Center, citizens' juries have been used sporadically in different countries to provide feedback on initiatives or to scope new issues. Citizens' juries were especially common in the United Kingdom under Tony Blair. A typical design would involve 12 to 24 citizens, selected by stratified sampling to promote demographic representativeness, deliberating for two to four days to provide advice on a specific policy issue. The jury receives information, hears evidence, cross-examines witnesses and deliberates on the issue at hand (see Box 4.2 for an illustrative case study). Planning cells in Germany operate in a broadly similar way with a number of deliberating groups running in parallel in a longer, multiple stage process (see Diemel, 2005).

A citizens' panel is a large, demographically representative group of citizens used to assess public preferences and opinions (see Box 4.3 for an illustrative case study). Citizens' panels are made up of a representative sample of a local population and are used by statutory agencies, especially local authorities, to identify local issues and to consult service users and non-users. Potential participants are generally recruited through random sampling of the electoral roll or door-to-door recruitment. They are then selected so that membership is

made up of a representative profile of the local population in terms of age and gender.

Once they agree to participate, panel members, or sections of the panel, participate in surveys at intervals over the course of their membership and, where appropriate, in further in-depth research such as focus groups. Citizens' panels have evolved from opinion polls and market research and can be used to assess service needs, identify local issues and determine the appropriateness of service developments. Large panels can also be used to target specific groups for their views on issues. Citizens' panels measure the views of a large body of people over a period of time, thereby assessing the impact of developments. Deliberative mapping involves both specialists and members of the public. It combines varied approaches to assess how participants rate different policy options against a set of defined criteria. The citizen and expert participants are divided into panels (often according to gender and socio-economic background to ensure that people are comfortable voicing their views). The citizens' panels and the experts consider the issue both separately from one another and at a joint workshop. This allows both groups to learn from each other without the experts dominating. The emphasis of the process is not on integrating expert and public voices, but on understanding the different perspectives each group offers to a policy process. The groups themselves determine which criteria against which they will score the options, thereby limiting any structural bias, and each group arrives at a ranking of these options. Deliberative mapping incorporates both quantitative and qualitative methods and participants work both individually and as a group.

The UK Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and Minister for Women, Patricia Hewitt, wanted to commission a citizens' jury to help develop policies that would support people juggling family and work commitments. The Office of Public Management worked with the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) to make it happen.

Sixteen jurors, broadly representative of the wider population, were recruited. Witnesses came from ten organisations, including the Confederation of British Industry, (the then) Boots Company plc and the Equal Opportunities Commission. During the four-day jury, the jurors also requested an additional witness from Sure Start to provide information on the government's childcare agenda.

The DTI asked some jurors to keep a diary of their experiences and the DTI videotaped the process – to be able to share the process with other colleagues. The diaries also showed how the mindset of the jurors shifted during the four days and provided a very personal insight into the issues being explored. For example, one juror wrote about the difficulty of juggling her own responsibilities as a mother so that she could attend the jury each day.

Jurors had some scepticism about whether the jury would influence government policy. However, its influence was already evident in elements of the Chancellor's pre-budget speech at the end of 2004 – the proposed increase in maternity pay is in keeping with the thrust of the jurors' recommendations. All the jurors were enthusiastic about the process and at the end said they would be willing to be contacted by the DTI in the future to help develop policy further.

Box 4.2. UK Department of State for Trade and Industry, Citizens' Jury, 2004

The Bristol Citizens' Panel was established to keep the local council informed about public opinion, and is promoted as 'Bristol's biggest think-tank'.

A random sample and interviews were used in late 1998 to recruit 2,200 panellists that mirrored the population of the city as a whole. Since then, the Citizens' Panel has been asked more than six hundred questions, ranging from issues like recycling to whether or not Bristol should have a directly elected mayor. Over the years new panellists have been recruited to replace inactive panel members. Each year the Panel receives up to four questionnaires, which can be completed by Panel members on paper or electronically on the council website.

The results from the Citizens' Panel are regularly fed into decision-making, and the panel has also featured in the local and national media. Panel members are kept informed of the results of the surveys via the panel newsletter "Feedback" and results often appear in the local media and are all available on the council website.

Box 4.3. The Bristol Citizens' Panel

There are a number of electronic methods currently in use across Europe, ranging from the simple use of websites for information-giving to more interactive processes that allow stakeholders to 'converse' online or participate in processes that emulate conventional participative processes. The two participative processes most commonly used are online forums and structured templates or Open Space Technology, often referred to as "Open Space" for short. This is a meeting framework that allows unlimited numbers of participants to form their own discussions around a central theme. It is highly dynamic and effective at generating enthusiasm, as well as commitment to action.

These types of initiatives can be used: to monitor public opinion on key issues; as a source for individuals to participate in more in-depth processes such as focus groups; and for engaging the public in the development of new policy areas.

4.5. In summary

We have identified four decision points in the policy process which would potentially benefit from citizen's involvement: strategic direction; policy design; policy delivery and policy learning and we have provided illustrations of the forms of citizen engagement which can be effective at these decision points. In the following four sections, we will explore four case study illustrations in more detail. These examples have been selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- Place – the program has been evaluated as a successful innovation from the perspective of the institutions location and history.
- Novelty – the program demonstrates a leap of creativity from existing practice.
- Significance – the program successfully addresses an important problem of 'public' concern.
- Utility – the innovation made things easier for government.
- Effectiveness – the program achieved tangible results for the citizenry.
- Longevity – the innovation looks set to achieve results over time.
- Transferability – the program, or aspects of it, shows promise of inspiring successful replication by other governmental entities.

The examples are drawn from practices in three European states representing very different political cultures: Denmark (Northern Europe), Spain (Southern Europe) and the United Kingdom (Western Europe).

5.

Citizen engagement in establishing strategic direction – the case of the 2007 European Citizens' Consultation

5.1. Introduction

This site of decision-making involves citizens in the introduction of new organisational missions that impact directly on the nature of decision-making throughout the organisation (e.g. strategic plan, constitution, organisational values, economic doctrine such as Keynesianism, or managerial traditions such as New Public Management). An example of strategic direction would be attempts to develop a constitution for the European Union. The 2007 UK European Citizens' Consultation, which was facilitated by the Power Inquiry, an organisation based in London, is heralded as an exemplar in deliberative engagement. This consultative process was held in the aftermath of the European Union's abortive attempts to establish a European Constitution. All European Union member states were instructed by the Council of Europe to engage a non-governmental organisation to facilitate a deliberative engagement with a representative sample of 300 citizens using state of the art interactive technologies. The deliberation would be held over a weekend and focus on developing policy statements on four key issues confronting the European Union – defence, immigration, economic development and climate change. The case study illustrates the key challenges confronting engagement specialists when designing a large-scale national deliberation drawing on international better practice guidelines.

5.2. Context

Failed referenda in the mid-2000s on the need for a European Constitution in France, the Netherlands and Ireland demonstrated that the European project had stalled in a crisis of confidence. The subsequent analysis of the citizens' reasons for rejection established an inconvenient truth: there is no quick fix for the disconnection between Europe and its citizens. In the aftermath of the failed process of constitution-building the Council of Europe recognised that the majority of European Union (EU) citizens were not emotionally connected to Europe because Europe did not stand for issues that made sense to their lives. Direct and two-way communication channels between Europe and its citizens were therefore considered to be critically important and the European Citizens' Consultations were designed to help bridge the gap.

The European Citizens' Consultations provided the first-ever opportunity for members of the

public from all member states to debate the future of the EU across the boundaries of geography and language. Citizens reflecting the diversity of the population were chosen randomly to take part in the deliberations with the aim of identifying common ground and making recommendations to policy-makers. The results sought to inspire European as well as national institutions as they prepared to take decisions on the next phase of Europe's development.

It was a ground-breaking experience that brought together civil societies from across the continent, giving citizens rather than governments the opportunity to come up with their own views and proposals in the context of participatory meetings. For the first time, citizens from all parts of the EU had a chance to take part and shape the development of a European vision. This process allowed participants to think through the key challenges and define their own proposals for the European Union of the future.

The deliberative format of the events ensured that every voice was heard through a combination of professional facilitation and instant transfer of information by interactive technology. The agenda was entirely citizen-led as the main topic areas to be discussed were defined by citizens of all EU member states at an agenda-setting event held in Brussels in October 2006. The whole process was structured towards allowing the participants to refine their own views and define their highest priorities, asking them 'What Europe do we want?' The key topics chosen were: Energy and the Environment; Family and Social Welfare; the EU's Global Role and Immigration.

The European Citizens' Consultations process was driven by a consortium of independent European foundations and civil society organisations and did not focus on any political stand-point but rather aimed to encourage a more open debate and consideration of the future for the whole of the EU. The UK event was organised by the Power Inquiry, an independent non-governmental organisation, which aims to promote democratic renewal across the UK. The report of the Power Inquiry, 'Power to the People' was published in February 2006 with a range of proposals for changes in the process of UK democracy and since then the organisation has continued to focus on developing new forms of democratic participation. The event was held at the University of York and the University provided considerable logistical and design support. In particular, Professor Mark Evans organised and trained facilitators from the University and local networks.

The European Citizens' Consultation – UK aimed to gather over 100 citizens on the 24th and 25th March in York to develop the UK perspectives on the future of Europe. The citizens participating in the UK Consultation were randomly invited according to clear criteria to broadly represent the UK population, covering the following characteristics: age; educational level; gender; region; and ethnicity.

5.3. The design thinking underpinning the European Citizens' Consultation

The Power Inquiry hosted and organised deliberative events, building on the experience of a number of participatory and deliberative formats. It conducted research on the broader experience of participatory democracy from around the world, such as the 'America Speaks' deliberative process, the Citizens' Assembly on electoral reform established in British Columbia and the Participatory Budget Process of Brazil that inspired the Harrow Open

Budget (2005–2006). Building on the experience of the Harrow Open Budget and evidence derived from this wider body of research, it is clear that the format and process of the event is crucial for enabling participants to engage with the questions and formulate meaningful proposals. A focus should therefore be placed on allowing citizens to feel clear ownership over the process of decision-making from start to finish. The participants should be able to define their own priorities throughout the deliberation, following a citizen-led structured debate, and should be afforded the choice to formulate their own proposals within a framework that is carefully crafted to allow for transparency and open discussion.

In the case of the European Citizens' Consultation – UK (ECC-UK), the Deliberative Polling method was further developed with IFOK, the Institute for Organisational Communication. The ECC-UK followed a process of deliberation to reach a series of vision statements on several key topic areas that had been established by citizens at an earlier agenda-setting event held in Brussels in October 2006.

In design terms, the European Citizen's Consultation combined elements of thinking derived from America Speaks approaches with Deliberative Polling (see Section 4). A Deliberative Poll measures what the public would think about an issue if they had an adequate chance to reflect on the questions at hand by observing the evolution of a test group of citizens' views, as they learn more about a topic. Deliberative polls are more statistically representative than many other approaches due to their large scale. Deliberative Polls gather a random sample of between 150 and 300 citizens to deliberate on specific policy questions. They hear evidence from experts, break up into smaller groups (up to 15 in each) to frame questions to put to experts, and reassemble in plenary sessions to pose those questions to panels of experts. Before and after surveys of participants are taken to measure the existing knowledge base of citizens and attitudinal change over the period of deliberation. Deliberative Polls are usually run in collaboration with TV companies, which then broadcast parts of the process, allowing the wider public to share the learning of the participants. This did not happen in the case of the 2007 UK European Citizens' Consultation. The results of a Deliberative Poll are partly prescriptive, pointing to what an informed and reflective citizenry might want policy-makers to do.

