

Digital Democracy

A summary report for practitioners

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The rise of digital democracy

Thanks to digital technologies, today we can bank, read the news, study for a degree, and chat with friends across the world - all without leaving the comfort of our homes. But one area that seems to have remained impervious to these benefits is our model of democratic governance, which has remained largely unchanged since it was invented in the 20th century.

There has been a failure to change, despite the fact that disillusionment with existing political institutions is widespread, trust in our elected representatives is chronically lacking and election turnout is low.^{1,2} At the local level, councils are facing the challenges of increasing pressure on services with tougher demands for accountability from local residents. Membership of political parties is significantly lower than a few decades ago. The rise of alternative social movements, both online and offline, is resulting in a move away from traditional forms of political participation. Recently, a small number of national parliaments, local government bodies and political parties have seen the potential for technology to help address these issues. Has the time for digital democracy finally come?

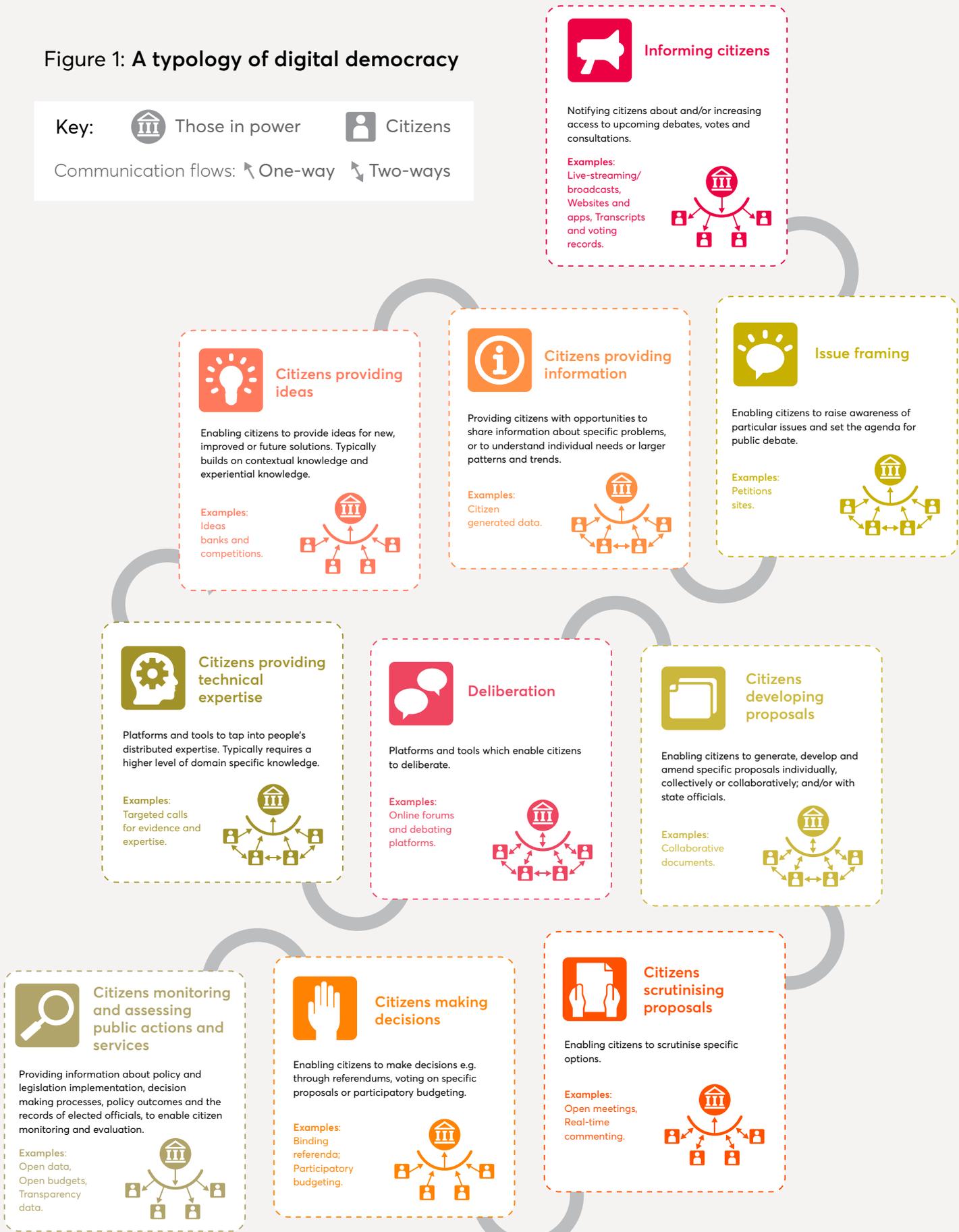
What do we mean by digital democracy?

