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A contribution to the development and strengthening of parliamentary-representative democracy through greater participation at federal level

Final report

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A contribution to the development and
strengthening of parliamentary-representative
democracy through greater participation at
federal level

Final report

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Kurzbeschreibung: Bundesrepublik 3.0

Die Studie *Bundesrepublik 3.0* leistet einen Beitrag zur Vitalisierung der parlamentarisch-repräsentativen Demokratie, indem sie ein innovatives Konzept für Partizipation auf Bundesebene entwirft. Das Konzept wurde kokreativ in einem generativen Gestaltungsprozess entworfen, in den sowohl praktische Partizipations- und Prozesskompetenz sowie politikwissenschaftliche und verfassungsrechtliche Expertise eingeflossen sind.

Das Ergebnis der Studie, ein Konzeptentwurf für wirksame nationale Beteiligungspraxis, beruht auf einer Gegenüberstellung von (1) offenen Gestaltungsfragen, die sich aus der Analyse von gegenwärtigen gesellschaftspolitischen Herausforderungen, den Schwierigkeiten von nationalstaatlichen Beteiligungsvorhaben und dem potenziellen Wirkvermögen unterschiedlicher Partizipationskonzepten ergeben sowie (2) von Gestaltungsmustern guter Beteiligungspraxis, die auf Grundlage einer Analyse von bestehenden Verfahren und theoretischen Konzepten kommunaler, regionaler und nationalstaatlicher Beteiligung extrahiert und herausarbeitet werden.

Das am Ende der Studie entwickelte innovative und praxistaugliche Modell, die *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt*, reagiert auf die beschriebenen Anforderungen – die offenen Gestaltungsfragen – und integriert die aus den Praxisbeispielen abgeleiteten Gestaltungsmuster. Es beinhaltet eine mögliche Einbettung der *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* ins parlamentarisch-repräsentative System und lässt einen Gesamtverfahrensablauf erkennbar werden.

Abstract: Federal Republic of Germany 3.0

The study Federal Republic of Germany 3.0 contributes to stimulate the representative democracy in Germany by designing an innovative concept for participation on a national level. The concept emerged from a generative design process with experts from the background of designing and facilitating public participation processes as well as from theoretical political sciences and constitutional law.

The result of this study, a concept for effective and inclusive national public participation, is based on (1) outstanding design questions, which emerge from actual socio-political challenges as well as difficulties and potential effects on national public participation projects combined with (2) design patterns based on an analysis on tested participation procedures and theoretical concepts of local, regional and national public participation.

The result is a conceptual design for a "*Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt*" (Federal Participatory Workshop). It is a future institutionalised national body for conducting participatory procedures as part of the overall democratic system of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Federal Participatory Workshop is an answer to the described requirements, design questions, and it integrates the design patterns derived from the examined case examples. The concept includes potential ways of embedding the model into the formal political structures to strengthen and enhance the democratic system by introducing more participation.

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List of abbreviations

BfE	Bundesamt für kerntechnische Entsorgungssicherheit (Federal Office for the Safety of Nuclear Waste Management)
BGE	Bundesgesellschaft für Endlagerung mbH (Federal company for radioactive waste disposal)
BMU	Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety)
BR	Beteiligungsrat (Council for participation)
IASS	Institute for Advanced Sustainability Studies
IPG	Institut für Partizipatives Gestalten (Institute for Participatory Design)
NBG	Nationales Begleitgremium (National Civil Society Board)
StandAG	Standortauswahlgesetz (Repository Site Selection Act)
StVV	Stadtverordnetenversammlung (Assembly of the town council)
WfB	WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation)

1. Introduction: Bundesrepublik 3.0

Every organisation, every company, every social group reaches points in its history when its acculturated and traditional forms of organisation and its regulated systemic procedures reach their limits, when their internal structures no longer correspond to the external requirements.

That is why the IT industry uses the familiar system of version numbers to delineate the evolution of software, such as an operating system. When only minor adaptations, adjustments or supplements are required to maintain the system and keep it up to date, the numbers that follow the decimal point go up. However, when substantial changes are required because the environment, e.g. markets or technologies, has changed rapidly, then it becomes necessary to develop a new version that is significantly different from the preceding one. When this happens, a new version number is given in front of the decimal point. Without these larger changes in versions, the products and systems would not be able to function and remain viable under the altered external circumstances.

Our world is changing rapidly. This is why software companies are releasing new versions of their products at ever shorter intervals. Companies and organisations initiate large-scale change processes in order to adapt to changing external circumstances. Entire sectors of society are undergoing radical change: energy, mobility, environmental protection, climate change, demography, social security systems, digitalisation, globalisation, new global political constellations. Everywhere we are facing or in the midst of massive changes.

Is it not then necessary, indeed absolutely imperative, that our political system should also develop in tandem?

With this study, we want to make a contribution¹ to the development of a new version of the parliamentary-representative system of the Federal Republic of Germany. Minor adaptations and supplements which would follow the decimal point do not seem sufficient in view of the current challenges (see Chapter 3). They would not be able to stem the growing divergence between the citizens' aspirations and their lived experience and a political system that is required to provide them with answers and solutions. Indeed, a non-learning, non-adaptive and non-changing political system would serve to foster disruptive crises and political catastrophes such as Brexit or the relapse into populism. In such a situation, inaction is negligence. At the same time, we want to maintain, protect and strengthen the fundamental system of the Federal Republic. We therefore believe that a new version of the political system of the Federal Republic is needed, a higher number in front of the decimal point. To show the scale of this change, we have chosen 3.0. 1.0 is the Federal Republic of Bonn. 2.0 is the Federal Republic of Berlin. 3.0 would be the participatory Federal Republic.

Others are demonstrating how to do it. For example, both the city of Stuttgart and the federal state of Baden Württemberg have established new forms of institutionally embedded political participation, including a state secretary for participation. The practical examples evaluated in the appendix show the capacity for political innovation with which many states and municipalities are working on new opportunities for participatory co-determination. Such developments require the political will to examine existing mechanisms and ways of working, to accompany external with internal change and to respond to urgent exigencies with enthusiasm for the creation and development of political innovations.

¹ The *Institute for Participatory Design* (Institut für Partizipatives Gestalten, IPG) works with actors from politics, public administration, civil society, business and research to develop participatory, forward-looking solutions. This involves not only carrying out design processes, but also developing a theoretical understanding of the (cultural) techniques of design, the political dimension of participation and of support for transformation processes, and developing them methodically and implementing them in practice. A participatory understanding of design results from years of conceptualising, implementing, documenting, evaluating and reflecting on participatory design projects. The mission of the *Institute for Advanced Sustainability Studies* (IASS) is to develop transformative knowledge for pathways towards sustainable societies. To this end, it conducts transdisciplinary research and, together with its partners from the fields of research, civil society and politics, develops approaches and practical proposals on urgent sustainability issues.

2. What is the purpose of this study?

The commission of experts planned for in the coalition agreement between the Union and the SPD (2018) to strengthen our democratic system² shows that the political will and the readiness are present. We would like to support this project at the conceptual level and, in the form of this study, to make an analytical and constructive contribution.

2.1 Relevance of the subject matter and purpose

Current political and administrative practices for coping with complex challenges are no longer sufficient, and existing forms of representation, public information and debate and decision-making are no longer able to meet the growing public demand for participation. This can be seen in complex social projects such as the energy transition, in which a variety of actors are (rightly) involved in order to achieve positive solutions for society as a whole. Political projects of this kind require broad involvement and co-responsibility - managing them successfully is dependent on the involvement of many actors.

Is it not logical that such challenges should in future be jointly identified and tackled by politicians, public authorities, the business community, scientists and civil society acting together? Is it not logical that, in the future, objectives and normative goals on social issues should be developed in a broad, discursive, comprehensive participation process, and that on this basis concrete proposals should be brought forward for implementation? Is it not logical that appropriate laws should then be enacted and corresponding projects implemented cooperatively and by networks involving many different actors? Is it not obvious that the normative values and future expectations of citizens, the expertise of scientists and the drive of businesspeople could be brought together in completely different ways in order to generate viable solutions within a social consensus in the face of complex and interdependent challenges? In such a participatory paradigm, we would not only be talking about formal government, but about the governance of society as a whole at the federal level.

At a time of declining political legitimacy through the decreasing use of conventional forms of political participation (elections and party involvement), new processes of public political information and decision-making are needed. In dealing with the complex challenges of our time, new processes and procedures of collective governance are needed in order to be able to develop intelligent and robust solutions with the help of the knowledge of the many (diverse perspectives and competencies). Democratic procedures are needed which are designed in such a way that sound substantive answers to open questions of the future can be developed and at the same time experiences of self-efficacy and resonance can be made which work to counter alienation between the wider public and politics, and to strengthen confidence in representative democracy and social cohesion. An intelligent interweaving of representative-parliamentary, participatory and direct political elements is necessary for this purpose: the political responsibility for responding to challenges for society as a whole is thereby distributed among multiple groups of actors and the preservation of the separation of powers is ensured.

Our study argues that new participatory concepts can counteract current democratic deficits. Participation can play a mediating role between citizens and politics as well as within society, thereby countering alienation, mistrust and growing social divisions. By incorporating and utilising diverse perspectives, competences and experiences, participation can provide a robust

² Chapter XIII 'Cohesion and Renewal - Reviving Democracy' of the Coalition Treaty states: 'We will set up a commission of experts to draw up proposals as to whether and in what form our tried and tested parliamentary-representative democracy can be supplemented by further elements of citizen participation and direct democracy. In addition, proposals for strengthening democratic processes should be developed' (CDU et al. 2018:163).

basis for decision-making and thus constitute an essential and ultimately resource-conserving building block of a representative democracy that is fit for the future. Embedding political participation in our institutions, in accordance with the draft approach proposed in this study, can lead to a new version of the parliamentary-representative democracy of the Federal Republic of Germany. It can enable an open and liberal society of the 21st century to address the changes in the world around us in an agile, innovative and sustainable way, to debate and formulate societal goals, to seek answers and to share the responsibility for finding and shaping them.

2.2 Objectives and methods

The aim of this study is to use selected examples from practice to identify patterns³ of good state participation practice and to demonstrate how new participation opportunities for the Federal Republic of Germany can be designed on the basis of these patterns.

In concrete terms, our aim is to highlight innovative and successful approaches to participatory mechanisms at the municipal, regional and national levels and to identify the approaches, views and characteristics that make them successful. By identifying the general approaches within the existing mechanisms as patterns and elaborating them into an abstract form, it should be possible to design new participatory mechanisms for the specific political contexts of the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of these patterns.

There is a compelling reason for this procedure: we consider it appropriate and expedient to understand the question of the further development and strengthening of parliamentary-representative democracy through participatory mechanisms as a question of systemic political design - i.e. as a discrete design process. From this perspective, the patterns we identify are abstracted principles of good participatory practice which can now be combined into new solutions in a process of drafting, development and design, and elaborated into a detailed participatory process design applicable to a specific problem.

Our recommendations regarding the mode of operation of any future expert commission or other body dealing with this issue are also based on this approach. We see two paradigmatically different methodologies for such bodies. The first involves looking at and evaluating expert contributions. Its aim is ultimately to make a correct selection from among existing approaches, solutions and methodologies for national participatory practice. In this variant, something already in existence is copied and, if necessary, minimally adapted. The second methodology, which we recommend, involves a commission of experts itself entering into (or accompanying) a development and design process in order to carry out an original and innovative further development for the strengthening of the democratic system of the Federal Republic.

Whereas in the first approach existing solutions are imported and adapted, and the results can therefore only provide approximate solutions to actual current challenges, in the second approach precisely tailored structural and systemic solutions are generated and implemented to meet current problems, needs and requirements, and, ideally, developed further on the basis of

³We have taken the term 'pattern' from the pattern languages methodology of the mathematician and architect Christopher Alexander (1995). Within a given context, patterns are accepted principles and best practices for solving problems in complex systems. In the form of structured, condensed descriptions, they demonstrate derived and abstracted features of successful problem-solving approaches. A set of consistent and interconnected patterns results in a pattern language. This in turn is the starting point and basis for the concrete design of new solutions adapted to a specific context.

the experience gained. Since the demands on the second approach are more complex, we would like with this report to contribute, in the form of a model deployment of this approach, to understanding how such a development process can be carried out using the patterns identified and described.

We will therefore show in this study how, in a further step, an outline proposal can be developed from the combination of contextual analysis and the identification of patterns which can lead to a strengthening of the democratic system of the Federal Republic. This has two objectives. Firstly, we aim to develop what we consider an innovative and forward-looking specific proposal for the expansion and strengthening of the democratic system. Secondly, we want to demonstrate a procedure by means of which new, practical solutions can be derived from the abstract patterns. In this way, we aim to provide the future expert commission and other actors dealing with this issue with both a specific proposal and a toolbox for their own further development work.

Our patterns and our conceptual design thus serve as the starting point for the design of robust democratic working methods and structures. We proceeded via the following steps:

As a first basis for our work, we analysed the potential benefits for democracy of the greater involvement of citizens at the federal level. To this end, we compared current socio-political challenges and the difficulties faced by national participation projects with the potential benefits from participation. This background information provides the thematic introduction to the study, as this section clarifies what needs to be incorporated in a good national participation plan in order to achieve far-reaching benefits for democracy (Chapter 3). In addition, case studies which have already proven their practical worth at different political levels (national, regional and local) and theoretical models for national-level participation were evaluated with regard to their procedures and methodology, according to selected categories. The decisive criterion for the selection of case studies and models was innovative participatory and democratic approaches. These provide inspiration for good national participation practice. All the examples and models researched and evaluated can be found in the Appendix. In evaluating them, we have derived aspects of effective participatory practice from the case studies and models which can be expected to have positive outcomes with regard to social, political and participatory challenges. They are set out in the form of patterns of good participatory practice (Chapter 4).

Based on these patterns, we developed a conceptual design in a co-creative and interdisciplinary workshop. This concept illustrates how and where the current political system can be supplemented and expanded in order to meet the challenges described above and to embed a new participatory approach in the political system of the Federal Republic. On the basis of different perspectives, experiences and competences (practical participation and process competence as well as political science and constitutional expertise⁴), we considered not only political challenges and procedural possibilities but also issues of public and constitutional law (Chapter 5).

⁴The workshop took place in January 2019 at the IASS in Potsdam with Hanna Ehlert (Institute for Participatory Design), Martina Eick (Federal Environment Agency), Prof. Dr. Hermann K. Heußner (Osnabrück University of Applied Sciences), Roman Huber (Mehr Demokratie e.V.), Prof. Dr. Patrizia Nanz (IASS), Tina Mutert (Federal Environment Agency), Daniel Oppold (IASS), Prof. Dr. Arne Pautsch (Institute for Citizen Participation and Direct Democracy, Hochschule für öffentliche Verwaltung und Finanzen Ludwigsburg), Jascha Rohr (Institute for Participatory Design) and Josephine Wohlrab (Institute for Participatory Design).

3. Background

In what follows, we have brought background factors to the fore which, in our view, demonstrate the need for a new version of the existing parliamentary-representative system in the Federal Republic. At this point it is necessary to emphasise that what is at issue is not a change *of* system but a change *in* the system: this report does not call representative democracy as a political system into question, but rather focuses on cultural aspects and structural possibilities for development. The background factors form the analytical basis against which the patterns presented in the following chapter should be evaluated.

3.1 Current socio-political challenges

The socio-political challenges outlined above explain why new opportunities for participation should be created, established and practised. Accordingly, they form the starting conditions for the development of an effective and needs-driven national participation plan and meaningful participatory action strategies at the federal level.

► Limits to governability

The limits to the state's capacity to deal with current challenges⁵ such as digitalisation, climate change, the energy transition, migration, social divisions and poverty are becoming increasingly evident. Future social issues are too complex to be solved by the current system of politics (cf. Kegelmann 2016). Dealing with them cannot simply be delegated from the top down; society as a whole must take responsibility for them and organise accordingly. The need for interaction between diverse actors with different perspectives and competences in dealing with socio-political challenges is becoming increasingly apparent. As early as 2011, the German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU) identified the 'proactive state with extended opportunities for participation' (2011:203) as essential in shaping a positive future because 'the state itself does not know the best options, but is tasked with activating both corporate and civil society, and politico-administrative system potentials' (2011:203).

► Increasing alienation between citizens and politics

At the same time, however, it can be observed that government action is distancing itself from social participation needs. Declining political responsiveness (many citizens do not feel their interests are represented), a lack of feedback between politics and the wider society, problems of political representation in an increasingly pluralistic society, and a lack of action-oriented and practical access to the political system fuel mistrust of the state and of representative democracy as a form of government. Among the effects are disenchantment with political parties (declining voter turnout and involvement in parties), increasing protest movements (including Stuttgart 21, Occupy Wall Street, the yellow vest protests) and the strengthening of populist parties (see Nanz, Leggewie 2016; Crouch 2004). In the current 'Post-democracy' (Crouch 2004) there is no positive resonance⁶ between citizens and state institutions and representatives. As a result of this deficient relationship, citizens see themselves primarily as addressees and recipients, but not as constitutive political subjects (cf. Rosa 2016:378).

⁵ Current societal challenges involve multiple aspects, are caused by a multitude of influencing factors and are characterised by non-linear, interdependent and both temporally and spatially distanced effects. It is therefore possible only to a limited extent to plan for or control them (cf. Kegelmann 2016; Kruse 2015; Heinrichs et al. 2011).

► **Growing political self-confidence in society**

At the same time, however, a strengthened civil society is emerging alongside the depoliticisation tendencies described above. But the way citizens see themselves and their resulting political behaviour have changed over time: conventional forms of political participation, such as party and election activities, are declining, while unconventional forms of participation are on the increase. Citizens are opening up new spaces and opportunities for creativity through individual political activity, setting up initiatives and associations and getting involved in self-organised and independent projects (cf. Federal Statistical Office 2018:350-4; Rosa 2016:379f; Kersting, Woyke 2012:10-24). Traditional forms of negotiation and bargaining between political camps (left vs. right, conservative vs. liberal vs. ecological vs. socialist) are increasingly giving way to an understanding of politics and a system of values in which ‘co-development’ and project-based or issue-based social strategies take precedence over ideological positions (see Freinacht 2017:49). So far, however, suitable instruments and procedures for integrating changing forms of political participation into existing structures at state and political levels have been lacking, as have effective ways of strengthening civil society participation.

► **Socio-political polarisation and social divisions**

In an increasingly pluralistic society, lifestyles, attitudes and values are constantly differentiated (cf. Kruse 2015). Different perspectives, interests, expectations, values and norms must be negotiated within a society if they are to be democratically legitimised throughout that society. Due to the growing plurality of interests and the complexity of issues, political negotiation processes are becoming more time-consuming, but in a ‘competition- and market-driven accelerating society’ (Rosa 2016:376) there is hardly time any more for such democratic processes. Instead of an urgently needed proactive politics that understands how to initiate and lead the negotiation process between diverging interests on a broad societal level, political action often loses its way in the management of practical constraints and its own machinations for the maintenance of power. On the one hand, democratic processes are thereby perceived as less effective and trust in them dwindles. On the other hand, the potential of democratic processes is disregarded and hardly considered as an option (cf. Rosa 2016:376; Crouch 2004:4).

