

Mapping Media for Future Democracies

Grant Agreement number: 101094984

Working paper:

PAR, citizens' parliaments & the possible paths of PAR-
ification: A literature review

Miloš Hroch



Funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the European Research Executive Agency can be held responsible for them.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	3
i. Reflection.....	4
ii. Action	10
iii. Reflection	14
iv. Combination of PAR and CP (or DMPs).....	19
References	23



Introduction

In recent years, we could observe a rise in the number of experiments with deliberative democracy (Bächtiger et al., 2018) and deliberative mini-publics (DMPs) (Reuchamps et al., 2023). Among DMPs we count citizen assemblies, citizen parliaments (Vincent, 2019), or citizen juries, which all strive to give regular citizens voice and maximize their citizen participation or encourage “knowledgeable citizenry” (Gershtenson et al., 2010). OECD (2020) called such trend as “deliberative wave”, which was motivated by the climate crises, and other crises. “Deliberative wave” created a space for experimentation and the development of hybrid forms of existing types of DMPs, “to such an extent that the lines between (what had been seen as) different forms of DMPs have become blurred” (Curato et al., 2021). The following literature review focuses mainly on citizen parliaments and citizen assemblies, but the consequences of “deliberative wave” signal the definitions, format and practices of these different tools of deliberative democracy are more fluid and shapeable. Although, there are some transversal characteristics DMPs share (Podgórska-Rykała, 2024, p. 164) such as: “(1) style of operation: deliberative with reliance on expert knowledge and moderated debate; (2) composition: stratified/random selection from citizens who are laypersons on the issue; (3) purpose: to resolve a specific issue and develop a recommendation/position”.

The structure of the literature review keeps the cyclical logics, which leads us to its other main component, the PAR research. PAR is sometimes dubbed as “spiral science” (Kindon et al., 2007), where cycles of reflection and action alternate. A more accurate version would be dividing literature into categories such as diagnose, act, measure, reflect (James et al., 2008), or plan, act, observe, reflect (Defrijn et al., 2008), but this might be a task for some future reflection when translating these insights into praxis and analysis. The literature review was performed in academic databases such as Sage Journals, Wiley, and Oxford Academic. A keyword search was initially performed by using terms such as “citizen parliaments”, “citizen assemblies”, “participatory action research”, or “action research”, which was followed by snowballing of references used in the journal articles. It contains around fifty journal articles, edited collections, monographs, scientific reports, and more practical guides.

The first section focuses on the epistemological and theoretical foundations of DMPs and PAR; the second section addresses more practical and methodological steps; the third section offers accounts of how the outcomes of PAR or DMPs become evaluated or institutionalized; the fourth and last section then summarizes research which employed mixed-methods approach of PAR and DMPs. The combination of PAR and CAs poses methodological challenges that have not been sufficiently addressed in either of these articles. There are commonalities between the two, such as emphasis on co-construction of knowledge, social change active participation, local level, or implementation of outcomes, but there are differences in design, as citizen parliaments (or DMPs) are linear as opposed to the PAR's circular nature.

i. Reflection

Citizen Parliaments (or deliberative mini-publics)	
Title	Short annotation
Bächtiger, A., Dryzek, J. S., Mansbridge, J. J., & Warren, M. (Eds.). (2018). <i>The Oxford handbook of deliberative democracy</i> . Oxford University Press.	Several chapters focus on various aspects of citizens' assemblies (from the issues of representation to more practical questions of design). But the book itself explores broader trends in deliberative democracy.
Holman, C. (2013). Reconsidering the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform Phenomena: Castoriadis and Radical Citizen Democracy. <i>New Political Science</i> , 35(2), 203–226. https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2013.790710	This article connects the citizens' assemblies with the concept of <i>radical democracy</i> by French-Greek democratic theorist Cornelius Castoriadis.
Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. <i>Journal of Social Issues</i> , 2, 34-46.	The tradition of action research dates to Lewin (1946).
Podgórska-Rykała, J. (2024). <i>Deliberative Democracy, Public Policy, and Local Government</i> (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032670799	<p>In one section of the book, “Innovative small-scale debate forums: deliberative mini-publics” (pp. 162-166), Podgórska-Rykała writes about democratic experiments, and presents transversal characteristics of deliberative mini-publics:</p> <p>“The three commonalities that unite most mini-public projects are: (1) style of operation: deliberative with reliance on expert knowledge and moderated debate; (2) composition: stratified/random selection from citizens who are laypersons on the issue; (3) purpose: to resolve a specific issue and develop a recommendation/position (Ryan & Smith, 2014, p. 19; Fung, 2003; Goodin & Dryzek, 2006). The mini-public model</p>