Definitions of 'digital democracy' vary and are not easy to pin down. Some of these are discussed in our longer companion report, *Digital Democracy: The tools transforming political engagement*. We finally settle with a simple definition: 'the practice of democracy using digital tools and technologies'. Since this is so broad, we've gathered together a more granular set of activities which this definition incorporates in order to help guide practitioners (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: A typology of digital democracy

Key:  Those in power  Citizens

Communication flows:  One-way  Two-ways



What makes a good digital democracy process?

A healthy democracy requires participation from its citizens. At least one diagnosis of the current challenges facing many established democracies is that too little power has been pushed down the chain, breeding disillusionment. However, there is strong evidence that trust can be further eroded by well-meaning but poorly-designed participation exercises, a major risk for many digital democracy initiatives. Many initiatives exist simply as an app, or web page, driven by what the technology can do, rather than by what the need is. That is a mistake.

This short report will help you avoid some of these pitfalls. By bringing together examples and lessons from some of the world's innovators in digital democracy, the guidelines below will help you engage more meaningfully with your community.

We divide the following into six steps, under a total of three main themes.

Figure 2: Planning for success



1 Think twice: don't engage for engagement's sake

A participation exercise will only be successful if people feel that there is value in their contribution – either because they are able to influence and shape decisions, because it taps into some sort of intrinsic motivation, or because the issues at stake are substantive. If a process is used simply to legitimise decisions which have already been taken, or contributions are sought but not responded to, this will lead to poor quality contributions and/or greater levels of disillusionment.

A first step towards creating meaningful engagement requires that people are involved as early as possible in the process: in generating ideas, agenda setting and scrutiny, not just a final vote. Second, and a corollary of this, is the need for clear communication and feedback. This includes providing evidence on how people's contributions were used and why a final decision was made. In this way, digital democracy will not only help solve specific challenges, but also be a catalyst for greater transparency and accountability.

"Saying yes or no is not the main issue ... if you send them an email saying that for this or that reason we are not able to implement your idea, 99 per cent of the time people say 'OK, not a problem'. This was the biggest surprise for politicians in Reykjavik."

Gunnar Grimsson, Better Reykjavik

Parliaments case study

Parlement et Citoyens, France

Parlement et Citoyens is an initiative developed by civic tech group, Cap Collectif, working closely with a number of French parliament representatives to involve the public more closely in the law-making process before bills are submitted to parliament. A consultation begins with a video from the representative presenting the issue. Interested communities and stakeholders are then invited to make suggestions, or to initiate debates on different articles or sections of the draft bill. Facilitators synthesise people's arguments and communicate the results back to all parties, with the representative making a final decision on the recommendations.

Consultations generally attract healthy numbers. The most popular consultation on biodiversity received 9,334 participants and over 2,000 contributions. The process is meaningful for participants: they can have direct interaction with a representative on an issue that matters to them. The process leading to decisions is transparent, and it's possible to see the end result submitted to parliament. Among several successes is Senator Joël Labbé's consultation on the use and sale of pesticides by local authorities. One of the 521 participants spotted a potential loophole that would allow local authorities to bypass restrictions and suggested an amendment which was later implemented. This example demonstrated the benefits of having more eyes scrutinising a draft law.



