



Co-deciding with Citizens: Towards Digital Democracy at EU Level

ECAS Brussels, June 2015

CO-DECIDING WITH CITIZENS: TOWARDS DIGITAL DEMOCRACY AT EU LEVEL

Author: Elisa Bruno, EU Policies and Outreach Manager, ECAS

Contributor: Rossella Vignola

Editor: Assya Kavrakova, Director, ECAS

Reviewer: Dr Luis Bouza Garcia, Academic Coordinator, European General Studies, College of Europe

The views expressed in this publication are solely the responsibility of the author and ECAS, not the reviewer, the publisher or anyone else involved in the publication.

This document is copyright of ECAS ©ECAS 2015. All rights reserved.

Any redistribution or reproduction of part or all of the contents in any form is prohibited other than the following:

- you may print, copy or download to a local hard disk the file for your personal and non-commercial use only;
- you may copy the content to individual third parties for their personal use, but only if you acknowledge the authors as the source of the material

You may not, except with the express written permission of the author, distribute or commercially exploit the content.

“This project has been funded with the support of the Europe for Citizens Programme. The European Commission support for the production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents which reflect the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.”



Co-funded by the
Europe for Citizens Programme
of the European Union

ISBN : 2-87451-028-9

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In today's rapidly changing society, the power of the Internet and Web 2.0 technologies have been increasingly stimulating discussion on the democratic potential of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in reducing the gap between the political elites and citizens. While in Europe traditional political participation is in decline, citizens are using alternative methods to engage in and shape public policies through social media and ICT. According to Eurobarometer (2013), European citizens are increasingly seeking to influence decision-making at EU level by mainly using online tools (i.e. petitions and social media). Considering that over 72% of the overall European population and 85% of the European youth are daily internet users, the European Union has a unique opportunity to use Web 2.0 applications to foster digital democracy at EU level.

A new Deliberative-Collaborative eDemocracy model is emerging worldwide. This model can ensure high quality policy-making by involving citizens directly in the policy process through the use of Web 2.0 facilities to enhance and manage large-scale information in a collaborative process. As a part of this model, crowdsourcing for policy-making has been used at national and local levels to gather information and knowledge from an undefined crowd using ICT and the Internet. Thanks to crowdsourcing, policy-makers co-legislate with citizens, who then become part of the political process in-between elections.

The purpose of this publication is to explore complementary methods to existing forms of interaction between citizens and policy-makers at EU level which foster co-decision processes using the Internet and Web 2.0 technologies. Through crowdsourcing it is possible to go beyond national borders and engage a wider audience real-time online. This publication describes the use of crowdsourcing for policy-making in Iceland, Finland and Paris as non-exclusive examples, which show the added value of co-legislating with citizens in terms of process (wisdom of the crowd) and outcomes (increased legitimacy in the adopted policy).

At European level, based on the models identified and on the lessons' learnt in the field of eParticipation projects, a design to test crowdsourcing on EU policies is outlined. This design takes into consideration the policy cycle and proposes the creation of an avenue for citizens to co-legislate together with policy-makers (EU officials and Members of the European Parliament) alongside the ordinary legislative procedure. The crowdsourcing exercise should take place independently from the EC consultation process, which is designed and best suited for consulting organised interest groups. It should be multilingual and accessible to everyone, benefiting from the commitment of policy-makers at all stages of the process and ensuring the transparency and accountability of the actors involved. In order to launch crowdsourcing legislation at EU level, policy-makers and civil society organisations need to work together to foster eParticipation policies.

ECAS believes that only by including citizens in the policy-making process can we bridge the gap between Europe and its citizens. Co-legislating with citizens using crowdsourcing legislation is possible, it's a reality and it's our future. In line with its mid-term strategy ECAS is committed to facilitate, in cooperation with partners, a pilot to crowdsource legislation at EU level.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Co-deciding with Citizens: Towards Digital Democracy at EU Level	1
Executive Summary	2
Chapter 1: The Internet and its potential for democracy	4
The power of the Internet and contemporary political challenges.....	4
The Internet and new forms of participation	6
Concepts and definitions: eParticipation, eDemocracy, e-government	8
When innovation meets democracy: beyond traditional models	9
Chapter 2: Crowdsourcing for Democracy and Policy-Making	14
Crowdsourcing: a definition	14
Crowdsourcing for policy-making.....	16
Crowdsourced legislation: national cases in Europe.....	17
Chapter 3: Co-decision at EU level.....	26
eParticipation Policies in the European Union: an Overview	26
Citizen Participation State of Art in the EU.....	27
Formal instrument of civic engagement and eParticipation policies.....	30
Crowdsourcing at the EU level: from design to policy-recommendation.....	33
Policy Cycle, Time-frame and Stages of the process.....	34
Recommendations to design crowdsourcing at the EU level	36
ECAS Action Plan 2015 – 2020	37
Bibliography	38

CHAPTER 1: THE INTERNET AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR DEMOCRACY

What we talk about when we talk about eDemocracy

The power of the Internet and contemporary political challenges

Changes and transformations in contemporary society, in particular with regard to the diffusion of Web 2.0 technologies, have stimulated discussion about the democratic potential of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in reducing the gap between the political elite and the general public, and in transforming modern democratic practice¹. Indeed, during the past few years, ICT has been increasingly used by governments in order to engage citizens in democratic and policy-making practices through a process that is broadly labelled as electronic participation (eParticipation)².

Representative democracy and traditional approaches to politics are in crisis³ and people's interest in party politics and elections has decreased. Developing a more transparent, responsive and participatory decision-making process is necessary in order to revitalise European democracy⁴. Maybe 'the development of new ICT and evolution of Web 2.0 structures therefore offers... new possibilities to evolve citizenship practices⁵ and ameliorate citizens' engagement⁶.

ICT and the opportunities offered by the Web 2.0 era can strengthen citizens' involvement in the legislative process, in co-shaping public services⁷, in framing public debates and in service design⁸. According to Tambouris *et al.*, in Europe eParticipation has experienced a proliferation in forms and types, evolving "by evangelising the reconnection of citizens to policy, claiming to reduce the complexity of decision making and legislative processes, contribute to better legislation, broaden citizen participation in decision making and advance transparency"⁹ so as to reduce the perceived democratic deficit in the EU.

Nowadays we are observing a progressive disengagement from traditional political processes¹⁰ and, as a consequence, voter turnout rates are dropping, party membership is waning, and citizens' levels of trust and satisfaction in political leaders are dramatically low. The *status quo* risks undermining the current model of representative democracy, in turn, brings into question the legitimacy of the overall decision-making process¹¹.

¹ Lehtonen P. (2007), "Citizens' web as a public space. Developing community practices in the framework of eParticipation", p. 18, in: Avdic A., Hedström K, Rose J. and Grönlund Å. (eds), *Understanding eParticipation - Contemporary PhD eParticipation research in Europe*. Örebro, Örebro University Library.

² Tambouris E., Macintosh A., Dalakiouridou E., Smith E., Panopoulou E., Tarabanis K. and Millard J. (2013), "eParticipation in Europe: Current State and Practical Recommendations", in: Gil-Garcia J.R. (ed), *eGovernment success around the world: Cases, empirical studies, and practical recommendations*, IGI Global, USA.

³ See Blumler J. M. and Gurevitch M. (1995), *The crisis of public communication*, London and New York: Routledge.

⁴ Tuzzi A., Padovani C., and Nesti G. (2007), "Communication and (e)democracy: assessing European e-democracy discourses", in: Cammaerts B. and Carpentier N. (eds), *Reclaiming the media. Communication rights and democratic media roles*. Bristol, UK, Chicago, USA, Intellect, pp. 31-65.

⁵ Lehtonen P. (2007), *loc. cit.*

⁶ Lehtonen P. (2007), *loc. cit.*

⁷ European Commission- DG for Communications Networks, Content and Technology (2013), *A vision for public services*, Bruxelles (draft version dated 13/06/2013).

⁸ Tambouris *et al* (2013), *cit.* p.1.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Hay C. (2007), *Why we hate politics*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; Stoker G. (2006), *Why politics matters: making democracy work*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹¹ Tambouris *et al* (2013), *loc. cit.*

At the European level, the willingness of citizens to engage in traditional forms of political participation such as signing petitions, attending demonstrations or becoming members of trade unions is declining¹². Indeed, the portion of Europeans that reported being dissatisfied with politics rose from 12% in 2002 to 43% in 2010¹³.

At the EU level, David Marquand used the expression “democratic deficit” as far back as the 1970s to elaborate on the lack of democratic legitimacy of the European Community’s institutions¹⁴. Kyriakos N. Demetriou summarises the concept of a democratic deficit by stressing the existence of “obvious discrepancies between the principles and standards of democratic rule and institutional rules and political practices”¹⁵.

While traditional forms of political participation are in decline, impressive protests and new transnational movements coordinated via the Web have recently arisen and we can observe an increase in the number of exchanges concerning political news stories and communications via social media, online petitions or crowdfunding initiatives.

What role does the Internet play in contemporary democracy at a time when many offline democratic activities are declining¹⁶?

New citizen participation practices are made possible by the Web's affordability and the reduced cost of coordinating large numbers of actors with shared interests and goals, marked by, the so-called network effect and the online production, collection and analysis of “big data”¹⁷. Researchers have stressed the immense potential of the Internet and ICT to broaden and deepen the democratic process by enhancing transparency, inclusiveness, accountability, accessibility and openness¹⁸.

The Web also enables individuals with common interests to form communities that can serve as venues for political participation and as new tools for engagement¹⁹. With its capacity to host rapid and real-time interactions, the Web can enable citizens and political leaders to interact more openly and on a regular basis. By being better able to communicate their needs and preferences to their political representatives, citizens can develop a greater sense of trust and ownership in government, while policy-makers can make more informed decisions that better reflect citizens' inputs. In addition, as the Web reduces the costs of information and exchange, collaborative and innovative processes become possible and this can lead to improved legislation and decision making at all levels of government. The Web’s capacity to host deliberative dialogues amongst large groups of individuals can help improve standards of consultation and engagement practices in governing institutions.²⁰ Taking into consideration the variety of players involved in “Politics 2.0”, it can be said that the

¹² Clarke A. (2013), Exploiting the web as a tool of democracy: new ways forward in the study and practice of digital democracy, World Forum for Democracy 2013 Issues Paper, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Marquand D. (1979), *Parliament for Europe*, J. Cape: University of Michigan.

¹⁵ Demetriou K. N. (2013), “Introduction”, p. 4.in: Demetriou K. N. (ed), *Democracy in Transition. Political participation in the European Union*, Verlag-Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer.

¹⁶ Clarke A. (2013), *cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ See Dutton W.H. (1992), “Political science research on teledemocracy”, in: *Social Science Computer Review*, 10 (4), 505-522; Blumler J. M. and Gurevitch M. (1995), *cit.*, Dahlgren P. (2005), “The Internet, public spheres, and political communication: dispersion and deliberation, in: *Political Communication*, 22(2), 147-162.

¹⁹ Clarke A. (2013), *cit.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

classical, hierarchical model of government is being replaced by an “informal, non-hierarchical nature of mass collaboration”, facilitated by ICTs²¹.

Finally, the Web is not only a platform for democratic participation, but can also serve as a tool for studying this engagement by means of big data and web-based research tools. These offer new insights into the collective action mechanisms that can help institutions and civil society organisations to better design engagement initiatives²².

Although cyber-sceptics stress that, far from generating a more pluralistic form of politics, the Web merely reinforces divisive partisanship, or empowers the already engaged elite²³, while also increasing the risks connected with state surveillance, privacy violations and online censorship, what cannot be denied is that the Web is transforming the dynamics of politics and democracy.

It is clear that, the power of the Internet in mobilising real-time collaboration between vast audiences in an open and interactive way is creating new avenues for democracy. As argued by Clarke (2013)²⁴, *the Web is proven to be most powerful when it does not simply digitalise offline phenomena, but “re-image old traditions to create new ones by capitalizing on the unique characteristics of this medium”*²⁵. In this framework, the added value of Wikipedia, for example, is that it exploits on the Web's capacity to host low-cost information exchange and therefore enables crowdsourced collaboration and co-creation, rather than simply digitalizing the production and distribution modes of offline encyclopaedias²⁶.

The Internet and new forms of participation

Crowdsourcing legislation is amongst the many different innovative and alternative modes of political participation made possible by the reduction of costs of coordination and the real-time exchange of data by using the Web. This paper focuses mainly on the concept of crowdsourcing, which comprises all those initiatives that solicit and collect resources from a group of individuals or organizations so as to produce outcomes, such as a product, a process, or a decision. The purpose of the paper is to explore new forms of interactions between citizens and policy-makers to co-decide on a piece of legislation and or a decision using the Internet and Web 2.0 technologies. Crowdsourcing is exploiting the potential of the Internet to go beyond national borders and engage a wider audience in real-time online. Yet again, crowdsourcing is a complementary tool which should not replace existing methods of civic engagement. In this paper, crowdfunding initiatives, which refer to open calls through the internet to reach a wider crowd to finance specific projects, linking directly those who can give, lend or invest money with those who need financing for a specific project²⁷, are not taken into consideration.

As argued by Beth Novak, author of Wiki Government, and US President Obama's former Chief Technology Officer, *crowdsourcing is a technique for connecting – through technology and Web 2.0 application – the*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See Norris P. (2001), *Digital Divide: civic engagement, information, poverty, and the Internet worldwide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁴ See Clarke A. (2013), *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁷ See European Commission, Communication on crowdfunding in the European Union - Frequently Asked Questions, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-240_en.htm

*expertise of the many to the power of the few on particular issues that are of interest to the citizens*²⁸. B. S. Noveck draws on the example of the US Government's Peer to Patent system²⁹, a social networking initiative in which the US Patent and Trademark Office engaged citizens to manage the massive number of patent applications received by the Office by channelling the public's knowledge and expertise towards government officials. This example of "collaborative democracy" shows how citizens can engage with governments and decision makers to solve complex issues, while, at the same time, making government more open and effective³⁰.

