



CITIES AS ARENAS OF POLITICAL
INNOVATION IN THE STRENGTHENING OF
DELIBERATIVE AND PARTICIPATORY
DEMOCRACY

CASE STUDY REPORT

FEBRUARY 2024

EUARENAS investigates the ways in which social movements coupled with local government reform initiatives, manifesting themselves in local-level experiments, create momentum for political change that include more inclusive and participatory forms of governance.



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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the case study research and cross-case analysis is to comprehend and clarify the processes and mechanisms that influence innovative democratic experiments. Analyzing various democratic experimentation initiatives introduced in various urban arenas, located in different cities and regions of Europe, provides valuable insight into the methods, processes, and tools already in use to support citizen participation in local democracies. It offers a comprehensive understanding of how particular groups of citizens interact with specific approaches and the effects of these approaches in their local contexts.

According to the definition formulated for the research needs of the project, the case study should be understood as "a dynamic process involving the development of a particular method in the local context (e.g., participatory budgeting in Gdansk, citizens' assembly in Galway)" (Fritsch et al. 2021: 29). This definition relates to Flyvbjerg's (2006) acknowledgement of case study as a valuable approach for generating contextual knowledge and further states that by applying the method in a specific manner, it leads to particular responses or solutions, which we identify as tools. These tools facilitate the creation of knowledge from the given context, thereby fostering innovation. While it is important to note that these tools may not be transferable to other local contexts, we look for common threads, patterns, and more importantly lessons to learn from.

The case study analysis is based on the study of eleven democratic initiatives introduced in ten European cities of different rank and size. The cases studied are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. List of examined case studies (Source: Own elaboration)

Participatory/deliberative process	City/town	Country
The Deal for Communities	Wigan	United Kingdom
Citizen Jury	Galway	Ireland
Quartiersmanagement Pankstraße	Berlin	Germany
Borough Liaison Officers*	Helsinki	Finland
Citizens' Assembly	Copenhagen	Denmark
Quartiere Bene Comune	Reggio Emilia	Italy
Participatory Budgeting	Gdańsk	Poland
Citizens' Assembly	Wrocław	Poland
Office for Community Participation	Budapest	Hungary
Social Hackathon	Võru	Estonia
Socialising Cultural Policy	Wrocław	Poland

In line with the project's design, all the cases studied are located in cities, towns or urban neighbourhoods. In answering the question of why cities are so important as arenas for sustaining and enhancing democracy, we consider two perspectives. First, because of their socio-spatial characteristics, cities create unique conditions for the formation of dense networks of direct interpersonal contacts. These, in turn, make urban arenas places where better, more participatory, more inclusive democratic practices can and often must flourish in order to exist without conflict. Second, cities have historically been, and continue to be, centres of policy-making; policies developed at the urban level have historically been, and continue to be, applied to regions, nation-states, and also to globally interconnected spaces. The debate on globalisation places considerable theoretical and practical policy emphasis on cities and city-regions as key actors in a less or post-national world order (Borja, Castells 1997; Isin 2000, Barnett, Low 2004). This is why it has become so important to look for ways to improve and deepen democracy in urban politics. Successful experiments at the local urban scale offer opportunities for improving political practices at other spatial scales.

The experience of using specific methods and tools to build and strengthen participatory and deliberative democracy in the case-study cities provided a panoramic perspective on the issues studied. The approach combined the macro perspective of structural regularities, mainly constructed from material gathered in the desk research phase, and the micro perspective of everyday practices identified through field research. This combination of perspectives was challenging in terms of comparative analysis. However, it also provided a unique opportunity to identify structural features and how they are negotiated in the particular everyday environments of the cities studied. The approach allowed a better understanding of the interplay between the broader structural context, its changes, and local practices and activities in relation to place and time. The synthesis of individual cases provided a deeper understanding of the mechanisms responsible for the success or failure of innovative democratic experiments. This, in turn, made it possible to formulate recommendations for political practice.

The analysis was guided by the basic research questions of the project, which were reformulated as follows:

1. How do local democratic governance innovations emerge and to what extent they are the product of learning from other local governance contexts?
2. What are actor constellations and agendas in these governance innovations?
3. Which are the key drivers that influence or bias democratic governance experiments?
4. What is the potential of change/adaptation of the process to the changing conditions?
5. Which factors determine the effectiveness of governance innovations?
6. Which practices and institutional arrangements best facilitate citizen engagement and co-governance and democratise the local governance?
7. How do the innovations relate with regional, national and supranational levels?
8. How universal for implementation in other places and to other levels of governance successful local governance innovations can be?

The above questions are a modified set of questions compared to the one initially adopted in the project. This was a consequence of the need to adapt the interpretive threads to the theoretical interpretive methods that were verified in the research process. These modifications are discussed in detail in Section 2.

To achieve these objectives, the following Research Tasks have been performed under WP3 (Figure 1):

- RT 3.1 Review and final selection of the case studies (M01-M05)
- RT 3.2.1 Desk-based research of existing knowledge on the case studies (M06-M14):
 - review of secondary sources
 - media content analysis
- RT 3.2.2 Field research of the case studies (M10-M18):
 - community reporting – citizen experiences
 - focus interviews with stakeholders
- RT 3.3 Data analysis of individual case-studies (M19-M30)
- RT 3.4 Cross-case analysis of case studies (M19-M30)
- RT 3.5 Synthesis and conclusions (M31-M37)

Figure 1. Timeline of the research tasks under WP3 (Source: Own elaboration)

RESEARCH TASKS	YEAR 1 (2021)												YEAR 2 (2022)												YEAR 3 (2023)												YEAR 4 (2024)											
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40						
RT 3.1 Review and final selection of the case studies	█	█	█	█																																												
RT 3.2.1 Desk-based research of existing knowledge					█	█	█	█	█	█	█																																					
RT 3.2.2 Field research (interviews and surveys)								█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█																																	
RT 3.3 & RT 3.4 Data analysis (Individual and cross-case)																						█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█																	
RT 3.5 Synthesis and conclusions																																						█	█	█	█							
DELIVERABLES	D 3.1 Initial Report												D 3.2 Midterm Report												D 3.3 Case Studies Report												D 3.4 Final WP3 Report											

Section 1

POINT OF DEPARTURE: STATE OF ART AFTER DESK-BASED AND FIELD RESEARCH OF THE CASE STUDIES

This report presents the results of both individual and cross-case analyses of the case studies investigated in Work Package 3 (WP3). Delays in data collection, as detailed in the previous report (Grabkowska et al. 2022), resulted in the analysis phase being delayed by several months. This delay prevented the intended infusion of knowledge from WP3 into the planning phase of pilot activities in WP4. Nevertheless, a continuous flow of knowledge between WP3 and WP4 facilitated the partial integration of preliminary findings from the case studies into the design of the pilot initiatives. This integration took place during the regular weekly meetings organised by WP4 and during the consortium meetings, especially during and after the WP4 workshops in Võru in March 2023.

Therefore, although we are only consolidating these results at this stage, the accumulated data, treated as research material, has been made available and interim conclusions from partial analyses have been consistently communicated for the benefit of other work packages in the EUARENAS project. Furthermore, the feedback provided to the pilot cities remains valuable at every stage, including the ongoing evaluation phase. The final report will outline the lessons learnt from both successful and unsuccessful aspects and formulate recommendations for future endeavours.

Section 2

METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED FOR DATA ANALYSIS

How to study innovative processes of participation and deliberation?

The study of innovative governance requires an original methodology. Designing such a methodology is a challenging task, especially when the cases under study are not only experimental and ongoing, but also highly diverse. The strategy we adopted was to continually revise the methodology proposed in the project proposal and sanctioned in the grant agreement, gradually adapting it to specific contexts and changing conditions as the project progressed. Consequently, modifications were made to elements such as the selection of case studies and data collection methods, as meticulously detailed in the initial report (Grabkowska et al. 2021) and the mid-term report (Grabkowska et al. 2022).

Before proceeding with the analysis, a revision of the research questions was undertaken, as they needed to be updated to reflect issues that were not initially considered primary during the project and that emerged as it progressed. This revision also changed our approach to the subsequent analysis. We decided to focus on cross-case analysis, with the individual analysis only as a basis and starting point.

Revision of the Research Questions

As a basic framework for all activities within Work Package 3 (WP3), our research questions were derived from the overarching objectives outlined in the EUARENAS project (Objectives 2023). However, during the course of the project, the original Research Questions were re-examined to align with the evolving focus of the primary research strands within WP3 and across the other Work Packages. The resulting revision took place in two stages. First, we critically reviewed them BEFORE proceeding with the analysis, and then consistently modified them DURING this phase.

Overall, the changes made were not revolutionary. While some questions remained unchanged, others underwent minor adjustments, three were merged with others and two new questions were introduced (Table 2). As a result, the number of questions was reduced from nine to eight, and their wording and scope were mostly modified slightly.

Table 2. Comparison of the revised research questions against the initial ones
(Source: Authors' own elaboration)

REVISED RQs	INITIAL RQs	SCOPE OF MODIFICATION
1. How do local democratic governance innovations emerge and to what extent they are the product of learning from other local governance contexts?	1. How do local democratic governance innovations emerge and to what extent they are the product of learning from other local governance contexts?	None
2. What actor constellations and agendas in these governance innovations?	2. What concrete agendas, actor constellations and strategies characterise these governance experiments?	'Strategies' left out
3. Which are the key drivers that influence or bias democratic governance experiments?	4. Which are the key drivers (economic, political and cultural) that influence or bias local outcomes of democratic governance experiments?	Classification of the key drivers changed

4. What is the potential of change/adaptation of the process to the changing conditions?	-	Added in course of the project
5. Which factors determine the effectiveness of governance innovations?	-	Added in course of the project
6. Which practices and institutional arrangements best facilitate citizen engagement and co-governance and democratize the local governance?	9. Which governance practices and institutional arrangements best facilitate citizen engagement and co-governance and democratize the local governance?	None
7. How do the innovations relate with regional, national and supranational levels?	5. In what ways are local forms of deliberative and participatory democracy influenced by multilevel governance relationships with regional and national levels?	Reformulation
8. How universal for implementation in other places and to other levels of governance successful local governance innovations can be?	6. How universal for implementation in other places and to other levels of governance successful local governance innovations can be?	None
	3. What are the circumstances that trigger the decisions to implement governance innovation?	Included in the revised RQ1
	7. To what extent do the new technologies and digital platforms support participatory/deliberative governance techniques or deteriorate them?	Included in the revised RQ4
	8. What is the added value of substantive provided by participatory/deliberative means?	Included in the revised RQ4

The wording of the revised **Research Question 1**, which focuses on the origins of local governance innovations, remained unchanged, but its scope was extended to include specific factors conditioning the implementation of these innovations (former RQ3).

Research Question 2, on the relationships between actors in the processes studied and their objectives, initially included the question of strategies adopted, but this was dropped due to insufficient evidence in the data.

For **Research Question 3**, which aimed to identify key factors influencing or biasing democratic governance experiments, the original criteria for their classification were modified.

RQs 4 and 5 were introduced during the project in response to emerging needs. **Research Question 4** arose from the need to consider the evolution of processes and the impact of critical junctures (Capoccia 2015) and ongoing crises on their trajectories (in particular, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine). It also included the issues of the impact of modern digital platforms and technologies on deliberative and participatory governance processes (former RQ7) and added value of the

innovations (previously part of the original version of RQ8). **Research Question 5** became important in light of the focus on efficiency concerns, defined by the allocation of resources relative to the quality of outcomes.

Research Question 6 remained consistent with the former RQ9 and addressed procedures and organisational structures that support public participation and democratisation of local government.

Research Question 7 was reformulated in a more general way to include all aspects related to the interaction of innovations with different levels of governance, including regional, national and supranational levels.

Finally, **Research Question 8** retained its original form as the former RQ6, exploring the transferability of innovations to other locations or levels of governance.

Design of the analytical procedure

The analytical process was divided into two phases, the individual case analysis and the cross-case analysis. The former served to obtain a detailed view of each innovative process as a distinct entity. The latter aimed at a cross-case comparison along the lines of the research questions and also through a discursive act of their refinement.

Individual case study analysis

As the project progressed, the focus of WP3 shifted from the individual case studies to a cross-case analysis of the case studies. This happened for several reasons. Firstly, the issues addressed in the project's pilot activities (WP4) required a comparative rather than a singular focus in the knowledge transfer from WP3. Secondly, given the total number of processes under investigation, we felt it was more relevant to juxtapose and confront them rather than meticulously follow their individual stories and experiences. Thirdly, the **EUARENAS** Toolbox (<https://euarenas-toolbox.eu/>) developed in WP4 - partly in collaboration with WP3 - sufficiently met the need for an overview of 'stories' that have unfolded in different urban arenas and contexts, even beyond the scope of WP3.

As we did not want to spend too much time analysing the case studies one by one, nor to duplicate the idea of the **EUARENAS** Toolbox, we finally decided to prepare short summaries of the case studies and to present some of their individual characteristics as typologies. The results of both, which provide a starting point for the subsequent cross-case analysis, are presented in Section 3 and published separately in the form of a Guide to the **EUARENAS** Case Studies (Grabkowska et al. 2024) and on the **EUARENAS** website (<https://www.euarenas.eu/wp-3-case-studies>). Initially, the Guide was intended for internal use only, as new members joining the **EUARENAS** consortium were unfamiliar with our case studies and needed a summary. Later, however, its potential accessibility to external audiences was recognised and the original concept was adapted accordingly. As we wanted the results of the analysis phase to be practical rather than theoretical, we emphasised a reader-friendly format for the case study summaries and typologies, as well as many specific examples in the cross-case analysis.

The **Case Study Summaries** included in the Guide to the **EUARENAS** Case Studies and on the dedicated **EUARENAS** subpage (Figure 2) follow the same structure. The three-part format of each summary consists of:

- introduction of the urban arena, i.e., the case study city and relevant background,
- description of the idea behind the specific participatory/deliberative process (innovation) and how it has generally worked in practice so far,
- indication of main successes and failures, with some basic conclusions that could be instructive/transferable to other cities or cases.

