

decidim.
barcelona,
Spain

VOICE OR CHATTER?

CASE STUDIES

AUTHOR

ISMAEL
PEÑA-LÓPEZ

AUTHOR

Ismael Peña-López is a lecturer at the School of Law and Political Science, and a researcher at the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute and the eLearn Center, at the Open University of Catalonia.

This report is the outcome of a collaboration between IT for Change and Delia Dumitrica, Erasmus University, Rotterdam under a research project titled Voice or Chatter? Using a Structuration Framework Towards a Theory of ICT-mediated Citizen Engagement.

This research has been produced with the financial support of Making All Voices Count. Making All Voices Count is a programme working towards a world in which open, effective and participatory governance is the norm and not the exception. This Grand Challenge focuses global attention on creative and cutting-edge solutions to transform the relationship between citizens and their governments. Making All Voices Count is supported by the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and Omidyar Network (ON), and is implemented by a consortium consisting of Hivos, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and Ushahidi. The programme is inspired by and supports the goals of the Open Government Partnership.

Research coordination team

Lead Researcher: Anita Gurumurthy

Research Associates: Deepti Bharthur & Nandini Chami

Design: Deepti Bharthur & Swati Mehta

Editorial Support: Swati Mehta & Dara Casey

Disclaimer: The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the official policies of Making All Voices Count or our funders.



© IT for Change 2017

Research outputs from the Voice or Chatter project are licensed under a Creative Commons License Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



MAKING ALL
VOICES COUNT

A GRAND CHALLENGE
FOR DEVELOPMENT

The author wants to thank the guidance, thorough review and suggestions made by Deepti Bharthur, Nandini Chami and Anita Gurumurthy from IT for Change. The author also wants to thank the indispensable help from Arnau Monterde from UOC/IN3; Fernando Pindado, Xabier Barandiaran and Laia Forné, from the City Council of Barcelona, for confidence and valuable help; Ricard Espelt and Francesc Balagué for positively responding to any friendly demand.

Table of Contents

1. Executive Summary.....	2
2. Context.....	3
2.1 From the Disenchantment of Politics 2.0 to the 15M Spanish <i>Indignados</i> Movement.....	3
2.2 Decide Madrid, <i>Decidim.barcelona</i>	5
2.3 Strategic Vision Behind E-participation in Spanish Municipalities.....	6
2.4 Norms informing e-participation.....	8
3. Methodology.....	8
3.1 Theoretical Framework.....	8
3.2 Data Collection.....	9
4. Analysis.....	10
4.1 Impact of <i>Decidim.barcelona</i> in Participation: Activity, Actors and New Actors.....	10
4.2 Inclusion and Exclusion from Participation in <i>Decidim.barcelona</i>	11
4.3 The Dangers of Technocentrism: <i>Digerati</i> , <i>Goverati</i> or New Participative Citizens?.....	12
4.4 Towards Newer, Flexible and Plural Structures of Power?.....	14
4.5 Analysis: The Government Side.....	15
4.6 Analysis: The Citizen Side.....	21
5. Conclusion.....	25
References.....	28
Additional References.....	34
Annex 1: Research Probes.....	37
Annex 2: Analytical Matrix.....	47

1. Executive Summary

In September 2015, Madrid – the capital of Spain – initiated a participatory democracy project, *Decide Madrid* (Madrid decides), to enable participatory strategic planning for the municipality. Six months later, Barcelona – the second largest city in Spain and capital of Catalonia – began its own participatory democracy project, *decidim.barcelona* (Barcelona we decide) in February 2016. Both cities use the same free software platform as a base, and are guided by the same political vision.

The success of these initiatives and the strong political vision behind them have spawned plenty of other initiatives in the country – especially in Catalonia – that are working to emulate the two big cities. These cities are sharing free-software-based technology, procedures and protocols, their reflections – both on open events and formal official meetings. What began as a seemingly one-time project has grown in scale.

Available open documentation suggests that *decidim.barcelona* has increased the amount of information in the hands of the citizens, and gathered more citizens around key issues. There has been an increase in participation, with many citizen created proposals being widely supported, legitimated and accepted to be part of the municipality strategic plan. As pluralism has been enhanced without damaging the existing social capital, we can only think that the increase of participation has led to an improvement of democratic processes, especially in bolstering legitimacy around decision making. A meta-project has indeed opened the design and development of the project itself to the citizens themselves. This can be summarized in four key points:

- Deliberation becomes the new democracy standard
- Openness becomes the pre-requisite for deliberation
- Accountability and legislative footprint emerge as an important by-product to achieve legitimacy
- Participation leads to more pluralism and stronger social capital, which fosters deliberation, thus closing the (virtuous) circle of deliberative democracy.

What remains to be analyzed is the strength and stability of the new relationships of power and how exactly these will challenge the preceding systemic structures and lead to newer ones. The culture of participation was hitherto scarce and mainly dealt with managing the support of citizens in top-down type initiatives. Changing the mindset implied turning many of the departments and processes of the City Council upside down – a need for new coordination structures, a new balance between the central administration and the districts, a speeding up of the slow tempos of the administration, and new ways to manage public-private partnerships.

Using Anthony Giddens' Structuration theory, this case study examines the e-participation initiative of the City Council of Barcelona (Spain), *decidim.barcelona*. The study analyzes the inception and first use of *decidim.barcelona* for the strategic plan of the municipality in the years 2016-2019.

The case of the participatory process of the City Council of Barcelona to co-design, along with the citizens, the strategic plan 2016-2019 of the municipality is an important milestone, both in the local politics of the region, and in Spanish politics in general. It embodied the demands of the many that took to the streets in May 2011. The grassroots movement in Barcelona self-organized and won the local elections in May 2015, bringing their hacker and technopolitics ethos¹ to the forefront of local politics. Not only does the way participatory process of early 2016 was put into practice matter, but also how it was technically designed and integrated into the core of policy making in sustainable and replicable ways. This is evidenced in the widespread adoption of this model across

¹ For an introduction to technopolitics, please see Alcazán *et al.* (2012), Jurado Gilabert (2013), Toret (2013), Monterde (2015), Kurban *et al.* (2016)

other Spanish cities and also by supra-municipal entities. The model, and the tool, is being replicated by Localret (a consortium of Catalan municipalities) and the Barcelona County Council. Both these institutions will replicate the initiative (participation model and technological platform) in other municipalities, while also creating a coordination team to share experiences and methodologies or prioritize needs for improvement.

The 180° turn that *decidim.barcelona* represents in governance goes beyond just “listening” to citizens and “giving them a voice”. In this case, citizens are;

- Invited to design and improve upon the participatory process
- Invited to contribute proposals that will be debated and could translate into binding legislation (provided some technical and social thresholds are reached).
- Invited to monitor and assess both the process in its procedures as in its outcomes (in what has been called the *Metadecidim* initiative).

This has been done not by substituting other channels of participation but by improving the traditional ways to engage in local politics (face-to-face, channeled through civil society organizations or other institutions) by complementing them with new ICT-mediated mechanisms

This case study is divided into three main sections. First, we examine the institutionalization of the ethos of the 15M Spanish *Indignados* movement, the context building up to the *decidim.barcelona* initiative. In the next section the methodology, the case, its design and philosophy are discussed in greater detail. Anthony Giddens’ Structuration theory and Bruno Latour’s Actor-Network theory are unpacked here. In the final section, the results of the project are analyzed and the shifts of the initiative in meaning, norms and power, both from the government and the citizen end are discussed.

2. Context

2.1 From the Disenchantment of Politics 2.0 to the 15M Spanish *Indignados* Movement

On March 11, 2004, Spain suffered the worst terrorist attack in its history. Al-Qaeda claimed the lives of almost 200 people in Madrid, after bombing several trains during rush hour. The event happened three days before the Spanish general elections for parliament (the outcome of which decides the Prime Minister). Also, the attack occurred one year after the government of Spain had supported the invasion of Iraq against the will of almost the entire Spanish population (Traficantes de Sueños, 2004).

From 2004 to 2011, the Spanish political arena became a continuum of several citizen initiatives where ICTs played a major role, especially, in allowing citizens to access extra-institutional information² and circumvent state institutions to coordinate and engage in political action. Realizing that horizontal communication was a real possibility, platforms, groups, gatherings – all kinds of extra-representative and extra-institutional ways of organizing flourished during the years, weaving a large but distributed network of activists who self-organized and harmonized their ideas, protocols, tools and procedures.

In May 15, 2011, this culminated into the 15M Spanish *Indignados* movement. Hundreds of

² “Extra-representational actions are activities in which, even if participants can equally be trying to reach an institutional agent as the target of a demand, the action is realized in parallel to the institutional framework” (Cantijoch, 2009). That is, many citizens moved away from institutions (governments, political parties, mainstream media outlets, labour unions, non-profits) to get information or to influence the public agenda, and self-organized instead.

thousands took to the streets and squares of dozens of cities in Spain, demanding better democracy, by camping for a full month to the cry of “they do not represent us” or “real democracy now.” The reasons that brought citizens out to the streets –and, later on, to local assemblies– were many- financial crisis, housing crisis, high unemployment rates, lack of job prospects for young people, corruption, and a sense of lack of political legitimacy of democratic institutions.³ One of the clearest demands of the movement was the improvement of democratic processes and institutions, especially by increasing transparency, accountability and participation. Ideas of direct democracy, deliberative democracy and liquid democracy were intensively brought to the public agenda, often times by using prototypes⁴ to use open, public data, building ICT-mediated decision-making platforms, and/or by making arcane information publicly available and accessible to enable whistleblowing against corruption (Calvo *et al.*, 2011; Castells, 2012; Holmberg, 2012).

2.1.1 The Movements Enter the Institutions

In the short term, the 15M had little effect. It only marginally affected the municipal elections of May 2011 (Anduiza *et al.* 2012), among other things because of the nearness of the events. Some effects were the increase of null and blank votes, and the clear shift of votes from the two major parties to minority/alternative ones. Notwithstanding this, the movement did contribute to strengthening the network of citizens who were very active but outside of institutions; totally ignoring other organized civil society organizations such as NGOs and labor unions, not to speak of political parties.

The local elections of 2015 brought about significant changes in many city councils, with the emergence of parties that were a result of the institutionalization of some currents within the 15M *Indignados* Movement – Madrid, Barcelona, and Cadiz, to name a few. While these cities were popularly known as “cities of change” (as popularly referred to in Spanish media) there were also other municipalities that seized the chance to foster participation in the genuine belief that it was about time to open up institutions, thus answering to increasingly strong demands for openness, transparency and accountability.

These new local governments took office in an environment of strong digital development but weak participatory culture – arguably caused by the many legal and political barriers to political engagement (Peña-López, 2017). As data from the World Economic Forum’s Networked Readiness Index shows⁵, the overall digital performance of Spain is adequate. But unsupportive economic and political frameworks usually drag the country down in the global rankings. The indicators under the readiness sub-index perform quite well, including those on individual usage. Technology is used extensively by people in the country. But the political and regulatory environment, business usage and economic impact remain low, and government usage and social impact only marginally higher.

The relative slow development of the digital economy is in stark contrast to the strong advancement of the digital government. In the public sector, Spain has made big efforts not to lag behind digital leaders in terms of public e-readiness and e-government. As data from UNPAN’s e-Government Survey (2016) shows, these efforts have had very good results both in terms of absolute values (as measured by e-government and e-participation indices) and in terms of its relative position in the global ranking⁶.

Despite the fact that participation is generally – and increasingly – agreed to be a good thing, the reality is that as a concept it still belongs to an industrial era conception that is almost exclusively

³ <http://www.democraciarealya.es/manifiesto-comun/>

⁴ Quickly designed and released digital tools that worked for real, with the purpose to proof that a specific goal or task could easily be achieved.

⁵ Baller *et al.*, 2016

⁶ In 2016, Spain scored 0.81 in e-Government and 0.93 in e-Participation, ranking respectively 17th and 7th. See also Peña-López, 2017

institution-led and discrete. There is no continuum of participation, merely isolated initiatives where citizen voice is channeled into governance (Peña-López, 2011a).

Literature shows that the crisis of participation and representation is increasingly pushing citizens outside of institutional politics (Fuster & Subirats, 2012) and into new kinds of organizations (Peña-López, *et al.*, 2014; Espelt *et al.*, 2016) which are strong in digital and social media (Sádaba, 2012). But, they fail at being able to establish a dialogue with the institutions of representative democracy in order to move towards reform of the former (Font *et al.*, 2012).

2.2 Decide Madrid, *Decidim.barcelona*

Madrid – from late 2015 – and Barcelona – from early 2016 – both engaged in a participatory process based on the open source solution CONSUL⁷. CONSUL is the web software developed by the City Council of Madrid to support its strategy for open government and e-participation. It was later adopted by Barcelona county⁸ for their own strategies. As part of this, Barcelona also contributed to the software development of the platform and added several new features to the project core.

While the former (*Decide Madrid*) mostly focuses on particular proposals and participatory budgeting, the second one (*decidim. barcelona*) has been used as a supporting tool to draft the strategic plan of the city for 2016-2019. Both city governments have ambitious plans to make the platforms the axis for all decision making of the city, where the citizen will have a personal profile through which they can propose, engage with, and monitor all the activities, topics, etc. that they might be interested in.

The success of the initiatives and the strong political vision behind them have had a cascading effect, leading to other initiatives working to emulate the two big cities, especially in Catalonia. They are sharing their free-software-based technology, their procedures and protocols, their reflections both on open events as in formal official meetings. What began as a one-time project, has grown in scale. There are serious plans under way to adopt the vision at a regional level, led by the Barcelona County Council, and at the Spanish State level, with several municipalities replicating it.

Of course, the big question is whether this has had a transformative impact in the democratic culture of Spain.

2.2.1 The Barcelona Strategic Plan (PAM) 2012-2015

Autumn 2015 was especially hectic in terms of city planning for the city council of Barcelona. The local elections had taken place in May that year and the new mayor appointed a month later, giving way to the typical ‘100 days’ for the new government to take the lead of the city council.

Two strong reasons prompted a rewriting of the strategic plan of the municipality: 1. the important change in the government: from a center-right wing “establishment” party to a far-left “grassroots” one, 2. The imminent expiry of the strategic plan 2012-2015. The government thus began the procedures to create the new strategic plan for the city, with an aim to make it participatory and have strong digital components, both in terms of administrative management and citizen input. Given the party now in office was the heir of the 15M Spanish *Indignados* movement and had intensively and espoused the deep technopolitics ethos at its core, it was expected that it would leverage the potential of e-participation for the design of the new strategic plan.

⁷ <https://github.com/consul/consul>

⁸ Barcelona county is an administrative division that comprises the city of Barcelona and 310 other municipalities. It has an independent government body elected by the local representatives of all the municipalities

The PAM 2012-2015, the strategic plan of the municipality (in the Catalan acronym for *pla d'actuació municipal*) for the previous term was already ambitious for its time especially in comparison with other major cities. It intensively used ICTs both for informing citizens and for gathering their opinion and was quite successful according to available data (tecnopolítica.net, 2015a). Indeed, almost one third of total citizen contributions to the PAM 2012-2015 were made by individual citizens through virtual platforms, mostly the official website with a few other contributions made through social networking sites.

As discussed in the last section, though, both the design and the patterns of participation were quite different from what *decidim.barcelona* implied for the makings of the PAM 2016-2019, it is important to highlight that Barcelona citizens had already had an interesting and successful experience with e-participation at the highest level – the municipality strategic plan for – which was not only boosted by the events of 2011, but also by a serious commitment of the City Council to emphasize participation in city planning and government-citizen relationships.

