Defining and Typologising Democratic Innovations

Stephen Elstub & Oliver Escobar

Abstract

This chapter is based on a scoping review, which finds that there is little agreement about what should be classified as 'democratic innovations' and a general lack of clarity and precision in the use of the term, which is causing concept stretching and hindering understanding and analysis. This is in part due to the limitations of the existing definitions and typologies. To overcome this, a morphological analysis is conducted to develop a set of ineliminable, quasi-contingent, and contextual features of democratic innovations. It is argued that democratic innovations can be seen as 'families' of conceptual clusters that include spaces and processes that have certain resemblance but, also differences determined by context. We argue that the new definition and typology that we offer enables a degree of consistency to be achieved in the development, understanding and analysis of 'democratic innovations' independent of specific contexts.

1. Introduction

Democratic innovation has become a buzzword. Despite the rapid increase in popularity of the term, amongst academics and practitioners, there is limited agreement about what should be classified as 'democratic innovations' and a lack of clarity and precision in the use of the term. This is understandable as it is an emergent field and 'democracy' itself is widely regarded as an 'essentially contested concept' (Gallie, 1955) while 'innovation' is interpreted in a number of different ways across different countries and policy areas (cf. Sørensen, 2017). Moreover, 'democratic innovations are very different from one another and elude general characterisation' (Fung & Warren, 2011, p. 347). Indeed, some time ago Smith (2005) identified 57 types and the number has surely increased exponentially since, including the myriad hybrids that now populate databases like Participedia or Latinno[1].

This chapter surveys the history of the term's use through a scoping review of the scholarly literature; critically reviewing the different and dominant definitions currently employed, and finding that they are limited and unable to prevent concept stretching and to fully capture this dynamic field. The results of the scoping review further indicate that there is also no widely used typology of democratic innovations. Here we argue that this is hindering comparative analysis and understanding in this field. We define and establish a typology of democratic innovations, which will help identify important similarities across different types while clarifying distinctive features. Therefore, the typology will also enable structural and conceptual differences between types of democratic innovations to be identified. This is useful in its own right, but also because features of particular types of democratic innovation might be more suited to promoting different kinds of democratic goods.

In section one, we provide an overview of the scoping review and its results, highlighting the need for a new definition and typology to prevent concept stretching. In section two, we explain and justify our definition of democratic innovations: *Democratic innovations are processes or institutions, that are new to a policy issue, policy role, or level of governance, and developed to reimagine and deepen the role of citizens in governance processes by increasing opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence.*

In section three, drawing on Freeden's (1994) morphological analysis of political concepts, a set of ineliminable (reimagining and deepening the role of citizens), quasi-contingent (participant selection method, mode of participation, mode of decision-making, extent of power and authority), and contextual features (policy area and stage, governance level) of democratic innovations are offered to produce a typology. It is argued that democratic innovations can be seen as a Wittgensteinian 'family' of conceptual clusters that include spaces and processes that have certain resemblance but, also differences that are determined by context. We identify four families of democratic innovations: mini-publics, participatory budgeting (PB), collaborative governance and referendums and citizens' initiatives, while highlighting the proliferation of hybrids often aided by digital participation.

2. A Scoping Review of Democratic Innovations

We conducted a scoping review[2] of the academic literature on democratic innovations. The purpose of the review was not to provide an overview of the rich literature that now exists in this area, but rather to analyse the conceptual confusion that exists. We found that the concept of democratic innovations had limited usage prior to the early 2000s and 75% of the relevant entries were from the year 2010 onwards. Despite the increasing popularity of democratic innovations, our scoping review found very few efforts to provide a consistent definition of the concept or to develop a coherent typology.

Most publications (85%) covered in our review used the term 'democratic innovations' without defining it. The scoping review included a final sample of 48 publications that met the inclusion criteria (e.g. featuring democ* innov* in title, abstract or topic). The sample included 3 articles from the 1990s, 10 from the 2000s, and 35 from 2010 onwards. The dramatic increase in usage of the term 'democratic innovations' coincides with Graham Smith's eponymous book in 2009 (see Chapter 38 of this Handbook for Smith's latest reflections on democratic innovations), which provided a definition that is now widely used (e.g. Bua, 2012; Mattijssen et al., 2014; Trettel, 2015): 'institutions that have been specifically designed to increase and deepen citizen participation in the political decision-making process' (Smith, 2009, p. 1). This definition foregoes attention to democratic *innovation* as a practice and focuses instead on democratic *innovations* as the processes that embody that practice. This makes the object of study less elusive and opens space for the investigation of a range of exemplars –which are the foundation of an applied discipline (Flyvbjerg, 2004, p. 432). It also galvanises a shared terminology, which was more ambiguously used before. Indeed, before Smith, democratic innovation was generally used interchangeably with social innovation, institutional innovation or participatory innovation.

As part of our scoping review of the literature on democratic innovations, we explored existing typologies in order to map the range of relevant processes and institutions. Only 10% of the articles offered specific typologies. Of those that did, about half separated 'direct' (sometimes 'binding') and 'deliberative' innovations, reflecting the differentiation that appeared in some definitions. In most articles it was difficult to discern types and how they were determined. Michels (2011, p. 280), for example, explicitly argues that 'four types of democratic innovation can be distinguished: referendums, participatory policy making, deliberative surveys, and deliberative forums.' This typology suffers from omission and also lacks conceptual distinctiveness, for instance: citizen juries and deliberative polls might be categorised together as deliberative innovations, or separately as deliberative surveys and deliberative fora.

Smith (2009) offers the clearest typology, which includes popular assemblies, mini-publics (see Chapter 2 of this Handbook), participatory budgeting (see Chapter 4 of this Handbook), direct legislation (i.e. binding referenda) (see Chapter 5 of this Handbook) and e-democracy (see Chapter 6

of this Handbook). But there is limited use of this typology in the literature, and instead most papers tend to focus on a specific democratic innovation. The term 'mini-public' was fairly rare (mentioned in 19% of the publications), while 'deliberative arena', 'deliberative institutional innovation' or 'deliberative forums' often featured before a list of recurrent examples, including citizens' juries (41%), planning cells (19%) and citizens' assemblies (17%). Participatory budgeting received the most mentions (60%), while referenda and citizen initiatives were name-checked fairly often (43%) although usually mentioned in passing rather than in-depth. The terms 'collaborative governance' or 'co-governance' were used rarely (see Chapter 3 of this Handbook). They were, however, frequently described, usually in the form of a specific case (e.g. Olvera 2010; Fung 2015; Peruzzoti 2012). When 'digital participation' was mentioned, often it was either as 'e-democracy' or the application of existing forms of participation (innovative or otherwise) online (e.g. Smith 2009; Trettel 2015; Kersting 2016). However, also included as democratic innovations were compulsory voting and quotas (Newton and Geissel 2012), the instigation of new elected offices, such as, mayors (Quirk 2006; Van Cott 2008), postal ballots (Smith 2005; Stewart 1996), changing the day of voting (Stewart 1996), co-operatives (Hendriks 2019), associations and political parties (Saward 2003). This really highlights the huge diversity of things the term is being used for and the concept stretching that is occuring.