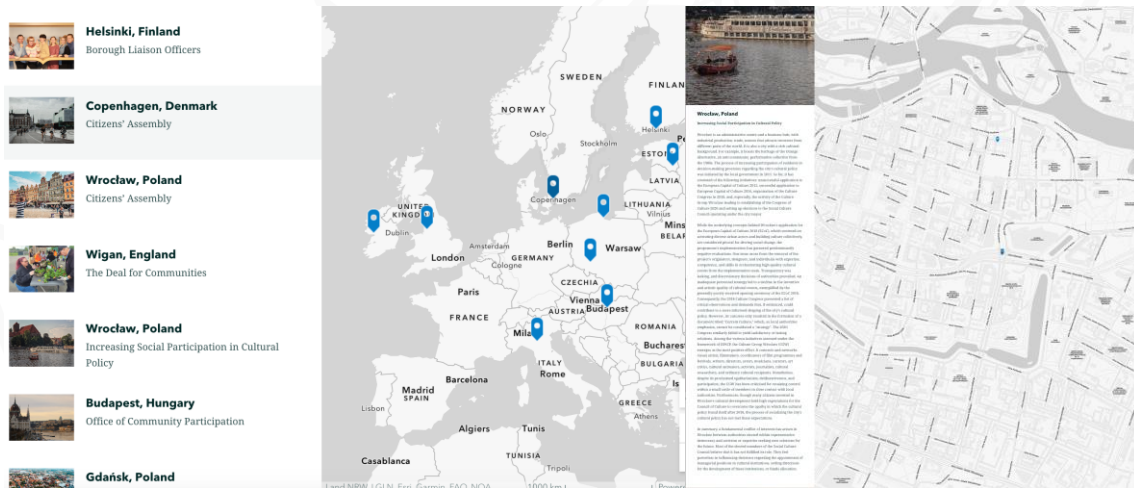


Figure 2. EUARENAS Case Study Summaries as featured on the dedicated website (Source: <https://arcr.is/1rmqvH0>)

The **typologies**, on the other hand, are classifications based on the key criteria that characterise the case study processes examined in WP3. They were conceived as a link between the individual and cross-case analysis, illustrating and structuring the diversity of participatory and deliberative innovations in governance according to basic features of differentiation, such as the scale of the process (district/neighbourhood, municipal, regional) or the status of the urban arena (capital, city, town). Section 3 of this report (Results of the analysis of individual case studies) presents the results of the analysis in terms of these basic characteristics, accompanied by relevant typologies presented graphically in the form of a table, while some parts of section 4 (Results of the cross-case analysis) also use typologies as a visual aid to help make sense of the variations between cases.

Cross-case analysis of the case studies

The study of individual cases was followed by a cross-case analysis. By definition, cross-case analysis serves as a research approach that is able to harness the knowledge gained from individual case studies (Khan & VanWynsberghe 2008). The use of case knowledge occurs when researchers collect information from different cases, analyse and differentiate them, and ultimately generate new insights.

The basic classification of cross-case analysis techniques distinguishes between variable-oriented and case-oriented approaches (Khan & VanWynsberghe 2008). In conducting RT 3.4, we followed the former option. Through induction, we sought answers to the research questions in the collected research material, while at the same time identifying and categorising specific themes for a detailed cross-sectional study. A preliminary list of these issues, agreed within the conceptual and operational framework of the RQs in WP3 and other WPs, is given in Table 3.

The approach adopted was not without its limitations. For example, not all the issues examined were represented in all the material collected. This may be because these issues were not central to some of the case study processes, or because they somehow escaped the researchers' attention. However, it was difficult to ascertain the exact reason ex post.

Table 3. Working list of issues addressed in the cross-case analysis in relation to the WP3 Research Questions and the content of other WPs (Source: Authors' own elaboration)

UPDATED RQs	ISSUES TO BE TACKLED WITHIN	ACCORDANCE WITH OTHER WPs
RQ0: Basic info – input for typologies?	Location/ position of city/town Main demo/ soc/ econ strengths & challenges Specificities of social diversity Governance culture Scale of the process Overall aim and design of the process Topic(s) What does innovativeness actually mean (in this case)	Urban populism (D.1.1: 33, D1.2, D1.3) Governance (D.1.3) Economy – <u>neoliberalism</u> and the commons (D1.3) Democracy in crisis (D1.2) Reclaiming the city as a commons (D1.2) Throwing away the ladder (D1.2)
RQ1: How do local democratic governance experiments emerge and to what extent they are the product of learning from other local governance contexts?	Is the innovation original or the product of learning Whose initiative and how does the idea become practice Which conditions trigger the decision to implement it? (to what extent is it needs-driven?)	Bottom-up vs top-down origin (D1.1)
RQ2: What concrete agendas, actor constellations and strategies characterise these governance experiments?	Compatibility of stakeholders' agendas Distribution of control and transfer of knowledge Citizens' agency in the process (Inclusion)	Categories of actors (D1.1) Power and leadership (D1.1) <u>Dilemmas</u> of inclusion (D1.3) Urban sites as arenas of a strategic struggle for democracy (D1.1)
RQ3: Which are the key drivers (economic, political and cultural) that influence or bias local outcomes of democratic governance experiments?	Legal/institutional/financial embeddedness in the local governance system The role of trust/communication/empathy among stakeholders The role of cooperation/collaboration The role of conflict The role of informality/transparency The role of the media (traditional and social) (Inclusion) Evolution incl. innovative promise/edge (what happens to innovativeness on the way?) Major turning points and how they affect the process Evaluation (is there any? are the results taken into account and acted upon? why not?) Resilience and responsiveness to crisis (esp. COVID-19 & the 2022 Ukr. refugee crisis) To what extent new technologies and digital platforms <u>support/deteriorate</u> these experiments?	<u>Dilemmas</u> of inclusion (D1.3) Dialogue between the consensus and conflict (D1.1, D1.3) Psychology of deliberative and participatory processes (D1.3) Governance (D.1.3) PR-ticipation (D1.3) Urban populism (D.1.1: 33, D1.2, D1.3) Mediatization and the era of 'post-politics' (D1.1) Political participation as a democratic mechanism of change (D1.2) Directions in which tools can be developed (D1.3) Crisis as a permanent state of democracy (D1.2) Pandemic challenges and the models of democracy (D6.5)
RQ5 : Which factors determine the effectiveness and impact of governance experiments?	Added value provided by participatory/deliberative means How does the process contribute to urban justice (procedural & distributive) How are the outcomes <u>tunnelled</u> into policy making and what are the obstacles? (Inclusion)	<u>Dilemmas</u> of inclusion (D1.3) Dialogue between the consensus and conflict (D1.3)? Indirect (longterm) effects of deliberation and participation (D1.3) Urban populism (D.1.1: 33, D1.2, D1.3)? Democracy in crisis (D1.2) Political participation as a democratic mechanism of change (D1.2)
RQ6: Which governance practices and institutional arrangements best facilitate citizen engagement and co-governance and democratize the local governance?	Political will (the Momentum?) Best/worst practices Inclusiveness (ensuring diversity, engagement, inclusion, and influence)	<u>Dilemmas</u> of inclusion (D1.3) Democracy in crisis (D1.2) Urban sites as arenas of a strategic struggle for democracy (D1.2) What makes a successful deliberation (D1.2) Political participation as a democratic mechanism of change (D1.2)
RQ7: How do the experiments relate with regional, national and supranational levels?		Multiplicity of levels (D1.1) Governance (D1.3)
RQ8: How universal for implementation in other places and to other levels of governance successful local governance innovations can be?	Transferability to other cities/levels of governance Key obstacles for transferability	

Section 3

RESULTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDY ANALYSIS (RT 3.3)

As outlined in Section 2, the results of the individual case study analyses, presented in the form of case-study summaries and comprehensive typologies, have been independently published as the Guide to the EUARENAS Case Studies (Grabkowska et al. 2024). The partial results presented here relate to basic information on the processes studied and their different contexts, or in other words, to case study characteristics. They also serve as features or variables that may correlate with the features (variables) examined in RQs 1-8. The following review of the cases in terms of these different variables is complemented by selected typologies.

Region of Europe and culture of co-governance

Although the idea of examining up to a dozen case studies in WP3 proved to be a difficult one (see section 7), the rationale behind it was to gather a representation of innovations from different geographical parts of Europe and innovations that had a strong social resonance in their local environment. These included the following **regions** and associated socio-political models or regimes: Atlantic (liberal), West-Central European (state-based), Nordic (society-based), Mediterranean (family-based) and Central European and Baltic (mixed) (see Grabkowska et al. 2021: 7). During the cross-case phase of the analysis, we decided to replace these original five regional labels with just two, namely Western Europe (WE) and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (see Table 4).

This distinction proved more appropriate for two reasons. First, while both regions are internally diverse, their specific dispositions (including long-standing cultural differences) appear to be more significant than other variables in explaining the differences between the case studies. Second, such a classification shifts the focus from socio-political regimes to the opposition of established versus 'new democracies'. While the validity of the latter term in relation to CEE has recently been debated due to the time that has elapsed since the start of transition in the region (Haggard and Kaufman 2021), it is a useful concept if we wish to observe the differences embedded in the cultural differences that still shape and permeate the public spheres and institutional frameworks in countries formerly separated by the Iron Curtain (Grewal and Voeten 2015, Ufel 2023a).

This brings us to the issue of the **culture of co-governance** in which the case studies are immersed. By this umbrella term we mean the grounding in and openness to a multi-stakeholder model of decision-making and responsibility for the common good, in which the community of citizens are active and empowered partners (see definition of co-governance in Fritsch et al. 2021: 28). Overall, the WE case studies tend to represent a higher level of governance culture than the CEE case studies (Table 4). In the most extreme case of Berlin, this has even led to 'over-participation' - a situation in which the abundance of programmes, methods and tools becomes counterproductive. Participants in focus groups on Quartiersmanagement Pankstraße referred to this phenomenon as the scattergun approach (*Gießkannenprinzip*).

As will be discussed in more detail in Section 4, the generally lower level of co-governance culture in post-socialist cities is often due to a lack of mutual trust between key stakeholders (especially citizens and local authorities), as well as a lack of debate culture and an (as yet) inappropriate institutional framework. Against the background of the other CEE case studies, Gdansk and Võru stand out slightly because of their relatively richer experience and efforts in the field of participation. They are joined by Helsinki at the 'medium level', because just as the lack of trust translates into low levels of citizen mobilisation and engagement, so too does the lack of citizen interest observed in the Finnish capital.

Table 4. Typologies concerning regional positioning and co-governance culture across case studies (Source: Authors’ own elaboration)

		Borough Liason Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens’ Assembly CPH	Citizens’ Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Social. Cult. Policy WRO
Region	WE	●	●	●		●			●	●		
	CEE				●		●	●			●	●
Co-governance culture	high		●	●		●			●	●		
	medium	●						●			●	
	low				●	●						●

The threat or presence of populism at the national level of government, most pronounced in Hungary and Poland, is an additional background factor affecting the culture of co-governance in many case studies. Participants in one of the focus interviews agreed that it is often difficult to activate citizens at the local level because the central government expects them to be passive and not involved in public affairs or the public sphere. This finding is followed by the observation that this is precisely why it is so important to push for more inclusion and participation at the local level in a semi-authoritarian national context.

Position in urban hierarchy versus objectives of the processes under investigation

The ten urban arenas studied are municipal units of varying **size and status**. We have divided them into three groups - capital, city and town (Table 5). It is important to recognise, however, that these distinctions are context sensitive, for example, even though Wigan and Galway have almost the same population, around 80,000, they end up in different categories depending on their position within the national urban system.

Differences in size and position bring different **strengths and challenges**. For example, the larger the city, the more prosperous it is on average, but it may also be more internally divided, with significant socio-economic disparities. Larger urban centres also tend to be more ethnically diverse, which can pose additional challenges in terms of inclusion and social cohesion. However, we find that while some cities have the advantage of being major cultural centres (Copenhagen, Berlin, Budapest), hotbeds of innovation and high technology (Galway, Helsinki) and/or centres of vibrant economic growth and high social capital (Reggio Emilia, Wrocław, Gdańsk), the challenges that generate the need for participation are similar in more peripheral and less privileged communities. These challenges include issues such as ageing, traffic congestion/unsustainable transport systems, urban sprawl, gentrification and inefficient public services.

Looking at the specifics of social diversity as a potential barrier to inclusive and equitable participation and deliberation at the local level, we have identified several demographic groups that are particularly exposed to inequalities in these matters. One of these is older citizens, who are generally less active and potentially digitally excluded due to their age and related health conditions. This group is present in all cases. At the other end of the age spectrum are young people, who are also harder to reach and less inclined to engage in participatory and deliberative processes. The under-representation of young citizens, who may lack motivation and/or interest in local democracy, is a recognised problem in Võru and Reggio Emilia. The

former of the urban arenas also struggles to involve people with disabilities, who make up a significant proportion of the local population. The last group are immigrants. Here the situation varies locally, with the Polish case study cities being relatively less affected at the beginning of the EUARENAS project due to a much greater heterogeneity of the urban population in terms of ethnic and national composition, but the recent influx of refugees from Ukraine has changed this perspective.

Table 5. Typologies concerning urban positioning and objectives of the innovations across case studies (Source: Authors' own elaboration)

		Borough Liaison Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens' Assembly CPH	Citizens' Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Socialising Cultural Policy WRO
Urban status / position in urban hierarchy	capital	●		●			●			●		
	city		●		●			●	●			●
	town					●					●	
Objectives for participation /deliberation	involving citizens in decision-making	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
	improving interactions between stakeholders	●	●			●	●			●	●	●
	improving local services			●	●	●					●	●
	co-managing urban resources							●				

Given the varying specifics of the ten case study cities and their individual approaches and needs, the **objectives guiding the implementation of participatory and deliberative processes** vary as well. With only two exceptions, the processes in Galway and Wrocław (Table 5), the innovations analysed generally focused on improving local democracy by involving citizens in decision-making. This, of course, took different forms, with the most extreme case of building participation and deliberation from scratch at district level in Budapest. Another prominent aim, often interlinked, was to improve interactions between urban stakeholders - for example, citizens, small businesses and city officials in Helsinki, or the artistic and cultural milieu and city representatives in one of the processes studied in Wrocław. In several cases, participatory processes were used to address specific urban problems. They were aimed at finding solutions to predefined urban problems, such as developing sustainable (car-free) transport systems in the congested city centres of Copenhagen or Wrocław, or improving public health services in Wigan. On the other hand, the Wigan Deal was designed as a response to austerity in the UK. The most advanced approach to participation and deliberation is offered by Quartiere Bene Comune in Reggio Emilia, where it is linked to collaborative and polycentric governance of urban resources in line with the City as Commons paradigm (Foster and Iaione 2015).

Adopted method, spatial scale and temporal dimension of the process

The eleven case study innovations represent a wide range of models of participation. They range from the use of single methods, such as participatory budgeting or citizens' assemblies, to the creation of platforms for participation, such as Quartiere Bene Comune, or the introduction of new institutional arrangements, such as the Office for Community Participation in Józsefváros, Budapest, which rely on a combination of participatory and deliberative methods. For example, the Borough Liaison Officers in Helsinki play an

important role in implementing the participatory budgeting process in Helsinki, and the Józsefváros Office is also experimenting with this among other methods to find effective means and mechanisms for citizen participation and engagement at the district level. The Wigan Deal uses several methods, but the process itself resembles a practice or a way of working guided by principles over a longer period of time.

Another way of looking at these very different models is through the lens of the specific **techniques** on which particular methods or mixes of methods are based in terms of citizen recruitment. Such a classification includes three categories - open participation, participatory/deliberative bodies involved in co-governance, and minipublics (Table 6). Open participation refers to a participatory method in which all willing citizens can participate, at least at some stage or in some form. Participatory/deliberative bodies involved in co-governance are more or less institutionalised arrangements that offer continuous participation to a representation of citizens. Mini-publics are also based on citizen representation, but often randomized and in this sense organised in a more exclusive way.

Although the design of the processes is described in more detail in the Guide to the **EUARENAS** Case Studies (Grabkowska et al. 2024), we would like to highlight here the similarities and differences between the case studies in terms of their **approach to the distinction between participation and deliberation**. While for the purposes of the project we have decided to treat deliberative processes as special cases of participation (Ufel et al. 2022), we feel it is important to point out that the majority of the innovations studied contain elements of deliberation (Table 6). However, this is not always so obvious - for example, the participatory budget in Gdańsk and the vast majority of cities in Poland do not include this element at all, unlike the original Porto Alegre model (Sroka et al. 2022).

