PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND DELIBERATIVE MODEL OF PUBLIC POLICY MAKING
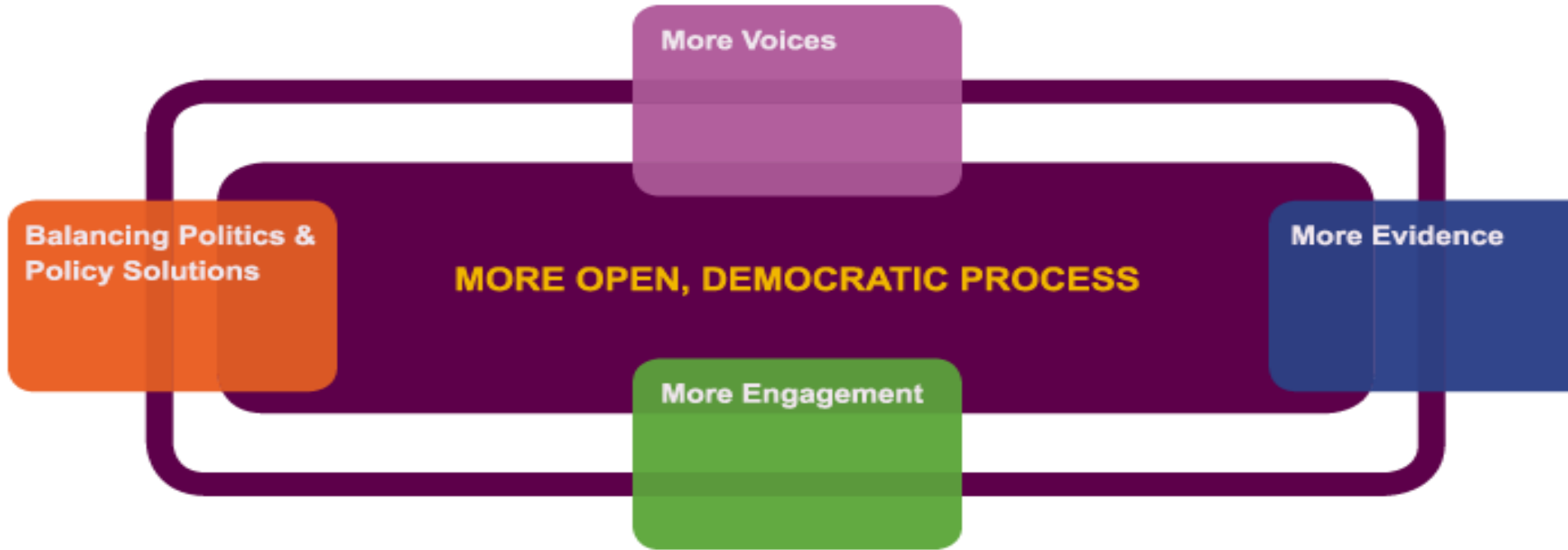
TSU, ISET

26th of March

Dr. Nani Macharashvili, TSU

What constitutes deliberation and discourse?

- Lack of agreement among political theorists
- **Cohen** (1989, 23), 'ideal deliberation aims to arrive at a rationally motivated consensus.'
- This is what we call **constructive politics**
- Decision-making as a process of **preference aggregation**

Deliberative Democracy

More Voices

Balancing Politics & Policy Solutions

MORE OPEN, DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

More Evidence

More Engagement

Conventional and unconventional activities

- **Barnes and Kaase (1979)** distinguished **between 'conventional' and 'unconventional' activities.**

- On the one hand, **'conventional' participation concerned institutionalised modes of political action**, such as reading about politics, discussion of politics, contacting officials, work for a party and other activities concerning the electoral process.

- On the other hand, they identified a 'protest potential' which referred to involvement in **'unconventional forms of political behavior** as a means of political redress, namely [...]the use of tactics **as petitions, demonstrations, boycotts, rent or tax strikes, unofficial industrial strikes, occupations of buildings, blocking of traffic, damage to property, and personal violence**' (Marsh and Kaase, 1979b: 59).

- As a consequence of the distinction between 'conventional' and 'unconventional' participation, political participation was defined as 'all voluntary activities intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system' (Marsh and Kaase, 1979a: 42).

Definitions

- Deliberation implies that **political decision-making is or should be 'talk-centric' rather than 'vote-centric'** (Bohman and Rehg, 1997; Chambers, 1999).

- decision-making is a process in which political actors **listen to each other, reasonably justify their positions, show mutual respect, and are willing to re-evaluate and eventually revise their initial preferences through a process of discourse about competing validity claims** (Habermas, 1981, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1995, 1996; Chambers, 1995, 1999;Gutmann and Thompson, 1996).

- Deliberative theorists claim that such a process of discourse **will lead to better-informed preferences** (Fishkin, 1995) and **will produce more legitimate decisions** (Cohen, 1989).

Discourse Ethics

- According to Habermas and other theorists, the discourse ethics should ideally follow several rules:

1. There should be open participation.

2. Fruitful discourse requires the justification of assertions and validity claims.

3. The participants in the discourse should consider the common good.

4. Participants in a discourse should treat each other with respect

Engagement is Difficult!