	<p>thus combines discussion with technical expertise to achieve policy decisions that are both substantively correct and politically legitimate” (Podgórska-Rykała, 2024, p. 164).</p>
<p>Qvortrup, M., & Vancic, D. (Eds.). (2022). <i>Complementary democracy: The art of deliberative listening</i>. De Gruyter.</p>	<p>The book recounts the history of citizen deliberation and offers an account of more recent models grouped under an umbrella of deliberative mini-publics. One of the key design features of deliberative mini-publics are random selection of participants and systemic collection of evidence (through expert hearings or moderated small-group discussions). There are different types of deliberative mini-publics, that vary in size, length, and outcomes.</p>
<p>Reuchamps, M., Vrydagh, J., & Welp, Y. (Eds.). (2023). <i>De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies</i>. De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110758269</p> <p>Rousiley C. M. (2023). Citizens' assemblies and communication studies. In Reuchamps, M., Vrydagh, J., & Welp, Y. (Eds.), <i>De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies</i> (pp. 365-377). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110758269</p>	<p>The book offers various theoretical perspectives, and best practices of CAs as participatory institutions, which are based on three core principles: 1) Deliberation, 2) inclusion, 3) public influence.</p> <p>The book also includes the chapter “Citizens' assemblies and communication studies”, which situates CAs in the communication and media studies field. Maia (2023, p. 374) writes about the dialogue between the disciplines:</p> <p>“The link between CA and media studies does not, of course, eliminate specific interests and objectives. However, the dialogue between these disciplines helps to structure innovative research projects, providing conceptual</p>

	tools to facilitate empirical analysis inside and outside the forums, and to move from one level of analysis to another.”
<p>Landemore, H., & Fourniau, J.-M. (2023). Citizens' assemblies, a new form of democratic representation? <i>Participations</i>, 34(3), 5–36. https://doi.org/10.3917/parti.034.0005</p>	<p>This introduction to the special issue on citizens' assemblies mentions the French experience with Citizens' Convention on Climate. The article clarifies what citizens' assemblies are and how the citizens' role as political representatives is constructed. Also, it focuses on the issue of institutionalizing CAs in the law-making process.</p>
<p>Carpentier, N., & Wimmer, J. (2024) <i>Deliverable 2.1 - Democracy and Media: A Discursive-Material Approach</i>. In Mapping Media For Future Democracies. Grant Agreement 101094984, European Union.</p>	<p>When thinking about deliberative democracy, and participation (its minimalist and maximalist versions), it is worth going back to the Deliverable 2.1, especially (but not limited to) the following sections:</p> <p>2.1 Balance Between Participation and Representation (pp. 11-12)</p> <p>3.3 The People and their Access, Interaction, Engagement, Trust and Knowledge (pp. 21-23)</p> <p>6.3 Facilitating Societal Debate and Democratic Struggle (pp. 48-50)</p> <p>6.5 Facilitating Public Participation (pp. 52-55)</p>

PAR or action research	
Title	Short annotation
<p>Fals-Borda, O., & Rahman, M. A. (Eds.) (1991). <i>Action and Knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with Participatory Action-Research</i>. Practical Action Publishing. https://doi.org/10.3362/9781780444239</p>	<p>This collection – co-edited by one of the key figures in the PAR research, Fals-Borda – fit into the part I, because it deals with epistemological implications of PAR, but it could also go into part II, as it discusses practical and methodological problems.</p> <p>The PAR is connected with the general concept of <i>authentic participation</i>, which is rooted in the cultural traditions of the common people and their real history. <i>Authentic participation</i> – as altruistic and constructive mode of participation – can count as one of the core values of PAR.</p> <p>The introduction chapter (pp. 8-10) discusses techniques resulting from the PAR practice, such as collective research, critical recovery of history, valuing and applying folk culture, production and diffusion of new knowledge.</p>
<p>Rappaport, J. (2020). <i>Coward don't make history: Orlando Fals Borda and the origins of participatory action research</i>. Duke University Press.</p>	<p>The book focuses on the work of the Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda (1925-2008).</p>
<p>Keyl, S. (2022). <i>Development, Education, and Participatory Action Research to Empower Marginalized Groups: Critical Subaltern Ways of Knowing among Migrant Domestic Workers</i> (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003166566</p>	<p>This book summarizes the foundation of PAR research and its epistemological positions, discussions on (post)positivism vs. social constructivism, together with PAR's orientation towards social justice.</p> <p>The term “participatory” is added to “action research”, according to Keyl (p. 52), to indicate a political commitment, collaborative processes and participatory worldview. Also, Keyl writes about PAR's relationship to institutions:</p>

	<p>“In fact, PAR is working against the failure of the institution (be it educational, health care, social work, and so on) ‘to decolonise the underlying ideological impulse that administers our professional imaginations’ which have the tendency to ‘(re) produce a narrowly individualistic and pragmatic paradigm...PAR is an open and interconnected approach, one that is unashamed of its political and ideological foundations and is constructed through relationships to the ‘other’ as defined by shared place-based interests’ (Hunter et al., 2013, p. 8)” (Keyl, 2022, p. 55).</p>
<p>Lawson, Hal A., Caringi, J., Pyles, L., Jurkowski, J., & Bozlak, C. (2015). <i>Participatory Action Research</i>. Oxford University Press.</p>	<p>The introductory chapter recounts priorities of the PAR research, such as 1) enabling democratic participation in real-world problem-solving by local stakeholders, 2) democratic participation occurs in successive action research cycles (plan, do, study, act), 3) new knowledge and understanding are generated as local problem-solving proceeds, 4) practice-generated knowledge responds to practitioners’ and policymakers’ knowledge needs, 5) local knowledge provides a safeguard against an impending threat associated with globalization (p. 11).</p> <p>Plus, the introductory chapter deals with the (re)definition of researcher:</p> <p>“Compared to conventional research, PAR’s changes start with the definition of a researcher. They include new criteria for determining and evaluating knowledge. They</p>