All in all, there were few explicit typologies and there is not yet a widely used typology. This is to be expected in an emerging field that is driven by the study of exemplars that function as a point of encounter for democratic theory and applied social science. Therefore, it is typical to find lists of examples rather than typologies:

'Democratic innovations cover a wide range of instruments: participatory budgets, citizen juries, deliberative surveys, referenda, town meetings, online citizen forums, e-democracy, public conversations, study circles, collaborative policy making, alternative dispute resolutions, and so on.' (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2017, p. 39)

In contrast, Geißel's (2013) classification of new participatory practices has three broad categories: collaborative governance, deliberative procedures, and direct democracy. We are interested in finding a middle point between the two approaches above –a typology that is not just a long list of formats nor simply an abstract set of overlapping headings. On the one hand, Baiocchi and Ganuza offer a list that mixes formats and processes; for example, alternative dispute resolution approaches and study circle formats could be used within a citizens' jury process; by the same token, participatory budgeting can be a subset of collaborative policy making and vice versa. On the other hand, Geißel's categories somewhat overlook the hybridity of practices across democratic innovations– thus collaborative governance processes, for instance the paradigmatic case of NHS Citizen (see Chapter 3 of this Handbook) can have deliberative components; likewise, direct legislative mechanisms can be used as part of a broader deliberative system (see Chapter 2 and 5 of this Handbook for a discussion of the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review). Alternative democratic principles and practices can be combined purposefully to assemble a democratic innovation.

Therefore, we maintain that despite the increasing use of the term 'democratic innovations', further work on defining and typologising the field are required for analytical consistency and to aid comparative research (see Chapter 37 of this Handbook). Without this there is a severe danger of concept stretching and if a concept 'is used by scholars to mean completely different things, it is basically a useless concept- it confuses more than it illuminates' (Ekman and Amna 2012, p. 284). If democratic innovations are to be part of the solution to the current problems of democracy[3] then we need greater clarity on what they are.

<b>3. A Definition of Democratic Innovations

For the purposes of this Handbook, democratic innovations are defined as: *processes or institutions, that are new to a policy issue, policy role, or level of governance, and developed to reimagine and deepen the role of citizens in governance processes by increasing opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence.* In this section we explain and justify this definition, dealing with each element in turn. In doing so we draw and on our scoping review and a critical review of existing definitions.

<c>3.1 Processes or Institutions: As highlighted in the previous section, there seems to be little agreement on what type of object democratic innovations are. Saward (2003, p. 4) mentions 'solutions', which is rather vague and for Geißel (2012) democratic innovations are 'practices' which is less vague, as it indicates that 'implementation' is required (Newton, 2012, p. 4) but still remains very encompassing, and ontological debates about the nature of 'practice' further complicates the concept (Schatzki et al., 2000; Schatzki, 2002). Baiocchi and Ganuza (2017, p. 39) make it more specific by mentioning 'instruments' but perhaps muddle important distinctions between formats, techniques, and approaches that may be combined as part of a democratic innovation process.

In turn, Smith (2009, p. 1) has provided a more specific and concrete institutional focus, which reduces the variety of things considered as democratic innovations and therefore renders finding a suitable encompassing definition less challenging. However, we consider it to be too restrictive, as institutions have some level of stability and continuity over time (Warren, 2017) that many democratic innovations still lack in most contexts. Moreover, it excludes innovative processes within established mainstream institutions that can be an important aspect of democratic innovation (Hendriks & Dzur, 2015). Consequently, we suggest that democratic innovations may be institutions *or processes*. We also want to heed the empirical basis that is reshaping the field and broaden the scope from 'political decision-making' to 'governance' processes, as democratic innovations tend to stem from 'governance-driven democratisation,' and to a great extent it has been policymaking, rather than politics, that has ignited this field of practice and inquiry (Warren, 2009).

<c> 3.2 That are new to a policy issue, policy role, or level of governance: a key theme highlighted by the scoping review is that democratic innovations are, above all, contextual. As Crouzel (2014, p. 1) puts it: 'Democratic innovation flows from the synergies generated between different types of actor (public institutions, civil society organizations, private sector, citizens, the media)'.A democratic innovation can therefore only be considered 'innovative' in relation to its context. This recognises that, as Astrom et al. (2013, p. 27) suggest, 'democratic innovations, just as any innovation, are more than ideas and designs; they are ideas in action'. Context provides the cornerstone of democratic innovations and, for instance, makes referenda or mini-publics novel in some places today, while having been used elsewhere for decades.

We see this firmly acknowledged in the definition of democratic innovations offered by Geißel (2012, p. 164): 'as new practice consciously and purposefully introduced in order to improve the quality of democratic governance in any given state, irrespective of whether the innovation in question has already been tried out in another state.' The problem is that due to the enormity of the contexts, we end up with a myriad of practices that could be defined as democratic innovations. For example, in authoritarian regimes democratic innovations are viewed differently than in established democracies (Almen, 2016, p. 478).

The limitation of Geißel's definition is that 'context' is interpreted rather narrowly and limited to states i.e. if a practice has not been used in a specific state before, and meets certain democratic criteria, it constitutes innovation.[4] This might make characterisation and definitions of democratic innovations

more achievable, but at the expense of some vital nuance. For example, it ignores the democratic innovations that are occurring in transnational and global governance (Rask & Worthington, 2015; Rask et al., 2012) (see Chapter 24 of this Handbook). Moreover, we believe that other contexts must be considered in this assessment, such as, policy area, level of governance, stage in the policy process, and function in the policy process (Elstub, 2014a). The premise being that if a practice is new to these contexts it could still be classed as a democratic innovation, even if it had been implemented elsewhere within the same state (Sørensen, 2017). These contexts our integral to the typology that we develop in the next section and are covered in more detail there.

<c>3.3 Developed to reimagine and deepen the role of citizens in governance processes: This is a defining feature and ineliminable core of the concept of democratic innovation. It is the ability to promote this reimagining that renders a process a democratic innovation, it is what they all have in common[5]. A recurring theme in the literature was about legitimacy and how democratic innovations do not merely happen to increase legitimacy, but are designed and developed specifically to do so. Moreover, democratic innovations not only 'deepen the role of citizens' (Smith, 2009, p. 1) but also reimagine it. It is about more than deepening citizens' current role as voters or activists, it entails alternative imaginaries of citizens as co-producers and problem-solvers. The 'reimagine' bit is important because it brings in contextual elements and establishes that a democratic innovation gives citizens roles that are new in that given policy context, and in doing so, it deepens citizenship by recasting the parameters of participation and influence. In this sense, democratic innovations seek to enhance democracy first and foremost by reimagining the role that citizens can play in governance processes. This then narrows the understanding of what democratic innovations are, although not necessarily what they can be. For example, in the previous section, it was noted how compulsory voting and quotas (Newton and Geissel 2012), the instigation of new elected offices, such as, mayors (Quirk 2006; Van Cott 2008), postal ballots (Smith 2005; Stewart 1996), changing the day of voting (Stewart 1996), co-operatives (Hendriks 2019), associations and political parties (Saward 2003) have all been labelled democratic innovations. But they do not reimagine the role of citizens, but rather are standard forms of participation in representative democracies.