Engaged or enraged?

community planning

"If you want to know how the shoe fits, ask the person who is wearing it, not the one who made it.“
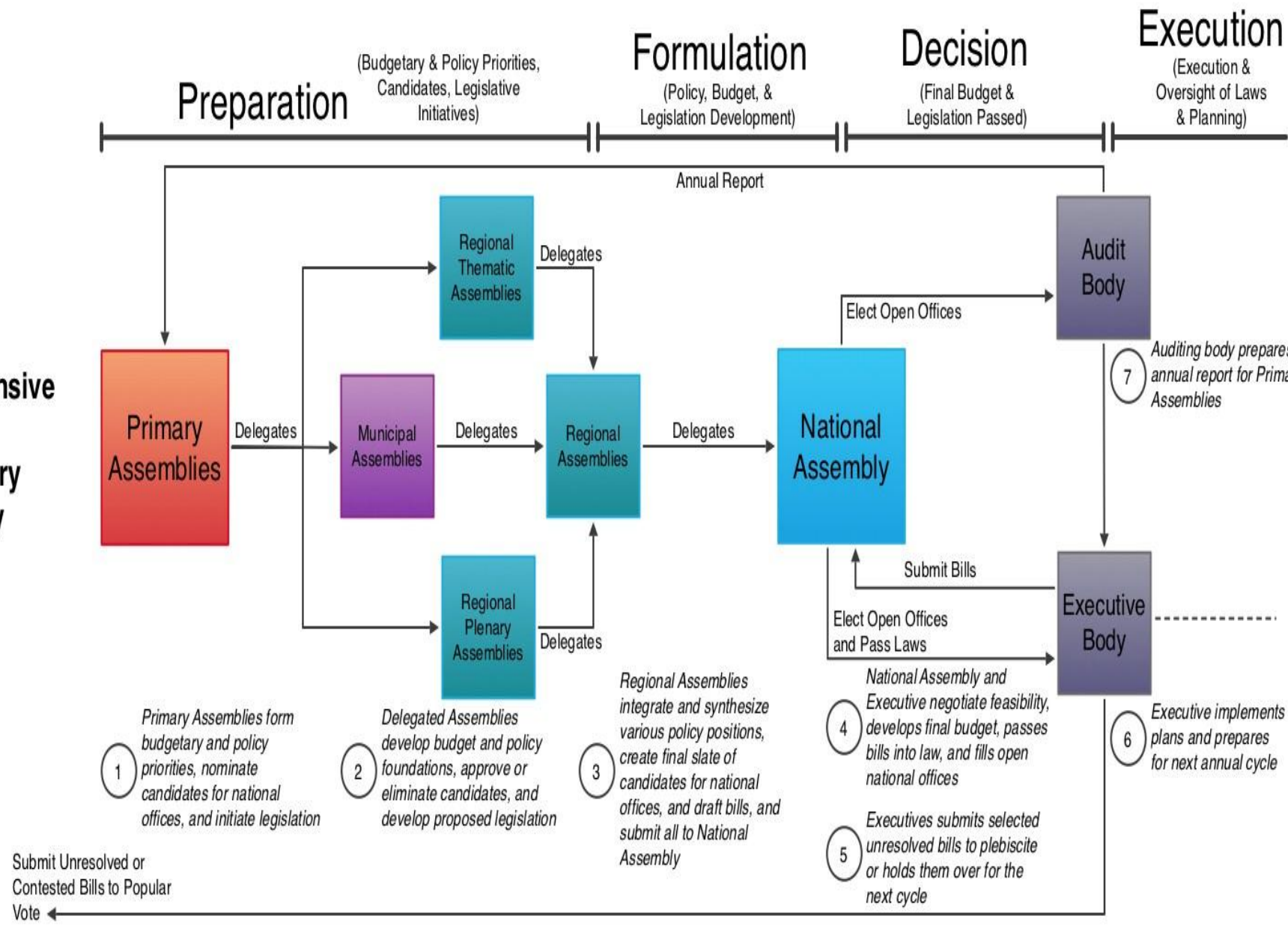
Benefits