Table 6. Typologies concerning methods and approaches across case studies
(Source: Authors’ own elaboration)

		Borough Liaison Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens’ Assembly CPH	Citizens’ Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Social. Cult. Policy WRO
Method / technique	open participation	●				●	●	●	●	●	●	●
	participatory / <u>delib.</u> bodies involved in co-governance	●					●		●	●		●
	<u>minipublics</u>		●	●	●						●	
Approach	non-deliberative	●					●	●				●
	deliberative		●	●	●	●			●	●	●	●
Spatial scale of the process	district / <u>neighbourhood</u>	●					●	●	●	●		
	municipal			●	●	●		●				●
	regional		●								●	
Frequency mode	one-off		●	●	●							
	annual event since the launch							●			●	
	permanent/ continuous process	●				●	●		●	●		●

NOTES: Citizen Jury was one-off but lasted for two consecutive years, two Social Hackathons were organised in 2019 in Vöru and The Deal was replaced by The Deal2030 in 2019 (a continuation of the former process)

By identifying the **spatial scale of the process**, we aimed to determine where exactly it was implemented: at the microlocal (district or neighbourhood level), local (whole city level) or supralocal (regional level) scale (Table 6). Most of the innovations studied fall into one of the first two categories, or a mixture of the two - participatory budgeting in Gdańsk is dedicated to the submission of both citywide and neighbourhood proposals. In contrast, the cases of Galway (mobilising the whole of Galway County) and Võru (covering five municipalities in Võru County) show that there is sometimes a need to go beyond the administrative boundaries of a municipal unit. It should be added that in Gdańsk there was a discussion about extending participatory budgeting to a supra-local level in order to extend the catchment area to the suburbs, which would include regular users of the city who are not necessarily local residents.

Finally, it should be emphasised that the case study processes vary considerably in terms of **frequency and duration**. While the Galway Citizens' Jury and the two Citizens' Assemblies have so far been one-off events, the other eight processes take place on a more regular or permanent basis - they are either repeated annually (participatory budgeting in Gdansk and social hackathons in Voru) or continuous processes that have been running since their inception (Table 6). In the latter category, the Pankstraße neighbourhood management in Berlin is the longest running, with the year of implementation going back to 2002, while the Office for Community Participation in Józsefváros only started in 2020 (Figure 3).

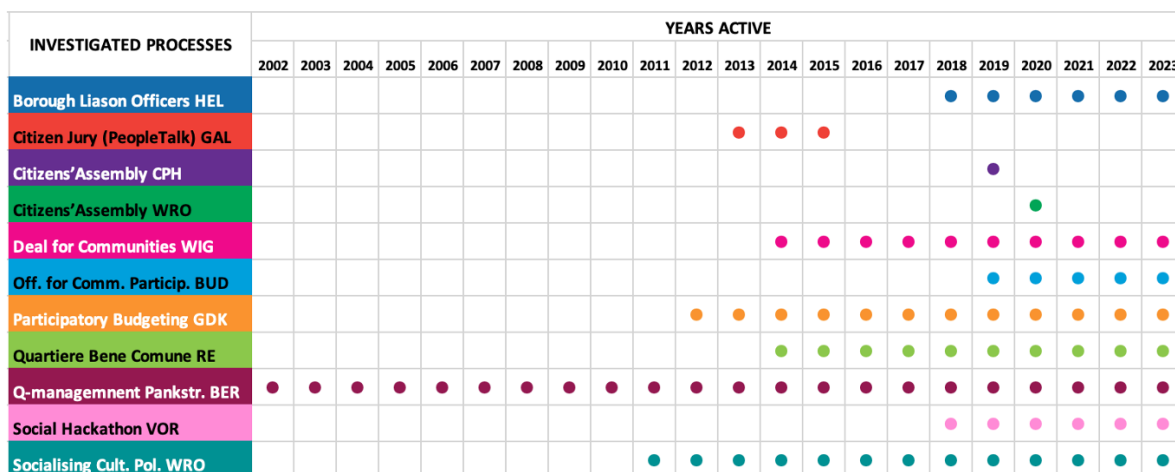


Figure 3. Duration of processes under investigation (Source: Authors' own elaboration)

Level of participation

The final feature that characterises the eleven governance innovations presented in this section is the **level of participation achieved**. However, we should first acknowledge that it is difficult to assess, as it is both intangible and the result of a mix of the characteristics mentioned above - in particular the objectives pursued and the methods and approaches adopted.

Since the beginning of the project, the consortium has discussed possible ways of operationalising this variable, which would allow an approximate positioning of the case study processes in relation to each other. During the review and final selection of case studies in the first half of 2021 (Research Task 3.1, see Grabkowska et al. 2021), we relied on Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation for this purpose. Although often criticised, it is a useful classification that allows for a relatively transparent ranking (Ufel 2021: 4.1). It has also served as the basis for the elaboration of the IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation, which has recently been re-adapted by the European Committee on Democracy and Governance, an intergovernmental forum of the Council of Europe, which has come up with a scale assigning the five levels of participation to the corresponding methods of participation. These five levels are: informing (e.g. ensuring wide public awareness of relevant issues through media campaigns), consulting (e.g. gathering

public opinion through written consultations or advisory groups), involving (e.g. involving the public in discussions through town hall meetings, focus groups or crowdsourcing), collaborating (e.g. creating opportunities for deliberation through organising events), creating opportunities for deliberation through organising citizens' juries, town hall meetings or neighbourhood forums) and empowering (e.g. involving citizens in decision-making through participatory budgeting or hackdays and hackathons) (Report on Deliberative Democracy 2023: 10).

According to this classification, our case studies would be positioned at the following levels:

- consulting - Office for Community Participation in Budapest; Borough Liaison Officers in Helsinki, Socialising Cultural Policy in Wrocław,
- involving - Quartiersmanagement Pankstraße in Berlin, Deal for Communities in Wigan,
- collaborating - Citizen Juries in Galway, Quartiere Bene Comune in Reggio Emilia, Citizen Assemblies in Copenhagen and Wrocław),
- empowering - Social Hackathon in Voru, Participatory Budgeting in Gdańsk.

However, two corrections have to be made when looking at the actual, i.e. achieved, level of participation. Due to its limited scope compared to the original Porto Alegre model (see RQ1 in section 4), the participatory budgeting in Gdańsk has to be moved from 'empowering' to 'involving'. Similarly, the implementation of the social hackathon in Voru outside the existing governance system argues for moving it from 'empowering' to 'collaborating' (see RQ7 in section 4). The final typology incorporating these changes is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Typology concerning the achieved level of participation across case studies
(Source: Authors' own elaboration based on Report on Deliberative Democracy 2023: 10)

		Borough Liaison Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk)	Citizens' Assembly CPH	Citizens' Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip.	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr.	Social Hackathon VOR	Socialising Cultural Policy
Level of participation achieved	consulting	●					●					●
	involving					●	●		●			
	collaborating		●	●	●						●	
	empowering								●			

Section 4

RESULTS OF THE CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES (RT 3.4)

The results of the analysis presented below are organised according to the research questions in WP3. Where applicable, they are also accompanied by typologies grouped in a common table at the end of the section.

RQ1: How do local democratic governance innovations emerge and to what extent they are the product of learning from other local governance contexts?

What innovativeness means in particular cases?

One of the first cases that came to mind when we were drawing up the initial list of innovative participatory and deliberative processes to be studied in WP3 was Community Balance in relation to the Citizen Assets Programme in Barcelona (Pera et al. 2023). Although we eventually had to remove this case from the study (see Grabkowska et al. 2022), we still feel inspired by this particular urban arena. According to the author of a recent book on social innovation in Barcelona, who describes the city as 'a reference point for innovation and bold local policies' (Zemke 2023: 12), an important part of its success lies in rejecting a reductionist and utilitarian vision of innovation as a means of responding to the shortcomings of the neoliberal development model. Instead, she argues, it adopts a more radical approach - one that offers a new quality and alternative to the current model, shifting the perspective from individual responsibility and entrepreneurship to collective action (Zemke 2023 after Bouchard 2013).

The analysis of our case studies shows a spectrum between these two formulas. Participatory budgeting in Gdańsk, for example, belongs to the former category, as it cannot in itself overcome numerous structural deficiencies in local governance, such as the silo approach, the overburdening of public officers with tasks, or the lack of long-term master plans in the districts. More importantly, its aim and design make it in principle an ad hoc measure, without any major ambitions to change the existing system. On the contrary, the philosophy behind Quartiere Bene Comune approaches the other end of the spectrum, building a model of participation and interaction around the concept of the co-city as an infrastructure that enables collaboration, sharing and participatory decision making to peer production, supported by open data and guided by principles of distributive justice (Co-Protocol 2023). The idea of the city as a commons is also present in the Citizen Jury Galway and Wigan Deal processes.

The majority of the innovations studied fall between the two approaches. Social hackathons in Võru are perceived by their promoters as only a starting point on the roadmap of innovation in public services, requiring a wider innovation ecosystem to create impact and change in society. Innovation here is understood as taking participation to another level, from simply asking citizens for their ideas to effectively empowering them and creating substantial change. The Borough Liaison Officers process in Helsinki is characterised by a New Public Management mindset that is geared towards responding to residents' wishes or requests, but it also wants to build some deliberative and co-governance methods of urban participation in order to increase public involvement in participation as a desirable formula of the new model of urban policy. However, by straddling both options, BLOs also find themselves in a conflictual position.

Are the innovations original or products of learning?

In a narrower sense, innovation is also about introducing something new, something that has never been done before. The novelty factor in our case study processes is the application of new approaches, solutions and ways of doing things, or their installation on a new scale. One of the most basic classifications of the innovations studied is based on the distinction between the application of original, tailor-made methods and pre-existing methods adapted to local contexts and needs.

The latter category includes innovations based on ready-made formulas. Our case studies include participatory budgeting in Gdańsk, citizens' assemblies in Copenhagen and Wrocław, citizens' juries in Galway and Quartiere Bene Comune in Reggio Emilia. All of them are the first use of a method transplanted from elsewhere. PB in Gdańsk, for example, is a loose adaptation of the original concept first implemented in Porto Alegre in 1989. Over the past decade, it has taken the Polish city by storm, to the point of being centrally institutionalised in 2018 (Madej 2019, Mączka et al. 2021). Similarly, citizens' assemblies and citizen juries - whose origins also date back to the 1980s (Crosby et al. 1986) - have increasingly become a renowned tool of democracy, adopted at various levels, including the EU (European Citizens' Panels 2023). In Ireland, a citizens' jury approach had previously been used at provincial level and in the capital city. On the other hand, the QBC in Reggio Emilia was built as a unique model on the basis of a Co-City Protocol developed by LabGov and implemented in more than a hundred cities worldwide (City as a Commons 2023).

However, original innovation can also draw on other experiences and ideas. For example, the Wigan Deal - which aims to empower communities through a 'citizen-led' approach to public services - was heavily influenced by two innovation projects that the city had previously implemented with considerable success (Naylor and Wellings 2019) (figure 4). The modus operandi and central idea of the social hackathon in Võru, i.e., the recognition of co-creation, was borrowed from the IT sector, where it is used for rapid prototyping of new business opportunities.

Our part

- Keep your Council Tax as one of the lowest
- Help communities to support each other
- Cut red tape and provide value for money
- Build services around you and your family
- Create opportunities for young people
- Support the local economy to grow
- Listen, be open, honest and friendly
- Believe in our borough

Signed 
Councillor David Molyneux, Leader of Wigan Council

Your part

- Recycle more, recycle right
- Get involved in your community
- Get online
- Be healthy and be active
- Help protect children and the vulnerable
- Support your local businesses
- Have your say and tell us if we get it wrong
- Believe in our borough

Signed _____





We've already achieved so much together, let's do a deal to carry it on...

Figure 4. Wigan Deal as an example of an agreement between local council and residents drawing from previous experiences in co-governance (Source: The Deal 2030...2019 : 4)

Originality is not just about the design of the process, but also about other factors. For example, although the concepts and principles of The Deal are not entirely new, they are groundbreaking in the scope of their implementation and the commitment of Wigan Council to 'live' them in the long term - that is, not just for the duration of a particular project, but consistently. The innovative edge of QBC in Reggio Emilia was assessed by one of the local newspapers in terms of the impact of the potential outcomes of citizen activation on the whole community by means of metaphors of 'positive contamination' and 'engine of innovation'. As in the Võru process, the multiplier effect of sharing resources such as knowledge, experience and skills between different actors who would not have been able to come together and work together was key to the success of the innovation.

In cities where the culture of co-governance itself is still a relatively new concept, innovations are often experiments in democracy whose effects go far beyond the issues and goals set. When it was introduced in Gdańsk over a decade ago, participatory budgeting was not only seen as a new method of co-governance in Poland, allowing citizens to decide directly how a certain amount of money should be spent. It also paved the way for a new way of thinking about municipal funds ('they belong to all citizens') and a change in the approach to public consultation towards a more empowering way. The Office for Community Participation in Budapest, the first municipal office of its kind in Hungary, is essentially the result of learning from past mistakes - the ambition of the concept was to counteract previous bad experiences with the district management, which had a history of being authoritarian and discriminatory towards citizen initiatives.

Whose initiative and which conditions trigger its implementation?

As innovations in participatory and deliberative governance are bottom-up or top-down, the actors who initiate them are not necessarily the same as those who later implement them. This discrepancy, which is well illustrated in Table 8, can affect the design and quality of the process in a variety of ways. Moreover, very different conditions may trigger the development of the idea into practice.

The role of initiator and organiser is often played by local authorities. In Helsinki and Wigan, the initiative arose from a self-critical assessment of existing systems of co-governance by the local authorities and was driven by a desire for improvement. In Budapest-Józsefváros, the conception of the process even preceded the election of the district mayor who would eventually implement it - the Office for Community Participation was one of the political promises of the then opposition candidate during the 2019 election campaign. In the end, he won largely because of his declared commitment to more inclusive and citizen-oriented governance.

Given the activist backgrounds of the winning mayor and his entourage, the OfCP process can also be seen as bottom-up, third-sector inspired and 'co-opted' by the local authorities, who implement it top-down. A more blatant example of this is PB in Gdańsk, which started as a result of lobbying by local activists who managed to convince the local authorities to experiment with it, and then slipped out of their control and took on a different form. In contrast, the Galway Citizens' Jury, which was also initiated by the third sector - the Jesuits in Ireland - and also ended up as a top-down exercise, the initiators managed to maintain a position of power by organising the process in collaboration with local and regional government. However, the active role of the third sector as organiser or coordinator does not always guarantee control over the process. This is illustrated by the example of the Citizens' Assembly in Wrocław, where the initial situation was similar to that in Galway and yet the process unfolded in a very different way, leading to the failure of the whole process (see RQ2 and RQ3).