In reference to the involvement of citizens in governance, three levels of eDemocracy can be defined³¹:

1. First, the *information level* which rests upon people's access to relevant information, for instance through websites, search engines and electronic newsletters.
2. Second, the *consultation level*, which entails more interaction, as governments and citizens use online forums, web-based platforms and other Web 2.0 tools in order to publicly discuss issues, deliberate and inform decision making processes.
3. The third level is defined as *active participation*, where the emphasis is put on direct participation and partnerships in policy-making processes³².

Ann Macintosh has developed three levels of participation that can be used to characterise eDemocracy initiatives: *eEnabling*, *eEngaging* and *eEmpowering*, which correspond respectively to the levels of information, consultation and active participation described above³³:

1. *eEnabling* is the use of technology to enable participation and take advantage of the large amount of information available for those who would not typically access the Internet. In this context information should be presented in a more accessible and understandable format.
2. *eEngaging* enables deeper contributions and supports deliberative discussion on policy issues among a wider audience of citizens. These types of engagement are mainly top-down consultations which provide for mutual exchanges of views.
3. *eEmpowering* empowers citizens to influence the political agenda through the use of technology by facilitating "bottom-up" ideas. In contrast with the E-enabling and E-engaging levels, here the emphasis is on users' access to information and citizens' reaction to government-led initiatives.

To conclude, this study elaborates on the assumption that the Internet promotes democracy at four levels³⁴:

1. It multiplies the channels for political information and participation;
2. It provides new opportunities for communication, mobilisation and organisation for citizens and civil society;
3. It creates new pluralistic arenas where citizens can discuss issues of general interests; and

²⁸ Noveck B. S. S. (2009), *Wiki Government: how technology can make government better, democracy stronger, and citizens more powerful*, Brookings Institution Press.

²⁹ See <http://www.peertopatent.org>

³⁰ Noveck B. S. S. (2009), *cit.*

³¹ Tuzzi A., Padovani C., and Nesti G. (2007), *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Macintosh A. (2004), "Characterizing e-participation in policy-making", in: *Proceedings of 37th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (pp. 1-10), IEEE.

³⁴ Cfr. Mosca L. (2013), "The Internet as a new channel for political participation?", in: Demetriou K. N. (ed), *cit.*

4. It enhances collaborative projects and knowledge exchange towards policy-makers.

Concepts and definitions: eParticipation, eDemocracy, e-government

In recent times, different concepts and definitions have been used to describe the interactions between citizens and governments taking place over the internet, with terms such as eParticipation, eDemocracy and e-government often used as buzzwords referring, in a rather vague way, to the positive effects of ICTs on government-citizens relations³⁵.

In general terms, these expressions are all related to the use of electronic means to improve governments' performance and citizen engagement. For the purposes of this paper, we will now outline some definitions and conceptual clarifications.

*EParticipation is the broader process of enhancing and deepening the political participation of citizens by means of ICT*³⁶. It comprises a wide range of initiatives, from the use of ICT to support the effective provision of information which is seen as a corollary of engagement and empowerment, to "top-down" government-led initiatives and "ground-up" efforts which empower citizens and civil society groups. EParticipation has a direct impact on other policy goals and values such as democracy, inclusion, accountability, better legislation, trust, cohesion, legitimacy and transparency³⁷. EParticipation is incorporated into the European Union's governance system and is intertwined with European policy and values such as openness and transparency, as well as the use of Internet facilities³⁸. At the European level, before 1992 the EU's rationale was grounded in delivering effective policies to citizens in order to strengthen fundamental rights. From the Treaty on the European Union (TEU, 1992) onwards there has been a shift towards making the EU more transparent through improved information provision mechanisms. From 2000 onwards, transparency and accountability were further promoted, while after 2005, linking institutions with citizens became a key concern³⁹. Finally, since 2007 the focus has shifted towards citizen empowerment and ICT-enhanced participation⁴⁰.

E-government is "the use of information and communication technologies, and particularly the Internet, as a tool to achieve better government"⁴¹. E-government holds the potential to create a new mode of public service where the relationship between public administrations and citizens is no longer just one-way. Indeed, it is about building a partnership between governments and citizens in a two-way path of consultation and collaboration⁴².

EDemocracy refers to the *use of ICTs to support democratic decision making in order to enhance democratic institutions and democratic processes*. It relates to the online activities of governments, elected representatives, political parties and citizens. There is no all-encompassing definition of the term

³⁵ Tuzzi A., Padovani C., and Nesti G. (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁶ Macintosh A. (2006), "e-participation in policy-making: the research and the challenges", In: Cunningham P. and Cunningham M. (eds), *Exploiting the Knowledge Economy: Issues, Applications and Case Studies*, Amsterdam: IOS Press, pp. 364-369.

³⁷ Tambouris E., *et al* (2013), *loc. cit.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Dalakiouridou E., Tambouris E., and Tarabanis K. (2009), "Mapping the state of play in e-participation in the EU, in: *European eParticipation study*, Deliverable D1.4.c.

⁴⁰ Tambouris E., *et al* (2013), *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2003), *The e-Government Imperative*, OECD Publishing, Paris, p. 23.

⁴² Silcock R. (2001), "What is e-Government?", in: *Parliamentary Affairs* (2001), 54, Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, pp. 88-101.

“eDemocracy”, and in the literature several ways of describing these online activities can be found. In some cases, the emphasis is on the bureaucratic dimension of service delivery and/or on information management centred on the potential of ICTs to improve the management. Other authors outline a people-focused approach where citizens can make their preferences known on a range of issues, or a civil society-based model where openness and transparency are strengthened in the conduct of government and political practice⁴³.

Within this framework, it is important to acknowledge that eDemocracy is not meant to replace traditional forms of representative democracy, but rather to complement them by adding elements of citizen empowerment and direct democracy⁴⁴. In practice, eDemocracy includes the usage of tools such as e-parliament, e-justice, e-mediation, e-election, e-referendum, e-initiative, e-consultation, e-petitioning, e-campaigning, e-forum, e-legislation and e-deliberation. Additionally, social media plays a role in enabling individuals to exchange, plan, act and interact with policy-makers outside traditional political spaces and institutional systems⁴⁵.

When innovation meets democracy: beyond traditional models

In this section, we will analyse the impact of ICT and the Internet on four different types of democratic systems: *representation, participation, deliberation and contestation*, by addressing the following questions:

- What is the impact of technological change on the current forms of political organisation and democracy in the EU in particular?
- How is technology changing current political models and what innovations have been introduced?
- In particular, what is the influence of crowdsourcing legislation on traditional models of democracy?

A review of literature suggests that ICTs and the Internet have an impact on the four dimensions of representation, participation, deliberation and contestation. Technology can thus:

1. *Increase the transparency of the political process and thereby improve democratic representation;*
2. *Enhance the direct involvement and participation of citizens;*
3. *Improve the quality of opinion formation* by opening new spaces of information, debate and *deliberation*; and
4. *Open up new channels of contestation*⁴⁶.

1. ICT and Representation

ICT can improve the transparency of political process in the framework of the liberal conception of democracy, which stems from the delegated nature of modern political democracy. Representative democracy works on the basis of an electoral mandate provided to elected political representatives on regular intervals through elections⁴⁷. This mandate allows political representatives to govern whilst also being held accountable through

⁴³ Tuzzi A., Padovani C., and Nesti G. (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁴⁴ Medimorek D, Parycek P., Schossboeck J. (2011), *cit.* Full citation needed here first time

⁴⁵ World Forum for Democracy (2013), “Background Dossier. Lab 2: Online Petitions and Campaigning”, Strasbourg.

⁴⁶ Mendez F. (2013), “EU Democracy and E-Democracy: Can the Two Be Reconciled?”, in: Demetriou K.N. (ed), *cit.*

⁴⁷ See Dahl R. (1989), *Democracy and its critics*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

the ex-post sanctioning mechanisms of regular elections⁴⁸. In representative democracies the electorate is excluded from making political decisions and from voting on specific policy resolutions⁴⁹.

In this framework, the transparency introduced by ICT is a lubricant of the political process because it diminishes the information asymmetries between citizens and representatives. Web 2.0 concepts offer unprecedented opportunities for improving governance and making the monitoring of representatives more effective.

Today, institutional websites provide information on parliamentary sessions and pending bills, provide live broadcast streams of parliamentary debates and committee meetings, and so forth. The EU has a pervasive web presence in this sense (for example, the Europa and the European Parliament- EP- websites⁵⁰), offering a broad range of electronic archived and coded information, and so is considered to be more transparent than the average of its Member States⁵¹. In a complex multi-level governance system such as that of the EU, the Web is one of the most important tools for disseminating relevant information. In this manner, ICTs help intermediaries such as the media and civil society to keep political representatives in check⁵².

Finally, the availability of information and other resources concerning the political process enhances citizen competence by potentially increasing voters' knowledge on candidates and parties⁵³. Therefore, ICT strengthens the transparency of the political process within the framework of representative democracies by making citizens better informed and competent, thus helping them to exercise their voting rights.

2. ICT and Participation

The modern variant of participatory democracy has, as a common thread, the notion of self-government by a community of citizens directly engaged in the process of decision making⁵⁴. In this context, participatory mechanisms such as citizens' initiatives come into play. It is important to note that since political participation is radically incomplete without an actual decision at the end, citizens would need an effective mechanism to make their voices heard.

In this framework, ICT operates in a variety of ways. In particular, it:

1. Provides the logistical tools for distributing the flow of information;
2. Facilitates the decision-making process through a broad range of voting technologies, allowing citizens to express their preferences in a convenient and simple way.

⁴⁸ Mendez F. (2013), "EU Democracy and E-Democracy: Can the Two Be Reconciled?", in: Demetriou K.N. (ed), cit. See also: Kies R., Mendez F., Schmitter P., and Trechsel A. (2004), *Evaluation of the use of new technologies in order to facilitate democracy in Europe: E-democratizing the parliaments and parties in Europe*, Luxembourg: STOA, European Parliament.

⁴⁹ Petrik K. (2009), "Participation and e-democracy: how to utilize web 2.0 for policy decision-making", in: Chun A. S. Sandoval R. and Regan P. (Eds), *Proceedings of the 10th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Social Networks, making connections between citizens, data and government*, Digital Government Society of North America, Puebla, Mexico, pp. 254-263.

⁵⁰ See http://europa.eu/index_en.htm; <http://www.europarl.europa.eu>.

⁵¹ Petrik K. (2009), "Participation and e-democracy: how to utilize web 2.0 for policy decision-making", cit.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ See <https://factcheckeu.org/>, a website monitoring the public statements of decision-makers are saying and their validity.

⁵⁴ Fung A. (2007), "Democratic theory and political science: A pragmatic method of constructive engagement", in: *American Political Science Review*, 101 (03), pp. 533-562.

A number of ICT tools have been developed in order to facilitate the direct participation of citizens, such as e-voting, e-consultation, e-petition, e-referendums, and so forth. However, distinctions need to be made regarding which ICT-enabled mechanisms are legally binding and whether they are top-down or bottom-up processes⁵⁵.

As for the EU, one potentially important democratic innovation in recent years is the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) introduced in the Lisbon Treaty and implemented since the first of April 2012. The ECI is the first transnational participatory tool in the world, giving European citizens the right to propose the European Commission (Commission) to legislate in a matter within its competences, provided that they are able to collect one million statements of support in 12 months. The ECI is an agenda setting tool, which gives citizens the opportunity to ask the EC to legislate in a certain matter, but which does not have the power to force compulsory legislative action.

In collecting statements of support, the ECI uses a verified online collection of signatures (OCS) system. The OCS allows organizers to collect online statements of support in the 28 different European Member States. The first three years of implementation of Regulation 211/2011, which established the ECI, has clearly showed the ECI's limitations. During ECI DAY 2015⁵⁶, it was proposed to link the ECI to the development of a digital European citizenship, which will improve the use of the instrument by and for EU citizens. The use of ICT in this respect is challenging and more work needs to be done to improve the system and make it a real tool for citizens.

3. ICT and Deliberation

In the deliberative model, citizens are supposed to be deliberators and thus contribute to more legitimate public policies⁵⁷. Political decisions are justified through a process that involves free and equal citizens deliberating political issues where the "search for the best substantive solutions to collective problems" forms the core of the whole system⁵⁸.

In this context, ICT helps to create favourable conditions for deliberative interactions by opening up new online spaces of opinion formation, such as electronically mediated forums or virtual communities⁵⁹. These deliberative spaces can be used for the formulation of public policy and can be designed to maximise the plurality of viewpoints. Indeed, the development of Web 2.0 and the social web has added new opportunities for the processes of deliberation and collaboration on policy issues⁶⁰.

Between 2001 and 2009, the EU has sponsored several experiments in democratic innovation with online deliberative components. The most well-known of these experiments, *Futurum*⁶¹, occurred in connection with the European Constitutional Treaty. *Futurum* was an online deliberative forum with the aim of providing a

⁵⁵ In Switzerland electronic voting is widely used for referenda, Switzerland's frequently used form of direct democracy. See *Ibid*

⁵⁶ ECI DAY 2015 GENERAL REPORT, <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/eci-day-2015-final-report.pdf>

⁵⁷ For the intellectual influence that shaped the thought of many deliberative democrats see: Rawls J. (1971), *A theory of justice*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; and Habermas J. (1989), *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An enquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

⁵⁸ Petrik K. (2010), "Deliberation and Collaboration in the Policy Process: A Web 2.0 approach", in: *JeDem, Journal of Democracy* 2(1), pp. 18-27.

⁵⁹ See Carpini D., Michael X., Cook F. L., and Jacobs L. R. (2004), "Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature, in: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, pp. 315-344.