- **When people are involved in shaping their local surroundings, the benefits can include:Additional Resources**
  Governments rarely have sufficient means to solve all the problems in an area. Local people can bring additional resources which are often essential if their needs are to be met and dreams fulfilled.
- **Better Decisions**
  Local people are invariably the best source of knowledge and wisdom about their surroundings. Better decision-making results if this is harnessed.
- **Building community**
  The process of working together and achieving things together creates a sense of community.
- **Compliance with legislation**
  Community involvement is often, and increasingly, a statutory requirement.
- **Democratic credibility**
  Community involvement in planning accords with people¹s right to participate in decisions that affect their lives. It is an important part of the trend towards democratisation of all aspects of society.
- **Easier fundraising**
  Many grant-making organisations prefer, or even require, community involvement to have occurred before handing out financial assistance.
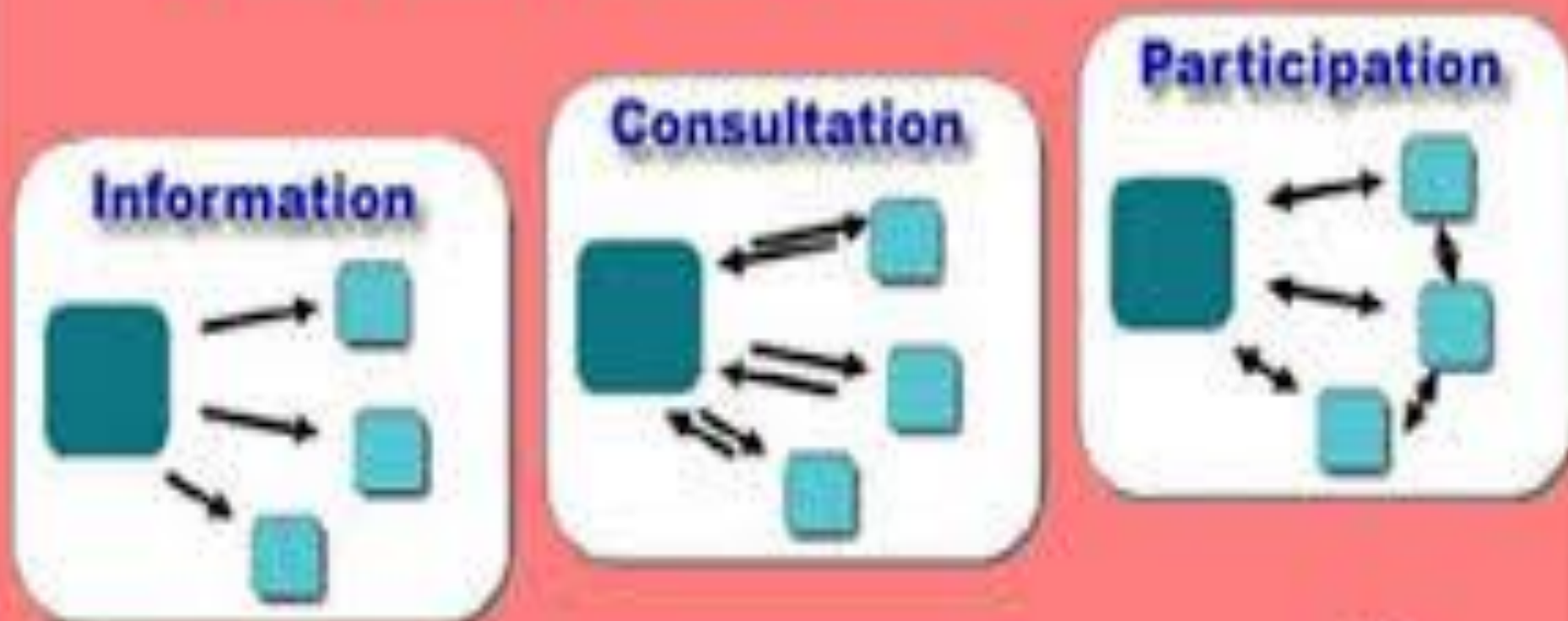
Benefits

- **Empowerment**
Involvement builds local people¹s confidence, capabilities, skills and ability to co-operate. This enables them to tackle other challenges, both individually and collectively

- **More appropriate results**
Design solutions are more likely to be in tune with what is needed and wanted. Involvement allows proposals to be tested and refined before adoption, resulting in better use of resources.

- **Professional education**
Working closely with local people helps professionals gain a greater insight into the communities they seek to serve. So they work more effectively and produce better results.

- **Responsive environment**
The environment can more easily be constantly tuned and refined to cater for people¹s changing requirements.

- **Satisfying public demand**
People want to be involved in shaping their environment and mostly seem to enjoy it.

- **Speedier development**
People gain a better understanding of the options realistically available and are likely to start thinking positively rather than negatively. Time-wasting conflicts can often be avoided.

- **Sustainability**
People feel more attached to an environment they have helped create. They will therefore manage and maintain it better, reducing the likelihood of vandalism, neglect and subsequent need for costly replacement.

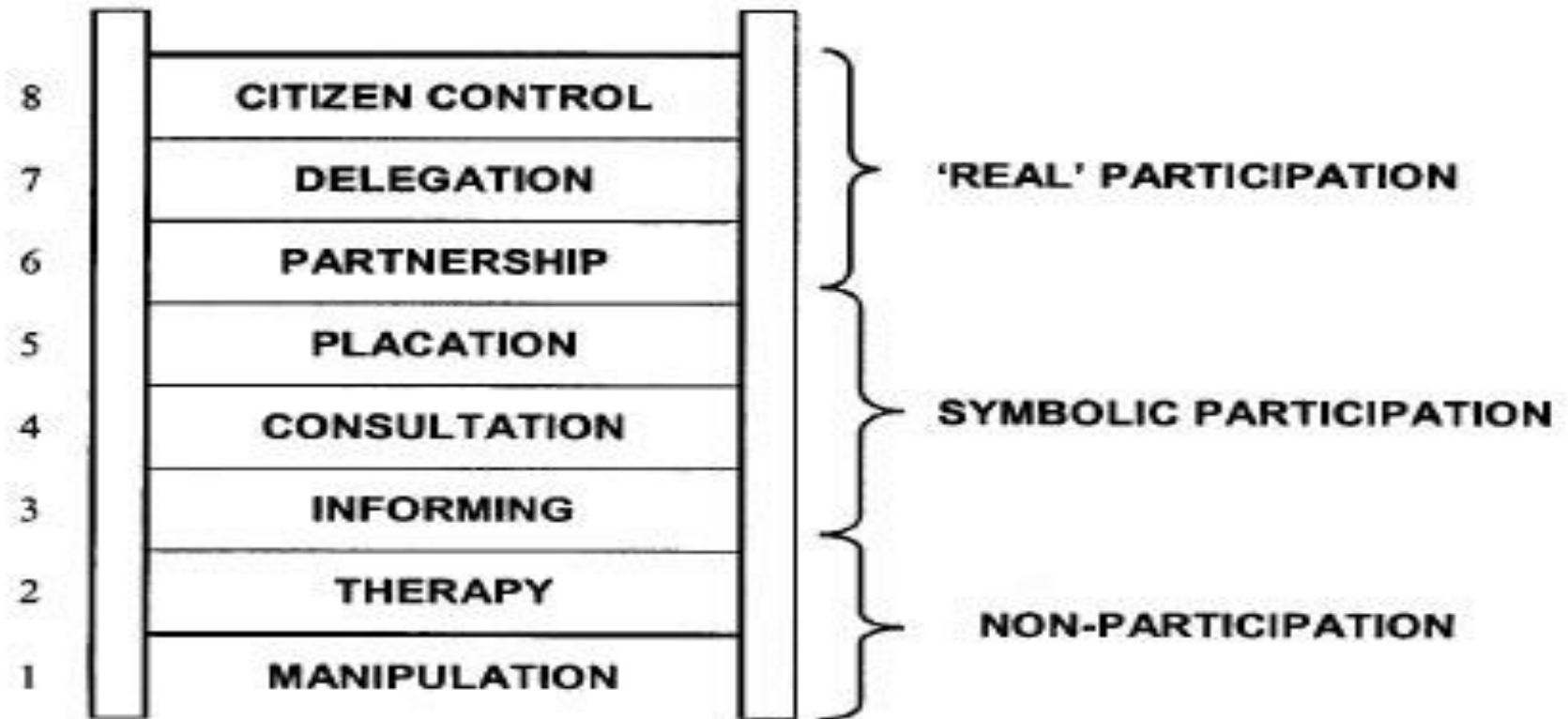**Comprehensive Model of Participatory Democracy**