5.3.1. Discussion guide

Prior to the event, citizens received core background information on the key areas for deliberation in an accessible discussion guide, to provide a platform for deliberation. The intended aim here was to inform participants in an unbiased way and to open the discussion but not constrain or lead the proposals. This is a useful tool to allow for open discussion and to support the ideas of the participants. No prior in-depth knowledge was required by participants

5.3.2. Facilitated tables

The participants were seated at small table groups (7–10 people) with a facilitator, whose role was to open the discussion and ensure that every voice was heard, without adding any personal bias to the discussion. Participants worked through the thematic areas at their table before their views were shared across the whole room. The event took the form of a structured debate that allowed citizens to develop their own set of proposals for policy-makers.

5.3.3. The role of technology

The use of technology guaranteed transparency, the efficient use of time and ease of sharing of instant results. The use of laptops on all the tables provided an instant way of sharing the proposals being generated across the room and allowed the participants to immediately see all the ideas being developed in each session. At each point in the deliberation all the proposals from each table were shared and edited at central laptops before being projected on to large screens at each end of the room. This led to a transparent, inclusive system of deliberation. Voting pads were also used in the deliberation to gauge individual as opposed to group preferences and to allow for a nuanced breakdown of preferences by demographic background. At the outset of the deliberation, participants were asked four very simple demographic questions to validate the representativeness of the sample of participants. Then, at each stage of the thematic sessions, the participants were given a vote on the proposals, allowing the whole room to see the preferences on all the core ideas. This also provided an opportunity to identify attitudinal shifts which had occurred during the deliberative process.

5.3.4. The structure of the deliberation

The weekend was divided into two days of deliberation, with a clear progression in ideas to reach a clear set of vision statements. The process is illustrated in Box 5.1., and was repeated for each of the three thematic areas. The first day allowed for a full in-depth discussion of each of the topic areas, the discussion moved from brainstorming broad aims in the table groups, through to vision statements at each table. The key difference that set this event apart from European Citizens' Consultations in other countries was that the organisers allowed all citizens to discuss all three topic areas. In this way all the participants took part in a journey of ideas and moved through the same series of issues consecutively, enabling them to contribute and listen to each other's ideas in a transparent way. This was carried out primarily at each table group by having well prepared facilitators to open the discussion and an efficient, organised use of technology to allow for rapid transfer of information at each point.

The facilitator was crucial to enabling the conversation to move fluidly through the topic areas, giving the opportunity for all voices to be heard and for the range of opinions to be fairly represented in the proposals. The discussion was supported throughout by the discussion guide material which was used to supplement the knowledge of the participants. After each table had worked through their own views, this was followed by that formulation of a final joint vision statement at a conference table made up of one participant from each table. The half-hour conference table was the crucial point in the process as it aimed at finding a consensus between the suggested vision statements of each table; the facilitator played a crucial role in assisting them to reach a common ground that would satisfy all the participants from each table. At this point only the suggestions that received unanimous approval were included, and any ideas that did not reach unanimity were left out of the final vision statement. There was a need for the facilitator to carefully balance all views from 15–20 participants (one from each table) and ensure that all those present were brought into the discussion. The wide range of views led to heated discussion and a few very difficult choices in the final wording, but the choices were very much down to participants; none of

the words or phrasing were altered, and instead the facilitator simply repeated and recorded the agreed draft.

On the second day there was integration of the results with other European countries. Participants had the opportunity to see the vision statements of the other countries and to offer feedback on the ideas put forward. At the same time there was an opportunity for them to comment on how these other vision statements may have changed their own vision statements, thereby allowing for feed-back from a different perspective from the first day. The second day then moved on to a discussion of the role that the EU administration and UK government might play in implementing their visions. At this stage the main intention was to determine if there was a preference for the proposals in each topic area to be dealt with at the European level or at the national level. In this way the discussion aimed to create two statements: one which defined whether there should be a role for the EU in resolving these issues and if so what that role should be; and the other which defined whether there should be a role for the UK government in each area and if so what that role should be. The statements were defined at the table groups before one person from each table moved once again to a conference table to draft out a final Statement on the role of the EU/UK governments.

In this way, by lunchtime of the second day a common ground had been reached on each of the topics. There were three final statements that summarised the collective choices of the participants in terms of: a vision statement for each topic; the role of the EU; and the role of the UK government. The concluding session allowed the participants to review these final statements, and each statement was presented on the screen and a series of confidence votes were taken to act as a double-check mechanism to consolidate the ownership of the results by participants. Participants had the choice to express their approval or disapproval with the options of: 'Completely agree'; 'Partially agree'; 'Completely disagree'. This process allowed participants to have the choice to decide if these would be their final recommendations to be sent on their behalf to the final consultation. Throughout the process participants were given the choice on what to include and were thereby shown that these were all their own proposals and that the statements were defined by their personal choices.

5.4. The demographic profile of the participants

The EU required that the sample of participants should be characterised by:

- Gender split of 50/50
- The participants must not be involved in a political party or an organised special interest group (includes civil society i.e. environmental campaign).
- They must have no specialist prior knowledge of the subject (e.g. EU Law)
- 25% students – though not in politics/economics/law
- 25% lower wage earners
- 25% higher wage earners
- 25% non-working e.g. from the retired/unemployed population.

To these guidelines we added additional requirements to ensure that all age groups and communities of the UK population were included. The targets in terms of reaching this

demographic profile were defined by an independent polling company YouGov and they agreed to arrange the recruitment of the sample. All participants were offered an incentive of 100 Euros as a compensation for their time commitment and all travel and accommodation needs were arranged for them on a weekend in order to make the consultation process as accessible as possible. The demographic profile was set with You Gov in the following way:

Box 5.1. The structure of the deliberation

	Setting	Activity
Day 1: Morning	Plenary	Welcome / Introduction Introduction to the event by European political figures, followed by information on schedule of the day, process as a whole, citizens' role, and the format of expected outcomes.
	Plenary	Voting Citizens vote on demographic data (gender, age, profession etc.) to define the profile of attendance for mapping results and comparison across national consultations.
Day 1: Afternoon	Table groups	Generating Broad Aims: Citizens discuss the three Topic areas in a brainstorming session. For each of the 3 topics, they recommend broad aims to complete the phrase "I would like to live in a Europe that...". Input from all the tables is processed on laptops and projected onto screens.
	Plenary	Grouping Broad Aims: The initial broad aims are grouped into issue categories. Thereby finding the connections and similarities between the variety of ideas and defining the key issue categories.
	Plenary	Opinion snapshot: Each citizen is given a vote (3 for each of the 3 topics) to express which of these groups of broad aims he/she considers most important. This serves as a rough guideline of preferences to help citizens focus their subsequent discussions.
	Plenary	Challenging the Broad Aims: Experts talk through the initial ideas, to highlight problems or trade-offs regarding citizens' aims and choices; they may suggest key challenges or advantages and offer additional information.
	Table groups	Formulating a Vision Statement: Based on their broad aims, the results of the opinion snapshot and the trade-offs, each table group is asked to come up with one achievable Vision Statement of the Europe they would like to live in.
	Conference Table	Final Vision Statement One citizen from each table goes to a conference table to combine the views into a single joint Vision Statement.
Day 2: until early afternoon	Plenary	European Presentation and Sharing of Results: Citizens see the proposed Vision Statements, as well as images and quotations from other countries' simultaneous week-end events; Italy, Malta, Romania & Sweden.
	Plenary	European Content Feedback : Participants discuss the Vision Statements of the other countries and offer comments and views on them. Furthermore they consider what impact this has on their own Vision Statements.
	Table groups	Role of the EU/UK Government: At tables, participants consider whether the EU or UK government should be involved in the implementation of their proposed Vision and if so, what action should be taken

Conference Table	Role of the EU/UK Government Final Statement: One citizen from each table goes to a conference table to combine the views into a single joint Statement on the role of the EU and the UK in implementing the Vision Statements.
Plenary	Confidence Voting: After being presented the final results, citizens vote to express whether they are satisfied or feel comfortable with these results. Closing Ceremony

5.4.1. Target Numbers

160 participants were recruited using the following framework as a guide for quotas:

	Total	Male				Female			
		Student	Low Earner	High Earner	Not working	Student	Low Earner	High Earner	Not working
Plymouth	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
London	16	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Bristol	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Birmingham	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Manchester	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Liverpool	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Leeds	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sheffield	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Newcastle	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Norwich	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nottingham	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Edinburgh	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Glasgow	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Aberdeen	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cardiff	16	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Wrexham	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Derry	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Belfast	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

While these regional and income group targets were laid out in an interlocking pattern, they were supplemented by specific targets for ethnic communities as a separate national outline. Ethnic profile figures provided by YouGov suggest that the UK population ethnic profile is approximately the following:

White, British	88.62%
White, Other	3.87%
Black or Black British, Caribbean	1.10%
Black or Black British, African	0.93%
Black or Black British, Other Black	0.19%
Asian or Asian British, Indian	2.02%
Asian or Asian British, Pakistani / Bangladeshi	1.94%
Asian or Asian British, Other Asian	0.47%
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	0.87%
Mixed Race	1.29%

As a result, the target figures agreed to in consultation with YouGov were intended to slightly over-compensate minority ethnic communities to ensure that all voices would be heard in a sample of 160 people.

Ethnicity	Total
White, British	109
White, Other	12
Black or Black British, Caribbean	6
Black or Black British, African	6
Black or Black British, Other Black	1
Asian or Asian British, Indian	7
Asian or Asian British, Pakistani / Bangladeshi	7
Asian or Asian British, Other Asian	3
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	4
Mixed Race	5

In the final event, the total number of participants recruited by YouGov was somewhat lower, due to the innovative nature of this process and the short time-scale involved. YouGov struggled to fulfill the criteria that were set for them. This may in part be because their core work does not involve face-to-face events but is principally focused on internet-based surveys, so they were unfamiliar with ensuring that people were physically present. It is important to note that recruitment for an event of this nature requires confirming attendance several weeks in advance and securing the interest and guarantee of involvement of all participants. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the demographic figures broadly matched the proportions of each variable in the target profile and thereby provided a full cross-section of views from the different communities of the UK.

5.4.2. Gender profile

The final breakdown of gender meant that slightly more women than men arrived at the weekend in York but the difference was within a 10% margin each way: female 57%; male 43%.

5.4.3. Age profile

In terms of age groups represented, there was a very good spread, including a good representation of younger and older age groups (see Chart 5.1.).