Furthermore, democratic innovations 'directly engage citizens', rather than only 'individuals who represent organised groups' (Smith 2009, p. 2). In this sense, 'democratic innovations change the political subject and widen the political boundaries to include lay citizens' (Baiocchi and Ganuza 2017, p. 45). In contrast to consumerist models of citizenship advanced in the New Public Management era, or traditional associational models based on collective representation, democratic innovations open space for the reconstruction and influence of the deliberative citizen in the context of the 'New Public Governance' (Osborne, 2010). This challenges minimalist versions of democracy for citizen-consumers, as well as traditional associations' claims to being representative while struggling to be inclusive. In effect, democratic innovations do not suppress the influence of organised interests, advocacy groups and associational life, but they place alongside it a 'universal subject of participation' that enacts politics by prioritising deliberation over protest, or representation (Baiocchi and Ganuza 2017, p. 95). This notion of the deliberative citizen is therefore mobilised to provide a political subject that can legitimately engage in the myriad theatres of the New Public Governance (Newman & Clarke, 2009; Mahony et al., 2010; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003).

<c>3.4 By increasing opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence: Democratic innovations have been significantly informed by two democratic theories (see Chapter 7 in this Handbook) that have emerged in the last 50 years as critiques of representative democracy, namely participatory democracy and deliberative democracy (Davidson & Elstub, 2014; Kössler, 2015). Both theories aim to reform, rather than replace, representative democracy, and democratic innovations are therefore also seen in this light (Trettel, 2015, p. 88; see also Fung, 2006).

However, there are important differences between these two theories, which has consequently led to a variety of designs of democratic innovations to promote the various norms of each (Elstub 2018), which again makes defining democratic innovations challenging. Floridia (2014, p. 305) sums up the differences between these two theories of democracy: 'participatory democracy is founded on the direct action of citizens who exercise some power and decide issues affecting their lives, while deliberative democracy is founded on argumentative exchanges, reciprocal reason giving, and on public debates which precede decisions'.

Robin Leidner (1991) was the first scholar to use of the term 'democratic innovation' with respect to democratic governance in the National Women's Studies Association (NSWA), where she argues that one-person-one-vote majority electoral processes contradict core feminist principles of giving voice to minority groups. In this first use we see key themes identified that would prove central to subsequent discussions of democratic innovations. Most notably a critique of representative democracy, but also links to deliberative democracy, as Leidner (1991) suggests that in the NSWA all arguments should have equal weight regardless of numbers of supporters. However, no definition of 'democratic innovation' is offered by Leidner. A few years later John Stewart (1996, p. 32) defines 'innovations in democratic practice' as processes 'designed to bring the informed views of ordinary citizens into the processes of local government.' The debates on democratic innovations have since moved well beyond local government to include national and even transnational governance too, however, again we see a nod to deliberative democracy in this definition with the requirement of 'informed views.'

In addition to the continued theme of democratic innovations offering something new in comparison to the orthodoxy of representative democracy, we see an explicit link to participatory democracy emerging a few years later in a definition of democratic innovation offered by Saward (2003, p. 4): 'The phrase "democratic innovation" expresses a critical commitment to democratic values of popular participation and political equality, allied to an urgent imperative for theorists to articulate and analyse new solutions to the problems of democracy.' Smith's (2009, p. 1) definition further cements the influence of participatory democracy. There is still a potential influence here from deliberative democracy too if 'deepen' is interpreted as making participation more meaningful, and improving citizens' opinions, either prudentially or epistemically; that interpretation seems warranted given that 'considered judgement' is one of the evaluative criteria Smith proposes to assess democratic innovations. As we saw above Geißel (2012, p. 164) suggests that the aim of democratic innovations is to 'improve the quality of democratic governance.' This improvement could be informed by participatory and/or deliberative democracy, or indeed any other democratic theory. However, in specifying that democratic innovations 'involve citizens in the decision-making process' (Geißel, 2012, p. 163), we see the influence of participatory democracy, while elsewhere it is made clear that deliberative democracy also underpins a strand of democratic innovations (Geißel, 2012, p. 166).

 While the theories of participatory democracy and deliberative democracy are clearly related, and often entangled in the complexity of practice, they are not the same, and aspire to promote related, but ultimately different values (Elstub, 2018) and this distinction has led to different types of democratic innovations, aiming at the enactment of different and potentially conflicting democratic goods, as Fishkin (2012, p. 71) notes: 'Democratic Innovations have tended to move in two conflicting directions. Some aspire to increase inclusion and some to increase thoughtfulness.' Cohen (2009, p. 257) suggests 'social complexity and scale limit the extent to which modern polities can be both deliberative and participatory' and consequently if we expand participation, deliberative quality will be reduced. The point is that different types of democratic innovations are likely to be required to promote participatory democracy to a deliberative version, and vice versa. The influence of these two different democratic theories on democratic innovations therefore results in making characterisation more elusive.

However, participatory and deliberative democracy can and do overlap in practice, despite theoretical differences and tensions between them. Consequently, they can potentially be reconciled in practice through appropriately configured processes that blend participatory and deliberative principles following, for instance, the pragmatist approach of democratic innovators, such as, John Dewey (1927; Escobar, 2017). Democratic innovations, through the prism of the deliberative systems approach (Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012), can combine participatory and deliberative logics by sequencing them as part of an overarching process that realises crosscutting democratic goods, such as, inclusion, deliberative quality, popular control and so on. In this light, exemplars like the pioneering British Columbian Citizens' Assembly illustrated how mini-publics, public forums and referenda can be combined to realise both participatory and deliberative ideals as part of a hybrid democratic innovation (Warren & Pearse, 2008). Although not all democratic innovations are hybrids, the number of hybrid processes developing around the world is staggering[6].

Cases like the Icelandic constitution-making process combined digital participation, mini-publics and referenda in an arrangement that blended logics, such as, sortition, election, crowd-sourcing and deliberation (Gylfason, 2013). Another example is the global spread of participatory budgeting and its often uneasy fit with local innovations in collaborative governance, including, established associations (Sintomer et al. 2016; Baiocchi and Ganuza 2017). There are recent influential cases, such as the Melbourne Citizens' Panel or the Irish Constitutional Convention, which demonstrated the elasticity and porosity of mini-publics, overcoming limits of scale or compatibility with representative democracy (Suteu, 2015; Farrell et al. 2018). Hybridity and experimentation are the hallmarks of an applied theoretical discipline, and deliberative qualities have come to be expected as one of the systemic properties of most democratic innovations –even in those, like referenda or citizens' initiatives, firmly anchored on aggregative logics. Consequently, we place deliberation, alongside participation and influence, as a key crosscutting dimension present to some degree in all democratic innovations.