Alex Sparrow

Preparation — (Budgetary & Policy Priorities, Candidates, Legislative Initiatives)

Formulation — (Policy, Budget, & Legislation Development)

Decision — (Final Budget & Legislation Passed)

Execution — (Execution & Oversight of Laws & Planning)

Annual Report

Regional Thematic Assemblies — Delegates

Primary Assemblies — Delegates — Municipal Assemblies — Delegates — Regional Assemblies — Delegates — National Assembly

Regional Plenary Assemblies — Delegates

Elect Open Offices — Audit Body

Auditing body prepares annual report for Primary Assemblies (7)

Submit Bills

Elect Open Offices and Pass Laws — Executive Body

Executive implements plans and prepares for next annual cycle (6)

1. Primary Assemblies form budgetary and policy priorities, nominate candidates for national offices, and initiate legislation

2. Delegated Assemblies develop budget and policy foundations, approve or eliminate candidates, and develop proposed legislation

3. Regional Assemblies integrate and synthesize various policy positions, create final slate of candidates for national offices, and draft bills, and submit all to National Assembly

4. National Assembly and Executive negotiate feasibility, develops final budget, passes bills into law, and fills open national offices

5. Executives submits selected unresolved bills to plebiscite or holds them over for the next cycle

Submit Unresolved or Contested Bills to Popular Vote

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Information

Consultation

Participation

Increasing level of citizen involvement and influence on Policy-making

Source: OECD

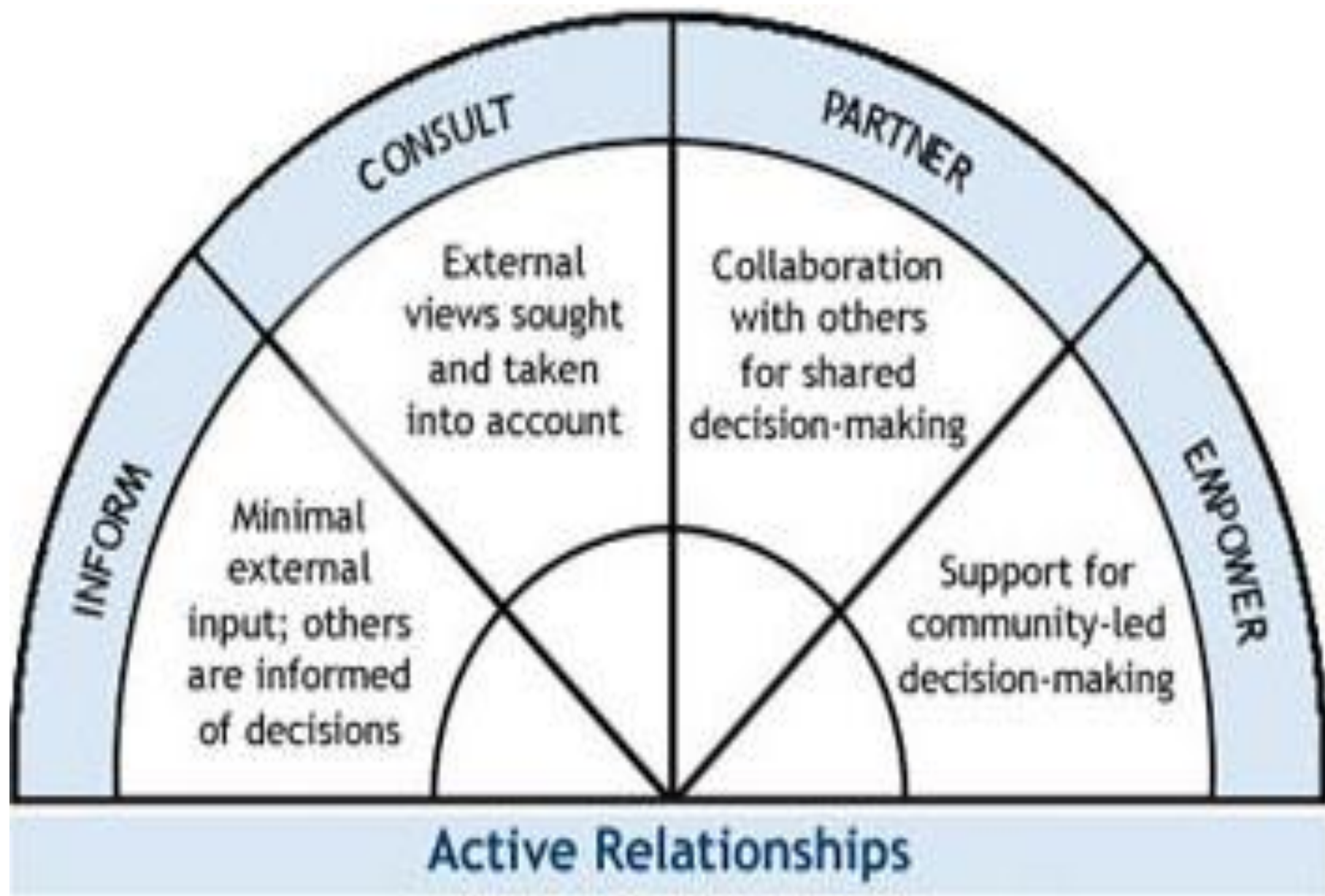# A Ladder of Citizen Participation (S.R. Arnstein)