3.2 Potential impacts of participation and gains for democracy

Against the background of the challenges described above, an expansion of participation in policymaking could lead to numerous enrichments for democracy. However, the effects vary greatly: depending on how participatory arrangements are interpreted and designed, their quality, outcomes and added value for all involved vary. The aspects of the effectiveness of participation which are described below therefore do not apply equally to all forms of political participation. The description is intended to show which qualities can be enhanced by good participatory approaches and which are accordingly promoted in the conceptual design (Chapter 5).

⁶ Resonance, as defined by the sociologist Hartmut Rosa, is a form of world relationship created by ‘intrinsic interest and the expectation of self-efficacy, in which subject and world touch and at the same time transform each other’ (Rosa 2016:298).

► **Recognition of political action through rapprochement and mediation**

New participation concepts can increase input and throughput legitimacy by giving the opportunity to influence decision-making to people who have no formal decision-making power but are directly or indirectly affected by the consequences of decisions. The focal point of evaluation then shifts from the actual decision and its consequences - the policy results (output legitimacy) - to the way in which decisions are made (cf. Geißel 2008:30). Certain procedural features can increase the acceptance of political decision-making processes. A transparent and verifiable procedure in political decision-making processes can reduce distrust of government action if people are given a good information base and the opportunity to voice their own concerns, knowledge and preferences. If those responsible for and those affected by decisions meet at an early stage in a participation procedure, the decision-making process becomes more transparent from the outset and the political action taken by the state institutions, which are otherwise perceived as abstract, becomes more comprehensible overall (cf. Benighaus et al. 2016:26; Albrecht et al. 2013:55). Acceptance and recognition, however, can only ever result and add value when participatory processes are genuine. The attempt to achieve acceptance through participatory mechanisms for projects that have already been decided on usually leads to procedures which are manipulative in character and are perceived as such, which serves to further discredit the entire political process.

► **Robust conceptual approaches and well-founded decisions through collective intelligence**

In order to view complex problems and challenges in their entirety, a broad range of experience and skills is required, as well as a combination of everyday, specialist, process and system knowledge. Thanks to the multiplicity of perspectives and judgements, co-creative and high-quality solutions can emerge. Only from this interaction do emergent⁷ solutions arise that were not previously apparent (Surowiecki 2007). Knowledge of social needs improves the decision-making basis for political and administrative decision-makers. Needs-oriented and adaptable solutions have the additional advantage that they can obviate follow-up costs arising from subsequent rescheduling or protracted conflicts (cf. Selle 2013:183; Renn 2013:72-79).

► **Individual and social learning through communication and negotiation processes**

Participation can play an important mediating role not only between politics and the wider society, but also within society, by identifying and brokering heterogeneous objectives and values. In a participation process, people usually meet other people with different perspectives, experience, levels of knowledge and attitudes. The mingling of individual positions, competing perspectives, collective planning and political decisions can initiate individual learning processes (cf. Geißel 2008:38; Benz, Stutzer 2004). There is additional potential in the conflict mediation function of participation processes: conflicts can be defused and used constructively to generate mutual understanding. Especially in a situation of growing pluralism (differing life plans and cultures, individual lived realities and world views), processes of communication and negotiation are a fundamental prerequisite for a common organisation of the life environment (cf. Benighaus et al. 2016:27; Renn 2013:73ff).

⁷ We use the term 'emergent' to refer to answers and solutions which are not a further development of something that already exists, but contain new, innovative ideas and suggestions that were not apparent before the process started.

► **Personal and collective development processes through empowerment and relationship building**

In addition to their mediating function, participation processes can contribute to personal growth and induce people to take part in shaping their lives. Experiencing one's own ability to act and to influence society, acquiring skills and actively shaping one's own living environment can counteract feelings of powerlessness, resignation and alienation in or towards the public sphere. In this way people can be politicised out of their everyday attitude towards life and enthused for democracy - their opportunities for social participation are strengthened (cf. Rosa 2016:379; Stark 2013:149f; Selle 2013:185f).

In the context of a heterogeneous society and increasing tendencies towards individualisation, the importance of functioning networks of relationships must also be emphasised. Participation processes can not only trigger personal development processes for individuals, but can also support the development of intact, supportive and democratic communities. The potential value of self-organisation processes lies in the fact that they are much more effective contributors to social cohesion and solidarity than interventions and activities on the part of the state. If people are involved in planning and decision-making processes, their orientation towards the common good is increased: they generally act more responsibly because they can relate to collective concerns through identifying with them. In this way, joint political action and co-creative design processes can lead to collective experiences of self-efficacy and establish and develop relationships (cf. Hüther 2013; Ostrom 2011; Putnam 1994:167).

► **Resilience and shared responsibility through cooperation, self-organisation and decentralisation**

If people identify more strongly with collective concerns and experience their own capacity for action and social influence through participation, it becomes much more likely that they will recognise and take on their joint responsibility for the community and the common good (and in times of crisis will be immunised against overly simplistic solutions). While state institutions are often overburdened due to the complexity of the tasks and financial bottlenecks they face, and are therefore less able to achieve their goals, other actors can be motivated to help meet the tasks and goals of the state by investing their own resources such as time, work and money. In a kind of co-production of public services, new business and organisational models can also serve the common good. A network of multiple decentralised and self-organised activities of this kind exhibits a high degree of stability, spontaneity and adaptability - the resilience of systems is thereby significantly increased (cf. Kersting 2017:27; Benighaus et al. 2016:26; Ostrom 1990).

3.3 Challenges posed by participation at the federal level

Participatory political procedures are needed at the national level, as well as at the municipal and federal state levels, in order to set the political course for societal developments that are co-designed by citizens who therefore subsequently take joint responsibility for them. However, as no opportunities for participation at the national level, and therefore no practical experience of it, have emerged in Germany to date, there is a need for a relevant strategy, one which will need to find answers to numerous challenges and open questions. Some of the challenges set out below apply to participation procedures in general, others specifically to participation at the national level.

► **Competition over legitimacy**

As informal modes of participation, traditional forms of public participation are supplementary to the institutional structure of representative democracy - they play a distinct and separate role in the political system. Otherwise, the simultaneous presence of representative and participatory modes in the democratic system could give rise to 'competition over legitimacy' (Kuder 2017:4) if participation is not used appropriately and effectively, but does indeed focus on the same tasks as representative democratic modes. Then the political aspirations of the citizens as shaped and expressed through participation and the mandate given to their political representatives would represent two parallel sources of legitimation (cf. Merkel 2015:57f).

A coherent overall process design would therefore have to define how informal participation formats complement formal political structures without competing with them and their systemic functions. It should be emphasised here that within the representative system of the Federal Republic informal participation procedures can develop ideas, proposals and recommendations, and initiate projects and initiatives, but may not intervene in the decision-making processes of elected representatives in parliaments. Formal direct-democratic procedures, or the granting of rights of initiative within new participation structures, would require changes to the parliamentary system that would have to be reviewed in terms of constitutional law (and if necessary brought in via constitutional amendments).

► **Inclusion and exclusion**

Social inclusion is regarded as a high democratic priority - formal legitimation in political practice depends among other things on a high degree of representativeness. Every form of participation procedure, however, is inherently exclusive in character. Exclusion mechanisms can take the form of two barriers to selection. The first applies at the point of access to the procedure and involves the selection of participants by the organizers and the willingness of this target group to participate. The second selection takes place during the implementation via the relevant participation mode. The methodological approaches employed determine whether or not people with differing cognitive and debating skills are able to take part (cf. Rohr et al. 2017:45f; Merkel 2015:61).

In practice, informal participation procedures are often highly selective and exclusive in terms of participants. The participation bias is similar to that in conventional forms of political participation, because opportunities for participation and the assertion of one's interests are not universally equal due to the asymmetrical distribution of information and resources (time, levels of organisation, networks, communication skills, etc.) - social inequalities are reproduced through the differentiated distribution of power and resources. They show up in the subsequent results, because only those who are present and able to contribute influence the results that emerge. A rise in the number of participation processes can therefore increase social inequalities (cf. Rohr et al. 2017; Kuder 2017:2). A lack of diversity among the participants also leads to a lack of diversity of perspectives, which can have an impact on the quality of the results. It follows that participatory procedures and formats at the national level must take great care in how they contact, invite, select and deal methodologically with participants in order to increase inclusion. If a procedure requires representativeness, appropriate selection methods (e.g. by lot) must be used. A major challenge, however, is that of adequately reflecting the social multi-perspectivity and heterogeneity within a large population.

► **Complexity of the issues**

At the national level, social challenges and sometimes very complex issues have to be negotiated. The broad sets of issues addressed often set the course for the development of our social coexistence; they then acquire a more direct and specific focus on action at other political levels.

One important challenge is to deal with complex issues efficiently while at the same time maintaining a high level of quality. Laypersons often first have to have an introduction to the subject matter being addressed; they have to be instructed point by point in order to make the multifaceted and often technically abstract questions accessible. In addition, the relevance of some of the issues, which is often only indirect or lies far off in the future, and their effects on people's personal everyday lives have to be illustrated and made comprehensible.

What can be helpful here, for example, is an integrated information transfer system that is consistent while at the same time offering a variety of perspectives on a topic. Translating complex topics into questions relevant to everyday life and into specific projects can also help in dealing with complex issues.

► **Lack of enforceability of results**

Just as the design of informal participation procedures is not legally defined, the implementation of their results is not legally obligatory. Poor process design can therefore result in participants not being able to foresee how a process will be conducted, what goals and intentions are being pursued and to what extent the resulting outcomes can or will be implemented, depending on the framework conditions applying and/or the level of support at the political and administrative level. The extent to which results are translated into concrete actions can depend both on the institutional framework and on the actions of individual political and administrative actors. However, politicians and officials can be held accountable if participating members of the public have been given unrealistic expectations with regard to the impact and implementation of the results of the participation exercise (cf. Kuder 2017:10f).

The design of national participation processes must therefore include the development and application of clear rules and commitments. It must be made clear what the political and administrative authorities will do with the results and recommendations that emerge from the process - roles and responsibilities in the implementation of the results must be clearly defined in advance.

► **Integration into the political system**

Within the web that makes up the state, a large number of actors struggle over the distribution of power and influence. As a rule, democratisation processes do not take place without a shift in power positions. If new participation models bring in new actors, questions of maintaining and shifting power arise. Power positions and claims are important both in the relationship between politics, administration and civil society and also between different political actors and institutions, because existing roles, power relations and claims to authority as well as decision-making and control powers can change (cf. Alcantara et al. 2014:115).

Since there is as yet no empirical knowledge in Germany as to how the various forms of participation at the national level can effectively converge in practice, a wide range of variants is conceivable with regard to the integration of new actors into the political structure. These need to be analysed in terms of their potential and any possible interfaces, without, however, jeopardising the separation of powers. Only then can it be decided how and when national-level participation can be effectively implemented and to what extent supporting constitutional arrangements are necessary. This is especially important in order to ensure the effectiveness and durability (in case of changes of government or new legislatures) as well as the neutrality (protection against instrumentalisation) of nationwide participation.

4. Findings of the evaluation

Several contextual factors influence the quality and effectiveness of participation processes. They include

1. the infrastructures resulting from *structural and institutional frameworks* that enable, support and legally underpin participation,
2. the *procedural level*, which is reflected in the formal and technical design of the participatory arrangements, and
3. the *process level*⁸, which has an impact on how the concrete situation is dealt with both by citizens and by people from the political and administrative spheres. Among other things, the individual circumstances (attitude, experience, competences) of the individual actors play a role here, as does the social, political and thematic context within which the participation procedure is carried out.

This results in an interaction between structural framework conditions and the process and procedural aspects, all of which influence how political participation develops. The following list of open questions arising from the challenges described, as well as the patterns which, inspired by the research results, are intended to provide answers to the questions, are classified according to these three starting conditions. Numerous patterns could be described for procedural design and the process level, but the focus of this investigation is on the connection to the political system; accordingly, the main focus of this study is on patterns at the structural and institutional levels. Only those patterns at the procedural and process levels that appear particularly relevant in this context have been included here.

4.1 Open questions with respect to design

The challenges described above give rise to design questions to which a good strategy for national participation procedures must find answers. Questions of design are defined as HOW questions. They articulate goals and intentions within a development and design process.

At the *process level*, fundamental questions emerge which primarily concern the organisation of the common good. How can solutions and innovations for the complex challenges be devised for society as a whole? Who should be responsible for devising them? Who should be (co-) responsible for them? How can new emergent answers arise? How can inherited role models, attitudes and behaviour evolve through change processes in such a way that they are aligned with the challenges to be overcome? How can a positive culture of participation emerge that manifests itself in different fields and on different political levels?

At the level of *structural and institutional framework conditions*, it is essential to provide an answer to the question of what place and what role participation at the level of the nation-state can play in the processes of public opinion formation and decision-making alongside the separated powers of the legislative, judicial and executive branches. How can deficits of representative democracy be addressed through national-level participation, and with respect

⁸We differentiate between the terms procedure and process. We define the process as a meta-level vis-a-vis the procedure. Not only the procedure forms part of the process, but also the entire context of visible and invisible influences within which the procedure is carried out. On the process level, numerous more or less evident influential factors affect the conception and implementation of participation processes. These can be aspects of the preceding history, the degree of trust between politics, administration and citizenry (as well as within each group), prior experience and conflicts, attitudes, roles and role expectations as well as mutual prejudices. The process itself is susceptible to neither planning nor control, but the procedure is (cf. Rohr et al. 2017:31).

to which deficits do better participatory ways and means exist? It is also important to address how it might be possible for effective institutionalisation to succeed which ensures independence and reciprocal checks and balances in terms of the separation of powers and thus prevents the abuse of power.

With regard to the concrete *design of procedures*, challenges related to legitimacy and quality of results are particularly evident. How do we ensure that the participation procedure is appropriate to the specific problems and issues? How do we arrive at procedures that generate collectively intelligent answers? How can social inclusion and representativeness be incorporated into participatory procedures at the national level? How can the multi-perspectivity and heterogeneity of a whole national society be reflected in a procedure? What kind of collaborative working methods will ensure high quality results??

4.2 Answers drawn from practice: patterns of good participation at the level of the nation-state

The research carried out for this study revealed the following patterns. They present compact summary descriptions of features drawn from good national-level participation. Substantial complexes of interrelated problems are revealed by reference to the challenges described above. In addition, in each case there is an indication of which of the practical examples and concepts examined inspired and gave rise to the particular pattern.

1. Structural and institutional framework conditions

► (0101) Good resource base

Challenge: Competition over legitimacy, inclusion and exclusion, complexity of issues

Background: Good participatory procedures are costly, organisation- and resource-intensive. They are under intense public scrutiny and are judged on their quality and legitimacy. If, for example, mistakes are made in the implementation of a procedure, its legitimacy becomes vulnerable to criticism. The results of the entire procedure can thereby be called into question. The quality of results and procedures can suffer due to a lack of resources, for example if the participation of relevant groups cannot be ensured, or if appropriate premises, catering and good working materials are lacking. The situation is particularly problematic if professional process management cannot be ensured.

Design solutions: Good financial resources help ensure high quality results and processes. They are needed both to provide incentives for people to participate and to show them that their participation is valued (e.g. through remuneration, decent food, proper working materials and a suitable location) and to bring in experienced process facilitators and experts who can deal professionally and creatively with conflict situations and unexpected incidents. Sufficient resources must also be planned for the organisation, communication, documentation and evaluation of the procedure. Allocated funding from the federal budget, not tied to ministries, can also create stability, since it will not automatically be made available in the event of a change of government. Budgets and resources should be determined at the beginning of a procedure and made available in full to the bodies carrying out the work in line with pre-defined spending criteria so that the process cannot be affected by the approval or withholding of budgets.

Inspired by: National Public Policy Conferences (Brazil), Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (British Columbia, Canada), Stadtwerkstatt (City workshop - Berlin), Beteiligungsrat (Council on participation - Potsdam), WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation - Potsdam)

► (0102) Different initiation options

Challenge: Growing political self-confidence in civil society, limits to state control, increasing alienation of citizens from politics

Background: The objectives behind the use of participation schemes vary according to the perspectives of the actors. As a rule, political actors hope for an increase in legitimacy in order to secure their political programmes and to confer greater validity on decisions. Another aim is often to improve the quality of decision-making and planning through multi-perspectivity, or to spread or shift political responsibility for difficult decisions for which political authorities do not wish to be solely accountable (cf. Rohr et al. 2017:38-41; Nanz, Leggewie 2016:28; Martini, Fritzsche 2015:21f). Citizens and civil society initiatives hope that participation exercises will provide them with a political voice and with influence on political agenda-setting (especially in the case of issues which they believe policy-makers do not take sufficiently into account).

Design solutions: Both civil society and political actors should be able to initiate participatory procedures. In this way, not only issues that are important for citizens but not sufficiently addressed by politicians but also issues that individual groups and/or institutions are unable to resolve by themselves get onto the participatory agenda. The aim is to find solutions that are accepted by society as a whole. It should be noted that for both types of initiation route, formal qualification processes and approval thresholds should be built into the participation procedures as a preliminary stage - for example with regard to the social relevance of the topic, human rights violations, constitutionality, etc..

Inspired by: Bürgerräte (Citizens' councils - Vorarlberg, Austria), Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy - Alsace, France), Stadtwerkstatt (City workshop - Berlin), Direktdemokratische Verfahren (Direct democratic procedures - Switzerland)

► (0103) Combination of formal and non-formal elements

Challenge: Growing political self-confidence in civil society, lack of enforceability of results, competition over legitimacy, integration into the political system, complexity of the issues

Background: Due to their institutionalised form, formal participation mechanisms are legally standardised and binding with regard to their results. The object of the participation exercise, the design of the procedure, the stage within the project process, the group entitled to participate and the way decision-makers deal with the results are all laid down by law. In the case of informal participation exercises, on the other hand, there is greater room for manoeuvre in terms of design, but there is a lack of legally binding arrangements for dealing with the results. If procedures are overly formalised, their enforceability increases, but flexibility and room for manoeuvre are reduced. But these aspects are important for a process-oriented approach and for the handling of a variety of thematic focuses.

Design solutions: Informal participation formats are embedded in or combined with formal structures and procedures. In this way they can have a political impact and yet remain context-sensitive and flexible. The non-formalised design allows room for manoeuvre, which can be adapted to the specific case. The formalised framework ensures that the results feed into the political process and must be taken into account.

Inspired by: Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy - Alsace, France), Stadtwerkstatt (City workshop - Berlin)

► (0104) Coordination with governance activities

Challenge: Limits to state control, increasing alienation of citizens from politics, growing political self-confidence in civil society, complexity of the issues, integration into the political system

Background: Governance processes - unlike the formal top-down control and steering processes in government structures - are an interplay of state, civil society and economic activities in formal and informal structures. Governance is based on the assumption that state actors, with their traditional political-administrative control mechanisms, cannot master by themselves societal challenges of increasing complexity and momentum. In response to changing social and political-administrative contexts and needs, networks of governance arrangements are emerging that rely on the interaction of different actors and are embedded in fixed, stabilising structures (government) (cf. Lund 2018; Selle 2010:6-10).