Democratic innovations also can provide citizens with influence in governance. Critical observers of the field have noted that democratic innovations often reflect a compromise between emancipatory and governmental logics, an interface that generates new forms of citizen participation but also accommodates the imperatives of the state and other powerful stakeholders (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Gaventa, 2006; Cornwall & Coelho, 2007; Lee et al., 2015). This has given place to a critique of the limits of democratic innovations that offer participation but not empowerment (Böker & Elstub, 2015; Lee, 2015). Baiocchi and Ganuza (2017, p. 50) question 'empowerment processes that take place within the limits set by administrators'; they argue that the 'contradiction of democratic innovations is that they invite participation to debate the common good but do not endow ordinary citizens with the power to determine outcomes. This is empowerment, but within limits'. Democratic innovations represent a compromise between the aspirations of participatory democracy from the 1960s (Pateman, 1970; Barber, 2003) and a revived pragmatism regarding current challenges in public governance and the need for new modes of collective action (Fung, 2012; Dewey, 1927).

4. A Typology of Democratic Innovations

In his seminal discussion of political concepts and ideologies, Freeden (1994, p. 146), claims that political concepts 'consist of both ineliminable features and quasi-contingent ones.' In this section we make the case that the concept of 'democratic innovations' contains both these features too and we set out which elements fall into which category, in order to develop a typology which will facilitate comparative analysis. We define 'typology' as 'conceptually derived interrelated sets of ideal types' (Doty and Glick, 1994, p. 232) and believe they are useful for 'describing complex organizational forms

and for explaining outcomes' (Doty and Glick, 1994, p.230). Typologies also enable us to identify hybrids of the ideal types as we do here. As Hendriks (2019, p. 458) suggests, 'a challenge for next-generation research into democratic innovation is to get a more encompassing understanding of the hybridization that occurs', and we think this typology can make a valuable contribution to this.

<c> 4.1 Ineliminable Features of Democratic Innovations

According to Freeden (1994, p. 146), ineliminable features 'are not intrinsic or logically necessary to the meaning of the word to which they attach, but result from actual linguistic usage.' The features are ineliminable because they are present in all usages of the word, which would therefore be meaningless without this feature present. If concepts do not have ineliminable features, then this would mean the word employed to represent the concept applies to more than one concept. As argued above, in the case of democratic innovations, we see the ineliminable feature as 'reimagining and deepening the role of citizens in governance processes'. However, this is not sufficient for a political concept, as the concept itself is not reducible to the ineliminable feature. Rather ineliminable features are minimum components of political concepts, that need to be elaborated and given complexity by the presence of additional non-random, although contingently variable, components that are 'locked in to that vacuous "de facto" core in a limited number of recognisable patterns' (Freeden 1994, p. 149). The presence of these quasi-contingent components are required to give the core substance, by furnishing it with a specific range of categories. Here we are looking for options which come into play when we consider a concrete example of a democratic innovation where some aspect of each will be relevant. Quasi-contingent components are therefore logically adjacent to the ineliminable features.

<c>4.2 Quasi-Contingent Features of Democratic Innovations

Our quasi-contingent features are largely derived from the three dimensions of Fung's (2006) framework for institutional possibilities for public participation, which include who participates (inclusion), how they participate (mode of participation), and the effect of the participation on policy (influence). However, Fung's scope is broader than ours in the sense that 'possibilities for public participation' overlap with, but are not necessarily the same as, democratic innovations. These possibilities might not be innovative or new at all. Therefore, our framework differs from Fung's in some important ways. With respect to who participates we use the same scale of inclusiveness, but narrow and reorder the elements included (see Figure 1). On how citizens participate, Fung combines 'communication mode' with 'decision-making', but we consider these to be separate features. We retain Fung's scale of intensity for mode of participation, expanding it slightly to include observation (see Figure 2). Decision-making is then dealt with separately and placed on Fung's (2006) scale of intensity (see Figure 3), while 'power and authority' for the effect on policy is adopted with minor variation (see Figure 4). Moreover, we agree with Fung (2006, p. 67) that analytical tools should separate empirical and normative criteria. The quasi-contingent features therefore present criteria through which to categorise and analyse different types of democratic innovations. Whether these combinations of features provided by a democratic innovation are normatively desirable will depend on the approach to democracy favoured, and the particular context the innovation occurs in.

The first quasi-contingent component relevant to democratic innovations is 'which citizens participate' and therefore the way participants are selected is relevant (Fung 2006). There are a number of options here including, self-selection, sortition, purposive selection, election and hybrid combinations of some or all of these that can occur in any specific democratic innovation. Following Fung (2006), these can be placed on a scale of inclusiveness as demonstrated in Figure 1. Self-selection, which in principle means open participation, has the potential to be the most inclusive as there are no formal restrictions to participation. However, we know from studies on public participation that in reality this leads to skewed participation, as social and economic cleavages affect equality of participation (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012; Verba et al., 1995). In sortition, only a limited number

of citizens are permitted to participate, but as they are randomly selected, all citizens have an equal chance of being selected (Carson & Martin, 1999). This method of selection can reduce the skewed nature of self-selection (Fishkin, 2009).

Participants can also be elected. For Fung (2006, p. 68) election is seen as selecting professional politicians as representatives, but this need not be the case. For example, in some participatory budgeting programmes, citizens elect lay citizens as budget delegates (e.g. Baiocchi, 2005) and in Iceland the Constitutional Assembly comprised 25 citizens selected by direct personal election (Gylfason, 2013). In elections participation is exclusive, but all get a say in who the participants will be. However, in addition to considering how citizens elect fellow participants within a democratic innovation, the election element does enable us to consider professional and elected politicians who may also participate in democratic innovations alongside lay citizens. Citizens can be purposively selected in other ways too i.e. selection by invitation. For example, for their interest or knowledge in the topic, because of the impact the decision will have on them, because of their employment, or because they represent, or are representative of, a particular interest or identity group or community. This is less inclusive, in principle, as not all citizens have an equal chance to participate or to determine who the participants will be. The potential hybrid combinations of the elements are vast and, while they clearly affect the inclusiveness of the democratic innovation, cannot be comfortably delineated to be placed on the scale.

[INSERT FIGURE 1. APPROXIMATELY HERE]

The second quasi-contingent component is the 'mode of participation', which relates to how the participants communicate with each other in the democratic innovation. There are a number of options here including observation, listening, and expression, which can be placed on a scale of intensiveness of participation, as depicted in Figure 2.[7] Firstly, participants can just observe proceedings. For example, they may be restricted to watching other participants vote on an issue. This is the least intense as it requires some, but negligible engagement. Secondly, participants can be required to listen to other participants give speeches, negotiate or deliberate, which is potentially more active than observation. In addition, participants can be afforded the opportunity to express their views and opinions themselves through voting, or discursively, through asking questions, making comments or engaging in deliberation. Discursively expressing a view is more demanding than registering a vote. Once again there are numerous hybrid combinations of these too.