8	CITIZEN CONTROL	'REAL' PARTICIPATION
7	DELEGATION	
6	PARTNERSHIP	
5	PLACATION	SYMBOLIC PARTICIPATION
4	CONSULTATION	
3	INFORMING	
2	THERAPY	NON-PARTICIPATION
1	MANIPULATION	

(Source: Arnstein, 1969:217)

Figure 3 Ladder of participation

Definitions and characteristics

- **1 Manipulation and 2 Therapy.** Both are non participative. The aim is to cure or educate the participants. The proposed plan is best and the job of participation is to achieve public support by public relations.
3 Informing. A most important first step to legitimate participation. But too frequently the emphasis is on a one way flow of information. No channel for feedback.
4 Consultation. Again a legitimate step - attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public enquiries. But Arnstein still feels this is just a window dressing ritual.
5 Placation. For example, co-option of hand-picked 'worthies' onto committees. It allows citizens to advise or plan ad infinitum but retains for power holders the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice.
6 Partnership. Power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. Planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared e.g. through joint committees.
7 Delegated power. Citizens holding a clear majority of seats on committees with delegated powers to make decisions. Public now has the power to assure accountability of the programme to them.
8 Citizen Control. Have-nots handle the entire job of planning, policy making and managing a programme e.g. neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds.

CONSULT

PARTNER

INFORM

EMPOWER

External views sought and taken into account

Collaboration with others for shared decision-making

Minimal external input; others are informed of decisions

Support for community-led decision-making

Active Relationships

Participation

- People learn participation by participating
- "Participating in democratic decisions makes many participants better citizens."(Mansbridge, 1999, p.291)
- Key Questions:
- If I want to participate, am I welcome and able to do so?
- If I participate, will I be heard?
- If I am heard, will anything happen?
- **Key Recommendations:**
- Choose techniques that match your goals
- Honestly assess readiness
- Choose the right times and situations
- "We have to resist the temptation to think that the hard is impossible. The impossible just takes longer."(James Keene, City Manager Palo Alto)
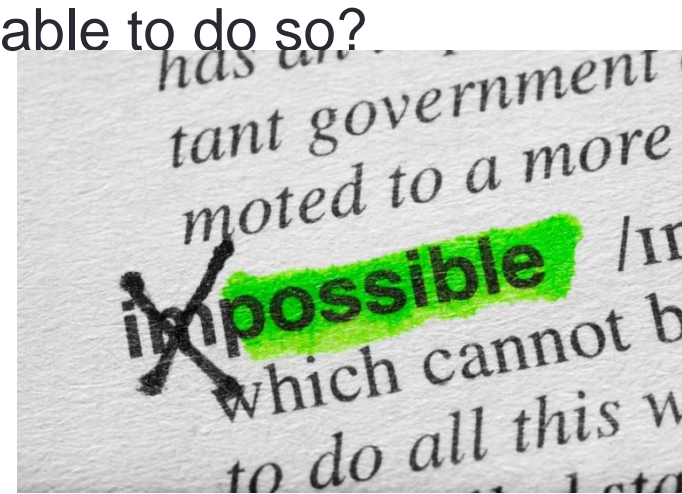
Characteristics of some participatory techniques

	Modes of Interest Representation	Participants in Deliberation	Character of Output	Role in Execution
Public Enquiry	Presentations to impartial judge/panel	Enquiry panel	Detailed report and recommendations to sponsoring agency	No
Referendum	Public campaign by concerned groups and individuals	The public	Reject or approve one or more options (decisional or consultative)	No
Citizen Advisory Panel	Views submitted to, or solicited by, the panel "Representative" composition (selected)	Lay panel members	Advice to sponsoring agency	No
Citizen Jury	Views submitted to panel. "Representative" composition (stratified sample)	Lay jury members	Verdict and explanation: recommendation to sponsoring agency	No
Environmental Covenant	Direct input from participating groups	Agency and industry representatives	Environmental agreement	Sell agreement to constituencies, perform mandated actions
Negotiated Regulation	Direct input from participating groups	Concerned group representatives	Draft regulatory rule	Sell agreement to constituencies
Mediation	Direct input from participating groups	Concerned group representatives	Mediated agreement	Sell agreement to constituencies, perform mandated actions

What is Citizen Engagement?