Design solutions: National-level participation models are combined with other activities that support the common good. Alongside a political course-setting at the nation-state level, actions are initiated that strengthen cooperation between different actors and bring about necessary transformations, including in the institutions involved. Such governance processes are used both to produce relevant results and to evaluate and organise roles and action frameworks dynamically. Citizens are not seen merely as the object of state action: as active citizens they play a (co-)creative role alongside politics, administration and the corporate sector. In this cross-sectoral interaction, the interfaces and overlaps are used and expanded. This enables cooperation between a range of forces and resources (Selle 2010:6-10) which are all urgently needed in view of current challenges. Previously untapped potentials are activated and brought together. The individual actors can learn from each other and benefit from each other's existing resources.

Inspired by: Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy - Alsace, France), Ernährungsrat (Food policy council - Cologne), Stadtwerk- statt (City workshop - Berlin), Bürgerräte (Citizens' councils - Vorarlberg, Austria), Beteiligungsrat (Council on participation - Potsdam), WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation - Potsdam)

► (0105) Linking with regional and local formats

Challenge: Limits to state control, growing political self-confidence in civil society, complexity of the issues

Background: The different political levels have different options and drivers for organising political participation. At the national and regional levels, good concepts, programmes and laws are needed, which are (or should be) drawn up using a variety of perspectives and competences and decided on the basis of sound information. At the municipal and local level it is rather a matter of implementing global and national plans and of incorporating local issues into processes of public information and debate and decision-making at the national level in order to be able to develop viable solutions. In order for central political decisions to be supported and promptly implemented, citizens must be able to take part in political initiatives at the national level and to bring in their local concerns and see that they are being addressed. Major national projects that set the future course, such as the energy transition, will only work if they are understood, accepted and implemented locally as well (cf. Leggewie 2013:41-51).

Design solutions: A variety of participatory arrangements at different political levels are needed in order to deal effectively with the complex challenges of our time. This is why cascading procedures that integrate participation at several levels serve to improve effectiveness. They make issues more tangible, translate national concerns to the local level, and vice versa, and encourage participation and commitment on the ground.

Inspired by: National Public Policy Conferences (Brazil), Bürgerräte (Citizens' councils - Vorarlberg, Austria), Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy - Alsace, France), WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation - Potsdam), Beteiligungsrat (Council on participation - Potsdam), Stadtwerkstatt (City workshop - Berlin), Ernährungsrat (Food policy council - Cologne)

► (0106) Combination of representative, participatory and direct-democratic procedures

Challenge: Socio-political polarisation and social division, competition over legitimacy, lack of enforceability of results, increasing alienation of citizens from politics

Background: Democratic participation procedures can be divided according to three functional logistical types, each of which has different strengths and weaknesses. *Representative procedures* have the advantage that they are granted a high degree of formal legitimacy thanks to their institutionalisation. However, due to the distance between citizens and political action, they contribute to a lack of transparency in decision-making and often to a mindset focused only on legislative periods. *Direct-democratic procedures*, on the other hand, can trigger debates on substantive issues and ensure legally binding decisions. Poorly designed procedures, however, can lead to the narrowing and oversimplification of complex issues (above all through yes/no decisions) as well as severe polarisation and poor discourse quality. This can result in situational and impulsive decisions due to time pressure and poor information. *Participatory procedures* are able to bring different perspectives, arguments and proposals into the political arena and can indirectly promote trust in and understanding of political decision-making processes. In addition, they have a high degree of flexibility in their design, but they have weaknesses with regard to following up on the results and can be time-consuming (cf. Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie 2018:13).

Design solutions: Different models of participation can complement each other and are by no means mutually exclusive. When combined well, they can strengthen trust and mutual understanding between citizens and state actors, promote the quality and enforceability of results and reduce socio-political polarisation. Deliberative and collaborative participation models serve to provide advice, to prepare the ground for decisions, to enable social dialogue, to defuse conflicts by providing insights into the motivations and interests of the other side and to help develop concrete solutions and viable proposals. Direct democratic and representative procedures can lead to binding decisions and, where appropriate, can ensure the necessary steps in legislation.

Inspired by: Constitutional Council (Iceland), Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (British Columbia, Canada), Citizens' Assembly (Ireland)

► (0107) Institutional establishment of a permanent and independent body

Challenge: Increasing alienation of citizens from politics, growing political self-confidence in civil society, lack of enforceability of results, competition over legitimacy, integration into the political system

Background: Forms of citizen participation cannot readily be integrated into the existing web of democratic institutions: practice has shown that citizen participation can only fulfil its intended purposes (which can be enormously diverse) if it is embedded in an overall process design that takes into account the points of connection and functional logic of the rest of the democratic

system. Within the complex political system, it is important to find a place for participation between legislature, executive and judiciary, and to create structures and procedures to enable and promote participation without compromising the principle of the separation of powers. The effectiveness, durability and neutrality of the participation mechanisms must also be guaranteed in the event of a change of government.

Design solutions: Potential competition over legitimacy and the lack of enforceability associated with informal models of participation can be proactively and constructively countered if they are firmly institutionalised and interfaces and obligations are identified and differentiated. These lend political institutions for national-level participation durability, continuity and authority. Supplementing representative democracy with an additional body does not supersede existing responsibilities. Rather, new participation models can support, supplement and enrich the work of the legislative and executive branches by performing mediation and development functions. Institutionalisation increases effectiveness: communication and relationship processes are set in motion, participation processes become more binding, qualitatively better and more accepted.

Inspired by: WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation, Potsdam), Beteiligungsrat (Council on participation, Potsdam), Representative House (USA), House of Peers (UK), House of Commons (UK), Troisième Assemblée (France), House of Lords (EU)

► (0108) Fixed locations for participation

Challenge: Increasing alienation of citizens from politics, growing political self-confidence in civil society, lack of enforceability of results, integration into the political system

Background: Established political institutions such as the Bundestag, the Bundesrat or the ministries have permanent locations and buildings that lend them material and spatial concreteness. This means they can be explored, experienced and grasped. The permanent locations and buildings link together space and function, which gives them additional significance. Their representativeness and authority are given additional weight by their material structures. Their furnishings are appropriate to their working requirements and organisational forms: architecture, interior design, furniture and spatial configurations provide a firm and reliable framework for their institutional culture, working practices and routines (cf. by Borries 2016).

Design solutions: Establishing a location for national-level participation activities has both a practical and a symbolic component. In practical terms, a fixed location enables excellent working conditions to be created. These include adequate material resources, a flexible and changeable structure for different forms of participation and work spaces with a range of different features. Such local features have an effect on the working environment and on the quality of results. At the same time, a fixed location for participation in the political system has symbolic value: a place dedicated to the practical exercise of democracy gives participatory work authority and recognition.

Inspired by: Stadtwerkstatt (City workshop, Berlin), Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy, Alsace, France), Kollaborative Demokratie (Collaborative Democracy)

2. Procedural design

► (0201) Combination of different recruitment methods

Challenge: Competition over legitimacy, inclusion and exclusion, complexity of the issues

Background: With regard to encouraging participation, different recruitment methods have differing advantages and disadvantages: self-selection can increase the efficiency of a participation exercise, as it often ensures a high level of motivation and commitment on the part of the participants. As a rule, however, there is little heterogeneity among participants. A lottery procedure, on the other hand, can promote diversity and legitimacy (with regard to increased input legitimacy) as well as a broad range of perspectives and competences among the participants. It is possible, however, that these participants may have less previous knowledge and no specialist knowledge of the specific subject matter of the exercise, as well as less motivation, which in turn can affect the efficiency of participatory decision-making and design processes (cf. van Reybrouck 2016:120).

Design solutions: The advantages and disadvantages of different selection mechanisms can be intelligently integrated by combining them: diversity among the participants can be promoted through a (potentially weighted⁹) random selection, while motivation can be ensured by self-selection among those selected by lot. Conversely, a lottery can also take place among those who have expressed interest in participating. A combination involving elections among citizens selected by lot or registered voluntarily is also an option for determining the composition of the participating group.

Inspired by: House of Peers (UK), Troisième Assemblée (France), Constitutional Council (Iceland), Public participation in the search for permanent repositories (Germany), Citizens' dialogue on the Climate Action Plan 2050 (Germany), National Public Policy Conferences (Brazil), Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (British Columbia, Canada), Council on participation (Potsdam)

► (0202) Co-creative procedural development

Challenge: Competition over legitimacy, increasing alienation of citizens from politics, integration into the political system, growing political self-confidence in civil society

Background: With regard to the design of participation, both power and legitimacy issues are involved. Who is legitimised to design participation? Who selects the process supervisors, moderators and invited experts? Who sets the agenda and the thematic priorities? A clear distribution of roles is often evident in the design: the clients (often politicians or administrators) decide on content and delivery aspects and commission process facilitators who in turn determine important aspects of delivery. Procedures can thereby easily render themselves vulnerable to criticism on the grounds of absence of legitimation. A loss of quality is also possible, because it can happen within the process design already that relevant aspects are not considered and do not play a part in the subsequent process (cf. Merkel 2015:54; Alcantara et al. 2014:115).

Design solutions: Participation processes are not organised and managed only by the state, but can also be developed and carried out jointly with civil society actors. This changes established role models: public administration and politics are no longer the people responsible and the organizers, but rather co-designers; citizens are no longer just participants. Goals and pathways

⁹Weighted random selection is regularly used at the Institute for Participatory Design. It supplements the pure lottery procedure by adjusting the sample with regard to particular characteristics so as to additionally promote a high degree of diversity. For example, twice as many participants aged 15-30 can be drawn from the population register as other age groups, since younger people are generally less well represented in informal participation exercises.

are not prescribed, but are up for discussion and defined within the framework of participatory processes. In this way, learning processes can be completed jointly, and quality, legitimacy and mutual trust can be increased. The governance approach is deepened. This procedure also leads to processes of appropriation, which in turn increases both motivation for active participation and acceptance for the procedure. For co-creative procedural development, one option is the establishment of a steering group, made up from various groups of actors, which can make the necessary decisions on priority issues, agendas, working methods, invited experts, etc., and elaborate them in interaction with the larger group.

Inspired by: WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation, Potsdam), Citizens' Assembly (Ireland), Stadtwerkstatt (City workshop, Berlin)

► (0203) Collaborative working

Challenge: Inclusion and exclusion, limits to state control, socio-political polarisation and social division, increasing alienation of citizens from politics, growing political self-confidence in civil society

Background: Within a participation procedure, different communication modes and associated work goals can be distinguished: *information* (only information on a given subject is presented, though if necessary questions can be asked), *negotiation and compromise* (negotiations continue until a 'good deal' has been found), *deliberation* (initially a common understanding is established, followed by dialogue to develop solutions) and *collaboration* (concrete concepts, plans and drafts are developed using professional development and design methods). Depending on the goal and the mode used, different working environments and a different quality of results will emerge (cf. Rohr et al. 2017:98; Rohr 2013).

Design solutions: In collaborative cooperation, people work together using a variety of perspectives to explore complex interrelationships and develop practical solutions on the basis of a common understanding of the problem. In doing so, they proceed methodologically in accordance with the respective subject area (they analyse, plan, develop, map, construct models, design, write, program, etc.). Since the cooperation is organised not only on a verbal level, more people with different competences, abilities and educational levels can more easily take part: they can get involved in the design process in their own way. Collaborative methods also promote a creative and productive working environment. Working together creates feelings of self-efficacy and (co-)responsibility, which increases participants' motivation to initiate self-organised, independent projects following a participation exercise.

Inspired by: Stadtwerkstatt (City Workshop Berlin), Kollaborative Demokratie (Collaborative Democracy)

► (0204) Supervision and assistance from participation experts, lawyers, process facilitators and academic specialists

Challenge: Complexity of the issues, inclusion and exclusion, socio-political polarisation and social division, competition over legitimacy

Background: Preparation of content and organisation, together with various aspects of delivery, have a key influence on the legitimacy and quality of any participation process. The design of effective participation processes requires adequate expertise and experience as well as acquired and evolved process knowledge. In many cases, the competencies of the participants are also a concern - especially in participation procedures on complex issues, as is often the case at national level. Without intensive support, it is difficult to carry out participation processes with the required legitimacy and quality, both at the thematic and procedural level.

Design solutions: Supervision and support of the work of laypersons, in terms of both content and process, enables everyday and expert knowledge to come together, which can lead to relevant and meaningful results. Process facilitators, lawyers and participation experts monitor and supervise the entire process and ensure high process quality. Those experts involved for fixed time periods are selected according to the subject matter of the participation exercise. For reasons of legitimacy and quality, their involvement must be handled carefully, both with regard to selection and the form and manner of their input (fact-based, neutral, clarity of role).

Inspired by: Citizens' Assembly (Ireland)

► **(0205) Joint working process between politics, public administration and civil society**

Challenge: Limits to state control, increasing alienation of citizens from politics, lack of enforceability of results

Background: If only citizens discuss amongst themselves at participation events, and if the roles of the political and administrative actors taking part are limited to moderation, provocations and opening speeches, this reinforces the existing understanding of roles: citizens are then perceived solely as sources of information, customers, and barometers of public opinion, or as a nebulous public sphere; politicians and civil servants as the only ones responsible for implementation. If, following the participation exercise, the citizens involved pass on their recommendations to public decision-making and implementation bodies, then these bodies often feel under pressure to implement them and/or to justify themselves, or complain about the lack of expertise evident in the results. In this way, inadequate interaction between different actors prevents the convergence of important and varied expertise: there is a lack of political and administrative expertise in the development phase, or the practical everyday knowledge of those affected is lacking in the subsequent implementation phase. For useful results to emerge, it is therefore necessary to have both practical everyday knowledge as well as political-administrative and subject-specific expertise.

Design solutions: A joint working process involving actors who are affected by a development or who share responsibility for its implementation increases the understanding of and identification with the pending developments as well as the quality of the results. All parties feel a sense of joint ownership, which increases their connection to the project. Motivation increases in all relevant fields, including with respect to supporting implementation of the results through the application of their respective competencies. A joint development process also serves as a bridge between the participatory model and conventional political institutions and organisational structures: the involvement of the political and administrative levels in the participation exercise can increase the commitment of the actors involved to following up on the results and promote the rapid implementation of recommendations. The individual citizens involved serve to spread the message into civil society. In joint working processes, fixed role models can be altered, prejudices weakened and mistrust reduced.

Inspired by: WerkStadt für Beteiligung (City workshop on participation, Potsdam), Beteiligungsrat (Council on participation, Potsdam), House of Peers (UK), Ernährungsrat (Food policy council, Cologne), Stadtwerkstatt (City Workshop, Berlin)

► (0206) External transparency

Challenge: Competition over legitimacy, inclusion and exclusion, increasing alienation of citizens from politics

Background: Participation procedures are inherently exclusive, as only a limited number of participants can take part. If the format of the procedure is shielded from the outside world, they will resemble current political models in how they are handled: a lack of transparency about how projects and decisions come about nourishes distrust among all those not directly involved.

Design solutions: External transparency promotes trust and acceptance for a participation format - including among citizens who were not actively involved in the exercise. Interim results and steps can be published via close media coverage. Recommendations and commentaries can also be submitted by external parties and integrated into the work. This ensures two-way communication. Dealing transparently with comments is just as important as filtering and processing them in order to derive added value from the input. Comprehensive documentation of the process is not only a matter of transparency and honesty, but also provides a real opportunity for people who, for various reasons, only wish to join the participation process at a later stage.

Inspired by: Constitutional Council (Iceland), Citizens' Assembly (Ireland), Stadtwerkstatt (City Workshop, Berlin)

► (0207) Diverse result types

Challenge: Limits to state control, increasing alienation of citizens from politics, growing political self-confidence in civil society, lack of enforceability of results, integration into the political system

Background: As a rule, participation procedures are designed to be consultative: no decision-making power is transferred to citizens, but recommendations are developed (for legislation, planning, political action, etc.), which are forwarded to the political and administrative authorities as a basis for action and decision-making - and what happens as a result of the participation exercise then depends on those authorities. The participating citizens naturally expect their recommendations to be implemented. Misinterpretations can also easily occur with regard to the impact of one's own participation. The discrepancy between the expectations of the participants and the actual room for manoeuvre, as well as the lack of certainty regarding implementation, can lead to demotivation and frustration among the participants, as well as to excessive demands on the political and administrative levels (cf. Kuder 2017:10f; Selle 2011:2).

Design solutions: National-level participation exercises can do more than just developing recommendations for political action or serving as a basis for participatory legislation. Through participation, societal discourses can be adopted and strengthened. Various activities and measures can then emerge from the resulting normative visions. This can see the emergence of civil society projects and cooperations which can be launched and carried through by various social actors on their own responsibility. They can be supported, for example, by means of participatory budgets or special support programmes. This makes it possible to tackle challenges and design concrete projects - including ones which require no change in legislation. In this way, citizens are empowered to (co-)create the common good. It is also conceivable that governmental and non-governmental institutions could adopt their objectives to develop programmes or schemes.

Inspired by: Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy, Alsace, France), Stadtwerkstatt (City Workshop, Berlin), Ernährungsrat (Food policy council, Cologne)

3. Process level

► (0301) Generative process support

Challenge: Limits to state control, increasing alienation of citizens from politics, inclusion and exclusion

Background: Rather than linear and plannable structures, complex participation processes require a generative and flexible way of working. For participation involves more than purely functional planning and rule-based execution. Plans for the management of a complex participation process using linear project control logic usually fail in practice due to the complex nature of the subject matter and the group dynamics involved. Accordingly, managing participation processes can be extremely challenging - it requires extensive experience and competence in process support (cf. Rohr et al. 2017:64ff).

Design solutions: If a process is contemplated in its entire complexity, and if the procedure is able to react dynamically and flexibly to the requirements of the process, one can speak of a generative process orientation. This means working with the process instead of against it, which generates an ability to deal appropriately with unexpected situations, uncertainties and complexity. For this, an interplay between development and reflection during a process is just as important as a high level of process awareness among all participants. It often only arises in long-term or repeated processes.

Inspired by: Citizens' Assembly (Ireland), Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy, Alsace, France), Stadtwerkstatt (City Workshop, Berlin)

► (0302) Processing of collective experiences

Challenge: Limits to state control, growing political self-confidence in society, socio-political polarisation and social division, complexity of the issues

Background: Socio-political processes usually involve much more than just technical solutions to political problems and the generation of consensus on a political issue. They include collective moods, emotions, traumas and experiences. They touch on existential fears, prejudices towards others, national history and personal histories, world views, ideologies and their contradictions, identity issues, fears and hopes for the future, etc. What does the 'refugee crisis' have to do with questions of one's own identity? How do memories of the Nazi era affect foreign policy agendas and the national self-image? Such questions are rarely dealt with in a traditional legislative process.

Design solutions: Participatory procedures are able to shed light on areas that are not explicitly covered by other political institutions and processes. In order for collective experiences to be processed in participation procedures, a framework of rules, safe spaces, time resources and professional support is needed within which such aspects can be addressed and handled. This leads to greater trust, understanding, personal and collective development and collective intelligence in the development of reconciliatory and sustainable solutions.