Two of our case study processes came about with the help of the academic environment. In Reggio Emilia it was LabGov that provided the installation of the Co-City Protocol, while in Võru the Social Hackathon was designed by experts from Tallinn University and the Võru County Development Centre within the Horizon 2020 project CoSIE (2023). Some of the innovations also owe their origins in part to legal reforms or

programmes implemented at different levels of government. One of the factors that led to the establishment of the QBC in Reggio Emilia was the abolition of the *circostrizioni* - urban units of administrative division with prerogatives for participation, consultation and service management at the local level, which created an institutional gap that had to be filled. In addition, a constitutional reform in 2001 encouraged the adoption of various forms of active citizen participation in public life, based on the idea of horizontal subsidiarity. Similarly, the neighbourhood management model was introduced in Berlin as an operational tool of a federal programme aimed at revitalising socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Finally, socialising of cultural policy in Wrocław is a by-product of the city's bid to become European Capital of Culture in 2016.

Table 8. Typologies concerning initiators and organisers of investigated processes across case studies (Source: Authors' own elaboration)

		Borough Liason Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens' Assembly CPH	Citizens' Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Socialising Cultural Policy WRO
Initiator	city/district administration	●		●		●	●		●			●
	third sector		●		●		●	●			●	
	national/ federal administration									●		
	academic milieu								●			
Organiser/ Coordinator	city/district administration	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●			●
	third sector		●	●	●						●	
	regional government		●								●	
	private company									●		

Other triggers include political pressure for radical change (e.g. restricting traffic in Copenhagen's old town), passing the buck or 'hot potato' (e.g. solving unsustainable traffic problems in Wrocław). Political leadership played a role in Budapest and Gdańsk, where the personal involvement and support of the mayors was key to initiating the case study processes. More external factors conducive to the implementation of the innovations include the availability of funding opportunities (e.g. the funding of the social hackathon in Võru), the management of or response to economic and political crises (the response to austerity in the UK and populism in Hungary), and the exploitation of a favourable atmosphere or narrative (e.g. the emphasis on entrepreneurship and especially the technology-driven start-up scene in Estonia).

As discussed in more detail in RQ3 and RQ5, the legal, institutional and financial **embeddedness** of innovations in existing governance systems does not always ensure their effective operation. While the processes studied vary considerably in terms of legal status and binding force, type of funding and institutional framework (Table 9), their actual impact seems to depend more on other conditions.

Table 9. Typologies concerning embeddedness of processes in the existing systems of governance (Source: Authors' own elaboration)

		Borough Liason Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens' Assembly CPH	Citizens' Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Socialising Cultural Policy WRO
Embeddedness	legal	●						●	●			●
	institutional	●	●	●			●	●	●			●
	financial	●	●	●		●	●	●	●			●

RQ2: What are actor constellations and agendas in these governance innovations?

Categories of actors

As described in the EUARENAS conceptual framework (Ufel 2021), there are several categories of stakeholders active in urban arenas. They are: social actors (citizens, third sector), political institutions (city representatives, civil servants, administration), economic actors (business community, local enterprises), knowledge hubs (schools, academic community) and the media. All actors involved in the case study processes outside of the roles of initiators or organisers are conceptualised as participants. They may form interest groups, which we refer to as actor constellations. When we identify the participants as stakeholders, we emphasise the specific dimension of their participation in which they pursue their own agendas and interests, which may conflict with the other agendas and interests. The interplay of 'stakes' translates into the additional dynamics of the processes under study.

In almost all case studies, with the sole exception of the Wrocław SCP, **citizens** were actively involved in the investigated processes as participants (Table 10). However, the extent of their participation varied, as well as their access to the processes. In some cases anyone could join the process, in others only selected groups were authorised.

It is important to recognise that only those citizens who want to take part in the processes do so. This may seem like a truism, but we want to emphasise that total representativeness is not possible because in any process we will only hear the voices of the more involved sections of society. In Galway, many members of the Citizens' Jury were involved and active in various community development initiatives and related organisations. This is not necessarily a weakness. However, in some situations it can lead to the participation of only a fixed group of people, half-mockingly referred to as 'the usual suspects'. This was the case in Gdansk and Budapest.

The other category of social actors, the **third sector**, is another group of key participants (Table 10). Although they often play the role of initiators and/or organisers (see RQ1), they tend to present themselves as representing citizens. Such a narrative is not entirely accurate, as most NGOs are made up of representatives of the middle classes. Activists are sometimes aware of this disparity and try to reach out to other groups of residents. Apart from their active and direct participation, NGOs can also be involved as external experts, observers or members of the monitoring team.

City representatives and the administration initiate and/or organise most of the processes analysed and

therefore often do not participate on an equal footing with social actors (Table 10). On the other hand, they sometimes seem to be unofficially mediated by representatives of **civil/public services** or **public institutions** such as day-care centres or schools. In Gdańsk, public primary schools have been very successful in submitting and winning participatory budgeting proposals due to the involvement of parents in the voting process. This has led to their exclusion from participation in later editions of PB.

Table 10. Typology concerning participants in the processes across case studies
(Source: Authors’ own elaboration)

		Borough Liason Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens’ Assembly CPH	Citizens’ Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Socialising Cultural Policy WRO
Participants	citizens	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
	third sector	●	●	●		●	●	●				●
	city representatives / the administration	●				●		●				●
	representatives of civil / public services			●	●	●		●			●	
	public institutions (schools, etc.)						●		●	●		
	business milieu	●				●		●			●	
	academic milieu			●	●			●			●	●
	artistic and cultural milieu								●			●

The next two groups are two specific clusters of urban stakeholders most often assigned the role of advisory bodies. By **economic actors** we mean local businesses and the business community. They were actively present in Helsinki, Wigan, Reggio Emilia and Võru, but in many other cases we were unable to identify them, suggesting that they were either not involved in the processes or their involvement was limited. The role of **knowledge hubs** was also limited. The only two cases where local universities provided advice on democratic innovation were Reggio Emilia and Võru. It is worth noting that academics sometimes observe these processes, but don't actively participate in them. Rather, they study them from an outsider's perspective and thus treat them as purely research phenomena.

The last group outlined in the conceptual framework, i.e. **the media**, did not emerge as a distinct actor in its own right, so we do not consider it as a stakeholder in this analysis. However, we would like to point out that the media were not the main focus of our research, and we do not exclude the possibility that they are an important actor. The activists we interviewed emphasised the importance of the media in general, as a means of promoting the participatory process. Social media was not usually mentioned in this context either. In Berlin, the group on Telegram was used as a means of building local community.

In the course of the analysis we added an extra category of the **artistic and cultural milieu**, which turned out to be an important stakeholder in the Berlin case of Quartiersmanagement Pankstraße and in the Wrocław case of Socialising Cultural Policy.

Stakeholders' agendas

As shown in Section 3, the cases we analysed had different objectives. Some of them focused on specific issues, such as public transport in the city or budget management. However, many of them did not have a specific theme. In these cases, the main aim of the participatory process was participation itself. As we will show in the following analysis, this approach is an indicator of an ineffective process.

We would like to point out that this approach is particularly difficult from an activist perspective. To illustrate, the citizens' assembly in Wrocław had been implemented by the local authorities partially to accommodate the demand of the local branch of the Extinction Rebellion. Extinction Rebellion operates as a decentralised, global and politically impartial movement, using non-violent direct action and civil disobedience as strategies to encourage governments to take fair and immediate action in response to the climate and ecological emergency. The fact that the process of organising the citizens' assembly became fraught with problems and was viewed very negatively by almost everyone undermined the agenda of the Extinction Rebellion Wrocław. After all, the authorities gave them what they were fighting for. In the same city, a similar dynamic could be seen in the establishment of the Wrocław Cultural Council.

In terms of stakeholders' agendas among citizens involved in the process, we observed a variety of attitudes. Some people take the role of 'single cause warriors'. They are not open to new ideas and are involved in the process to fight for specific goals. This approach was particularly evident in Wigan. Most participants however are usually more flexible. Depending on the duration of the process, there is also usually space for a certain dynamic. For example, during the Wrocław Citizens' Assembly, after the initial perturbations the participants most open to the dialogue became the leaders of the discussion (Ufel 2022).

As noted above, in most cases third sector actors take a citizen's perspective, and even if they recruit from the middle classes, they usually have a genuine intention to bring about social change. This citizen energy is often harnessed by the authorities. It is worth noting though, that these activists often experience burnout.

In the cases we have analysed, the role of economic actors is marginal. For this reason, we have no basis for cross-analysing the agenda of economic actors. The same applies to knowledge centres such as universities, schools or think tanks. Similarly, we found no evidence that the media had an agenda, confirming our finding that it was not a significant actor or stakeholder. Participatory processes are sometimes a topic for them to write about.

Distribution of control and transfer of knowledge

It is difficult to find a good tool for assessing citizen participation. One of them is the Arnstein ladder (see Section 3). Some of the cases analysed are close to the highest level, where residents are empowered. Others are on the lower rungs of the ladder. Here we would like to show the existing discrepancies across the cases by comparing Copenhagen (upper rungs) and Wrocław (lower rungs). These cities share the same method of the process (citizens' assembly), while they significantly differ in their levels of trust in social innovation.

In both Wrocław and Copenhagen we analysed citizens' assemblies. The Copenhagen assembly was viewed positively by those we interviewed, while the Wrocław assembly was viewed critically by almost all those involved. In Wrocław the organisers were NGOs, in Copenhagen the city authorities. At the same time, in Copenhagen the authorities shared power, while in Wrocław they did not. This seems paradoxical. We hypothesise that the authorities in Wrocław took deliberate actions to pretend to share power. The establishment of the Wrocław Cultural Council also fits into this explanation. The organisation of participatory processes in Wrocław seems to have been designed to channel the energy of activists and citizens rather than to actually share power. The research on Wrocław provided the basis for developing the concept of PR participation, which will be developed in other parts of the project.

RQ3: Which are the key drivers that influence or bias democratic governance experiments?

The role of community

There are two perspectives on community, which correspond to different interpretations of the etymology of the word. When a community is seen as 'com-unus' - coming together as one - it signifies a common bond between the inhabitants. Alternatively, community can be conceptualised as 'com-munis'-suggesting a commitment or obligation (Amin and Howell, 2016). The concept of community appeared in many of the cases analysed, but was understood in different ways.

An example of the first approach is Võru. The people of Võru have a strong sense of identification with their region, which serves as a basis for fostering cooperation, as demonstrated during the social hackathon. Participating together came naturally to them, allowing them to learn collective action and problem solving. The role of community, understood as 'com-unus', was also highlighted in materials from Berlin, where residents built community through activities such as gardening or playing with children in local playgrounds. These interpersonal connections played a crucial role in their involvement in local politics.

In contrast, the Wrocław Assembly took a very different approach. Participants decided to discuss only those issues that were expected to receive at least 80 per cent support. They developed a strategy to avoid spending time and effort on less consensual issues, as the mayor had committed to implementing resolutions with strong support from the assembly. In this case, unlike Võru and Berlin, cooperation was not driven by a common standing but by a common goal.

Relevance of legal, institutional and financial embeddedness in the local governance system

The processes we analysed differed in terms of their systemic embeddedness. Some were deeply embedded in the local governance system, while others were not; some were embedded legally, institutionally and financially, while others only in some of these dimensions (see Section 3 and Table 8).

Initially, we thought that the lack of embeddedness would be a good indicator of illusory participation. However, no such clear relationship was found. A good example would be the two cases from Wrocław. The Wrocław Cultural Council was established by the city council and is legally, institutionally and financially embedded in the local governance system. At the same time, its influence on city policy is marginal. The Wrocław Cultural Council has become an institution where the energy of city activists has been redirected. Despite its embeddedness in the local system, this is an example of 'PR-ticipation' (Ufel 2023b).

The second case from Wrocław, also illustrates this point. The citizens' assembly was organised and appointed by the city council, who had promised to implement the residents' resolutions but the promise was not kept. This means that the embedding of participation tools in the local system is questionable and can serve as a façade and a PR tool.

The situation in both Wrocław cases applies to Sara Ahmed's notion of the politics of documentation. This term, originally used to describe institutional racism, denotes all actions undertaken to mask the lack of real action (Ahmed, 2007).

The role of trust, communication and empathy among stakeholders

In almost every case we looked at, trust was mentioned as a key issue. The problem of lack of trust between citizens and authorities is a recurring theme in the data collected during the project.

The most interesting case is that of the Citizens' Assembly in Wrocław. The initial level of trust in the authorities was very low. Even before the assembly began, activists pointed out problems with its organisation: the location of the assembly on public transport was far from the city centre; the issue was

not formulated in an open way. Moreover, the subject of the meeting was the creation of a tram line, which the mayor had promised during the election campaign. During the deliberations of the assembly, one participant said that he felt betrayed. The Wroclaw town hall led to an escalation of the conflict between activists and the mayor. Local leaders have lost confidence in working with the city council. What's more, the authorities weren't happy with the town hall either, telling activists that they did not want to organise a similar process again. To date, the decisions of the assembly have not been implemented, and there are no signs that this will happen in the near future.

A similar example can be found in Gdansk, where participatory budgeting affected trust between citizens and municipal officials. Residents resented the fact that the projects they had voted for were changed during the implementation phase. This shows that the inappropriate use of participation can have the opposite of the intended effect.

In Budapest, a widespread feeling of mistrust towards the local government was a defining feature of the previous administration. Addressing and redressing this mistrust was one of the main motivations behind the creation of the Office for Community Participation. The response to the COVID-19 pandemic played an important role in building trust with the new authorities. This period served as the first and critical test for the Office, which was only a few months old. It is worth noting that crises such as the pandemic can serve as an opportunity for local authorities to earn the trust of their residents.

The cities mentioned so far (Wrocław, Gdańsk, Budapest) are linked by their location in central Europe and their generally low culture of co-governance (see Section 3). During the field research in these cities we found the most mentions of trust problems. The issue was also raised in other cities, but it is difficult to see a common pattern. In Wigan, racial trust issues were mentioned, while material from Berlin suggests that a much more important issue is class status.

The role of conflict

In analysing the data, we were able to distinguish between different types of conflict that occur in participatory processes, but we decided to focus on two of them. The first type is conflict between groups of residents. In Berlin, for example, the root of the conflict was gentrification, which led to tensions between old and new residents. The second type is between citizens and the authorities. Based on the data collected in the project, we argue that the participatory process can lead to an escalation of this conflict.

In Budapest, where there has been ongoing discord between city authorities and residents, participation was presented by one official as a platform for airing grievances. The deputy mayor pointed out that people tend to be very critical of local government and are quick to point out shortcomings, but often fail to acknowledge when things are going well. The situation was similar in Wroclaw, where the conflict between citizens and activists and the city administration escalated during the town hall meeting.

Conflicts within the community tend to crystallise during deliberations, and if the conflict is rooted in the resident-authority dynamic, it should be expected to surface during the process. However, conflict should not be seen as something inherently bad. According to Laclau and Mouffe's theory (see Ufel 2021), conflict is at the heart of democracy. In Helsinki, for example, a conflict arose between cyclists and car users. During the focus interviews it was evaluated positively: both sides could hear each other and establish communication. The use of an agonistic approach to the conflict emphasised its constructive nature.