	<p>extend to alterations in the research-related division of labor (e.g., basic researchers, applied researchers, intervention researchers, practitioners, policymakers, laypersons). What's more, PAR brings fresh perspectives on the relationship between research and practice, especially the extent to which the empirical knowledge derived from conventional research and the theories it constitutes are wholly generalizable to the diverse, complex, and messy worlds of local practice and policy" (Lawson et al., p. 12).</p>
<p>Brydon-Miller, M., Kral, M., & Ortiz Aragón, A. (2020). Participatory Action Research: International Perspectives and Practices. <i>International Review of Qualitative Research</i>, 13(2), 103–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940844720933225</p>	<p>Special issue of <i>International Review of Qualitative Research</i> on Participatory Action Research.</p>
<p>Freire, P. (2012). <i>Pedagogy of the oppressed</i>. Bloomsbury.</p>	<p>One of the key books from 1968, that inspired PAR research.</p>
<p>McIntyre, A. (2008). <i>Participatory Action Research</i>. Sage Publications.</p>	<p>Chapters in this book reflect on various issues connected with PAR research, including ethical issues or participation. Three main characteristics of the PAR research are:</p> <p>"(...) the active participation of researchers and participants in the co-construction of knowledge; the promotion of self- and critical awareness that leads to individual, collective, and/or social change; and the building of alliances between researchers and participants in the planning, implementation, and dissemination of the research process" (McIntyre, 2008, p. ix).</p>

ii. Action

Citizen Parliaments (or deliberative mini-publics)	
Title	Short annotation
<p>Gerwin, M., & Kucharska, K. (2018). <i>Bürgerpanels: Leitfaden für einer Demokratie, die funktioniert.</i> Otworthy Plan.</p>	<p>A practical guide, based on examples from Poland, on how to organize citizens' assemblies. This short book recounts all the steps: from the pre-CA preparation, topic selection, duration and composition of Cas, individual profiles, sending invitations, promotional campaign to developing and implementation of recommendations.</p>
<p>Schmid, P., Lamotte, L., Curran, M., & Bieri, S. (2024). Creating pathways to just and sustainable food systems with citizen assemblies. <i>Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research</i>, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2024.2309173</p>	<p>The article studies three cases of citizens' assemblies on climate justice and food crises, which implement OECD's criteria for good practice deliberation. Besides other things, it details how these criteria and broad set of viewpoints can be implemented in the CA's design.</p>
<p>Baber, W. F., & Bartlett, R. V. (2015). <i>Consensus and global environment governance: Deliberative democracy in nature's regime.</i> The MIT Press.</p>	<p>The chapter "The Citizen Jury as a Deliberative Forum: Juries as Instruments of Democracy" (pp. 105-120) maps the use of citizen juries, as one of the types of deliberative mini-publics.</p>
<p>Farrell, D. M., O'Malley, E., & Suiter, J. (2013). Deliberative Democracy in Action Irish-style: The 2011 <i>We the Citizens</i> Pilot Citizens' Assembly. <i>Irish Political Studies</i>, 28(1), 99–113. https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2012.745274</p>	<p>The article details an experiment in deliberative democracy in Ireland in 2011, which featured a nation-wide pilot citizens' assembly (the first of its kind in the country). The paper explains the background, how it was done and presents outcomes.</p> <p>"As a result of their participation in the CA weekend, the CA members</p>

	<p>showed significant shifts of opinion both in terms of feelings of efficacy and interest in politics, and also with regard to key substantive issues in politics. They took on board trade-offs and became more willing to make hard choices. These changes were statistically significant, and were in marked contrast to the trends for our different control groups. In short, what this shows is that deliberation works. When given access to objective information, the opportunity to hear from expert witnesses and the time to debate and deliberate on these issues, citizens are prepared to reconsider their views” (Farrell et al., 2013, p. 110).</p>
<p>Galván Labrador, A., & Zografos, C. (2023). Empowerment and disempowerment in climate assemblies: The French citizens’ convention on climate. <i>Environmental Policy and Governance</i>, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.2093</p>	<p>The article is a qualitative case study of the French Citizens’ Convention on Climate. The article reflects the potential and limits of deliberative and agonistic approaches to democracy and climate action. The study comes with practical tips on how the citizens’ participation can be protected. For instance, we should be aware of putting too much authority to facilitators. Also, we should create and clearly communicate the mechanism how participants’ recommendations are going to be submitted to the political actors, in what form and how filtered/edited these recommendations will be.</p> <p>“More specifically, the deliberative phase of the CCC shows that elements such as</p>