Inspired by: Citizens' Assembly (Ireland), Generalversammlung der Demokratie (General Assembly of Democracy, Alsace, France), Stadtwerkstatt (City Workshop, Berlin)

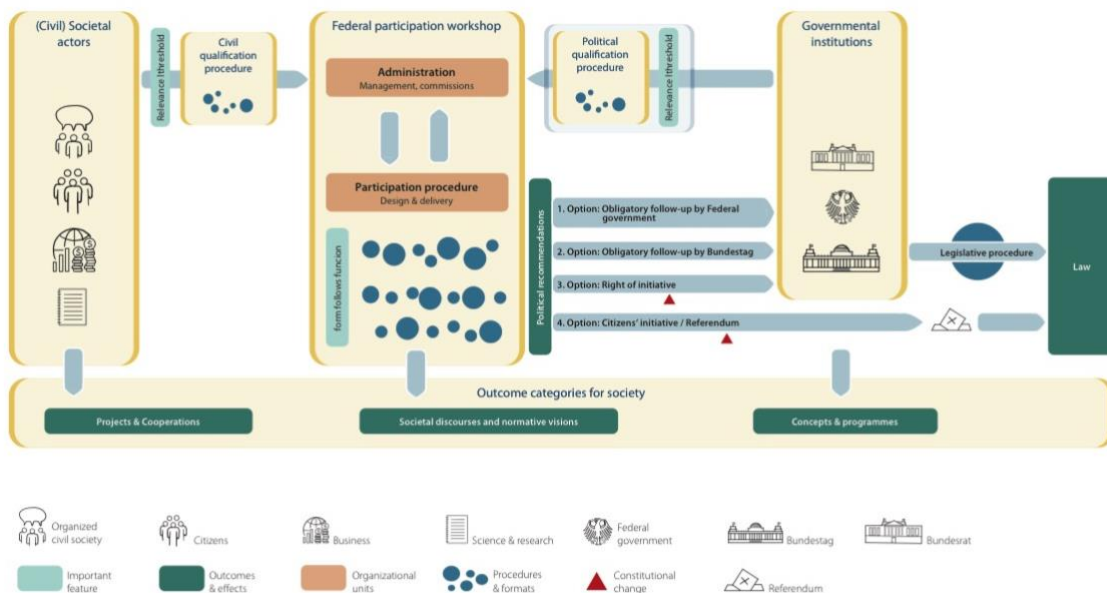
5. Conceptual design: *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* (Federal participation workshop)

The following outline for a *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* was drawn up in an internal workshop of the project group involved in this study with the aim of providing a proposal for the further development and enhancement of the parliamentary-representative system of the Federal Republic. The concept represents an appropriate response to the challenges, requirements and changed political understandings described above, integrates the patterns derived from the case studies examined in this report, and presents an innovative and realizable model. This conceptual design illustrates how the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* might be incorporated into the parliamentary-representative system and how an integrated overall procedural sequence might work.

We regard this concept as a draft and as a contribution to the debate. We do not claim to have provided full answers to all relevant questions, nor to have worked out the design in detail. For one thing, such a task could not have been completed within the scope of this study. Secondly, it is important at this stage to keep the concept open in order to initiate a larger collaborative development process on the exact design and implementation of this or any other similar concept.

The concept is described below, under three main headings: the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* as a location; options for initiating a participation procedure; and the kinds of results sought. All three descriptions can also be seen in the graphic illustration.

Figure 1: *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* – small graphic representation



► **Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt as institution and location**

The concept does not recommend the use of individual, highly specified participation formats and procedures that have already been tested or even formally established elsewhere. Instead, it outlines a permanent, institutionalised Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt where diverse participation procedures can be developed and implemented to deal with diverse issues and needs.

We are thus following the patterns (0107) *Institutional establishment of a permanent and independent body* and (0108) *Fixed locations for participation*. The Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt is thus conceived as a fixed institution and place, since only in this form is a permanent and sustainable integration within the political system possible. In this way, the Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt can operate visibly, effectively and independently of day-to-day politics. As a permanently installed institution within the wider institutional network, the Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt would be allocated a set budget to carry out participatory procedures ((0101) *Good resource base*).

Let us first take a look inside the Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt itself. A Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt will require a clear internal organisational structure, which will have to be worked out in detail. The need for a division into two departments is already evident now: an administrative department and a department for the development and delivery of participation procedures.

- **Administration of the Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt**

The administrative department is responsible for the management of the institution and for commissioning actual participation procedures on the basis of the relevant initiation and qualification procedures within a framework of fixed regulations. The administrative department is responsible for carrying out technical and legal checks on both the framework conditions and the results, or for passing them on to the appropriate bodies, such as the relevant federal offices and ministries. In addition, the administrative department ensures the proper liaison and communication with the other political bodies using the links and operational mechanisms within the wider democratic system.

- **Development and delivery of participation procedures**

The department for the development and delivery of participation procedures ensures a high quality of participation processes and adheres to the principle that the participation concept must be designed in accordance with its function ('form follows function'). Specific participation procedures and formats are worked out by appropriate specialist staff and participation experts once they have been commissioned by the administrative department, having due regard to the specific topic and the corresponding set of issues. Thus, each topic and each set of issues is assigned a procedure that is precisely tailored to the specific requirements but nevertheless follows clear and transparent procedural rules and quality criteria. Ideally, the procedural development should take place with the involvement of various stakeholders ((0202) *Co-creative procedural development*)

During the development of the formats, all the decisions and the reasoning behind them are made public. The participation experts involved are required to take into account the highest and most up-to-date standards of good participation practice in the procedural design, as identified, for example, in the following patterns: (0105) *Linking with regional and local models*, (0106) *Combination of representative, participatory and direct-democratic procedures*, (0201) *Combination of different recruitment methods*, (0203) *Collaborative working*, (0204) *Supervision and assistance from participation experts, lawyers, process*

facilitators and academic specialists, (0205) Joint working process between politics, public administration and civil society, (0206) External transparency, (0207) Diverse result types, (0301) Generative process support, (0302) Processing of collective experiences.

It is a prerequisite for successfully completing these core tasks that the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* should act as an intermediary (cf. Beck, Schnur 2018) between government institutions and civil society actors. This means that it must be able to act independently in the broadest sense, but at the same time enjoy the trust of the population, of civil society organisations and interest groups, and of policymakers and administrators, with respect to its participation expertise. A decisive question in this regard is who is entitled to initiate participation procedures in the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt*, and by what process.

► **Initiation of participation procedures**

In the workshop, the participants discussed two options involving two different approaches ((0102) *Different initiation options*):

- **Initiation by (civil) societal actors**

It was considered particularly important that the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* could be contacted directly by civil society. To this end, a civil qualification procedure must be developed that contains at least one relevance threshold, e.g. a quorum similar to that for a local referendum. However, more differentiated procedures are also feasible in which issues would have to qualify on content criteria, e.g. through online forums. Framework conditions and questions might need to be firm ed up beforehand by the citizens taking part in the debate, for example.

- **Initiation by governmental institutions**

The option of giving governmental institutions such as the Federal Government, ministries, the Bundestag or individual parliamentary groups the right to initiate participation procedures is controversial. If the possibility of the initiation of participation procedures by governmental institutions is not ruled out in principle, two ways of doing this are possible:

1. Governmental institutions could initiate participation procedures in the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* independently. This would require the development of a separate qualification procedure and relevance threshold.
2. Since the option of initiation by governmental institutions raises a number of questions of law, content and power theory, e.g. with regard to the separation of powers, exactly the same hurdles and procedures could be put in place for governmental institutions as for civil society actors. Governmental institutions would then have to create sufficient support for their proposals, through direct communication with civil society, to overcome the necessary thresholds with the support of the citizenry.

Once the defined relevance thresholds have been met and the qualification procedure has been completed successfully, the administrative department will start work and commission the design and delivery department to develop a tailor-made participation procedure.

► Results

The participation procedures of the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* will generate social discourses on relevant current issues and develop normative visions to help society in dealing with these issues in the future - both within the workshop itself and beyond it. To this end, the activities of the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* must be closely monitored by the media and a transparent flow of information must be ensured. Wide public debate and the development of normative visions for society as a whole are results of the participation procedures which should be accorded particularly high intrinsic value. On the basis of social discourses and normative visions, various kinds of results from the processes of the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* are possible:

• Political recommendations

This study defines as political recommendations all the outcomes that seek to create policy through relevant laws, regulations and rules. There are four options for how these recommendations could feed into the legislative process.

1. The recommendations are passed on directly to the Federal Government. The Federal Government has a duty to follow them up. It can submit a legislative proposal to the Bundestag on the basis of the recommendations, or it can reject the recommendations, but it must report on its follow-up actions.
2. The Bundestag's consideration of the recommendations is recorded. The Bundestag and the parliamentary parties decide whether and in what form a legislative initiative or some other measure is taken.
3. In some cases, the recommendations could immediately be given the status of a legislative initiative, and would then be represented by a body elected from the relevant participation procedure. For this to happen, however, the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* would have to be granted a right of legislative initiative, through a constitutional amendment. In this option, too, it is ultimately the Bundestag that decides on the success or failure of the legislative initiative.
4. The recommendations from a participation procedure lead directly or via the hurdle of another quorum to a citizens' initiative or referendum. This in effect leapfrogs the Bundestag. This would also require a constitutional amendment.

• Result types for society as a whole

In addition to political recommendations that emerge from a particular procedure and are introduced into legislative processes, other results may be possible and intended. Ideas for projects and collaborations to be (jointly) carried out by actors from civil society, science and research and/or business might emerge in and through participation procedures ((0104) *Coordination with governance activities*). For example, it is conceivable that a collaborative participation procedure might not only result in political proposals for legislative initiatives (e.g. with respect to the energy transition, to health reform or a transport transition), but that various actors might wish to cooperatively implement projects and measures that do not require any statutory control. And these in turn can be complemented by schemes and programmes in which, for example, ministries or foundations are involved. All these activities can stimulate new impulses and social cooperation without necessarily requiring new provisions in law. In this way, the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* can become a catalyst not only for public debate across society, but also for further processes of design and development.

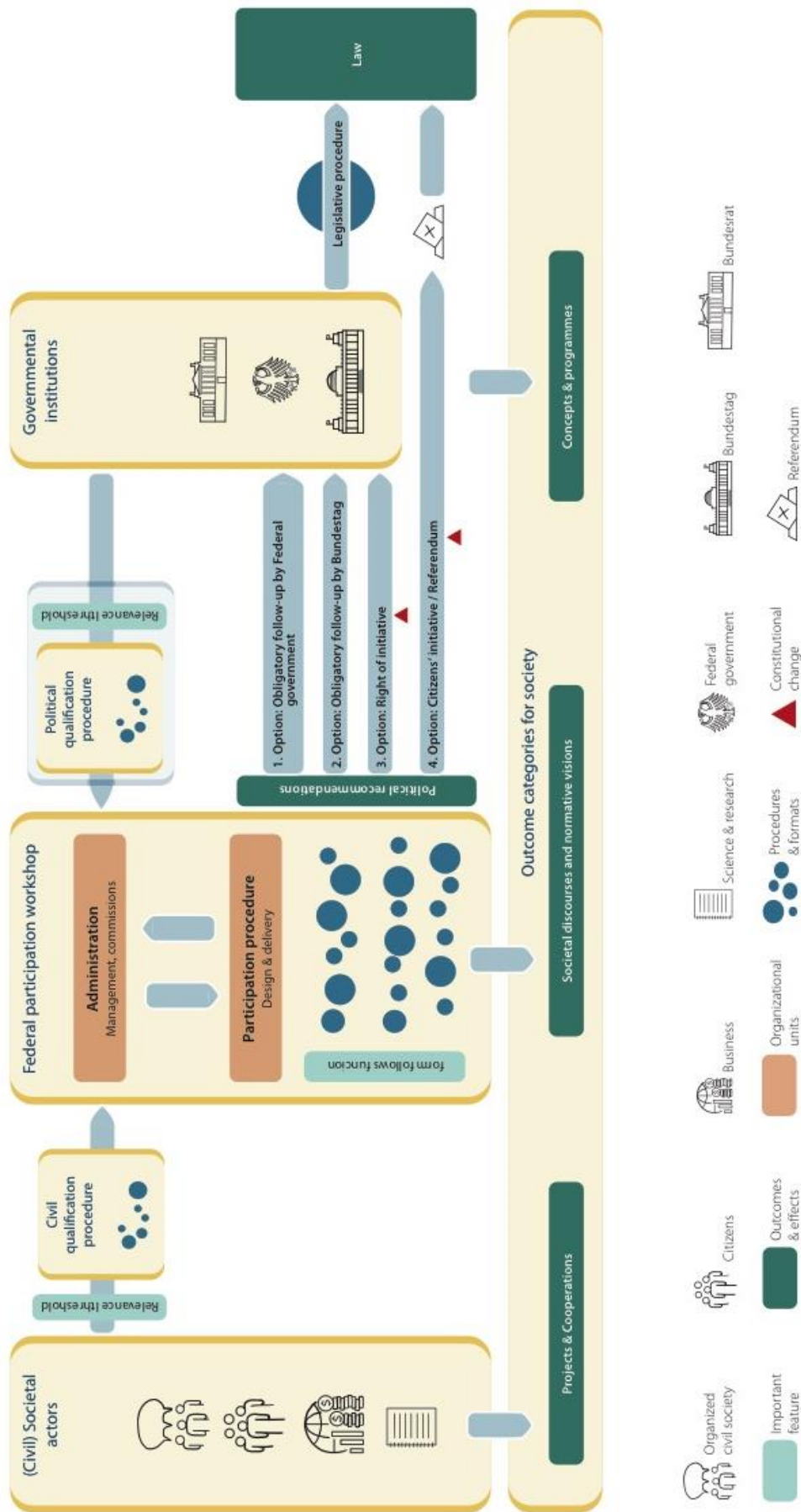


Figure 2: Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt – large graphic representation

6. Outlook: Bundesrepublik 3.0 in action

2021. While Germany works flat out to react to digitalisation and to implement digitalisation projects throughout the country, the technology companies in Silicon Valley and Shenzhen are bringing the first nationwide consumer products employing artificial intelligence (AI) to market. In Germany, this topic is still regarded as a pipedream. As late as 2019, the FAZ, citing a research report, headlined that every second company would like to do without the use of AI entirely (no ref.).

While other countries have already switched their public administration bodies to AI, international companies are busily optimising their logistics chains with AI, and some major cities have readied their transport systems for self-driving cars with nationwide 5G networks, there is little public awareness in Germany of the opportunities and risks of artificial intelligence.

A consortium of recently founded hacker initiatives and start-up companies recognizes this deficit. It is important to them to get the topic onto the political agenda and to quickly launch legislation and projects that give people understanding and security in dealing with AI, and at the same time to open up its ethically acceptable opportunities. However, the political parties show little interest in the topic and do not have sufficient technical expertise, and government bodies limit their activities to commissioning feasibility studies. Large companies and organisations compete against each other with their own projects, but without instigating a process designed for society as a whole.

The initiative succeeds in introducing the topic on the online forum of the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt*, and arouses great interest there. Gradually, business associations and consumer protection organisations join the discussion. Through the integrative discourse and the collaborative participation tools, online expressions of intentions and objectives emerge, together with a specific list of questions on AI and a catalogue of requirements for a future participation process. This is the prerequisite for the group to be able to start collecting signatures in order to initiate a national participation procedure in the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt*. When at the last minute a large association of German municipalities gives its backing to the project, the required 250,000 signatures are achieved. The administrative department of the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* is now obliged to commission a participation procedure internally. The assigned participation experts then develop a procedure for a one-year AI dialogue in two phases.

In the first phase, local AI conferences take place throughout Germany. They are like mobile trade fairs where information, debate and opportunities and challenges are traded. Invitations to the public conferences also go out to people drawn by lot from the population registers. People learn how AI will affect their everyday lives, how they can use AI and what AI will change. Utopian hopes and dystopian fears are expressed and made visible. A further 250 people will be drawn from among all the visitors to these conferences to be invited to a 3-day debate at the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt* in Berlin. Here, with professional facilitation, goals for a future with artificial intelligence will be elaborated in large forums and group discussions.

The second phase consists of a political hackathon. Throughout Germany, organisations and private individuals are invited to hold events where work is carried out on solutions and proposals for achieving the goals of phase 1. These can be legislative proposals, projects, measures, research proposals or social business models. All the proposals and results are published, discussed and evaluated online. A ranking process produces a list of the best. 50 of the initiatives are each allowed to send two representatives to a 3-day innovation camp in the

Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt. Also invited are representatives from key social sectors (politics, public administration, science and research, business, the media). At the innovation camp, the many individual proposals will be further developed into a coherent 'Action Plan for AI'.

The 'Action Plan for AI' includes an AI Act as well as measures to make it compatible with existing data protection and consumer protection laws. It launches a national research and funding programme that is tailored to the requirements of the new AI Act. In addition, the action plan sets out a series of measures to be implemented largely autonomously at the level of the Länder and municipalities. According to the plan, ten of the initiated projects are to be implemented with funding coming directly from the Federal Budget. A national alliance entitled 'People and AI' and made up of NGOs, think tanks, foundations, political parties and private companies is to be established within the *Bundesbeteiligungswerkstatt*. The media report on the entire process in detail.

The 'Action Plan for AI' is presented to the Bundestag, which debates it. With minor changes, the plan is approved unanimously; the AI Act together with the necessary changes to other existing legislation are introduced by the government and likewise adopted.

Following the one-year process, all those involved are in agreement: Germany has shown in an innovative procedure that it is facing up to the pressing questions of the future and is capable of developing policy solutions that enjoy broad public support. The new AI Act and the accompanying funding programme are not even the most important results.

Much more important is the fact that the topic has penetrated people's consciousness, that many people have formed an opinion, can now take up a position on the issue and are able to weigh up the risks and opportunities as they affect their everyday lives. The hackathon has additionally led to many new initiatives, start-ups and actions that would never have been possible without the participation process.

Back to 2019:

We hope that this report will inspire the forthcoming expert commission and others with responsibility in this area to think in a well-founded and creative way about future-oriented and innovative options for the further development - on a participatory basis - of our democratic system. In the spirit of the topic of the report, we recommend an open, participatory process that involves all relevant stakeholders.

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A Appendix

A.1 Notes on the approach and the presentation of the research results

The following section contains only those research results (case studies and theoretical concepts) for which it was possible to identify a *distinctive feature* of the design or *democratic innovation*. This means they provide stimulating ideas for the participation concept to be developed.

In order to keep to the essentials while still providing a good information base, the review and presentation of the case studies is arranged according to the categories of the IPG procedure screen. The screen is a methodological tool for the conceptual work and structuring of participation procedures. It covers the main steps of a participation procedure and presents them systematically in three successive phases: field analysis, procedural design & implementation and cultivation. Because of its structured composition, the procedure screen makes it possible to plan successful (context-appropriate) participation procedures by supporting the inclusion of all relevant contextual conditions in the conceptualisation of participation procedures.