⁶⁰ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁶¹ <http://europa.eu/futurum> (Website archived in 2010)

platform for citizens and civil society to exchange views on the European constitutional project⁶². Although the *Futurum* project facilitated a European dialogue, it did not prevent the rejection of the European Constitutional Treaty by France and the Netherlands in 2005. The majority of these experiments at the EU level generate similar problems: the over-representation of those already involved, and a limited impact on policy. Therefore these innovative experiments can be considered as civic engagement exercises with restricted levels of success⁶³.

4. ICT and the Contestatory Model

This model takes into consideration the fact that citizens may not be prepared to incur the substantial information and transaction costs inherent in deliberative processes⁶⁴.

According to Petitt (2000)⁶⁵, one of the main proponents of the contestatory model, beyond the familiar dimension of people having electoral control over the government (the representative democracy paradigm), democracy is also the ability for the citizens to contest government decisions in an effective way. In his view, channels of contestation are to be made available to citizens so to assist them in scrutinising policy implementation and to guard against abuses. Contrary to the conception of policy ownership grounded in the electoral representative model, according to Petitt this must be balanced by a “wiki-like dimension” involving ex-post scrutiny and examination⁶⁶. According to this author, this model gives people “editorship and censorship over collective decision making”⁶⁷.

Again, the Internet is particularly well suited to give voice to non-mainstream viewpoints and to put under-represented issues on the agenda.

⁶² Mendez F. (2013), “EU Democracy and E-Democracy: Can the Two Be Reconciled?”, in: Demetriou K.N. (ed), *cit.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See Petitt P. (2000), “Democracy, electoral and contestatory”, in: Ian S. and Stephen M., *Designing democratic institutions*, New York: Nomos, NYU Press.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Mendez F. (2013), “EU Democracy and E-Democracy: Can the Two Be Reconciled?”, in: Demetriou K.N. (ed), *cit.*, p. 173.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

	Representative	Participatory	Deliberative	Contestatory
Model of democracy	Representative	Participatory	Deliberative	Agonistic
Ideal of Citizen	Citizen as preference maximiser	Citizen as legislator	Citizen as rational discussant	Monitorial non-conformist citizen
Gap filled by ICT	Improve transparency	Create new channels of participation	Enhance potential for deliberation	Open up new channels for contestation
Examples of technologies	Voting Advice Application (VAAs)	Voting technologies	E-Forums	Social media
EU-related examples	Europa website; EP website	European Citizens' Initiative	<i>Futurum</i> forum	European Social forum; Indignados; Occupy

Table 1. Models of Democracy beyond traditional models

A new Web 2.0 eDemocracy model can emerge benefitting from the characteristics of the Internet. Such a model uses ICT and the social Web to enable a process of participation, deliberation and collaboration between governments and non-governmental actors. This method is described as “Participative-Deliberative-Collaborative eDemocracy” and it is comprised of practices and components of the participatory, representative and deliberative models of democracy⁶⁸. A new network of citizens is growing thanks to the rapid development of engagement in social networks, co-production environments and platforms such as Wikipedia, Facebook and YouTube. These platforms are easy to use, with a dynamic access to a growing stock of knowledge as well as to multiple tools for re-editing, re-distributing and exchanging data between citizens⁶⁹.

Web 2.0 technologies entail a “collaborative approach” that gives Internet users an active role in content creation and distribution so that they become co-producers of content rather than just being consumers⁷⁰. This is not only a technological advancement, but also most importantly a social one. Indeed, if Web 2.0 implies a movement of control from a website's administrator to its users⁷¹, when applied to the level of governance Web 2.0 could imply a shift of control over governmental output (policies, laws, public services) from the established authorities to citizens⁷². The development of the Web 2.0 collaborative approach could “inspire the transformation from a representative system with a passive electorate to a deliberative-collaborative eDemocracy”⁷³, in which citizens are granted increasing options for participation.

⁶⁸ Petrik K. (2010), “Deliberation and Collaboration in the Policy Process: A Web 2.0 approach”, *cit.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Chang A., Kannan P. K., (2008), *Leveraging Web 2.0 in Government*, University of Maryland, IBM Center for the Business of Government.

⁷¹ Petrik K. (2010), “Deliberation and Collaboration in the Policy Process: A Web 2.0 approach”, *cit.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

CHAPTER 2: CROWDSOURCING FOR DEMOCRACY AND POLICY-MAKING

A new type of deliberative-collaborative edemocracy

Deliberative-Collaborative eDemocracy is a model based on contemporary ICT and Web 2.0 developments. It aims to ensure high quality policy-making by involving citizens directly in a collaborative policy process using the capacity of Web 2.0 to enhance and manage large scale information and collaboration processes⁷⁴.

Social media and the Web 2.0 era allow large groups of dispersed users to produce valuable information that could eventually lead to a new non-hierarchical system of governance with enhanced levels of interaction, accountability and transparency⁷⁵. Furthermore, the interactivity offered by social media encourages dialogue between the public and policy-makers, creating new insights and making the co-production of policy possible, whilst also adding different voices to the public discussion arena⁷⁶.

Crowdsourcing: a definition

*Based on the ability of modern technologies and innovations such as Web 2.0, social networks and wikis to enable mass collaboration and interaction (in peer-to-peer, one-to-many, many-to-one and many-to-many forms), crowdsourcing is an open call for people to participate in an online task by submitting information, knowledge, experience and talent*⁷⁷. Crowdsourcing has been applied to engage people in different processes, ranging from urban planning and budget drafting, to new product design and the solution of complex scientific problems⁷⁸.

Crowdsourcing is based on the idea of collective intelligence, which starts with the assumption that knowledge levels are at their greatest when it consists of inputs from a distributed and diverse population⁷⁹. Collective intelligence is “universally distributed intelligence, [which is] constantly enhanced and coordinated in real time”⁸⁰. The core idea of collective intelligence is that a “distributed network of creators and contributors, the majority of which are amateurs, can, using simple online tools, produce information goods that may outperform those produced by so-called authoritative, concentrated sources”⁸¹.

Improved communication technologies have enabled more sophisticated collective intelligence systems in the forms of co-creation, crowdsourcing and innovation challenges, which are aimed at finding solutions to design tasks and scientific problems, or at offering better services on behalf of governments⁸².

⁷⁴ Held D. (2006), *Models of Democracy*, Third Edition, Polity Press.

⁷⁵ Bani M. (2012), “Crowdsourcing democracy: the case of Icelandic social constitutionalism”, in: *Politics and Policy in the Information Age*, Springer.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, Parliament of Finland, Publication of the Committee for the future 1/2012.

⁷⁸ See Brabham D. C. (2010), “Moving the crowd at Threadless”, in: *Information, Communication, and Society* 13(8) (2010), pp. 1122-1145; Aitamurto T., Leiponen A. and Tee R. (2011), “The promise of idea crowdsourcing – benefits, contexts, limitations”, Whitepaper for Nokia Ideas Project, 2011.

⁷⁹ See Levy P. (1997), *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's emerging world in Cyberspace*, Cambridge: MA, Perseus Books.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸¹ Chadwick A. (2009), “Web 2.0: New Challenges for the Study of E-Democracy in an Era of Informational Exuberance”, *cit.*, p. 21.

⁸² See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*

In the United States for instance, NASA launched a crowdsourcing initiative in the field of space research by inviting citizens to participate⁸³ in the mapping of craters. Another form of crowdsourcing is “crowdmapping”, which can be used to gather testimonials from the populace in order to display information on a map in cases such as election fraud, violence and bribery, as well as natural disasters such as earthquakes or snow storms. Crowdmapping has efficiently been used, not only to map the consequences of crises and to pinpoint where help is needed⁸⁴, but also to address and fix cities' everyday problems. This is the case for applications like SeeClickFix and FixMyStreet through which residents can locate a city problem on a map so that authorities and citizens are informed of the issue⁸⁵.

In recent years, crowdsourcing has been increasingly used as a part of the open innovation strategy in the public sector. In this case, “innovation challenges” have been launched and the public has been invited to participate by submitting ideas or prototypes for new public services. Typically, innovation challenges encourage citizens to use open data, previously provided by the public administration, to develop solutions to improve public services or find new ways to address social problems⁸⁶.

Open government is inspired by the principles of participation, transparency and collaboration. Interest in the principles, models and tools of Open Government is spreading worldwide. About 65 nations have joined a global network of governments called the Open Government Partnership (OGP)⁸⁷. Launched in 2011, this network provides an international platform for domestic reformers committed to making their governments more open, accountable and responsive to citizens and to develop Open Government reforms⁸⁸. However, governments applying Open Government standards are not totally transparent: they make deliberate and strategic decisions about which processes can be crowdsourced and what kind of data can be made available for publication in open data portals. Yet, it is becoming more difficult for governments to keep the processes closed, as openness and transparency are both becoming part of citizens' expectations and are easy to implement⁸⁹. As argued by Tanja Aitamurto (2012), “*crowdsourcing is a part of broader societal developments, in which the citizens can participate in processes previously closed*”⁹⁰. Thanks to the interactivity of the Web 2.0 and the rise of online activism⁹¹, the flow of information now goes from citizens to institutions and from citizens to citizens⁹².

To conclude, crowdsourcing for democracy, which can be also called *citizensourcing*, could lead to the “cultivation of public consensus to address governance issues, strengthen communities, empower marginalized groups, and foster civic participation”⁹³.

⁸³ See <http://www.nasaclickworkers.com>.

⁸⁴ See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit.

⁸⁵ See applications like <http://ushahidi.com>; <http://syriatracker.crowdmap.com>; <http://seeclickfix.com/richmond/issues/hot>; <http://www.fixmystreet.com>.

⁸⁶ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit.

⁸⁷ See <http://www.opengovpartnership.org>

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹¹ Shirky C. (2008), *Here comes everybody. The power of organizing without organizations*, Penguin Press.

⁹² Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit.

⁹³ Bott M., Bjorn-Soren G., Young G. (2012), “The role of crowdsourcing for better governance in fragile state contexts”, in: *Open development technology alliance*, 2012.

Crowdsourcing for policy-making

This section focuses on crowdsourcing initiatives applied to policy-making processes. When policy-making processes are opened, information flows out to citizens, who get unprecedented opportunities to participate in governance⁹⁴. Crowdsourcing for policy-making functions is a method of gathering information and knowledge from an undefined crowd as part of the legislative process. In this way, the political process receives ideas, perspectives and insights from a large subset of the population. Simultaneously, policy-makers can more readily inform themselves of citizens' values and attitudes, and thus crowdsourcing can also be seen as a method for "citizen hearings"⁹⁵.

Crowdsourcing is often seen as the opposite to expertise: a method that opens up space for amateurs. In this regard, it is relevant to reconsider the differences and similarities between amateurs and experts, especially in the field of democratic participation. Citizens, often considered as "amateurs", are indeed experts in every-day life and citizenship issues⁹⁶. Crowdsourcing and openness bring new features to communication processes not only between citizens and institutions, but also among citizens, since in crowdsourcing platforms participants can see the opinions of other's on a massive scale in real time. According to Aitamurto, this creates agency in the public sphere – "a space in which citizens govern themselves".⁹⁷ In addition, crowdsourcing can lead to the emergence or empowerment of new forces in society, as was the case in Egypt during the uprisings in the spring of 2011. An important element in that protest movement was the use of peer-to-peer communication and the effect that had on participation in the protests, as the use of social media raised the visibility of the movement, encouraging people to take part in it⁹⁸.

By using crowdsourcing in the policy-making process and seeking innovation through public knowledge, ground-breaking and previously unthinkable solutions may be pursued. To facilitate crowdsourcing, governments and institutions share data and other inputs, enabling ordinary citizens to become an active part of democratic processes, coordinate collective action and get involved in a process of social learning⁹⁹. Opening the political process could potentially increase the legitimacy of the political establishment, increasing transparency and thus strengthening the credibility of policy-making. As argued by Aitamurto (2012), "when boundaries between traditional, closed decision-making and citizen activism become more porous, a new connection between citizens and decision-makers is created" and citizens become part of the political process even between elections¹⁰⁰. Crowdsourcing and co-creation can be defined as methods for realising the ideals of participatory democracy¹⁰¹. Nevertheless, crowdsourcing does not replace traditional expert hearings when developing legislation. Instead, it is an informative, complementary process falling within the boundaries of traditional policy-making.

To sum up, crowdsourcing legislation introduces the principles of direct and participatory democracy to the policy-making process¹⁰². Thanks to crowdsourcing, people can influence policy-making in a more direct way

⁹⁴ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁹⁸ Aitamurto T. and Sistik H. (2011), "How social media is keeping the Egyptian revolution alive", in: *PBS MediaShift*. Accessible at: <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2011/09/how-social-media-is-keeping-the-egyptian-revolution-alive256/>

⁹⁹ Bott M., Bjorn-Soren G., Young G. (2012), "The role of crowdsourcing for better governance in fragile state contexts", cit.

¹⁰⁰ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit., p.30.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

and cooperate with policy-makers to a much greater extent than before¹⁰³. In recent decades, representative democracy mechanisms may have caused a lack of political interest among citizens¹⁰⁴. However, there remains considerable emphasis on the power of policy-makers themselves in governance. Complex decisions require an extensive amount of information, knowledge, ideas, and the “wisdom of the crowd”¹⁰⁵, access to which can be made affordable through Web 2.0 applications.

Crowdsourced legislation: national cases in Europe

This section focuses on three examples of crowdsourcing legislation experiments in Europe. The following examples are not exhaustive, but they are all consistently instigated by policy-makers, rather than civil society-led processes. It is important to note that, while this section briefly introduces three cases of crowdsourcing in policy-making, it does not analyse their success or failure due to the lack of criteria for assessing achievement in this field¹⁰⁶.