	<p>steering bodies that protect citizen participation or the presence of a framework that ensures the participation of all citizens can be very favourable for the inclusion of the citizen's vision" (Galván Labrador and Zografos, 2023, p. 10).</p>
<p>Pilet, J., Bol, D., Vittori, D., & Paulis, E. (2023). Public support for deliberative citizens' assemblies selected through sortition: Evidence from 15 countries. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 62(3), 873–902. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12541</p> <p>Another reference which helps the argument, that the support for CAs and DMPs comes from the dissatisfied, is:</p> <p>Walsh, C. D., & Elkind, J. A. (2021). The dissatisfied and the engaged: Citizen support for citizens' assemblies and their willingness to participate. <i>Irish Political Studies</i>, 36(4), 647–666. https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2021.1974717</p>	<p>The article comes with conclusions that the biggest support for DMPs comes from the dissatisfied (with lower education and lower sense of political competence and an anti-elite sentiment). The study is based on surveys conducted across Western Europe.</p>
<p>Black, L. W., Wolfe, A. W., & Han, S.-H. (2023). Storytelling and Deliberative Play in the Oregon Citizens' Assembly Online Pilot on COVID-19 Recovery. <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i>, 67(8), 963–981. https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642221093591</p> <p>More on storytelling:</p> <p>Carson, L., Gastil, J., Hartz-Karp, J., & Lubensky, R. (2013). <i>The Australian Citizens' Parliament and the Future of Deliberative Democracy</i>. Penn State University Press.</p>	<p>The article studies the role of storytelling as a tool in facilitating the citizens' assemblies. It presents storytelling and so-called <i>deliberative play</i>, which includes more creative and imaginative approaches to dialogue, as good practice (together with other articles included in the special issue of <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i>).</p>
<p>Vlerick, M. (2020). Towards Global Cooperation: The Case for a Deliberative Global Citizens' Assembly. <i>Global Policy</i>, 11(3), 305–314. https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12785</p>	<p>Citizens' assemblies can vary in size: this article calls for the global-scale citizens' assembly.</p>
<p>Rountree, J., Park, C. H., & Richards, R. C. (2024). The Washington Climate Assembly: Note-taking modalities as deliberative guidance in an online</p>	<p>This article analyzes how facilitators navigated online deliberation, and what form</p>

<p>citizens' assembly. <i>Journal of Applied Communication Research</i>, 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2024.2319630</p>	<p>can public deliberation process take in the digital environment.</p>
--	---

PAR or action research	
Title	Short annotation
<p>James, E. A., Milenkiewicz, M. T., & Bucknam, A. (2008). <i>Participatory action research for educational leadership: Using data-driven decision making to improve schools</i>. Sage Publications.</p>	<p>The book chapter “Cycles of PAR: The Power of Iterative Process” details the cyclic nature of PAR. Implementing multiple cycles of diagnosis, action, measurement, and reflection allows participants and facilitators “to advance beyond knowledge gain to understand the issues they face” (James et al., 2007, p. 145). Especially useful and illustrative is Figure 8.1 on stages of the PAR process (p. 146). The chapter then describes each of the steps in the PAR process.</p>
<p>Greenbaum, Susan D., Jacobs, G., & Zinn, P. (2020). <i>Collaborating for Change: A Participatory Action Research Casebook</i>. Rutgers University Press.</p>	<p>The book offers case studies of social justice projects that involve deliberative efforts to achieve organizational democracy and societal transformation.</p>
<p>Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., & Nixon, R. (2014). <i>The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research</i>. Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4560-67-2</p>	<p>This book focuses on PAR techniques and methodologies. For instance, chapter 5 – “Doing Critical Participatory Action Research: The Planner Part” – addresses the planning.</p>
<p>Kindon, S., Pain, R., & Kesby, M. (2007). <i>Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place</i>. Routledge.</p>	<p>This collection is a useful reader/guide for methods, techniques and process of PAR. Chapters focus on wide range of topics and perspective from the spatiality of PAR, engaging theory in action, participatory ethics of PAR, participatory data analysis, or institutional challenges in accommodating PAR outputs in policy frameworks.</p>
<p>Gélineau, L., Dupéré, S., Richard, J., & VAATAVEC Collective. (2024). <i>Participatory action research: The woven collective analysis approach to</i></p>	<p>PAR combined with social justice approaches, which is supposed to support <i>experiential knowledge</i></p>