Be honest: what's involved and what are you going to do with the input?

Fundamental to selecting the right form of digital citizen engagement is being clear about the issue you are seeking to address, who you need to engage, and how you plan to use the outcomes. Only then can you choose the right tools and methods to achieve the results you need.

It is first important to distinguish between whether the problem requires specific knowledge, expertise or information to be solved. There are some areas where the public has local or experiential knowledge and others where a smaller pool of specialised technical or scientific expertise is required. It's the difference, for example, between understanding what the community needs from a local urban regeneration programme, and understanding the detailed evidence about outcomes for dyslexic children to develop a new education policy.

There are then a set of questions that are based on beliefs or values which do not have an objectively right answer, such as equal marriage or the right to abortion, but on which many or most people will have an opinion. Engagement is possible on all these types of issue, but each has their own requirements and risks. For example, risks of conflict or capture will be higher when engaging people widely on a topic that is highly contentious. Our case studies have demonstrated a number of factors for attracting high quality input, which will be particularly relevant in these instances (see Box 1).

Once you have decided who should be involved, the next task is to be clear about what is expected of participants. This means providing information about what the project aims to do, how the process will work, how people's contributions will be used, and the rules of engagement. It is important to make sure that your expectations and needs match what people have to offer, in terms of both time and skills. Contributions are typically more useful if participants have a framework within which to operate.

Box 1: Don't feed the trolls: How to encourage positive and constructive contributions

- If the topic is thorny or complex, **start with a single, narrow and confined issue** within that topic and frame it with practical, non-ideological language.
- **Break up the engagement process into clear stages**, such as fact collection, debate and synthesis. For instance, the vTaiwan (see page 6) process includes a preliminary four weeks of crowdsourcing facts, definitions and raw data, before any opinion sharing is permitted. Reflections and opinions are then shared on a large scale, before an offline, live-streamed meeting to synthesise and interpret the results.
- **Guide people with clear rules, timelines, resources and language.** If engaging widely, everyone should have access to the information needed to participate effectively. Provide contextual information, or link to neutral educational resources, to encourage participants to reflect before contributing.
- **Be transparent.** Where possible, broadcast and summarise every interaction, even offline preparatory meetings. Allow people to see who made decisions, when and why.
- **Proactively moderate and facilitate.** Regularly summarise and translate the results of meetings or online debates, particularly when there is a large volume of contributions. Also devote resources to transparently moderate away any harmful or abusive comments.
- **Use the appropriate tools.** Choose tools that reward positive behaviour and prevent inflammatory interaction.

Political parties case study

Podemos, Spain

Podemos was a political party born out of the 15M movement in 2014. This grew from dissatisfaction with political parties, poor quality public services and widespread youth unemployment. The party explicitly aspires to *"reclaim politics for everybody in all spheres of political decision-making, as well as in the execution of public policies."*³

Today, Podemos is experimenting with methods of digital direct democracy. 'Plaza Podemos 2.0' is the a website which enables people to make citizen binding proposals (that is, the party implements them if they receive a certain level of support), or participating in open discussion forums. The party has also experimented with a large network of 'Circles', or in-person meeting

groups, using online apps, such as for voting, to augment and record the offline discussion.

On Plaza Podemos around 1,400 proposals have been made (although over half received fewer than 40 votes) and over 300,000 people have contributed to at least one debate. However, in many instances it appears that the rhetoric is somewhat ahead of the reality. Theoretically votes are binding, but the high threshold and lack of promotion of popular proposals means that this rarely happens. While party leaders obtain feedback from citizens using 'open consultation' there is currently no direct or explicit link between that input and the decisions ultimately made.