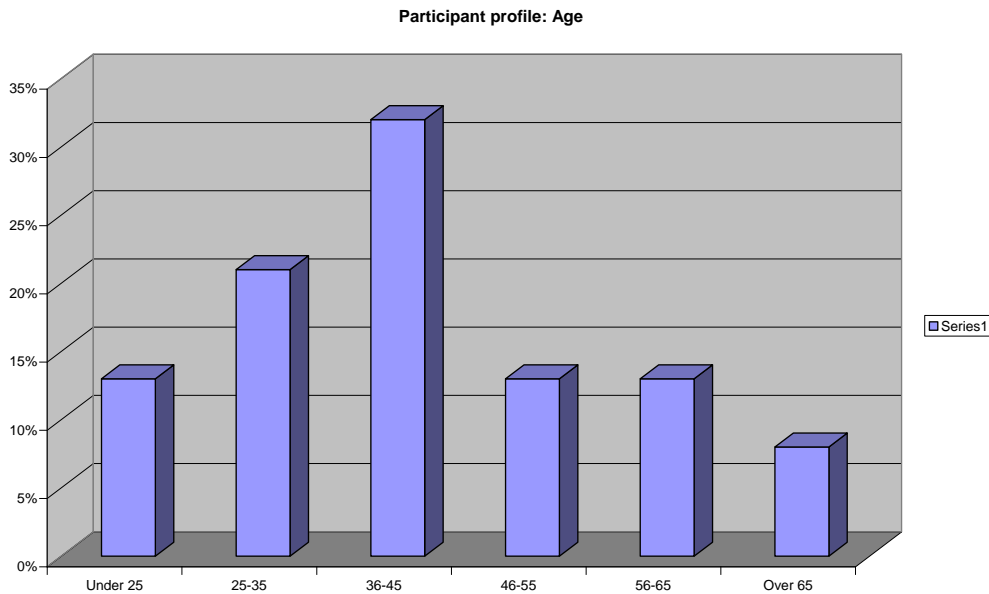


Chart 5.1. 2007 European Citizens' Consultation participant profile by age

5.4.4. Regional profile

The proportion of participants from different regional areas led to a successfully diverse regional picture to give a full cross-section of regional participants (see Chart 5.2.). There was good representation from the London area, from the Yorkshire area and from Scotland, however there was a slightly lower presence from the South West, the West Midlands, the North East and from Northern Ireland. In future work it may be preferable to have a series of regional events prior to the main national forum as this allows for a more detailed picture of the regional variations.

5.4.5. Ethnic profile

Due to the decrease in overall numbers provided by YouGov, the final total figures were lower than intended but nevertheless the proportional numbers of each ethnic group present remained close to the target for each community (see Chart 5.3.). There was a slightly higher response from Afro-Caribbean participants than from Asian participants but the only group that was significantly lower was the 'mixed race' cohort, perhaps because this was the least well-defined group.

Participant profile: Regions

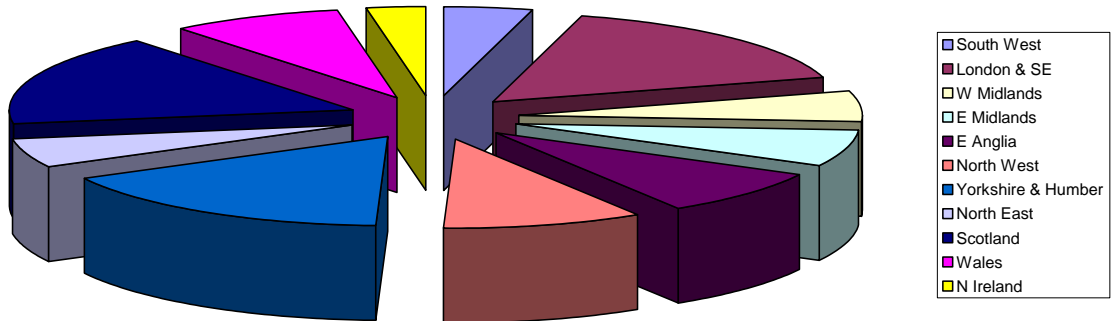


Chart 5.2. 2007 European Citizens' Consultation participant profile by region

Participant profile: Ethnicity

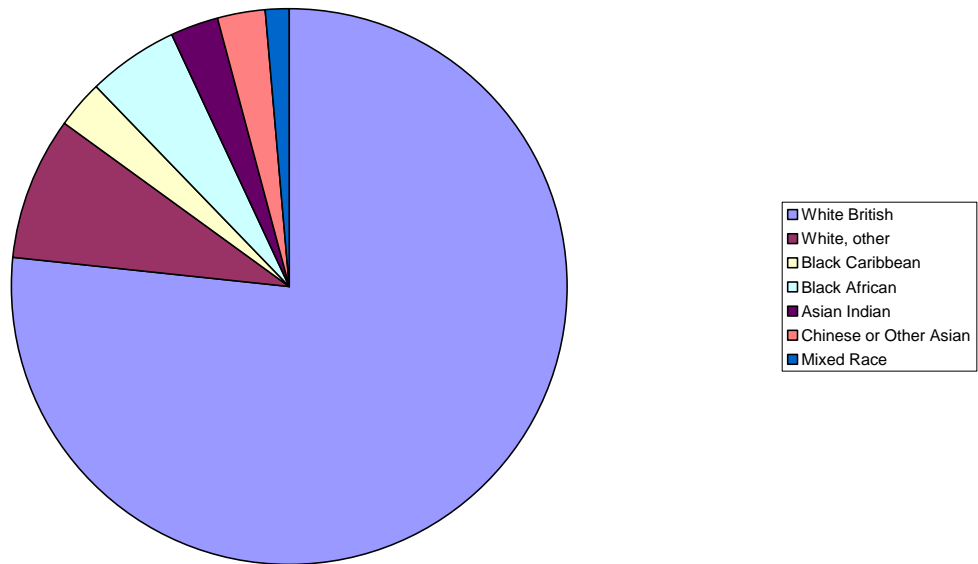


Chart 5.3. 2007 European Citizens' Consultation participant profile by ethnicity

5.4.6. Occupational profile

The occupational background demographic proved the hardest to consolidate as the definitions were set to be comparable across Europe and therefore did not correlate directly to UK categories. As a result the outlines set by YouGov were slightly different from the European guidelines and this led to a slight inconsistency in matching up the typologies. In any case the final range of backgrounds was broad enough to include a full spectrum of UK working categories (see Chart 5.4.).

There was a slight lack of participants in education, including students of voting age (although there was a separate group of school students, see below) and a slight over-representation of those who were retired or out of work. Perhaps this illustrates the difficulty of reaching younger people but it may also be due to the pre-existing demographic profile of those who were interviewed by YouGov. The pattern that emerged nevertheless covered all major areas and included both those in employment as salaried workers and those who were self-employed or employed by the state.

Participant profile: Occupation

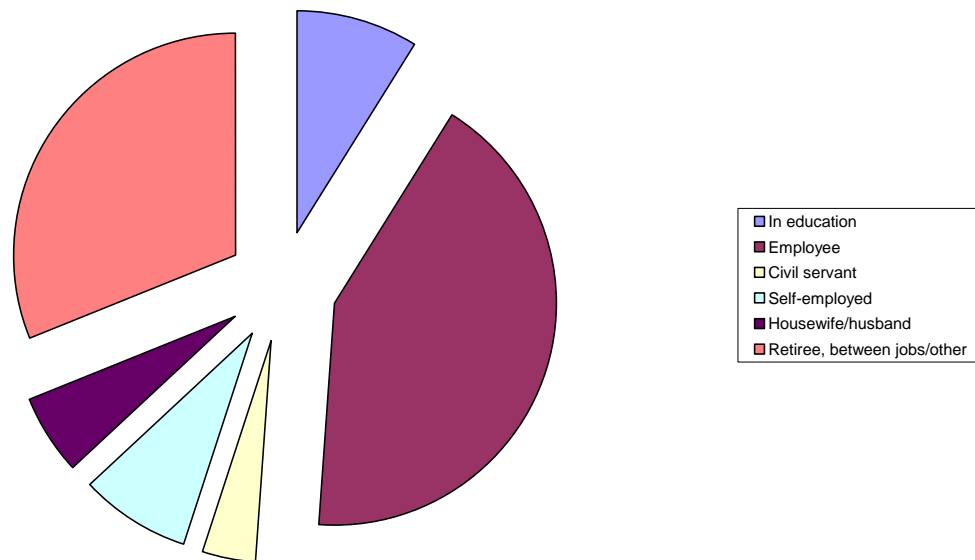


Chart 5.4. 2007 European Citizens' Consultation participant profile by occupation

5.5. Reflections

The 2007 European Citizens' Consultation proved so successful that it has been repeated biannually since the inaugural event. The key ingredients of success were identified by the independent evaluator as:

- the representative nature of the forum;
- the use of accessible language and high quality supporting documentation;
- strong facilitation and the avoidance of the mobilisation of bias;

- the presentation of evidence by experts that reflected the competing values underpinning the issue under deliberation;
- the role of technology in preventing agenda setting;
- the role of technology in focusing deliberation;
- the role of technology in creating a sense of occasion; and,
- quality feedback to participants post-deliberation.

Perhaps the greatest value of this deliberative event lay in the demonstrable success of the method in empowering citizens with limited previous knowledge of a subject to come together and deliberate on complex policy issues before coming to measured and reasoned recommendations.

6. Danish experiments in policy co-design

6.1. Introduction

This site of decision-making involves the direct involvement of citizens in the design of policy. Denmark is popularly viewed as having the most associative culture in Europe. This is demonstrated in the proliferation of voluntary associations who develop and deliver new policies aimed at addressing particular social problems. For example, these everyday policy makers include the “*Stop spild af mad*” (“Stop wasting food”) movement (see <http://www.stopspildafmad.dk/>). It is now one of the most rapidly growing web-based voluntary associations in Europe and has spawned other initiatives such as “*Help feed the homeless*”, whose members pick up expired food from supermarket garbage containers and redistribute it to poor and homeless people. See www.skralderen.dk, www.frivillighed.dk/Webnodes/da/Web/Public/Forside, and www.sr-bistand.dk.

This section explores two innovative examples of policy co-design in Denmark – the Danish Board of Technology’s experiments in consensus conferencing and MindLab’s work in policy co-design.

6.2. The Danish Board of Technology and social participation

The Danish Board of Technology (DBT) promotes ‘ongoing discussion about technology, to evaluate technology and to advise the Danish Parliament and other governmental bodies in matters pertaining to technology’ (DBT, 2012a). The DBT is ‘an independent body established by the Danish Parliament (the *Folketing*) in 1995 and is the successor of the Technology Board, which was set up as a statutory body in 1986’ (DBT, 2012a). The mission of the DBT is to disseminate knowledge about technology, its possibilities and its effects on people, on society and on the environment (DBT, 2012a). According to its legislative mandate, the DBT’s task is to:

- *Organise independent technology assessments.*
- *Carry out all-round assessments of the potentials and consequences of technology.*
- *Initiate activities relating to public enlightenment education and communication.*
- *Advise the Danish Parliament and Government (DBT, 2012b).*

In addition to this, ‘[t]he Board of Technology builds on the democratic traditions in Denmark. The Board must therefore:

- *Help inform and generate debate on as broad a basis as possible.*
- *Take on board the insight, experience and credibility of lay people in its evaluation of technology.*
- *Make use of expert knowledge and contribute to basing the debate on objective arguments.*
- *Support democracy by initiating relevant and important technological debates among the public and among policy and decision-makers' (DBT, 2012b).*

However, it is for its work with social participation that the DBT is internationally renowned.

The DBT receives an annual subsidy from the Danish Parliament to allow it to carry out its research (DBT, 2012a). In addition, '[t]he Ministry of Research is the supervising authority for the Board and the Parliament's Research Committee is the Board's steady liaison to the Parliament' (DBT, 2012a). As part of its work, the DBT submits an annual report to Parliament (DBT, 2012a). As these ties demonstrate, as an independent body of government with strong ties to parliament, the DBT primarily influences the policy debate through its direct relationship with the parliament and the government:

In Denmark, there is an expectation (although no formal legal requirement) for Parliament and political parties to respond explicitly to the recommendations of Consensus Conferences organized by the Danish Board of Technology (Goodin & Dryzek, 2006, p.226).