[INSERT FIGURE 2. APPROXIMATELY HERE]

Our third quasi-contingent component is mode of decision-making in the democratic innovation, and the decision-making options can be assessed according to the intensity of work expected from participants. The options here include no decision required, decision made through aggregation of preferences, decision made through bargaining and negotiation, and decision made through deliberation, with additional hybrid combinations of all of these as depicted in Figure 3. On the most intense side of the scale we find deliberation and bargaining/negotiation, which in practice may overlap and represent similarly intensive forms of interaction.

[INSERT FIGURE 3. APPROXIMATELY HERE]

A further quasi-contingent component is 'authority and power'. This relates to the influence the participants have over what public authorities do. Here the options are personal benefits, communicative influence, advise and consult, co-governance and direct authority and can be placed on a scale of degree of influence as depicted in Figure 4. Firstly, even when there is no influence over formal decision-making processes, citizens may gain personal benefits, such as, self-development or

fulfilment from performing civic obligations. In this sense, there is some influence over the participants themselves, who constitute the demos, which public authorities must reflect and serve. Secondly, the institution or process can be a mechanism to provide 'advice and consultation' for public authorities who retain decision-making power, but are open to citizen input via certain avenues. Thirdly, public opinion can be expressed or transformed through the participatory process, and even where no formal decision-making influence is exerted, there can be 'communicative influence on members of the public or officials who are moved by the testimony, reasons, conclusions, or by the probity of the process itself' (Fung 2006, p. 69). The level of impact of 'advise and consult' vs. 'communicative influence' is variable depending on context, so here we alter Fung's order. Fourthly, we have 'co-governance', where citizens join public officials to make decisions via a democratic innovation. Finally, we have democratic innovations that have direct authority to make a decision. Once again there can be hybrid combinations of these elements.

[INSERT FIGURE 4. APPROXIMATELY HERE]

<b>5. Contextual Features of Democratic Innovations

The options of the various patterns made available by the quasi-contingent components that will be present in any specific democratic innovation will be determined by the context the democratic innovation is imbedded in. These contextual features therefore relate to Freeden's notion of cultural adjacency, 'which imposes further constraints on the structure of political concepts' (Freeden 1994, p. 149). The cultural context thereby reduces the number of quasi-contingent components that are applicable in a given application of democratic innovations. Ultimately, they help make democratic innovations relevant to the context in question and determine whether it is a democratic innovation. We highlighted the key contextual features in the definition we provided above, but here we explain them in more detail.

The first key contextual element that can influence the relationship between the quasi-contingent and ineliminable features in democratic innovations, is the type of policy area or issue that the particular case of the democratic innovation is addressing. This is still applicable even where the democratic innovation does not produce a decision, or has little or no power and authority in the policy process. Indeed, the type of issue at hand can influence these factors. Some policy areas have been more open to democratic innovations than others (Fischer, 2009, 2003). Therefore, even if a democratic innovation has been used repeatedly in the particular political system, it can be seen as an innovation if it is used in a policy area where it has not been used before. Secondly, the level of governance that the democratic innovation is embedded in will influence the choices made between the array of quasi-contingent features available, which in turn influences the realisation of the ineliminable core. These levels include local, regional/subnational, national, transnational, and global (Elstub, 2014a). Therefore, if a democratic innovation is not new to the political system it can still constitute innovation if it is used at a level of governance within that system where it has not been used regularly. Democratic innovations can also be used at different stages of the policy making process which can also influence the choices in design options between the quasi-contingent features (Elstub 2014a). These include agenda-setting, options-mapping, debate and discussion, decision-making, implementation and review. Once again if a democratic innovation is adopted at a different stage of the policy process to how it is usually used in a political system it can still constitute innovation.

The ineliminable core, the quasi-contingent features and the contextual features can all be combined in a framework to assess and characterise any particular instance of a democratic innovation, as illustrated in Figure 5. At the heart of a democratic innovation is the ineliminable feature shared by all, i.e. that they change the role of citizens in governance processes (see core white circle in Figure

5). How they do this is determined by the quasi-contingent features of how they select their participants, how the citizens participate, how decisions are reached, and the extent those decisions influence policy. Depicted here by the grey segments surrounding the core circle. The context effects the relationship between the quasi-contingent features and the ineliminable core. These include the policy area, the level of governance and the stage in the policy process, as depicted by the outer sections. A holistic analysis of democratic innovations requires consideration of all of these features and the relationships between them. Only then can we understand the contribution a specific democratic innovation makes to the shared ineliminable core of reimagining the role of citizens.

[INSERT FIGURE 5. APPROXIMATELY HERE]

Freeden proceeds to apply this morphological analysis to ideologies to glean further understanding of their meaning. This is not relevant for our purposes as specific democratic innovations are attempts to enact varying combinations of the quasi-contingent components, in specific contexts, in order to reimagine the role of citizens in governance processes. In this respect, unlike ideologies, democratic innovations do not compete with each other, although they are evaluated differently. Despite these important differences, the contention here is that specific democratic innovations, as with political concepts and ideologies, have core, adjacent and peripheral components. It is these combinations that makes them an instance of a certain type of democratic innovation rather than another. The quasi-contingent components discussed above, remain the same, but as they get combined in discrete ways, in specific democratic innovations, they can morph due to the proximity of different components. Different democratic innovations can therefore be distinguished by how they combine these different components, while no component is necessarily exclusive to anyone type of democratic innovation. There's also a degree of fluidity with types of democratic innovations, for example, there are numerous forms of mini-public (Elstub 2014b; Chapter 3 n this Handbook), participatory budgeting (Sintomer et al., 2016; Chapter 4 in this Handbook) and referenda (Setälä & Schiller, 2012; Altman, 2011; Chapter 6 in this Handbook). Moreover, as noted earlier, there are hybrid types that combine salient features associated with different types of democratic innovation. If it is accepted that types of democratic innovation do have core, adjacent, and peripheral components, then it is possible for them to be seen as Wittgenstenian families.

<b>6. Families of Democratic Innovations

As in any applied field, a typology must be guided by the core characteristics of a range of exemplars, while allowing clear distinctions. The core characteristics of democratic innovations stem from the ineliminable features of the concept, while the distinctions emerge from putting to use the analytical framework introduced above (contingent and contextual components). Each family of democratic innovations has some combination of quasi contingent and/or contextual elements that distinguishes it from other families. While all quasi-contingent categories are relevant to all the families, some define a certain type of democratic innovation, to the extent that they form the ineliminable core for that particular family. At the same time, these ineliminable cores of each family are relatively loose with a number of options in participant selection method, mode of participation, mode of decision-making, extent of power and authority, policy area, level of governance and stage in policy process. As a result, there is inevitably a good deal of hybridisation across and within these families. The combination of these features across these design options determines a specific instance or case of the democratic innovation family.

In turn, these clusters can be understood as united by characteristics that gives them a certain 'family resemblance' (Wittgenstein, 1953, p. 31). Family resemblances are those 'salient resemblances which are fairly common to, or distinctive of, the members of a kind, and which we often use to identify

members of that kind' (Gert, 1995, p. 183). A Wittgensteinian understanding of concept formation allows for fuzziness without rejecting distinction. In this way, different processes may be related while remaining unique. For example, mini-publics can be very different (e.g. planning cells, consensus conferences, citizens' juries and assemblies, deliberative polls, etc.) but there are some features that make them unmistakably part of the family of mini-publics (e.g. use of sortition; deliberative engagement) (Elstub 2014b).