Parliaments case study

vTaiwan, Taiwan

The vTaiwan process was established by a civil society movement called g0v, at the invitation of the Taiwanese Minister for Digital Affairs. It followed g0v's major role in the peaceful Sunflower Movement protests of 2014. The process was designed as a neutral platform to engage experts and relevant members of the public in large-scale deliberation on specific topics. vTaiwan is focused on the creation of legislation or regulation.

The process itself is designed to facilitate constructive conversation and consensus-building between diverse opinion groups. It does this by creating several stages, including an initial 'objective' stage for crowdsourcing facts and evidence and a 'reflective' stage using mass deliberation

tool Pol.is, which encourages the formation of 'rough consensus'. Facilitators and g0v volunteers guide people through each stage using different web tools, including timelines, email updates and access to clear information. In a radical approach to transparency, the entire consultation is continuously summarised, transcribed and published in an open, structured and searchable format.

vTaiwan's achievements to date include: a crowdsourced bill successfully passed through parliament on Closely Held Company Law; the resolution of a disagreement between civil society activists on the topic of internet alcohol sales; and the ratification of several items on ridesharing (Uber) regulations.

3 Digital isn't the only answer: traditional outreach and engagement still matter

It's an unfortunate truth that if you build it, they might not come. Good PR, advertising and outreach underpin almost every successful digital democracy initiative and the best blend online and offline activities. Initiatives in Paris, Reykjavik and Estonia all work closely with civil society groups to help reach audiences not accustomed to using the internet. Well over half of all votes in the Paris participatory budgeting process were cast offline. A higher investment in mass communications and PR may also be required when large-scale public engagement is desired, as in participatory budgeting.

Despite the need for active outreach, there are many ways in which digital technologies can help to augment offline methods of engagement. For example, traditional, in person meetings can be supported by interactive live-streaming tools (such as used in the vTaiwan process) allowing people to join who are unable to because of work responsibilities or distance. In these instances, moderators play a crucial role in translating and summarising the results of offline discussions alongside online contributions. In addition, there are tools (like SayIt) which can record and archive offline conversations in a structured and searchable format, creating a clear, comprehensive and open record of the entire process. In these ways, digital blends with offline methods to create a more coherent, transparent and accessible exercise in public engagement.

Local government case study

Madame Mayor, I have an idea, France

In 2015 Paris launched Madame Mayor, a participatory budgeting process with total of €500 million over five years. All proposals are generated by Paris residents. The process has five phases: proposals are made, then refined through deliberation. There follows a period of public review, checking the ideas meet minimum criteria such as public benefit, and technical and budgetary feasibility. The shortlist of ideas is selected by an elected Committee made up of representatives of political parties, the City Administration, civil society, and citizens. Support is provided for projects to assist people in promoting and campaigning for their idea. There follows a vote, either online or in person. Successful proposals are included in the December budget and work begins the following year.

In 2015 over 5,000 ideas were proposed, whittled down to 624 which were then put forward for a public vote. In the final stage 67,000 votes (+/- 3 per cent of the population) were cast and 188 projects accepted.⁴ In 2016, participation rose dramatically with 158,964 people voting on a final selection of 219 ideas, from an initial 3,158 proposals.⁵

The experience has found that raising awareness and achieving participation is hard, and so is the process of managing and processing thousands of ideas. Over the last year the Paris team has responded by increasing the size of the team working on citizen engagement, strengthening relations with civil society, and continuing to invest in offline and online promotion of the programme. They also slightly restructured the budget to reserve a proportion exclusively for the most deprived areas of the city.

4



Don't waste time: get buy-in from decision-makers before you invest too much

Securing support from decision-makers, or having a specific project champion (such as a high profile parliamentarian, councillor or party member) is key to success. Even better is to have cross-party support for an initiative.

"People from each of the political parties in the Parliament were present, and they could argue and they could be cynical and they could be very opposing, but they were part of the process and part of the design."