Figure 3: IPG procedure screen

FIELD ANALYSIS		PROCEDURAL DESIGN			CULTIVATION
Starting Situation	Actor Constellation	Communication	Logistics and organization	Procedural Design	Follow-up
01 Background	05 Initiators / Leaders	07 Activation and first contact	08 Event times	10 Formats and methods	11 Processing and evaluation
02 Intentions	06 Participants		09 Event locations		12 Implementation and consolidation
03 Framework					
04 Result Types					

The 2017 procedure screen was developed by the Institute for Participatory Design (Institut für Partizipatives Gestalten, IPG) on behalf of the Federal Environment Agency in the course of the research project *Encouraging citizen participation principally from the perspective of inclusion issues - empirical surveys, dialogical evaluations, synthesis of practical recommendations for participation processes*.

The results of the research are presented in the following table, based on the twelve categories used for the procedure screen. In the course of the research and analysis, new categories have been added to the descriptive text, and in some cases the categories used in the procedure screen have been combined here. Not all categories are used for every case study. The table below shows the categories used for the research together with a brief explanation of what information they contain and why they are relevant.

Table 1: Research categories and brief explanation

Background	<p>Everything that took place prior to a participation process and may have led to it.</p> <p>The background of a participation procedure has a significant influence on how a given participation unfolds. The atmosphere in the participation procedure and the willingness to cooperate and to come to a common design are decisively influenced by the background.</p>
Purpose	<p>Information on the purpose (e.g. legitimacy, quality or empowerment) and objectives (e.g. mediation, conflict resolution, design, initiation of actions) of the participation.</p> <p>The purpose is crucial to the design of a participation procedure. Ideally, the purpose and objectives should influence the selection of participants (target group) and how they work together.</p>
Result type / Remit	<p>Information on what is to be done at the end of the participation process.</p> <p>What is meant is not a specific result, but a type (e.g. guidelines, recommendations or (self-organised) projects). It also covers the remit of the participation.</p> <p>The type of result is decisive for the manner in which the cooperation proceeds.</p>
Leaders/ Clients	<p>Includes all actors involved in the participation process, whether initiating, participating in, supervising or implementing it. Specifies on whose behalf the participation was carried out.</p> <p>Often different actors and bodies with different prior experience and knowledge of participation and projects are involved. It is therefore important to clarify and define roles, tasks and responsibilities.</p>
Participants	<p>Information on the actors taking part in a procedure.</p> <p>The size and composition of a participant group are crucial to how it runs and to the results of the participation project.</p>
Activation / Contact	<p>Information on how participants were selected (self-selection, individual/personal relevance, random selection, targeted invitation, etc.) and incentivised or recruited (type of contact, incentives offered, etc.).</p> <p>How selection is carried out determines the composition of the participant group. Various incentives can be offered to overcome participation hurdles.</p>
Timing	<p>Information on time factors (time frame for the participation procedure), frequency, times and duration of different events, formats and further meetings.</p>
Locations	<p>Information on the locations and rooms where the various formats of the procedure took place.</p> <p>The locations in which participation takes place influence the working environment, play a role in who feels invited and who does not, and influence the external perception of the participation procedure, because places carry with them emotions and stories and evoke associations and memories.</p>

<p>Working methods</p>	<p>(in the procedure screen: Formats & Methods)</p> <p>Information on the manner in which the cooperation is carried out, including specific details on the formats and methods used.</p> <p>Participation formats can vary greatly in character. The form of the cooperation influences the atmosphere of an event and the quality of the participation results.</p>
<p>Tie-in to the politic-system</p>	<p>(in the procedure screen: Processing & Evaluation and Implementation & Consolidation)</p> <p>Information on the framework conditions for the participation and options for further work with the results (e.g. structural and institutional framework conditions needed to ensure such further use). Describes what will happen with the results from a participation exercise.</p> <p>Participation procedures do not end with the last participation measure, but with the implementation (or where appropriate with the reasons for non-implementation) and consolidation of their results. This raises the issue of planning for the consolidation and further use of the results as well as for their implementation and further development.</p>
<p>Distinctive features/ democratic innovation</p>	<p>Information about what is special, new or different about the case study. Such (democratic) innovations provide new ideas and options for the future participation concept.</p>

B Case studies

B.1 Nation-state level

B.1.1 Public participation in the search for permanent repositories, Germany

The aim of the site selection procedure is to find a nuclear waste repository using a transparent procedure. The public, especially in the regions around the potential sites, should be involved at an early stage and in a comprehensive manner. At specialist and regional conferences, citizens have the opportunity to comment on the process and register objections. In addition, a National Civil Society Board (NBG) consisting of six randomly selected citizens monitors and provides advice to the location search process.

Background	<p>2011: Federal German government decides to phase out nuclear power by 2022</p> <p>2013: Repository Site Selection Act (Standortauswahlgesetz, StandAG)</p> <p>2014: Commission on the Storage of High-Level Radioactive Waste ('Endlagerkommission') begins its work</p> <p>2017: Amendments to the StandAG as the legal basis for site selection process (procedure, criteria, public participation)</p>
Purpose	<p>Dialogue between state and citizens, public information and engagement</p> <p>Finding the broadest possible social consensus and acceptance among those immediately affected for the final repository site, creating trust in the delivery of the procedure</p> <p>Monitoring of location selection and implementation of public participation by NBG, in accordance with § 8 StandAG as an independent social body, participation of citizens' representatives</p>
Result type	<p>Public participation/conferences: statements, arranging inspections, raising objections</p> <p>NBG: Mediation and independent monitoring and advice, issuing opinions and recommendations</p>
Leaders	<p>Federal Office for the Safety of Nuclear Waste Management (Bundesamt für kerntechnische Entsorgungssicherheit, BfE) as regulatory, licensing and supervisory authority (monitoring, evaluation of proposals, scientific support), also responsible for public participation (information and participation)</p>
Participants	<p>Acknowledged key individuals and randomly selected citizens (initially 3 citizens' representatives) from outside government or politics, without economic interests in relation to site selection</p> <p>2017: increase in the membership of the NBG: 3 more citizens' representatives appointed.</p>
Activation/ Contact	<p>NBG selection process for citizens' representatives:</p> <p>6 recognised public figures, half proposed by Bundestag and half by Bundesrat</p> <p>3 citizens' representatives identified through a citizens' participation procedure, appointed by BMU</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 120 participants invited according to scientific random selection method, representative according to age and gender, interest registered via citizens' forum - 24 citizens participating in each of five regional citizens' forums, one of which is for the younger generation (16-27 years), the other four drawn equally from four age groups, gender-balanced: familiarisation with the subject of repository search, getting to know the procedure, advice from experts, choice of advisory network (30 citizens) - Advisory network: pooling of recommendations from the regional citizens' forums and evaluation, election of the 3 citizens' representatives (1 of them from the younger generation) and support for their work

<p>Timing</p>	<p>December 2016: first session of the NBG</p> <p>Selection of citizens' representatives to sit on NBG for 3 years, re-appointment possible for two further terms</p> <p>2031 goal: location to be decided</p>
<p>Working methods</p>	<p>Information and participation for citizens through BfE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comprehensive, timely, systematic and permanent provision of all relevant information to all parties to the proceedings - Information platform for the publication of all information and documents related to the location search, for transparency and accountability - Organisation of the legally determined participation formats, evaluation of the instruments and procedures of the public participation exercise <p>Process/Participation formats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Specialist conference</i> Sub-areas: Federal company for radioactive waste disposal (BGE) explains possible sub-areas, the public is able to <i>submit comments</i> for the first time, results are incorporated in the BGE proposal for above-ground location regions - End of Phase 1: Decision on possible siting regions, information provided to the public and the local population in <i>regional conferences</i> (citizens and representatives of local authorities), monitoring of the site selection process, <i>statements</i>, option of requesting a review if investigation results are inconclusive - <i>Council of the regions</i>: Advising representatives from regional conferences and interim storage locations, supporting the regional conferences from a supra-regional perspective, assisting in the reconciliation of competing interests - Additional possibility for all parties to raise <i>objections</i> to location proposals, negotiations to be held on agreed discussion dates; end of phases 2 and 3: concerned parties can have selection procedures reviewed before the Federal Administrative Court <p>NBG: mediating, scientific and independent support and advice, independent right of initiative and right of appeal, questioning of BGE and BfE, statements, recommendations to Bundestag</p> <p>Ombudsperson for participation: timely identification of conflicts, proposed solutions</p>
<p>Tie-in to the politic-system</p>	<p>Officially regulated information service and citizen consultation for the legal adoption of recommendations from the Final Storage Commission, submission of opinions to the legislative process - statements do not have to be taken into account however.</p> <p>Decision of the Bundestag on continuation of the search after each phase as well as final decision on permanent location, decision on consideration of statements</p> <p>Enactment of the StandAG and framework conditions of the participation procedure negotiated by Parliament / Federal States, but not in participatory procedure with the general public</p>
<p>Distinctive features/ democratic innovation</p>	<p>Statutory nationwide participation formats and establishment of principle of public participation in site selection</p> <p>Random selection of participants</p>

Sources	<p>Bundesamt für kerntechnische Entsorgungssicherheit (Federal Office for the Safety of Nuclear Waste Management): https://www.bfe.bund.de/DE/soa/ak-teure-aufgaben/akteure-aufgaben.html</p> <p>https://www.bfe.bund.de/DE/soa/beteiligung/oebeteiligung.html</p> <p>https://www.bfe.bund.de/DE/soa/unterlagen-standag/unterlagen-standag_node.html</p> <p>BfE brochure on repository site selection: https://www.bfe.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/BfE/DE/broschueren/bfe/suchex_broschuere_endlagersuche.pdf</p> <p>Bundesgesellschaft für Endlagerung: https://www.bge.de/standortsuche/geschichte-der-endlagersuche/</p> <p>Selection of citizens' representatives for the NBG: https://www.bmu.de/fileadmin/Daten_BMU/Download_PDF/Endlagerprojekte/nbg_dokumentation_bf.pdf</p> <p>Citizens' proposals for the work of the citizen members of the NBG: https://www.bmu.de/fileadmin/Daten_BMU/Download_PDF/Endlagerprojekte/nbg_buergerempfehlungen_bf.pdf</p> <p>Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit: https://www.bmu.de/themen/bildung-beteiligung/buergerbeteiligung/nationales-begleitgremium/auswahlprozess/</p> <p>NBG: http://www.nationales-begleitgremium.de/DE/Gremium/Gremium_node.html http://www.nationales-begleitgremium.de/DE/Gremium/WasWirMachen/WasWirMachen_node.html</p> <p>Submission by the Anti-nuclear organisation .ausgestrahlt: https://www.ausgestrahlt.de/media/filer_public/eb/c1/ebc17793-c785-4d9e-845e-32b211219041/se_oeffentlichkeitsbeteiligung_standag.pdf</p>
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B.1.2 Citizens' dialogue on the Climate Action Plan 2050

The Federal Government has established in connection with the development of its Climate Action Plan 2050 a broad participation process in which almost 500 randomly selected citizens from five German cities have jointly drawn up recommendations for climate protection measures. These proposed measures were also commented on by the public in an online dialogue process and subsequently submitted to the Federal Government.

Background	<p>December 2015: Agreement by the UN Climate Convention in Paris to limit global warming to significantly below 2 °C</p> <p>Drawing up of national Climate Action Plans detailing measures to achieve national climate protection targets by the year 2050. In Germany this is the 'Climate Action Plan 2050'.</p>
Purpose	<p>Involving citizens in the development of the Cabinet resolution on the Climate Action Plan 2050 to ensure more societal support: active participation in the design and evaluation of measures and strategies for climate protection.</p> <p>Pilot project for a better understanding of the link between civic participation and representative democracy at federal level</p>
Result type	<p>Recommended measures for the government's Climate Action Plan</p>
Leaders	<p>Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, BMU)</p>

Participants	<p>472 randomly selected interested citizens from Hamburg, Leipzig, Essen, Frankfurt, Nuremberg</p> <p>Aim was a representative cross-section of the population in terms of gender and educational attainment, however, more participants with higher educational attainment and great difficulty in attracting young people (18-35 years: 4%, 51-65 years over-represented: 40%)</p>
Activation/ Contact	<p>Random selection of participants in the citizens' dialogue, contacted by telephone</p> <p>Invitations to the general public (starting 14 September 2015): BMU calls for participation at the venue locations and in the surrounding area, contact made by random selection</p>
Timing	<p>September 2015 to Dezember 2016: participation process</p> <p>14 November 2016: Verabschiedung des Klimaschutzplans 2050</p>
Locations	<p>Civic dialogue days in Hamburg, Leipzig, Essen, Frankfurt, Nuremberg</p>
Working methods	<p><i>Civic dialogue day</i> on the Climate Action Plan 2050 as centrepiece of participation procedure</p> <p>(14 November 2015): Discussions on climate protection measures simultaneously in five cities in Germany involving a total of 500 randomly selected citizens; 77 proposed measures drawn up; selection of two citizens' delegates and deputies per city</p> <p><i>Online Dialogue</i> (until 21 December 2015): in order to gather feedback on the content, all members of the public have an opportunity to comment on the proposed measures; comments on each measure, 635 comments in total</p> <p>In parallel with the online dialogue: cross-city coordination of all participants in the citizens' dialogue on measures developed; transparent and public</p> <p><i>Citizens' report</i> based on all results from the citizens' dialogue and the online dialogue (end January 2016): 77 measures proposed to the government by citizens in the fields of energy, buildings, transport, agriculture/land use, industry/business/trade/services; citizens' delegates' input into the drafting process</p> <p><i>Committee of delegates</i> (12 citizen delegates, 13 representatives from federal states, municipalities, associations): completion and pulling together of a total of 97 recommendations into a collective catalogue of measures</p> <p><i>Citizens' recommendations</i> (97 proposed measures) submitted by citizen delegates to the Federal Government (by March 2016)</p> <p>Feedback (autumn 2016): review of the recommendations by the Ministry and feedback on what is included in the climate change plan (52 out of 77 measures)</p> <p>Concluding conference with citizen delegates (February 2017): review of process, presentation of results, discussion of future dialogues</p>
Tie-in to the politic-system	<p>Of a total of 77 measures developed in the citizen dialogue, 52 were incorporated into the climate action plan</p>
Distinctive features/ democratic innovation	<p>For the first time, not only the national associations of local authorities, the federal states and the business associations were involved, but also randomly selected citizens</p> <p>The majority of recommended measures are actually included in the 2050 climate action plan</p> <p>Random selection of participants</p>

Sources	<p>Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit): https://www.bmu.de/themen/klima-energie/klimaschutz/nationale-klimapolitik/klimaschutzplan-2050/buergerdialog-zum-klimaschutzplan-2050/</p> <p>Citizens' report: https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/Vielfaeltige_Demokratie_gestalten/_BMUB_Buergerreport_zum_Klimaschutzplan_2050.pdf</p> <p>Catalogue of measures: https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/Vielfaeltige_Demokratie_gestalten/_BMUB_Massnahmenkatalog_-_Ergebnis_des_Dialogprozesses_zum_Klimaschutzplan_2050_der_Bundesregierung.pdf</p> <p>Climate Action Plan 2050: https://www.bmu.de/download/klimaschutzplan-2050/</p> <p>Evaluation carried out by Bertelsmann Stiftung and the university of Mainz: https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/unsere-projekte/vielfaeltige-demokratie-gestalten/projektthemen/pi-lotprojekte/buergerdialog-zum-klimaschutzplan-2050/</p>
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B.1.3 National Public Policy Conferences, Brazil

At the National Conferences in Brazil, guidelines for national policy proposals are drawn up and agreed in cooperation between civil society and government. The conferences are preceded by a long process of deliberation and consensus building at the local and regional levels, enabling aggregated local concerns and proposals to drive forward the design of public policy and legislation at the national level.

Background	<p>National conferences established in 1941, increasingly since then in scope, impact, and frequency, especially after the 1988 and 2003 constitutions (Lula presidency).</p> <p>Up to 1988: 12 conferences (health topics only)</p> <p>1988-2009: 80 conferences (more on human rights, social services, now 33 subject areas), 55 of which between 2003-09 (Presidency Lula)</p>
Purpose	<p>Expansion of civil society participation: equal cooperation between government and civil society at national level</p> <p>More direct involvement of citizens in various policy fields/issues and in the management of public goods/policy questions</p> <p>Bringing together diverse and heterogeneous social groups: civil society, NGOs, social movements, trade unions, business associations, voluntary associations (experts and lay people) and cooperation between social and political actors across party lines</p> <p>Extension and delegation of influence on legislation, legitimacy through participation</p> <p>Information source for people elected to office: priorities for improvement of existing or formulation of new national policies; deliberative input to their own activities as representatives</p>
Result type	<p>Guidelines for the formulation of public policies at national level</p>
Leaders	<p>Client: Ministries and secretariats of the executive (at the request of the president or the ministers)</p> <p>Funding for preparation and conferences from national ministries, regional and local governments</p>

Participants	<p>Participants from civil society, government, some trade unions/employers' associations</p> <p>2003-2011: participation of 7 million people in at least one conference (5% of the population)</p> <p>For example, more than 600,000 participants in the 14th National Conference on Health Policy (2011)</p> <p>For example, over 200,000 participants in 2,160 community meetings for the 3rd National Conference on Women's Policy (2011)</p>
Activation/ Contact	<p>Mobilisation and announcement of date and location usually jointly by government and key actors from civil society organisations (especially state-civil society councils, national government ministries)</p>
Timing	<p>National conferences over 3-4 days, total process duration usually 1 year</p> <p>some conferences every half year or obligatory periodic repetitions</p>
Locations	<p>Local conferences countrywide in the municipalities, national conference usually in Brasília</p>
Working methods	<p>Different methods and strategies of consolidation of preferences: partly very complex systems of priority setting instead of an aggregation of preferences</p> <p>Information: publicly accessible database ISEGORIA (contains resolutions from national conferences, summary of legislative decisions of national congresses, proposed laws, constitutional amendments, etc.)</p> <p>Calling up of the organising committee by the National Council (4 members of civil society, 4 government representatives including ministers): Determination of municipal, state and national meetings, rules of procedure, agenda</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Simultaneous local government conferences in hundreds/thousands of cities across the country: open to all; given a broad agenda; debates and votes; result of each local government conference: concluding report with dozens of policy recommendations (voted on in final plenary) - Election of delegates from each local government conference for one of the 27 regional conferences: all participants in local government meetings have the right to vote for delegates, can be nominated as delegates, can submit policy proposals and vote on them. - Regional conferences, mainly made up of delegates from civil society organisations and representatives of the government: discussion and systematisation of policy recommendations, final document listing all proposals approved in the final meeting and election of delegates for the national conference. - State-Civil Society Commission systematizes proposals from all regional reports - National conference as concluding assembly: deliberation and vote on aggregated proposals; consensus requires equal distribution of votes between civil society and state representatives in order to incorporate political guideline in final report - Result: final report with policy proposals at national level
Tie-in to the political system	<p>Final report contains policy guidelines for the structure of public policy</p> <p>Not legally binding: despite institutionalisation, the organisation of the conferences and the implementation of the results depend on political commitment.</p> <p>Success: influence on policy at administrative and legislative levels through Congress, especially on issues on which no national principles have yet been implemented by the Executive (e.g. conferences on food security: adoption of the first national directive in this area)</p> <p>Despite the absence of any legal binding force, the recommendations are often followed in legislation/amendments.</p>

<p>Distinctive features/democratic innovation</p>	<p>Participation at different political levels: scaled up from small to large</p> <p>Parallel events at many different locations</p> <p>Local issues/challenges can be brought to the national level by local representatives, diverse voices from all over the country can be heard, grassroots participation can lead to real policy output.</p> <p>Citizens are empowered, can participate as delegates through elections up to the nation-state level and can voice their concerns (or those of their local community)</p> <p>Public access and influence on legislation, providing a counterbalance to lobbying</p>
<p>Sources</p>	<p>Pogrebinschi, T.; Samuels, D. (2014): The Impact of Participatory Democracy: Evidence from Brazil's National Public Policy Conferences. Comparative Politics, Vol. 46 (3), 313-332.</p> <p>Pogrebinschi, T. (2010): Moving away from liberal democracy: Participation, representation, and political experimentalism in Brazil. Conference Paper, Harvard Kennedy School.</p> <p>https://participedia.net/en/cases/national-public-policy-conferences-brazil</p> <p>https://participedia.net/en/node/1244</p>

B.1.4 Citizens' Assembly, Ireland

The Citizens' Assembly was a national assembly in Ireland as a pilot exercise in deliberative democracy in which 100 randomly selected citizens drew up recommendations on five specific issues as a submission for parliamentary resolutions.