2.3 Strategic Vision Behind E-participation in Spanish Municipalities

The City Council of Barcelona clearly defines (*Ajuntament de Barcelona*, 2015) the goals of the participative process of *decidim.barcelona*:

1. To elaborate upon the PAM and the PAD (the strategic plan of the municipality and the districts, respectively) for 2016-2019 with the active participation of the citizenry, in an open, transparent and networked fashion.
2. To give a leading voice to the citizenry of Barcelona.
3. To give a voice to the neighbourhoods of the city so that the city becomes the city of the neighbourhoods and takes their voice into account when it comes to city planning.
4. To collect proposals that come from plural and diverse opinions and interests.
5. To foster the participation of the least active collectives or collectives facing additional more difficulties/barriers to.
6. To foster a culture of active participation, of collective construction of the government of the city and citizen democracy.
7. To strengthen the foundations for future processes of citizen participation.

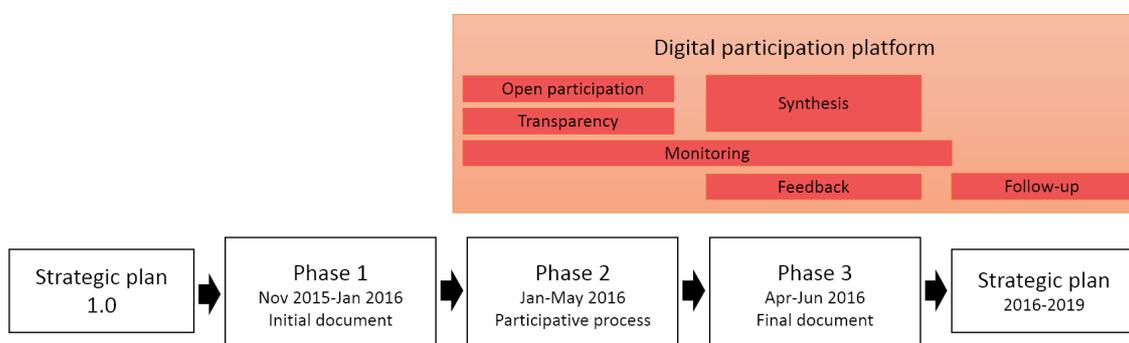
These goals are in line with the ethos of the Spanish *Indignados* Movement and the demands for better democracy in Spain, which was the central philosophy of political parties, like *Ahora Madrid* in Madrid and *Barcelona en Comú* in Barcelona, that took office in the Spanish local elections of 2015. There are three aspects which are worth highlighting still in the field of the vision behind *decidim.barcelona*.

The first is the stress on “providing tools that work for the democratic debate” (*Ajuntament de Barcelona*, 2015). This statement is interesting for two reasons. One it puts democratic debate, and deliberation, at the center of the project. That is, it is not focussed on making proposals, but facilitating deliberation. This is quite different from what Barcelona did in its PAM 2012-2015, and it is different from the Basque Country’s experience with *Irekia*, both of them more intended to “listen” to citizens, while *decidim.barcelona*’s purpose was, over all, to let citizens talk and debate among themselves. Second, the technological and procedural factor is explicitly mentioned under “tools” – digital platforms, events, facilitation by experts, knowledge management tools. Provision of tools is noted as a major concern in order to promote deliberation and this concern is deeply connected with the aim to foster “self-organization, autonomy and empowerment of the citizen” (*Ajuntament de Barcelona*, 2015). This has been a game changer in politics, in Spain in particular, where institutions have traditionally been very eager to keep power to themselves.

Thirdly, through this process, “transversal participation of people and interests” and “participation in common spaces and networks” can happen. In other words, the project will foster community building without damaging existing social capital, such associations or organizations and inputs of experts.

The structure of the whole process aims at making this possible in three phases (Figure 1). Phase 1 will prioritize traditional bodies for participation and channeling the voice of institutions and organizations; phase 2 will be open to citizen participation; and phase 3 will collect all the proposals, work on them and present a final document to be approved by the plenary of the City Council.

Figure 1: Flowchart of the Participatory Process in Decidim.barcelona.



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona (2015)

These three phases allow for a process that is;

- Traceable, so that its complete footprint can be drawn and made public in real time.
- Built collectively, by all the possible actors in the city who can participate from and in different places.
- Transparent, not only in terms of its final outputs – achieved through traceability – but also in the tools that are implicated in the process. Indeed, it is a free software project, from the technological tools to the procedures applied in each phase.
- Committed to the citizen and emphasizes feedback to all the participants.

To spark the debate, the City Council produced a document along with a plan to debate and discuss it at least in 50 topic-related events and 200 district-centered events⁹. To enable the discussion and deliberation around the PAM, two main instruments were created: the PAM-PAD Office and the *decidim.barcelona* platform.

The aim of the PAM-PAD Office was to support the whole process and to host a technical commission to accompany it. This commission is made up of a referent from each district and one from each thematic area from the City Council, its main goal being the design of spaces of participation and coordination and monitoring of the whole process. In addition, a professional team of facilitators was set up to optimize interactions with the citizens and deliberation sessions.

The *decidim.barcelona* platform in turn, would become the central piece of the whole knowledge management system and run the participation process end to end. Besides holding all the proposals that the institutions, organizations or individual citizens makes, the platform also enables making new proposals¹⁰, sharing them with other citizens, debating them and providing arguments

⁹ As it will be discussed afterwards, these figures ended up being quite higher

¹⁰ Proposals can be submitted directly into the website, or be made at a face-to-face event, agreed upon and then a

in favour or against a given proposal, explicitly support them (tacit referendum), coordinate face-to-face events or and monitor proposals.

2.4 Norms informing e-participation

Most, if not all norms informing the participation processes are explicit, in concurrence with the ethos of the social movements that held up the political parties – quality democracy, transparency, citizen participation and deliberation. Of top priority is the total traceability of the process and of each and every proposal. Every citizen is able to know at any given time what the state of their proposal is, which can be in one of the following stages:

1. Proposal just submitted.
2. Technical acceptance, that is, the proposal is feasible, both in technical as in legal terms.
3. Political acceptance, that is, the proposal fits into the general priorities established for the PAM 2016-2019.
4. Inclusion into the PAM, or, in other words, translation of the proposal into an action – which can be made up by a single proposal or similar or complementary ones.

In addition to the traceability of the proposals, there is also total transparency on how the process works and at what stage in the process it is in.

Last, but not least, participation is fully open: any citizen of the city can participate. Indeed, participation is extended to any individual in the world. In order to increase deliberation, non-citizens can participate in the debates and submit new proposals, the only difference being that only citizens can vote on proposals. The deliberation is richer as more people gather for a debate, but only denizens can really vote or prioritize the proposals that will eventually become actions and be put into practice.

3. Methodology

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The analysis of *decidim.barcelona* is informed by Giddens' *Structuration* theory (Giddens, 1986). In his approach, Giddens takes a social system both as an exogenous variable as well as an endogenous one. That is, the social system is not only a given context, but also an instrument of change where an outcome of change is the transformation of the system itself. A system can be understood as having characteristics of a structure, but it is not structure. This dualistic approach to structure and its relationship with the system has a parallel in action and agents, where the former are understood as realization of the capability of the latter to perform these actions. Thus, agency is important in the sense that it contributes to structures that shape the perception of a system and embed in them the relationships of power and domination, signification and shared meanings, and legitimation of rules and domination.

Turner (1986), in his review of Structuration theory (1986), draws out the relationship between the key elements or concepts in the theory of structuration. It is interesting to note how, among many other things, structure is both directly and indirectly related with the reflexive monitoring by agents, which can directly affect structure itself, but are also indirectly (instrumentally) related to it through a long chain of relationships. The adoption of technology, especially when done collectively by a group, can be analyzed from the framework of Structuration theory. Poole & DeSanctis (1989) theorized how the appropriation process of a given technology by a group can be shaped as a derivative of Giddens's theory, what they call Adaptive Structuration Theory. A simple scheme of

representative of the collective or a reporter will upload it to the website

this theory provided by Gopal *et al.* (1993), was improved by DeSanctis and Poole (1994) to note where social interaction for the appropriation of structures comes to the forefront of the whole process.

But *decidim.barcelona* is not only a process of structural appropriation in technology, but is also an exercise of e-democracy, where two different processes happen at the same time: the ones related with social structures and the “social system” and those related with the appropriation of technology and the “technological system”. Parvez (1986) provides an interesting “double structuration loop” that does take into consideration this double nature (social or political, technological) of structure. Poler *et al.* (2016) use Structuration to put forth an integrated model for e-participation, in this case interesting because it succeeds to cope the double nature of government- and citizen-led participation. This case study’s approach to *decidim.barcelona* has benefited both from Parvez’s double loop as from (Porwol *et al.* forthcoming) top down vs. bottom up integrated model for e-Participation.

This framework, though, would be incomplete if we believe that this is a mostly technopolitical initiative and that technopolitics are rooted in the very nature of the network society (Castells, 2004; 2007; 2012). In other words, actors use technology in ways that transcend their meaning as tools, becoming spaces, actors or reshaping the system that was once an exogenous variable.

Here, Actor-Network theory (Latour, 2005; 2011) could be helpful. Indeed, in the core of Actor-Network theory lies the idea that agents perform their actions not only within a system, but by being a system themselves. Or, to try to integrate Latour with Giddens, creating network-like structures. Thapa (2014) summarizes Actor-Network Theory in the following table:

Table 1: A Summary of Actor-Network Theory.

Actor (or actant)	Both human beings and non-human actors such as technological artifacts
Actor-Network	Heterogeneous network of aligned interest, including people, organizations, and standards
Enrollment and Translation	Creating body of allies, human and nonhuman, through a process of translating their interests to be aligned with the actor-network
Delegates and Inscription	Delegates are actors who “stand in and speak for” particular viewpoints which have been inscribed in them, e.g., software as frozen organizational discourse
Irreversibility	The degree to which it is subsequently impossible to go back to point where alternative possibilities exists
Black Box	A frozen network element, often with properties of irreversibility
Immutable mobile	Network element with strong properties of irreversibility, and effects which transcend time and place, e.g., software standards

Thapa, (2014, p.3), adapted from Walsham (1997)

Actor-Network Theory has been successfully applied to online communities (Mezzolla Pedersen, 2011) and to the analysis of authoritarian regimes and social movements making intensive use of ICTs (Heeks & Seo-Zindy, 2013).

3.2 Data Collection

Data for the study analysis was collected in four ways. First, documentation on *decidim.barcelona*

including technical reports, official reports and some dissemination outputs was accessed¹¹. Research began some weeks prior to the project launch through a collaboration with the research team behind the political design of the platform¹². Websites and web pages were also studied as part of this.

Secondly, direct observation of the activity on the website was conducted, by creating a user profile and following initiatives between December 2015 from draft versions and prototypes which went on onto the live website on February 2016 and commenced in December 2016.

Thirdly, participant observation in events including importantly, the *Metadecidim* conference, on 25-26 November 2016, in which the *Metadecidim* project was launched to foster participation on the design and improvement of the platform. This participation initiative came at a time when the upgraded version of the digital platform was about to be recoded almost from scratch (winter 2016-2017).

Lastly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with politicians (1), project officers (2) and citizens (2). The rich material available online and collected at events made it possible to gather the impressions and views of a total of 17 key informants – policy-makers, project officers, methodology designers, developers, graphic and User Experience (UX) designers and evaluators.

For data analysis, the analytical matrix designed by Gurumurthy *et al* (2016) was used and further adapted, following the literature review and preliminary approach to the decidim.barcelona , initiative. This adaptation can be seen in Annex 1. An adapted version of the matrix is reproduced in Annex 2, with data of this research in a brief, schematic way.

4. Analysis

4.1 Impact of Decidim.barcelona in Participation: Activity, Actors and New Actors

It is too soon to assess the impact of *decidim.barcelona* – the project began in February 2016 and closed its participatory phase only in April 2016. But available data already provides evidence on two aspects: the quantitative changes in participation, and shifts and qualitative changes both at the level of expectations and in terms of as in some actual achievements of the program. There has been a 150% increase in the number of citizens that took part in the different deliberations and by submitting proposals. If 26,989 citizens took part in the PAM 2012-2015, more than 42,000¹³ participated in the PAM 2016-2019.

The number of proposals, though, decreased from 17,751 in 2012 to 10,859 in 2016, which is a decrease of almost 40%, more significant, if we factor in the increase of participants. But the devil is in the details. In 2012, if we leave aside communal events and organizations, individual participation was unidirectional and most people submitted a preconfigured ballot¹⁴ in which they would explain their proposal. Thus, there was no debate, no deliberation, no comments among peers. But with the new system, there is the possibility to have real deliberation and the ability to actually see what other citizens submitted, to comment on others' proposals, to highlight the pros and cons of every proposal and even support it. This has enriched debate thus promoting fewer

11 This information has been gathered and listed in the references section.

12 See Peña-López, 2015.

13 This is the most accurate figure published so far. Some other sources elevate it to almost 47,000, though they may include organizations, whose figure is circa 1,700

14 Ballots were printed to be used as a template for citizens. The ballot featured a form with pre-set fields that citizens would fill in with their proposals. It made things easier, but also less flexible.

proposals but ones that are better defined and usually supported by several citizens. In rough numbers, there were 165,087 proposal supports, 18,191 comments and 13,210 comment 'supports'. In total, the organization counts up to 220,000 interactions, adding face-to-face and digital interactions including proposals, comments, debates, supports, votes and face-to-face interventions. This represents a big change in participation mechanisms: how deliberation decreases dispersion and, at the same time, increases the likelihood of quality proposals.

Owing to this and importantly the commitment of the City Council, 70% of proposals have been accepted to be part of the strategic plan of the municipality under 1,467 strategic actions. It is worth mentioning that 1,300 proposals came from the City Council and its electoral program (which was also created collaboratively).

One concern was how to avoid a crowding out effect, where individual (digital) participation could replace institutionalized participation through civic society organizations. To avoid this, 412 face-to-face events were organized. These events added up to 13,614 participations to the process and represented 43% of all participants. This ensured that the centralization of management – but not the activity in the digital platform – was compatible with a proactive important role for civic organizations.

This aspect marked a change from 2012, where the break up was just the opposite. In the previous participation process, 56% of the participation was channeled through civic organizations or institutionalized events. On the contrary, only 38% of the citizens did it by using the ballot and other ways (websites, social networks, paper) through which it could be submitted. Notwithstanding this, the number of proposals coming from individuals rose to 60%. This means, more people participated through associations, but more proposals came from individuals. The latter is coherent with the findings in the new process: organized deliberation leads to fewer proposals, but better defined and with much more civic support than punctual participation.

Last, but not least, there was the danger that centralizing participation would be in favour of “city proposals” and in detriment of “district proposals.” In the end, 42% of the proposals were at the city level, while the remaining 58% were at the district level. Again, having worked (a) face-to-face and (b) with organizations (which could work face-to-face or virtually) most probably helped strike a balance between city and district level proposals.

4.2 Inclusion and Exclusion from Participation in *Decidim.barcelona*

The City Council made strong efforts to avoid access from being a barrier to quality participation. While the digital platform was the central knowledge management back-office, it was not the only entry point. The 410 face-to-face events allowed citizens, social agents and associations to access information, discuss, make proposals, comment, support and diffuse them. Events were created by topic and distributed geographically, so a given topic could be discussed at a given district by any group or individual.

In addition, the “charts” of the Municipal Plan were put on the streets. The charts were mobile participation points that each district had at their disposal to complement the aforementioned spaces. These charts did a total of 265 routes. Lastly, the City Council campaigned hard to foster participation. Besides traditional news and diffusion outlets, 69 communication campaigns in social networking sites and five online debates with the representatives of the City Council were conducted.

In the end, around 1,700 organizations took place in the participation process, usually accompanied by the facilitators from the process office. The role of the organizations and the facilitators was crucial in avoiding exclusion of citizens due to digital access or skills, or other

factors (lack of time/interest in politics).