Using this strategy, the result reflects Smith's (2009) starting point, and generates a series of clusters of democratic innovations exemplified throughout the scoping review, namely: mini-publics, collaborative governance, participatory budgeting, and referenda and citizens' initiatives. What makes all of these democratic innovations is their ineliminable core of being processes and institutions that seek to reimagine and deepen the role of citizens in governance processes. But the contingent (inclusion, participation, decision-making, influence) and contextual features (policy area, policy stage, governance level) provide myriad variations in design and implementation. Therefore, unlike Smith (2009) and others (e.g. Trettel 2015; Kersting 2016), we do not classify digital participation as a family of democratic innovations, as we cannot identify an ineliminable core. We conclude this section by highlighting the key components in each family of democratic innovations that guide this Handbook. For each of them we consider the contingent and contextual features that vary between, and within, families of democratic innovations, which are summarised in Table 1. We still cover digital participation here, and in the Handbook more generally, for two reasons. Firstly, to enable us to establish that it does not meet our criteria for a family of democratic innovations and secondly, due to its importance for hybridisation.

[INSERT TABLE 1. APPROXIMATELY HERE]

<c>6.1 Mini-publics
There are two quasi-contingent features that form the core of the family of mini-publics. These are the participant selection, where some form of sortition is crucial to this approach to democratic innovation. The second, is that the mode of decision-making is based on deliberation, but it can combine with others in hybrids, particularly including decision-making through aggregation of preferences. The level of power and influence is very variable, with cases across the scale in Figure 4. In terms of contextual features, mini-publics have been used in diverse policy areas (e.g. health, environment, social policy, constitutional reform), at various stages of the policy process (from policy formulation to scrutiny) and across local, regional, national and transnational levels of governance.

<c>6.2 Participatory budgeting
This is a process where citizens can participate in deciding the allocation of public expenditure. The process tends to be open to anyone in the relevant constituency, and self-selection is often the main mode although election and purposive selection are also present in many cases. A common mode of participation is voting, and listening and discursive expression also play an important role, but ultimately it is by aggregation that decisions are made and it is therefore this quasi-contingent component that distinguishes it from the other families. Here the contextual feature of policy area, also becomes an ineliminable feature, as PB processes are used for public spending decisions. In terms of level of influence, participatory budgeting tends to place citizens as decision makers, either with direct authority, or in partnership as part of a co-governance arrangement. In terms of contextual features, participatory budgeting is typically at work at local level and attached to the formulation and decision making on urban policies and initiatives.

<c>6.3 Referenda and citizen initiatives
With respect to referenda and citizens' initiatives, it is a combination of the method of participant selection being self-selection, mode of participation being voting, and mode of decision-making being

aggregation that characterises this family. The level of influence is variable but most oscillate between advisory and binding plebiscites. There is no theoretical limit in terms of the level of governance where it takes place, but it tends to be used at the final stage of policy-making and on issues of national import. This cluster of democratic innovations includes multiple cases of direct democracy worldwide (Altman, 2011) and reflects the more recent emphasis on new processes of direct legislation initiated by citizens i.e. citizen' initiatives (Setälä & Schiller, 2012).

<c>6.4 Collaborative governance
This fourth family is perhaps one of the most internally diverse, including public forums to collaborative partnerships and various participatory arrangements that seek to enable cooperation and coproduction between citizens, public authorities and stakeholders. The ineliminable elements of collaborative governance[8] would be purposive selection of participants, mode of participation based on discursive expression, and mode of decision making based on consensus building articulated through either bargaining/negotiation or deliberation. Collaborative governance innovations tend to entail self-selection and/or purposive selection of participants. The level of influence can vary greatly, covering the full spectrum in Figure 4. These new governance arrangements can be found across multiple policy areas and stages, as well as across local, regional, national and transnational levels.

<c>6.5 Digital participation
Every single quasi-contingent option and every contextual feature can relate to digital participation. Consequently, it is hard to make the case that this is a distinguishable family of democratic innovation. Rather, it is one of the main sources of hybridisation within the other families. For example, although a mini-public selects its participants through sortition, this can be supplemented by a self-selected set of participants making comments on the issue through an online platform. Online platforms can provide participants with the opportunity to observe, listen, provide discursive expression, and to vote in a participatory budgeting process. Digital participation in a referendum, or citizens' initiative campaign, can enable discursive expression and listening of differing opinions around the issue. A digital crowdsourcing exercise can also, for instance, be built into the early stages of a collaborative governance process. Clearly there are other elements of democratic innovation that contribute to hybridisation, but digital participation elements of specific cases of democratic innovations are a key contributor. Digital participation should not be seen as inferior to the families of democratic innovation considered here, simply because it is does not qualify as a family in itself. Its contribution to hybridisation can be very valuable to these democratic innovations, as described above.

<b>7. Conclusion
This chapter has grappled with the challenge of defining democratic innovations by unpacking key conceptual components in order to offer a synthesis of existing definitions and typologies. It is unsurprising that conceptual and typological issues arise when a new field emerges. The field of democratic innovation will remain one of exemplars and hybrids. But it is because of the unique interfaces they generate –between participatory and deliberative democracy, between civil society and the state, between policy and politics– that democratic innovations have become rich sites for the exploration of contemporary governance and citizenship.

Building on the development of the field so far, we have settled on defining democratic innovations as *processes or institutions, that are new to a policy issue, policy role, or level of governance, and developed to reimagine and deepen the role of citizens in governance processes by increasing opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence*. Having surveyed the literature, and conducted a morphological analysis, we have concluded that there are at least four emblematic conceptual families of democratic innovations –namely, mini-publics, participatory budgeting, collaborative governance, and referenda and initiatives. We have noted that while the concept of democratic innovations has ineliminable features, these processes can take very different forms by

virtue of variations in contingent (inclusion, participation, decision-making, influence) and contextual (policy area and stage, governance level) features. A mix across these features leads to high levels of hybridity, often driven by digital participation. This Handbook gives space to both the practice and practitioners of democratic innovation, as well as the processes and institutions that embody the field. We believe our definition of democratic innovations can reduce concept stretching and that our typology will enable comparative analysis.

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<b>Notes

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[1] See http://participedia.net and http://www.latinno.net/en.

[2] We would like to thank Derry Keohane for his research contribution to the review. The review was conducted between May and July 2016. Given that this is an emerging field we decided that a scoping review would be the most effective way of surveying the field. Scoping studies 'differ from systematic reviews because authors do not typically assess the quality of included studies' (Levac et al., 2010, p. 1). They also differ from narrative or literature reviews 'in that the scoping process requires analytical reinterpretation of the literature' (Ibid.). We conducted a scoping review of peer-reviewed journal articles as well as book chapters, based on systematic searches of two databases (Web of Science and DiscoverEd) and pre-specified inclusion criteria (i.e. key search terms: variations of democ* innovat*; no date limit; range of search filters: title, abstract, topic). The largest search yielded 860 results, which were checked for relevance in stages by reading titles, abstracts and conducting in-text keyword searches. The final shortlist of publications that met the criteria was 48 and each paper was coded to locate both definitions and typologies of democratic innovations.