Constitutional reform in Iceland

As a result of deep crises in the legitimacy of its political and economic establishment, from 2010, Iceland began to develop a social and inclusive approach after the decision was made to rewrite its Constitution, in an attempt to better interpret the general will of its people through giving them a set of tools to better express their values and beliefs¹⁰⁷. In this regard, crowdsourcing legislation was used during the constitutional reform process in 2010 and 2011. Iceland was recovering from a heavy financial crisis, which led to a “democratic recession” and a deterioration of citizens’ trust in the government¹⁰⁸. The Parliament and the Prime Minister of Iceland, Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir, decided to invite citizens to join the reform process, and consequently the populace’s knowledge, ideas, and expertise were crowdsourced for the purpose of constitutional reform. This approach was unique, having no direct precedent: never before had such a grassroots approach been taken towards a constitutional reform process¹⁰⁹.

In order to prepare for the crowdsourcing process, national assemblies were held where citizens could discuss the country’s values.. The assemblies, organised in accordance with the notion of “Collective Intelligence”¹¹⁰, gathered inputs from around 1,000 people randomly sampled from the National Population Register “with due regards to a reasonable distribution of participants across the country and an equal division between genders, to the extent possible”¹¹¹. The output of the assemblies were summarised in the form of a mind map¹¹² and later used in the constitutional reform procedure¹¹³. The mind map outlined the context, values and major issues which the reform process should reflect. Among the issues outlined were:

¹⁰³ Fishkin J. (2011), *When the People Speak. Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Petrik K., (2009), “Participation and e-democracy: how to utilize web 2.0 for policy decision-making”, in: Chun Ae Soon, Sandoval, Rodrigo e Regan (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Social Networks: Making Connections between Citizens, Data and Government*, Digital Government Society of North America, Puebla, Mexico, pp. 254-263.

¹⁰⁵ Surowieski J. (2005), *The Wisdom of the Crowd*, Anchor Books.

¹⁰⁶ See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁷ Bani M. (2012), “Crowdsourcing democracy: the case of Icelandic social constitutionalism”, *cit.*

¹⁰⁸ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*

¹⁰⁹ Thorarensen B., (2011), “Constitutional reform process in Iceland. Involving the people into process”, Rome.

¹¹⁰ Gylfason T. (2013), “Democracy on ice: a post-mortem of the Icelandic constitution” in *OpenDemocracy*, 19 June 2013. Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/thorvaldur-gylfason/democracy-on-ice-post-mortem-of-icelandic-constitution>

¹¹¹ See: <http://www.thjodfundur2010.is/um-thjodfundinn/>

¹¹² <http://thjodfundur2010.is/nidurstodur/tre>

¹¹³ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*

- The foundation and the core principles of the Icelandic Constitution;
- The separation and distribution of powers; the role and functions of the President of the Republic and the independence of the judiciary;
- Provisions relating to elections and the participation of citizens in the democratic process, such as the timing and organisation of referenda,
- Environmental issues, including the ownership of natural resources¹¹⁴.

Based on the proceedings of the national assemblies, Icelanders chose 25 citizens who would represent them on a constitutional reform council (Constitutional Council). These elected representatives were not professional politicians or experts in constitutional matters, but instead regular citizens chosen through an electoral process based on a system of citizen's preferences determined by the Icelandic people¹¹⁵.

The purpose of the Constitutional Council was to produce a draft constitution to be passed to the Parliament, which was responsible for following the correct procedures for constitutional revision. The bill affirmed that the Council should promote dialogue between citizens and representatives based on the themes developed in the national assemblies, which had previously been adopted through complicated participatory democracy methods. This initial process was carried out by "Agora", an Icelandic non-profit organisation specialized in organizing participatory procedures regarding the drafting of official documents¹¹⁶.

The Council used the guidelines drafted in national assemblies. After the meetings, the most recent versions of the draft constitution were published online and citizens were invited to contribute to the draft by sending emails, letters or by commenting through social media. Participants left thousands of comments online¹¹⁷. In addition, the Council also heard from experts in traditional offline ways. Each week, on Thursday, the various subgroups formed in the assembly hosted a public meeting (with live streaming) and discussed new amendments and suggestions. In the final stage, once each draft article had been discussed in both online and offline fora, all the proposed changes were voted upon, thereby drafting the final version of the document¹¹⁸.

Throughout all the above stages, social media was widely used as a tool for deliberation and discussion to make the process more transparent and encourage citizen participation. Public discussions took place on Facebook, YouTube, Flickr and Twitter, while the official website of the Constitutional Council became an incubator of comments¹¹⁹. In total, the crowdsourcing initiative generated around 3,600 online comments from which 360 suggestions were developed.

After four months of intense preparation, the final document was approved unanimously. Two days later, the President of the Council presented the constitutional draft to Parliament while a national non-binding referendum was scheduled to give greater legitimacy to the process. The constitutional referendum was held in October 2012, with a voter turnout of 49%. Although the proposal was approved to be the basis of a

¹¹⁴ See Bani M. (2012), "Crowdsourcing democracy: the case of Icelandic social constitutionalism", *cit.*

¹¹⁵ Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*

¹¹⁶ See Agora-Parl.Org (2015), <http://www.agora-parl.org/tags/iceland>

¹¹⁷ See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*

¹¹⁸ Bani M. (2012), "Crowdsourcing democracy: the case of Icelandic social constitutionalism", *cit.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Constitution by two-thirds of voters, the prospective constitutional bill based on the proposal ultimately stalled in Parliament in the following spring due to internal Icelandic party politics¹²⁰.

Several lessons can be drawn from the Icelandic case:

1. Crowdsourcing brought new perspectives to the constitutional process, through opening to unknown and unexpected areas of knowledge.
2. The open process of Constitution-rewriting raised a nationwide debate about the meaning of the Constitutional process in a country which was seriously distrustful of the political establishment, and about the possibilities for citizen empowerment as a potential method for strengthening the legitimacy of the political system¹²¹.
3. The constitutional draft proposed was particularly appealing to citizens as it offered advanced freedoms in terms of civil rights and was able to address the defective nature of the political systems that led to the crisis of 2008¹²².

Of course, the attempt to open the constitutional reform was not without problems. The pioneering process was very ambitious as it aimed to rewrite the country's Constitution in only a few months by using completely new methods. Some aspects of the experiment seemed a bit too improvised and various choices were a little arbitrary¹²³.

Yet, the overall process of Constitutional rewriting was ground-breaking and highly enterprising. Although it didn't result in any actual constitutional change, the experiment has definitely changed the idea that a constitutional process must be exclusionary, closed and secretive, establishing a precedent for other innovative experiences in democratic design. The exercise reinforced the use of crowdsourcing at the local level, which now is a well-established reality in Reykjavik and surrounding areas. Indeed, the use of the Internet made possible the generation of a broader number of ideas and created an online community, which now engages in local level issues, hence creating a transition from online to offline activism. The "Your Priorities" platform¹²⁴, which was developed alongside the constitutional drafting process by the Icelandic Citizens Foundation¹²⁵, enables groups of people to develop and prioritise ideas together¹²⁶. Since 2008, Citizens Foundation has been developing a platform to promote online democratic debate both in Iceland and worldwide; and in Reykjavik, the best ideas sourced through the platform are adopted by the city council¹²⁷.

¹²⁰ For an overview of party politics that lead to the killing of the Constitutional bill see: Gylfason T., "Democracy on ice: a post-mortem of the Icelandic constitution", *cit.*

¹²¹ See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, *cit.*, pp. 19-20.

¹²² Bani M. (2012), "Crowdsourcing democracy: the case of Icelandic social constitutionalism", *cit.*

¹²³ See Landemore H., "We, All of the People. Five lessons from Iceland's failed experiment in creating a crowdsourced constitution", in Slate, July 31, 2014. Available

at: http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future_tense/2014/07/five_lessons_from_iceland_s_failed_crowdsourced_constitution_experiment.html

¹²⁴ <https://www.yrpri.org/home/world>

¹²⁵ <http://www.citizens.is/>

¹²⁶ "Crowdsourcing, Collective input to make better decisions", <http://www.nesta.org.uk/crowdsourcing>

¹²⁷ See more at: <http://www.nesta.org.uk/crowdsourcing#sthash.PRvAgCCA.dpuf>

Open Ministry in Finland

As in the case of Iceland, Finland is an extraordinarily wired country. Indeed, it was the first country to make high-speed Internet access a legal right, with an Internet penetration rate of 89,3 % in 2012¹²⁸. Moreover in 2012, a change in the Constitution in Finland opened new avenues for citizen participation. As a consequence, the Finnish Parliament adopted the New Citizens' Initiative Act¹²⁹, which states that if a petition gathers at least 50,000 signatures in six months, the petition's contents need to be discussed in Parliament. Ideas for petitions are collected online, while signatures can be gathered both online and offline by using a bank user identification system.

There are two types of proposals citizens can initiate. The first involves asking the government to take action to change existing legislation, which will then be examined by the responsible ministry. In the second type of initiative, citizens propose a new legal bill, formulated by using crowdsourcing techniques, where the resulting proposal could end up being discussed in Parliament¹³⁰.

After the New Citizens' Initiative Act entered into force, a civil society group launched an open source platform called Open Ministry¹³¹ to allow citizens to propose alternative policy agendas and to collect signatures online for them. Since its implementation, the platform and its innovative dimension has gained international attention¹³².

Open Ministry enables citizens to intervene in the policy-making agenda and forward new proposals and initiatives to be discussed in established political institutions. The system represents a pioneering model for crowdsourcing initiatives for legislation. In the crowdsourcing process, the Open Ministry platform validates all ideas submitted on the basis of expert evaluations as well as on levels of popular support. A chosen subset of ideas is then selected to be further processed by the Ministry's volunteer experts. A team of professionals (researchers, professors, experts in a certain field, etc.) help to evaluate the impact of the initiatives and a second team of voluntary lawyers is in charge of formulating the proposed ideas in a legally valid manner. Two of the first initiatives developed out of the platform were proposals supporting the abolition of the Dog Tax Act, which dated back to 1800, and the reform of the Student Allowance Act.

All the documentation produced and shared during the process is freely available on the Open Ministry's website so that anyone can take part in the debate and be better informed. Furthermore, the platform offers all citizens detailed information on how their representatives have commented and voted once the proposal is subject to a vote in Parliament.

The Finnish Government supplemented these democratisation efforts by utilising crowdsourcing as a participation method in the reform of the off-road traffic law. Indeed, the Finnish Ministry of Environment decided to crowdsource the legislative process by asking citizens to contribute ideas for the new law on off-road traffic. The Off-Road Traffic Act regulates traffic beyond established roads (for example. motor-powered transportation in the countryside, such as snowmobiles in the winter and all-terrain-vehicles (ATVs) in the

¹²⁸ Napolitano A. (2012), "In Finland, Open Ministry Brings Legislation From the Crowd", in [TechPresident.com](http://techpresident.com) (September 28, 2012). Available at: <http://techpresident.com/news/22927/finland-open-ministry-brings-legislation-crowd>

¹²⁹ The same law also implemented the European Citizens Initiative at the national level.

¹³⁰ See Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, cit.

¹³¹ See <https://www.avoinministerio.fi/>

¹³² See <http://techpresident.com/news/22927/finland-open-ministry-brings-legislation-crowd>

summer) and sets out how to protect the environment from off-road traffic and how to compensate land-owners for the use of their land for off-road vehicles¹³³.

The aim was to search for ideas, knowledge and perspectives from online participants and to enhance the general public's understanding of the law¹³⁴. Another goal of the pilot crowdsourcing project was to test if and how citizens can meaningfully contribute to the law-making process.

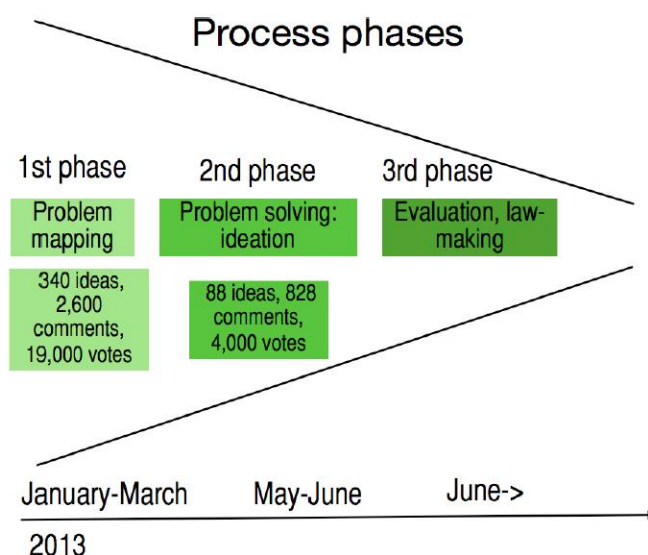


Figure 1. Process Phase Design in the Off-Road Traffic

The crowdsourced process was designed to follow three systematic, structured phases, which enabled problem mapping, creation, knowledge-sharing and information exchange among participants (see Figure 1).

The first phase began in January 2013 and was completed at the end of March 2013. In this phase, the public was asked to share any relevant problems and concerns that they have experienced. In this phase, 10 main areas were identified as a basis for the crowdsourcing process in conjunction with civil servants in the Ministry of Environment, who were experts on off-road traffic law and had written the expired bill. The areas of focus included broad topics, such as general problems with off-road traffic, and a set of more defined areas. Within these topics, participants could propose ideas and share their concerns and experiences. The first phase generated approximately 340 ideas, 2,600 comments in reaction to these ideas, and 19,000 votes from around 700 users¹³⁵. The first phase served to map problems and identify needs and, as testified by the fact that participants shared ideas and concerns beyond the initial pre-defined categories, it fulfilled problem-mapping and need-sensing functions at a higher level than that of the traditional experts¹³⁶.

¹³³ See GovLab Blog (2013), "Seven lessons from the crowdsourced law reform in Finland", in: [TheGovLab.org](http://thegovlab.org/seven-lessons-from-the-crowdsourced-law-reform-in-finland/), October 30, 2013 Available at: <http://thegovlab.org/seven-lessons-from-the-crowdsourced-law-reform-in-finland/>

¹³⁴ Aitamurto T., Landemore H. (2015), "Five design principles for crowdsourced policymaking: Assessing the case of crowdsourced off-road traffic law in Finland", in: *Journal of Social Media for Organizations*, Vol. 2, Issue 1.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

In the second phase, participants were asked to share solutions to the problems that were distilled from the first phase analysis. To do this, the broad challenge areas were divided into more narrow topics. The participants could also propose their own suggestions in a dedicated “Propose your own topic” section. This phase generated around 88 ideas, 828 comments and 4,000 votes¹³⁷.