Hille Hinsberg, Estonian People's Assembly

First, getting senior level backing helps significantly increase the likelihood of producing change as a result of the initiative. When people have endorsed an initiative from the outset, and it is seen as being 'above politics', they are more likely to support the resulting outcomes of the process. Second, it helps to give the initiative greater meaning in the eyes of participants and hence improves people's motivation to take part. Third, support from decision-makers is typically extremely important in leveraging the necessary institutional or organisational access and resources required to run any such activity.

That is not to say, however, that a large number of active supporters is required from the outset. In the face of resistance and disinterest from the majority of politicians, LabHacker – an in-house parliamentary democratic innovation lab in Brazil – found success in targeting and running experiments with a small number of enthusiastic, digitally enabled representatives. Yet without the requisite support, there is the risk of failing to deliver on promises and ambitions, as a result alienating citizens who have contributed. This is a pitfall that political parties such as M5S and Podemos have experienced at times, where the rhetoric of direct democracy is not yet being fulfilled.

Local government case study

Better Reykjavik, Iceland

Better Reykjavik, launched in 2010, is a platform which enables citizens to suggest, debate, rank and vote on ideas for improving their city. It was developed by a civil society group called the Citizen's Foundation, but the project is notable for the level of support it has gained from Reykjavik City Council, who have agreed to process 15 of the top ideas made on the platform every month. Since 2010, 1,045 ideas have been considered by the city council, with 220 approved, 289 rejected and 336 still in progress.

More than 70,000 people have visited the site since its creation, out of a population of 120,000 people in Reykjavik. Anyone

can post an idea on the Better Reykjavik platform, or comment either 'for' or 'against' an idea. Ideas, as well as the related individual comments, can then be up- and down-voted by the rest of the community.

The platform benefits from its clear link to decision-making processes, including clear feedback on why final decisions are made. This incentivises engagement and makes people feel their contributions have value. Take-up has been encouraged through social media advertising. One future challenge relates to investigating how citizens can be encouraged to post ideas for addressing some of the more complex issues that the city faces.

5 Don't cut corners: digital democracy is not a quick or cheap fix

Without the necessary financial and human resources in place, it is highly unlikely that any attempt to engage citizens will be a success. In particular, the human resource requirement is one aspect frequently underestimated by those starting out on digital democracy initiatives. Time is needed not only to create and manage projects but usually also to grow the skills of the team (be that paid staff or volunteers) and ongoing development of the digital tools.

More ambitious projects such as participatory budgeting can place high levels of demand on both paid staff and volunteers. These lessons were learned swiftly in Paris after their 2014 pilot of participatory budgeting when the demands on civil servants were acute. There are now 14 civil servants in a dedicated citizen engagement team and investment has been made in the back-end of the website to reduce the time required by staff to process and keep track of people's ideas. Open Ministry on the other hand – a volunteer-run crowdsourcing initiative for addressing parliament with citizen-led campaigns in Finland – has struggled to maintain its activities due to fluctuating or insufficient numbers of volunteers.

Digital approaches are also not cheap. Not only is investment required in staff, but there are also often investments required in technology - either in new digital tools or in their integration with existing IT systems. Furthermore, reserving the appropriate finances for PR and communications cannot be ignored.

Local government case study

Decide Madrid, Spain

In 2015, Decide Madrid, a platform for public participation in decision-making, was launched by Madrid city council. Decide Madrid has four main functions: proposals and votes for new local laws; debates; participatory budgeting; and consultations.

Decide Madrid allows any resident to propose a new local law which other residents can vote to support. Proposals which gain support from 1 per cent of the census population are then put to a binding public vote. The Council has one month to draw up technical reports on the legality, feasibility and cost of successful proposals, which are published on the platform.

Registered users can open and contribute to debates, vote for or against motions, or provide additional comments. Debates

do not trigger a specific action by the City Council but are a useful way of gauging public opinion. The platform also enables suggestions, discussions and an annual participatory budgeting programme, which allocated €60 million in 2016.