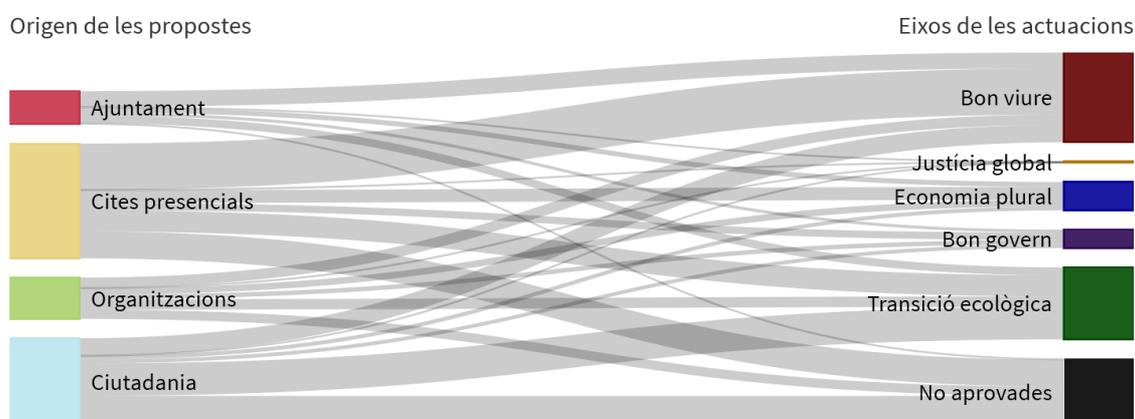
4.3 The Dangers of Technocentrism: *Digerati*, *Goverati* or New Participative Citizens?

Of course, fostering individual participation and citizen empowerment runs the risk of damage to the social tissue and harm to pre-existing traditional civic organizations, and privileging a certain segment of the population better equipped to engage in online participation. This can end up creating an elite *digerati* and/or *goverati* (Peña-López, 2011b).

While, *decidim.barcelona* has made a decisive movement towards equaling online and offline participation and moving the arena of engagement into virtual space, it has been done with an aim of digitization so that knowledge management is better, comprehensive, transparent and accessible. This does not impede the use of multiple offline entry points and is designed to ensure no one is left behind and are encouraged to participate. Examples of this include face-to-face events and profiles for organizations. Figure 2 shows the origin of the proposals (10,859) and their outcomes in the final strategic actions (1,467) grouped by theme (including the non-approved proposals). The figure tells two different stories.

On the one hand, it shows how the difficult balance between online and offline participation was successfully achieved. By looking at the picture – and the data behind – it does not seem that the digital divide (which is real in Barcelona, especially a third level digital divide¹⁵) significantly affected either participation or the final outcome.

Figure 2: Origin of the Proposals and Thematic actions



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona¹⁶ (Left: origin of the proposals, Right: thematic actions)

There is also a balance between individual participation and collective participation, including in the latter, institutional participation, civic organizations participation and participation in live face-to-face events. There are, though, two more stories to be told after Figure 2.

The first one is even if balances in the kind of participation – online vs. offline, individual vs. collective – were successfully achieved, it is true that the citizenry entering direct participation is a direct threat to pre-existing ways of collective participation, be them civil society organizations, local assemblies or similar gatherings. However, the fact that individuals could participate and have their proposals be included in the action plans also means that ICT-mediation can definitely end

¹⁵ See, among others, Hargittai & Walejko, 2008; Hargittai. & Hsieh, 2012; Van Deursen & van Dijk, 2013; Van Deursen & van Dijk, 2016; Helsper *et al.*, 2015; Helsper *et al.*, 2016.

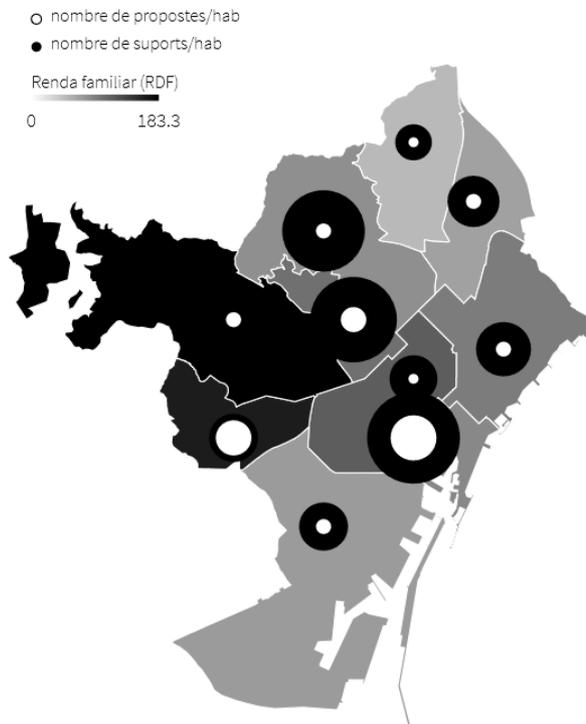
¹⁶ The source of the data visualizations in this section was accessed in August 1st, 2016 at <https://decidim.barcelona/dataviz/>

the monopoly of institutions, civic organizations and, most especially, political and local leathers behind them respectively.

The map of Barcelona in Figure 3 plots the number of proposals per inhabitant and number of ‘supports’ per inhabitant against household income, all of it for the ten districts in Barcelona. Although data has not been tested for significance, it does indicate a positive relationship between household income and the number of proposals per inhabitant, which is consistent with what the literature says about participation: that income correlates with engagement and empowerment¹⁷.

There also seems to be a negative relationship between the number of proposals per inhabitant and the number of ‘supports’ per inhabitant, showing an interesting pattern where a high amount of proposals could be crowding out deliberation. Either people can only devote their time to one thing (put up proposals or debate them) or too much information is a barrier for deliberation. Both aspects offer a gateway for further research.

Figure 3: Participation Map by District and Household Income



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona (Darker grey means higher household income. White circles represent the number of proposals per inhabitant (of the district); black circles measure number of supports to initiatives per inhabitant)

The second story that Figure 2 tells us is about the outcomes of participation. It can easily be seen that individual contributions are more likely to fall in the field of wellbeing or ecological transition, while institutions seem more prone to target “higher level” or more strategic topics like global justice, plural economy or good government. In other words, the individual seems more to look at his/her own individual benefit, while institutions and organizations have a certain bias for the collective good. If this were true, the composition of participation, collective vs. individual does

¹⁷ We can see the exception to this “rule” in the district of Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, the big black district in the upper-left of the map – the wealthiest district in Barcelona, but that also features a high concentration of housekeeping workers and other related domestic services

have an impact in the composition of the final strategic actions. This is a matter for consideration both for policy-makers and individual citizens and has also been addressed by the literature (e.g. the NIMBY phenomenon).

On the other hand, rejection level of proposals was also much higher in individual submissions (website or face-to-face events) than when represented by institutions or organizations. There are two explanations for this. First, institutions and organizations can be more effective in putting out well planned proposals, because of their internal structure, their knowledge of the field and the regulatory framework. Second, they carry legitimacy and their proposals are less likely to be rejected.

A last reflection is about trends. In e-government we are witnessing the increasing shift from offline to online entry points, leading to a virtual single-stop-shop. The trend is likely to be replicated in e-participation. *decidim.barcelona* has so far avoided it – has, in fact, fought this trend. But in the future, government leaders could favour a more complete transition towards digital environments. It would be worth remembering that nothing comes for free, and that new environments obey to different organizational, participation dynamics and rules.

4.4 Towards Newer, Flexible and Plural Structures of Power?

Figure 4 shows the map of tacit relationships amongst all participants in *decidim.barcelona* created through their interactions (comments, supports) in each and every proposal. The tension between marginalized groups and emancipated groups is evident. The diagram shows some clusters that represent institutions or organizations: the Barcelona City Council (big red dot in the lower-right side of the figure), associations of families of students in schools (green dot in the upper-middle, blue/green dot in the lower-left) or neighbor associations (purple dot in the upper-middle). Other clusters, though, are centred in individuals, such as the blue one in the upper-right or the green one in the middle-left.

Of course, there are very few nodes (participants) not connected to any another node. This is, clearly, a major impact upon existing structures of power in the public sphere;

1. There is a network of networks, where almost everyone is connected and without intermediation.
2. The emergence of (digital) local leaders (experts) that cluster around them and other citizens making up a (sub)network that works as a tacit community or a tacit organization.

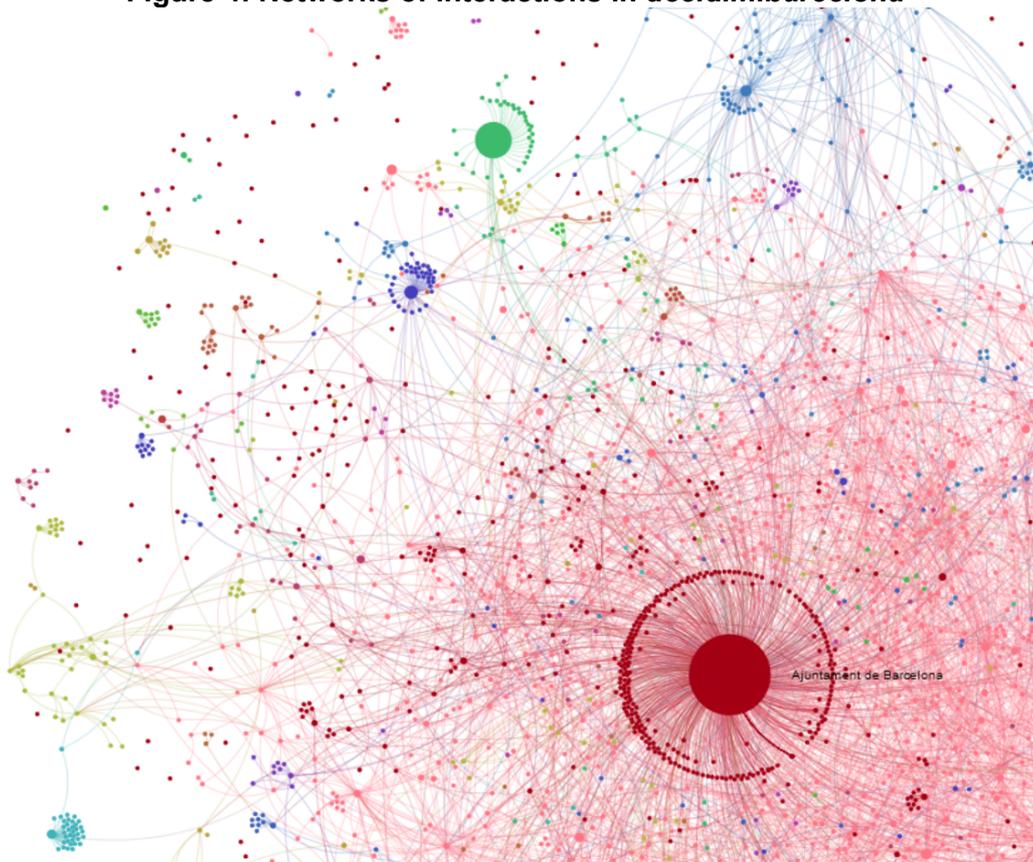
These two factors have to be taken into consideration in light of aspects mentioned above, like the increase in the weight in online participation in relation to offline participation, the (slight, but decisive and by design) decrease of the weight of organized or collective participation, the large volume of deliberation (absent in previous initiatives) or the change in the increasing volume of supports.

All this demonstrates that the initial vision to empower the citizen has translated into a real right to be heard, not just in the usual way (through representatives), but also without. This change in procedures has also had an impact both in composition of the outcome and in the structures of participation and in the power equations, amongst government, organizations and citizens.

There is a change in the number and type of actors that take part in the participatory process, and a change in how these actors interact, sometimes conforming para-institutions or informal communities that act as institutions as seen from the outside (Peña-López *et al.*, 2014). How the change in the structures affects pluralism and diversity is difficult to tell, especially after just one participatory exercise.

Regardless, the difficult balance achieved by the government of Barcelona in preserving collective participation while opening the process to individuals seems to have benefited pluralism and diversity, as the origin of the proposals and thematic actions demonstrates (Figure 2). There seems to be a harmony between “establishment” networks in Figure 4, and new actors and new approaches, represented by myriad individual contributions and incipient clusters of citizens that collaborate on a given proposal. The entrance of new actors, without altering much of the status quo, would be a sign of increased pluralism and diversity. The number of interactions (more than 220,000) and the fact that circa 70 % of the proposals were accepted would just reinforce this thought.

Figure 4: Networks of interactions in *decidim.barcelona*



Source: *Ajuntament de Barcelona*

4.5 Analysis: The Government Side

4.5.1 Shifts in Meaning: Institutional Mediation

What is new with *decidim.barcelona* at the government-end is the full awareness that ‘yet another participation process’ will not just re-engage citizens per se. Thus, the first shift in meaning is that participation has to mean (or has to have a certain degree of) a devolution of sovereignty. This implies higher degrees of (self-)governance by means of direct democracy. In this sense, a thoughtful adoption and application of ICTs into politics here directly contribute to citizen empowerment by complementing institutions of representative democracy. But the role of citizens is not only acting as a crutch for traditional politics. Transformative technopolitical movements enable citizens to have more informed deliberation and negotiation, leading to better evidence-based decision-making. These new roles especially affect agenda setting. If governments are

perceived as failing to diagnose citizen issues and to find solutions to them, citizens will circumvent institutional channels. Some citizens –if not all– can make positive contributions on account of subject expertise, practitioner background and/or being situated in the context.

In this sense, the relationship between public institutions and citizens changes with vertical structures giving way to more horizontal networked governance. But networks also shape institutional behavior and design. If citizens can be part of network governance, they will also be part of the governance of institutions thus affecting institutional design and, thus, agenda setting, deliberation and decision-making.

So, it is not only that the part in the City Council believes that participation is “good”, but that through active citizenship, citizens can regain control–sovereignty– over the processes and institutions that handle decision- and policy-making.

This participation, though, is not a substitute but a complement to “professional” (representative, institutional) politics. It is not necessarily a call for direct democracy or anarchism¹⁸, but a new tool and a new space which can complement/improve existing mechanisms like assemblies, hearings or plenaries.

4.5.2 Shifts in Meaning: ICT-mediation

This shift in meaning about citizen participation is partly borrowed from the free software movement and hacker ethics. The choice of having the platform behind *decidim.barcelona*¹⁹ a free software solution is deliberate. The interrelation between free software, hacker ethics and technopolitics is underscored. Indeed, there is the underlying idea that as everyone should be able to participate in politics, everyone should be able to participate in software development. This reflection extends to local governments. Again, it is not coincidental that *decidim.barcelona* is a political and technological adaptation of its predecessor in the capital of Spain, *Decide Madrid*.

There is a shift in understanding technological design as open for (1) public scrutiny and (2) public participation from all possible actors. Additionally, there is an assertion that technological design must itself be open and participated in a meta-ICT-mediation as evidenced by: the initiative’s side-project, *Metadecidim*, where citizens are able to have their say on the process and the technology, in the assumption that anyone can contribute to the design of ICT-mediation structures.

But technology should not be a barrier and should be as transparent and invisible as possible. As discussed before, there is no trade-off between online and offline participation, but complementarity. In this sense, the ICT platform has two main roles. The first and most evident one, to enable online participation. But the second –and probably most important one– to act as a central solution for knowledge management for any kind of participation. Thus, its design will provide at least (1) centralized valid information, (2) online deliberation spaces and support for offline deliberation spaces and (3) publicity of the results.

The idea to provide online ways to participate comes from the belief that some people will find it easier (e.g. people with disabilities, people with tight personal schedules, people not affiliated to civic organizations). There is the belief that a central place for information and gathering proposals and deliberation will give prominence to better or more supported proposals, reduce noise and, in general, organize participation effectively.

When we compare offline vs. online participation, and individual vs. collective participation, the shift in meaning is from atomized and competitive participation to networked and collaborative participation, something that arguably could be better achieved through ICTs, in the same way that

¹⁸ In the classical political sense of the term.

¹⁹ CONSUL, in its first incarnation, then a brand new solution.

free software is developed.