The role of informality and transparency

The architecture of public life inherently involves informality, rooted in conflicts between state regulations and prevailing norms (Hilbrandt et al., 2017). Due to the impotence of the administration, the formal way of dealing with matters is often complicated. In the interviews conducted in Wroclaw and Gdańsk, many of the organisational activities in participatory processes were carried out personally or through connections.

This could be seen as an advantage of informality. On the other hand, it compromises transparency, which activists in Wrocław said was a crucial factor in enabling them to challenge and monitor authorities.

In Budapest, difficulty in accessing government services was a common problem, with residents often struggling to navigate the bureaucracy and unsure of how to deal with different issues. The same was true in Voru, where residents lacked the information, skills and knowledge to get involved and influence local politics. In Berlin, activists also complained that there were too many structures that were not well known. This was addressed in the Wigan process, where dedicated individuals were available to guide participants and ensure that everyone knew what, how and where to go. Opinions on this solution vary widely, but this approach seems to offer a way of addressing inequalities arising from different administrative navigational skills. In Budapest, engaged residents played a similar role, except that their work was not formal. Identified spaces of informality may thus indicate areas where system performance can be improved.

RQ4: What is the potential of change/adaptation of the process to the changing conditions?

The unfolding of innovativeness

As different as the processes of participation and deliberation studied in WP3 are - in terms of the objectives pursued, the methods used, the duration, the spatial scale, etc. - they all have in common that they follow a certain dynamic. The issue of change is very much present in the accounts collected by the consortium researchers in both desk and field research. For example, the Borough Liaison Officers initiative in Helsinki is described as still in its formative stages, while the Deal in Wigan is expected to 'evolve over the coming years, but by strengthening its core principles rather than through a wholesale change of direction' (Naylor & Wellings 2019: 84). A pressing question is not only how and why processes change as they evolve, but also what happens to their capacity for innovation along the way.

Our analysis shows that as the processes studied unfolded, their innovative edge tended to fade. While this can be seen as a natural consequence of the mainstreaming of once radical or original ideas for participation and deliberation, it sometimes comes under scrutiny and affects the overall reception. For example, the results of the Citizens' Assembly in Wrocław were critically assessed in the local press as not living up to the standard of the innovativeness of the method itself (Kokoszkiwicz 2020-12-21). In Reggio Emilia, the innovativeness of Quartiere Bene Comune was questioned because of the limited inclusiveness of the process, which did not sufficiently involve migrants, young people and people other than the 'usual suspects'. Some more detailed reservations concerned the inconsistency of the organisational arrangements with the overall premise of the innovation. The remote location of the CA in Wrocław was cited as a reason why most participants had to travel by car, which was at odds with sustainability as the overarching theme and goal of the event. In Wigan, participants were unhappy with the unhealthy 'popcorn & pop' catering served between discussions on how to improve the public health of the local community. These and other reactions suggest that any criticism of the case study processes was easily linked to the ineffective delivery of the innovative promise.

Some of the barriers to innovation seem to stem from the problem outlined in RQ1 and boil down to an inability to compensate for the shortcomings of the whole system of shared governance. Findings from the field research on the Helsinki BLO reveal a general disapproval of the way the city operates in general - with siloed approaches, lack of transparency in decision-making and lack of long-term and coherent strategic planning being the most common. Community reporters in Wigan expressed dissatisfaction with the local government's unwillingness to share power and thus act as a barrier to progress, while CA participants in Wrocław complained that the design of the process prevented them from discussing innovative ideas.

However, the novelty itself proved problematic in some cases, where it undermined the established order of things. In Wigan, some of the staff involved in the deal were said to be apprehensive about working in such an unconventional way. Similarly, the local authority in Józsefváros argued that the move to a more

participatory approach had led to a significant increase in their workload. From the citizens' point of view, innovation often coincided with a lack of knowledge about the processes underway - in Helsinki it was found that many residents were unaware of the mechanisms and opportunities offered by the BLO, while in Wrocław 'ordinary citizens' seemed to be unaware of the Socialising Cultural Policy model.

On the other hand, the catalogue of obstacles presented is counterbalanced by a catalogue of manifestations of innovation that were not anticipated at the time of implementation. These include, in particular, the unexpected scale of mobilisation of local resources (skills, talents, energy), the added value of face-to-face interactions between different actors, bringing them together for a common cause ("we're in this together"), as well as the emergence and spread of new values, principles and directions that begin to change the landscape of participation and deliberation and the mindsets of actors. Although the location of the CA in Wrocław was not well received by participants, they did appreciate the meat-free catering provided throughout the event.

Major turning points

One of the crucial parts of our case study analysis in WP3 in relation to the transformation of participation and deliberation processes was the identification of key turning points, i.e. factors that had a significant impact on the innovations under study. These can be broadly categorised as constructive or destructive, depending on their long-term impact.

Constructive turning points

Our working definition of constructive turning points is that they are breakthrough moments, with the common denominator being the point at which the process began to get on the right track and run more effectively and/or smoothly. One of the most commonly cited driving forces can be summarised as **the 'humane factor'**, based on empathy, solidarity, goodwill and benevolence. The most spectacular, but also unplanned, example of this is the trust and recognition that the Office for Community Participation in Józsefváros received after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. The quick response and numerous initiatives that were implemented at the time of the crisis were greatly appreciated by the local community, which was more willing to work together on a daily basis afterwards.

The **transformative power of teamwork and deliberation in smaller groups** was highlighted in the field research reports on the Citizens' Assemblies in Copenhagen and Wrocław, the Citizens' Jury in Galway, the QBC in Reggio Emilia and the Social Hackathon in Võru, along with the **abandonment of predetermined stakeholder roles**, the **emergence of a sense of common interest** and **opportunities for intersectional networking**. Interestingly, a radical change in approach proved beneficial in several cases. Once it became clear that the citizens participating in the Copenhagen CA were willing to accept a more radical scenario than initially assumed, previously sceptical councillors became more enthusiastic and engaged in the whole process. The following excerpt from an Office for Community Participation report serves as a further illustration of how the abandonment of initial ideas, combined with the humane factor, worked to the advantage of this particular innovation:

An important turning point was **when we changed our strategy towards changing the attitude of the municipality**. Instead of pushing our participatory and client-friendly agenda aggressively, **we started to act more as anthropologists who try to understand the context they live (and only later try to change it)** -friendly agenda aggressively, and also decided to ask our colleagues the question "How can we help you?" much more often, which created the possibility for more mutual help and reciprocity. This change of attitude and strategy on our part resulted in much better relations with our colleagues from among the municipal bureaucracy than before.

A **growing sense of agency and empowerment** completes the list. In cyclical processes, success often depends on the success of the most recent edition. The reputation of the pilot social hackathon in Võru generated enough citizen interest and energy for the next and subsequent events to attract participants

and become a local tradition. In Reggio Emilia, once 'making something happen and creating the conditions for it to happen' was achieved, other volunteers and locals began to show interest.

Destructive turning points

The destructive turning points were less frequently discussed and tended to relate to three issues. Firstly, **dissatisfaction with the course of the process and/or the results** was mentioned as a factor that not only deteriorated the quality of participation and deliberation, but in the most extreme cases derailed the chances of its continuation (e.g. CA in Wrocław).

Secondly, **poorly managed errors** have a similar effect and carry the additional risk of discouraging citizens from participating and deliberating in general. While mistakes are inevitable, it is how they are handled that matters most and can have a negative impact. This was the case with the temporary image crisis of participatory budgeting in Gdańsk, caused by the failure of the voting system in 2017 and the subsequent inappropriate and overly dismissive response of the organisers. In Wrocław, the persistence of the erroneous decision to exclude experts involved in the first phase of the implementation of the European Capital of Culture not only led to a downgrading of the quality of the events planned under this heading, but also had a negative impact on the entire subsequent process of socialising cultural policy.

Finally, **internal and external circumstances** affecting the case study cities or neighbourhoods were found to be responsible for some of the failures or stumbles of the innovations. An example of the former is gentrification in Pankstraße - partly because of QM and partly in response to QM, the neighbourhood changed dramatically as new initiatives were born, meeting places were created and active residents actually started to network, but this led to increased competition for social space and a sense of gentrification, and contributed to conflicts between 'old' and 'new' residents (see Section 6 for how this observation contributed to an idea for a research paper). The latter includes the impact of issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine, increased migration and climate change.

Evaluation of the process

An important question that arose in the course of the EUARENAS project across different work packages concerned the issue of evaluation and feedback of participatory and deliberative processes. We therefore wanted to know whether the case study innovations included such an element and, if so, whether the results of such evaluation were taken into account and acted upon. What we found was that the approach to and recognition of evaluation varied greatly between the processes studied, regardless of their frequency or duration.

Probably the highest priority was given to evaluation in Reggio Emilia, where a complex evaluation model was developed to achieve three objectives: 1) to inform policy-makers, participants and the city about the results achieved, 2) to prove that collaborative working is efficient and effective in order to stimulate further interest and motivation among existing and future stakeholders, 3) to learn from the experience. The measures taken for these purposes - applied in three time periods, i.e. ex ante, during the project and ex post - included the collection of feedback from different stakeholders using a range of highly specialised and carefully tailored methods. Similarly, the organisers of the Office for Community Participation in Budapest have taken the experiment seriously, often building evaluation mechanisms into the procedures. The motivation here is to learn from and improve the way they work. For example, the Office encourages citizens and all those involved in its activities to provide feedback through online and offline forms, and regularly monitors residents' requests and complaints about the office itself.

Regular consultations take place between local, district and national stakeholders in QM Pankstraße, through a steering committee set up specifically for this purpose. Although this is seen as a time-consuming process, it is recognised as necessary for the success of the projects. However, the Citizen

Experience sessions held in Berlin revealed that many participants felt that their contribution to the evaluation was insufficient. Similarly, findings from the fieldwork in Wigan point to a discrepancy between a more balanced assessment by citizens, highlighting the positive and negative aspects of the Deal, and more uncritical feedback from local council representatives, raising questions about the effectiveness of the evaluation used there and highlighting the need for more open dialogue and communication between these two stakeholders.

In processes that are either one-off or organised on an annual basis, the evaluation may be more ad hoc, but not necessarily at a loss of quality. The implementation of each social hackathon in Vöru was monitored by the organisers and researchers, and verbal, written and video material and feedback was collected in order to record the participants' experiences and to identify shortcomings or areas for improvement in the design of the event. The data collected was analysed and used to improve the design of the next social hackathon. After the first event, these improvements included enhancing the mentoring programme, improving the team building and coaching skills of the organisers, adapting the timing and location of the event to better suit the needs of the participants, and creating more opportunities for communication and networking among the participants. In Copenhagen, the evaluation included a short survey of participants on the last day of the CA and a meeting with stakeholders (experts, NGOs, observers) organised shortly after the event. In addition, one of the local NGOs carried out an evaluation in 2023 focusing on the implementation of the recommendations.

In general, and not surprisingly, the innovations that include evaluation as a key element of the process seem to work better than those that do not. The latter is the case of the PB in Gdańsk, where evaluation is limited to an assessment based on an online survey, the results of which are not made available to the public. Coupled with poor knowledge transfer between all actors involved, as well as the fact that citizens have limited influence on the design and implementation of PB procedures, the formula of successive editions has not changed much since its launch in 2012.

The changes that have been made to the process over the years are mostly the result of internal arrangements, and although some of them reflect the ideas put forward by the social actors, the political frameworks remain rigid in terms of communication with other actors and knowledge sharing. Meanwhile, as the discussions in the two focus groups showed, there is considerable potential for improvement and much to be learned from the experiences gathered so far. Interestingly, soon after the first edition, there was a bottom-up initiative by local activists who, independently of the local authorities, organised a citizens' assembly to discuss what could be improved in the PBG. Although their recommendations were not formally adopted by the city, some of them were eventually included in the subsequent editions.

Furthermore, in a citizens' assembly organised by the local authorities in 2017, which focused on how to increase citizen participation in Gdańsk, a number of recommendations generated by the participants focused on improving the participatory budgeting process. The initiative can be seen as an attempt to listen to citizens' opinions on how PB could be reformed in Gdańsk, albeit in a hidden and indirect way, and so far there is still a lot of room for bottom-up input or capacity for change.

Response to crisis

In addition to the fact that the **EUARENAS** project responds to a call on the crisis of democracy, the COVID-19 pandemic and the escalation of the Russian invasion of Ukraine occurred during the course of the project, which naturally drew our attention to these two situations and their potential impact on the processes under study. As can be seen from the results so far, the impact of the crises is being recorded both on the side of constructive and destructive turning points. In addition to what has already been said, what follows is what has been found about the response to the crisis in these two specific contexts. It is also worth noting that the issues discussed inspired the consortium members to collaborate on the three papers described in Section 6.

The COVID-19 pandemic had been officially declared by the World Health Organisation the year before the project began, and our consortium had first-hand experience of what was also the most significant impact on the processes we studied, namely the restrictions on face-to-face meetings. Depending on how each process was structured and how much social interaction required face-to-face contact, this limitation was dealt with in different ways. In Wrocław, because of the one-off nature and deliberative dimension of the CA, its scheduled date was postponed for several months so that it could take place offline.

Many precautions were taken to ensure the safety of the proceedings: participants had their temperature taken on entry and face coverings were compulsory throughout. During the debate, microphones were held by organisers wearing gloves, rather than being handed to individuals. The room was also ventilated and tables were cleaned at each break. Instead of cloth or medical masks, people were given plastic face masks so they could see each other's reactions. A few months later, face masks were required, which would have hindered non-verbal communication during CA.

The Social Hackathon in Võru, which also relies heavily on social interaction between participants, was less fortunate in terms of timing and had to be more adaptable to changing circumstances. In 2020, the event was organised in a hybrid format, and in 2021 it went fully digital. Thanks to a dedicated organising team, thorough planning and a participatory process, the difficulty of adapting to these unfavourable circumstances was overcome. On the other hand, it was much easier to run the Gdańsk PB entirely online, as it relies more on remote participation and less on personal connections.

However, in addition to the logistical challenges, the pandemics imposed new duties and responsibilities on local government, which had a direct impact on some of the procedures. As mentioned above in relation to Budapest-Józsefváros, this COVID-19 crisis was the first serious test for the Office for Community Participation, as it occurred only a few months after its establishment. They had to quickly refocus their efforts and started recruiting volunteers from all over the county to help mitigate the negative effects of the situation. They also set up a hotline, or 'green line', to answer questions from the public directly.

The Deal in Wigan, which responded quickly by setting up a Community Recovery Fund, also passed the test successfully and was cited as an exemplary model of the relationship between citizens and the state in a publication on the boom in local participation during the pandemic (Hall et al. 2021). According to one of the officers in the focus group, the volunteer and community response to the pandemic helped 'cut through' because it really helped people understand The Deal better.

The second crisis affected innovations in co-governance in a much less direct way. Rather than changing the processes themselves, it provoked a debate in several case study cities, particularly in Poland and Estonia, about the inclusion of newly arrived refugees and existing communities of Ukrainian migrants in participation and deliberation at the local level. For example, although the CA in Wrocław was organised two years before the full-scale Russian invasion, the city was already home to one of the largest Ukrainian diasporas in Poland. It is estimated that before the war between five and fifteen percent of the population were Ukrainian immigrants. However, as they are often not registered as residents of the city, it is difficult to include them in the official statistics on which the quotas for participants are based. As a result, only one migrant participated in the CA. In PB, efforts to include immigrants in local co-governance also preceded the 2022 crisis. This included, for example, simplifying the participation criteria to include non-registered citizens.