The DBT employs a variety of methods for engaging citizens. These include: cafe seminars; citizens' hearings; citizens' juries; citizens' summits; future panels; hearings for parliament; inter-disciplinary work groups; interview meetings; consensus conferences; and voting conferences (DBT, 2012c). In 2010 the DBT won the Jim Creighton Award which is granted by the International Association for Public Participation (iap2) (DBT, 2012d).

6.3. Consensus conferences in action – the case of electronic patient records

Perhaps the most well-known method of the DBT is the consensus conference. These originally began in 1987 (Einsiedel et al., 2001, p.83) and have received much attention for their role in engaging citizens in policy process (see for example Blok, 2007; Dryzek & Tucker, 2008; Einsiedel et al., 2001; Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Hendriks et al., 2007). As '[t]wo of the main general aims of the Danish Board of Technology are to promote technological debate and assess technological potential and consequences. The consensus conference perfectly unites these [two] aims, promoting dialogue between citizens and experts with a view to illuminating advantages and disadvantages of a given technology' (DBT, 2006). One case study of a DBT consensus conference is the project on the development of electronic healthcare records (see Jensen, 2005, p.221). As Jensen argues:

Visions of the use of EPRs raise a number of important questions regarding the future of Danish health care. But it is worth noticing that the horizon of these discussions to a very large extent has been defined by a limited set of actors: clinicians, technicians and politicians. It could be argued, however, that there is another group to whom the question of how to make health care work well is relevant. This is the group of

citizens, who are the actual and virtual clients of the health sector. This was in fact the argument put forward by the Board of Technology, who remarked upon lack of citizen involvement in these debates and consequently positively reviewed a proposed project about the EPR (Jensen, 2005, p.224).

Therefore, the whole purpose of the DBT's work in the area of electronic patient records was to bring citizens into the policy process regarding important changes in the Danish health sector.

6.3.1. Development spaces

Although the DBT's electronic patient records project was a type of consensus conference, it differed in an important way: the use of what are called 'development spaces' (Jensen, 2005, p.224). This approach differs from the traditional consensus conference in that '[whereas] consensus conferences maximize engagement at the end of the process, development spaces spread out the interactions throughout the process' (Jensen, 2005, p.224). This meant that the citizens involved engaged with technology and healthcare experts at different points in their deliberations. This was because 'regular expert participation was viewed as necessary for citizens to adequately understand these kinds of issues [those of a more technological rather than ethical nature]' (Jensen, 2005, p.225).

6.3.2. Participants

Participants in the project included experts who were 'chosen after an informal search uncover[ed] relevant candidates from political and scientific networks' (Jensen, 2005, p.225). The citizen panel included 'a mixture of men and women of ages 25 to 60, with job titles such as: undertaker, traffic inspector, student, librarian, associate professor, telephone operator, plumber, and covering much of Denmark geographically' (Jensen, 2005, p.227). The choice of participants covering a diverse cross-section of Danish society was important to give the deliberations enhanced legitimacy. However, simply bringing a cross-section of Danish society together with experts would have achieved nothing unless there was learning. As Jensen argues: '[l]earning is an important notion for the Board of Technology, because the democratic success of citizens projects is seen as dependent on an adequate learning process resulting from interactions between experts and lay people' (2005, p.229).

6.3.3. Case summary

The framing of the engagement process and the way in which experts and citizens interact is pivotal to the success of such participation projects. As Jensen argues:

It is necessary to be humble with respect to the fragility of democratic projects. They are fragile because their democratic potential depends on citizens and experts entering into a mutual and experimental learning process. Accordingly, such projects can easily break down if the framing or execution is off balance and experts or 'strong citizen' come to homogenize discussion rather than open it up (Jensen, 2006, p.233).

6.4. MindLab and design thinking

In recent years there has been growing evidence that *design thinking* might have something profound to offer European public organisations looking for innovative outcomes in citizen-

centric governance. In *France*, the non-governmental organisation *La 27e Region* is applying design thinking approaches to assist a number of the country's 26 regional governments to develop innovative approaches to, amongst other, education and sustainable development. In *Finland*, the national innovation fund Sitra has launched a program focusing on the applicability of design in government through its design initiative *Helsinki Design Lab*. In the *United Kingdom*, the field of service design has seen rapid growth over the last decade or so, not only among design consultancies such as LiveWork, Engine, Participle and Think Public, but also in the establishment of public or semi-public bodies which explicitly apply design thinking. Examples include the National Health Service (NHS) Institute for Innovation and Improvement, Kent County Council's SILK initiative, and the UK Design Council's Public Services by Design program. Currently a new tranche of design projects are underway both within the NHS Institute and within the Design Council.

The *European Commission* has for a number of years sponsored the Sharing Experience Europe(SEE) project to stimulate the integration of design into regional, national and European policies, and in this context has also identified the potential of design for innovation in public services to "better respond to the needs of the population" (SEE, 2010). In *Denmark*, the Ministry of Technology, and more recently the cross-ministerial innovation unit MindLab, have been inspired by design approaches to public sector innovation. The Ministry is increasingly applying design thinking more systematically in its work for Danish government departments and agencies in business affairs, employment and taxation. Likewise, *Local Government Denmark* is sponsoring the use of design thinking in local government projects, helping municipalities collaborate with a wide variety of strategic and service design firms. Significant outcomes have resulted from applying design thinking in fields such as conflict reduction in high security prisons, public-private collaboration on health technology, redesigning services for individuals with a work injury, designing better meals for the elderly, and engaging mentally handicapped citizens in creating new public services. However, it is the work of Mindlab which we will seek to capture in this case study.

MindLab is attached to the Ministry of Business and Growth, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Employment, and for almost a decade has been inspired by design approaches to public sector innovation, co-designing policies and delivery systems with citizens which have been evaluated to a high standard. These include enterprise policy in the Danish Commerce and Companies Agency [enterprise policy] and employment and innovation policy on attracting foreign talent developed in the Ministries of Economic and Business Affairs.

6.5. The constituent elements of design thinking

The phrase 'design thinking' has developed to capture a process of action-based research and reflection that supports innovation in service design, policy programs and governance practices. This approach draws on ways of working that are commonplace in the design of objects and products and suggests that those ways of working can be applied to wider system and process design.

The process is likely to involve three stages, all of which are iterative and require engagement and re-engagement between researchers and practitioners. The first stage involves establishing a shared representation of concerns and problems with key partners; it draws on evidence that is synthesised and tested for its robustness but it also tries to establish the different angles or perspectives of an issue as seen by different partners.

The second stage is about creating a space where participants can imagine and progress towards the future rather than becoming trapped in past models or ways of thinking. It uses a creative design dynamic to encourage thinking about innovation and alternatives and to draw on good practices. Some of the techniques that can be used include getting actors to experience the world from the perspective of others, getting them to draw or capture in non-written form their image of a better future and generally trying to encourage a freeing from past certainties by combining challenges from different disciplines with a space where creativity and learning, and taking risks, is encouraged. Beyond these process elements this stage also involves a large-scale search for alternatives, options and innovations elsewhere that appear to address the issue under focus, even if only tangentially, and a critical assessment of their likely effectiveness for the task at hand.

The third phase is about prototype interventions based on a joint commitment with key partners, and developing appropriate rapid feedback research methods to support that dynamic. Here the logic is of a design experiment. The design experiment focuses on the design of an intervention as the core research problem. The experimental aspect of the method manipulates an intervention and observes it over an extended time period, usually in one location, until acceptable results emerge. The experiment progresses through a series of design-redesign cycles. There is feedback to the core participants, so that as the intervention unfolds, the design adjusts to work in a particular context. Initially, the goal is success in a local and particular setting and that challenge is the focus. The design experiment claims to provide an evidence base about 'what works' in the early stages of the development of an intervention; in addition, it may provide a staging post for a broader and more generalisable test in the future. The third stage can then revert to a more traditional experimental phase or evaluation phase where robust forms of assessment can be used to judge the success of the intervention in a range of settings.

6.6. Design thinking in action

Below are two mini case studies of design thinking in policy design – *SKAT Mobile Tax Preparation* and *Reducing Red Tape and Bureaucratic Burden on Businesses*.

6.7. SKAT Mobile Tax Preparation

The Danish Ministry of Taxation and the Tax Authority of Denmark (SKAT) were considering developing a mobile SMS version of its 'Self-Key' service to enable individuals to fill in information for their tax returns digitally and while on the move. To test the viability of the proposed program, the Ministries turned to MindLab.

6.7.1. The design process

Taking as its starting point the needs and challenges of the public plus SKAT's business strategy, SKAT initially identified five different development tracks for digital citizen services: 'Skræddersyet TastSelv' ('customised e-service'), 'Spil SKAT' ('Play SKAT'), 'Hjælpen er nær' ('help is at hand'), 'Samlet overblik' ('global overview') and 'Mobil TastSelv' ('mobile e-service'). The concepts were translated into scenarios consisting of text plus drawings that illustrated how citizens could administer their tax affairs in practice if the five scenarios were to become a reality. During a workshop these scenarios were presented to nine members of

the public who were asked to assess them. They were expected not just to state their immediate perceptions of such things as whether they found the possibility of administering their tax affairs on a mobile attractive, but to take a very practical stance concerning the usability of the individual concepts and ideas. MindLab's contribution to the project consisted of organising, conducting and reporting on two workshops. The purpose of the first workshop was to involve SKAT's front-line employees in identifying the needs and challenges of the public, together with potential new approaches. The second workshop gave a number of existing and potential users of SKAT's digital citizen services an opportunity to discuss and evaluate various scenarios for the digital solutions of the future with SKAT's employees.

From their feedback, MindLab determined that few people were interested in trying to file their taxes from a mobile phone while they were out and about. They ultimately convinced the ministries that their vision was not being eagerly embraced by the public, leading them to abandon that particular strategy and to explore other projects instead. MindLab's canvassing of public opinion saved the ministries from developing a costly new option that would not have been embraced by its target audience. MindLab then brainstormed further and developed a catalogue of ideas for a future version of the 'Self-Key' service which would be quality assured and easily embraced by citizens.

6.7.2. Principal results

The concept of a mobile e-service was taken off the table, and resources that would have been spent on developing it further were saved. MindLab concurrently developed a catalogue of ideas for the development of a future version of an e-service that will be quality assured by both front-line staff and the public. One of SKAT's uses of the catalogue is as a reference work: a prioritisation of ideas for the future version of an e-service that takes the needs of the public as its starting point. As Henrik Kähler, the SKAT project manager reflects: "following the project we often sat in meetings and asked one another how the people from the citizens' workshop would have responded to the idea we were labouring on (see: <http://www.mind-lab.dk/en/cases/when-skat-deferred-mobil-tastselv>).

6.8. Reducing Red Tape and Bureaucratic Burden on Businesses

Though often strained, the relationship between private industry and government is vital to a functioning economy. Government provides important regulatory and legal functions that keep businesses running safely and provides the infrastructure necessary to conduct business. In return, business creates economic opportunity, providing employment and creating the tax base that is the lifeblood of government. But for many businesses, interacting with the government can seem burdensome and needlessly bureaucratic. Over time, the information or paperwork required by a government can become needlessly duplicated or outdated, and new requirements maybe added without being smoothly integrated into the existing system.