[3] see https://soc.kuleuven.be/centre-for-political-research/demoinno/about

[4] There is also the issue of the criteria for what constitutes 'new.' For example, how many times might a process have to be used in a state for it to cease to be new and consequently no longer innovative.

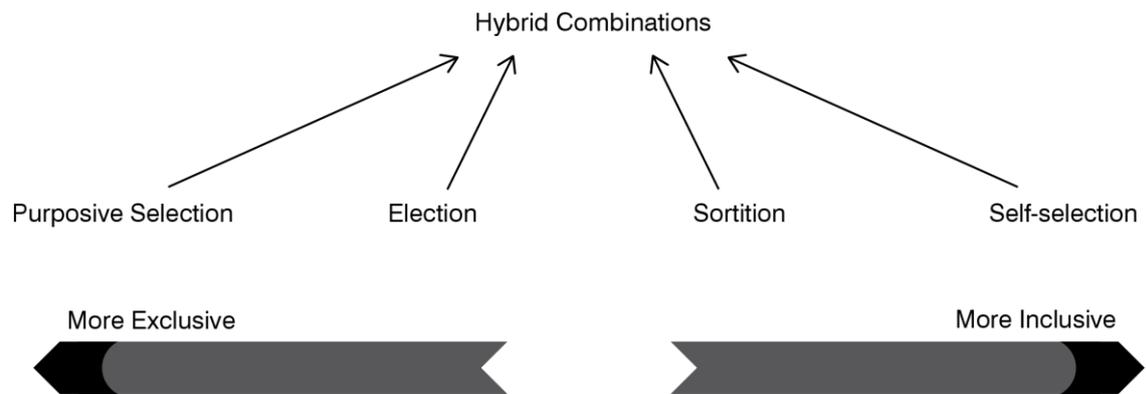[5] This point will be developed further in the next section.

[6] See for example the databases developed by Participedia (http://participedia.net) and the LATINNO project (http://www.latinno.net/en).

[7] Again our scale is inspired by Fung (2006), but we add some additional elements e.g. observation. Fung also combines communication mode with decision-making, but we consider these to be separate, although related, components. As Fung (2006, p. 68) himself acknowledges in many democratic innovations 'there is no attempt to translate the views or preferences of participants into a collective view or decision.' That translation is therefore for us a distinct element on which to categorise democratic innovations.

[8] Conceptually, collaborative governance is a particularly challenging type of democratic innovation because it encompasses a wide range of arrangements, from temporary public forums to ongoing stakeholder partnerships. The conceptual challenge is partly due to how these arrangements are assembled according to the context and history of a particular policy/governance arena. They are democratic innovations because
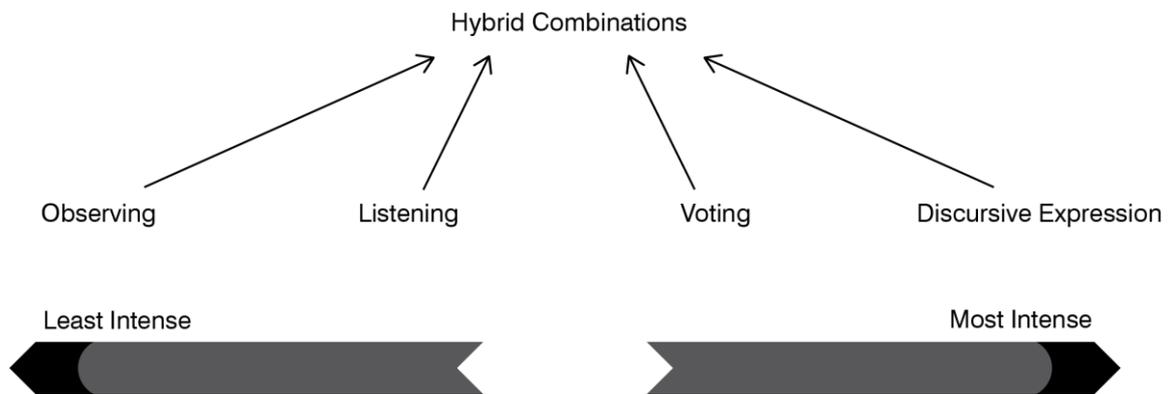
direct citizen participation is added to a context previously populated by individual representatives of organised interests. Collaborative governance thus brings both direct (citizen) and associative (stakeholder representatives) models of democratic engagement into new governance processes.
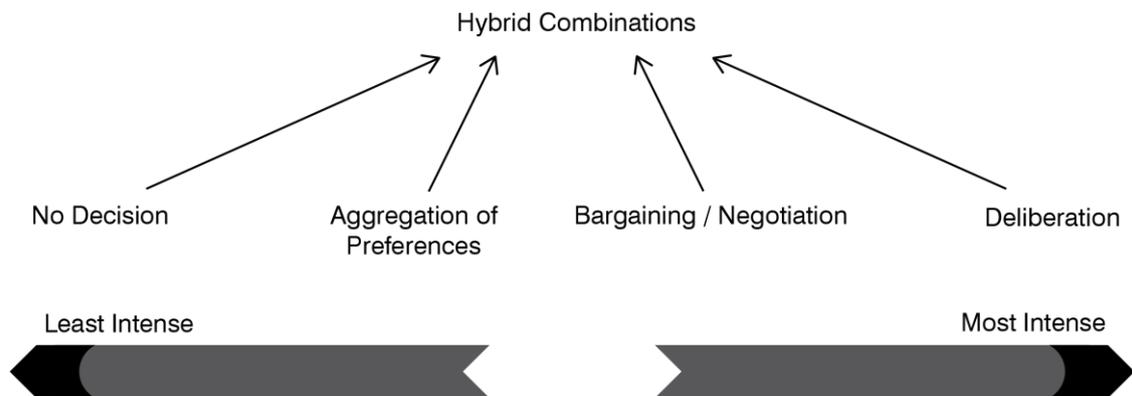
Figure 1. Participant Selection Methods

Hybrid Combinations

Purposive Selection   Election   Sortition   Self-selection

More Exclusive   More Inclusive

(Based on Fung 2006)

Figure 2. Mode of Participation

Hybrid Combinations

Observing   Listening   Voting   Discursive Expression

Least Intense   Most Intense

(Based on Fung 2006)

Figure 3. Mode of Decision-Making

(Adapting Fung 2006)