In the third and final phase, ideas were assessed by both the general population and experts by means of two evaluation methods: rating and comparison. The evaluation phase was conducted on a specific online platform in which the participants assessed the ideas generated in previous stages¹³⁸. Simultaneously, evaluation by an expert panel was performed by 34 experts from Finland, the United States and Estonia¹³⁹.

According to a team of academics and researchers directly involved in the project, there are certain lessons to be learned from the Finnish pioneering project so far¹⁴⁰.

1. The experiment showed that people are really eager to participate when given a meaningful opportunity to do so and with a sound expectation that their participation can lead to concrete action. In the Finnish crowdsourcing project, hundreds of ideas were collected from hundreds of people. Overall, the interactions on the platform were civil and constructive - out of 4,000 comments submitted, only 20 had to be removed.
2. Crowdsourcing creates “learning moments” as participants learn from each other during the process. Exposure to the perceptions of others provided participants with a greater knowledge of other’s positions, leading to a deeper understanding of both the opinions held by others and the general process of evaluating ideas from an opposing perspective.
3. A crowd evaluation tool built by experts from Stanford University showed that the Finnish participants preferred commonsensical and nuanced ideas, while rejecting vague and extreme ones¹⁴¹.
4. Minority voices were not lost in the process and this can function as a motivating factor for minorities to participate in online crowdsourcing efforts¹⁴².

A still-discussable question is how decision-makers should treat the crowdsourced input. According to Aitamurto *et al.* (2014), decision-makers should consider contributions from crowdsourcing techniques just like they would consider input from other sources such as those from interest groups and experts. Politicians, of course, have to determine the most appropriate action to be implemented from a political point of view, after the crowd has already filtered out the vaguest and least promising ideas¹⁴³.

The main difference between the traditional law-making process and crowdsourcing legislation is that in the latter the idea-generating and evaluating groups will receive a reasoned justification from policy-makers as to why their ideas were accepted or rejected. According to Aitamurto *et al.* (2014), “*public justification is a core ideal of deliberative democracy and we trust that public charred reasoning will ensure transparency in the law-*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ The platform can be accessed at <http://www.suomijoukkoistaa.fi/>

¹³⁹ Aitamurto T., Landemore H. (2015), “Five design principles for crowdsourced policymaking: Assessing the case of crowdsourced off-road traffic law in Finland”, *cit.*

¹⁴⁰ For the full report see: Aitamurto T., Landemore H., Lee D., Goel A. (2014), Crowdsourced Off-road Traffic Law Experiment in Finland. Report about idea crowdsourcing and evaluation, Publication of the Committee for the Future 1/2014.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² See GovLab Blog (2013), “Seven lessons from the crowdsourced law reform in Finland”, *cit.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

making process. If this part of the experiment is done well, we believe it will keep the people motivated to participate in further crowdsourcing experiments”¹⁴⁴.

Participatory budgeting in Paris

Participatory budget is a practice where fiscal decision-making in municipalities or regions is crowdsourced. The city of Porto Alegre in Brazil became famous for being the first to implement participatory budgeting in 1989. *Participatory budgeting allows for the participation of non-elected citizens in the conception and/or allocation of public finances and in monitoring public spending through the organisation of open public meetings and the creation of tools designed to support the gradual improvement of co-shared policies which are inserted in official planning documents.* Citizen involvement in participatory budgeting can take various forms, from effective decision-making in resource allocation to more limited initiatives that give the public a voice during the budget’s development and/or distribution¹⁴⁵.

Citizen participation in the division of budgetary resources is becoming increasingly common in Europe and elsewhere. The number of European cities implementing participatory budgeting grew from around 300 in 2010 to more than 1,300 in 2012, and is still increasing¹⁴⁶.

Over the past 20 years, following the lessons learned from experiences such as those of Porto Alegre, many international institutions, including the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank, have worked to spread awareness about the most significant advantages of participatory budgeting. The European Union has funded many exchange projects in partnership with Latin American countries and has also launched a network dedicated to the issue of participatory budget under the URB-AL cooperation Programme¹⁴⁷. According to Open Government and participatory budget expert Tiago Peixoto (2009), “participatory budgeting [...] has been considered as one of the main innovations that aim to reinforce accountability at the local and regional levels. In this respect, it is clear that the two concepts of participatory budgeting and eDemocracy have converging expectations for, if not a renewal of democracy, a reinforcement of democratic practices, with the local level as a privileged arena”¹⁴⁸.

Currently, the City of Paris stands as the biggest example of participatory budgeting in Europe and it may well be so for the next few years. In October 2014, the Mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, put in place a participatory budget experiment, committing 426 million euros from 2014 to 2020 – about 5 % of the city’s entire investment budget – to the scheme¹⁴⁹.

The Parisian crowdsourced participative budgeting system works as follows:

1. Residents from Paris can send ideas and investment projects to the devoted www.idee.paris platform after subscribing to the website. Simultaneously, offline meetings take place across the city in public

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Peixoto T. (2009), Beyond “Theory: e-Participatory Budgeting and its promises for e-Participation”, in: European Journal of ePractice, n. 7, March 2009. Available at: http://www.quebec.ca/observgo/fichiers/91130_eparticipation.pdf

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Allegretti G. and Herzberg C. (2004/5), Participatory budgets in Europe. Between efficiency and growing local democracy, in INI Briefing Series, Transnational Institute and the Centre for Democratic Policy-making.

¹⁴⁸ Peixoto T. (2009), Beyond “Theory: e-Participatory Budgeting and its promises for e-Participation”, *cit.*

¹⁴⁹ Harrison R. (2014), “Parisians have their say on city’s first €20m ‘participatory budget’”, in The Guardian, 8 October 2014, Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/oct/08/parisians-have-say-city-first-20m-participatory-budget>

squares. Information about these meetings can be found in the “Agenda” section of the idee.paris web portal

2. The city’s administrative services analyse the admissibility and feasibility of the projects according to three main principles: general interest, legislative competence (municipal or departmental competence) and investment dimension (as the project must fall into the investment category of the city budget and not within current management budget lines)¹⁵⁰.
3. After having passed the admissibility check, the projects are presented to citizens during a public hearing (“*agora citoyenne*”).
4. Citizens are asked to vote for their preferred projects both online and on paper ballots¹⁵¹. The approved projects enter into the city’s official participatory budget and are implemented during the following year. Before coming to a vote, the admitted projects are shared and discussed on the online platform and citizens can also comment and ameliorate the projects through social networks.
5. Citizens are informed about the implementation of the projects through the www.budgetparticipatif.paris.fr website, as well as through a news alert service.

The city provides support to citizens by organising workshops and information campaigns, which can help them to learn more about budget design and how to estimate the cost of a project. The aim of this effort is to establish a co-creation design process¹⁵².

During the first edition of the crowdsourced participatory budget in Paris in 2014, 40,745 citizens voted for their preferred project of public interest, deciding how 20 million euros would be spent. For 2015, the budget lines to be devoted to crowdsourced projects have been tripled and the process for allocating funds has been improved. As Europe’s largest participatory budget, the Parisian example is leading the way for other European cities¹⁵³. In February 2015, less than a month from the 2015 call for ideas, more than 4,200 citizens had already created a profile on the online platform and about 1,400 ideas had been posted¹⁵⁴.

According to Tiago Peixoto, every participatory budget should give priority to investments in poor and challenged areas as “the inversion of priorities is the defining trait of participatory budget” which therefore rests upon a redistributive logic. This is a lesson learned from the Brazilian experience, where municipal governments that implemented participatory budgeting usually adopted a “redistribution formula”. In fact, these municipalities spent more on education and sanitation and as a consequence saw a decrease in infant mortality rates¹⁵⁵.

This “redistribution logic” does not yet appear to be present in the Parisian example, even if the city has significantly changed the participatory budget process in 2015, not only by committing more money but also by changing the way the money will be allocated. Of the 75 million euros allocated for 2015, half will go to “city projects” and the other half will be distributed between the 20 city districts (*arrondissements*). This means that in the future more resources will be devoted to the areas that need them the most¹⁵⁶. Indeed, the poorest

¹⁵⁰ See <https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr/bp/le-budget-participatif-.html>

¹⁵¹ “The Mayor cares about the paper vote in order to give the chance to vote also to older citizens and people who do not have a computer”, said Pène Clément, digital strategist of the Mayor’s Office. See: Napolitano A. (2015), “Lessons from Paris, Home to Europe’s Largest Participatory Budget”, *cit.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

suburban neighbourhoods like Belleville-Menilmontant and Pigalle will have considerably more resources (3 million euros each) than the wealthiest *arrondissement*, the very centre of Paris (200,000 euros). It's interesting to note that both districts were among those that reported the highest level of voter participation last year¹⁵⁷. In a time of crisis, where distrust in politics is high and European political elites are facing legitimacy crisis, the political power of participatory budgeting is not to be underestimated. As noted by Clémence Pène, digital strategist of Paris' Mayor, the fact that the Mayors of all 20 Parisian *arrondissements* chose to commit to the process (which was not required) means that participatory budgeting is occurring in a sphere beyond political partisanship¹⁵⁸, a positive sign for the City's political landscape.

Peixoto has written extensively¹⁵⁹ on the benefits of participatory budgeting, from the "redistributive dimension" and the positive relationship between participatory budgeting and citizens' engagement in politics, stating that "Participation leads to more participation": there is not a single study proving that participatory budgets lead to lower voting percentages¹⁶⁰.

Although the crowdsourcing process is currently underway and we still need more evidence before assessing the impact of participatory budgeting in Paris in the long run, it is remarkable that the city seems to be committed to improving the effectiveness of this participatory experiment. Indeed, by approving participatory budgeting as a rule of law, the future Mayor of Paris will not be able to reverse the process without the consent of the Paris Assembly¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ See the author's blog at: <http://democracyspot.net/>

¹⁶⁰ Napolitano A. (2015), "Lessons from Paris, Home to Europe's Largest Participatory Budget", *cit.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 3: CO-DECISION AT EU LEVEL

Exploring a new way to include citizens into the EU decision-making process

eParticipation Policies in the European Union: an Overview

The European Union started to legislate in matters of good governance, transparency and communication since the early 2000s. As a consequence, eParticipation policies were also progressively included in the EU legal framework. However, these policies did not constitute a stand-alone piece of legislation, but rather they interlinked to a set of values such as openness, transparency and the use of the Internet inscribed in primary and secondary legislation from 1992 until today¹⁶².

Over the past decade the Commission has put forward several initiatives to foster European participation. Initially, the emphasis has been on increasing the transparency and accountability of the system, which then evolved into empowering citizens with formal instruments such as European Citizens' Initiative, Citizens Dialogue and by celebrating the Year of Citizens in 2013.

Starting with the White paper on European Governance in 2001, citizen participation was established by the minimum standard of consultation and was followed by the public access to community documents, which aimed to increase the transparency of the decision-making process in the first place¹⁶³. Further on, the Europa portal and the Europe Direct service were developed together with the Interactive Policy Making online tool which is what we now refer to as Your Voice in Europe portal¹⁶⁴. After the French and the Dutch referendum on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, the Commission launched the Plan D (Democracy, Dialogue and Debate), the objective of which was "wider debate between the European Union's democratic institutions and citizens" in order to create a transitional debate in Europe¹⁶⁵. "Plan D was mainly aimed to strengthen the link of the EU institutions with MS, National Parliaments, local and regional authorities, NGOs and civil society"¹⁶⁶. Plan D was based on participative approach, enhancing participatory democracy as well as new forms of governance, like the multilevel governance, in order to improve its legitimacy, as it is clearly stated in the Plan D communication of 2005. Nevertheless, the means to achieve and to put into place this plan were really limited and the plan did not realize all of its objectives. In 2007, two important communications were also adopted: the Europe in Partnership¹⁶⁷ and Communication about Europe via Internet¹⁶⁸. The latter document puts a special focus on the "Increased interactivity" and the regular involvement of Commissioners and senior Commission officials on the Debate Europe portal¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶² Tambouris E. at all. 2013, *op. cit.*

¹⁶³ Tambouris E., at all. 2013, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁴ See: http://ec.europa.eu/yourvoice/index_en.htm

¹⁶⁵ European Commission, Communication, "The Commission's contribution to the period of reflection and beyond: Plan-D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate", COM(2005) 494 final, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1432820327014&uri=URISERV:a30000>

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ European Commission, Communication, Communicating Europe in partnership, COM(2007) 568 final, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1432820890564&uri=URISERV:l10117>

¹⁶⁸ European Commission, Communicating about Europe via the Internet Engaging the citizens, SEC (2007)1742, http://ec.europa.eu/ipg/docs/internet-strategy_en.pdf

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.



Figure 2. eParticipation in EU legislation (2000-2008)¹⁷⁰

Citizen Participation State of Art in the EU

Since the establishment of the European Economic Community back in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome, the European Union has suffered a democratic deficit, which embodies the distance between citizens and the EU institutions. The idea to involve European citizens in a more active way in order to reduce the gap between them and Brussels is not a recent thought. Concrete proposals to involve citizens in the EU's decision-making process date back to the 1990s. With the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, more rights have been given to European citizens besides the already established right to free movement across the Union. European citizens' rights (see Figure 3) are guaranteed under articles 20-24 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)¹⁷¹.