- **Inform** ⟶ **Consult** ⟶ **Involve** ⟶ **Collaborate**
- **Moving from a one way exchange to a multi-directional dialogue**
- Citizen engagement happens when ordinary people to come together, deliberate and take action on problems or issues that they define
- It involves: Creating opportunities for people to become responsible citizens; Building capacity to meet unanticipated problems; Practicing leadership that encourages flexibility, relationships and trust.
- What is not Citizen Engagement:
- • **NOT** city council meetings or hearings
- • **NOT** a discrete activity such as a meeting or an appointment to an advisory board

How do we engage Citizens

- Many different techniques
- Multi-directional communication
- Offer opportunity to both help define the problem and find solutions
- Offer the opportunity to be engaged during the implementation as well as evaluation
- Citizens are: any member or resident of the community—not a legal status; Aim at a broad spectrum of people;
- Engage citizens, not just customers

Customer VS Citizen

Customer	Citizen
Are interested in what is best for them as individuals	Are interested in themselves and others
Want the most they can get for the themselves at the least cost	Also interested in what is best for the community as a whole
Want good customer service—not interested in long term relationship	Want to live in community and feel a sense of belonging and connection

High Touch or High Tech?

- **High Touch**
- Face to face communication
- **High Tech**
- Geographic Information Systems
- Computer mediated dialogue
- **Examples:**
- Modeling Transportation
- Modeling the infrastructure
- Citizens can use Geospatial Web 2.0 platforms to report the locations of potholes, water leaks, accidents, and other events. IBM, Business of Government.

IBM Center for The Business of Government

Using Technology Series

Using Online Tools to Engage — and be Engaged by — The Public

Matt Leighninger
Deliberative Democracy Consortium

Action steps

- Take stock
- Build on exchange to foster engagement
- Identify key issues that need more citizen involvement
- With support from the city council, undertake a community dialogue to identify how and where citizens want to be engaged
- Start young
- Work with partners

Alternative Approaches

- **Surveys, citizen panels, focus groups**
- **Information and citizen education**
- **Internet and social media**
- **Deliberation and dialogue**
- **Service delivery and measurement**
- **The arts**
- **Existing community organizations**
- **Changing the local government organization**

Can It work in Real Life?

- **Change participant's attitudes**
- **Result in positive feedback from participants**
- **Give participants new skills/ knowledge**
- **Increase further engagement**

Citizen Engagement Practice

- **Participatory Budgeting in Brazil**
- Around 50,000 residents regularly participate.
- Resulted in an increase from 75 to 99% of homes having running water and the number of public schools almost tripling.
- **Image of Memphis**
- A city-wide initiative

UNDERSTAND

IMAGINE

CREATE

- designed to connect youth and adults to imagine and create a better Memphis.
- High school students interview neighborhood leaders, then all engage in a dialogue about the future and plan and implement change projects.

- **Citizen Juries**
- Citizens Jury on Election Recounts in Minnesota
- Three, three-day weekends, 24 citizens
- Many of the recommendations enacted in legislation
- **Study Circles**
- *In Kansas City, over 100 meetings with over 1800 participants, study circles have helped to eradicate drug houses in neighborhoods, launch a new tenants association, set up a youth sports camp, create a Spanish speaking parents association and tutoring service, reduce crime, and boost graduation rates from 50 percent to 70 percent (Citizens at the Center, Case Foundation)*
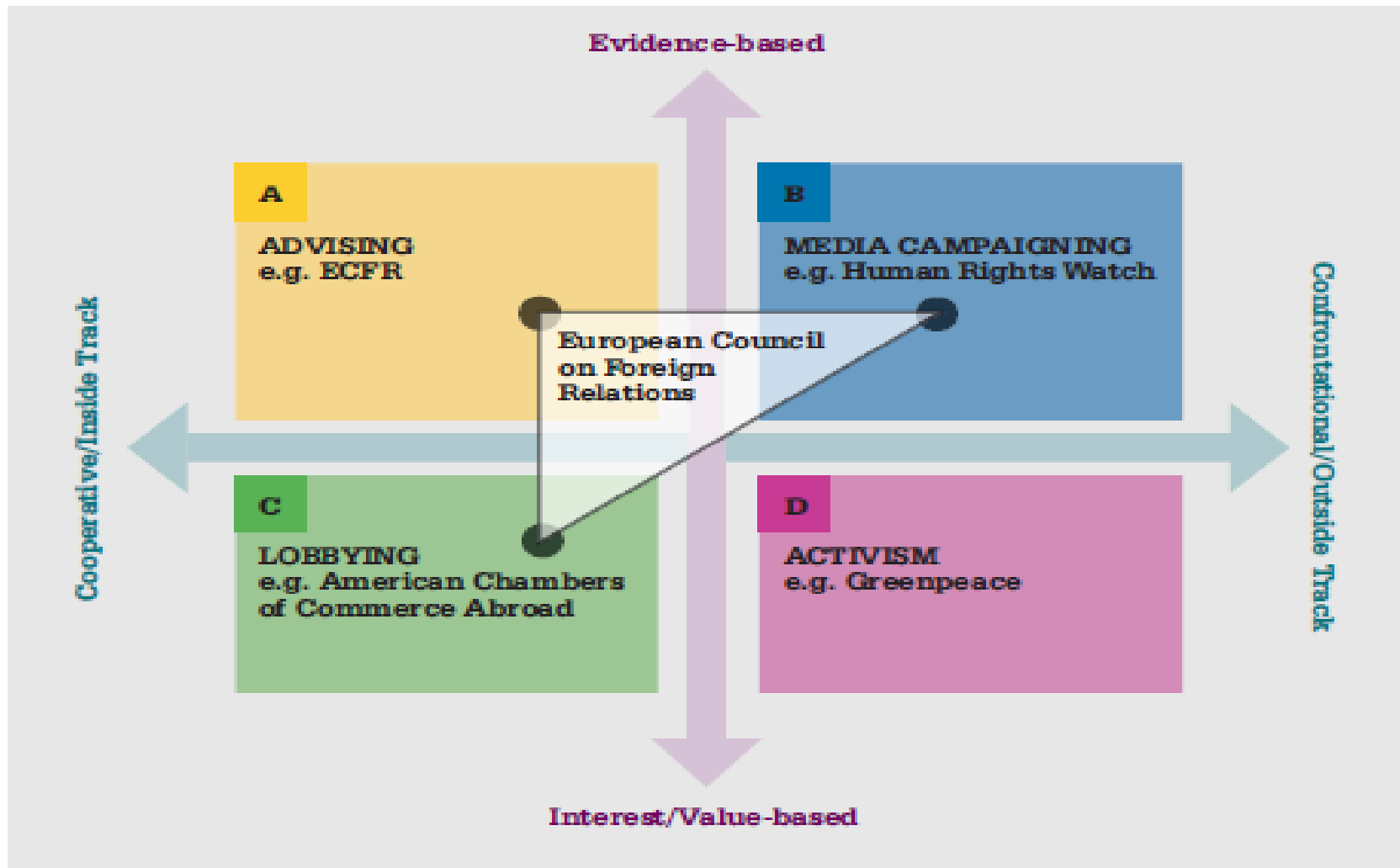
Methods