4.5.3 Shifts in Norms: Institutional mediation

From a normative approach to transparency as accountability we see a decisive move towards an approach to transparency as a necessary requisite to collective policy-making in *decidim.barcelona*. This is a crucial change as the political environment in Spain (Peña-López, 2017) in general is very far from this new normative approach, following the trend established with the restitution of democracy in 1978.

Additionally, as a response to disenchantment and disaffection, *decidim.barcelona* believes in going beyond “listening” to the citizens and “engage” them instead. In this vein, transparency and government responsiveness become goals in themselves, as a result of which institutions become more open and closer to the citizens.

Unlike the past, where the administration is at the top of the hierarchy, in a network society the administration is thought to be just a node albeit an important one in the big network of policy-making, made up by other administrations, experts, the citizens affected by public decisions and the citizenry at large. Of course, the administration is an important node, even a hub that concentrates more power and information than other nodes, but a node that facilitates networks and not force hierarchies. In this sense, transparency and accountability are also perceived not only as responsiveness but as the necessary currency for participation in the network society.

To summarize, information is open at three levels:

- Total disclosure of all information on the participatory process as a necessary input for deliberation.
- Total disclosure of all information on the participatory process, including goals and procedures, actors, roles, expected outcomes and political commitments.
- Total disclosure of all information on the technological platform: design, governance, accountability.

Further, what’s new is the commitment of the government to taking results as binding and communicate to citizens that their participation is worth the effort. This commitment, to take results as binding applies to both government and citizens alike, thus adding legitimacy of the whole process.

Although secrecy and privacy are guaranteed as a right²⁰, the city council highly encourages the citizen to share one’s thoughts publicly and openly, to increase the spread and depth of the debate – and, indirectly, make the consultation more binding by escalating social pressure.

Regarding the emergent norms of participation, there are two matters to points to consider. The first one is the aim to have a fair balance in the type of actors inputting into the participation process. This is achieved by weighting down “usual suspects” in citizen participation (i.e. well organized civic organizations that are or not representative from the whole, or even from the main interests of the city), and urging them to bring more people that back them or their proposals into the debate.

The second matter is the granularity of participation, which is increased by the new digital platform in at least two ways as it allows degrees of participation, from organizing an event to just backing a proposal, including submitting new proposals or commenting on existing ones and also enables participation in a given place (e.g. district) or a given topic, without the need to participate in the whole strategic plan. This makes it easy for citizens to participate according to one’s knowledge or interest. It also promotes the idea that any minor contribution can be helpful, and can contribute to

²⁰ See next section

increase the legitimacy of a given proposal. The bottom-up approach also reduced instances of trolling during the whole participatory process: with just two recorded cases out of literally thousands of contributions.

Shifts in norms have occurred within the government as well. The new participation platform has implied the mobilization of circa 100 people and a big amount of work to engage public servants, especially those in the department of participation and the district offices. But the important shift was in the functioning of the city council, which had mostly lacked a culture of participation, as stated by some managers of the project. Thus, there was the need to create new coordination structures at two different levels: areas or topics, and the territory or the districts and the neighborhoods. It also required speeding up the slow tempo of the administration, and to establish and coordinate public-private partnerships. It is worth noting that it is not that the city council was actually understaffed –although new hiring, around 30 % of the total workforce– had to be made or externalized. The issue was that the administration was prepared for citizen service, but not for participation. As a change in culture, *decidim.barcelona* is not a one-time project, but a new way to do politics in the long term. In this sense, the effort is seen in terms of an investment.

In the long term, there is a political strategy that is unfolding alongside this shift in norms to extend the platform and the initiative as a whole and embed it in as many processes as possible. Public servants will be able to manage their own projects (and knowledge intensive processes) better. There can be convergences with other municipalities and supra-municipal organizations, and possibly other political parties.

4.5.4 Shifts in Norms: ICT-mediation

If the field of legitimation has witnessed some important shifts in norms –as tacit and explicit–, we believe that the shift in norms due to ICT-mediation has been much lower. And we believe that this lower impact of ICT-mediation on norms has been sought and that it is a positive aspect of the participation program.

If the field of legitimation has witnessed some important shifts in norms –as tacit as explicit–, we believe that the shift in norms due to ICT-mediation has been much lower if any. There has been a conscious effort to ensure that the shift to ICT-mediation does not cause significant normative upheavals for citizens. One of the main concerns of the City Council was that *decidim.barcelona* represented a deep change in how citizen participation occurred and that technology would therefore represent a psychological barrier. There was thus a need to stress that this was not a participatory process just for “geeks and that the technology intensive mechanism was just a sign of changing times.”. Effort was also made to keep technology as simple and transparent as possible so as not to exclude some collectives or affect participation negatively.

To begin with, graphic designers, user experience designers and developers worked together to create a friendly environment both for managers and end-users (e.g. citizens, facilitators, rapporteurs). There was training for facilitators, kiosks were set up all over the city and offline and online initiatives were conducted in parallel.

Residents of Barcelona were required to prove their residency where needed to be able to vote on proposals on the platform. Non-residents could participate in everything in the participatory process except voting. To demonstrate citizenship, a check to validate their data was performed against the municipality registry. Once the system checked the citizen as a resident, no personal data was kept, meaning that anyone could participate with a pseudonym to keep their identity anonymous to the public.

Other matters as integrity, non-repudiation and confidentiality were –and still are– dealt by means of the meta-analysis (the *Metadecidim* side-project) and by the free software community around

the project²¹. Total openness of the project (and not only code, but all procedures) enable scrutiny by the public at large. The ICT platform allows almost real time analysis for the project managers and timely reporting for accountability of the results by the citizens. An addition is the presentation of data. Visualizations are included in the reporting which facilitates the understanding of complex data.

In summary, the use of the technological solution did not affect negatively any collective or former participation practice, but, in any case, enlarged the number of people and collectives being able to participate while improving the existing practices. On the other hand, the City Council also gave up sovereignty over the ownership and design of the platform and gave it away to the community, the community of developers when it comes to technical issues, the society at large when it comes to scrutiny of processes. And maybe this is the only true but meaningful shift in norms from the ICT-mediation point of view: shedding light onto the once black box of citizen participation.

4.5.5 Shifts in Power: Institutional Mediation

The shifts in meaning and the shifts in norms have inevitably led to serious shifts in power. Seen from a distance, the shifts may not seem that important, especially in quantitative terms. It is undeniably true that most decisions are made at the very same place and by the very same people and in the very same ways than before *decidim.barcelona* took place. But for those decisions made under the influence –or under the direct binding effects of the participatory initiative– the changes are qualitatively huge. Also, if we take into account the increasing pervasiveness of the initiative in everyday life, and the change of culture that was embedded in the initiative, they become significant.

There are two clear shifts of power in the loci of authority. First, from institutions to citizens. Second, from civil organizations to individual citizens. Given that the government returned a certain degree of sovereignty to the citizens, but that it did not do it in the traditional way (i.e. transferring some power to civic organizations or the organized civil society), citizens now have a say, a binding say, in some strategic matters.

This change is accompanied by a change in the layers of intermediation. Some part of the participation has been totally dis-intermediated. While it has often been contended that a technological layer does constitute a subtler but equally real degree of intermediation, what makes *decidim.barcelona* different is that it is not a closed box a closed box that performed some actions through a closed algorithm. The technology layer is completely open and collaborative but does work predictively.

This shift in power in matters of intermediation from civic organizations to individual citizens (and not to technological intermediaries) does not come without compensation to civic organizations. They are also given a greater degree of sovereignty and tools to be more efficient, effective and legitimacy –. We see, then, the strengthening of civil organizations as intermediaries in given topics where they hold special legitimacy or are seen as experts and in environments where noise was high (asymmetry of information, lack of knowledge to process it, lack of consensus, etc.). In these cases, assemblies and events become more productive thanks to more information, facilitation and mandatory reporting, including the fact that results are integrated and weighted in the central platform. With regard to inclusion, we have already shown how minorities and excluded communities could and actually did participate more (and, one would adventure to say, better). And this was done without the threat of trade-offs between communities that could have been benefited in detriment of others. The various interests and competing claims were accommodated by enabling deliberation. Lastly, collective interests, that took form in face-to-face events, were taken

²¹ All the code of the platform is uploaded and maintained from the project's account at GitHub. See <https://github.com/AjuntamentdeBarcelona/decidim-barcelona> for the actual version of the platform and <https://github.com/AjuntamentdeBarcelona/decidim.barcelona-legacy> for the one that was actually used for the PAM 2016-2019

into account by weighting their participation on a given proposal, so that individual interests were not over-represented in relative terms.

In terms of shifts of power there are two issues: technical acceptance –understood as the legal or factual feasibility of a given proposal– and political acceptance –understood as the compatibility of a given proposal within the programmatic priorities of the political term. The latter aspect has been found somewhat “abusive” by some, as in some ways it arbitrarily leaves out some proposals because they will not fit in the government’s electoral program. But, seen from the point of view of programmatic accountability, it only tries to commit to a balance between the will of the participants in the direct democracy exercise and the will of those who participated in the previous exercise of representative democracy. E.g. if the party in office had in its program to foster public transportation, it seems fair that most initiatives to benefit private cars –or directly restrict public transportation– would be disregarded.

To sum up, the shifts in power can be explained on lines of the scheme devised by Welzel *et al.* (2003). There was an objective change, in the way the proposals were accepted (all but the ones technically or politically infeasible) and how they were tracked for compliance (the binding terms and transparency for accountability). There was a subjective change in the way the process was facilitated with the aim to bring confidence to the citizen and empower them to deliberate and make decisions. And there was an effective change in norms – in the inner organization and culture of the City Council, the infrastructures (democratic and technological ones) and provided governance means for further changes, the intake of new participants, and the fact that people participated more intensively in proposal building.

4.5.6 Shifts in Power: ICT-mediation

The openness of the platform, with all the technology available in Github, and the governance structures around it like the *Metadecidim* sub-project can be seen as an important shift in power in ICT-mediated citizen engagement. In Marxist terms, these infrastructures act as the substructure that determine the behaviour of the superstructure. This has led to large amounts of information in the hands of the citizens, increased circulation due to massive sharing of information. It has also led to a decisive shift of power from representative democracy to direct democracy through a technological backbone that allows deliberative processes without intermediation due to the possibility to participate directly in the very backbone or central office of the participatory process; the fact that citizens have the possibility to submit proposals and not only vote the ones made by the government; the lack of intermediation of deliberation is non intermediated, either by the government or by civic organizations; and the importance of a total lack of “political noise” when it comes to debating pros and cons of the initiatives, as the government’s officials will not participate in this phase of the debate but act as silent and invisible observers.

Decidim.barcelona was not only inspired but backed by its predecessor in Madrid, *Decide Madrid*. They shared the platform²² and they shared some protocols and, above all, they shared the ethos. The more cities that join this or a similar way of participating, the easier it will be that their citizens “synchronize” in the long (or medium) term. It would seem natural that the famous “think globally, act locally” motto could become actionable if citizens are able to actually participate globally through similar platforms allowing for a global arena for deliberation and a local arena for action. This is, by all means, the creation of a network of cities, which is able to synchronize the policies of its local nodes at the network level. However, it remains to be seen if they can challenge the power of a state.

²² Not anymore, but did initially

4.6 Analysis: The Citizen Side

4.6.1 Shifts in Meaning: Institutional Mediation

In the case of *decidim.barcelona*, the assumptions about governance and public service delivery from the citizen point of view are similar to the assumptions the government makes because the party in office arose from citizen movements. In fact, these citizen movements had two main mottos back in 2011: “they do not represent us” and “real democracy now”.

As official sociological barometers on the state of politics and democracy show²³, from circa 2004 onwards to 2014-2015, there has been an extended feeling among citizens that politicians either do not care about people, do not know about people’s issues or are corrupt. For many, the 15M Spanish *Indignados* Movement was the confirmation that things did not work in politics and that people were well aware of it.

Hence, two different courses of action can be taken. For those still confident in the representation system, to improve its quality by increasing transparency and accountability, not to speak about institutional design. For those having lost all confidence in the representation system, the option is to move towards direct democracy.

If technology had been crucial in the events of the days between the 11 March 2004 train bombings in Madrid and the 14 March 2004 elections, technology was even more decisive during the 15M camps and demonstrations. The disappointing promise of Politics 2.0 was giving way to technopolitics. The disenchantment with institutional politics and the possibility to self-organize was contributing to the idea that DIY politics was a valid alternative and that things could get done by “hacking” the (political) system.

Although the idea to participate in an extra-representative or extra-institutional way is not exactly new²⁴, the philosophy behind it is, being to eliminate intermediaries thanks to the empowerment and self-governance that comes with ICTs. This is an important shift in meaning in matters of signification and creating in Gramscian terms, a new cultural hegemony. In its more extreme version, new civil society movements -- fluid and amorphous -- favor circumvention over engaging with governments and in the most optimistic scenario, keeping their involvement at a managerial level but leaving political decisions to the citizen. On the other end, the parties emerging from these movements are a solution of compromise trying to translate the ethos of the movements inside institutions.

In this later scenario we have to frame the positioning of many citizens before participation and political engagement –despite these citizens having voted or not for the party in office in the City Council of Barcelona. The claims for some “devolution of sovereignty” or, at least, for some “improvement of democracy” are shared by a majority of left-wing voters (53.27 % in the local elections) and by an important share of the center and center-right voters (36.26 %).

The results of the participatory process and, an assessment of the same, point to a major acceptance of the initiative. what is importantly, citizens believe the promises of the government are congruous with the process. This of course does not mean that everyone approves or backs the government itself. Although its scope is seen to be limited, the fact that it began with the four year (or full political term) strategic plan was perceived as an important message, that has been reinforced since by the proliferation of other (minor) participatory processes. Finally, the fact that the platform and participatory design is being embraced by other cities and supra-municipal organizations ruled by different parties from quite different political colors has been a strong

²³ Peña-López, 2013

²⁴ We can actually track anarchism to the XIXth century.

statement for the new approach, creating major citizen consensus about it.

4.6.2 Shifts in Meaning: ICT-mediation

As highlighted before, the government succeeded in avoiding diverting or displacing citizen practices from one place to another, by destroying some participation arenas in benefit of newer ones, but it respected and actually enhanced the existing participation mechanisms.

While this is still true from the citizen point of view, it is also true that the disclosure of new spaces, the virtual ones, was very important and ICTs had a crucial rule in this. The possibility to engage and participate in virtual ways was not only new (or relatively new) to the citizen, but also transformative. In two ways. First, it enabled dis-intermediation from civic organizations. Secondly, open participation and the possibility to extend the debates on social networking sites enabled casual engagement and deliberation, which, when added up, turned into richer and more extensive debates.

This later point is not minor, when most digital participation is labeled as “slacktivism”. Increasing the granularity of participation and acknowledging this sort of casual participation was welcomed by many, as the numbers of comments and endorsements tell. The visualization of the informal networks created around discussions clearly shows how rich these discussions can be and the power they hold for a citizen to be recognized as someone who can contribute to the public debate.

This granularity and casual ways to participate (possibility to propose initiatives, possibility to debate and/or improve initiatives, possibility to endorse initiatives, possibility monitor by subscribing to initiatives, topics or by district) only increases the legitimacy and perceived honesty of the initiative, and it is made possible only by the digital platform.

But again, these are new contributions due to ICT-mediation (or ICT enhancement, to speak more properly, as we have shown) and they do not seem to play any substitution or trade-off with other traditional ways of participation. And, if any, it is increasing the satisfaction of these other traditional ways, places or collectives used to participate or interact with the government. They find they have more tools in their hands and that their demands or comments are appropriately gathered and reported to the main website, where they will join the global (in the sense of the global city) debate. So, what we see –and probably will see more in the future– is a progressive convergence of spaces, where face-to-face is completed online, and online is backed by offline events, just like what happened in the camps and assemblies during the 15M demonstrations, which interacted one with each other through virtual spaces and back.