6.8.1. The design process

With this in mind, the Danish design firm MindLab set out to reduce bureaucratic red tape in the business world. Through interviews with businesses and direct observation of Danish companies, MindLab was able to identify key areas where bureaucratic practices were creating difficulties. Using this information, they were able to brainstorm work-arounds and

new solutions. The staff at MindLab presented their findings and suggestions to various government ministries and even took ministry officials out into the field to participate in observing and interviewing Danish companies about their experiences of dealing with government bureaucracy and red tape. Furthermore, MindLab developed a method for observers to identify irritating regulatory burdens suffered by companies. They trained government employees in the method and made visits to over two dozen companies. MindLab then conducted a test workshop in which the methods for reducing red tape were subject to practical testing.

6.8.2. The results

The project has successfully changed the way that business and the government interact. Many of the areas of burden that the project identified were later put into law as part of larger “easy administration” legislation. Furthermore, the project has attracted the attention of foreign governments looking to replicate MindLab’s success (see: <http://www.mindlab.dk/en/cases/officials-on-the-hunt-for-burdens>). A number of the government’s 37 simplification initiatives in the plan known as ‘LET administration’ (‘easy administration’) have their origin in the ‘hunt’ by MindLab and officials for annoying burdens and unnecessary red tape. MindLab’s method for ‘hunting down’ burdens has attracted great interest both at home and overseas, including from the Austrian Ministry of Finance, the OECD and the World Bank.

6.9. Summary

Predictably effective co-design in policy-making requires a strong sense of design thinking; that is, the ability to understand the lives of others (Leadbeater, 2010). This involves mapping personal stories (journey maps) about citizen experiences of public policy. This mapping has three purposes: to explore, design and evaluate. It is based on the observation that citizens never experience the policy system as a whole –just pathways through the system. This requires creating an environment that allows citizens to tell their own stories without making assumptions about their preferences. It involves spending quality time with a small number of participants, mapping their journeys, identifying obstacles and developing mitigating strategies.

7.

United Kingdom experiments in citizen-centred policy delivery through collaborative governance

7.1. Policy delivery

Policy delivery involves the co-production of new services with citizens, often through new modes of collaborative governance which sometimes draw on the development, use and adaptation of relevant technologies. This section explores three examples of innovation in policy delivery in the United Kingdom – the work of the think tank Demos, the work of the United Kingdom Design Council and the use of open source technology by user groups.

7.2. Demos and citizen-centric governance

As Bartlett (2008, p.8) notes, 'Over the past 15 years, Demos has carried out a wealth of participatory projects in the UK designed to engage the public in shared decision making'. Demos is a British centre-left think-tank. It prides itself on a 'unique approach [which] challenges the traditional, "ivory tower" model of policymaking by giving a voice to people and communities' (Demos, 2012a). Its approach to research includes collaborating 'with the groups and individuals who are the focus of [their] research, including them in citizens' juries, deliberative workshops, focus groups and ethnographic research' (Demos, 2012a). The ultimate goal of their research is 'a society populated by free, capable, secure and powerful citizens' (Demos, 2012a).

Demos' current research themes are: The Way We Live Now; Economic Lives; and Business and the Big Society (Demos, 2012b). In addition to these broad research themes, other current research projects include: Family and Society; Violence and Extremism; Citizens; Public Services and Welfare. In addition, Demos also engages with the politics of ideas through their Progressive Conservatism project, their collections of writings and their Centre for London (Demos, 2012b).

As a research think tank, Demos' primary outputs are reports, papers and pamphlets. These publications are supported by the engagement of their researchers with the press; examples of press engagement include recent features and articles in British newspapers *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mail*, and *The Times*. Demos also reach a wider audience through the production of videos which are available online through their website and via YouTube. In

addition to this output Demos also 'delivers a wide range of events throughout the year; everything from keynote speeches by leading politicians to deliberative citizens juries, private roundtables, panel discussions and public debates' (Demos, 2012c).

Demos argues that much of what we understand as citizen-centric governance is 'window dressing'. Demos believes that:

we need to get beyond the bureaucratic set-up and the rhetoric, and reach beyond the immediate circles of participation into the wider reaches of the community. We need to find the everyday places of democracy that remain hidden from official outreach or consultation. We need to search for new and interesting ways to help citizens and politicians interact in effective, creative and meaningful ways in order to create progressive social change (Bartlett: 2008, p.8).

7.2.1. New democratic spaces

In a Demos publication *Democratising Engagement*, Andre Cornwall (2008, pp. 36–39) identifies three new democratic spaces where engagement with citizens in policy-making can occur. The first of these is Designs for Democracy: new roles, new rules:

[a]ccording to some, the making of effective participatory institutions lies in getting the design right. Design features include not only aspects such as size, regularity of meetings and mandate but also rules about who participates, what they participate in and how they participate (Cornwall, 2008, p.36).

Cornwall (2008, pp.38-38) identifies the role of participatory governance in the Brazilian health sector, enshrined in the 1988 constitution, as an example of creating new rules for citizen engagement and participation.

The second new democratic space is Actors: new spaces, new faces (pp.39-44): '[f]or all the designing that can be done to get these institutions right, much depends on the people who bring these designs to life' (Cornwall, 2008, p.39). As an example of the democratic space of actors, Cornwall (2008, pp.41–43) identifies the 1998 decision of the government of Bangladesh which involved establishing Community Groups and Health Watch Committees as part of an effort 'to enhance community participation in the public health system' (Cornwall, 2008, p.42).

The third of the three new democratic spaces is Context: cultures of politics, spaces of power (pp.44–48): '[d]emocratising citizen engagement calls for recognising that invited spaces are spaces of power in which existing societal inequalities and relations of domination and resistance can come to be reproduced' (Cornwall, 2008, p.44). Culture and power are seen as pivotal parts of increasing participation. Cornwall (2008, pp.47–48) highlights participatory budgeting in Brazil as an example of the importance of context in the three new democratic spaces.

7.3. About the United Kingdom Design Council

The Design Council started life in 1944 as the Council of Industrial Design. It was founded by Hugh Dalton, President of the Board of Trade in the wartime government, and its objective was 'to promote by all practicable means the improvement of design in the

products of British industry'. On 19 May 1976 the Design Council was awarded its Royal Charter charity status. Its more recent history has been characterised by a mission to 'place design at the heart of creating value by stimulating innovation in business and public services, improving our built environment and tackling complex social issues'. The Design Council brings the transformative power of design to the things that matter: 'We inspire new design thinking, encourage public debate and inform government policy to improve everyday life and help meet tomorrow's challenges today' (Danish Board of Technology, 2012a).

7.4. The Design Council in action – the case of diabetes management

There are roughly 1.8 million people with diabetes in the UK, equivalent to three per cent of the population. Diabetes can be an especially challenging condition since treatment requires consistent and diligent monitoring and care by the patient. Bolton, a town in Greater Manchester in the UK, was seeking ways to improve its services for diabetics. Despite a dedicated facility for diabetes patients, many diabetics in the community found it difficult to make the lifestyle changes necessary to manage their condition. To help out, the UK-based Design Council (in partnership with other design organisations) aimed to harness the principles of design-led innovation to help transform diabetes care. The design team found 20 diabetes sufferers who would be willing to participate in the project. Members of the team then spent time with the patients examining different aspects of their lives to figure out how managing their diabetes related to the other elements of their daily routines. After extensive interviews and brainstorming sessions with the diabetes sufferers and health care professionals, Design Council began creating prototypes for different health care design models. One model involved an interactive deck of cards that diabetes patients could use to help articulate their specific needs for support, either to their doctor or to their families.

A second model proposed incorporating life coaches into the patients' lives to help them manage the maintenance of their care. The patient would be given information about different life coaches at their doctor's office, and could select one based on their particular lifestyle or personality. The coach would then help them manage their lives in a way that allowed them to better monitor their health and seek support when they needed it.

7.4.1. Delivery outcomes

As a result of the Design Council process, a more refined version of the agenda cards prototype is now in a clinical trial and is being used (and improved) by over 15 medical practices and 250 patients. Most importantly, the process helped establish that effective treatment of diabetes requires a radical change in the behaviour of patients, and that any future attempts to combat the condition would have to focus on helping patients monitor their own health (see: <http://www.designcouncil.org.uk/Case-studies/Diabetes-management>).

7.5. Experiments in 'open space' consultation

As outlined in 4.5, Open Space Technology is often referred to as "Open Space" for short. It is a meeting framework that allows unlimited numbers of participants to form their own discussions around a central theme. It is highly dynamic and good at generating enthusiasm, as well as commitment to action. Open Space events have a central theme, around which participants are invited to identify issues for which they are willing to take

responsibility for running a session. At the same time, these topics are distributed among available rooms and timeslots. When no more discussion topics are suggested participants sign up for the ones they wish to take part in. Open Space creates very fluid and dynamic conversations held together by mutual interest. A trained moderator can be useful, especially when people are used to more structured meeting methods. The fundamental principles of Open Space are:

- whoever comes are the right people (the best participants are those who feel passionately about the issue and have freely chosen to get involved);
- whenever it starts is the right time (Open Space encourages creativity both during and between formal sessions);
- when it's over it's over (getting the work done is more important than adhering to rigid schedules); and,
- whatever happens is the only thing that could happen (let go of your expectations and pay full attention to what is happening here and now).

Open Space also uses the 'law of two feet'; if participants find themselves in a situation where they are not learning or contributing they have a responsibility to go to another session, or take a break for personal reflection. It is vital that there are good written reports from all discussions, complete with action points, available at the end of each day. Feedback and implementation structures are important to carry the suggestions forward after the event itself.

7.6. Open Space in action – Nottinghamshire Healthcare NHS Trust Event 2002

The Nottinghamshire Healthcare NHS Trust used Open Space for an event involving 120 people, including service users, carers and health staff. The goal was to establish priorities for improving health services in Nottinghamshire. By using Open Space the discussion was kept open and flexible, allowing people to come up with their own ideas. The event facilitator started things off by familiarising participants with how Open Space works. A diverse range of topics was put forward by the participants, ranging from alternative therapies to acute admission. Throughout the rest of the day the groups met to discuss the topics they had chosen. Feedback, consisting of the key points from the discussions, what the required action was, and who was responsible for taking it forward, was posted in the main room for everyone to read. At the end of the day, each participant was given three red stars for them to use to prioritise the topics that were most important to them. Among the suggested improvements were research on alternatives to acute admission, providing funding for assisted transport, and a cultural review of services and service delivery. Actions that have already been implemented include assisted transport and the establishment of a users' and carers' resource centre.

7.6.1. Delivery outcomes

Open Space is useful for harnessing the creativity that is stifled by more structured meetings, and for creating new forms of working relationships, for example, cross-functional collaboration, self-managing teams, community building, conflict resolution, strategy development and implementation. Open Space is highly flexible in the number and nature of participants. It can be run with only a handful of people or up to 2000 participants or more.

7.7. In summary – ingredients of better practice in collaborative governance

Chris Ansell and Alison Gash in their article, 'Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice' evaluate 137 cases of collaborative governance across a range of policy sectors. They use the data from this investigation to build a model of successful coordination of collaborative governance. Figure 7.1. presents the critical variables that will influence whether or not this mode of governance will produce successful collaboration. These variables include developing a strong understanding of the prior history of conflict or cooperation, the incentives for citizens and stakeholders to participate, power and resource imbalances, leadership, and institutional design. They also identify a series of factors that are crucial within the collaborative process itself. These factors include face-to-face dialogue, trust building, and the development of commitment and shared understanding. They observe that a virtuous cycle of collaboration tends to develop when collaborative forums focus on 'small wins' that deepen trust, commitment, and shared understanding.