However, as evidenced during the EUARENAS Citizen Experience workshops in Gdańsk, other barriers to participation remain, such as insufficient or scattered information about PB and the language barrier. As these make it very difficult or impossible for Ukrainian immigrants to participate, the Community Reporters recruited from this specific group proposed their own recommendations, such as the creation of a dedicated website to collect "all" information on current and planned events within PB, with a Ukrainian language version, or the promotion of information on PB through major employers in Gdańsk.

New technologies and digital platforms

The question of the impact of new technologies on innovation in co-governance was originally intended to be the main research question (see Section 2), but was eventually relegated to a sub-question in RQ4, as it became apparent that new technologies had become a standard part of governance systems at the local level and were not being given much attention as such. In many cases, the COVID-19 pandemic, which popularised the use of remote communication platforms and other web-based tools, may have contributed to this.

Much of the research collected focused on the use of social media to promote the process and the networking of stakeholders and actors. However, expectations in this area are considerable. In Galway, participants complained that the use of IT was limited to a regular website, which even then, several years ago, was recognised as insufficient to reach a wider audience. Furthermore, as the Helsinki and Wigan case studies show, there is a growing appetite among citizens for more than just access to information and one-way communication - they want real empowerment and interaction.

Despite the apparent ubiquity of new media today, the question of whether, or to what extent, their use impedes inclusiveness remained. As noted in the focus interviews conducted in Budapest, the reluctance of citizens to participate in the evaluation of processes carried out by and within the Office for Community Participation blocks the flow of information between citizens and the municipality. It was also noted that the limited communication resources and capacity of the municipality often prevent it from reaching a significant part of the local population. Other reservations reported in Võru and Reggio Emilia concerned the inability to develop ideas for encouraging students and/or younger generations without risking the exclusion of older groups of participants.

In Gdańsk, the failure of the new technology due to errors in the PB online voting system and the subsequent scandal over attempts to cover up the miscalculation of votes undermined credibility and trust in the whole process. At the same time, this situation and the way it was handled showed that not much attention seemed to be paid to the media image of the process. While the public media have been and still are quite keen to provide information about the successive editions of the PB in Gdańsk, with several journalists specialising in this topic, much more content is produced independently by the participants in social media, where many of the projects are also promoted through dedicated pages. A slightly different approach is taken by the local authorities in Võru, where the media are used as a tool to promote social change in the Võrumaa region and to develop ideas that support people's well-being and coping skills. In this way, the media help to implement necessary reforms and develop essential services for the population.

RQ5 : Which factors determine the effectiveness of governance innovations?

All the governance experiments analysed in the WP3 case studies were or are affected by various direct and indirect factors that increase or decrease their effectiveness, understood as their ability to provide solutions to the issues or problems they address. The a wide range of WP3 cases and issues considered, from the tangible (e.g., decisions on transport infrastructure in Wroclaw or Copenhagen) to the intangible (e.g., improvement of communication links in Helsinki), require different and in many cases tailor-made approaches and arrangements.

Our analysis identified more than fifteen possible factors that may influence the outcomes of the processes analysed. They can be grouped into three general stages of process implementation: 1) planning and preparation; 2) implementation; 3) closure and reporting, some of which extend throughout the process (Tables 11 and 12).

Table 11. Factors affecting effectiveness of the analysed governance experiments at different stages of process implementation

(Source: Authors' own elaboration based on WP3 reports and deliverables)

Implementation stage	Factor
Planning and pre-arrangements	Level of political independence (of the city where the experiment takes place)
	Political orientation of the local authorities
	Broader political context
	Legal procedures on the state level (level of bureaucracy, complexity of procedures)
	General level of knowledge on the process among the stakeholders/actors/participants (information provided by the organisers)
	Result-oriented approach (hierarchy of goals, focus on constructive solutions not criticism, addressing real problems)
	Willingness to share power
	Media campaign promoting the process
Implementation	Legal procedures on the state level (level of bureaucracy, complexity of procedures)
	Constant evaluation and adaptation
	Communication channels (direct in-person contact)
	Attitudes, skills and knowledge of people running/managing the process
	General level of knowledge on the process among the stakeholders/actors/participants (information provided by the organisers)
	Result-oriented approach (hierarchy of goals, focus on constructive solutions not criticism, addressing real problems)
	Level of citizen engagement (ensuring diversity, accessibility, inclusiveness)
	Level of trust (atmosphere of being heard, citizen ownership of the process, proper status of people taking part in the process, leadership, collaboration with NGOs and neighbourhood associations)
Completion and reporting	Constant evaluation and adaptation
	Legal procedures on the state level (level of bureaucracy, complexity of procedures)
	Communicating results to the citizens
	Willingness to share power
	Implementation of the agreed solutions (when they are implemented as well)

Stage 1: Planning and pre-arrangements

There are eight factors that can be attributed to the stage of planning and preparation. These include very general issues such as the **degree of political independence** and **political orientation of the local authorities**. For example, both national and regional political contexts are mentioned in the case of Budapest, where there were numerous constraints that limited the authority of the Józsefváros district, as local leaders were in opposition to the central government (which has a super-majority in the national parliament). As a result, the central government was able to exert its power and limit the financial and other resources of the county. In addition, the level of civic engagement of the people of Józsefváros was influenced by the **broader political context** of Hungary, where citizens are expected to be passive and not involved in the public sphere.

Broad policy issues also relate to the **state legal procedures** that can facilitate or hinder civic engagement and the implementation of deliberative actions. The procedures, their complexity and the overall level of bureaucracy were mentioned in the context of the whole process in several of the cases analysed, i.e., Berlin, Helsinki, Reggio Emilia, Gdansk and Budapest. In the case of Reggio Emilia, the reform of Title V of the Italian Constitution (Law 3/2001) was mentioned, as it promoted the introduction of various forms of active citizen participation in public life. Similarly in the case of Gdańsk - since 2018, due to central regulations, participatory budgeting (PB) has become a mandatory form of public consultation in all Polish cities with county rights (i.e., those that go beyond the rights and obligations of municipalities - in practice, usually the largest cities in the region). In the case of Helsinki, many of the activities and initiatives of Finnish local authorities (municipalities) are guided by the principles laid down in the Finnish Local Government Act, which sets out a number of legal obligations for the municipality. The participation of residents is guaranteed in Chapter 5 of the Local Government Act - Right of participation of the residents of the municipality. Chapter 5, Section 22: "Opportunities to participate and influence" states that "residents and service users have the right to participate in and influence the activities of the municipality. Local authorities must ensure that there are diverse and effective opportunities for participation.

However, in the case of Berlin, the issue of slow administrative response was mentioned as hampering deliberative processes, despite the fact that there have been many policy decisions to promote civic engagement in society. Procedures are the factor that affects all stages of the processes analysed. For example, the complicated legal procedures of public tenders made it impossible for the agreed changes to be implemented in Gdańsk (some of the PB projects could not be implemented and had to be altered).

Not only top-down procedures, but also the **willingness of local authorities to share power** is crucial to the implementation of any participatory process. This factor was mentioned in the cases of Wigan, Galway, Reggio Emilia, Gdańsk, Wrocław (SCP) and Budapest. In the case of Reggio Emilia, there was a significant degree of willingness on the part of political elites and civil servants to delegate decision-making to citizens, and a willingness and eagerness on the part of a significant proportion of citizens to be involved, whereas in Galway some local authority representatives did not want to share power and did not see the point of involving citizens. The Deal for Communities in Wigan is a very interesting case because officially an enabling style of leadership was in place, meaning that leaders gave frontline staff permission to try new things based on their conversations with people using services (Naylor & Wellings 2019). On the other hand, there has also been criticism of the Deal from people working in communities - highlighting a disconnect between what is said publicly/the aims of the Deal and how it feels/is implemented. For some, the power shift was not a reality.

The **general knowledge of the process among all parties involved** is another factor influencing the effectiveness of the experiments analysed in WP3 - both in the planning and implementation phases. It was mentioned in eight cases: Wigan, Galway, Helsinki, Gdańsk, Wrocław (CA), Budapest, Berlin and Voru. Interestingly, in Gdańsk, one of the focus group participants stated that citizens are not aware of the basic obligations of the city which makes it easier for the city not to fulfil them. Therefore, the PB funds are often spent on carrying out investment projects that are the responsibility of the city, e.g., pavement repairs should be provided by the city and not via PB. In Wigan, the failure to communicate information about the Deal to the wider community was identified as a critical failure. Similarly, in Berlin people did not know how to get involved in participatory projects and therefore did not participate. In Budapest, one of the focus interviewees argued that if it is not clear to participants what the actual outcome of such processes might be, even active citizens may lose motivation or interest in participating in future initiatives.

In addition to organisers and initiators providing information about the processes, the **informative role of the media and promotional campaigns** were mentioned in the case of Gdańsk and Galway. In Gdańsk, weak information campaigns were cited as one of the reasons for the decline in interest in PB in recent years.

One of the most frequently mentioned factors (see Table 12) was the **result-oriented approach** that

characterised both the planning and implementation phases of the experiments analysed. In the Budapest case, for example, it was noted that participatory processes sometimes served mainly as channels through which citizens could air their criticisms and were not aimed at finding constructive solutions. In addition, when a large number of participatory projects are carried out at the same time, their quality is lower. In the cases of Galway, Copenhagen and Gdansk, where similar tools were used, keeping the focus on real solutions to citizens' real problems was identified as a key success factor. In order to reach a common understanding of what the real problem is, it is sometimes necessary for citizens to take part in the process of learning about each other's perceptions and views on the specific issue. In the case of Voru, this enabled in-depth analysis and led to some unexpected solutions.

Table 12. Factors affecting effectiveness of the processes mentioned across the case studies
(Source: Authors' own elaboration based on WP3 reports and deliverables)

		Borough Liaison Officers HEL	Citizen Jury (PeopleTalk) GAL	Citizens' Assembly CPH	Citizens' Assembly WRO	Deal for Communities WIG	Office for Comm. Particip. BUD	Participatory Budgeting GDK	Quartiere Bene Comune RE	Q-management Pankstr. BER	Social Hackathon VOR	Socialising Cultural Policy WRO
Planning and pre-arrangement	degree of the city/town's political independence				●		●					
	political orientation of the local authorities						●					
	broader political context						●					
	legal procedures on the state level	●			●	●	●	●	●	●		●
	willingness to share power		●			●	●	●	●			●
	actors' general knowledge of the process	●	●	●		●	●	●		●	●	
	informative role of the media and promotional campaigns		●					●				
	result-oriented approach	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
Implementation	legal procedures on the state level	●			●	●	●	●	●	●		●
	actors' general knowledge of the process						●					
	result-oriented approach						●	●				
	continuous evaluation and adaptation		●			●	●	●	●		●	
	organisers' attitudes, skills and expertise	●	●	●		●	●	●	●		●	●
	communication channels	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
	level of trust	●	●	●		●	●	●	●		●	
	level of citizen engagement	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	
Completion and reporting	continuous evaluation and adaptation						●		●			
	legal procedures on the state level	●			●	●	●	●	●	●		●
	willingness to share power		●			●	●	●	●			●
	communicating results to the citizens	●				●	●			●		
	implementation of the agreed solutions			●				●			●	

Stage 2: Implementation

In addition to the three already mentioned (i.e., **legal procedures, general level of knowledge and result-oriented approach**), the implementation phase can be influenced by five other factors. **Continuous evaluation and adaptation** is the effectiveness factor mentioned in the cases of Wigan, Galway, Copenhagen, Gdansk, Budapest and Voru. The Office for Community Participation in Budapest has established one of the most advanced continuous evaluation procedures, described in detail under RQ4. This ensures that long-term goals are pursued. Not only ongoing, but also ex-post evaluation is a factor that greatly affects the governance experiments analysed. The lack of much-needed evaluation was mentioned in the case of PB in Gdańsk, as the process itself has not changed significantly since its initial implementation.

During the implementation phase, the **attitudes, skills and expertise of the people who organise/coordinate** the process can greatly influence both the course and the results of the experiment. Various issues related to the people involved in the analysed processes (organisers, administrators, officials, experts, social workers, managers, etc.) were mentioned in the majority of cases (Table 12). In the case of the Social Hackaton in Vöru, the role of a dedicated and skilled team was highlighted as it enabled the creation of a positively supportive, equal and neutral environment for participants, including vulnerable people with their needs. Mentors not only had to support co-creative service design processes in teams, but also to manage the development of relationships and power relations in teams, to help all voices to be heard, to mediate contradictions and to support teams to find better ways of working together. The humanistic attitude, commitment and professionalism, ability to learn and improve, openness to criticism, strategic thinking, attention to detail, management skills, willingness to go beyond the call of duty and facilitation skills were other important qualities of the people involved in the case studies analysed in WP3. The Helsinki case provided another important insight into the situation of migrants. All Borough Liaison Officers (BLOs) are white Finns and they may not reach all city residents - a migrant may find it easier to approach a BLO with a migrant background. Thus, not only skills and educational background play an important role in the implementation of participatory processes.

Three of the most frequently mentioned effectiveness factors (Table 12) related to the implementation phase are: **communication channels**, level of trust and level of citizen involvement. With regard to communication channels, some of the experiments analysed were carried out during the Covid-19 pandemic, which provides an additional context for this analysis and highlights the importance of direct personal contacts. As one of the activists who participated in the focus interviews in Gdańsk explained, face-to-face meetings help to better communicate the needs of different groups and build consensus, as online, highly individualistic procedures do not facilitate integration. In the case of Gdańsk, the issue of language skills was also raised in relation to Ukrainian immigrants. A lack of real communication with the council was also highlighted in Wigan. One of the interviewees stated that there was not much interaction, it was all done through social media and there was no such thing as a conversation. However, the case of Galway, where members of the Citizen Jury went out into their communities to engage with the wider public, is an example of good communication practice. The Citizen Jury held listening events in different communities to get more people involved and went directly to other citizens to have conversations. Similarly, in the case of Vöru, face-to-face or even one-to-one meetings, where a trusting relationship can be developed, were crucial.

The **level of trust** is another factor influencing effectiveness in the cases analysed. Among the most frequently mentioned issues related to trust are: listening climate and sense of being heard (e.g., Gallway, Vöru), citizens' ownership of the process (e.g., Copenhagen, Gdańsk), inclusiveness (e.g., Helsinki, Gdansk), cooperation with NGOs and neighbourhood associations (e.g., Reggio Emilia, Wrocław CA), transparency of procedures (e.g., Gdańsk, Wigan).

The most important factor influencing the effectiveness of the implementation phase of the process is the **level of citizen involvement**, which was mentioned in almost all cases. The general conclusion is that in

order to have meaningful processes, many local people should be involved, regardless of the specific participatory tool used. However, in most cases the conclusion is that participation and the willingness of citizens to take part in such processes is generally rather low. It is also strongly correlated with socio-economic status. That is to say, those with a higher level of education and a better economic position are more likely to take part in participatory processes. Migrants (e.g., Copenhagen, Helsinki, Gdańsk), older people (e.g., Gdańsk, Wrocław CA) and young people (e.g., Võru, Reggio Emilia) are among the most frequently mentioned excluded groups. In order to ensure inclusiveness, it may be useful to reflect on the experiences of those who have chosen not to take part in participatory/deliberative processes.