<p>recognize experiential knowledge of poverty. <i>Action Research</i>, 22(1), 32–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/14767503231205237</p>	<p><i>building</i>: first-hand experience and knowledge the poor and excluded have (= maximization of participation). Also, “woven approach” can be a useful metaphor for hybrid methodological approaches.</p> <p>“(…) we developed a PAR approach, focusing on collective analysis and shared governance (Dupéré et al.,2022), that formally recognizes knowledge diversity, and ultimately produces knowledge for the Common good (Association science et bien commun, 2021). We named this approach: woven collective analysis” (Gélineau et al., 2024, pp. 34-35).</p>
---	---

iii. Reflection

Citizen Parliaments or deliberative mini-publics	
Title	Short annotation
<p>Suiter, J., Farrell, D. M., & O’Malley, E. (2016). When do deliberative citizens change their opinions? Evidence from the Irish Citizens’ Assembly. <i>International Political Science Review</i>, 37(2), 198–212. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512114544068</p>	<p>This article deals with the impacts of DMPs on decision-making of its participants.</p>
<p>Rountree, J., Anderson, C., Reedy, J., & Nowlin, M. C. (2022). The internal dynamics of “scaling up” deliberative mini-publics. <i>Communication and the Public</i>, 7(3), 146–164. https://doi.org/10.1177/20570473221106025</p>	<p>The article discusses the institutionalization of DMPs.</p>
<p>Gershtenson, J., Rainey, G. W., & Rainey, J. G. (2010). Creating Better Citizens? Effects of a Model Citizens’ Assembly on Student Political Attitudes and Behavior. <i>Journal of Political Science Education</i>, 6(2), 95–116. https://doi.org/10.1080/15512161003708129</p>	<p>The article presents the model of citizens’ assemblies integrated in the syllabus at the university and taught as a course. It references the Canadian citizen’s assemblies as proving highly influential.</p> <p>The article comes with the term “knowledgeable citizenry”, that contributes to</p>

	<p>better democracy. The article can stand as a reference supporting the impact of Canadian citizens' assemblies.</p>
<p>Macq, H., & Jacquet, V. (2023). Institutionalising participatory and deliberative procedures: The origins of the first permanent citizens' assembly. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 62(1), 156–173. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12499 https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12499</p>	<p>The example of the first permanent citizens' assembly set up by the German-speaking Community of Belgium. The article studies the political leaders' attitudes towards citizens' assemblies and citizen involvement in the political systems.</p>
<p>Courant, D. (2022). Institutionalizing deliberative mini-publics? Issues of legitimacy and power for randomly selected assemblies in political systems. <i>Critical Policy Studies</i>, 16(2), 162–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.2000453</p>	<p>The article reflects on the institutionalization of deliberative mini-publics, and on the debate on how to institutionalize mini-publics within a 'deliberative system'.</p>
<p>Boswell, J., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2023). Integrating citizen deliberation into climate governance: Lessons on robust design from six climate assemblies. <i>Public Administration</i>, 101(1), 182–200. https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12883</p>	<p>The article studies the integration of climate assemblies into political and policy institutions. It takes the recent national-level climate assemblies in Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Scotland, and the United Kingdom as case examples. The article employs the concept of <i>robust governance</i>, which deals with the meaningful impact and effective integration of deliberative mini-publics: "The defining feature of the robustness of a political system is its ability to transform challenging political demands into collectively binding decisions that authoritatively allocate value. As such, it shares strong affinities with the normative ideas underpinning DMPs" (Boswell et al., 2023, p. 185).</p>

<p>Farrell, D. M., Suiter, J., & Harris, C. (2019). 'Systematizing' constitutional deliberation: The 2016–18 citizens' assembly in Ireland. <i>Irish Political Studies</i>, 34(1), 113–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2018.1534832</p>	<p>More of best practices from Ireland: the article evaluates how the CA was set up, its agenda, its manner of operation, outcomes.</p>
--	---

<p>PAR or action research</p>	
<p>Title</p>	<p>Short annotation</p>
<p>Prati, G., Mazzoni, D., Guarino, A., Albanesi, C., & Cicognani, E. (2020). Evaluation of an Active Citizenship Intervention Based on Youth-Led Participatory Action Research. <i>Health Education & Behavior</i>, 47(6), 894–904. https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198120948788</p>	<p>This article reflects on evaluation of youth-led participatory action research and active citizenship. YPAR is a community-based PAR in which young people are trained to identify and analyze issues relevant to their lives.</p>
<p>Alisch, M., & Ritter, M. (2021). Participation and public spheres: Democratising society by participatory action research in social work. <i>Educational Action Research</i>, 29(4), 588–602. https://doi.org/10.1080/09650792.2021.1968454</p>	<p>This paper analyzes the creation of social public spheres for the migrant communities in rural Germany. These public spheres – in the form of citizen assemblies – were supposed to be forums to accommodate permanent debates on interests, needs, and norms. The paper uses mixed methods of PAR and future workshops. “Participatory action research can broaden this understanding of democracy by creating social public spheres in which citizens participate and create spaces to express their interests and confront society with different needs and social injustice issues. Social public spheres could serve as communicative spaces for these exchanges and increase opportunities for individuals to participate in the democratic process” (Alisch and Ritter, 2021, p. 591).</p>