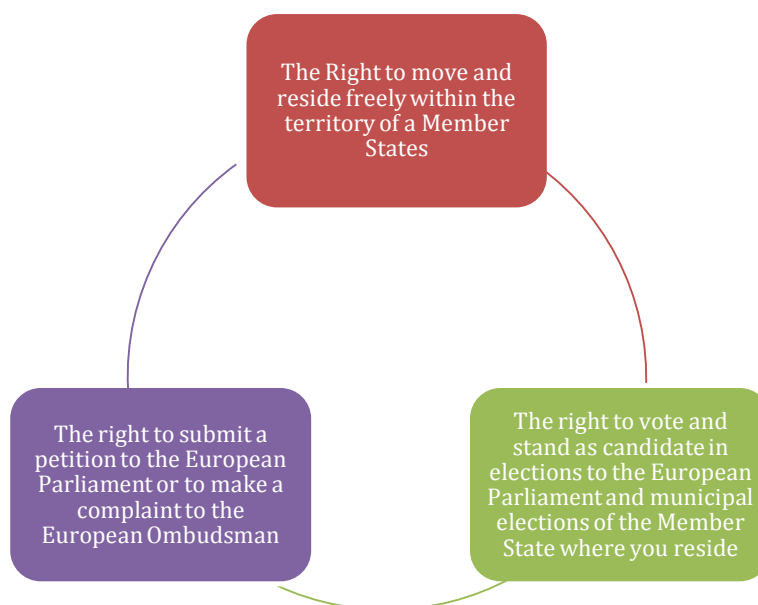


Figure 3. European citizen's rights

¹⁷⁰ Millard, J. (Dir.), European eParticipation Summary Report, European Commission, Brussels, 2009, p. 13.

¹⁷¹ See also Luis Bouza Garcia, *Participatory Democracy and Civil Society in the EU*, Palgrave Macmillan February 2015

Among citizens' rights, the right to move freely in the EU is the most valued right¹⁷². Other rights include the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in EP elections (art. 20 TFUE) and the rights to submit a petition to the EP and a complaint to the European Ombudsman (art. 20 TFEU).

Despite the efforts to increase citizen participation, in 2014, 53% of European citizens believed that their voices do not count in the EU¹⁷³. Even though there has been an improvement since 2013 (66%), only 50% of EU citizens think that voting in EU elections is an effective way to influence political decision-making compared to 70% at local and national level¹⁷⁴. Yet, EU citizens seek to directly influence decision-making at EU level by filing online and offline petitions (not necessarily by using the formal right to petition the EP) and expressing views through social media and the Internet¹⁷⁵.

72% of the overall European population¹⁷⁶ and 85% of the European youth¹⁷⁷ are daily internet users, which provides the European Union with a unique opportunity to use Web 2.0 technologies in order to foster digital democracy at the EU level (see Figure 4).

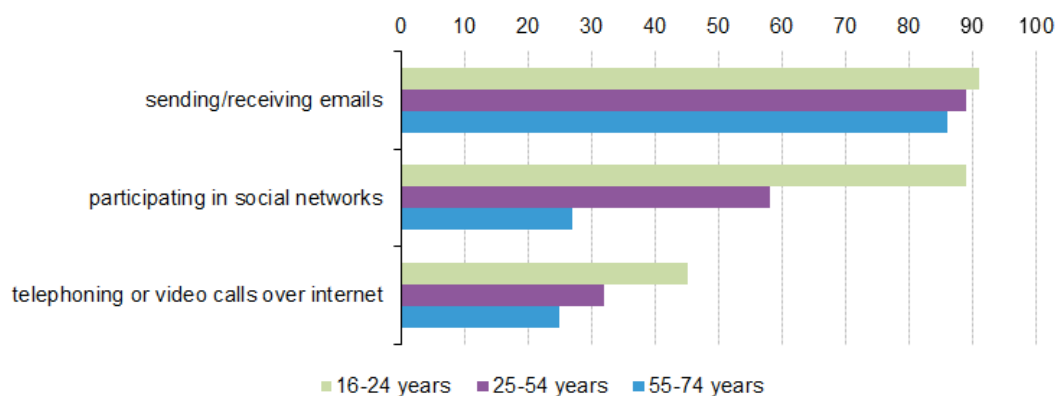


Figure 4. Use of Internet for communication, by age group, EU-28, 2013 (% of internet users)¹⁷⁸

In the framework of e-government services, in 2013, almost 73% of Internet users who needed to contact a public authority or use a public service did so online. A quarter of these used exclusively the Internet, while the others used other channels of interaction. Only 26.7 % of the Internet users contacted their public administrations without using the Internet at all¹⁷⁹. In fact, within the EU there are significant cross-cultural differences on age, level of formal education and place of residence, contributing to an EU wide digital divide.

¹⁷² European Commission, Standard Eurobarometer 82, Autumn 2014, European Citizenship Report, November 2014, p. 26.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ European Commission, Flash Eurobarometer 373 "Europeans' Engagement In Participatory Democracy", March 2013, p. 17.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid. op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁷⁶ European Commission, The EU 2014 Digital Scoreboard: how did you fare?, Press release

Brussels, 28 May 2014, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-609_en.htm

¹⁷⁷ Eurostat, Young Europeans, April 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/infographs/youth/index_en.html

¹⁷⁸ Eurostat, Internet use statistics 2013 [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Use_of_internet_for_communication,_by_age_group,_EU-28,_2013_\(%25_of_internet_users\)4.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Use_of_internet_for_communication,_by_age_group,_EU-28,_2013_(%25_of_internet_users)4.png)

¹⁷⁹ European Commission, Scoreboard 2014 - Developments in eGovernment in the EU 2014, <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/en/news/scoreboard-2014-developments-egovernment-eu-2014>

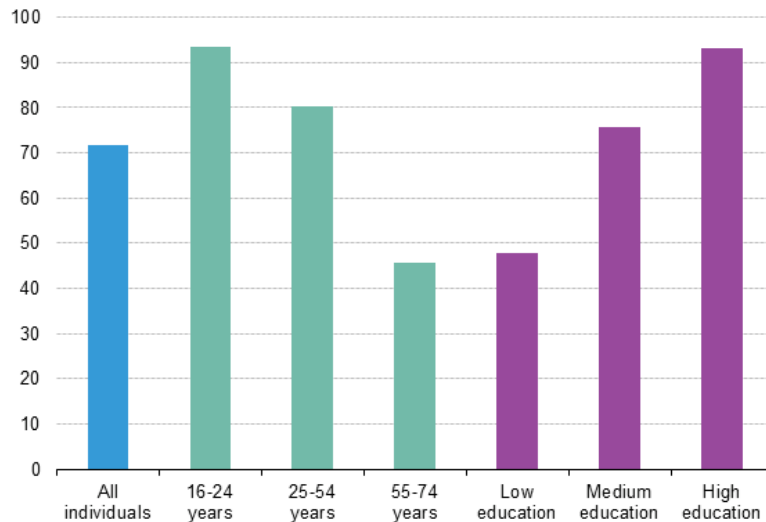


Figure 5. Individuals who used the Internet on average at least once a week, by age group and level of formal education, EU-28, 2013 (% of individuals)¹⁸⁰

Moreover, large digital divides also remain with regard to the levels of non-use by country (see Figure 5). The highest proportions of the population with no experience of Internet use were registered in Romania, Bulgaria and Greece and the lowest in Denmark, Sweden, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Finland respectively.

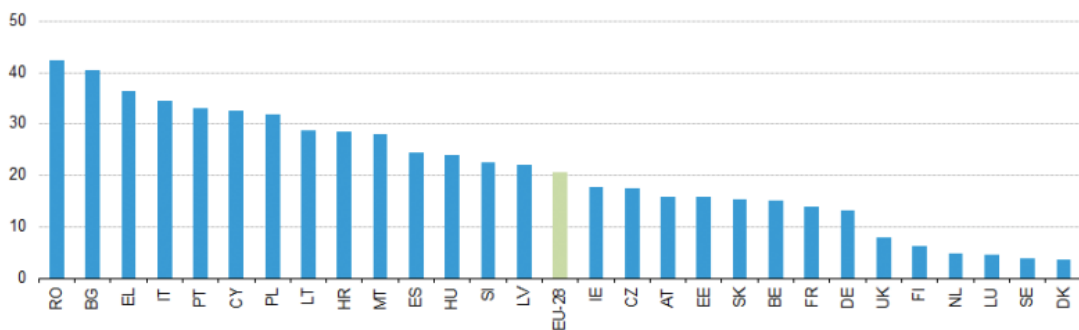


Figure 6. Individuals who have never used the Internet, 2013 (% of individuals)¹⁸¹

Despite national, age and cultural differences, European citizens are progressively more connected and rely on the Internet to perform tasks previously done offline. By nature the EU, with its transnational dimension, needs ICT and the Internet to foster citizen to policy-maker and citizen to citizen communication beyond national borders. In the short-term

¹⁸⁰ Eurostat, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Individuals who used the internet on average at least once a week, by age group and level of formal education, EU-28, 2013 \(%25 of individuals\).png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Individuals who used the internet on average at least once a week, by age group and level of formal education, EU-28, 2013 (%25 of individuals).png)

¹⁸¹ Eurostat, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Individuals who have never used the internet, 2013 \(%25 of individuals\)4.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Individuals who have never used the internet, 2013 (%25 of individuals)4.png)

Formal instrument of civic engagement and eParticipation policies.

At European level, different tools of civic engagement are available, such as the right to submit a petition to the EP, the right to initiate a European Citizens' Initiative and the right to participate in the consultation processes opened by the Commission. These tools were designed to influence decision-making in a context of representative democracy, where civil society organisations and interest groups liaise with policy-makers at EU level to bridge the gap between the EU and its citizens. Latest statistics show that although the majority of European citizens think non-governmental organisations can influence decision-making at EU level, only 54% believe they need them in order to influence political decisions¹⁸².

Petitions to the European Parliament

The right to submit a petition to the EP was introduced into the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and gives the right to any citizen of the Union to submit, individually or in association with other citizens or persons, a petition to the EP on a matter which falls within the Community's competences and which affects him, her or the association directly. Petitions are sent to the responsible committee in the EP, which may decide to draw up a report or take a decision in any other way that it sees fit on petitions it has declared admissible. The Chair of the Committee of Petitions informs petitioners of the decisions taken and some petitions are announced in the EP. Since 2014 a new online portal has been launched¹⁸³, where citizens can start or support an online petition and check the status of the different petitions submitted. This increases the transparency of the process and the engagement of citizens, when provided with the opportunity to support a petition online. The length of the process however poses challenges and calls for improvement. The Petitions Committee received 2,885 petitions in 2013, with an increase of 45% on the previous year and it is currently still analysing the petitions from that year¹⁸⁴.

The European Citizens' Initiative (ECI)

The ECI is indeed the first participatory tool that gives citizens the right to directly take part in the EU's legislative process. This right, set out in Regulation 211/2011, entered into force on first of April 2012, and has now been in place for more than three years. Providing that at least one million Europeans from at least seven EU Member States get together behind a certain issue, they can ask the Commission (EC) to legislate on this issue if it falls within the framework of its competences. The EC retains the sole right of initiative in proposing legislation. However citizens now have the same right as the EP and the European Council to ask the Commission to consider their request. As of June 2015, 51 ECIs have been presented to the EC and of these, 20 were refused registration, 31 were registered and 3 initiatives collected more than one million signatures. The number of ECI proposals submitted to the EC is progressively decreasing (while in 2012 there were 23 proposals, in 2014 only 10 were submitted). To the contrary, the percentage of initiatives rejected by the EC have increased (30% in 2012, 50% in 2014). Based on the right given to citizens to appeal to the General Court over the EC's refusal to register an initiative, 7 ECIs have appealed to the European Court of Justice. More than 6.5 million people across Europe have supported an ECI and approximately 70 % did so by signing online. The first three years of the entry into force of the Regulation have revealed the main shortcomings of the

¹⁸² European Commission, Flash Eurobarometer 373 Europeans' Engagement In Participatory Democracy Report, March 2013, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸³ See <http://www.petiport.europarl.europa.eu/petitions/en/main>

¹⁸⁴ European Parliament, on the activities of the Committee on Petitions 2013 (2014/2008(INI)), 19 February 2014, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2014-0131+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>

instrument in both the way it is designed and managed¹⁸⁵. In this framework, many have said that the instrument is far from being a citizens' tool. In fact, the ECI is not a direct democracy tool. It only allows citizens to invite the Commission to legislate. The Commission as guardian of the treaty maintains the right of initiative, which means that it can refuse to legislate, despite the initiative's success in gathering 1 million signatures.

Consultation processes carried out by the Commission

The minimum standards for consultation of interested parties were elaborated in 2002¹⁸⁶ and formed "part of the activities of all European Institutions throughout the whole legislative process, from policy-shaping prior to a Commission proposal to final adoption of a measure by the legislature and implementation"¹⁸⁷.

Several shortcomings have been identified in the way the consultation processes are carried out. Between 2008 and 2010 there were a total of 73 public consultations held by the Commission¹⁸⁸. Firstly, each and every DG independently decides the structure of its own consultation process, which implies that there is not a single format followed by the Commission. This complicates the process for the interested parties, especially if they are civil society actors. While Your Voice in Europe portal is supposed to be the one-stop-shop for all consultations held by the Commission, in reality it only contains links to the different DG websites¹⁸⁹. In addition, at this stage, inputs submitted by different stakeholders are rarely publicly available, and if made available this is only after the end of the consultation period. Moreover, it is unclear how the input received in the consultation is integrated into the legislation¹⁹⁰. As a good practice, the Commission should clearly indicate what changes in the legislation were made (if any) as a result of the consultation and the reasoning behind it¹⁹¹.