<p>Background</p>	<p>2008: the global financial crisis results in a loss of trust the the government/political system</p> <p>2009: Ireland has one of the lowest levels of public trust in political institutions in the EU</p> <p>Formation of a working group of Irish universities to restore public trust and involve citizens in public debates.</p> <p>Earlier procedure and model: participation procedure for the 'Convention on the Constitution' (2012-14) - first important Irish participation procedure at national level, in which important constitutional amendments were discussed with citizen participation</p> <p>Citizens' forum as a continuation of the Constitutional Convention (end 2016)</p>
<p>Purpose</p>	<p>Restoring trust</p> <p>Consideration of important socially relevant topics from the citizen's point of view</p> <p>Creating a platform for a representative sample of the population to engage in rational and well-founded discussions on the basis of a broad information base (presentations by experts and civil society groups)</p> <p>A total of five procedures, each on a single topic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - deletion of the the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution (which concerns abortion) - responding to the challenges and opportunities of an ageing population - fixed term parliaments - the manner in which referendums are held - how the State can make Ireland a leader in tackling climate change
<p>Result type</p>	<p>Concluding reports submitted to Parliament as reports</p>

Clients	Parliament (House of the Oireachtas) Identification of topics: Invitation to the public to propose topics for the citizens' forum
Participants	99 randomly selected Irish citizens Chairperson (The Honourable Mary Laffoy, former Supreme Court judge) appointed by the government
Activation/ Contact	Random selection of 99 citizens (representative sample of Irish society in terms of age, gender, social class, regional distribution, etc.) from electoral registers for referendums Exclusion of members from interest groups/ lobby associations on respective topics (submission of evidence/statements possible instead) Public selection processes for 99 citizens by professional recruiters and 99 deputies if participants drop out - in the course of the procedure a total of 53 members were replaced (resignations mostly for personal reasons such as health, family, job changes etc.) No direct application possible No payment for participants, but provision of accommodation, meals, travel expenses
Timing	September/October 2016: selection of participants Four or five meetings per topic, a total of 12 events on weekends between October 2016 and April 2018.
Locations	Conference venue on the outskirts of Dublin
Working methods	One main topic for each meeting Information and discussions: aim is to reach consensus on controversial issues through informed debates Opportunity to make public recommendations (three months): Assembly may consider submissions from interested parties/non-members/civil society organisations. Vote on draft recommendations (majority decision) Resolutions forwarded in the form of reports and recommendations to the Parliament Internal procedural guidelines, e.g.: - Steering group made up of Chairperson and individual participants - Protection of participants' privacy - Information exchange, release of all documents - Secret voting - Expert advisory group - Livestreaming of events
Tie-in to the political system	Concluding report and recommendations to Parliament Parliament obliged to hold a debate, and government to respond, to every recommendation of the Assembly Successful elaboration of practical measures on topics of public interest, e.g. proposal of a public referendum on the abortion law (held May 2018, approval of 66% for a relaxation of the abortion ban)

Distinctive features/democratic innovation	Participation procedure over three years fixed by government Government obliged to debate and respond to proposals
Sources	<p>Concluding report of the fourth and fifth Assembly: https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/Manner-in-which-referenda-are-held/Final-Report-on-the-Manner-in-Which-Referenda-are-Held-and-Fixed-Term-Parliaments/Final-Report-on-Manner-in-which-Referenda-are-Held-Fixed-Term-Parliaments.pdf</p> <p>Official government citizens' information page: http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/government_in_ireland/irish_constitution_1/citizens_assembly.html</p> <p>Official government homepage for the Citizens' Assembly: https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/</p> <p>https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/About-the-Citizens-Assembly/Who-are-the-Members/ https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/Resource-Area/FAQ/ https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/About-the-Citizens-Assembly/</p> <p>https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/About-the-Citizens-Assembly/Background/Rules-Procedures/</p> <p>https://us.boell.org/2018/05/02/irish-citizens-assembly-how-do-democracy-differently https://us.boell.org/deliberative-democracy</p>

B.1.5 Constitutional Council, Iceland

The Constitutional Council was a body of 25 elected Icelandic citizens commissioned by the national parliament to draw up a new draft constitution. All Icelanders were also able to participate online. In a referendum, the majority of Icelanders voted in favour of the draft, which has yet to be approved by the Parliament.

Background	National economic crisis 2008 and collapse of the three largest banks
Purpose	Parliament calls for constitutional change in response to economic crisis and unrest Involvement of citizens in the decision-making process for constitutional reform in order to avoid protests
Result type/Remit	New constitution/Constitutional reform
Clients	Icelandic government and majority in Parliament
Participants	25 citizens, proportional distribution by region and gender
Activation/Contact	<p>Recruitment: open to all</p> <p>Direct elections: 522 candidates (needed 30 supporting signatures in order to run), 25 of them elected by the public to a 'constitutional assembly' (low turnout of only 36%)</p> <p>Supreme Court declares elections invalid, following controversial debates, due to technical procedural shortcomings</p> <p>Despite Court ruling: Parliament appoints the 25 elected members of the 'Constitutional Council'</p> <p>Remuneration: 4 months' parliamentarian's salary for each participant</p>

Timing	2009-12 Constitutional Council: April – July 2011
Workig methods	Three phases: <i>National Forum</i> : 1.000 randomly selected citizens <i>Constitutional committee</i> : report authored by 7 politicians <i>Constitutional Council</i> : 25 citizens prepare drafts for sections of the constitution, inclusion of recommendations/criticism from the public and the National Forum Meetings of the Constitutional Council open to the public Discussions in the Constitutional Council on what they consider to be necessary changes in three working groups, each on a different topic Online media (e.g. Youtube, Twitter, Facebook, official website) used as platforms for crowd sourcing and collection of recommendations from the population, dissemination of information/results, commenting on proposals Constitutional Council considers pro- and counter-arguments to the proposals and decides on inclusion in the next draft
Tie-in to the political system	Final report (July 2011) with proposed resolution for revision by Parliament Amendments again examined by the Constitutional Council, concluding parliamentary vote Binding mandate: must go to referendum Referendum successful (2012): two-thirds majority vote in favour of constitutional amendment (proposals of the Constitutional Council to serve as draft for a new constitution)
Distinctive features/democratic innovation	First use of crowdsourcing by a state for revision of constitution First drafting of a new constitution by the people themselves, mandated by parliament.
Sources	Official website: http://www.stjornlagarad.is/english/ Concluding report: A Proposal for a new Constitution for the Republic of Iceland: http://stjornlagarad.is/other_files/stjornlagarad/Frumvarp-enska.pdf van Reybrouck, D. (2016): <i>Gegen Wahlen: Warum Abstimmen nicht demokratisch ist</i> . Göttingen: Wallstein. https://participedia.net/en/cases/icelandic-constitutional-council-2011

B.1.6 Direct democratic procedures, Switzerland

Switzerland has long had various instruments for direct democratic participation by its citizens. At the national level, referendums are used to vote by ‘votation’ on constitutional amendments and to confirm or reject new or existing laws. Even initiatives by individuals can be taken up through citizens' initiatives and directly proposed and voted on at national level.

Background	1990-2000: 115 out of 248 national referendums in Europe take place in Switzerland
Result type	Approval or rejection of constitutional amendments or laws

Leaders	<p><i>Mandatory referendum:</i> prescribed by normative law (e.g. constitutional law)</p> <p><i>Optional referendum:</i> eligible voters (50,000 signatures)</p> <p><i>Federal popular initiatives:</i> eligible voters (100,000 signatures)</p>
Participants	<p>Swiss citizens, votation participation since the 1980s on average between 40-50 %</p>
Activation/ Contact	<p>For national votes, all Swiss citizens of voting age are eligible to vote, as well as Swiss citizens living abroad</p>
Timing	<p>Referendums held 3 to 4 times a year, each time on several national, cantonal and municipal issues</p> <p>Time taken from submission of signatures to vote: in some cases several years</p> <p>Mandatory referendum: since 1848</p> <p>Optional referendum: since 1874</p> <p>Popular initiative: since 1891</p>
Working methods	<p><i>Mandatory constitutional referendum:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mandatory for approval of all constitutional amendments adopted by Parliament, accessions to supranational communities/organisations of collective security - Approval of constitutional changes requires a dual majority: a 'Volksmehr' (majority of valid votes cast) and a 'Ständemehr' (majority of cantons) <p><i>Optional referendum:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supplementary vote on existing, new or amended laws already adopted by Parliament (for blocking or amendment) - Requirement: support of 50,000 voters or 8 cantons within 100 days of publication of the law in the Federal Gazette - When valid: referendum on bill, simple majority of votes cast required - Only applies to a small proportion of laws, in 43% of cases which go to a vote the law is rejected <p><i>Federal popular initiative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referendum on proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, not possible for federal laws - Broad proposal or detailed draft, legal review by Federal Chancellery, publication in Federal Gazette - Prerequisite: 100,000 valid signatures of eligible voters supporting the amendment within 18 months. - Publication of recommendations by the Federal Council, Parliament and the Initiative Committee before the vote - Direct counter-proposal or indirect counter-proposal can be submitted by Parliament and Government for adoption in the vote - Vote on both options - Dual majority required (of voters and cantons)

Tie-in to the political system	<p><i>Mandatory referendum:</i> amendments to the Constitution only enter into force if they are adopted by a majority of the electorate and a majority of the cantons</p> <p><i>Optional referendum:</i> Law only enters into force if passed by majority of voters</p> <p><i>Popular initiative:</i> if approved by the electorate, the initiative comes into force immediately, the text is inserted into the Federal Constitution without delay; as a rule, the Federal Council and Parliament draw up and adopt a new law accordingly</p>
Distinctive features/ democratic innovation	<p><i>Referendums in some cases prescribed by law</i></p> <p><i>Input option via popular initiative as a positive reinvigoration of the democratic system: all citizens can bring forward concerns and, given sufficient support, have them voted on nationally</i></p>
Sources	<p>Swiss government webpage: https://www.ch.ch/de/demokratie/politische-rechte/volksinitiative/was-ist-eine-eidgenossische-volksinitiative/</p> <p>https://www.ch.ch/de/demokratie/politische-rechte/volksinitiative/was-ist-eine-kantonale-volksinitiative-und-was-eine-kommunal</p> <p>https://www.ch.ch/de/demokratie/politische-rechte/fakultatives-referendum/</p> <p>https://www.ch.ch/de/demokratie/politische-rechte/volksinitiative/timelinevolksinitiative/</p> <p>Federal Chancellery: https://www.bk.admin.ch/bk/de/home/politische-rechte/volksinitiati-ven.html</p> <p>Federal Agency for Civic Education: http://www.bpb.de/apuz/29886/direktdemokratie-im-Internationalen-vergleich?p=all</p> <p>Moeckli, S. (2018): So funktioniert direkte Demokratie. München: UVK Verlag.</p>

B.2 Federal state or regional level

B.2.1 Citizens' councils on the Vorarlberg model, Austria

The multi-stage citizens' council process on the Vorarlberg model is a dialogue-oriented participation procedure to enrich the content of political debate through citizen involvement. A problem formulated by politicians in advance is addressed by randomly selected citizens in the course of a retreat lasting several days, and their ideas or recommendations are then fed back to the commissioning party.

Background	<p>Adaptation of 'Wisdom Councils' as developed in the USA by Jim Rough (primarily used in private sector contexts to manage change processes)</p> <p>2006: Vorarlberg Office for Future Issues (staff unit of the regional government) develops a process sequence for using the procedures of Wisdom Councils in the political context</p> <p>2006: First citizens' council in the Vorarlberg municipality of Wolfurt</p> <p>Already over forty examples of its use at all political levels (municipal to national)</p> <p>Most far-reaching institutionalisation is at federal state level in Vorarlberg: regular citizens' councils</p>
Purpose	<p>To enable policy input from the general public</p> <p>Opportunity for citizens to participate in thinking about relevant social issues, development of new measures, exchange with political sphere, public administration and other citizens, sometimes development of joint projects.</p> <p>To encourage political interest among the general public, bridge the (perceived) gap between citizens and politics, promote civic engagement</p>

Result type	Consultative purpose: statements, proposals for solutions or recommendations on a policy problem (usually formulated by politicians)
Leaders	Initiated by political bodies/government Since 2013 also possible for initiatives from the public (1.000 signatures)
Participants	Citizens' councils: 12 to 15 citizens randomly selected from electoral register Citizens' café: interested citizens, leaders from politics and government
Structure	Multi-stage process: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussions in political regulatory bodies or the government, from which a set of questions emerges addressed to the citizens' council - Citizens' council: 1.5 to 2-day retreat for randomly selected citizens - Followed by citizen's café: 2- to 3-hour public evening event, presentation of the results of the citizens' council meeting by participants, handover to commissioning public bodies; - Participants are able to engage intensively with the topic of the citizens' council through interactive process steps and an exchange between all involved in the citizens' council and the commissioning body; - Possibility of media coverage - Subsequently, a resonance group consisting of relevant actors, also of participants from the citizens' council and café, usually on the initiative of the commissioning body: initiation of further steps and sometimes of projects or preparation of decisions to be taken by representative democratic regulatory bodies - Discussion of the results of the citizens' council in political regulatory bodies and taking of decisions - Public presentation and written report from the commissioning body on the initiation of further steps and on the consideration of the results in political decision-making processes
Timing	Closed session of the citizens' council: 1.5 to 2 days Entire citizens' council process from initiation phase to follow-up in political bodies: 2 to 6 months
Working methods	Within the citizens' council: 'Dynamic Facilitation' format, assistance from a team of two experienced and specially trained moderators Citizens' café: similarly interactive methods such as 'World café', but also conventional methods such as introductions, presentations of results and short interviews with participants or clients
Tie-in to the political system	The overall citizens' council process makes it possible for the intended effects to be achieved both in civil society and politics/administration Cooperative nature of process furthers organic connection to representative-democratic institutions Key to linking the procedure to the political system: the task or question to be dealt with is set by the politicians themselves - this means that the commitment to and involvement of politicians in the overall process is already present in advance The client's commitment to provide written feedback to the participants on the use of the results is of central importance

Distinctive features/democratic innovation	<p>Random selection of citizens</p> <p>'Dynamic Facilitation' format generates a quasi- deliberative discourse quality within the citizens' council</p> <p>Overall process design, with the process steps upstream and downstream of the citizens' council, ensures that its consultative effects are maximised and that it is integrated into the existing democratic structure.</p>
Sources	<p>Vorarlberger Landesregierung (2013): Richtlinie der Vorarlberger Landesregierung zur Einberufung und Durchführung von Bürgerräten.</p> <p>Strele, M. (2012): BürgerInnen-Räte in Österreich. Gemeinsames Forschungsprojekt des Lebensministeriums und des Büros für Zukunftsfragen.</p> <p>Nanz, P.; Fritsche, M. (2012): Handbuch Bürgerbeteiligung. Verfahren und Akteure, Chancen und Grenzen. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.</p> <p>Lederer, M. (2009): Der BürgerInnen-Rat als Instrument für mehr Eigenverantwortung und Selbstorganisation bei politischen Entscheidungsfindungsprozessen. Perspectives on Politics.</p> <p>Büro für Zukunftsfragen (2012): Handbuch Bürgerbeteiligung für Land und Gemeinden. Wien, Bregenz.</p> <p>Büro für Zukunftsfragen (2014): Bürgerräte in Vorarlberg. Eine Zwischenbilanz.</p> <p>Oppold, D. (2016): Effekte deliberativer Demokratie am Beispiel der Bürgerräte in Vorarlberg. Masterarbeit an der Universität Konstanz.</p> <p>Oppold, D. (2012): Partizipative Demokratie in der Praxis: die BürgerInnenräte in Vorarlberg. Bachelorarbeit an der Zeppelin Universität Friedrichshafen.</p>

B.2.2 Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform, British Columbia, Canada

The Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform was an independent non-party assembly at which 160 randomly selected residents of the Canadian province of British Columbia worked out proposals for the improvement of the province's electoral system. However, the final recommendations were rejected in two general referendums among all citizens of the province.