	<p>“Participatory action research helps us to understand exclusion processes, to support strategies of empowerment, to democratise the society we live in, and to re-politicise participatory action” (Alisch and Ritter, 2021, p. 588).</p>
<p>Godden, N. J., Macnish, P., Chakma, T., & Naidu, K. (2020). Feminist Participatory Action Research as a tool for climate justice. <i>Gender & Development</i>, 28(3), 593–615. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2020.1842040</p>	<p>There are variations of PAR, which are more focused, and specific, such as feminist participatory action research. The article analyzes the case of The Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Developments (APWLD).</p> <p>“We argue that FPAR is a useful methodology for grassroots feminist climate justice activists to collectively document lived experiences of climate change and strengthen women’s movements to engage in strategic activism and advocacy for rights-based policy change” (Godden et al., 2020, p. 593).</p>
<p>Doudaki, V., & Carpentier, N. (2021). From Stakeholders to Joint Knowledge Production Partners: The Participatory Development of Guiding Principles and Toolkit to Structure the Participation of Non-Academic Partners in Academic Research. <i>Conjunctions</i>, 8(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.7146/tjcp.v8i1.121109</p>	<p>This article analyzes the modes of joint knowledge production, such as participatory action research, that can bring together academics and non-academics. PAR requires researchers are both “situated” and “reflexive”.</p> <p>“Participatory action research, therefore argues for the situated nature, not only of the topics and issues that are addressed through the research, but also of the roles and positions of the involved (academic and non-academic) actors, groups and communities, and of how the different parties are</p>

	<p>understood and how they construct their own subject positions. In this configuration, the notions of stakeholder, participant, partner, researcher, but also of power (sharing), and knowledge (creation and sharing), are constructed in specific settings as the outcome of interactions among the different actors and of the limitations and affordances of their environment, in contingent and dynamic processes” (Doudaki & Carpentier, 2021, p. 7).</p>
<p>Kincheloe, J. L. (2009). Critical Complexity and Participatory Action Research: Decolonizing “Democratic” Knowledge Production. In D. Kapoor, & S. Jordan (Eds.), <i>Education, Participatory Action Research, and Social Change</i> (pp. 107-122). Palgrave Macmillan US.</p> <p>More on PAR and decolonization (and challenges of knowledge democracy):</p> <p>Stern, T. (2019). Participatory action research and the challenges of knowledge democracy. <i>Educational Action Research</i>, 27(3), 435-451. https://doi.org/10.1080/09650792.2019.1618722</p>	<p>Kincheloe writes – from the perspective of critical PAR – about the “fetishization of democratic inclusivity”. Much of what is labeled as democratic knowledge might be based on hidden forms of positivism and dominant power.</p> <p>“Too often PAR glorifies the perspectives of the collaborators and community members in a form of left democratic essentialism. Essentialistic tendencies must be questioned in critical PAR— a questioning that allows for a rigorous and genuine dialogue between researchers coming from diverse places in the web of reality. Essentialism constitutes a fetishization of democratic inclusivity that undermines theorizing and action that understands the sociopolitical construction of all perceptions. This is not a popular topic to address in contemporary discussions of PAR and may be misrepresented as a denial of the democratic impulse—I</p>

	<p>hope that advocates of PAR will view this as an opportunity to open new enhanced forms of dialogue and more informed modes of democratic inclusivity. We are attempting to move to a more informed understanding of PAR and what it can accomplish in the sociocultural, political, and pedagogical domains” (Kincheloe, p. 112).</p>
<p>Jordan, S. (2009). From a Methodology of the Margins to Neoliberal Appropriation and Beyond: The Lineages of PAR. In D. Kapoor, & S. Jordan (Eds.), <i>Education, Participatory Action Research, and Social Change</i> (pp. 15-28). Palgrave Macmillan Us.</p>	<p>Another critical perspective on PAR, and how it can be coopted by neoliberalism.</p>

iv. Combination of PAR and CP (or DMPs)

Title	Short annotation
<p>Wakeford, T., Pimbert, M., & Walcon, E. (2015). Re-Fashioning Citizens’ Juries: Participatory Democracy in Action. In H. Bradbury, <i>The SAGE Handbook of Action Research</i> (pp. 230–246). SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473921290.n23</p>	<p>This article reflects on the combination of citizen juries and PAR.</p> <p>“We conclude that any piece of action research, and in particular a CJ, needs to embrace a variety of modes of action, both dialogic and non-dialogic, if it is to make an effective contribution to processes of social change” (Wakeford et al., 2015, p. 229).</p> <p>“We argue that the power of CJs to contribute to greater participatory democracy rests on the incorporation of the principles of PAR into the process, with dialogue at its core. Any genuine process of participatory or deliberative democracy requires there to be mutually educative dialogue, that is ‘a concerted,</p>