Decide Madrid benefitted from dedicated PR and communications support which raised its public profile. €200,000 was spent in 2016 to promote the participatory budget, equivalent to €4 per voter. The nature of participatory budgeting means that citizens can easily see the benefits of participating as direct financial investments are made in their chosen projects, and a user-friendly website design seamlessly integrates the different opportunities for participation open to citizens in one platform.

6



It's not about you: choose tools designed for the users you want, and try to design out destructive participation

Digital engagement initiatives can make use of a wide range of pre-existing, open-source or low-cost tools. When choosing which ones to use, it's important to create tools that are accessible and seamless to use, such as those offering Facebook and Twitter sign-on functions. In designing engagements that involve multiple phases, users should be guided through the whole process from a single 'hub', such as a central web-page. Most importantly, however, the tool you choose should be designed to maximise the quality of interaction and contributions, based on the task at hand and the target participant group.

Box 2: Top tips for choosing or designing a digital engagement tool

- **Ensure user friendliness, and make it easy to contribute.** When engaging widely, don't expect people to participate in highly taxing or difficult tasks - allow micro-tasks such as 'up-voting' (as in Consul) or quick online polls (such as Sli.do).
- **Consider the manageability of contributions.** Consider how you will manage forums where large volumes of text are generated. Ensure that sufficient staff and resources are available to moderate, track and summarise discussions, both for participants and decision-makers.
- **Consider mechanisms to visualise people's responses:** Some tools use statistics to visualise the group's opinions, for example by mapping them in clusters (as in Pol.is) or using more traditional mechanisms such as pie charts (as in Loomio). This is particularly important where there are large numbers of contributors.
- **Design for reducing negative behaviour.** Tools like Your Priorities encourage people to make broader, more positive arguments by disallowing the direct responses which on social media often result in trolling or abuse. Other tools like Discourse reward and reinforce positive behaviour with public 'badges'.
- **Avoid binding votes without considerations of gaming.** Where voting mechanisms are used to understand the level of consensus on opinions or ideas, ensure you know how representative they are to avoid an unfair process or capture by interest groups. Pol.is, for example, enables the tracking of minority and majority opinions. During vTaiwan consultations on Pol.is, opinions have to win over the approval of both groups (a supermajority), which reduces the negative effects of mass mobilisation by one opinion group.

Parliaments case study

LabHacker and eDemocracia, Brazil

The e-Democracia portal was set up in 2009 by the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies. The aim of the portal is to make legislation more transparent, to improve citizens' understanding of the legislative process, and to make the Chamber more accessible and interactive. Many of the experiments for the e-Democracia portal are conducted within the Chamber's very own innovation lab – 'LabHacker' – which hosts hackathons and collaborative pilots with civil society and parliamentary staff.

The e-Democracia platform includes 'virtual communities' which are web conversations dedicated to debates on specific topics, and 'Wikilegis', a tool which allows direct commenting or contribution on specific articles or sections of a draft bill. Using these tools, the Youth Statute Bill crowdsourced 30 per cent of its

final text from young people across the country. Crucial for these processes is the work of legislative consultants who work as 'technical translators', summarising and presenting people's ideas to representatives, while reporting back to the people on how their input was used. In all cases, it is up to the representatives to make the final choice as to whether citizen contributions are used or not.

The team's future goals include broadening and measuring representation of people who use the platform. Despite around 37,000 registered users (and over 50 million views), the general public still know fairly little about the platform. The e-Democracia staff also have no data about current users' backgrounds or demographic characteristics.

Political parties case study

Pirate Party, Iceland

The Icelandic Pirates now stand as Iceland's joint-second most popular party after winning ten out of 63 parliamentary seats in 2016. In response to the financial crisis and political corruption in Iceland, the Pirates stood on a platform promoting authenticity, transparency, open debate and participation in the creation of party policy by anyone.