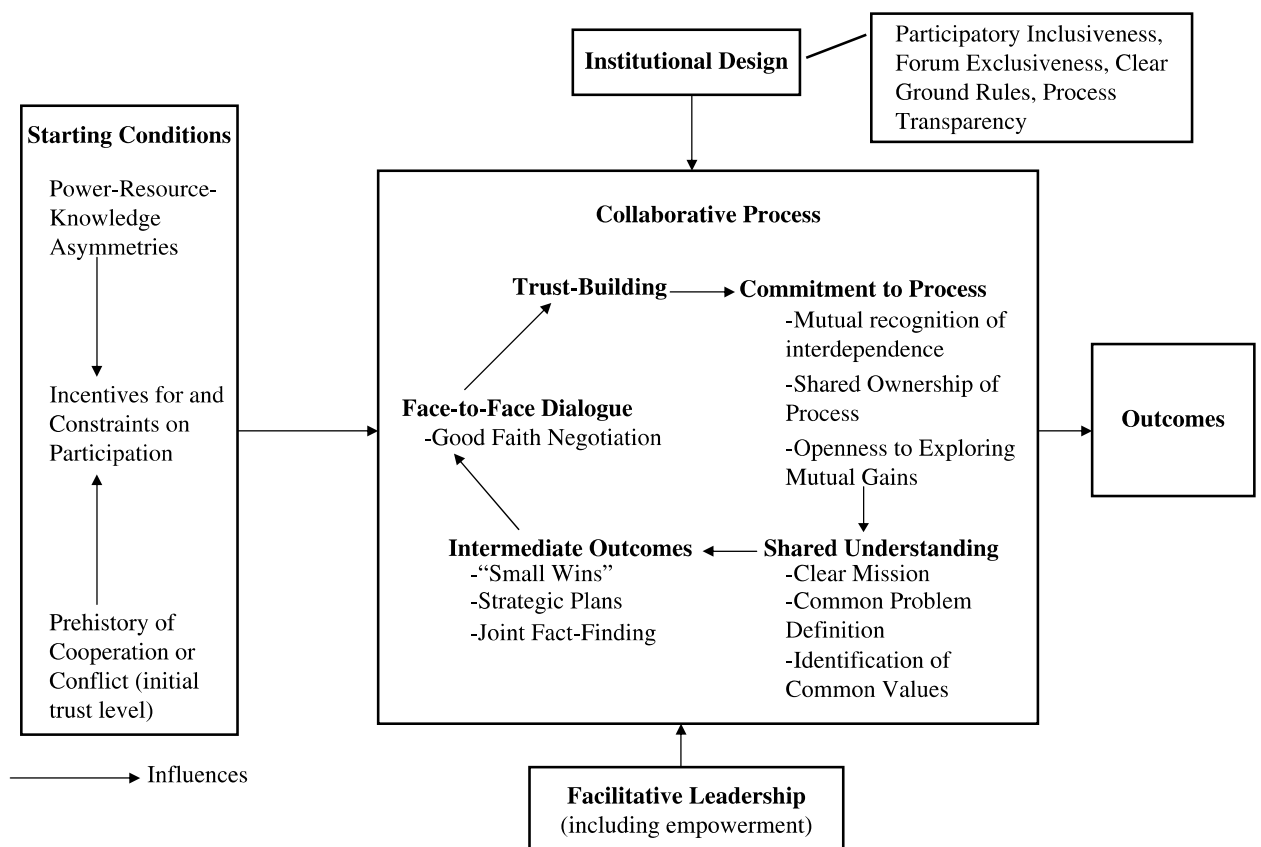


Figure 7.1. The ingredients of effective collaborative governance (Ansell and Gash, 2008).

8.

Citizen participation in policy learning – the case of the Catalonia mobility pacts

8.1. Introduction

Policy learning involves the ongoing engagement of citizens in the monitoring and evaluation of public policies or services and in horizon or future scanning. A sound southern European example of effective citizen participation in policy learning is Mobility Pacts in Catalonia. This has involved the creation of advisory councils consisting of vulnerable citizens such as handicapped people, pedestrians or cyclists, who traditionally lack representation in local decision-making. A mobility pact was first created in 1998 in Barcelona and they were subsequently introduced in 15 Catalan municipalities. Mobility pacts have had a significant influence on the development of sustainable and disability-friendly infrastructures in Catalonia, the monitoring of existing infrastructure, and the planning of future infrastructure (see Fuentes Bayó, 2011).

This case study draws on work conducted by Salvador Fuentes Bayó, Director of Environmental Services in Barcelona Provincial Council.³ It explores the emergence and development of mobility pacts as an instrument for enhancing the participation of disabled citizens in sustainable accessibility planning and programming. The case study is organised into three parts. Part one examines the emergence of mobility pacts. Part two identifies their key features. In part three the key challenges confronting mobility pacts are assessed. The final part of the case study evaluates the impact of mobility pacts on enhancing participation and policy outcomes.

8.2. What are mobility pacts?

Mobility pacts can be defined as an instrument for involving vulnerable citizens in policy formulation, planning and programming of activities that impinge on accessibility issues. The first mobility pact was created in July 2008 in the City of Barcelona in response to a proposal

³ Salvador Fuen Bayó is also the Director of the Journal SAM which focuses on the theory and practice of the environmental management of activities in municipalities. He has worked in the environmental field for the last 20 years with a particular emphasis on sustainable mobility.

from a group of citizens who were taking part in a local 'Advisory Council' (established in 1983). Mobility pacts may be considered a pioneering initiative which first spread to 18 Catalan municipalities and then to other cities in Spain (see Box 8.1). As Bayó puts it:

It was argued that in municipalities where mobility is complex in the areas of traffic and mobility management an advisory body was required which included the participation of civilians, professional mobility organizations, syndicates, political parties, and, advocates of the different modes types.

There are currently 13 mobility pacts in operation in Catalonia (see Box 8.1). Historically, they can be classified into three generations of pacts: 1998 to 2001, 2001 to 2006 and 2003 to 2007.

Box 8.1. Mobility pacts in Catalonia

Barcelona (1998), Mataró (2000), Terrassa (2000), Manresa (2002), L'Hospitalet del Llobregat (2003), Lleida (2003), Olot (2003), Sabadell (2003), Calella (2004), Badalona (2006), Granollers (2006), Barbera del Valles (2007), Saint Sadurni D'Anoia (2007)

The success or failure of the mobility pact depends mainly on its members' ability to build consensus, bearing in mind that conceptual and political divergences will exist regarding how to manage citizen mobility.

8.2.1. 1998 to 2001 – the first-generation pacts

The first three pacts were created in Catalonia in cities of high population density (Barcelona, Mataró, and Terrassa) that had already spent many years searching for a more sustainable and participative model of mobility. These pacts continue to flourish today.

8.2.2. 2001-2005 – the second-generation pacts (the Network pacts)

In 2001, the Network of Cities and Towns for Sustainability led by the municipalities of Lleida, Barcelona, and Granollers, was created through an urban ecology research group. The group developed a new network mobility pact model. The final version of the model was presented on November 28, 2001 at the third assembly of the Network of Cities and Towns for Sustainability in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat. The model has three dimensions: a model mobility pact, a methodology for social mobilisation, and a list of monitoring indicators.

Subsequent pacts were proposed in the municipalities of Manresa (2002), L'Hospitalet de Llobregat (2003), Lleida (2003), Olot (2003) Sabadell (2003), Calella (2004) Mollet del Vallès (2004), Reus (2005), and Sant Boi de Llobregat (2005). However, not all of these pacts were implemented.

8.2.3. 2003-2005 – the third generation pacts (the Legislative pacts)

The third generation pacts emerged in response to specific legislation on either accessibility or other sustainability issues. These included: The Law of Mobility of Catalunya (2003); the Decree for Evaluating Generated Mobility (2006); The Action Plan to Improve Air Quality in Municipalities declared Zones of Special Atmospheric Protection (2007); and, The Catalan

Mitigatory Plan against Climate Change (2008-2012). The last pacts to be approved were established in Girona (2006), Badalona (2006), Barberà del Vallès (2007) and Sant Sadurní d'Anoia (2007). These plans incorporate the aforementioned legislation and the majority coincided with the drafting or implementation of the Plan for Urban Mobility.

8.3. How do they work?

A range of methodologies are used to organise mobility pacts but they normally have the following common features:

- the support of the City Council;
- a Director, appointed by the Council and responsible for the pact following due process; and,
- the Director is also responsible for mobilising the participation of vulnerable local citizens.

Vulnerable groups can include handicapped people, pedestrians or cyclists. These are groups of citizens that traditionally lack representation in local decision-making and, through the auspices of the mobility pact, express their concerns and pressure municipal authorities to finance accessible and safe infrastructures adapted to their needs.

The mobility pacts use one of three methods to organise citizen participation: mobility boards, sustainability councils or pact monitoring commissions.

8.3.1. Mobility boards

This is the strongest and most suitable forum for structuring participation. Depending on the size of the municipality, the Mobility Board may contain various working groups which must present their work annually in a plenary session presided over by the mayor. The municipalities which use this system include Barcelona, Terrassa, Olot, Calella, Barberà del Vallès and Girona.

8.3.2. Sustainability councils

The Council may be an entity similar to the Board, but it manages a greater number of goals with the evident danger that mobility issues become subservient to other sustainability issues. The groups are also larger and require a permanent secretary. Municipalities organised into Councils include Manresa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Sabadell, Badalona, Granollers and Sant Sadurní d'Anoia.

8.3.3. Pact monitoring commissions

The Monitoring Commission is the most modest of all participatory systems. It requires a publicly advertised meeting schedule and effective communication of information to citizens who participate in the project. Municipalities with Monitoring Commissions include Mataró, Lleida, and Sant Boi de Llobregat.

The process for developing and signing a mobility pact can be extensive process and

confront all sorts of obstacles. It is important to begin from the most direct precedents. For example, if there is a pre-existing Municipal Traffic Council, as is the case in Barcelona and Girona, it is necessary that in addition to the pact, previously realised studies directly or indirectly related to mobility (mobility plans, studies of bike lanes, etc.) be included. In order for a pact to become institutionally embedded, it is believed that the process should last at least 4 years, allowing the implementation period to overlap with municipal elections. It will also be necessary to provide public education on the pact so that it is not forgotten by new municipal representatives. The best way to ensure that a pact is not abandoned is to monitor the work of the pact. By implication it is important to establish a set of key performance indicators which can be easily monitored by the local authority and the public. The pact model proposed by the Mobility Network, for example, includes 10 indicators.

8.4. Implementation challenges

Implementing mobility pacts effectively is a significant challenge; indeed four municipalities have abandoned the model. Firstly, maintaining stakeholder interest in the initiative over time is a key challenge for Mobility Pacts. The case study evidence demonstrates that this requires the ongoing support of the City Council and the development of key performance indicators. As Salvador Fuentes puts it, "There exists a danger of 'death by starvation', which is to say that the participatory body needs to be 'nourished' at all times; when it meets, it needs to have sufficient material to debate to continue making advances on proposals" (8 August 2008).