	<p>committed effort to cultivate conditions that foster, or at least allow, dialogue between people who hold profoundly different perspectives that are born of locations in radically uneven social, material and symbolic circumstances' (Wood 2004, p. xix)" (Wakeford et al., 2015, p. 231).</p> <p>"Through the use of dramatic approaches, such as dialogic performance, PAR-informed CJs can become more transformative by fostering a re-imagining of diverse perspectives and future scenarios. A move away from the legalistic model towards creative bricolage approaches could help to bring together opponents to address urgent challenges" (Wakeford et al., 2015, p. 243).</p>
<p>Carpentier, N., & Wimmer, J. (2024) <i>Deliverable 2.2 - Analytical Models for Examining Media Supply and Demand Side and the Legal and Regulatory Context of Both Sides: Operationalization Proposals</i>. In <i>Mapping Media For Future Democracies</i>. Grant Agreement 101094984, European Union.</p>	<p>Articles that combine CPs (or DMPs) with PAR do not problematize the methodological problems, which accompany such efforts. The key problem is how to implement the cyclical nature of PAR into the linear CPs' design (plus, what implications for analysis it poses). Carpentier addresses the problem in the Deliverable 2.2 in the following sections:</p> <p>8. Operationalization proposal for Task 6.2 by Nico Carpentier (pp. 32-42)</p> <p>9. Operationalization proposal for Task 6.3/6.4</p> <p>"The transformation of a cyclical process into a linear process, with the reflections at the end, would create a contradiction with the basic principles of PAR, and thus needs to be avoided.</p>

	<p>This implies that several moments of reflections, involving the members of the citizen parliament, will need to be organized, allowing them, in a truly participatory way, to affect the next step of the research. This creates a tension with the practical organization of the citizen parliaments, as they need some degree of stability in the different stages, and radical changes to design and planning would limit the citizen parliaments' ability to produce their report" (Carpentier, 2024, p. 35).</p>
<p>Casado Da Rocha, A. (2023). The Extended Citizens' Assembly Model for Collaborative Governance: Co-creating a Shared Vision from the Basque Gipuzkoa Province. <i>Journal of Awareness-Based Systems Change</i>, 3(2), 229–249. https://doi.org/10.47061/jasc.v3i2.6127</p>	<p>The article uses PAR to study citizens' assembly but does not problematize the methodological challenges such effort poses.</p>
<p>Babüroğlu, O.N, Göker, G.Z., & Koyuncu, E. (2015). Symbiosis of Action Research and Deliberative Democracy in the Context of Participatory Constitution-Making. In H. Bradbury (Ed.), <i>The SAGE handbook of action research</i> (pp. 270-280). SAGE Publications.</p>	<p>"Action researchers acknowledge the success of democracy not in the aggregation of votes, but in relationship-formation (Gergen, 2003, p. 46). Similarly, the deliberative turn in democratic theory emphasizes a normative and empirical move from vote-centric to talk-centric democracy (Chambers, 2003, p. 308)" (Babüroğlu et al., 2015, p. 272).</p>
<p>Revez, A., Dunphy, N., Harris, C., Mullally, G., Lennon, B., & Gaffney, C. (2020). Beyond Forecasting: Using a Modified Delphi Method to Build Upon Participatory Action Research in Developing Principles for a Just and Inclusive Energy Transition. <i>International Journal of Qualitative Methods</i>, 19, 160940692090321. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920903218</p>	<p>This article discusses the mixed-methodological approach, that combines PAR with future-oriented Delphi method, which places – similarly as DMPs – an emphasis on deliberation and participation in constructing future scenarios.</p>
<p>Eyraud, B., & Taran, I. (2023). From Substitute to Supported Decision-Making: Participatory Action Research on the Convention on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities. <i>Journal of Disability Policy Studies</i>, 34(1), 39–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/10442073211055478</p>	<p>This article is inspired by PAR approaches in analysis of collaborative program of establishing citizen forums (which fall under deliberative mini-publics). It does not problematize the methodological issues, but it uses the combination.</p>

	<p>“In line with participatory and emancipatory action research approaches intending to transform the object of research to facilitate its further understanding (Fals Borda, 1999; Reason & Bradbury, 2008) and at the crossroads of activism and participatory action research based on the CRPD (Ollerton & Horsfall, 2012), the Capdroits Program, in partnership with social science researchers and civil society organizations, sought to explore the controversy surrounding Article 12 of the CRPD in terms of participatory action and citizen-based research. It aimed to develop inclusive formats for discussion of these public issues (Raisio et al., 2014) and to help place on the political agenda the issues of substitute and supported decision-making” (Eyraud and Taran, 2023, p. 40).</p>
<p>Carney, G. M., Dundon, T., & Léime, Á. N. (2012). Participatory action research <i>with</i> and <i>within</i> community activist groups: Capturing the collective experience of Ireland’s Community and Voluntary Pillar in social partnership. <i>Action Research</i>, 10(3), 313–330. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750312451279</p>	<p>This article uses PAR methods to analyze Ireland’s Community and Voluntary Pillar (CVP). It states that key contributions of the article are reflective and methodological considerations in terms of PAR design.</p>
<p>Trajber, R., Walker, C., Marchezini, V., Kraftl, P., Olivato, D., Hadfield-Hill, S., Zara, C., & Fernandes Monteiro, S. (2019). Promoting climate change transformation <i>with</i> young people in Brazil: Participatory action research through a looping approach. <i>Action Research</i>, 17(1), 87–107. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750319829202</p>	<p>This article deals with “looping methodology” that can be used to combine two complementary research projects or eventually complementary methodologies.</p> <p>“(…) we show how complementary methodologies can be ‘looped’ to generate meta-analytic insights and action-oriented agendas that are greater than the sum of their original parts” (Trajber et al., 2019, p. 89).</p>