The blending of offline and online methods of engagement plays an important part in the party's efforts to achieve these goals. Regular video-recorded meetings are held around the country encouraging discussion of policy issues between members. The party's digital platform 'x.piratar.is' is clearly established within the party's formal policy processes: every new policy must go through the platform.⁶ A week-long debate and

then binding vote are open to any of the party's 2,500 members. Over 100 national Pirate Party policies have been debated and ratified on the platform since 2013.

In addition to x.piratar.is, the party hosts more general discussions using forum tool Discourse and on the party's Facebook group. The party's efforts to promote an open and horizontal structure of policy formation, debate and decision-making has brought some criticism, particularly where conversations on Facebook appear chaotic or difficult to follow among the hundreds of commenters. Looking forward, the Pirates face a challenge in balancing the party's openness and lack of hierarchy to new ideas and candidates with the need to develop strong enough expertise to be able to govern effectively.

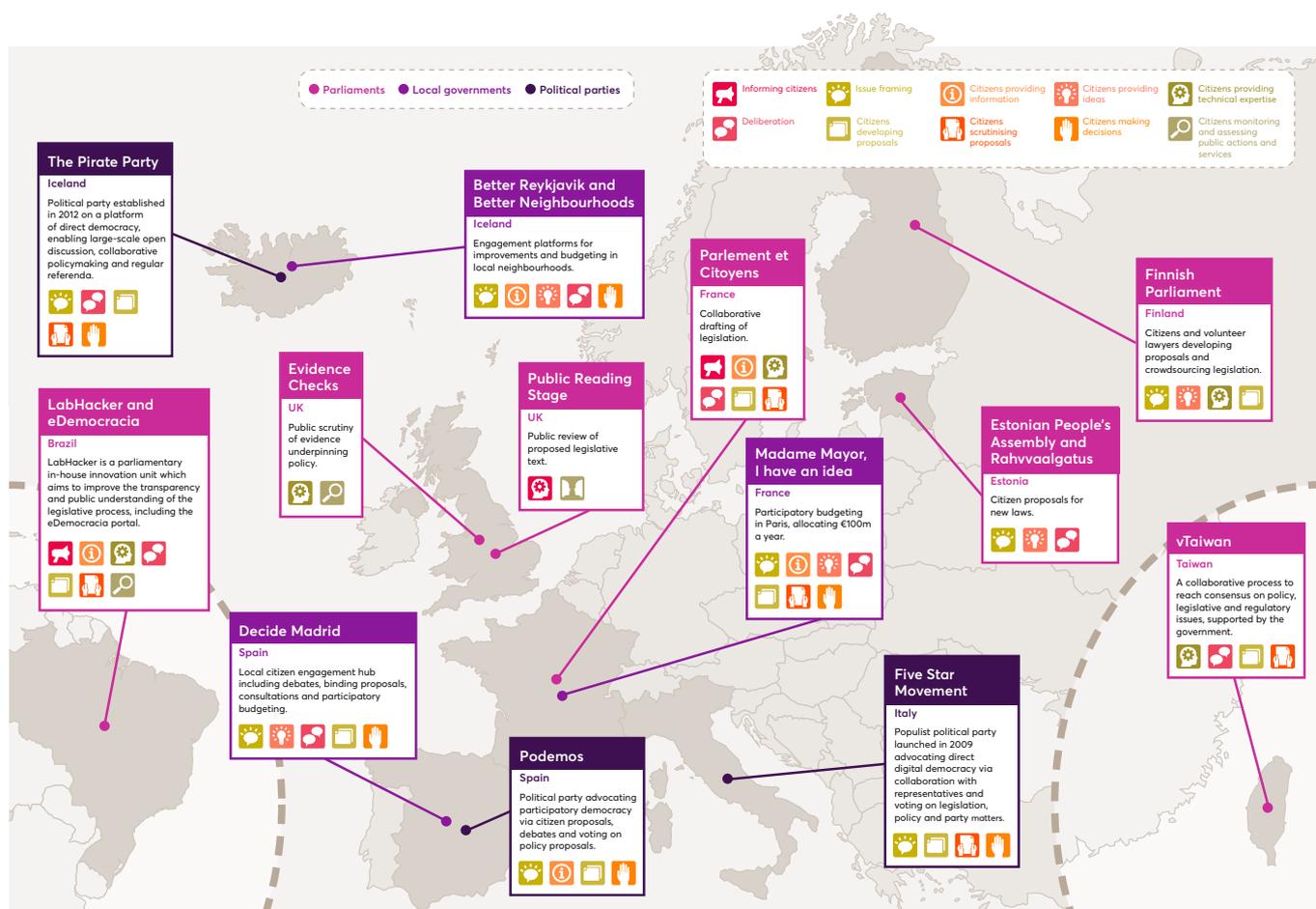
Growing the field of digital democracy

Though most digital democracy initiatives are undertaken in response to the perceived failure of current ways of doing things, or in the hope of further improving the legitimacy and quality of democratic decision-making, very few innovators are actively evaluating how well their use of technology is achieving these aims.

We therefore conclude with a call for all practitioners to consider a simple set of evaluation criteria from the outset. This means going beyond using the number of participants as the only measure of impact. Other, more difficult questions, need to be asked, such as: who participated and why? Did the process inform citizens about important political issues? Did it succeed in improving public trust, or propensity to engage in the future? These questions will help our understanding of the effect participation is having on citizens' attitudes to democracy.

This isn't always easy and there will be inevitable tensions between wanting to lower the barriers to participation (and hence limiting data collection) and wanting to measure the impact achieved. Honest discussion around failures can also be difficult for projects seeking adoption in an already reluctant political environment. However, understanding what does and doesn't work is essential to developing the field of digital democracy and demonstrating the role it has to play in our societies. The World Bank's useful and detailed framework for digital engagement evaluation should provide a good starting point in this regard.⁷