- Activity week
- Architecture centre
- Art workshop
- Award scheme
- Briefing workshop
- Choice catalogues
- Community design centre
- Community planning event
- Community planning forum
- Community profiling
- Design assistance team
- Design fest
- Design game
- Design workshop
- Development trust
- Diagrams

- Door Knocking
- Draft plan consultation
- Electronic map
- Elevation montage
- E-voting
- Environment shop
- Feasibility fund
- Field workshop
- Future search conference
- Gaming
- Have your say event
- Ideas competition
-
-

Methods

- Interactive display
- The InternetKetso kit
- Local design statement
- Mapping
- Microplanning workshop
- Mobile unit
- Models
- Neighbourhood planning office
- Newspaper supplement
- Online consultation
- Open house event
- Open space workshop
- Participatory editing
- Photo survey
- Planning aid scheme
- Planning day
- Planning for real
- Planning weekend

- Prioritising
- Process planning session
- Reconnaissance tripReview session
- Risk assessment
- Roadshow
- Simulation
- Street stall
- Table scheme display
- Task force
- Urban design studio
- User group
- Video soapbox

The advocacy roles of different types of NGOs

Evidence-based

Cooperative/Inside Track

Confrontational/Outside Track

Interest/Value-based

A

ADVISING
e.g. ECFR

B

MEDIA CAMPAIGNING
e.g. Human Rights Watch

C

LOBBYING
e.g. American Chambers
of Commerce Abroad

D

ACTIVISM
e.g. Greenpeace

European Council
on Foreign
Relations

Discourse quality index (DQI) (Marco R. Steenbergen et al.)

- Quantitative measure of discourse in deliberation

- Rooted in Habermas' discourse ethics

- Provides an accurate representation of the most important principles underlying deliberation

- Reliable measurement instrument due to its focus on observable behavior and its detailed coding instructions

- measurement instruments that allow researchers to operationalize and quantify the quality of discourse, and that open up deliberation for empirical research.

- Measurement properties and coding procedures

- We illustrate the DQI for a **parliamentary debate**

Past Measurement Effort

- **Gerhards' (1997) analysis** of the discourse on abortion in two German newspapers.
- **Four components of discourse quality:**
1. The representativeness of the actors covered in the newspaper articles
2. The degree of respect expressed towards other participants in the debate, using a five-point scale ranging from 'very positive' to 'very negative.'
3. The degree of justification of claims, which is captured through a binary indicator (justification vs no justification).
4. Rationality of discourse quality, which focuses on the number of values that were invoked and the integration of those values.
- **Holzinger's work**, which focuses on bargaining situations where quality of arguments and consensus building are indeed the proper focus.
- **observable behavior as their basis.**
- **Lack of reliability testing, which makes it difficult to assess the quality of the measurement instruments.**

The DQ index

- The components of the DQI are, at least in principle, scalable.
- The coding categories to hang together reasonably well that a subset (or perhaps all) of them can be combined to form a scale that can serve as an overall measure of discourse quality.
- The components can be combined all of the time, since much depends on the specific circumstances of the discourse.

1. **Participation**
2. **Level of justification**
3. **Content of justification**
4. **Respect**
5. **Counterarguments**
6. **Contractive politics**

Participation

- The unit of analysis of the DQI is a speech, that is, the public discourse by a particular individual delivered at a particular point in a debate.