Background	Growing dissatisfaction with the existing electoral system
Purpose	<p>Working out how to translate votes cast in the provincial elections into seats in parliament</p> <p>Developing and issuing recommendations for changes and improvements to the electoral system in the province</p> <p>Inclusion of recommendations from citizens for a fair and legitimate electoral system and a balancing of interests</p>
Result type/Remit	<p>Final report and recommendations</p> <p>Reform of electoral system</p>
Client	Government of British Columbia
Participants	A total of 160 citizens: 158 randomly selected inhabitants of British Columbia from the entire province, 1 man and 1 woman from each of the 79 constituencies, representative sample of the population of British Columbia in terms of age, gender, and location, + 2 Native Americans. Participation not compulsory

<p>Activation/ Contact</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Random selection from the electoral register: 23,000 invitations to citizens drawn by lot - Self-selection: information event for candidates, followed by confirmation of participation or not (selection meeting with 964 participants) - Final draw: quota sampling of 158 participants from candidates group <p>Fee of 110 €/day as well as expenses for meals, travel, accommodation, child care</p>
<p>Timing</p>	<p>2003: Selection of participants</p> <p>January - November 2004: Working meetings every second weekend in three separate phases</p> <p>10 December 2004: Final report and recommendations</p> <p>2005: First referendum linked to provincial elections</p> <p>2009: Second referendum linked to provincial elections</p> <p>2018: Third referendum</p>
<p>Working methods</p>	<p>Three phases, each lasting 3-4 months:</p> <p>1) 'Learning phase' for training: providing sufficient time, space and expertise to reinterpret the information provided by experts and to develop a system of criteria for the choice of a new electoral system</p> <p>Work in small group discussions/debates, larger group sessions with presentations by experts, plenary discussions and exchange of knowledge</p> <p>2) 'Public Hearings Phase' (consultations with citizens): members of the Assembly hold around 50 regional meetings throughout the province to hear the views of their fellow citizens and obtain feedback from the public (around 3,000 participants at public hearings, 20-150 each time, plus an additional 1,600 written contributions)</p> <p>3) 'Deliberation phase' (concluding phase and report): developing a recommendation for the improvement of the electoral system: replacing the existing 'first past-the-post' system with a 'single transferable vote' system.</p>
<p>Tie-in to the political system</p>	<p>Binding mandate: must go to referendum</p> <p>Vote in general referendum: not legislation, but all citizens make final decision</p> <p>Referendum requires 60% quorum for approval and simple majority in 60% of 79 counties (the Canadian constitution requires a qualified majority of 60% of votes for changes to electoral law)</p> <p>Result 2005: rejection, as only 57.7 % of votes in favour, although approval in 77 of 79 districts</p> <p>Second referendum in 2009: final rejection of the new electoral system (39.09% in favour)</p> <p>Third referendum 2018 (on a legal basis and with state-supported campaigns): 61.3 % in favour of retaining the current electoral system</p>
<p>Distinctive features/de mocratic innovation</p>	<p>Not pure consultation, no pre-defined options, but development through participation</p> <p>For the first time, the task of designing an electoral system was assigned to randomly selected citizens instead of politicians.</p> <p>Linking participatory elaboration (recommendations) and subsequent referendum, linking consultation and direct democracy</p> <p>Assembly not only discusses, but conducts public hearings</p>

Sources	<p>Official Homepage of the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform: https://citizensassembly.arts.ubc.ca</p> <p>Final Report 'Making every vote count': https://citizensassembly.arts.ubc.ca/resources/final_report.pdf</p> <p>Lang, A. (2007): But Is It for Real? The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly as a Model of State-Sponsored Citizen Empowerment. <i>Politics & Society</i> 35 (1), p. 35-70.</p> <p>van Reybrouck, D. (2016): <i>Gegen Wahlen: Warum Abstimmen nicht demokratisch ist</i>. Göttingen: Wallstein.</p> <p>https://participedia.net/en/cases/british-columbia-citizens-assembly-electoral-reform</p>
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B.2.3 Citizens' Assembly for Northern Ireland, Ireland

The Citizens' Assembly for Northern Ireland was a civil society initiative in which 70 randomly selected citizens in Northern Ireland discussed reform of the social care system in 2018. The purpose of this citizens' assembly was to seek advisory recommendations for a politically controversial issue for which the politicians themselves had been unable to find a solution.

Purpose	<p>Civil society initiative to demonstrate the potential of deliberative democracy</p> <p>Breaking the deadlock on controversial policy issues and placing citizens at the centre of decision-making</p> <p>Finding a collective decision or common recommendation</p> <p>Inclusion of civil society expectations for a social care system that can meet the needs of future generations, paying particular attention to the roles played by the health system, communities and citizens</p> <p>Deliberative pilot procedure, which could potentially be adopted by government/parliament for future participation procedures</p>
Result type	Realistic recommendations and resolutions for a sustainable social care system
Leaders	<p>Financed by the Building Change Trust (part of the Big Lottery Fund)</p> <p>Further support from Open Society Foundations, Community Foundation for Northern Ireland and the Paul Hamlyn Foundation</p> <p>Led by Involve (largest recognised charity working on participation in the United Kingdom)</p>
Participants	<p>70 randomly selected citizens, a representative sample of the population of Northern Ireland, £100 fee per weekend</p> <p>Supervision by voluntary advisory groups</p>
Activation/Contact	<p>Selection conducted by independent recruiting service, no direct application possible</p> <p>Selected from electoral roll, telephone contact</p>
Timing	Two weekends: 26-28 October and 16-18 November 2018
Locations	Belfast city centre hotel

Working methods	<p>Facilitated process of learning, dialogue and deliberation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Citizens are given time and opportunity to learn more about a topic - Dialogue and group discussions on the topic in small, guided groups, rotating at each session - Elaboration of findings on necessary changes (practicable, realistic and internally consistent conclusions and recommendations) - Individual voting on negotiated results in order to reveal all voices and to take minorities into account
Tie-in to the political system	<p>Consultative: detailed written report on conclusions/recommendations</p> <p>Presentation of the results to the respective decision-making bodies (Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive, Northern Ireland Office, Secretary of State)</p> <p>Consultative: detailed written report on conclusions/recommendations</p>
Distinctive features/democratic innovation	<p>Random selection</p> <p>Resulted in a wide variety of recommendations on different topic areas (Recommendations), but also in three firm resolutions (Resolutions)</p> <p>The report on the findings shows how many participants supported each recommendation or not (not all participants supported everything).</p> <p>Resulted in a wide variety of recommendations on different topic areas (Recommendations), but also in three firm resolutions (Resolutions)</p>
Sources	<p>Official Homepage: https://citizensassemblyni.org</p> <p>https://citizensassemblyni.org/about-us/</p> <p>Documents and report on results:</p> <p>https://citizensassemblyni.org/resources/</p> <p>https://citizensassemblyni.org/faq/</p> <p>https://partizipendium.de/citizens-assembly-for-northern-ireland/</p>

B.3 Local level

B.3.1 City workshop on participation, Potsdam

The 'City workshop on participation' (WerkStadt für Beteiligung, WfB) is an office for citizen participation, established by the Potsdam City Assembly (Stadtverordnetenversammlung, StVV), which serves both the administration and the citizens as a central coordination office and competence centre. It offers assistance, information and networking and thus provides low-threshold access to participation procedures.

Background	<p>Initial working group on citizen participation, city administration and politics from September 2011, elaboration of conceptual drafts, resolution in StVV May 2012</p> <p>Consent to the establishment of an Office for Civic Participation and the creation of a Participation Council (Beteiligungsrat, BR)</p>
Purpose	<p>Office as competence centre for Potsdam for consulting and support for all those who carry out or initiate citizen participation themselves</p> <p>Enabling easier access for all Potsdam residents to forms of active participation by removing hurdles, providing assistance and arranging contact persons</p> <p>Interface between administration and residents</p>

Remit	<p>Research, information gathering from administration and citizens</p> <p>Coordination and monitoring of citizen participation processes in city districts (bottom-up) and by municipal administration/politics (top-down)</p> <p>Information transfer about citizens' participation procedures</p> <p>Documentation and publication of processes and results</p> <p>Development of uniform standards for participation processes in cooperation with BR</p>
Actors	<p>City administration, StVV</p> <p>Potsdam citizens</p> <p>External responsible body: mitMachen e. V. (bidding consortium made up of Stadtteilnetzwerk Potsdam West e. V., Stadtjugendring Potsdam e. V. and KUBUS gGmbH)</p>
Structure	<p>Two bodies with joint and equal rights and responsibilities: internal and external to city administration</p> <p>Provision of staff posts in administration and financial resources for external body at the same cost level.</p> <p>mitMachen e. V. is external body since 2014</p>
Timing	<p>Start-up 1 November 2013</p>
Working methods	<p>Orientation on guidelines for civic participation (accountability, early involvement, information provision, communication, activation, culture of recognition, equal treatment)</p> <p>Assistance and strengthening of the participation culture in the administration (competence centre for the administration of citizen participation processes)</p> <p>For citizen participation procedures in general: networking and mobilisation, coordination and support, connection to initiatives, district councils, citizen representatives and institutions, contact persons for citizens</p> <p>Support and guidance from BR</p>
Tie-in to the political system	<p>Established through municipal politics, firmly institutionalised, results have recognised authority</p>
Distinctive features/ democratic innovation	<p>Equal cooperation between the administration and the independent external body</p> <p>Joint organisation of municipal participation by institutions from within and outside city administration</p>
Sources	<p>Homepage Landeshauptstadt Potsdam:</p> <p>https://buergerbeteiligung.potsdam.de/content/die-werkstadt-fuer-beteiligung</p> <p>https://buergerbeteiligung.potsdam.de/content/buero-fuer-buergerbeteiligung-ein-zwischenstand</p>

B.3.2 Council on participation, Potsdam

The Council on participation (Beteiligungsrat, BR) is an honorary, advisory body of the Potsdam City Assembly (Stadtverordnetenversammlung, StVV), made up mainly of citizens, which provides support on issues concerning citizen participation.

Pre-history	<p>Creation of a BR in accordance with § 13 of the main statutes of the city of Potsdam as part of the establishment of the City workshop on participation (WerkStadt für Beteiligung, WfB), see case study 'City Workshop')</p> <p>During the first term of office (2014-2016), support for the WfB in the formulation of a mission statement and its recognition by StVV</p>
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Purpose	<p>Further development of structured citizen participation in Potsdam: encouraging a better participation culture, developing conceptual and substantive proposals</p> <p>Development of recommendations for action in order to improve coordinated and dialogue-based work, strengthening cooperation between politics, administration and city community</p> <p>Contact point for citizens and city councillors on citizen participation</p> <p>Taking up specific problems and concerns in the city and deriving tasks for administration, StVV and WfB</p> <p>Assessment of the technical and timely fulfilment of measures within the framework of participation processes, as far as known and, if required, evaluating them</p> <p>Together with the WfB and the city administration, development of binding principles for mutual and early exchange of information</p>
Result type	<p>Support, assistance, advice and recommendations for practical action for WfB, administration, city mayor and StVV in all matters concerning the participation of residents of Potsdam</p>
Actors	<p>Composition of the Council:</p> <p>13 residents: including six women and six men; nine new members and four members of current BR, who want to continue their involvement and contribute accumulated experience; one youth member (16-27 years)</p> <p>2 elected members of the StVV</p> <p>2 appointed employees of the city administration</p> <p>Maximum 2 nominated experts: experts drawn from the practical and/or theoretical field of resident participation; to be selected in consultation with WfB; BR to decide on expense allowance</p> <p>Subsequent nomination from other lottery applications in the event of the resignation of a member</p>
Activation/ Contact	<p>All Potsdam residents 16 and over can apply</p> <p>Online application form requiring name, address, date of birth, where applicable motivation and participation in selection event</p> <p>Allocation of the seats by lot among all applications at an official event, confirmation of the members of the BR by StVV</p> <p>Incentive for honorary work in the BR: expense allowance or attendance fee is paid on the basis of the fixed compensation rules for advisory bodies of the StVV, decision not yet available</p> <p>Motivation: contacts with representatives from politics, administration and civil society, learning about participation processes and the people involved in them</p>
Timing	<p>Council term of office: 2 years</p> <p>Usually 2.5 hours per month</p>
Locations	<p>If possible, the Council should meet at various locations in Potsdam, such as neighbourhood and meeting houses or other suitable facilities, in order to get to know them and be accessible to local residents</p>

Working methods	<p>Monthly public working meetings (sessions), determination of dates and topics in close coordination with WfB and facilitator</p> <p>Agenda: discussion of current participation processes in Potsdam (from citizen surveys on individual topics to comprehensive, city-wide projects), discussion of procedures and results of participation projects, formulation of recommendations</p> <p>Role and tasks of the spokesperson: determined by the members in a vote, internal coordination task, representative tasks vis-à-vis StVV, citizens, administration and WfB</p> <p>Rights and duties of the members: access to all information relevant and available for the upcoming issues for discussion and obligation to observe confidentiality regarding all issues of non-public sections of the meetings</p>
Method of decision-making	<p>A session is duly constituted when all members have been invited in due form and time to and are present at the meeting.</p> <p>As a rule, resolutions are passed by consensus, otherwise by simple majority vote.</p>
Tie-in to the political system	BR is laid down in the main statutes of the city of Potsdam
Distinctive features/democratic innovation	Long-term and continuous cooperation between city community, politics and administration in a permanent and institutionalised body
Sources	<p>Homepage Landeshauptstadt Potsdam:</p> <p>https://buergerbeteiligung.potsdam.de/content/jetzt-fuer-den-potsdamer-beteiligungsrat-bewerben</p> <p>https://buergerbeteiligung.potsdam.de/content/arbeitsweise-des-beteiligungsrats</p> <p>Geschäftsordnung Beteiligungsrat der Landeshauptstadt Potsdam: https://buergerbeteiligung.potsdam.de/sites/default/files/documents/2017_04_13_lesefassung_geschaeftsordnung_br.pdf</p>

B.3.3 City workshop Berlin Mitte

The city workshop Berlin Mitte is a continuous collaborative participation process for the development of Berlin Mitte. Over a period of three years, more than 28 urban development projects in all phases will be reviewed in a participatory process and, with the help of those involved, deepened, discussed and further developed. For this purpose, administrations, citizens and actors from the Berlin city community work together cooperatively, on an equal and goal-oriented basis.

Background	<p>In 2015, the dialogue process ‘Stadtdebatte, Alte Mitte, Neue Liebe’ (City debate, Old love, New Mitte) was set up by the Senate Administration of Berlin to work out citizens' guidelines for the development of Berlin Mitte for resolution by the House of Representatives.</p> <p>Subsequent expansion, now covers 28 projects</p>
Purpose	<p>Participatory work on the implementation of the citizens' guidelines and other development goals and measures in a three-year participation phase</p> <p>Participatory design and development of Berlin Mitte: current and future projects to be enhanced both qualitatively and operationally.</p>

Result type	<p>Projects and recommendations</p> <p>Projects can be brought in by senate administrative departments as well as by institutional and civil society actors</p> <p>Goal: to amend projects and take them forward in terms of content and planning in participatory cooperation.</p>
Actors	<p>Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen (AG) (Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing)</p> <p>Other Senate departments and the district office for Mitte</p> <p>Institutional actors from Berlin Mitte</p> <p>Civil society actors and citizens</p>
Timing	Start November 2017, duration 3 years
Locations	At the centre: city workshop as a regular location for participation with open workshops, workspace events, forums and on-site office for those involved
Structure	<p>City workshop as a place and process for mediation between an active city community and the administrations</p> <p>Supervision of the process by three bodies: steering committee (administrations), project steering committee (project actors) and support group (city public)</p>
Working methods	<p>Collaborative work as far as possible: development of design solutions for current and relevant issues</p> <p>Opportunity for actors to promote ideas through their own projects, particularly in workspaces (co-creative formats focusing on themes or projects)</p> <p>Forum: enabling a transparent exchange and flow of information</p> <p>Fixed location: enabling an in-depth and continuous treatment of important issues of urban development</p>
Tie-in to the political system	<p>Recommendations arising from the process passed on to the appropriate bodies for consultation and coordination where appropriate</p> <p>Commitment to enactment by the administrations guarantees the participants that all findings from the city workshop will be taken up and that feedback will be provided</p>
Distinctive features/democratic innovation	<p>Co-creative process for continuous work on multiple projects, measures and topics across all planning phases in one fixed location</p> <p>Participants can become actors themselves by designing and bringing to implementation their own urban development projects</p> <p>Declaration of commitment ensures clarity over how the results are dealt with</p> <p>Collaborative working method</p>
Sources	Homepage of the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing: https://www.berlin.de/stadtwerkstatt/

B.3.4 Food policy council, Cologne

The Food policy council (Ernährungsrat, ER) for Cologne and the surrounding area is an advisory body that works closely with the Cologne city administration. In committees on various nutrition issues relevant to the city, experts and involved citizens develop programmes and projects that pursue the goal of a sustainable, equitable, effective and ecological nutrition system for the city.

Background	<p>Idea came originally from North America ('food policy councils') in 1982, now widespread</p> <p>For some years now already present in the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands</p> <p>In part a body of the city administration with clear tasks/competences assigned by the city parliament, in part independent/advisory</p> <p>March 2015: first meeting of actors from Cologne and surrounding area (community initiatives, farmers, local government employees)</p> <p>A project of the non-profit association 'Taste of Heimat' aiming to develop policy goals for the municipality of Cologne with broad public participation</p>
Purpose	<p>Active dialogue between politics, administration, producers, distributors and consumers for long-term and sustainable strengthening of the structures for a fair regionally-sourced food supply for the city.</p> <p>Bringing food policy back from the national, regional and EU levels to the local level</p> <p>Fair partnerships between municipalities and farmers</p> <p>Easy access for city dwellers to local products from farms, healthy and regionally-sourced food</p> <p>Simplifying market access for small farms, strengthening farming in the surrounding countryside and regional food cycles</p> <p>Education and raising awareness, mindset change for the strengthening of regional cycles and the avoidance of further loss of control over the sourcing of food</p> <p>Networking of relevant actors for regular exchange</p>
Result type	<p>Development of a long-term nutrition strategy for the city of Cologne and surrounding area</p> <p>Development of binding and measurable objectives for a local food policy</p> <p>Advising the municipality on all relevant issues in this regard</p> <p>Initiating practical projects in cooperation with the city administration and state ministries</p>
Actors	<p>Approx. 30 members, one-third each from civil society, business (agriculture, trade, catering) and city politics/administration/public authorities</p> <p>Committee members: representatives from agriculture, food production, processing, distribution, catering, education, research, health institutions, community initiatives, administration, local politics and engaged private individuals</p>
Timing	<p>Inaugural meeting on 7 March 2016 (first ER in Germany)</p> <p>Constituent Council meeting on 30 June 2016</p>

Working methods	<p>Members from civil society, business and administration take joint decisions, which are communicated to the outside world by Council spokespersons</p> <p>Substantive input from issue-specific committees (working groups that meet regularly to discuss substantive issues, set measurable targets and initiate projects)</p> <p>Composition of the committees: about 15-20 persons with specialist expertise/interest who work on a question specified by the ER and coordinated and monitored by the steering committee.</p> <p>Current committees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional direct marketing - Food education and community catering - Urban Agriculture/Edible City - Catering industry and careers in the food industry
Tie-in to the political system	<p>Committee includes members from politics and administration</p> <p>Practical projects in close consultation with politics and administration at municipal/state level</p>
Distinctive features/democratic innovation	<p>Active dialogue between politics, administration, business and civil society, joint body</p> <p>Cooperation between the municipal administration and civil society organisations</p>
Sources	<p>Official website of the Food policy council for Cologne: http://ernaehrungsrat-koeln.de</p> <p>http://ernaehrungsrat-koeln.de/ueber-uns/</p> <p>http://ernaehrungsrat-koeln.de/mitglieder/</p> <p>http://ernaehrungsrat-koeln.de/die-arbeit-des-ernaehrungsrats/</p> <p>http://ernaehrungsrat-koeln.de/ernaehrungsrat-koeln-und-umgebung/</p> <p>Bundeszentrum für Ernährung: https://www.bzfe.de/inhalt/ernaehrungsrat-31926.html</p>

B.3.5 Pilot phase on systematic public participation, Cologne

This is a test phase for 2019 in the city of Cologne in order to test and further develop the guidelines developed in 2017 to strengthen public participation. In two pilot committees as well as in four other pilot participation procedures, examples of significant measures are to be tested. The aim is to answer the question of what form increased public participation in Cologne could take in the future and how it could be embedded.