The Commission through its Better Regulation Agenda rightly calls for "consulting more, listening better"¹⁹² using ICT and Web2.0 tools. The Commission commits to build on the minimum standards for consultations to:

- Enable stakeholders to express their views on the entire lifecycle of a policy by providing the opportunity to give additional feedback after the Commission has adopted the proposal, in addition to the 12 weeks prior to the proposal.
- Allow draft text of delegated act to be open to the public for feedback four weeks in parallel to the consultation of experts in the Member States. Moreover, it will ensure that important implementing

¹⁸⁵ See ECAS, The European Citizens' Initiative Registration: Falling at the First Hurdle?, December 2014 (http://ecas.issuelab.org/resource/european_citizens_initiative_registration_falling_at_the_first_hurdle) and "An ECI That Works" <http://ecithatworks.org/>

¹⁸⁶ European Commission, COM(2002) 704 final, Brussels, 11.12.2002

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Marc Opper, Christine Mahoney & Heike Kluver, How to Deal Effectively With Information Overload and the Proliferation of Consultations?, Intereuro outreach workshop, 2 December 2014, http://www.intereuro.eu/public/downloads/publications/InterEuro_Outreach_Paper_US_team.pdf

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² European Commission, Communication, Better regulation for better results – an EU agenda, COM(2015)215 Final, 19/05/2015, Strasbourg, p. 4.

acts will be made public 4 weeks ahead of the vote by Member States in the relevant committee to allow the feedback of stakeholders¹⁹³.

eParticipation: Tips based on Lessons' Learnt

Several studies have been carried out in the field of eParticipation analysing the potential for its use across the EU. Based on the European eParticipation Summary Report (2009)¹⁹⁴, there is a set of best practices to take into consideration when designing eParticipation tools at the EU level. The recommendations are divided into the four models of democracy which identify the key priorities when building eParticipation tools for different purposes.

1. ICT and Representation

- To increase transparency and openness:
- Focus on the accountability of the institutions involved and who is responsible for the monitoring. Transparent guidelines need to be developed prior to implementing the rules and accountability features.

2. ICT and Participation

- To increase engagement and interactivity:
- Policy-makers should take into consideration the digital divide and provide off-line engagement. The language barrier cannot be underestimated and only by including different languages, a wider participation can be reached.
- Policy-makers need to be involved and use an appropriate language, free of technical jargon for laypeople to understand.

3. ICT and Deliberation

- To receive opinions while limiting shouting and polarisation:
- Timely and direct feedback to participants tends to minimise criticism, a careful and independent moderation and feedback is essential
- Dialogue can and should be rewarding.

4. ICT and the Contestatory Model

- To monitor and include social movement through online listening:
- Focus on content quality, including background information which are attractive, clear and effective.
- Use existing platforms and social media.

¹⁹³ European Commission, COM(2015)215 Final, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ Millard, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

Crowdsourcing at the EU level: from design to policy-recommendation

Design of Crowdsourcing for EU decision-making process

When it comes to design of a crowdsourcing process for policy-making, several digital tools have been tested and are available across the world¹⁹⁵. The main challenge however is posed by the question: *To what extent can existing tools be used at the EU level?* Some preconditions to the design of the crowdsourcing process need to be outlined.

Firstly, considering the complexity of the EU policy-making process and the multilingual/territorial variety, we could build a specific crowdsourcing tool for the European Union policies. Yet, different policies require different policy-processes at the EU level depending on the competencies of the Commission to legislate upon certain matters. In this framework, a crowdsourcing experience can be designed for policies, which are of exclusive or shared competence of the EU¹⁹⁶ rather than for regulatory legislation and international treaty frameworks. Therefore, *it is suitable to test crowdsourcing in the framework of the ordinary legislative procedure, allowing the support of the EP and the involvement of the MEPs.*

Secondly, regarding the issue chosen, different themes need different tools depending on “how open or closed public views are likely to be, and how inclusive or exclusive the knowledge needed for participation is”¹⁹⁷. Figure 7 shows the relation between the importance of values and beliefs on a topic and the level of specialisation required to take part in a deliberation process. This figure can help us identify which tool can be used to discuss a specific issue. On one hand, issues which are highly contested and for which low specialisation is needed are at high risk for entrenched conflicts. On the other hand, issues where values and beliefs are less relevant are, in general, a good territory to test public deliberation and therefore crowdsourcing legislation. In addition, “for issues involving scientific choices that include ethics, some highly specialised knowledge, but also significant public interest, open public deliberation may be important both to educate the public and to legitimise decisions”¹⁹⁸.

We can analyse this scheme on the basis of two different successful ECIs proposed in the past, Stop Vivisection on animal welfare and One of Us on abortion initiative. In the first case, the legislation on animal welfare requires a higher level of knowledge than the initiative on abortion. Yet, the latter discusses a higher level of fundamental values and beliefs than the animal welfare initiative.

We can therefore position the Stop Vivisection initiative in the middle quadrant of Figure 7, suggesting that this topic would have a “scope for intense deliberation”. In the case of One of Us, the initiative is rather positioned in the top left quadrant entailing a “high risk of capture, gaming, deliberation and entrenching conflict”. In this perspective, some of the citizens’ initiatives proposed are likely to make the political life at EU level contestatory. Therefore, citizen participation tools need to identify the right matters, based on the model displayed by Figure 7, under which such matters can be tested.

¹⁹⁵ See BETH SIMONE NOVECK, ARNAUD SAHUGUET, Participatory Democracy’s Emerging Tools, March 2015

<http://www.governing.com/columns/smart-mgmt/col-participatory-democracy-emerging-tools.html>; See Cabinet Office, Guidance to Open policy making toolkit: crowdsourcing, March 2015 <https://www.gov.uk/open-policy-making-toolkit-crowdsourcing>

¹⁹⁶ Art. 3 and 4 of the TFEU.

¹⁹⁷ Geoff Mulgan, Designing digital democracy: a short guide, Nesta blog, 15 May 2015, <http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/designing-digital-democracy-short-guide>

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

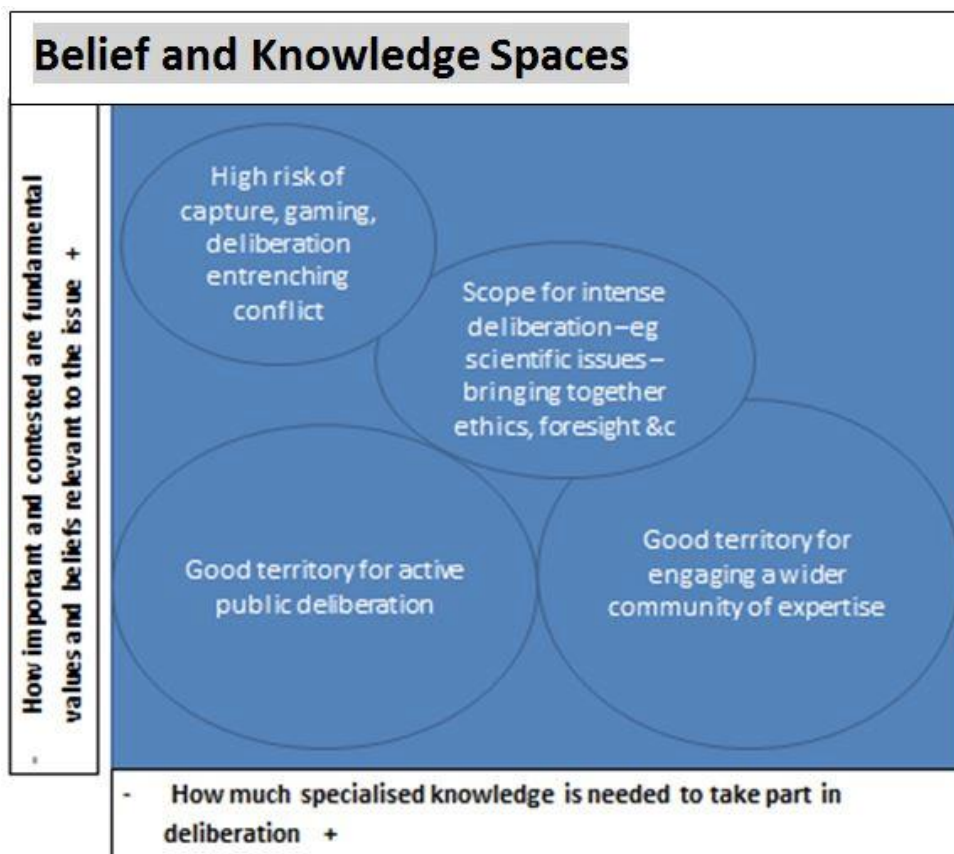


Figure 7. Choosing the right tool for the right topic¹⁹⁹

Policy Cycle, Time-frame and Stages of the process

In line with the Better Regulation agenda, crowdsourcing could start at the beginning of the policy-process and proceed in parallel to the ordinary legislative procedure. Co-legislating with citizens should be piloted on different issues and its process should involve both MEPs and Commission officials.

Based on the model of Aitamurto²⁰⁰, a simplified model for crowdsourcing at EU level will involve four main steps.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Aitamurto T., Landemore H. (2015), “Five design principles for crowdsourced policymaking: Assessing the case of crowdsourced off-road traffic law in Finland”, *cit.*

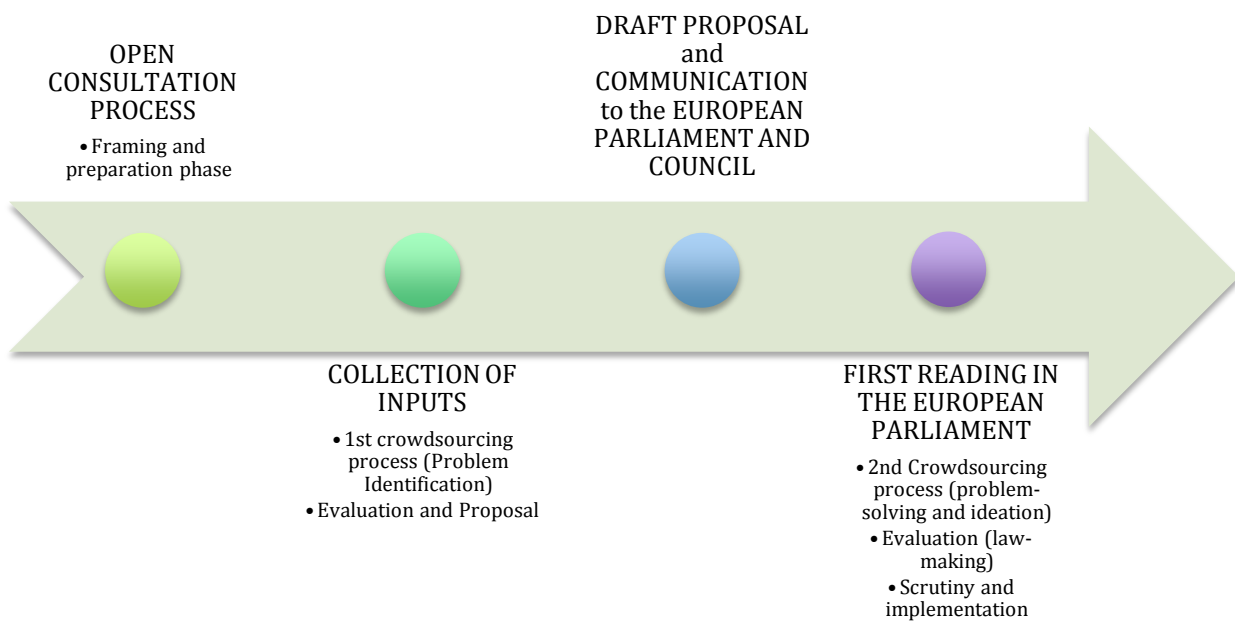


Figure 8. Crowdsourcing process based on existing experience

In the first phase, European Commission officials need to be involved to give feedback to citizens' proposals. During a period of 12 weeks, citizens will contribute to the debate and express their ideas and inputs on the consultation process launched by the Commission on the crowdsourcing platform. The results gathered on the crowdsourcing platform will be analysed and through a transparent evaluation process, a final text will be submitted to the Commission through the Your Voice in Europe portal.

Based on the inputs received during the consultation process and the opinions from other bodies when requested (i.e. EESC, CoR, national parliaments, etc.) the Commission will draft a proposal to be sent to the EP and Council as the co-legislating bodies, a process referred to as the first reading.

Alongside the first reading in the EP, a second crowdsourcing process will be launched to gather inputs on the draft proposal of the Commission. This second crowdsourcing process will mainly involve MEPs, who want to be engaged in an online debate with the citizens and work together to develop a meaningful proposal. Please note that in this format, the Council is not involved at this stage.

During the evaluation phase, the ideas co-generated online will be translated into law in the form of amendments by a team of experts consisting of in-house lawyers and professional organisations. The final text will be put again under the scrutiny of the citizens on the crowdsourcing platform for feedback both on the process and on the content to increase the sense of ownership of the final outcome and to improve the process for the future.

Finally, the text elaborated thanks to the expert group will be proposed to the Parliament by the MEPs who participated and supported the process.

Recommendations to design crowdsourcing at the EU level

1. *Ensuring multilingualism.* The crowdsourcing platform and the overall process need to be available in as many languages as possible. Most of the existing crowdsourcing platforms currently use Google Translator and other internet-based tools to automatically translate the content. This might be a possible solution applied at the EU level to guarantee a wider coverage of languages, however such internet-based tools are subject to mistranslations
2. *Involvement of citizens online.* It is important to be aware of the digital divide and developing ways to involve as many citizens as possible, by making the platform easy-to-use and interconnecting with social media platforms. Offline activities can also be envisaged to engage with citizens who are less It skilled.
3. *Ensuring the commitment of policy-makers.* To build an efficient and valuable crowdsourcing process, policy-makers need to commit by becoming champions for co-legislation together with citizens. Commission officials and MEPs are the main target of this process.
4. *Simplifying the complexity of the EU policy-process.* The crowdsourcing process should not complicate the already complex EU decision-making. It should be carried out in an accessible by and easy to understand format for citizens. Transparency and accountability of the actors involved in the process is key to success.

Recommendations to policy-makers and stakeholders

The following recommendation have been developed as a result of ECAS and other European and national civil society organisations' input to the Roadmap for the implementation of Articles 11(1) and 11(2) of TFEU adopted by the NGO Forum, Riga 2-3.3.2015, under the Latvian Presidency of the Council of the EU²⁰¹.