Secondly, mobility pacts can be an effective and legitimate instrument for achieving sustainable mobility and the 'Pedestrian City', as long as stakeholders proceed on the basis of consensus and its' work is viewed to be apolitical. The greatest potential and hence challenges of the pact is to arrive at agreements between social groups that could be antagonistic, such as syndicates and administrations; taxi drivers and cyclists; public transportation advocates and advocates of private vehicles and motorcycles; transporters and shopkeepers, etc. There are always some groups with more influence than others. The Director of the pact therefore needs to monitor the pact closely to ensure that it is not captured by special interests.

Thirdly, the pact gives a voice to those who traditionally lack one. The pact allows various groups and NGOs one of the most direct voices possible to communicate with the municipal government. However, groups may have interests in imposing their own particular positions. The Director of the pact therefore needs to resolve conflicts equitably. This poses a genuine challenge to many public servants who do not always possess the requisite skills.

Fourthly, if the signing of the Pact is planned precipitously, without consensus, without a participatory body, or as political theater, after the media hubbub dies down the pact might not be supported or be given a real mission. Therefore, it is likely that new elections could lead the Pact to lose form and disappear (as happened in some municipalities in the municipal elections of 2007).

8.5. Policy outcomes

In 2008, a brief survey was distributed to municipalities with pacts; 10 municipalities returned the survey. In response to a question about the principal milestones that had been achieved by the pacts, responses from the various municipalities included: the 'pact in and

of itself'; the 'consensus built by the process', 'reconnecting the pact to the Plan for Urban Mobility', and 'the establishment of the Mobility Council (that is, the board for citizen participation) as a result of signing the pact'. Municipalities were also asked about what challenges they had been unable to meet. In some cases, they did not answer, while in others they noted the lack of a guiding plan for matters related to cycling, or cited limited cycle-ways between municipal areas or argued for larger citizen involvement. Responses to the final question, which asked what could be done to improve the pact, again cited greater citizen and political involvement as well as improvements in aligning the pact actions with municipal programming actions.

Mobility pacts have been successful in at least six respects:

- integrating accessibility issues into actions for sustainable development;
- resolving conflict between different social groups with competing views on accessibility issues;
- enhancing social capital through building public faith in the system of government on accessibility issues;
- improving public literacy on accessibility issues;
- institutionalising expertise on accessibility issues into local government; and,
- establishing permanent institutional machinery on accessibility issues which can be used by other levels of government.

8.6. In what ways are mobility pacts innovative?

Systems of collaborative governance have often been criticised for one or more of the following reasons:

- the problem of steering networks of non-governmental organisations outside traditional organisational boundaries;
- the absence of operational rules (e.g. establishing lines of command through, for example, the establishment of publicly-driven performance targets);
- the limited range policy instruments available for managing performance (e.g. monitoring and evaluation systems);
- the dangers of governance decision structures being subject to interest capture and the consequent risk of their ability to resist and/or dilute local government aims; and
- associated problems of weak democratic control and confused accountabilities.

Mobility pacts appear to have been successful in mitigating most of these challenges in collaborative governance. In sum then, mobility pacts can be viewed as an example of collaborative governance. Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012, pp. 1-2) define collaborative governance as:

The processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished.

This definition does not limit collaborative governance to processes involving government and non-government stakeholders and can include partnerships among governments.

The engagement of non-governmental actors in the pursuit of public policy is by no means new but it is becoming more important for several reasons. First, and most evident, is the fact that a large part of the world's population lives in areas where the formal state is weak and primary services are delivered through collaboration with humanitarian agencies, international NGOs or local NGOs. Collaborative governance has been the key mode of service delivery for several decades in the world's poorest countries. The second reason is the widespread loss of confidence in the mid-20th century version of the centralised state. The third and perhaps most important reason is that government no longer (if it ever did), has a monopoly of knowledge in either many technical areas of policy-making or in the implementation of complex tasks.

The creation of mobility pacts may be viewed as a response to these three issues – to lend technical and democratic support to the formulation and delivery of sustainable development policy.

9. In conclusion – creating public value through participation

The findings in this report on leading European practice in public participation have significant implications for: the nature of local public management and the role of the public servant in an era of governance; the design of citizen engagement in policy formulation, delivery and learning; and, the need to establish a strong knowledge base on what works.

Public management and the role of the public servant in an era of governance

While New Public Management (NPM) with its emphasis on 'economy', 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' continues to provide important tools within the public management toolkit they are no longer sufficient to meet the challenge of public service provision in an era of governance. This is because NPM tends to privilege the role of public servants as the arbiter of the public good. NPM takes the politics out of public policy deliberation and its market orientation is at odds with the concept of public service sitting more easily with the language of the consumer rather the language of the citizen. In an era of governance, citizens' engagement in policy and delivery has become crucial to the achievement of social progress. Not least because all that public organisations do requires co-production and adaptive behaviours from citizens and often stakeholders. In consequence, the success of public sector reform rests on the development of citizen-centred governance underpinned by the concept of public value. This is the 'Big Idea' to lend principles, form and clarity to the reform process and to confront integrity challenges.

However, the establishment of a culture of public value innovation is central to the achievement of this aim. By public value innovation we refer to the creation and implementation of new products, services and methods of delivery through collaboration *with citizens and stakeholders* which result in positive social and economic outcomes for the citizenry. This requires the development of 'learning public organisations' that have the capacity to absorb new forms of knowledge and challenge conventional forms of policy-

making and delivery, and it requires public servants who can work effectively in a system of soft governance.

The design of citizen engagement in policy formulation, delivery and learning

Public participation is not a panacea for all our wicked problems. The main conclusion from this review of leading European practice is not that more participation is needed but that quality participation is needed aimed at public value creation. Quality participation requires more understanding of the difficulties of working with citizens to change the ways decisions are made and implemented. Despite the enormous growth of participatory practice and theory though, there is still little shared understanding among all those involved.

Participatory practice has emerged from many disciplines and in many sectors, often quite separate from each other, and the lack of effective communication across these disciplines and communities of practice has limited the opportunities for shared learning and the effective development of theory and practice. However, there is significant evidence in this report that developments in design thinking can provide public managers with a unique opportunity to establish a community of practice in citizen-centric governance devoted to the creation and delivery of public value.

The establishment of a strong comparative knowledge base on what works

It is also evident from this survey that European experiments in democratic innovations that seek to extend citizen participation in strategic design, policy delivery and strategic learning have become increasingly commonplace. However, the empirical evaluation of the impact of these initiatives remains relatively unexplored (Michels, 2012). There is less evidence to suggest that the outcomes from such initiatives impact on policy outcomes. Indeed several studies have emphasised the role that mini-publics have played in: legitimating decisions that have already been reached; market testing proposals; providing popular oversight; and, enhancing social solidarity and trust in government (see: Goodin & Dryzek, 2006; Michels, 2012). Moreover, while we have a relatively good idea about what works in enhancing participation, we have a more limited understanding of how to translate progressive experiences in new contexts or what organisations are best suited to facilitating citizen-centric governance. It is notable that European governments have increasingly used non-governmental organisations to design, facilitate and report deliberative processes.

NPM also tends to privilege certain forms of knowledge (e.g. quantitative economic data) at the expense of qualitative knowledge that is more difficult to collect or measure. However, we live in an era of 'soft governance' that requires the collection of qualitative data because the achievement of co-production and adaptive behaviours with citizens and stakeholders requires us to understand what citizens think and how they will behave in response to various social interventions. In sum, the ability of public organisations to adapt and absorb new forms of knowledge is a condition of social progress.

These findings suggest that we still have some way to go to establish a strong comparative knowledge base on what works.

Lessons for local government

For local governments the benefits of engagement proceed from the following observations: in a democracy communities have a legitimate voice in decisions which shape their destiny; intractable problems require co-produced solutions with citizens; soft governance – the power to persuade – is the key instrument for winning the war of behavioural change; all communities have the capacity to adapt – the key is to find and nurture those capacities; and, the majority of community members do not experience barriers to participation – barriers to participation are constructed by governments.

Local governments need to build a strong evidence base on what forms of engagement work in their communities. Diagnostic tools such as CLEAR should be used on a cyclical basis to evaluate the capacity of the community to engage through current and new channels of participation.

The ingredients of effective citizens' engagement have been clearly articulated above. What is important, however, is that these are integrated into a holistic engagement framework in which clear avenues for participation are identified at different decision points in the policy process.

What works will differ from community to community hence the identification of effective methodologies of engagement must be a bottom-up process involving co-design processes. Where local government itself is viewed to be the main obstacle to participation other intermediaries should be used. Elected members should be at the forefront of such initiatives; tensions between representative localism and community localism need to be resolved.

In sum then, public participation which recognises the importance of design and the need to share power can radically improve the quality of life of citizens. It can contribute to creating more active citizens, help in the management of complex problems in public service design and delivery, foster new collaborative relationships required for 21st century governance, and develop political literacy, skills, confidence, and ambition in the citizenry. Public participation is thus not only the essential ingredient in public policy decision-making and delivery but a key measure of the quality of democratic life.

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APPENDIX 1

OECD Guiding principles for open and inclusive policy making

(Source: OECD, 2009, p.79)

OECD countries recognise that open and inclusive policy-making increases government accountability, broadens citizens' influence on decisions and builds civic capacity. At the same time it improves the evidence base for policy making, reduces implementation costs and taps wider networks for innovation in policy making and service delivery. These Guiding Principles help governments to improve their open and inclusive policy making as a means to improving their policy performance and service delivery.

1. Commitment: Leadership and strong commitment to open and inclusive policy-making is needed at all levels - politicians, senior managers and public officials.

2. Rights: Citizens' rights to information, consultation and public participation in policy making and service delivery must be firmly grounded in law or policy. Government obligations to respond to citizens must be clearly stated. Independent oversight arrangements are essential to enforcing these rights.

3. Clarity: Objectives for, and limits to, information, consultation and public participation should be well defined from the outset. The roles and responsibilities of all parties must be clear. Government information should be complete, objective, reliable, relevant, easy to find and understand.

4. Time: Public engagement should be undertaken as early in the policy process as possible to allow a greater range of solutions and to raise the chances of successful implementation. Adequate time must be available for consultation and participation to be effective.

5. Inclusion: All citizens should have equal opportunities and multiple channels to access information, be consulted and participate. Every reasonable effort should be made to engage with as wide a variety of people as possible.

6. Resources: Adequate financial, human and technical resources are needed for effective public information, consultation and participation. Government officials must have access to appropriate skills, guidance and training as well as an organisational culture that supports both traditional and online tools.

7. Co-ordination: Initiatives to inform, consult and engage civil society should be coordinated within and across levels of government to ensure policy coherence, avoid duplication and reduce the risk of "consultation fatigue." Co-ordination efforts should not stifle initiative and innovation but should leverage the power of knowledge networks and communities of practice within and beyond government.

8. Accountability: Governments have an obligation to inform participants how they use inputs received through public consultation and participation. Measures to ensure that the policy-making process is open, transparent and amenable to external scrutiny can help increase accountability of, and trust in, government.

9. Evaluation: Governments need to evaluate their own performance. To do so effectively will require efforts to build the demand, capacity, culture and tools for evaluating public participation.

10. Active citizenship: Societies benefit from dynamic civil society, and governments can facilitate access to information, encourage participation, raise awareness, strengthen citizens' civic education and skills, as well as to support capacity-building among civil society organisations. Governments need to explore new roles to effectively support autonomous problem-solving by citizens, CSOs and businesses.