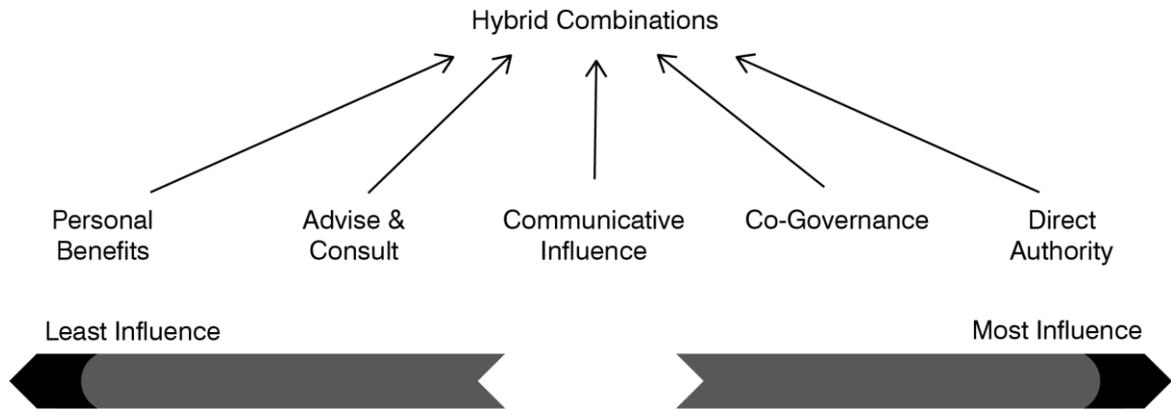**Figure 4. Extent of Power and Influence**
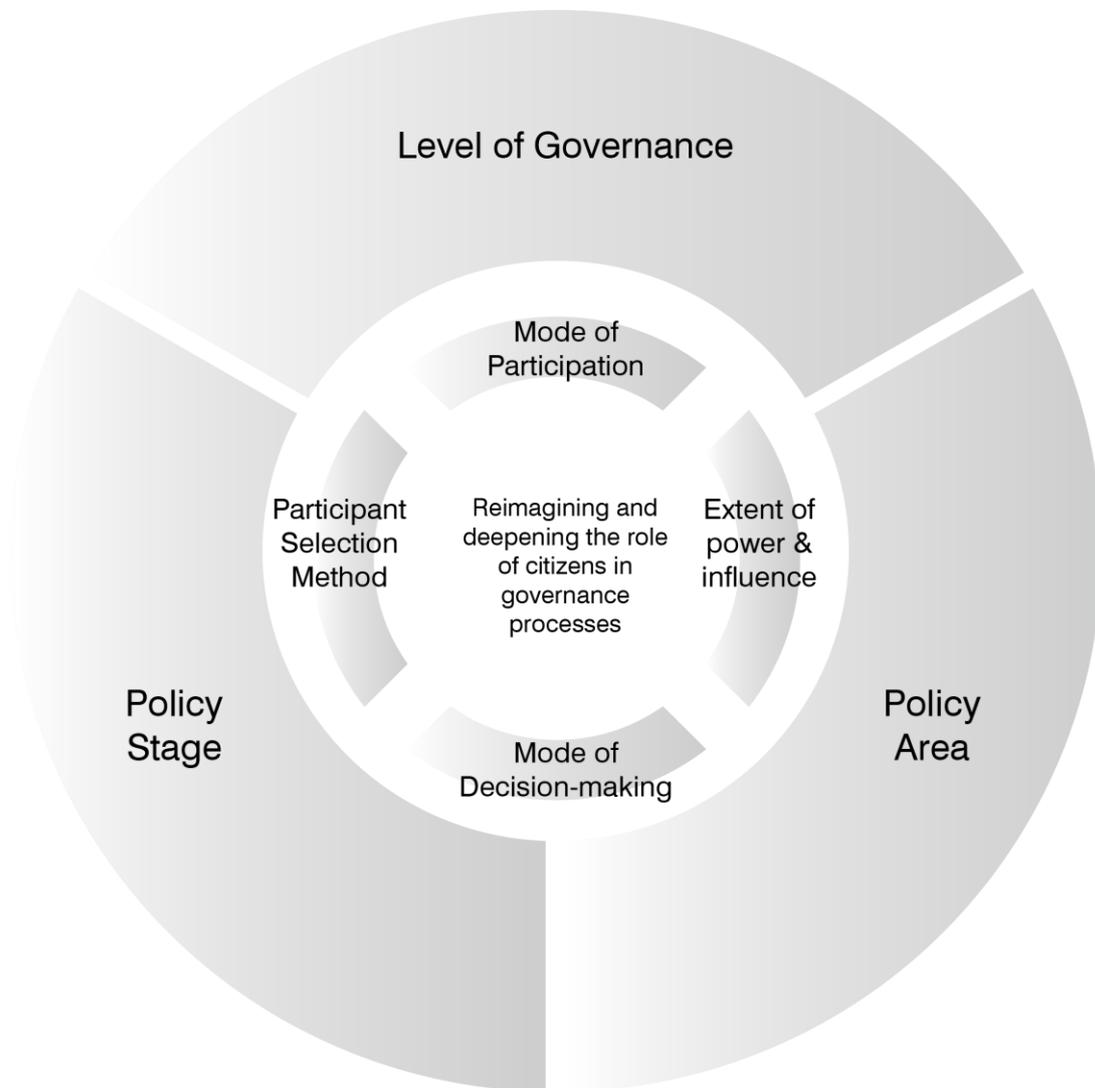
Figure 5. Framework for Democratic Innovations

Table 1. Families of Democratic Innovations[1]

Democratic Innovation Family	Quasi-Contingent Features				Contextual Features		
	Participant Selection Method	**Mode of Participation**	**Mode of Decision-Making**	**Extent of Power & Authority**	**Policy Area**	**Level of Governance**	**Stage of Policy Process**
Mini-Publics	**Sortition**	Discursive expression, voting, & listening	**Deliberation & aggregation**	Variable: Personal benefits, advise & consult, communicative influence, co-governance & direct authority	Diverse (e.g. health, environment, social policy & constitutional reform)	Local, regional, national, & transnational	Various (agenda-setting, formulation & scrutiny)
Participatory Budgeting	Self-selection, election, & purposive selection	Voting, discursive expression, & listening	**Aggregation**	Co-governance & direct authority	**Public spending**	Local	Formulation & decision-making
Referenda and Citizen Initiatives	**Self-selection**	**Voting**	**Aggregation**	Advise & consult & direct authority	Diverse	Local, regional, & national	Decision-making
Collaborative Governance	Self-selection, & **purposive selection**	**Discursive expression**, & listening	**Deliberation, & bargaining & negotiation**	Variable: Personal benefits, advise & consult, communicative influence, co-governance & direct authority	Diverse	Local, regional, national, & transnational	Multiple
Digital Participation[2]	Self-selection, sortation, election, & purposive selection	Discursive expression, voting, listening, & observation	Deliberation, bargaining & negotiation, aggregation, no decision	Variable: Personal benefits, advise & consult, communicative influence, co-governance & direct authority	Diverse	Local, regional, national, & transnational	Various (crowdsourcing, prioritising, f& scrutiny)

[1] Quasi-contingent features and contextual features of each type of democratic innovation denote ineliminable features of this family.

[2] By our analysis this does not qualify as a family of Democratic Innovation, but is included here to show its lack of an eliminable core and also its contribution to hybridisation. It is marked in grey to highlight this difference to the other families.