Stage 3: Completion and reporting

There are five factors of effectiveness that can be attributed to the completion and reporting stage of the processes analysed. Three of these - **evaluation**, **legal procedures** and **willingness to share power** - have already been elaborated. The remaining two are related to the results of the experiments: their communication to citizens and their actual implementation.

Communicating the results to citizens is crucial, as not sharing the successes and solutions achieved through deliberation can make citizens less engaged or discourage them from taking part in further deliberative/participatory processes (e.g. Budapest, Gdańsk, Helsinki, Berlin, Wigan). The **implementation of the agreed solutions** seems to be an obvious step following the deliberative and participatory processes, but there are still cases where the citizens' recommendations or solutions are not taken seriously or not fully implemented (Gdańsk) due to various obstacles. In Gdańsk, for example, there are several departments (e.g., the Roads and Green Spaces Administration, the Investment Projects Department, the Gdańsk City Development Directorate) that actually decide how the final projects will be implemented and how much they will ultimately cost. Moreover, these departments usually act unanimously, which makes the whole process even longer. As a result, there are miscalculations and delays for which the blame often falls on those who had submitted the winning proposals. There have been cases where applicants have been accused of stealing the money and of corruption because the final outcome did not match the projects that people had voted for. There is also the issue of the organisational culture of these institutions - it is not easy to work with them, especially for ordinary citizens who are not familiar with all the procedures.

Given the complexity of the WP3 cases analysed, it may come as a surprise that regardless of the participatory/deliberative tool used, a group of eight factors seems to influence its effectiveness the most, i.e., (1) legal procedures at the state level; (2) general level of knowledge about the process; (3) result-oriented approach; (4) willingness to share power; (5) communication channels; (6) attitudes, skills and knowledge of organisers/coordinators of the process; (7) level of citizen involvement; (8) level of trust.

RQ6: Which practices and institutional arrangements best facilitate citizen engagement and co-governance and democratise the local governance?

As part of the scope of this particular research question overlaps with the issues of effectiveness already discussed in RQ5, the cross-case analysis here focused briefly on two distinct themes: the momentum and issues related to inclusivity.

The momentum

In the context of participatory and deliberative processes, momentum can be defined as the sustained energy or enthusiasm generated within a group of individuals actively engaging in discussions, decision-making, or collaborative activities. It reflects the collective drive and commitment of participants to

contribute to the process, share ideas, and work towards common goals. Momentum in participatory and deliberative processes is characterised by a dynamic and forward-moving atmosphere, where individuals feel empowered, motivated, and connected to the objectives of the collaborative endeavour. This sense of momentum is vital for maintaining engagement, fostering inclusivity, and achieving meaningful outcomes in democratic and deliberative settings.

Apart from elements of what might be considered momentum found in turning points (RQ4), there is no evidence in the data we collected of momentum as a key factor in the success of participatory and deliberative processes. We suggest two possible explanations for this fact. The first is that momentum does not exist, that it is nothing more than a collective fantasy (cf. Urueña 2022). In the cases we have studied, behind every social change there has been the hard work of various actors. The second explanation is that momentum does exist, but it is absent from the processes we have studied. Our cross-analysis is based on cases of institutionalised, mostly top-down participation. Perhaps momentum is present in other types of participation, such as protests.

Inclusiveness

Inclusiveness is the key factor of stakeholder involvement, understood as ensuring diversity, engagement, inclusion, and influence (see Kappler et al. 2021). In all of the innovations studied, inclusiveness is presented as crucial by both activists and city officials. However, it is often more of a slogan than a concrete idea, acting as an empty signifier (see Ufel 2021). There is a notable lack of specificity about concrete actions to improve inclusiveness. Even when the current lack of processes is acknowledged, there is a noticeable lack of proposed remedies for the future.

According to the results of our analysis, the two main issues related to inclusiveness are diversity and engagement. Budapest and Berlin are examples of diversity issues, particularly in terms of socio-economic differences. Most of the participants in these innovations were affluent, which is attributed to gentrification. In Berlin it is noted that certain specific groups are virtually unrepresented, such as people experiencing homelessness. However, this issue was not explicitly raised in the interviews conducted in Wrocław. Nevertheless, the fact that selection for the town hall was based on addresses suggests that people experiencing homelessness were also under-represented in Wrocław. Another group that was not adequately represented at the Wrocław Assembly were Ukrainians.

Issues of inclusivity can also manifest themselves in challenges related to engagement, as seen in cases such as language barriers in Berlin. Similarly Gdańsk faced language-related problems, particularly for Ukrainians. While Gdańsk and Wrocław shared inclusiveness challenges related to Ukrainians, the nature of these problems differed. In Wrocław, it was the lack of Ukrainian participation in civic processes (diversity), while in Gdańsk, it was the language barrier (engagement). In Wrocław, the issue of engagement also concerned older people: although they were theoretically represented, the process was long and cognitively demanding, leaving older participants too tired at the end to contribute actively.

RQ7: How do the innovations relate with regional, national and supranational levels?

Democracy is widely recognised as a fundamental underpinning of peace in Europe, and its consolidation is a determinant of stability, along with the principles of the rule of law and human rights. Representative democracy, situated within the democratic paradigm, is an integral part of the common cultural heritage and is firmly established as the basic mechanism for citizen participation in public affairs at regional, national and local levels.

The Council of Europe's founding charter states that it aims to promote 'individual freedom, political liberty and the rule of law, principles which form the basis of all genuine democracy' (Statute of the Council of Europe 1949). The inextricable link between democracy, human rights and the rule of law has been a

cornerstone of the Council of Europe since its inception. In the preamble to the European Convention on Human Rights (1953), the signatories reaffirm their profound belief in those fundamental freedoms which are the foundation of justice and peace in the world and which are best maintained, on the one hand, by effective political democracy and, on the other, by a common understanding of and respect for the human rights on which they depend. Work in the field of participatory democracy has been carried out for decades under the auspices of the Council of Europe. This work recognises the importance of citizen participation in the democratic process, notably in the Preamble to the European Charter of Local Self-Government (1985) and its Additional Protocol on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority (2009) (see also Report on Deliberative Democracy 2023: 3).

Today, democracy in the EU and its Member States is facing multiple challenges: a growing distance between citizens and elected representatives, a loss of trust in European institutions, the rise of extremism and increasing political polarisation. The EU is responding to these challenges through a range of policies and actions to strengthen the links between citizens, EU institutions and Member States. The creation of the Competence Centre for Participatory and Deliberative Democracy in 2021 was one such action. The main objective of the Centre is to support the development of socially robust policies through citizen engagement (About the Competence Centre... 2022). The Centre is a tangible contribution to the Commission's Priority 6: A New Impetus for European Democracy, and supports cross-cutting policy initiatives, including the Communication COM(2022) 404 Conference on the Future of Europe: Turning vision into action, the European Democracy Action Plan, the Conference on the Future of Europe and the EU Missions.

The above initiatives provide a framework for institutional support for governance innovations at local level, but in practice these innovations are often implemented through EU projects - the Social Hackathon in Võru being a classic example. Of course, financial considerations play a crucial role here, since it would be difficult to obtain sufficient funding from other sources, but the priorities of the European Union and the nature of these projects, which allow a free flow of knowledge, experience and know-how between partners within the consortium, are also very important, as the EUARENAS project also shows.

Deliberative and participatory processes are also supported at national level. In the group of WP3 case studies, there are several examples of government policies and actions aimed at strengthening civic engagement. For example, as of January 2018, sixty-six Polish cities with county rights (including Gdańsk) are required by federal law to run participatory budgeting processes amounting to at least 0.5 percent of the total city budgets. But PB has also become increasingly popular in smaller cities. In 2022, for example, 43.5 percent of municipalities with a population of more than 5 thousand inhabitants held a PB process - an increase of 1 percent on the previous year, despite difficult economic conditions caused by the war in neighbouring Ukraine (Mackel 2023). However, the implementation of such a legal obligation can have some undesirable side effects. In the case of PB in Gdańsk, an increasing tendency to "encase" it in the administration has been observed. Yet, as a result, regulations are becoming more extensive and procedures more difficult, which may lead to the exclusion of certain groups of people.

Another example of national regulations directly supporting participatory processes and deliberative democracy is the case of Reggio Emilia, where the reform of Title V of the Italian Constitution (Law no. 3/2001) promoted the introduction of various forms of active citizen participation in public life, based on the principle of horizontal subsidiarity. Similarly, in Finland (Helsinki case), many of the activities and initiatives of Finnish local authorities (municipalities) are guided by the principles laid down in the Finnish Local Government Act, which sets out a number of legal obligations for the municipality. The participation of residents is guaranteed in Chapter 5 of the Local Government Act - Right of participation of the residents of the municipality. Within Chapter 5, Section 22 "Opportunities to participate and exert influence" states that Local authorities must ensure that there are many worthwhile opportunities for participation, as citizens and service users have the right to participate in and influence the work of the local authority (Local Government Act 2015).

In the absence of direct state support, participatory and deliberative processes have to be implemented at the local level, and in such cases they are usually initiated by grassroots organisations or the local authorities themselves. The case of the Office for Community Participation in Budapest is an example of such a situation. In Hungary, community participation is mentioned in a very general way in the national law on municipalities as a task of the local authorities. There are a number of obligatory processes and measures of participation codified in Hungarian law (e.g., the preparation and modification of certain urban development and planning documents, the organisation of public hearings, etc.), but deeper and more complex levels and methods of participation are not yet codified either at the national or at the local level. The idea of the Office for Community Participation was based on previous negative experiences with the district leadership, which tended to be repressive and exclusionary towards citizens' initiatives that did not originate from its political base, as well as on the general shift in Hungary towards a more authoritarian political course in the last 10 years. Hungarian municipalities are lagging behind when it comes to implementing participatory mechanisms and processes in their work and decision-making at the local level.

The Office for Community Participation in Józsefváros was the first municipal office of its kind in the country. It was established after the election of the new opposition mayor, András Pikó. The office was officially established by a resolution of the local council in March 2020. In the two years or so since its establishment, the office has begun to lay the foundations for participatory mechanisms and processes, both in terms of the functioning of the municipality and the involvement of citizens in local decision-making and urban planning. The office was created in a top-down way, in the sense that it was set up at the request of the Mayor, but the idea itself came from the experience of the Mayor and his supporting grassroots community; the concept note itself was developed in a more inclusive way than most internal municipal documents.

Overall, the cross-case analysis in WP3 showed that deliberative and participatory methods are still experimental and evolving in relation to different levels of governance.

RQ8: How universal for implementation in other places and to other levels of governance successful local governance innovations can be?

Citizen participation should seek to facilitate the provision, aggregation and channeling of individual perspectives, whether directly or through intermediaries such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society representatives. It should promote a meaningful exchange of information and opinions to contribute to the decision-making process and ensure that public needs are met. A well-functioning democracy uses tools to ensure that all people, regardless of their circumstances of birth or background, can enjoy the universal human rights to which they are entitled. It should also create the right conditions for participation in politics and governance.

The local governance innovations which have been investigated under WP3 included a wide spectrum of participatory and deliberative methods. The analysis has shown that each of these methods can produce desired effects whenever certain conditions are fulfilled. However, direct replication of a solution used in a particular region or city is not feasible, as numerous economic, social and cultural factors determine the success of such governance experiments. Although some good practices have been identified, e.g., in the report on deliberative democracy prepared by the European Committee on Democracy and Governance (Report on Deliberative Democracy 2023), any method implemented in a particular place should be tailored to the specific needs of a particular group of people and should address specific issues that are important in a particular context (see RQ5).

As already mentioned, skilled and committed people who manage/organise deliberative and participatory processes are one of the factors influencing the effectiveness of such initiatives. In terms of transferability, experienced managers/experts/scientists etc. who have previously been involved in governmental experiments of a certain type can be transferred to other regions or cities to share their experience and knowledge. Thus, the analysis is fully in line with the idea of a community of practice.

The analysis identified a number of key barriers to transferability, including:

- regulations concerning public administration and bureaucracy (e.g. Reggio Emilia, Wigan);
- lack of knowledge and skills of administrative staff (e.g. Reggio Emilia);
- geographical issues, such as the size of regions/cities/neighbourhoods/districts (e.g. Reggio Emilia);
- lack of district/neighbourhood attachment/identity (e.g. Helsinki, Voru);
- lack of belief that residents have agency and can make binding decisions about the places where they live (e.g. Voru);
- weak social innovation or community development ecosystem in the area, i.e., a set of actions designed to promote the development and growth of social innovation, including by improving interactions between actors (e.g. Voru);
- implementation of practices that do not fully meet the standards of deliberative democracy (e.g. Wrocław CA);
- lack of a common goal among the actors involved in the process (e.g. Wrocław SCP).

Section 5

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS: LEARNING FROM THE CASE STUDIES [RT 3.5]

The case study analysis covered 11 initiatives dedicated to implementing innovations to increase the effectiveness of participatory and deliberative democracy. These initiatives were studied in 10 European cities. Participatory and deliberative techniques, rooted in face-to-face interpersonal interaction, are naturally suited to cooperation in small communities. The aim of this analysis was to determine to what extent and under what conditions the adaptation of these techniques to heterogeneous urban societies could prove successful. The effective implementation and use of these methods in large urban societies remains an ongoing challenge, with the ultimate aim of democratising urban governance.

Although each case studied represents an individual social experience, detailed analysis allows elements of common experience to be identified. The knowledge gained can be used in the process of learning best practices in participatory and deliberative methods. The diversity of the democratic innovations studied, as well as the cultural, social and political contexts in which the innovations were implemented, made generalisations difficult. At the same time, however, this diversity provided a wide range of cases, ensuring a high degree of representativeness in the results obtained.

The research conducted has revealed recurring errors and weaknesses in participatory and deliberative innovations. The analysis of the case study processes has also shown which elements of their characteristics determine their social success.

Participation and deliberation are profoundly **social experiences** because they arise from relationships typical of small, tightly integrated communities. The key to successful implementation of these techniques in urban democracy is to treat them as unique social experiences that resist complete standardisation. The widespread tendency towards procedural standardisation, the flattening of individual circumstances and the consequent bureaucratisation of the whole process is destructive to them. This is the most frequently observed direction of gradual erosion of the applied technique. Participatory and deliberative actions are implemented as an innovative method of involving people, which has a strong social resonance. However, with each successive iteration, the processes gradually become bureaucratically fossilized, in parallel with the loss of social interest in them. The most illustrative example of this trend is participatory budgeting, which originated as a deeply social initiative and has become an element of administrative procedures, as the example of Gdańsk and other cities in Poland and Europe show.

In the cases analysed, the tendency to incorporate democratic innovations into highly bureaucratized procedures demonstrates the difficulty of preserving the social nature of these processes in urban policy practice. The conflict between the social nature of participation and deliberation processes and their procedural bureaucratisation is an expression of the difficulties arising from the collision of deeply social forms of communication with the mass, formalised way in which they are used for urban policy purposes.