4.6.3 Shifts in Norms: Institutional Mediation

We have seen in previous sections, that in general participation had highly been discouraged by institutions and, thus, citizens have begun to feel disengaged. The crisis of legitimacy of the recent years has only worsened the situation (Peña-López, 2013). *Decidim.barcelona* is perceived as a radical shift in this norm, aspiring to re-legitimate citizen participation. There are three aspects that back this statement. The first is the fact that the citizenry was consulted about something. Of course, there have been consultations but the pervasiveness of the PAM 2016-2019 does not compare with that of the PAM 2012-2015²⁵ This was perceived by many citizens as a new turn in the state of things. The second, that outcomes of participation was binding. Again, this was new in an environment where legal binding is seldom regarded²⁶, not to speak about moral binding. Third, that participation took place in an almost neutral terrain and was not mediated. This is different

²⁵ We believe, as the external assessment of the plan also states (tecnopolitica.net, 2015a), that the PAM 2012-2015 was a good initiative. But it was good according to the established rules. As we are trying to explain here, its successor was not only good but transgressor.

²⁶ Broken electoral promises, fights in courts between different Administrations because one of them is not following the agreements reached or even the law, corruption, etc.

from other traditional ways to participate in municipalities, which tend to get concentrated in official hearings or formal sessions, and led by a politician or high-rank public servant with a more or less structured agenda. This works towards removing most invisible barriers to do with (self-perceived) legitimacy and (self-perceived) political efficacy.

4.6.4 Shifts in Norms: ICT-mediation

One of the most obvious shifts evident in *decidim.barcelona* is the absolute acknowledgement that code is law (Lessig, 2009), and being able to cope with ICTs will become one of the fundamental capabilities of the citizen in the nearest future. But technological platforms require technological skills, and social interaction happening in virtual spaces requires digital capabilities that go beyond basic technological and informational literacy –netiquette, knowledge management, digital identity, transmedia communication– which are required to make these new avenues.

Despite the fact that the government attempted to preserve traditional ways of participation, it is also true that some aspects of the participatory process could only unfold at the digital platform, especially access to information and, exclusively, accountability.

First, the online platform became the unique, central back-end of all planning and participation in the municipality. This not only posited a challenge for the working culture of the administration and for the skills of the public servants, but also for the citizens, who saw how information, knowledge management and participation as part of the same political process and not discrete sub-sets.

This shift can be understood as a challenge and as an opportunity. As a challenge because it can become a driver of exclusion. As an opportunity because it represents a clear step forward to a more comprehensive approach to politics and governance, where pieces are more interconnected to each other. This new way to participate, actively, rather than in a passive way, is more complex, more engaging, more rewarding, but also more demanding of personal resources and capabilities, ICTs skills among them.

So far, facilitation, on the one hand, and weighting of participation for collective participation, on the other hand, seems to have been enough to avoid a situation where tech-savvy citizens monopolize the platform. But there is evidence of the contrary in many other experiences of e-participation when they have scaled up. Thus, this remains a point to be addressed in the near future.

As data show us, there are differences in topics and in proposals depending on their source – those presented at offline events and those submitted online. The debate is also somewhat difficult and supports and endorsements vary from one place to another. The good part is that opening a new space brought with it new ideas and new people. But this means that either there are efforts so that the “old” people with their “old” ideas populate the new spaces, or there is the probability that they will all fade out should the virtual channel become more popular or more supported by the government.

4.6.5 Shifts in Power: Institutional Mediation

If the shift in power in terms of the government was a devolution of sovereignty in what related to decision and policy-making, the shift of power in terms of the citizens is clearly in agenda setting. There is now a more distributed balance of power between the government and civic organizations, and between civic organizations and individual citizens. Additionally, the possibility to make proposals directly, in a disintermediated way and only within very broad limitations, shifts power not only in the moment of deciding (e.g. in the moment of voting this or that option), but in the moment of setting the agenda for the debate; what topics do we want to debate and how.

In this sense, there also is a shift in power from (mainstream) media to the citizen, which is somewhat new and had only been slightly contested with the popularization of the Web 2.0,

especially blogs, and after that with social networking sites. But it is one thing to contest mainstream media, it is another matter to contest them in the field of official agenda setting: agenda setting is now built collaboratively, by making proposals at the website. The monopoly of the administration or media stands broken or, at least, weakened and definitely challenged.

Indeed, not only does the government enable this shift in power in agenda setting, but it also encourages wide publicity of the issues by inviting citizens and making it easy to share their proposals and comments out of the digital platform and onto social media. The final results show that this increase of participation has meant an increase in the number of proposals which, interestingly enough are quite evenly distributed geographically and evenly distributed by topic. The shift of power has also implied an increase in plurality and representativeness. This means that there was an increase in the participation of minorities and/or an increase in the participation of groups that used to act outside of institutions or established democratic organizations (including civic organizations themselves, of course). This qualitative change might imply some degree of disruption in terms of the knowledge gap hypothesis, that people with less education or income could have joined²⁷ in higher degrees than in previous times. However, education and income still affect participation in significant ways.

Quantity was accompanied by quality, as there was much more deliberation (at least measured by exchanges of comments, endorsements, votes and contributions in general) and much more publicity of the issues at stake. It is difficult to say, though, that the new platform did not imply an increase of pluralism and diversity. On the contrary, it is arguable that ICT-mediated spaces in citizen engagement did not become echo-chambers but instead facilitated dialogue through deliberation and casual serendipity.

The maps of networks traced thanks to data on digital exchanges also suggest that there was some decrease in partisan politics, enabling more plural deliberations and the creation of bridges between extra-representative participation and institutional politics. This could have been led by new appointed informal leaders, some of them guiding some conversations, but not monopolizing them.

In general, data show that citizens –especially those who participated– found the experience satisfactory as did promoters (i.e. the government) and other intermediaries such as civil society organizations.

4.6.6 Shifts in Power: ICT-mediation

There is a parallelism of the two main shifts in power from the citizen point of view, those related with institutional mediation and those related with ICT-mediation. We said, concerning institutional mediation, that we considered more important the shift of power in agenda setting rather than the obvious shift of power in the sheer fact of participation as deliberating and voting. In ICT-mediation, the technological agenda setting is an important shift, that is, being able to co-design and co-develop the tool (and its embedded protocols and procedures).

If designing institutions and political procedures can end up being more important than taking part in them, the same, thus, can apply to technology, especially when it is increasingly intertwined and embedded with most social acts and manifestations. The people behind the design and production of the digital platform made a tremendous effort to make it open, understandable and to break it into different parts its components – human-computer interaction, graphic design and user experience, data management and data visualization, privacy and security, performance and features, etc. The *Metadecidim* project was precisely created to push forward this shift of power. But the issue of technological sovereignty is still arcane, despite the name quickly resonates with other sovereignties which we are familiar with: human rights, civil liberties etc.

²⁷ Based on the data for participation in the poorer districts.

For the shift in power in ICT-mediation to take full effect, three advances are needed. High level of techno-capabilities, which is required to make the best of the online platform (fetch specific information, monitoring, accountability of the process and results), higher level of techno-capabilities to engage in the meta-level of participation (take part in the design of the platform itself) and awareness on the two former issues.

This reflection concludes with an issue that has been discussed before: the network of open and participatory cities. There is a substantial leap that the digital platform can perform to shift power: articulating global responses by synchronizing local demands.

Of course, the leap has to be pushed forward at the political level. But the example of *decidim.barcelona* shows it only requires a small push from governments to enable local participation to have a global voice. Nowadays, citizens, non-resident in Barcelona can participate in almost the whole participatory process of Barcelona. And similar things will happen elsewhere once the system and the procedures are adopted by many other municipalities, as it is beginning to happen. It is a matter of time that municipalities can coordinate efforts at the network level –or the citizens will hack the system to do it instead, by circumventing, once again, governments. In times where –as we have seen in the case of Spain– there is global disaffection in the ways that states handle politics, this becomes a viable option.

5. Conclusion

It is quite evident that *decidim.barcelona* has increased the amount of information in the hands of the citizens and has gathered more citizens around key issues. There has been an increase in participation and proposal deliberation towards the municipality strategic plan. As pluralism has seemingly increased without dislodging existing social capital, we can only think that the increase of participation has led to an improvement of democracy, especially in what concerns the legitimacy of the decisions made.

This can be summarized in four key points that define government-led technopolitical processes:

- Deliberation becomes the new democracy standard
- Openness as the pre-requisite for deliberation
- Accountability and legislative footprint as an important by-product to achieve legitimacy
- Participation leads to more pluralism and stronger social capital, which fosters deliberation, thus closing the (virtuous) circle of deliberative democracy

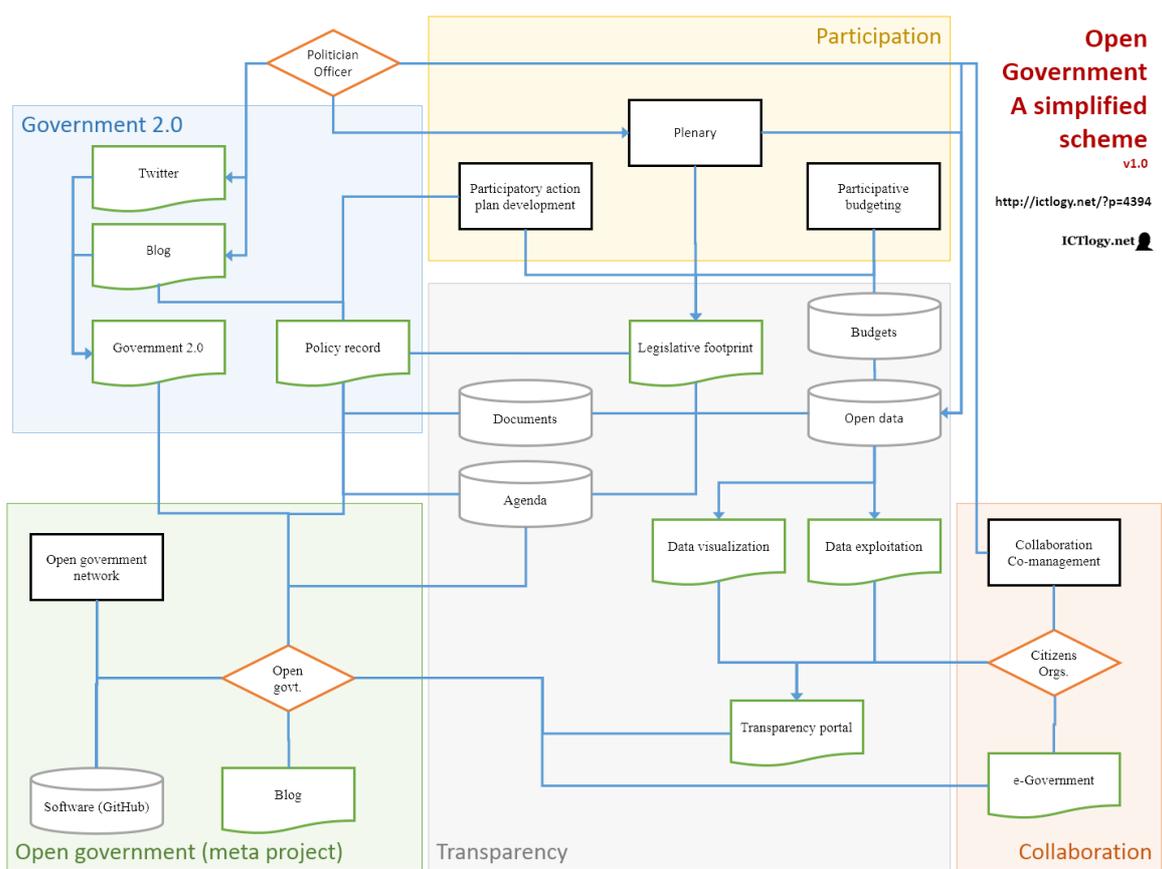
Although the scheme may be simple, it already features most of the components of a new democratic participation in the digital age. A simplified scheme for Open Government (Figure 5) in Peña-López (2016) which presents the three main components of open government – participation, transparency and collaboration, the communication framework – government 2.0 – and the meta-component of the open government project itself.

Decidim.barcelona more or less already includes all these components. Besides the evident participation component, transparency is present in the design of the project in all stages, procedures, inputs and outputs. In addition, collaboration is fostered by the project in many ways.: to collaborate in defining the strategic plan for the municipality. And to collaborate by also collaborating, among peers or within institutions and organizations. Indeed, some of the proposals themselves already include collaboration-based initiatives. The government 2.0 component was also crucial in the makings and diffusion of the project, both by the organization of the process as by the citizens themselves. Last, but not least, the project features its own “meta-project”, which not explains the design and evolution of the project but puts it in the context and network of similar

initiatives, as *Decide Madrid* or the upcoming ones.

What remains to be measured and analyzed is the strength and stability of the new relationships of power and how exactly they will challenge the preceding systemic structures and lead to newer ones. Some aspects have been identified in new relationships amongst citizens, organizations and institutions, and the creation of new tacit communities, para-organizations and relational spaces. Notwithstanding, the experience of *decidim.barcelona* is yet to have gone through enough iterations to be able to become more clearly defined.

Figure 5: A Simplified Scheme for Open Government



Source: Peña-López (2016)

The transformative citizen engagement initiated by *decidim.barcelona*, though has established some reference points that will have to be thoroughly measured and compared with former parameters as guiding lines for defining and assessing democracy.

- The diminishing role of intermediation and traditional institutions (e.g. governments) and civic organizations, in favour of individual participation and new liquid collectives and para-institutions.
- The increasing role of deliberation, of informed deliberation, measured more than in the number of proposals submitted in the number of interactions and exchanges between participants, tacit – as in supports or comments – or explicit, as in real communications between participants in the digital platform, in events or in social networking sites.
- The balance amongst institutions (representation), experts (local leaders) and individual

citizens, which now create a new ecosystem of actors with the addition of new roles and new relationships among them. There is an increase in the amount of networks and communities, a multiple, liquid and reconfiguring affiliation to these networks that sometimes are indistinguishable from ad-hoc clustering.

These new parameters of technopolitical participation go hand in hand with three levels of design of technopolitical participation:

- Access to information, in order to provide the necessary input and, context necessary for quality deliberation.
- Access to deliberation spaces, with multiple, distinct and distributed agorae with different compositions, goals and facilitation designs.
- Access to tools, including technological tools, organization architectures, procedures and protocols, and any other kind of resources (including human and financial ones) that facilitate deliberation, make it happen, conduct and coordinate initiatives and, in the end, collect the outputs so that they be implemented to achieve the desired outcomes.

The key points that define government-led technopolitical processes, in addition to the new three levels of design of technopolitical participation can lead, in our opinion, to global synchronization of e-participation in municipalities. That is, the tacit –or explicit– creation of networks of municipalities that, while acting locally, can resonate and generate global agendas. These global agendas, deeply rooted in their local communities, can benefit from high degrees of legitimacy, social sustainability and the strength of the formal and informal ties of both the organized civil society and individual citizens at large. Things may or may not happen this way. There are too many variables in an increasingly complex world to be taken into account. But the paths are beginning to be paved, and the pace is gaining momentum.