European Institutions, in particular the Commission and the EP are invited to:

1. Engage in an open and transparent dialogue with citizens on line, using the knowledge and technology that is already available at the national level,
2. Provide a space for mutual learning, networking and synergy building between the different national, local and European eDemocracy projects and
3. Test crowdsourcing legislation at the EU level and progressively move towards co-legislation with citizens using eDemocracy tools, especially during the consultation processes.

Stakeholders, especially civil society organisations need to:

1. Act as intermediaries to facilitate the process of both decision-makers and citizens using digital tools so as to enable broader participation in the policy-making process.
2. Design a comprehensive framework for combining on-line and off-line activities and devoting sufficient resources to ensure their smooth running and impact – EU Citizen 2.0 Strategy.
3. Identify and create a Knowledge Centre of successful examples of eDemocracy platforms that are user-friendly with simple and effective designs.

²⁰¹ Roadmap for the implementation of Articles 11(1) and 11(2) of the Treaty on European Union, NGO Forum, Riga 2-3.3.2015

4. Advocate and motivate policy-makers to engage in an open and transparent dialogue with citizens online, using the knowledge and technology that is already available at the national level.

ECAS Action Plan 2015 – 2020

In line with its mid-term Strategy and in pursue of the objectives of its programme pillar “Open EU Decision-making”, ECAS aims to Facilitate in cooperation with partners, a Pilot to crowdsource legislation at the EU level by:

- Identifying a suitable EU policy subject
- Cooperating with committed EU champions – decision-makers that are ready to devote time and effort.
- Further extending its network of partners on both the EU and the national level to ensure the appropriate support infrastructure for the pilot.
- Carrying out the crowdsourcing at a suitable platform.
- Assessing the pilot: lessons learnt, successes and failures, cost effectiveness and impact.
- Formulating recommendations as a basis for an overall strategy for digital citizen participation at EU level in the form of Deliberative-Collaborative eDemocracy as part of the digital agenda.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitamurto T. (2012), *Crowdsourcing for Democracy: A new era in Policy-making*, Parliament of Finland, Publication of the Committee for the future 1/2012.
- Aitamurto T., Leiponen A. and Tee R. (2011), "The promise of idea crowdsourcing – benefits, contexts, limitations", Whitepaper for Nokia Ideas Project.
- Aitamurto T. and Sistek H. (2011), "How social media is keeping the Egyptian revolution alive", in: *PBS MediaShift*. Accessible at: <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2011/09/how-social-media-is-keeping-the-egyptian-revolution-alive256/>.
- Aitamurto T. and Landemore H. (2015), "Five design principles for crowdsourced policymaking: Assessing the case of crowdsourced off-road traffic law in Finland", in: *Journal of Social Media for Organizations*, Vo. 2, Issue 1.
- Aitamurto T. and Landemore H., Lee D., Goel A. (2014), *Crowdsourced Off-road Traffic Law Experiment in Finland*. Report about idea crowdsourcing and evaluation, Publication of the Committee for the Future 1/2014.
- Allegretti G. and Herzberg C. (2004/5), Participatory budgets in Europe. Between efficiency and growing local democracy, in *INI Briefing Series*, Transnational Institute and the Centre for Democratic Policy-making.
- Bani M. (2012), "Crowdsourcing democracy: the case of Icelandic social constitutionalism", in: *Politics and Policy in the Information Age*, Springer.
- Barber B. R. (2004), *Strong democracy: Participatory politics for a new age*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Blumler J. G. and Coleman S. (2001), "Realising Democracy Online: A Civic Commons in Cyberspace", in: *IPPR/Citizens Online Research Publication No. 2 - March 2001*.
- Blumler J. M. and Gurevitch M. (1995), *The crisis of public communication*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Bott M., Bjorn-Soren G., Young G. (2012), "The role of crowdsourcing for better governance in fragile state contexts", in: *Open development technology alliance*.
- Brabham D. C. (2010), "Moving the crowd at Threadless", in: *Information, Communication, and Society* 13(8) (2010): 1122-1145.
- Carpini D., Michael X., Cook F. L., and Jacobs L. R. (2004), "Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature, in: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 315-344.
- Chang A., Kannan P. K., (2008), *Leveraging Web 2.0 in Government*, University of Maryland, IBM Center for the Business of Government.
- Clarke A. (2013), *Exploiting the web as a tool of democracy: new ways forward in the study and practice of digital democracy*, World Forum for Democracy 2013 Issues Paper, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Dahl R. (1989), *Democracy and its critics*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahlgren P. (2005), "The Internet, public spheres, and political communication: dispersion and deliberation, in: *Political Communication*, 22(2), 147-162.

Dalakiouridou E., Tambouris E., and Tarabanis K. (2009), "Mapping the state of play in e-participation in the EU, in: *European eParticipation study*, Deliverable D1.4.c.

Demetriou K. N. (2013), "Introduction" in: Demetriou K. N. (ed), *Democracy in Transition. Political participation in the European Union*, Verlag-Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer.

Dutton W.H. (1992), "Political science research on teledemocracy", in: *Social Science Computer Review*, 10 (4), 505-522.

The European Citizens' Initiative Registration: Falling at the First Hurdle?, December 2014 <http://ecas.issuelab.org/resource/european-citizens-initiative-registration-falling-at-the-first-hurdle>

ECI DAY 2015 General Report. Available at <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/eci-day-2015-final-report.pdf>

European Commission - DG for Communications Networks, Content and Technology (2013), *A vision for public services*, Bruxelles (draft version dated 13/06/2013).

European Commission, Communication, The Commission's contribution to the period of reflection and beyond: Plan-D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate, COM(2005) 494 final, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1432820327014&uri=URISERV:a30000>

European Commission, Communication, Communicating Europe in partnership, COM(2007) 568 final, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1432820890564&uri=URISERV:l10117>

European Commission, Communicating about Europe via the Internet Engaging the citizens, SEC (2007)1742, http://ec.europa.eu/ipg/docs/internet-strategy_en.pdf

European Commission, The EU 2014 Digital Scoreboard: how did you fare?, Press release Brussels, 28 May 2014, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-609_en.htm

European Parliament, on the activities of the Committee on Petitions 2013 (2014/2008(INI)), 19 February 2014, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2014-0131+0+DOC+XML+VO//EN>

Fishkin J. (2011), *When the People Speak. Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Fung A. (2007), "Democratic theory and political science: A pragmatic method of constructive engagement", in: *American Political Science Review*, 101 (03), 533-562.

GovLab Blog (2013), "Seven lessons from the crowdsourced law reform in Finland", in: [TheGovLab.org](http://thegovlab.org/seven-lessons-from-the-crowdsourced-law-reform-in-finland/), October 30, 2013 Available at: <http://thegovlab.org/seven-lessons-from-the-crowdsourced-law-reform-in-finland/>

Gylfason T., "Democracy on ice: a post-mortem of the Icelandic constitution" in *OpenDemocracy*, 19 June 2013. Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/thorvaldur-gylfason/democracy-on-ice-post-mortem-of-icelandic-constitution>

Habermas J. (1989), *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An enquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Harrison R. (2014), "Parisians have their say on city's first €20m 'participatory budget'", in *The Guardian*, 8 October 2014, Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/oct/08/parisians-have-say-city-first-20m-participatory-budget>

Hay C. (2007), *Why we hate politics*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; Stoker G. (2006), *Why politics matters: making democracy work*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Held D. (2006), *Models of Democracy*, Third Edition, Polity Press.

Kies R., Mendez F., Schmitter P., and Trechsel A. (2004), *Evaluation of the use of new technologies in order to facilitate democracy in Europe: E-democratizing the parliaments and parties in Europe*, Luxembourg: STOA, European Parliament.

Landemore H., "We, All of the People. Five lessons from Iceland's failed experiment in creating a crowdsourced constitution", in *Slate*, July 31, 2014. Available at: http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future_tense/2014/07/five_lessons_from_iceland_s_failed_crowdsourced_constitution_experiment.html

Lehtonen P. (2007), "Citizens' web as a public space. Developing community practices in the framework of eParticipation", in: Avdic A., Hedström K, Rose J. and Grönlund Å. (eds), *Understanding eParticipation - Contemporary PhD eParticipation research in Europe*. Örebro: Örebro University Library.

Levy P. (1997), *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's emerging world in Cyberspace*, Cambridge: MA, Perseus Books.

Macintosh A. (2004), "Characterizing e-participation in policy-making", in: *Proceedings of 37th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (pp. 1-10), IEEE.

Macintosh A. (2006), "e-participation in policy-making: the research and the challenges", In: Cunningham P. and Cunningham M. (eds), *Exploiting the Knowledge Economy: Issues, Applications and Case Studies*, Amsterdam: IOS Press.

Marquand D. (1979), *Parliament for Europe*, J. Cape: University of Michigan.

Medimorek D, Parycek P., Schossboeck J. (2011), "Vitalizing Democracy through e-Participation and Open Government: An Australian and Eastern European Perspective", Bertelsmann Stiftung, available at: <http://www.fundacionbertelsmann.org/cps/rde/xbcr/SID-853E53E9-9B1F1F76/bst/Daniel%20Medimorec.pdf>

Mendez F. (2013), "EU Democracy and E-Democracy: Can the Two Be Reconciled?", in: Demetriou K. N. (ed), *Democracy in Transition. Political participation in the European Union*, Verlag-Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer.

Mosca L. (2013), "The Internet as a new channel for political participation?", in: Demetriou K. N. (ed), *Democracy in Transition. Political participation in the European Union*, Verlag-Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer.

Mulgan G., Designing digital democracy: a short guide, Nesta blog, 15 May 2015, <http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/designing-digital-democracy-short-guide>

Napolitano A. (2012), "In Finland, Open Ministry Brings Legislation From the Crowd", in *TechPresident.com* (September 28, 2012). Available at: <http://techpresident.com/news/22927/finland-open-ministry-brings-legislation-crowd>

Napolitano A. (2015), "Lessons from Paris, Home to Europe's Largest Participatory Budget", in: *TechPresident.com*, February 12, 2015. Available at: <http://techpresident.com/news/25441/paris->

experiments-participatory-budget-codesign

Norris P. (2001), *Digital Divide: civic engagement, information, poverty, and the Internet worldwide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norris P. (2003), *Democratic Phoenix. Reinventing Political Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noveck B. S. S. (2009), *Wiki Government: how technology can make government better, democracy stronger, and citizens more powerful*, Brookings Institution Press.

Pateman C. (1970), *Participation and democratic theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peixoto T. (2009), Beyond "Theory: e-Participatory Budgeting and its promises for e-Participation", in: European Journal of ePractice, n. 7, March. Available at: http://www.uguebec.ca/observgo/fichiers/91130_eparticipation.pdf

Petitt P. (2000), "Democracy, electoral and contestatory", in: Ian S. and Stephen M., *Designing democratic institutions*, New York: Nomos, NYU Press.

Petrik K. (2009), "Participation and e-democracy: how to utilize web 2.0 for policy decision-making", in: Chun Ae Soon, Sandoval, Rodrigo e Regan (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Social Networks: Making Connections between Citizens, Data and Government*, Digital Government Society of North America, Puebla, Mexico, pp. 254-263.

Petrik K. (2010), "Deliberation and Collaboration in the Policy Process: A Web 2.0 approach", in: *JeDem, Journal of Democracy* 2(1): 18-27.

Rawls J. (1971), *A theory of justice*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Shirky C. (2008), *Here comes everybody. The power of organizing without organizations*, Penguin Press.

Silcock R. (2001), "What is e-Government?", in: *Parliamentary Affairs* (2001), 54, (88-101), Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government.

Surowieski J. (2005), *The Wisdom of the Crowd*, Anchor Books.

Tambouris E., Macintosh A., Dalakiouridou E., Smith E., Panopoulou E., Tarabanis K. and Millard J. (2013), "eParticipation in Europe: Current State and Practical Recommendations", in: Gil-Garcia J.R. (ed), *eGovernment success around the world: Cases, empirical studies, and practical recommendations*, IGI Global, USA.

Thorarensen B., (2011), "Constitutional reform process in Iceland. Involving the people into process", Rome.

Tuzzi A., Padovani C., and Nesti G. (2007), "Communication and (e)democracy: assessing European e-democracy discourses", in: Cammaerts B. and Carpentier N. (eds), *Reclaiming the media. Communication rights and democratic media roles*. Bristol, UK, Chicago, USA, Intellect, pp. 31-65.

Van Dijk J. A. G. M., (2005), *The Deepening Divide: Inequality in the Information Society*, University of Twente, SAGE Publications.

World Forum for Democracy (2013), "Background Dossier. Lab 2: Online Petitions and Campaigning", Strasbourg.

Websites

<https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr/bp/>

<http://europa.eu/futurum> (Website archived in 2010)

http://europa.eu/index_en.htm

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu>

<http://.idee.paris.fr>

<http://seeclickfix.com/richmond/issues/hot>

<http://syriatracker.crowdmap.com>

<http://techpresident.com/news/22927/finland-open-ministry-brings-legislation-crowd>

<http://thjodfundur2010.is/nidurstodur/tre>

<http://www.agora-parl.org/tags/iceland>

<http://www.nasaclickworkers.com>

<http://www.opengovpartnership.org>

<http://www.peertopatent.org>

<http://www.suomijoukkoistaa.fi/>

<http://www.thjodfundur2010.is/um-thjodfundinn/>

<http://www.fixmystreet.com>

<https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr/bp/le-budget-participatif-.html>

<https://www.avoinministerio.fi/>

<http://ushahidi.com>

<http://www.citizens.is/>

<https://www.yrpri.org/home/world>



9 782874 510281 >

European Citizen Action Service
77, Avenue de la Toison d'Or
B-1060 Brussels, Belgium
+32 (0) 2 548 04 90
+32 (0) 2 548 04 99
info@ecas.org
www.ecas.org