For this reason, continuous efforts are needed to ensure that participation does not lose its 'human face'. The implementation of participatory and deliberative processes must take into account the presence and **importance of emotions** (anger, frustration, fear, but also joy, pride and excitement). These emotions always accompany genuine human engagement and are characteristic of direct interpersonal relationships. Participation and deliberation should be organised in such a way that the emotions of the participants are transformed into a deliberate consensus and decisions based on it.

Another deeply social condition for the successful implementation of democratic innovations is **mutual trust** between those involved in the process. It is a necessary condition both for involving members of the local community in the initiative and for reaching an agreement that allows the development of a common position.

The social nature of participation and deliberation **requires participants to meet in physical space**, in a specific place. The tendency to move the processes into virtual space is largely driven by the ease and administrative convenience of the process. It allows the difficult task of bringing people together and conducting debates to be avoided. The time of the pandemic Covid-19 strongly reinforced the trend to conduct procedures online. However, research has shown that participants want and need face-to-face meetings and discussions. Collaboration needs proximity. The idea of the 15-minute city (Moreno et al. 2021), widely advocated in the aftermath of the pandemic, reflects the need for a city of proximity.

The physical meeting place provides a canvas on which the jigsaw pieces of different interests, perspectives and societal expectations can come together as a whole. The convening of physical meetings is a common factor in the successful implementation of innovations. A good example of this is the Borough Liaison Officers in Helsinki. Seven 'stadiluotsit' and three 'yritysluotsit' are employed. Their role is to 'help Helsinki residents develop their city by creating spaces and opportunities for communication and 'doing things together', by guiding and advising on the use of channels of influence, by lowering the threshold for participation, and by bringing support and tools to where they are needed'.

Face-to-face meetings create the conditions for **resolving conflicts** and transforming antagonistic attitudes into agonistic ones, which are essential in democracy. Conflict, when controlled and not dominating social relations, can become a source of creative solutions and the discovery of new possibilities.

A recurrent cause of failure in participatory and deliberative initiatives is the excessive politicisation of the process. This can easily undermine the fundamental value of trust. Two contrasting examples in this respect are the cases of Copenhagen and Wrocław. Due to a highly socially controversial issue that was the subject of the Citizens' Assembly organised by the City of Copenhagen, depoliticising the process was a focus of the organisers' efforts. The success of the initiative was largely linked to such an approach. In Wrocław, however, activists and social movements became disillusioned with the over-politicisation of the process. The organisation of a deliberative assembly was seen as a means of gaining social legitimacy for the pursuit of specific political goals.

Another issue in the cases of democratic innovations studied is the tendency **to use them as activities to fulfil mandatory obligations of the local authority**. This results from the indicated tendency to incorporate social innovations into the scope of tasks routinely performed by public institutions. An example of this is Gdańsk, where participatory budgeting has been integrated into the implementation of the statutory tasks of the city authorities. The influence of the organisers, i.e. the municipal authorities, on the thematic scope of the projects allowed in the competition and on the way they are implemented serves to support the obligatory tasks of the municipal authorities and does not always correspond to the expectations and ambitions of the residents. As a result, the initiative loses its social dimension. The declining interest of the general public in participating in them means that the procedures are increasingly influenced by well-organised interest groups, which gradually take control of them. The same group of active citizens, already well trained in the preparation of proposals, succeeds in the annual editions of the participatory budget, using up all the funds. This leads to the deterioration of the whole initiative.

The social dimension of participation and deliberation requires interpersonal relationships that are formed within a **limited social space**. For this reason, initiatives implemented on a limited spatial scale produce significantly better results and involve residents to a much greater extent. This is particularly important for the success of initiatives in highly heterogeneous urban environments. Democratic **innovations implemented at the neighbourhood or district level** produce significantly better results and are more effective than those aimed at all city residents.

Limiting the spatial scale and thus aiming to operate within much more compact neighbourhood communities, characterised by more direct acquaintances and stronger internal links, is the right direction for implementing democratic innovations in urban environments. Such an approach produces significantly better results than initiatives implemented on a citywide scale. They ensure greater participation and social engagement because they are perceived as initiatives that deliver real results that directly affect residents.

They therefore meet the need for a results-oriented approach, which was a frequently requested feature.

The mode of communication, which focuses on direct interactions and takes place in the physical space where stakeholders meet, the level of trust and social commitment, as well as a result-oriented approach, are characteristics of the examined cases of participatory and deliberative innovation that had a significant impact on the success or failure of the implementation of democratic innovations. They can therefore be considered as critical elements of participatory and deliberative processes. Consequently, they should be given special attention in the preparation process of participatory and deliberative initiatives, as well as in the evaluation of the results of their implementation.

Democratic innovations are initiatives taken by public authorities. Whether or not they produce the expected results depends on their intentions and how they operate. The '**willingness to share power**' as the real intention underlying the implementation of participatory and deliberative innovations is crucial for the success of these initiatives. This was emphasised in more than half of the cases studied. Participation and deliberation serve as tools to decentralise power in decision-making and planning processes. A lack of genuine intention to share power quickly undermines the value of any democratic innovation that is implemented.

The results of the analysis conducted confirm the observations described in the literature which state that an important aspect of the success of democratic innovations is the rejection of a reductionist and utilitarian view of innovation as a mere response to the shortcomings of the neoliberal development model (Zemke 2023 following Bouchard 2013). **Promoting social innovation and building a collaborative society are viable alternatives to the mainstream model of democracy, which is currently in crisis.** A paradigm shift in urban policy from a focus on individual responsibility and entrepreneurship to collective action is essential to achieve meaningful improvements in local democracy.

In the practice of using democratic innovations, **mastery of their implementation methods** is crucial. Incorporating participation and deliberation into decision-making and planning processes at an early stage leads to significantly better and more effective results. Therefore, the organisation of the process, the legal embedding of the activity and the attitudes, skills and knowledge of those responsible for implementing the innovation, together with a results-oriented approach, are important. A major challenge to the effective implementation of these initiatives is the issue of non-representativeness of participants. There is a widespread perception that not all potentially interested citizens are involved; more often than not, the same people are repeatedly engaged in different contexts to carry out voluntary activities and participate in co-planning initiatives. This situation presents a paradox between democracy and influence, as the civil society actors who are able to engage effectively with negotiators are not always the most representative of the wider civil society. This creates a tension between the imperatives of inclusiveness and effective influence.

One threat to social engagement techniques is **the duration of their use**; the longer they are used in an unchanged form, the more they are subject to erosion. One way to maintain their social vitality is to have an open, flexible formula for their implementation that allows for **continuous monitoring and updating at the grassroots level**. Maintaining broad interest and social commitment ensures constant creativity. This is a challenge to the tendency to bureaucratise procedures and absorb them into administrative processes. **The role of leaders** is crucial in sustaining social action. However, they too need to change and, above all, act as a link between the local administration implementing the innovation and the community. Routine is destructive to democratic innovation, but its absence is unacceptable to administrative structures. Changes are therefore needed to enable non-standard procedures to function within the standard administrative and managerial order. A silo-like organisation of bureaucracy is not able to deal with the cross-cutting problems that need to be solved by democratic innovations that require the participatory involvement of citizens.

Times of crisis - such as the pandemic or the Russian war on Ukraine - have shown that flexible, ad hoc forms of cooperation are possible. As a situation of uncertainty and crisis becomes a permanent condition,

administrative and management systems and techniques must change. **They must become flexible and adaptable** in order to meet the growing needs of society and to operate effectively under conditions of crisis-induced uncertainty. Otherwise, the crisis of democracy will escalate with all its attendant risks and, most importantly, the social shift towards populism will become more widespread.

Do we need participation and deliberation at all if it keeps proving to be imperfect? We need to learn it. One way of learning is to learn by doing. But just doing it and repeating it over and over again will not get us anywhere, we need to keep improving these tools to make them work.

To sum up, we can conclude that the main policy recommendations arising from the cross-case analysis are as follows:

- Awareness of the key role of public institutions in implementing democratic innovations and their responsibility for the success of initiatives;
- Willingness to change the mode of urban governance in favour of social inclusion and cooperation;
- Willingness to share power as a necessary condition for the success of initiatives;
- Possession of the necessary competences and skills by those responsible for implementing the innovation;
- Avoiding the tendency to use social innovation as an activity to fulfil mandatory obligations of the local authority;
- Avoiding the politicisation of the process, understood as the realisation of the interests of power entities;
- Avoiding the tendency to standardise procedures and bureaucratise the social innovations implemented;
- Including participation and social consultation at an early stage in the decision-making and planning process;
- Developing mutual trust between those involved in the process;
- Providing physical spaces for participation that allow for face-to-face communication and serve as hubs for the birth of social innovations and ideas, even if the process takes place simultaneously in virtual space;
- Taking into account the emotions of the participants, which are characteristic of direct interpersonal relationships, and transforming them into a deliberately created consensus in the process of participation and deliberation;
- Creating conditions for resolving conflicts and transforming antagonistic attitudes into agonistic ones, which are essential in democracy;
- Aiming to implement innovations at bounded spatial scales that produce significantly better results and involve residents much more - a neighbourhood or district scale produces significantly better results and is more effective than those aimed at all city residents;
- Preventing the process from being hijacked by civil society actors who are able to engage more effectively with negotiators who are not always the most representative of civil society;
- Treating social leaders as liaisons between the local administration implementing the innovation and the community in order to increase social engagement;
- Continuous monitoring and updating of social engagement procedures at grassroots level;
- Modernising administrative systems and techniques towards much more flexible and adaptable structures, capable of operating efficiently on an ad hoc basis in times of crisis as well as in conditions of changing social needs and expectations.

Section 6

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS: SUPPLEMENTARY USE OF THE GATHERED EMPIRICAL MATERIAL

As stated in the Mid-term Report (Grabkowska et al. 2022), the research material collected for WP3 has been used by the consortium members to develop scientific publications. Although work on one of the papers has recently had to be discontinued for reasons explained below, several other ideas have emerged and are at various stages of progress.

Working title: Unraveling the Dynamics of Deliberation in Older Adults

Authors: Agata Tokarek (UG), Wojciech Ufel (SWPS), Stan Domaniewski (UEF)

During our field research in Wrocław, it was highlighted that older people were identified as a group that had significant difficulties during deliberative processes. Initially, we speculated that cognitive challenges associated with ageing might be a possible cause for this observation. However, upon closer examination of the deliberative dynamics in other cities, we found that this issue was unique to Wrocław, as it did not manifest itself elsewhere. The origin of these discrepancies remains unclear, leading us to reconsider our efforts in pursuing this publication.

Working title: NeurodiverCITY: Neurodivergent Involvement in Deliberative Democracy

Authors: Agata Tokarek (UG), Maja Grabkowska (UG), Wojciech Ufel (SWPS), Tomasz Gondek

The article examines the issue of political participation among neurodivergent individuals. The study adopts a quantitative approach and seeks to investigate the relationship between the severity of autistic traits and the quality of engagement in deliberative processes.

Working title: Uncovering hidden citizen energies in times of crisis

Authors: Wojciech Ufel (SWPS), Monika Popow (Pomorska Szkoła Wyższa), Iwona Sagan (UG), Kadri Kangro (UEF and Tallinn University), Klaudia Nowicka (UG), Maja Grabkowska (UG), Stan Domaniewski (UEF)

This article examines the multifaceted role of civil society, particularly in the context of the 2022 refugee crisis in Gdańsk following the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It critiques the traditional understanding of civil society as a disciplining category and an alibi for state incompetence, while exploring its potential as a reservoir of social energy and innovation in times of crisis.

Working title: Time of Crisis – Time of Local Governance Verification in Action

Authors: Kadri Kangro (UEF and Tallinn University), Wojciech Ufel (SWPS), Monika Popow (Pomorska Szkoła Wyższa), Iwona Sagan (UG), Klaudia Nowicka (UG), Maja Grabkowska (UG), Stan Domaniewski (UEF)

The paper explores the actual functioning of governance in response to crises in Central and Eastern Europe, focusing on the Ukrainian refugee crisis after 24 February 2022. By examining the unique dynamics that emerged during this period in Gdańsk and Voru, the paper raises critical questions about the efficacy of governance in non-crisis contexts and invites a rethinking of governance paradigms based on the lessons learned from this experience.

Working title: Publicization of public spaces in refugee-receiving cities after 24th February 2022: lessons for social cohesion and governance

Authors: Maja Grabkowska (UG), Magdalena Szmytkowska (UG), Zvenyslava Kuchabska (UG)

The paper examines the changes in the use of urban public spaces following the influx of Ukrainian refugees after 24th February 2022, highlighting the use of parks, playgrounds and other public spaces, especially by migrant women with children. This research follows the concept of 'publicization' in two dimensions: quantitative (repopulation and revitalisation) and qualitative (social integration, relationship building and the basis for local democracy). The study aims to identify factors influencing the use of outdoor and indoor public spaces in Polish cities and to assess their potential for social integration as a basis for local democracy, providing insights for adapting existing urban policies to better meet the diverse needs of the population.

Working title: Lessons learnt from the undone. The case of participatory budgeting in Gdańsk

Authors: Klaudia Nowicka (UG), Maja Grabkowska (UG), Iwona Sagan (UG), Monika Wielgórska (UG), Michał Zorena (UM Gdańsk)

Paper based on the analysis of the proposals submitted to the Participatory Budgeting in Gdańsk that did not qualify for funding in the period 2019-2023.

Working title: Participation and deliberation versus gentrification. Are they always in contradiction?

Authors: Iwona Sagan (UG), Maja Grabkowska (UG), Krisztina Keresztély (CRN), Maxine Cottreau (CRN)

A critical approach to explore and discuss how different co-governance tools can be used as part of anti-gentrification policy making, but also how they can work against its goals and strategies. Case studies from Germany, Hungary and Poland form the empirical basis of the analysis.

Working title: Great expectations versus not so great reality. The effectiveness of deliberative and participatory innovations in local governance

Authors: Klaudia Nowicka (UG), Maja Grabkowska (UG), Agata Tokarek (UG)

Analysis of selected examples from European cities illustrating the factors influencing the effectiveness of deliberative and participatory processes implemented at the local level.

Working title: Consensus, Colonization, and Counterpower? Deliberative Democracy, Uncharted Evolution, and Its Potential to be Decolonized

Authors: Wojciech Ufel (SWPS), Agata Tokarek (UG)

The article explores the trajectory of deliberative democracy as a response to contemporary political challenges within liberal, representative systems. The study unveils that colonial encounters with consensus-driven indigenous political practices ushered deliberation into Early Modernity. The article maps the evolution of this concept and its implementation to the present day, contending that the Western adoption of indigenous practices has selectively incorporated the notion of public reasoning while sidelining anarchist and autonomous implications inherent in consensus-based frameworks.

Section 7

FURTHER STEPS

The last remaining task within Work Package 3 is the preparation of the Final Report (Deliverable 3.4). This document will serve as a final summary of the research activities carried out from the beginning of the project until the completion of the research tasks related to the case study component. It will contain a comprehensive compilation of all the data and analysis gathered, together with our conclusions and recommendations. These will include not only the research findings, but also a critical analysis of the successes and shortcomings of our efforts, with a view to drawing lessons for future initiatives of a similar nature.

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