References

- Alcazan, Monterde, A., Axebra, Quodlibetat, Levi, S., SuNotissima, TakeTheSquare & Toret, J. (2012). *Tecnopolítica, Internet y R-Evoluciones. Sobre la Centralidad de Redes Digitales en el #15M*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Anduiza, E., Martín, I. & Mateos, A. (2012). "Las consecuencias electorales del 15M en las elecciones generales de 2011". In *Arbor. Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, 188 (756). Barcelona: UAB. Retrieved March 27, 2013 from <http://democracia.uab.cat/images/publications/anduizaetal.pdf>
- Baller, S., Dutta, S. & Lanvin, B. (Eds.) (2016). *Global Information Technology Report 2016. Innovating in the Digital Economy*. Geneva: World Economic Forum and INSEAD. Retrieved July 07, 2016 from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GITR2016/WEF_GITR_Full_Report.pdf
- Calvo Borobia, K., Gómez-Pastrana, T. & Mena, L. (2011). "Movimiento 15M: ¿quiénes son y qué reivindican?". In *Zoom Político, Especial 15-M*, (2011/04), 4-17. Madrid: Fundación Alternativas. Retrieved September 13, 2011 from http://www.falternativas.org/content/download/17957/496394/version/8/file/zoomPol_04_julio_06.pdf
- Cantijoch, M. (2009). *Reinforcement and mobilization: the influence of the Internet on different types of political participation*. Prepared for the seminar Citizen Politics: Are the New Media Reshaping Political Engagement? Barcelona, May 28th-30th 2009. Barcelona: IGOP.
- Castells, M. (2004). "Informationalism, Networks, And The Network Society: A Theoretical Blueprint". In Castells, M. (Ed.), *The Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Castells, M. (2007). "Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society". In *International Journal of Communication*, 1, 238-266. Los Angeles: USC Annenberg Press. Retrieved October 05, 2009 from <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/view/46/35>
- Castells, M. (2012). *Redes de indignación y esperanza*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- DeSanctis, G. & Poole, M.S. (1994). "Capturing the Complexity in Advanced Technology Use: Adaptive Structuration Theory". In *Organization Science*, 5 (2), 121-147. Catonsville: INFORMS.
- Espelt, R., Peña-López, I. & Rodríguez, E. (2016). "Activismo desde el consumo cooperativo de productos agroalimentarios: ¿Economía alternativa o tecnopolítica?". In Balcells, J., Borge, R., Delgado García, A.M., Fiori, M., Julià, M., Marsan Raventós, C., Peña-López, I., Pifarré de Moner, M.J., Torrubia, B. & Vilasau, M. (Coords.), *Building a European digital space*, 560-581. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Internet, Law & Politics. Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, 7-8 July, 2016. Barcelona: UOC-Huygens Editorial.
- Font, J., Navarro, C., Wojcieszak, M. & Alarcón, P. (2012). *¿"Democracia sigilosa" en España? Preferencias de la ciudadanía española sobre las formas de decisión política y sus factores explicativos*. Opiniones y actitudes, nº71. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas. Retrieved December 03, 2012 from <http://libreria.cis.es/static/pdf/OA71acc.pdf>
- Fuster, M. & Subirats, J. (2012). "Crisis de representación y de participación. ¿son las comunidades virtuales nuevas formas de agregación y participación ciudadana?". In *Arbor. Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, 188 (756), 641-656. Berkeley: Berkeley Electronic Press. Retrieved September 14, 2012 from <http://arbor.revistas.csic.es/index.php/arbor/article/view/1491>

- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gopal, A., Bostrom, R.B. & Chin, W.W. (1993). "Applying Adaptive Structuration Theory to Investigate the Process of Group Support Systems Use". In *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 9 (3), 45-69. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.
- Gurumurthy, A., Bharthur, D. & Chami, N. (2016). *Theoretical framework to explore structures of signification, legitimation and domination underpinning ICT-mediated citizen engagement*. Bengaluru: IT for Change. Retrieved May 09, 2016 from <http://itforchange.net/mavc/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Handout-4-Theoretical-Framework-.pdf>
- Hargittai, E. & Walejko, G. (2008). "The participation Divide: Content creation and sharing in the digital age". In *Information, Communication & Society, March 2008*, 11 (2), 239 - 256. London: Routledge.
- Hargittai, E. & Hsieh, Y.P. (2012). "Succinct Survey Measures of Web-Use Skills". In *Social Science Computer Review*, 30 (1), 95-107. London: SAGE Publications.
- Heeks, R. & Seo-Zindy, R. (2013). *ICTs and Social Movements under Authoritarian Regimes: An Actor-Network Perspective*. Development Informatics Working Paper Series, No.51/2013. Manchester: Institute for Development Policy and Management. Retrieved May 15, 2013 from http://www.sed.man.ac.uk/idpm/research/publications/wp/di/di_wp51.htm
- Helsper, E.J., Van Deursen, A. & Eynon, R. (2015). *Tangible Outcomes of Internet Use. From Digital Skills to Tangible Outcomes project report*. Oxford: London School of Economics, University of Twente, Oxford Internet Institute. Retrieved May 06, 2015 from <http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/Research-Projects/DiSTO/Pdf/Tangible-Outcomes-of-Internet-Use.pdf>
- Helsper, E.J., Van Deursen, A. & Eynon, R. (2016). *Measuring Types of Internet Use. From Digital Skills to Tangible Outcomes project report*. Oxford: London School of Economics, University of Twente, Oxford Internet Institute. Retrieved July 25, 2016 from <http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/Research-Projects/DiSTO/Pdf/DiSTO-MTIUF.pdf>
- Holmberg, S. (2012). *The Spanish Revolution. A study on the 15-M movement in Spain*. Uppsala: Uppsala University. Retrieved May 23, 2013 from <http://student.statsvet.uu.se/modules/student/studentinfo/visadokument.aspx?id=3716>
- Jones, M.R. & Karsten, H. (2008). "Giddens's Structuration Theory and Information Systems Research". In *MIS Quarterly*, 32 (1), 127-157. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Jurado Gilabert, F. (2013). *Tecnopolítica, redes y movimientos sociales. De la revolución en las comunicaciones al cambio de paradigma*. Sevilla: Universidad Pablo de Olavide.
- Kurban, C., Peña-López, I. & Haberer, M. (2016). "What is technopolitics? A conceptual scheme for understanding politics in the digital age". In Balcells, J., Borge, R., Delgado García, A.M., Fiori, M., Julià, M., Marsan Raventós, C., Peña-López, I., Pifarré de Moner, M.J., Torrubia, B. & Vilasau, M. (Coords.), *Building a European digital space*, 499-519. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Internet, Law & Politics. Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, 7-8 July, 2016. Barcelona: UOC-Huygens Editorial.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Latour, B. (2011). "Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor-network Theorist". In *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 796-810. Los Angeles: USC Annenberg Press. Retrieved April 17, 2011 from <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1094>
- Lessig, L. (1999). *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace*. New York: Basic Books.

- Mezzolla Pedersen, G. (2011). *Browser culture. An ethnography of the risks and benefits that result from technological vulnerability in an online community*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen. Retrieved January 13, 2012 from [http://dl.dropbox.com/u/11083347/MA per cent%20thesis per cent%20Brower %20culture.pdf](http://dl.dropbox.com/u/11083347/MA%20thesis%20Brower%20culture.pdf)
- Monterde, A. (2015). *Emergencia, evolución y efectos del movimiento-red 15M (2011-2015). Una aproximación tecnopolítica*. Barcelona: UOC-IN3.
- Parvez, Z. (2006). "Examining e-democracy through a double structuration loop". In *Electronic Government*, 3 (3), 329-346. Olney: Inderscience.
- Peña-López, I. (2011a). "Striving behind the shadow – The dawn of Spanish politics 2.0". In van der Hof, S. & Groothuis, M. (Eds.), *Innovating Government. Normative, policy and technological dimensions of modern government, Chapter 8*, 129-147. The Hague: TMC Asser Press.
- Peña-López, I. (2011b). "The disempowering Goverati: e-Aristocrats or the Delusion of e-Democracy". In *eJournal of eDemocracy and Open Government*, 3 (1), 1-21. Krems: Danube-University Krems. Retrieved May 07, 2011 from <http://www.jedem.org/article/view/50>
- Peña-López, I. (2013). *Intención de voto en España 1978-2013. ¿Una Segunda Transición hacia una política extra-representativa?*. Comunicación en el XI Congreso de la AECPA. 18-20 de septiembre de 2013. Sevilla: AECPA. Retrieved September 18, 2013 from <http://aecpa.es/uploads/files/modules/congress/11/papers/1014.pdf>
- Peña-López, I., Congosto, M. & Aragón, P. (2014). "Spanish *Indignados* and the evolution of the 15M movement on Twitter: towards networked para-institutions". In *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 15 (1-2), 189-216. New York: Routledge. Retrieved August 24, 2014 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2014.931678>
- Peña-López, I. (2016). "Open Government: A simplified scheme". In *ICTlogy, February 2016*, (149). Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://ictlogy.net/review/?p=4394>
- Poole, M.S. & DeSanctis, G. (1989). *Use of group decision support systems as an appropriation process*. System Sciences, 1989. Vol.IV: Emerging Technologies and Applications Track, Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, January 1989. Kailua-Kona: IEEE.
- Porwol, L., Ojo, A. & Breslin, J.G. (2016). "An ontology for next generation e-Participation initiatives". In *Government Information Quarterly*, 33 (1). London: Elsevier. Retrieved February 26, 2016 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2016.01.007>
- Porwol, L., Ojo, A. & Breslin, J.G. (forthcoming). "Social Software Infrastructure for e-Participation". In *Government Information Quarterly*, 33 (1). London: Elsevier. Retrieved February 27, 2016 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2016.01.002>
- Sádaba, I. (2012). "Acción colectiva y movimientos sociales en las redes digitales. Aspectos históricos y metodológicos". In *Arbor. Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, 188 (756), 781-794. Berkeley: Berkeley Electronic Press. Retrieved September 14, 2012 from <http://arbor.revistas.csic.es/index.php/arbor/article/view/1500>
- Thapa, D. (2011). "The Role of ICT Actors and Networks in Development: The Case Study of a Wireless Project in Nepal". In *The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries*, 49 (1), 1-16. Kowloon Tong: EJISDC. Retrieved May 24, 2012 from <http://www.ejisd.org/ojs2..index.php/ejisd/article/view/843>
- Toret, J. (Coord.) (2013). *Tecnopolítica: la potencia de las multitudes conectadas. El sistema red 15M, un nuevo paradigma de la política distribuida*. Barcelona: UOC-IN3. Retrieved June

22, 2013 from http://journals.uoc.edu/index.php/in3-working-paper-series/article/view/1878/n13_toret

Traficantes de Sueños (Ed.) (2004). *¡Pásalo! Relatos y análisis sobre el 11-M y los días que le siguieron*. Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.

Turner, J.H. (1986). "The Theory of Structuration". In *American Journal of Sociology*, 91 (4), 969-977. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

UNPAN (2016). *UN e-Government Survey 2016. E-Government in Support of Sustainable Development*. New York: UNPAN. Retrieved August 02, 2016 from <http://workspace.unpan.org/sites/Internet/Documents/UNPAN96407.pdf>

Van Deursen, A. & van Dijk, J. (2013). "The digital divide shifts to differences in usage". In *New Media & Society*, 16 (3), 507-526. London: SAGE Publications.

Van Deursen, A. & van Dijk, J. (2016). "Modeling Traditional Literacy, Internet Skills and Internet Usage: An Empirical Study". In *Interacting with computers*, 28 (1), 13-26. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Welzel, C., Inglehart, R. & Klingemann, H. (2003). "The theory of human development: A cross-cultural analysis". In *European Journal of Political Research*, 42 (3), 341-379. Oxford: Blackwell. Retrieved April 20, 2007 from <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1475-6765.00086>

***Decidim.barcelona* documents used in analysis**

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2002). *Normes reguladores de la participació ciutadana*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from http://governobert.bcn.cat/sites/default/files/norm_reg_part.pdf

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2015). *Mesura de govern. Procés participatiu per a l'elaboració del Programa d'Actuació Municipal (PAM) i dels Programes d'Actuació dels Districtes (PAD) 2016-2019*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Presidencia-151118-Proces-participatiu-PAM-i-PADs.pdf>

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016a). *73 barris, una Barcelona. Cap a la ciutat dels drets i les oportunitats. Programa d'Actuació Municipal 2016-2019*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://governobert.bcn.cat/estrategiaifinances/sites/default/files/Documents/PDF/Document-PAM-2016.pdf>

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016b). *73 barris, una Barcelona. Cap a la ciutat dels drets i les oportunitats. Resum del procés*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <https://www.decidim.barcelona/processes/1/f/27/dataviz/summary>

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016c). *El procés de participació per a l'elaboració del PAM i els PAD s'obre a tota la ciutadania*. Nota de premsa, 1 de febrer de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/160201_DP-presentació-procés-PAM.pdf

Aragón, P. (2016). *Análisis y visualización de datos para la democracia*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.

Arnaiz, M.J., García, J.A. & Monterde, A. (2017). *Participació Ciutadana: pressupostos participatius i Plataforma Decidim*. Congrés de Govern Digital, 25 de gener de 2017. Barcelona: CCCB.

- Barandiaran, X.E. (2016). *La plataforma digital libre y abierta para la democracia participativa*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Bjarnason, R. (2016). *Digital tools for the democratic revolution in Iceland and beyond*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Bravo, E. (2016). "Cómo mejorar Barcelona con la participación de sus ciudadanos". In Bravo, E., *Cómo mejorar Barcelona con la participación de sus ciudadanos, 29 Julio 2016*. Madrid: Brand & Roses. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://www.yorokobu.es/barcelona-participacion/>
- Bria, F. (2016). *Barcelona digital city 2017-2020. The People's Roadmap towards technological sovereignty*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Calleja-López, A. (2016). *decidim.barcelona ¿Por qué?*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Forné, L. (2016). *Barcelona digital city 2017-2020. The People's Roadmap towards technological sovereignty*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Ley 11/2007, de 22 de junio, de acceso electrónico de los ciudadanos a los Servicios Públicos*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from http://www.boe.es/aeboe/consultas/bases_datos/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2007-12352%7C
- Ley 19/2013, de 9 de diciembre, de Transparencia, Acceso a la Información Pública y Buen Gobierno*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from http://transparencia.gob.es/transparencia/transparencia_Home/index/Sobre-el-Portal/Ley-de-Transparencia.html
- Ley 34/2002, de 11 de julio, de servicios de la sociedad de la información y de comercio electrónico*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2002-13758>
- Ley 56/2007, de 28 de diciembre, de Medidas de Impulso de la Sociedad de la Información*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2007-22440>
- Ley Orgánica 4/2015, de 30 de marzo, de protección de la seguridad ciudadana*. (Ley mordaza). Retrieved August 01, 2016 from https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-3442
- Llei 10/2014, del 26 de setembre, de consultes populars no referendàries i d'altres formes de participació ciutadana*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa?action=fitxa&documentId=671069
- Llei 19/2014, del 29 de desembre, de transparència, accés a la informació pública i bon govern*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utillsEADOP/PDF/6780/1395384.pdf>
- Llei 22/1998, de 30 de desembre, de la Carta municipal de Barcelona*. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa?action=fitxa&documentId=182811
- Luque, S. (2016). *L'experiència participativa del Pla d'Acció Municipal a través de la plataforma*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Monterde, A. (2016). *decidim.barcelona ¿Cómo funciona?*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.