A Review of Public Participation and Consultation Methods

Abelson J, Forest P-G, Eyles J, Smith P, Martin E and Gauvin F-P. Deliberations about Deliberation. Issues in the Design and Evaluation of Public Consultation Processes. McMaster University Centre for Health Economics and Policy Analysis Research Working Paper 01-04, June 2001.

* NOTE: Shaded boxes represent deliberative methods, whereas the other boxes are non-deliberative.
Symbols within each cell provide links to references at the end

Method	Description of Method	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendations for Use
Citizens Juries §	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> group of 12-20 randomly selected citizens, gathered in such a way as to represent a microcosm of their community, who meet over several days to deliberate on a policy question they are informed about the issue, hear evidence from witnesses and cross-examine them they then discuss the matter amongst themselves and reach a decision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> creates informed, active, engaged citizenry promotes "common good" as a societal objective promotes self-transformation and development provides opportunities to introduce new perspectives and challenge existing ones more careful examination of the issue promotes consensus building promotes communication between government and governed brings legitimacy and democratic control to non-elected public bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no formal powers; lack of binding decision accountability to act upon decision/recommendation exclusive - only a few individuals participate resource intensive time commitment for participants and organizers potential problems lie in initial stages of preparation (i.e., jury selection, agenda setting, witness selection) - these have to do with representation (who participates?) responsiveness (what jury is asked to do); and information transfer (how jury is informed?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sponsoring organization should be clear about what issues it wants to address, how much it can spend on process, and whether it can follow through on the advice should be designed for the public and not for special interest groups better with value questions than technical questions better for focussed questions about concrete issues, than on large scale issues and should be part of a wider public involvement strategy the development of the agenda should be overseen by an advisory board made up of key stakeholders
Citizens Panels ⚙	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> randomly selected group of 12 citizens meet routinely (eg. four times per year) to consider and discuss issues and make decisions used to guide health resource allocation decision panels act as "sounding boards" for governing authority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> proportion of panel members are replaced at each meeting (i.e. 4 members) to increase overall number of participants multiple panels can be held and run to increase participant numbers (i.e. reduce exclusivity) people benefit from discussion within groups, but also from discussing issues with family and friends outside of the panel 		
Planning Cells ⚙	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> similar to a citizens' jury in form and function sponsored by local or national governing authorities to help with the decision making process discussions/deliberation take place in Cells of about 25 participants in size results are articulated in a report that is presented to the sponsor, the media, and any other interested group local/national sponsor has to agree to take decisions into consideration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> small size of individual cells and its non-intimidating nature allows for innovative ideas and active participation participants represent all citizens and not special interest groups anyone in the population has a chance of being selected to be a part of this process makes decision makers more accountable because they have to defend their position resulting decisions are frequently implemented can renew public trust in democracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> problems defined by local authority only useful for problems in need of unique decisions accountability and long-term planning - decisions not always feasible hard to keep bias out of information dissemination process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can be used when other methods fail to resolve a conflict best in situations that require a quick response to an urgent issue where there are a number of possible decisions that can be made not suited for issues with a "yes" or "no" answer
Consensus Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a group of citizens with varied backgrounds meets to discuss issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> process of communicating information about the conference topic provides a strong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> recruitment method for stage 1 may not ensure representative participation 	

Method	Description of Method	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendations for Use
❖	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> of a scientific and or technical nature consists of 2 stages: 1) meetings with experts, discussions and work toward consensus (involves small group of people) 2) conference during which main observations and conclusions are presented to the media and general public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> educational component useful method for obtaining informed opinions from lay persons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> exclusive process for stage 1 elaborate process requiring significant resources multiple conferences may be required to ensure that broad, representative opinions are sought 	
Deliberative Polling —	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> builds on the opinion poll by incorporating element of deliberation involves larger numbers than citizens juries and may involve less time measures what public would think if it was informed and engaged around an issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> provides insights into public opinions and how people come to decisions seeks informed opinions, does not force people to reach consensus large, random sample 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> incentives (eg. honorarium, transportation) are important requires a lot of preparation time although sample size is large and random, ensuring representativeness is difficult 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can provide useful insight into public opinion and useful input into public decision processes complement to representative democracy not good for crisis decisions best suited to issues with options and about which the public is not knowledgeable
Citizens Panels ⊕	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> consists of statistically representative sample of residents in a given area most comprise several thousand citizens who represent the general population of an area panel views are regularly sought using a survey instrument (e.g. postal, telephone surveys) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> inexpensive and effective way to learn about citizens' needs and preferences panel data can be analyzed for multiple purposes and disaggregated for sub-level analysis (i.e. ethnicity, gender, socio-economic, geographic area) opportunity to collect trend data through multiple surveys to monitor impact of policies over time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> exclusivity of participant selection process consultation agenda determined by decision-making body (i.e. top down) under-representation of hard-to-reach groups who refuse to participate panel members vulnerable to Hawthorne effect (i.e. over time they may be prone to sympathize with decision-makers...) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Due to the expense as well as the design, the panel is best suited for the development of major community wide policy documents. limit to new policy areas, where community opinion and policy direction have yet to be determined and mobilization has not yet occurred
Focus Groups —	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> one time discussion of a particular topic involves 6-12 individuals selected to meet specific criteria in order to broadly represent a particular segment of society one-time face-to-face meeting structured to be informal to encourage open discussion among participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> successful focus group may lead to consensus and feelings of enrichment among participants good venue for learning about needs of a particular group remain largely informal, so participants can discuss issues in relaxed atmosphere a good way to gauge the opinions of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> private sector marketing roots limit ability to cover complex issues lack of informed participants produces superficial discussion potential for revealing and reinforcing social cleavages selection criteria can create bias in eliciting opinions limited number of participants limits representativeness of opinions potential for ideas expressed to be influenced/shaped by interaction/exchange with others (especially those who are dominant) resource intensive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can be a tool for encouraging discussion and deliberation, but needs to be used with much caution because of the problems associated with it
Consensus building exercises —	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a process designed to help people reach a consensus by focussing on the issues themselves mediators are used to help people reach a consensus non-adversarial approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> helps people to reach solutions they can all support provides time for people to get to know each other and their differing views 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> typically used to bring stakeholders together to reach consensus over an issue round tables are one approach where traditionally adversarial groups are brought together to

Method	Description of Method	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendations for Use
				discuss an issue
Surveys —	solicit information from representative sample of citizens same questions are asked of ever individual surveyed there are a variety of survey types: postal, interviewer, telephone	can reach large numbers of people if same questions are retained, can be used for longitudinal studies (e.g., monitoring change over time)	the lists may not be representative or comprehensive questions need to be somewhat simple and straightforward. the information gathered then can be simplistic and superficial survey results are often not comparable the effectiveness of surveys are affected by the rates of response fundamental decisions have to be made before the survey begins and cannot be changed once survey has been implemented	because this is a time consuming process, it is not a good method if quick results are required can be used during the beginning phases of a study (useful in detecting issues that need to be addressed)
Public Hearings N	form of public meeting limited in size tends to involve only interested citizens usually experts and interested citizens presentations are made	potential to inform citizens potential for improved decision making potential to minimize conflict	may be dominated by special interest groups feed-back obtained from this format needs to be treated carefully because it may not be representative of the community does not generate a sense of ownership excludes the inarticulate and perhaps disadvantaged groups	have a "pre-submission" phase which allows the public time to become familiar with the issues
Open Houses t	the public is invited to drop by at any time at a set location on a set day(s) and times they can speak with staff, view the displays set up in the room and break into small discussion groups	relaxed atmosphere enables staff to tailor responses according to the needs/questions of the public allows for sensitive topics to be discussed develops links for the future	potential for lack of clarity in purpose staff resource intensive	suitable for confrontational issues
Citizen Advisory Committee ◇	can be made up of a variety of different organizations (e.g. from governmental to public) intended to represent the broader public	if committee is balanced, deliberations can be fruitful their advise should influence decision making process should also produce informed citizens, boost trust in institutions and reduce conflict	not a representative group of people	
Community Planning ⊗	participation on a broader level to set policy agenda and to discuss citizens' vision for community and services provided in it more about the outcome of participation (i.e. consensus about the vision or plan) than the process of engagement (who participated and how) draws upon a range of participation techniques (e.g., pre-circulated consultation documents, written responses, structured public meetings)	allows for underlying assumptions to be dealt with in a deliberative manner emphasizes consensus building, collaboration and cooperation formal outcome is a community plan but emphasis is on reaching a common understanding of issues and finding a shared vision for dealing with them fosters connections/partnerships between different organizations educative role	may set/raise expectations that public bodies are unable to meet	

Method	Description of Method	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendations for Use
	outcome is a gradual refining of preferences and priorities which gives participants a deeper understanding of problems			
Visioning ⚙️	similar to community planning but input sought is about broader "vision" for community services and less about specifics on how to achieve the vision deliberative process where ideas are gradually refined through iterative process until a clear statement emerges outcome is typically an overview of possibilities rather than a definitive plan	emphasizes consensus building, collaboration and cooperation formal outcome is a community plan but emphasis is on reaching a common understanding of issues and finding a shared vision for dealing with them fosters connections/partnerships between different organizations educative role	may set/raise expectations that public bodies are unable to meet	
Notification, Distribution & Solicitation of Comments 📄	simplest form of consultation can involve the sending out of reports may also involve other methods	broad and representative in theory transparency guaranteed through notification process	questionable effectiveness in reaching some populations risk that consultation will be dominated by the best organized groups with easy access to publication despite the potential for broad participation, the interaction between concerned public and the authorities is often very limited, with no real possibility for dialogue or negotiation transparency is threatened when solicitation of comments is targeted to specific groups not enough time given to soliciting feedback (i.e sham consultation)	
Referenda —	the process wherein an issue is put to popular vote can be initiated by governmental or other organizations, or sometimes the citizenry results may or may not be considered binding	incites discussion and interest way to learn public views way to get citizens directly involved with the legislative process all voters have equal influence can potentially involve all members of a local or national population difficult for the government to ignore the results of a referendum	results may not be representative if there is low voter turnout wording can present problems limited number of times you can use it (i.e. voter fatigue) potential for undue influence if one organization has greater resources than another when campaigning for or against a proposed referendum very costly process	should not replace representative democracy issue should be answerable by "yes" or "no" issue should stand on its own (i.e. not so intertwined with another that it becomes impossible to answer) need to inform citizenry on issue beforehand
Structured Value Referenda —	voting based method for eliciting public preferences uses "decision analysis" principles where preferences are elicited by voters who select among specified alternatives Key components: 1)select the policy decision; 2)structure objectives; 3)develop alternatives - technical process; 4)determine impacts of	participants have a wider range of response options easy to use and understand and useful for guiding policy information disseminated and question wording may be more neutral than with traditional referenda. voters have an easier time choosing among preferences because their alternatives are well defined and they are educated about	complex task and can require substantial resources potential for undue influence over the wording by those who control the referendum only those truly interested in seeking out preferences would employ this method Decisions regarding what cost information and the number of alternatives to select from have the	best for contexts with a specific issue and with a number of alternative answers for this to be successful, political leaders will need to be willing to share control and listen to the advice given can reduce cost of this process by combining it with an established electoral process

Method	Description of Method	Strengths	Weaknesses	Recommendations for Use
	alternatives; 5)frame the questions: 6)select the voting task; 7)develop a communication program	these alternatives and consequences	potential to bias the outcome of the vote.	can be administered as a survey, but has the drawback of not attracting the same attention

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