Figure 3: A map of some digital democracy initiatives across Europe and beyond



You can read detailed case studies of each of these initiatives in the full version of this report, available on the Nesta website.

Endnotes

1. Rallings, C. and Thrasher, M. (2014) 'Local Elections in England May 2014 (including Mayoral elections)' [online]. Plymouth University Elections Centre. Available from: http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/175062/Local-elections-2014-Electoral-data-report.pdf [Accessed 4 November 2016]; BBC News (2016) Police and Crime Commissioner elections 2016 [online]. 'BBC'. 6 May 2016. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election/2016/police> [Accessed 4 November 2016].
2. The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015) 'Democracy Index: Democracy in an age of Anxiety.' London, New York, Hong Kong, Geneva: The Economist Intelligence Unit. p.11.
3. See: <https://transparencia.podemos.info/docs/codigo-etico.pdf> [Accessed 17 November 2016].
4. See: https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr/bp/jsp/site/Portal.jsp?document_id=2228&portlet_id=159 [Accessed 17 November].
5. Mairie de Paris (2016) Dossier de Presse: Budget Participatif 2016 [online]. Paris: Mairie de Paris. Available from: <https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr/bp/plugins/download/BP2016-DossierDePresse.pdf> [Accessed 17th November].
6. The party's manifesto or 'Vision' contains topics ranging from the economy and taxation to tourism, with each individual policy referencing back to the specific pages on the x.piratar.is website where it was debated and subsequently voted by a majority of members. See: <http://piratar.is/kosningar/framtidarsyn/> [Accessed 17 November 2016].
7. World Bank (2016) 'Evaluating Digital Citizen Engagement: A Practical Guide.' [Online] Washington DC: World Bank Digital Engagement Evaluation Team. Available from: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/23752/deef-book.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [Accessed 08/02/16].

Further information

If you found this report useful, feel free to read our longer companion report: *Digital Democracy: The Tools Transforming Political Engagement*, which dives into greater detail on each of the lessons and case studies presented above.

Alternatively, feel free to contact us at info@nesta.org.uk

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