- Peña-López, I. (2015). *Comentaris a la proposta de plataforma Barcelona Participa de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona*. [mimeo]. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Peña-López, I. (2017). *State of the Art: Spain. Voice or chatter? Using a Structuration Framework Towards a Theory of ICT-mediated Citizen Engagement*. Bengaluru: IT for Change. Retrieved February 28, 2017 from http://itforchange.net/mavc/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Voice-or-Chatter_Spain_SOA_Feb-2017-DRAFT-1.pdf
- Pereira, A. (2016). *Arquitecturas Ruby On Rails. Cómo facilitar la escalabilidad y colaboración*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Pindado, F. (2016). *Democràcia deliberativa y directa*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Ramos, M.Á. (2016). *Un lenguaje visual para decidim.barcelona*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Rey, J.J. (2016). *El codi darrere de Decidim: El què, el com, i com contribuir-hi*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Robles, E. (2016). *Fundamentos del voto electrónico seguro para decidim.barcelona*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Serra, A. (2016). *Participació ciutadana i innovació democràtica*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- tecnopolitica.net (2015a). *Anàlisi i avaluació del procés (digital) de participació ciutadana en l'elaboració del Programa d'Actuació Municipal (PAM) i de Districtes (PAD) 2012-2015*. Technical report. [mimeo].
- tecnopolitica.net (2015b). *Disseny del procés de participació digital del programa d'actuació municipal (PAM) i de districtes (PAD) 2016-2019*. Technical report. [mimeo].
- Usobiaga, J. (2016). *Diseño de proyectos participativos*. Jornades Metadecidim, 25-26 de novembre de 2016. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Xnet & Ajuntament de Barcelona (2017). *Informe sobre la dinamización de la participación a través de la herramienta "Decidim.Barcelona"*. Barcelona: XNet. Retrieved February 10, 2017 from <https://xnet-x.net/recomendaciones-herramienta-decidim-barcelona/>

***Decidim.barcelona* Project Websites**

Technical specifications of the participation platform (draft):
<https://www.gitbook.com/book/andreslucena/specs-pam/details>

Prototype of the platform:
<https://app.moqups.com/andreslucena@gmail.com/Gr5IS78SVN/view/page/a1cb9ea14>

Instal·lació alfa de la plataforma:
<http://barcelona-participa.herokuapp.com>

Ajuntament de Barcelona repository on GitHub of the *decidim.barcelona* platform:
<https://github.com/AjuntamentdeBarcelona/barcelona-participa/>

Madrid version of participatory government: Decide Madrid:
<https://decide.madrid.es>

Barcelona Open Government portal:
<http://governobert.bcn.cat/>

Barcelona Transparency portal:
<http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/transparencia/>

Barcelona Open Data portal:
<http://opendata.bcn.cat/>

Additional References

- Aragón, P. & Laniado, D. (2015). *From citizen data to wisdom of the Crowd*. D-CENT. Decentralised Citizens ENgagement Technologies. D2.4. Barcelona: D-CENT. Retrieved January 07, 2017 from <http://dcentproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/D2.4-%EF%BF%BCFrom-citizen-data-to-wisdom-of-the-Crowd.pdf>
- Aragón, P., Volkovich, Y., Laniado, D. & Kaltenbrunner, A. (2015). *When a Movement Becomes a Party: The 2015 Barcelona City Council Election*. [online]: arXiv.org. Retrieved August 07, 2015 from <http://arxiv.org/abs/1507.08599>
- Arnstein, S.R. (1969). "A Ladder of Citizen Participation". In *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 35, No. 4, July 1969, pp. 216-224*. Boston: American Institute of Planners. Retrieved February 17, 2006 from <http://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation.pdf>
- Batalla Adam, L. (2014). *Citizen participation in Spain after 15-M: a turning point in Spain's political culture?*. 20th New Faces Conference: Citizenship and Political Participation in the Mediterranean Region. February 27 – March 2, 2014 Istanbul. Istanbul: EUMEF.
- Benkler, Y. (2006). *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bennett, W.L. & Segerberg, A. (2012). "The logic of connective action". In *Information, Communication & Society, 15* (5), 739-768. London: Routledge.
- Borge, R. & Santamarina Sáez, E. (2015). *From protest to political parties: online deliberation in the new parties in arising in Spain*. Paper prepared for the international conference: Democracy: A Citizen Perspective. Panel II: Political participation through social media. Chair: Rachel Gibson. Åbo Akademi University. Center of Excellence in Democracy Research (D:CE). Turku, Finland. May 27-28, 2015.. Turku: Åbo Akademi University.
- Estalella, A. (2017). "Madrid y las políticas de la participación: tres sensibilidades urbanas del municipalismo". In *Prototyping, January 23, 2017*. Madrid: Alberto Corsín & Adolfo Estalella. Retrieved January 29, 2017 from <http://www.prototyping.es/destacado/madrid-y-las-politicas-de-la-participacion-tres-sensibilidades-urbanas-del-municipalismo>
- Haberer, M. & Anglés Regós, R. (2016). *Facilitating deliberation and decision-making online? A pilot-study of Nabú*. [mimeo].
- Haberer, M. & Peña-López, I. (2016). "Structural Conditions for Citizen Deliberation: A Conceptual Scheme for the Assessment of "New" Parties". In Balcells, J., Borge, R., Delgado García, A.M., Fiori, M., Julià, M., Marsan Raventós, C., Peña-López, I., Pifarré de Moner, M.J., Torrubia, B. & Vilasau, M. (Coords.), *Building a European digital space*, 479-498. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Internet, Law & Politics. Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, 7-8 July, 2016. Barcelona: UOC-Huygens Editorial.

- Himanen, P. (2003). *L'ètica hacker i l'esperit de l'era de la informació*. Barcelona: Editorial UOC.
- Kettering Foundation (2011). *Naming and Framing Difficult Issues to Make Sound Decisions*. Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation. Retrieved April 15, 2016 from https://www.kettering.org/sites/default/files/product-downloads/Naming_Framing_2011-.pdf
- Levy, S. (1984). *Hackers. Heroes of the computer revolution*. Champaign: Project Gutenberg.
- Mayorga, R.A. (1997). "Antipolítica y Neopopulismo en América Latina". In *Relaciones*, 161. Serie: Convivencias (XV). Montevideo: Periódica S.R.L.
- Noveck, B.S. (2009). *Wiki Government: How Technology Can Make Government Better, Democracy Stronger, and Citizens More Powerful*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Peña-López, I. (2009). *Measuring digital development for policy-making: Models, stages, characteristics and causes*. Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved September 08, 2009 from <http://phd.ictlogy.net>
- Peña-López, I. (2012). "Ley de Transparencia: de la publicación de datos al trabajo en abierto". In *Sociedad Red*, 10 de abril de 2012. Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved December 29, 2015 from <http://ictlogy.net/sociedadred/?p=485>
- Peña-López, I. (2013a). "¿Quién hace transparente la transparencia? Sobre el Consejo de la Transparencia y Buen Gobierno". In *Sociedad Red*, 3 de agosto de 2013. Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://ictlogy.net/sociedadred/?p=695>
- Peña-López, I. (2013b). "Casual Politics: From slacktivism to emergent movements and pattern recognition". In Balcells, J., Cerrillo i Martínez, A., Peguera, M., Peña-López, I., Pifarré de Moner, M.J. & Vilasau, M. (Coords.), *Big Data: Challenges and Opportunities*, 339-358. Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Internet, Law & Politics. Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, 25-26 June, 2013. Barcelona: UOC-Huygens Editorial. Retrieved June 26, 2013 from http://ictlogy.net/articles/20130626_ismael_pena-lopez_-_casual_politics_slacktivism_emergent_movements_pattern_recognition.pdf
- Peña-López, I., Zuberó, I., Giménez, C. & Arnanz, E. (Coords.) (2013). *Ciudadanía y ONG. El nuevo papel del Tercer Sector ante el cambio de época*. Documentos para el debate 5. El Prat de Llobregat: Fundación Esplai.
- Peña-López, I. (2014a). "Breve análisis del Portal de Transparencia de la Generalitat de Catalunya". In *Sociedad Red*, 27 de enero de 2014. Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved December 29, 2015 from <http://ictlogy.net/sociedadred/?p=750>
- Peña-López, I. (2014b). "Sesión de trabajo sobre el Portal de Transparencia de la Generalitat de Catalunya". In *Sociedad Red*, 20 de enero de 2014. Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved December 29, 2015 from <http://ictlogy.net/sociedadred/?p=749>
- Peña-López, I. (2015). "La diferencia entre publicar los datos y trabajar en abierto". In *Sociedad Red*, 22 de mayo de 2015. Barcelona: ICTlogy. Retrieved August 01, 2016 from <http://ictlogy.net/sociedadred/?p=825>
- Presno Linera, M.A. (2014). *El 15-M y la promesa de la política*. Madrid: Agenda Pública.
- Raymond, E.S. (1999). *The Cathedral & the Bazaar*. (revised edition: original edition 1999). Sebastopol: O'Reilly.
- Ruiz de Querol, R. (2006). *Análisis de la formación de las políticas de Sociedad de la Información en Cataluña (1993-2003)*. Barcelona: Telefónica.
- Surowiecki, J. (2004). *The Wisdom of Crowds: Why the Many Are Smarter Than the Few*. London: Abacus.

The World Bank (2015). *Worldwide Governance Indicators*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
Retrieved July 29, 2016 from <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>

Vilaregut Sáez, R., Serra Frediani, M.G. & Peña-López, I. (2015). *Les ONG davant la crisi. Crisis econòmica o crisi de model? (2009-2013)*. Diagnosi i prognosi de les entitats federades a Lafede.cat. Barcelona: Lafede.cat.

Annex 1: Research Probes

Government -end analysis	Institutional Mediation Probes	ICT Mediation Probes
1.1 Signification / shift in meaning	<p>Political ethos and participation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why <i>Decidim.Barcelona</i>? What relationship does it have with the 15M Spanish <i>Indignados</i> Movement and their demands? 2. Why is participation good? Is it a devolution of sovereignty? Surrendering to citizen pressure? Why is it better than “professional” representation? 3. Will everyone be able to participate? 4. How is this different from other ways of participation (assemblies, hearings, plenaries)? 5. Why will people be willing to participate? 6. What role for established civil society organizations? Are we fostering individual participation? 7. Why a need for citizen profile/file in the online platform? 	<p>Individual vs. collective participation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17. How are online and offline participation intertwined? 18. How is collective participation weighed? 19. What does work better, new proposals or commenting on others? 20. Does this build deliberation? Does this build consensus? How are agreements reached? 21. How is trolling addressed? 22. How are strategies to dominate the debate addressed/prevented? 23. How can proposals be analyzed? Can they be exported? Using filters? Can they be managed by groups so that organizations can handle the ones they have interests in? <p>Traceability and transparency</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 24. How are decisions traced along all their path?

	<p>Infrastructure governance and relationship with political ethos</p> <p>13. Why a free software platform? What does this mean for infrastructure governance?</p> <p>14. Can the ethos of FLOSS be transported into political participation?</p> <p>15. What kind of coordination with other instances of the City Council (affected by the platform <i>design</i>)?</p> <p>16. What relationships with other cities aiming at running similar initiatives and with the same technology (Consul)?</p>	<p>25. How is the whole process transparent?</p> <p>26. How is technology invisible to the user?</p> <p>Barriers and exclusion vectors</p> <p>27. How are the digital divides taken into account and corrected?</p> <p>28. What is the impact of (a) having to log in and (b) having to validate your account²⁸?</p> <p>29. What are the differences in participation between validated and non-validated users?</p>
<p>1.2 Legitimation / shift in norms</p>	<p>Engagement</p> <p>30. How is participation fostered?</p> <p>31. How is participation facilitated for success?</p> <p>Internal liability of the decisions in the participatory processes</p>	<p>Identity and content</p> <p>38. How is identity/authentication validated?</p> <p>39. How is integrity, non-repudiation and confidentiality dealt with in the platform?</p> <p>Meta-analysis and performance</p>

28 Prove you are a Barcelona resident.

	<p>8. How are the decisions on the platform liable for the city council?</p> <p>9. What kind of coordination with other instances of the City Council (affected by the platform <i>decisions</i>)?</p> <p>10. Any vision of what to do with the (presumably) new leaders that will emerge from the platform?</p> <p>11. How is <i>decidim.barcelona</i> inspired in the way Barcelona En Comú²⁹ is organized and looks at party participation and deliberation in general?</p> <p>External liability of the decisions in the participatory processes (putting together liability and political ethos)</p> <p>12. What relationship with Decide Madrid? What kind of coordination?</p> <p>Policies and strategies</p>	<p>40. How (statistically) representative is the population of members registered to the platform as a sample of the total population?</p> <p>41. How is the design of the platform adapted according to meta-data analysis?</p> <p>42. What exploitation of the meta-data is performed? (e.g. kinds of proposals per district, age, etc.)</p> <p>43. Is there a reporting of the performance of the site?</p> <p>44. How is performance/quality assured? (i.e. beyond the raw total number of participations or registered participants)</p> <p>Meta-participation</p> <p>45. What are the normative commitments that the City Council is accepting by accepting the (more or less) given design of the platform?</p> <p>46. How is the technical discussion with other users of the platform (Consul) re-shaping or re-designing the initial participation strategy?</p> <p>47. How open is the City Council to accept changes of design of the platform suggested (explicitly or tacitly) by developers in</p>
--	---	--

²⁹ Barcelona En Comú: political party founded in 2014 after the 15M Spanish *Indignados* Movement branch in Barcelona crystalized in a non-formal gathering of assemblies and networks. Now in office at the City Council of Barcelona.

	<p>32. What is the relationship of the initiative with the strategy on Open Government and on Open Data?</p> <p>33. How is the initiative related to the Spanish and Catalan laws on Transparency (e.g. registry of lobbies)? And to transparency and/or e-government rankings?</p> <p>34. How is the whole process – diagnosis, deliberation, negotiation, decision-making, accountability – embedded/referred to in the participatory initiative?</p> <p>Overlapping services/windows/entry points</p> <p>35. How have internal procedures been changed/adapted to accommodate the initiative?</p> <p>36. How have other official gatherings (e.g. city council plenaries, meetings with lobbies and/or civil society organizations, etc.) been changed/adapted to accommodate the new initiative?</p> <p>37. In what sense Decidim Barcelona substitutes or complements other open channels? What is their future?</p>	<p>GitHub? What would the impact in norms be would the changes be accepted?</p>
<p>1.3</p>	<p>Objective change³⁰</p>	<p>Meta-usage</p>

³⁰ Welzel, C., Inglehart, R. & Klingemann, H. (2003). "The theory of human development: A cross-cultural analysis". In European Journal of Political Research, 42 (3), 341-379. Oxford: Blackwell.

<p>Domination/ shift in power</p>	<p>48. Under what conditions are proposals accepted?</p> <p>49. How are proposals tracked for compliance?</p> <p>50. How are proposals tracked for re-design or re-submission when not accepted due to technical terms?</p> <p>Subjective change³¹</p> <p>51. How are citizens changing their behaviour after the initiative (e.g. shifting from one platform to another one, increasing participation, etc.)?</p> <p>52. What is the citizen acceptance of the initiative? Their valuation?</p> <p>Effective change³²</p> <p>53. How has the internal organization chart changed after setting up the initiative (see also #35, #36 & #37)?</p> <p>54. How have the main points or locus of decision-making been shifted due to Decidim Barcelona (see also questions #35, #36 & #37)?</p> <p>55. How has the platform affected the voice of the organized civil society and their representatives (see also question #6)?</p>	<p>57. What is the usage that citizens are doing of meta-data (see also questions #41, #42 & #43)?</p> <p>58. What is the usage that mainstream media are doing of meta-data (see also questions #41, #42 & #43)?</p> <p>Meta-design</p> <p>59. What is the participation of the citizens in the design of the platform (e.g. through the GitHub repository)?</p> <p>60. How are citizens comparing Barcelona Decidim with similar initiatives (e.g. Decide Madrid)? (you mean a comparison of the uptake of Barcelona Decidim with similar initiatives?)</p> <p>61. How are citizens comparing Barcelona Decidim with other deliberation tools (especially those used by post-15M <i>Indignados</i> Movement parties and platforms)?</p>
--	---	--

31 Cit.sup.

32 Cit.sup.

	<p>56. Has the platform identified new relevant actors? Have they been invited to participate elsewhere? Have they been invited to participate in regular meetings/be members of consulting boards?</p>	
--	---	--

Citizen-end analysis	Institutional Mediation Probes	ICT-Mediation Probes
<p>2.1 Signification / shift in meaning</p>	<p>(see also questions in section 1.1.a)</p> <p>Aims for participation</p> <p>62. What is the acceptance of the premises of the 15M Spanish <i>Indignados</i> Movement? What is the acceptance of a “political axis” related to regeneration of democracy (besides the traditional right-left or social axis)?</p> <p>63. What claims for a “devolution of sovereignty” are citizens (explicitly or tacitly) making?</p> <p>64. Is it discontent with the government of an aim for co-management or co-decision-making that drives citizens towards participation?</p> <p>65. What is the credibility of the initiative (e.g. honest or propaganda)?</p>	<p>(see also questions in section 1.1.b)</p> <p>Reinforcement or substitution</p> <p>71. Is citizen participation shifting from one place to another? Is the platform crowding out other ways of participation? Why?</p> <p>72. Is citizen participation now increasing elsewhere?</p> <p>73. Are other (digital) spaces now converging (by changing their strategies) towards Decidim Barcelona (i.e. using Decidim Barcelona as their starting and end point)?</p> <p>Spread of technopolitics</p> <p>74. Is the debate now more informed (wherever it takes place)?</p>