Background	<p>12 May 2015: Decision of the City Council forms the basis for the guidelines process</p> <p>2017: creation of a 'Citizen Participation' working committee with representatives from politics, administration and citizenry as part of the 'Citizen Participation Guidelines Process' to enhance the participation culture in Cologne ('the Cologne Way')</p> <p>Nov. 2017: drafting of 'Guidelines for public participation in Cologne', according to which public participation should be a regular component of all political deliberations and coordinated by the Office for Public Participation</p> <p>Prior to political approval of the guidelines: testing in pilot phase in 2019</p>
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<p>Purpose</p>	<p>Pilot phase for credible further development of the guidelines: testing of key measures and the practicability of the regulations, development of quality standards for good public participation (what form should participation take?)</p> <p>Focus in draft resolutions/pilot committees: whether public participation is to be carried out</p> <p>Joint learning, development of new forms of participation with expert support</p> <p>Investigate the relationship between the advantages and disadvantages of public participation, assess the impacts</p> <p>Strengthening democracy, cooperation of all social actors</p> <p>Enabling more involvement, encouraging participation through wider and continuing participation of citizens in local government decisions, incorporating citizens' knowledge into Council decisions.</p> <p>Linking dialogue-oriented public participation and representative decision-making processes of councils/committees/regional representatives</p>
<p>Leaders</p>	<p>Pilot committees: environment and green committee and district representation for Nippes</p> <p>Pilot participation procedure: city departments for culture, sport, urban development and transport</p> <p>Department of the Mayor Henriette Reker</p> <p>Process support from an external office</p>
<p>Participants</p>	<p>Citizens of Cologne</p>
<p>Timing</p>	<p>27 September 2018: Council decision on pilot project</p> <p>From early 2019: beginning of one-year pilot phase</p>
<p>Working methods</p>	<p>‘Pilot committees’ environment and green committee and district representative for Nippes:</p> <p>Draft resolutions for which the two bodies each have the decision-making power require in addition a recommendation from the administration as to whether public participation makes sense or not (e.g. in case of unacceptable delays)</p> <p>Participation is then possible, but not automatic; decision on participation and its content is the responsibility of the pilot bodies</p> <p>In addition, it is open to all citizens of Cologne to propose public participation on the draft resolutions of the committees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - if the proposal for participation is approved by the committees: publication of detailed information and documentation on the specific format of public participation, announcement of events, setting up of online participation - if rejected: no participation <p>‘Pilot participation procedure’:</p> <p>In addition, the municipal departments test one participation procedure each for larger projects in the fields of culture, sport, urban development and transport on the basis of quality standards</p> <p>Quality standards: fair cooperation, timely information provision, appropriate contact, clear objectives, commitment to follow up on results, further development of content</p> <p>Participation concept: goals/topic, background/conflicts, target group/contact, process/formats, documentation/results, framework conditions</p>

Tie-in to the political system	<p>All interim reports and results considered in the ‘Citizen Participation’ working committee, further</p> <p>development of guidelines, preparation of recommendations to the Council</p> <p>Evaluation, process monitoring, central coordination by the Mayor's Office, as well as external evaluation by the German Research Institute for Public Administration in Speyer</p> <p>Following a one-year pilot phase: on the basis of the results, the guidelines for public participation are further developed, followed by a decision by the city council</p>
Distinctive features/democratic innovation	<p>New and much more comprehensive participation of citizens in municipal decision-making, systematically covering all concerns of the municipal administration</p> <p>Where appropriate, prospect of regular institutional arrangements for participation (informal participation is formalised - quality is key here)</p> <p>Citizens can propose participation on issues already identified by the committees</p>
Sources	<p>City of Cologne: https://www.stadt-koeln.de/politik-und-verwaltung/presse/mitteilungen/19782/index.html#</p> <p>Presentation of pilot phase in the environment and green committee 18.09.2018: https://ratsinformation.stadt-koeln.de/getfile.asp?id=681127&type=do&</p> <p>Information on the process of developing guidelines for citizen participation: https://www.stadt-koeln.de/politik-und-verwaltung/mitwirkung/leitlinien-buergerbeteiligung/#</p> <p>https://www.netzwerk-buergerbeteiligung.de/kommunale-beteiligungspolitik-gestalten/kommunale-leitlinien-buergerbeteiligung/sammlung-kommunale-leitlinien/einzelansicht-leitlinien/article/koeln/</p> <p>https://partizipendium.de/koeln-startet-pilotversuch-fuer-systematische-oeffentlichkeitsbeteiligung/</p> <p>http://www.stadtrevue.de/archiv/artikelarchiv/13338-pilot-in-turbulenzen/</p>

B.3.6 General Assembly of Democracy, Kingersheim, Alsace, France

At the hub of the General Assembly of Democracy is the House of Citizenship, a central site in Kingersheim (Alsace) dedicated to the exercise of living democracy. Through participatory debates and decision-making, jointly agreed projects and the preparation of draft resolutions for the city council, municipal democracy is strengthened and revitalised here.

Background	<p>Introduced some twenty years ago mainly by Mayor Joseph Spiegel (concept of ‘constructive democracy’)</p>
Purpose	<p>Improving democratic practice, understanding democracy as a shared path</p> <p>Strengthening solidarity and responsibility</p> <p>Improving the way we live together</p> <p>Informing, listening, conducting dialogues, participating, involving</p> <p>People who have something to say on a topic but would not normally meet coming together in the Council to work and create together</p>
Result type	<p>Political decisions as shared work</p> <p>Draft resolutions for city/community councils</p>

Actors	<p>Elected representatives of the people and their colleagues</p> <p>Randomly selected citizens</p> <p>Representatives of various initiatives, associations, federations, etc.</p> <p>Experts on the relevant topic</p>
Timing	<p>For about 20 years now</p>
Locations	<p>'House of citizenship' with ballroom, agora, bar and museum on local history</p>
Elements	<p><i>House of Citizenship</i> ('La Maison de la Citoyenneté'):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - central location in Kingersheim - dedicated to the practical exercise of democracy, symbolic place for living democracy. Debates, co-creation, joint elaboration of concepts, making political decisions, citizens' participation, holding meetings, sessions of the participatory council, community celebrations and gatherings (e.g. weddings) - <i>Participatory Budget</i> for the city ('Fonds d'Initiatives Citoyennes'): - - enables citizen groups to directly implement smaller initiatives (e.g. cooperative restaurant, repair café) - - community projects are more solution-oriented and better adapted to the context <p><i>Participatory Council</i> ('Le Conseil Participatif'):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - cornerstone of the General Assembly of Democracy - involvement of all actors under the guidance of the responsible deputy - discussion, negotiation and preparation of a draft resolution for the City Council, which must formally adopt it as a constituent body of the French Republic
Working methods	<p>Council meets when a project/proposal is put on the agenda - either by the city or residents</p> <p>Information:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - information campaign for the population as soon as a project has been identified for the Council (internet, mobile phone, city magazine) - subsequent opening of the Debate Forum in the House of Citizenship - throughout the preparation phase: informing citizens about Council activities <p>Range of topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - all possible local topics: urban development, further development and design of social facilities, reconstruction of the House of Citizenship, etc. <p>Only projects that the city administration can manage and only meeting cycles at the end of which a decision can be made</p> <p>Phases within the Council's work - reflection, debates, agreements and co-production as preparation for the phase of decision by the city/community council</p> <p>Prior definition of framework conditions, purpose, values and objectives (provides framework for negotiations)</p> <p>Support for Council meetings, usually from process facilitators with knowledge of subject matter and of group dynamics</p>
Tie-in to the political system	<p>Recommendations serve as draft resolutions for city/community council</p>

<p>Distinctive features/democratic innovation</p>	<p>Underlying approach strongly influenced by mayor: 'Democracy as a mindset'</p> <p>Fixed location („House of Citizenship') symbolizes living democracy</p> <p>Real cooperation between city (administration, politics), inhabitants, organised civil society and associations (economic and social)</p> <p>Random selection of participating citizens</p> <p>Overall package: embedded in various other actions, existing opportunities (participatory budget, citizens' day, etc.), anchored in community life</p>
<p>Sources</p>	<p>Mayor Joseph Spiegel interviewed on Deutschlandfunk: https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/buergerbeteiligung-im-elsass-man-muss-ueber-eine-neue.1184.de.html?dram:article_id=429274</p> <p>City of Kingersheim - La Maison de la Citoyenneté: https://www.ville-kingersheim.fr/Democratie/Les-Etats-Generaux-Permanents-de-la-Democratie-EGPD/La-Maison-de-la-Citoyennete-dediee-aux-pratiques-democratiques</p> <p>City of Kingersheim - Les conseils participatifs: https://www.ville-kingersheim.fr/Democratie/Les-Etats-Generaux-Permanents-de-la-Democratie-EGPD/Les-conseils-participatifs</p> <p>City of Kingersheim – Le Fonds d’Initiatives Citoyennes: https://www.ville-kingersheim.fr/Democratie/Les-Etats-Generaux-Permanents-de-la-Democratie-EGPD/Le-FIC-un-soutien-aux-projets-d-habitants</p>

C Theoretical concepts

C.1 Conceptions of democracy

C.1.1 Consultative democracy (Future councils)

In their book 'Die Konsultative - Mehr Demokratie durch Bürgerbeteiligung', Patrizia Nanz and Claus Leggewie argue for an intensified and systematic institutionalisation of dialogue-oriented citizen participation in the established democratic structural fabric¹⁰. They argue in favour of granting this form of citizen participation the status of a fourth power in order for it to become an integral part of the democratic system - the 'consultative' - alongside the legislative, executive and judicial branches.

Nanz and Leggewie argue that the current version of democracy does not provide a sufficient guarantee for broad sections of the population of a proper voice, and that citizens' democratic input remains restricted to the act of voting. The institutionalisation and associated revaluation of dialogue-oriented citizen participation at all levels of the democratic system could constitute a key component of a strategy to overcome the current crisis of democracy.

But the authors do not restrict themselves to the abstract democratic-theoretical level of reflection in their book, but provide a practical proposal, in the form of their model for so-called 'future councils', for what the longer-term institutionalisation of dialogue-oriented citizen participation might look like.

Future councils integrate different characteristics from citizens' councils, citizens' assemblies and other dialogue-oriented participation formats. The central unique selling point of future councils is the long-term institutionalisation of the participation process in the form of a 'consultative' body within the democratic framework. Future councils are specifically designed to deal with future issues, in the sense of medium- and long-term emerging challenges (climate change, digitalisation, structural change, etc.), which are often neglected in day-to-day political affairs due to systemic constraints. Future councils are also expressly suited for application at supra-regional level (federal state, nation, EU).

Just like citizens' councils, future councils are composed of randomly selected individuals, with particular attention being paid to a balanced representation of the generations. For examples at local level, Nanz and Leggewie recommend 15 to maximum 20 participants. For future councils at the federal state, national or EU level, they recommend 40 to 50 participants. The 'term of office' for future councils, which are drawn by lot, is envisaged as two years. During this period, the participants meet regularly for working sessions and receive - like jurors - a moderate expense allowance. A future council, like a citizens' assembly, is supported by a permanent secretariat which performs coordinating tasks and also organizes communications with the public and with the regulatory bodies of the political and administrative apparatus. The latter is of particular importance, since the effectiveness of the procedure depends on the executive and legislative branches dealing seriously and responsively with the recommendations made by the future councils. The secretariat also includes a professional facilitation team responsible for the organisation and methodological preparation of working meetings. The future councils model is itself still a vision of the future. Despite great interest in the idea, a first practical trial has yet to be held.

C.1.2 Collaborative democracy (Federal workshop)

Collaborative democracy¹¹ is a concept which has identified a gap in the political system requiring democratisation: the question of how, where and by whom political concepts and draft legislation are developed.

Whereas parliaments exercise decision-making power, their power is limited in the sense that they are often only marginally involved in the development of the policy ideas on which they decide. In contrast, the effective power of those who develop the concepts and proposals must be regarded as high. However, this power is usually exercised in non-transparent processes by groups within the parties or parliamentary factions, the government or ministries, which often develop these concepts and draft legislation in camera and primarily with their own interests in mind. The public often cannot establish who was involved in drawing up the concepts and texts, or with which interests and agendas.

Collaborative democracy, by contrast, seeks to make the process of the development of policy concepts, the design of laws, measures, projects and plans, a transparent democratic process, and to carry it out in public. The idea is that multiple actors develop the foundation for policy concepts and legislative initiatives through public participation events. Through collaborative (in terms not only of information and verbal negotiation, but also of joint work and design) and multi-perspectival cooperation, a particularly high level of innovation expertise among all actors involved and affected can come to fruition.

In this way, for example, the energy transition can be developed in such a way that, in addition to a series of regulatory legislative proposals, practical projects, collaborations and measures can also be devised by all those involved, which together will lead to a consistent overall strategy.

In a federal workshop - to be institutionalised for this purpose as a third chamber - various actors (in the given example, citizens, civil servants, scientists, companies, municipalities and other actors in the energy sector) would come together in public to develop such concepts and projects in a large-scale innovation process.

The aim of collaborative democracy is to avoid a lack of transparency in the development of policy concepts and thus the exercise of power by particular interests. Instead, the expertise and skills of as many actors as possible should be brought together to help overcome current challenges.

C.2 Specific proposals for institutionalised (citizens') assemblies at national and EU level

Note: The following tables are taken from: *van Reybrouck, David (2016): Gegen Wahlen: Warum Abstimmen nicht demokratisch ist. Göttingen: Wallstein (p. 138f).*

C.2.1 Representative House, USA

The Americans Michael Phillips and Ernest Callenbach proposed a 'Representative House' in 1985. It was supposed to replace the House of Representatives, which seemed to them too unrepresentative and too susceptible to corruption. In this concept, tasks and responsibilities remain the same, only the appointment system and the composition change: seats in the Representative House are drawn by lot from the jury lists to go to randomly selected citizens. In contrast to participation procedures, in which randomly selected citizens deliberate on a topic for a (usually relatively) short period of time, it is envisaged that citizens serve as members of the parliament for three years. Filling the seats does not happen in one go, but in stages: every year, one third of the members stand down and are replaced. The Senate would continue to be elected. Representation thus takes place through two channels: the conventionally elected Senate and the Representative House, which is drawn by lot, exercise reciprocal control over each other.

10 Nanz, P. & Leggewie, C. (2016): Die Konsultative. Mehr Demokratie durch Bürgerbeteiligung. Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach.

11 Rohr, J. (2013): In unserer Macht. Aufbruch in die kollaborative Demokratie. Klein Jasedow: Drachen.

Role	replaces House of Representatives
Size	435
Composition	anonym ausgelost aus vorhandenen Geschworenenlisten
Term	3 Jahre (aber überlappend)
Remuneration	appropriate
Mandate	To initiate legislation To check legislation originating in the Senate
Literature	Callenbach, E., Phillips, M. (1985): A Citizen Legislature. Berkeley.
See also	Burnheim, J. (1985): Is Democracy Possible? The Alternative to Electoral Politics. London. Leib, E. J. (2005): Deliberative Democracy in America: A Proposal for a Popular Branch of Government. Philadelphia. O'Leary, K. (2006): Saving Democracy: A Plan for Real Presentation in America. Stanford.

Source: Table drawn up by authors, based on van Reybrouck 2016, S. 138

C.2.2 House of Peers, United Kingdom

Peter Carty and Anthony Barnett proposed in 1998 that the membership of the British Senate should be drawn by lot - in their concept, the House of Lords becomes the House of Peers. They were not interested in initiating legislation, but only in reviewing the laws from the Senate (no right of initiative). The 600 members should also include members of political parties, who would not be elected but appointed. They would serve as a bridge between the work of the citizens' forums and the conventional political bodies.

Role	replaces House of Lords
Size	600
Composition	Step 1: drawing by lot from electoral roll Step 2: self-selection Step 3: drawing by lot and quota (gender, region); additionally some party politicians
Term	1-4 years
Remuneration	at least equal to that of current Members of Parliament + adequate compensation for employers
Mandate	only checking laws from the House of Commons (for clarity, effectiveness, constitutionality)
Literature	Barnett, A., Carty, P. (1998): The Athenian Option: Radical Reform for the House of Lords. London.
See also	Barnett, A., Carty, P. (new edition 2008): The Athenian Option: Radical Reform for the House of Lords. Exeter/Charlottesville. Zakaras, A. (2010): Lot and democratic representation: a modest proposal. Constellations 17 (3).

Source: Table drawn up by authors, based on van Reybrouck 2016, p. 138

C.2.3 House of Commons, United Kingdom

Keith Sutherland's concept (2008) envisages appointments to the British House of Commons not by election, but by random selection. The selected citizens should be at least 40 years old, and demonstrate a required minimum level of competence and education. If appointed in this way, the House of Commons would not have the right of legislative initiative, but only the right to scrutinise legislation.

Role	replaces current House of Commons
Size	-
Composition	by lot ('sortition'); minimum requirements in terms of age, skills and education
Term	1-10 years
Remuneration	appropriate
Mandate	only checking of legislation
Literature	Sutherland, K. (2008): A People's Parliament: A (Revised) Blueprint for a Very English Revolution. Exeter/Charlottesville.
See also	Sutherland, K. (2011): What Sortition Can and Cannot Do. University of Exeter.

Source: Table drawn up by authors, based on van Reybrouck 2016, p. 139

C.2.4 Troisième Assemblée, France

In 2011, the political scientist Yves Sintomer drew up a concept which involves not a replacement but instead the creation of a kind of 'Third Chamber'. It would be made up of citizens putting themselves forward voluntarily and drawn by lot. This additional chamber would address long-term issues that are neglected by the current political model but which require broad social debate due to their complexity. The citizens would need remuneration at a level comparable to that of other parliamentarians and would be supported by experts and other staff.

Role	alongside Sénat and Assemblée nationale
Size	-
Composition	drawn by lot from among volunteer candidates
Term	-
Remuneration	comparable to Députés and Sénateurs + training and administration
Mandate	long-term issues: ecology, social issues, electoral law, constitution
Literature	Sintomer, Y. (2011): Das demokratische Experiment: Geschichte des Losverfahrens in der Politik von Athen bis heute. Paris. (dt. Ausgabe Wiesbaden, 2016)
See also	-

Source: Table drawn up by authors, based on van Reybrouck 2016, p. 139

C.2.5 House of Lots, EU

Hubert Buchstein's 2009 concept for an additional body at EU level: a second chamber ('House of Lots') of the European Parliament, with the rights of initiative, recommendation and veto. The 200 members would be drawn by lot in proportion to the size of the member states, participation would be compulsory and remuneration would be attractive and motivating.

Role	alongside the European Parliament
Size	200
Composition	drawn by lot from among all EU citizens, proportionate to Member States, participation compulsory
Term	2.5 years (max. 1 electoral term)
Remuneration	financial and organisational resources at a very attractive level
Mandate	right of initiative recommendations veto
Literature	Buchstein, H. (2009): Demokratie und Lotterie: Das Los als politisches Entscheidungsinstrument von der Antike bis zur EU. Frankfurt a. M./New York.
See also	Buchstein, H. & Hein, M. (2011): Randomising Europe: the lottery as a political instrument for a reformed European Union. In: Delannoi, G. & Dowlan, O. (Hrsg.): Sortition: Theory and Practice. Exeter/Charlottesville, 119-155.

Source: Table drawn up by authors, based on van Reybrouck 2016, p. 139