- **Participation**

- This refers to a speaker's ability to participate freely in a debate. Two codes for participation:

- **(0) Interruption of a speaker**

- **(1) Normal participation is possible**

Level of justification

- This refers to the nature of the justification of demands. Here it is judged **to what extent a speech gives complete justifications for demands**. The completeness of the justifications is judged in terms of the inferences that are made. **There are four levels of justification:**

- **(0) No justification:** A speaker only says that X should or should not be done, but no reason is given.

- **(1) Inferior justification:** Here a reason Y is given as to why X should or should not be done, but no linkage is made between X and Y — the inference is incomplete. This code also applies if a conclusion is merely supported with illustrations.

- (**2) Qualified justification:** A linkage is made as to why one should expect that X contributes to or detracts from Y. A single such complete inference already qualifies for code 2.9

- **(3) Sophisticated justification:** Here at least two complete justifications are given, either two complete justifications for the same demand or complete justifications for two different demands.

Content of justifications

- This coding category captures whether appeals are made in terms of narrow group interests, in terms of the common good, or in terms of both. It is employed four codes:
- **(0) Explicit statement concerning group interests:** If one or more groups or constituencies are mentioned in a speech, then a code of 0 is assigned.
- **(1) Neutral statement:** There are no explicit references to constituency/group interests or to the common good.
- **(2a) Explicit statement of the common good in utilitarian terms:** There is an explicit mention of the common good and this is conceived in utilitarian terms, that is, with reference to the 'greatest good for the greatest number' (Mill, 1998).
- **(2b) Explicit statement of the common good in terms of the difference principle:** There is an explicit mention of the common good and this is conceived in terms of the difference principle, that is, with reference to helping the least advantaged in a society (Rawls, 1971).

Respect

- The DQI contains three indicators of respect. First, there is respect for the groups that are to be helped through particular policies. Here it is used three different codes:
- **(0) No respect:** This code is reserved for speeches in which there are only negative statements about the groups.
- **(1) Implicit respect:** This code is used if there are no explicitly negative statements, but neither are there explicit positive statements.
- **(2) Explicit respect:** This code is assigned if there is at least one explicitly positive statement about the groups, regardless of the presence of negative statements

Counterarguments

- This type of respect is coded only if there are counterarguments on the table or if a speaker anticipates such arguments. If there are multiple counterarguments, then the indicator serves
- as a summary judgment of the respect toward all these arguments.
- four codes to measure respect toward counterarguments:
- **(0) Counterarguments ignored:** There are counterarguments but the speaker ignores these.
- **(1) Counterarguments included but degraded**: This code applies when a speaker acknowledges a counterargument, but then explicitly degrades it by making a negative statement about it or the individuals and groups that propose the argument. A single negative statement is sufficient to assign code 1, unless the speech also contains positive statements about a counterargument (in which case a code of 3 applies). If neutral statements accompany a negative statement (and there are no positive statements), a code of 1 also applies.
- **(2) Counterarguments included — neutral**: We use this code if a counterargument is acknowledged and if there are no explicit negative or positive statements about it.
- **(3) Counterarguments included and valued:** This code applies if the counterargument is acknowledged and is explicitly valued. We assign this code even if there are also negative statements.

Constructive politics

- Final indicator concerns consensus building, or what is called constructive politics. This is captured via three codes:

- (0) **Positional politics:** Speakers sit on their positions. There is no attempt at compromise, reconciliation, or consensus building.

- (1) **Alternative proposal:** A speaker makes a mediating proposal that does not fit the current agenda but belongs to another agenda. In such cases, the proposal is really not relevant for the current debate, although it may be taken up in a different debate.

- (2) **Mediating proposal:** A speaker makes a mediating proposal that fits the current agenda.

participatory budgeting programmes

- Decision making on grassroots level. Fair outcome rather than fair process, the practice of participatory budgeting offers fruitful opportunities for thinking differently about democratic process
- It originated as a project of the leftwing PT administration (Partido dos Trabalhadores or Worker's Party) in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in the late 1980's, with the aim of increasing the transparency and legitimacy of government decisions through the active participation of the population in managing public affairs, as well as embedding a redistributive shift in terms of quality of life outcomes.
- It is an annual system of direct democracy in which the city's neighbourhoods collectively develop budget proposals for the municipal investment plan. In its original incarnation in Porto Alegre, it rested on the right of citizens to participate as individuals (rather than being represented by an organisation or an elected councillor), deliberation, the social contract (through their participation, citizens become co-responsible for project implementation) and accountability – shared and transparent management of resources.
- **An early count of six UK pilots in 2007 has since grown to an estimated current total of over 100 local authority pilots or programmes. The pilots generated interest from the then New Labour government, which led to the publication of a national strategy in 2008: *Giving more people a say in local spending; participatory budgeting: a national strategy*, (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). The Conservative-led coalition government has maintained this interest through their 'Big Society' agenda; one of the Big Society Network's first projects was to promote participatory budgeting**.

- **White Paper, ALLIANCE FOR INNOVATION** / *transformgov.org/* James Svara and Janet Denhardt, Editors

- **Policy Advocacy Guide**: Young, Eóin & Lisa Quinn (2012) Making research evidence matter: A guide to policy advocacy in transition countries. Budapest: Open Society Foundations.

CONNECTED COMMUNITIES:

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AS A PARTNER IN CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

A white paper prepared for the Alliance for Innovation

THE NEW PUBLIC SERVICE

SERVING, NOT STEERING

THIRD EDITION

JANET V. DENHARDT AND ROBERT B. DENHARDT