	<p>66. What is the perceived utility of the initiative (e.g. will make a change or waste of time)?</p> <p>New citizen structures</p> <p>67. What new intermediaries/platforms/collectives are emerging related to citizen organization or participation?</p> <p>68. What new intermediaries/platforms/collectives are emerging related to citizen organization or participation catalyzed or put under the spotlight by Decidim Barcelona?</p> <p>69. What (citizen) media outlets have appeared as an answer or reaction to the initiative of Decidim Barcelona?</p> <p>70. Are mainstream (local) media putting in the public agenda issues raised in the platform?</p>	<p>75. Is technopolitics now populating other ways/places of participation (e.g. other organizations now using digital tools for deliberation)?</p>
<p>2.2 Legitimation /shift in norms</p>	<p>(see also questions in section 2.1.a)</p> <p>Enhancement of citizen voice</p> <p>77. How is Spanish and Catalan law enabling</p>	<p>(see also questions in section 2.2.b)</p> <p>Digital divides</p> <p>82. How did access to digital infrastructures affect participation?</p>

	<p>participation? How does <i>decidim.barcelona</i> leverage this or how does it go beyond these norms?</p> <p>78. How do citizens view the likelihood that their actions will have an impact on decision-making? In general and through Decidim Barcelona?</p> <p>81. What is the evaluation of the responses given by the government through Decidim Barcelona? Tacitly (through decisions) or explicitly (through messages and communications in the platform)?</p>	<p>83. How did digital skills affect participation?</p> <p>84. How did having to participate online (instead of offline) affect participation?</p> <p>76. Are tech-savvy citizens more dominant in the new platform?</p> <p>Legitimacy</p> <p>85. To what extent participating online is the same as participating offline? Is it “real” participation? Better or worse?</p> <p>86. To what extent making proposals online is different or the same as offline?</p> <p>87. To what extent deliberating (e.g. making comments) online is different or the same as offline?</p>
<p>2.3 Domination/ shift in power</p>	<p>(see also questions in section 2.3.a)</p> <p>Quality of conversation</p> <p>79. How is discourse in Decidim Barcelona different from what is found in other institutional spaces?</p>	<p>(see also questions in section 2.3.b)</p> <p>Effectiveness</p> <p>96. Are citizens willing that the platform increases its functionalities?</p>

	<p>80. How is discourse in Decidim Barcelona different from what is found in other informal spaces? How is it different from what is found in social media (e.g. Twitter)?</p> <p>Impact</p> <p>88. What is the degree of citizen satisfaction with the initiative?</p> <p>89. What is the degree of satisfaction with the way the initiative is working?</p> <p>90. What is the degree of satisfaction with the government for putting out the initiative?</p> <p>91. Can citizens see any outcomes directly related to their participation?</p> <p>Extra-representative politics</p> <p>92. Have some informal spaces of participation and activism (e.g. assemblies, civic centres, cooperatives become more central?)</p> <p>93. Have some main actors lost some intermediation role after Decidim Barcelona?</p> <p>94. Have some new leaders emerged?</p> <p>95. Can we find a positive impact on internal political effectiveness (i.e. self-confidence in one's own political opinion/position)?</p>	<p>97. Are citizens willing that the platform substitutes other participation devices or spaces?</p> <p>98. Do citizens feel more empowered/autonomous in the platform vs. other options?</p> <p>Exclusion</p> <p>99. Who have been the excluded/damaged/negatively impacted by the initiative?</p>
--	--	--

--	--	--

Annex 2: Analytical Matrix

Government-end analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT Mediation Structures
<p>1.1 Signification/ shift in meaning</p>	<p>a. What vision of citizen engagement informs emerging governance practices?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A citizen disengaged and disenchanting with institutional politics. • A massive amount of information in the hands of citizens. • Proliferation of deliberation agorae managed by citizens themselves. • A citizen empowered by ICTs to act on their own by means of technopolitical practices and circumventing institutional channels. <p>b. What implicit and explicit premises underscore this vision?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governments are failing to diagnose citizen issues and to find solutions to them. • Citizens can contribute to better diagnose citizen issues and to provide solutions for discussion. • Some citizens – if not all – can make positive contributions to the debate around diagnosis and solutions, because they are part of the issue or because they are knowledgeable about it. <p>c. How is 'network governance' or PPPs in governance changing the meaning of citizen</p>	<p>d. In the technological design of e-participation, what meanings and assumptions about participation, citizen will, citizen voice, citizen agency and deliberation are reflected?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technological design must be open for (1) public scrutiny and (2) public participation from all possible actors. • The debate about the technological design must itself be open and participated (meta-ICT-mediation). • Assumption that anyone can contribute to the design of ICT-mediation structures. • There is no trade-off between online and offline participation, but complementarity. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ ICT platforms have two main roles: (1) acting as a central solution for knowledge management for any kind of participation and (2) enabling online participation. ◦ Design must provide at least (1) centralized valid information, (2) online deliberation spaces and support for offline deliberation spaces and (3) publicity of the results. • Some people will have it easier to participate if they can do it online. • Some people will be eager to participate if they can do it online. • A central place for information and gathering proposals and deliberation will give prominence to better or more supported proposals, reduce noise and, in general, organize participation.

	<p>participation?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network governance is part of institutional design in an Information and Network age. • Networks shape institutions (design, behaviour). • If citizens can be part of network governance, they will be part of the governance of institutions. • Being part of the governance of institutions will affect institutional design and, thus, agenda setting, deliberation and decision-making. 	
<p>1.2 Legitimation/ shift in norms</p>	<p>a. How are transparency, government responsiveness and social inclusion recast/ redefined in emerging governance structures and practices?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If political disenchantment and disaffection by citizens are true, transparency and government responsiveness become goals in themselves. • Transparency and accountability also perceived not only as responsiveness but as necessary pieces in participation in an information and network age. • The government seen as yet another node (although an important one) in the network of citizens. Transparency as a component of the gift economy and responsiveness as part of the ethos/trust upon which a network is built. <p>b. What are the emergent norms for citizen engagement (including policies for e-information, e-consultation, e-decision making)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total disclosure of all information on the participatory process as a necessary input for deliberation. • Total disclosure of all information on the participatory 	<p>d. How do digitally mediated structures and processes (MIS, big data, biometrics, platform algorithms) influence norms of e-participation design, delivery and uptake?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technology kept as simple and transparent as possible so as not to exclude some collectives or affect negatively participation. • Thorough facilitation bot in offline and online channels to ease ICT-mediated participation. • Total parallelism of offline and online initiatives so as not to exclude some collectives or affect negatively participation. • Contributions open to any citizen. Improvement and increase in the potential pool of contributors (e.g. citizens from other municipalities). • Essential but quite minor verification procedures to guarantee that voting is limited to denizens of the municipality. • Meta-participation (participation in the design of the ICT-mediated processes and platforms) highly encouraged.

	<p>process, including goals and procedures, actors, roles, expected outcomes and political commitments.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total disclosure of all information on the technological platform: design, governance, accountability. • Tacit – and most of the times explicit – assumption that the results are binding and, thus, participation is worth the effort. • Secrecy and privacy a guaranteed right, but invitation to share one’s thoughts publicly and openly highly encouraged. <p>c. How are norms of decision making changing?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More balanced weighting in all actors: institutions, organizations, lobbies, individual citizens. • Commitment to take results as binding. • Commitment, from citizens, to accept the results as binding. • Granularity matters and widely accepted as a good thing. No need to make “great” or “complete” contributions. Minor contributions are helpful, to say the least, to increase the legitimacy of a given proposal. 	
<p>1.3 Domination/ shift in power</p>	<p>a. What changes are evident in the following areas and how do they change state-citizen power:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. in the locus of authority 2. in the layers of intermediation 3. in transparency, accountability and inclusion? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear shift of locus of authority from institutions to 	<p>c. How do techno-design structures and processes of government shift power between state and citizen?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Massive sharing information increases the balance of power between administration and citizen. • Shifts of power from representative democracy to direct democracy as there is political commitment to take results as binding (within the programmatic lines of the party in office).

	<p>citizens.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear shift of locus of authority from civil organizations to individual citizens. • Strengthening of civil organizations as intermediators in given topics where they hold special legitimacy. • Strengthening of civil organizations as intermediators in environments where noise was high. Assemblies and events more productive as reporting is mandatory and results integrated and weighted in the central platform. • Total transparency a must, including the design of the participatory process. • Total accountability a must, from the values that drive the design of the participatory process to the binding results and political commitment to them. • Almost real-time transparency and accountability on the participatory process itself. • Increased inclusion of minorities and excluded communities: keeping the traditional channels results in no exclusion of traditional participants, special care for new channels contributes to the inclusion of non-participants. <p>b. How are various interests and competing claims accommodated and addressed?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possibility to make proposals, comment them and endorse them. • Possibility to organize groups to make proposals and to endorse them compatible with individual participation. • Collective interests taken into account in a weighted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizens have the possibility to submit proposals and not only vote the ones made by the government. • Deliberation is non intermediated and happens among citizens. No “political noise” when it comes to debating pros and cons of the initiatives. • Civil servants – not politicians – responsible for the first selection of proposals only under a strictly technical (budget, legal) basis.
--	--	--

	<p>way so that individual interests are not over-represented.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City-council programmatic initiatives or preferences the only limit that frames the whole participatory process, compatibilizing representative democracy with direct democracy. 	
--	--	--

Citizen-end analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT-Mediation Structures
<p>2.1 Signification / shift in meaning</p>	<p>a. What assumptions about governance and public service delivery inform citizen engagement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politicians do not care: let representative democracy give way to direct democracy. • Politicians do not know: let representative democracy give way to direct democracy. • Politicians are corrupt: let representative democracy give way to direct democracy. • The 15M Spanish <i>Indignados</i> Movement was the ascertainment that things do not work in politics and people are well aware of it. • The way the 15M Spanish <i>Indignados</i> Movement took place was the ascertainment that things can be – and especially work – very different in politics. • Technopolitics is not Politics 2.0 and is here to stay. • DIY politics increasingly an attractive idea. • The possibility to “hack” politics a more attractive idea rather than being involved in politics. <p>b. What new civil society formations define citizen</p>	<p>c. How are citizenship practices recast through new ICT channels?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledgement of the potential of citizens’ views. • Increased legitimacy of the participation process: total disclosure of intentions, specific goals, new actors, new approaches. • Honest approach to make institutions listen to the citizens. • Option to participate as a collective and/or on a collective face-to-face event, or individually online. • Possibility to propose initiatives. • Possibility to debate and/or improve initiatives. • Possibility to endorse initiatives. • Search, filter, subscribe to initiatives, topics or by district. <p>d. How do emerging techno- mediated citizen engagement spaces (portals, mobile-apps, twitter townhalls) impact citizen agency, dialogue, negotiation, and voice and 'right to be heard'?</p>

Citizen-end analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT-Mediation Structures
	<p>engagement with government? (for eg. new democratic movements)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All traditional democratic institutions (parliaments, parties, unions, non-governmental organizations) are lacking legitimacy, efficacy and effectiveness. • Horizontal, network-like movements are more flexible and allow for more granular engagement. • There is a lack of valid intermediaries between governments and citizen formations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals do not need to be represented. • Individuals do not need to be intermediated. • Increased role and legitimacy of traditional citizen organizations: “now they have a voice” and a participated one (not contradictory with previous statements). • Debates happen openly and disintermediated – but are reported either automatically (online platform) or by human facilitators (face-to-face events). • ICT platforms allow for self-organization by the citizen: proposals, debates (online or offline), commenting, endorsement. • Citizens can team up with other citizens from other municipalities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ More and stronger arguments. ○ Possibility to lobby on more than one municipality at once. ○ Networked citizens for networked municipalities.
<p>2.2 Legitimation/s shift in norms</p>	<p>a. How do new regulatory frameworks enhance/restrict citizen voice? (right to free speech/ assembly, content regulation, censorship)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulatory landscape increasingly restrictive in Spain in terms of freedom of speech, especially online. • Contradictory movements in the institutional political arena where claims for openness, transparency and “listen to the people” are combined with messages for letting citizens out of decision-making (“they do not know”, “it is too complex”). 	<p>c. In what way have ICT capabilities become intrinsic to performing citizenship and exercising citizen voice? (i.e. learning to be a citizen)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The online platform has become the unique, central back-end of all planning and participation in the municipality. • Information, knowledge management and participation as part of the same political process. • Taking part in the political process – understanding, participating, monitoring it – require now ICT capabilities if one wants to take full advantage of the improvements. For a traditional approach, ICT skills are just not more needed than

Citizen-end analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT-Mediation Structures
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political communication dangerously shifting towards media intensive propaganda. • New participatory processes being an oasis where things can be said and even happen. <p>b. How are citizen perceptions of government responsiveness altered?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divergent responses at the 15M Spanish <i>Indignados</i> Movement aftermath. • New political parties claiming to embody the 15M ethos. • Traditional parties claiming to embody the essence of parliamentary democracy. • Among this turmoil, new initiatives for participation appear as limited but real improvements to give voice, to aggregate preferences. 	<p>before.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passive citizenship requires no more skills; active citizenry will increasingly demand ICT capabilities to be fully exercised. • Facilitators, training and especial venues (kiosks, libraries, etc.) have been devoted to bridge the digital divide and bridge the two worlds of traditional participation and enhanced participation.
<p>2.3 Domination/ shift in power</p>	<p>a. How is power distribution evidenced in civic life (citizen participation, citizen will, citizen voice, citizen agency and deliberation)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agenda setting is now built collaboratively, by making proposals at the website. No more the monopoly of the Administration or media. • Acceptance of proposals, within pre-defined (but wide enough) limits, is a matter of gathering 	<p>c. What techno-capabilities mediate citizen engagement online?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Online platform made easy. Not major “digital knowledge” required to participate – offline traditional participation always an option. • Higher level techno-capabilities are more required to make the best of the online platform (fetch specific information, monitoring, accountability of the process and results).

Citizen-end analysis	Institutional Mediation Structures	ICT-Mediation Structures
	<p>supports/endorsement from all citizens.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More distributed power from the government, media and civic organizations to individual citizens. • Increased participation of individuals, in no detriment of the participation by civic organizations. • More proposals, more evenly distributed geographically, more evenly distributed by topic. • Much more deliberation. • Much more publicity of the issues at stake. <p>b. Do emerging spaces of citizen engagement reflect/ promote pluralism and diversity? (Are ICT-mediated spaces in citizen engagement becoming echo chambers reinforcing the status quo or are they disruptive?)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased participation of minorities. • Increased participation of groups that used to act outside of institutions or established democratic organizations (including civic organizations). • Some decrease of partisan politics, enabling more plural deliberations. • Some disruption in terms of the knowledge gap hypothesis, but not complete – education and income still affecting participation. • Bridge to extra-representative politics/participation. • Possibility of appearance (and appointment) of new leaders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Even higher level techno-capabilities are required to engage in the meta-level of participation: take part in the design of the platform itself. <p>d. How do patterns of access impact political voice?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The possibility to circumvent political representative institutions and civic organizations – extra-representative politics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Increases the scope of voices. ○ Increases the legitimacy of the process, as organizations (in general) can be monopolized by a few voices, unlike individual participation. • Other intermediaries (small media outlets, civic movements in the margins, etc.) can amplify specific voices that, because they were marginal, they would not have raised the attention of major organizations or intermediaries – the long tail of technopolitics and ICT-mediated participation.