References

- Alisch, M., & Ritter, M. (2021). Participation and public spheres: Democratising society by participatory action research in social work. *Educational Action Research*, 29(4), 588–602. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09650792.2021.1968454>
- Baber, W. F., & Bartlett, R. V. (2015). *Consensus and global environment governance: Deliberative democracy in nature's regime*. The MIT Press.
- Bächtiger, A., Dryzek, J. S., Mansbridge, J. J., & Warren, M. (Eds.). (2018). *The Oxford handbook of deliberative democracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Babüroğlu, O.N, Göker, G.Z., & Koyuncu, E. (2015). Symbiosis of Action Research and Deliberative Democracy in the Context of Participatory Constitution-Making. In H. Bradbury (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of action research* (pp. 270-280). SAGE Publications.
- Black, L. W., Wolfe, A. W., & Han, S.-H. (2023). Storytelling and Deliberative Play in the Oregon Citizens' Assembly Online Pilot on COVID-19 Recovery. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 67(8), 963–981. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642221093591>
- Boswell, J., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2023). Integrating citizen deliberation into climate governance: Lessons on robust design from six climate assemblies. *Public Administration*, 101(1), 182–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12883>
- Brydon-Miller, M., Kral, M., & Ortiz Aragón, A. (2020). Participatory Action Research: International Perspectives and Practices. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 13(2), 103–111. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940844720933225>
- Carpentier, N., & Wimmer, J. (2024) *Deliverable 2.2 – Analytical Models for Examining Media Supply and Demand Side and the Legal and Regulatory Context of Both Sides: Operationalization Proposals*. In Mapping Media for Future Democracies. Grant Agreement 101094984, European Union.
- Carson, L., Gastil, J., Hartz-Karp, J., & Lubensky, R. (2013). *The Australian Citizens' Parliament and the Future of Deliberative Democracy*. Penn State University Press.
- Casado Da Rocha, A. (2023). The Extended Citizens' Assembly Model for Collaborative Governance: Co-creating a Shared Vision from the Basque Gipuzkoa Province. *Journal of Awareness-Based Systems Change*, 3(2), 229–249. <https://doi.org/10.47061/jasc.v3i2.6127>
- Courant, D. (2022). Institutionalizing deliberative mini-publics? Issues of legitimacy and power for randomly selected assemblies in political systems. *Critical Policy Studies*, 16(2), 162–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.2000453>
- Curato, N., Farrell, D. M., Geißel, B., Grönlund, K., Mockler, P., Pilet, J.-B., Renwick, A., Rose, J., Setälä, M., & Suiter, J. (2021). *Deliberative Mini-Publics: Core Design Features*. Bristol: Bristol University Press.
- Defrijn, S., Mathijs, E., Gulink, H., & Lauwers, L. (2008). "Facilitating and evaluating farmer innovations towards more sustainable energy and material flows: Case-study in Flanders", *Proceedings 8th European IFSA Symposium*, Clermont-Ferrand, France, 6-10 July, 2008, Montpellier: INRA, pp. 765-773.

- Doudaki, V., & Carpentier, N. (2021). From Stakeholders to Joint Knowledge Production Partners: The Participatory Development of Guiding Principles and Toolkit to Structure the Participation of Non-Academic Partners in Academic Research. *Conjunctions*, 8(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.7146/tjcp.v8i1.121109>
- Eyraud, B., & Taran, I. (2023). From Substitute to Supported Decision-Making: Participatory Action Research on the Convention on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*, 34(1), 39–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10442073211055478>
- Fals-Borda, O., & Rahman, M. A. (Eds.) (1991). *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*. Practical Action Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.3362/9781780444239>
- Farrell, D. M., O'Malley, E., & Suiter, J. (2013). Deliberative Democracy in Action Irish-style: The 2011 We the Citizens Pilot Citizens' Assembly. *Irish Political Studies*, 28(1), 99–113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2012.745274>
- Farrell, D. M., Suiter, J., & Harris, C. (2019). 'Systematizing' constitutional deliberation: The 2016–18 citizens' assembly in Ireland. *Irish Political Studies*, 34(1), 113–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2018.1534832>
- Galván Labrador, A., & Zografos, C. (2023). Empowerment and disempowerment in climate assemblies: The French citizens' convention on climate. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.2093>
- Gélineau, L., Dupéré, S., Richard, J., & VAATAVEC Collective. (2024). Participatory action research: The woven collective analysis approach to recognize experiential knowledge of poverty. *Action Research*, 22(1), 32–50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14767503231205237>
- Gershtenson, J., Rainey, G. W., & Rainey, J. G. (2010). Creating Better Citizens? Effects of a Model Citizens' Assembly on Student Political Attitudes and Behavior. *Journal of Political Science Education*, 6(2), 95–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15512161003708129>
- Gerwin, M., & Kucharska, K. (2018). *Bürgerpanels: Leitfaden für einer Demokratie, die funktioniert*. Otzwarty Plan.
- Godden, N. J., Macnish, P., Chakma, T., & Naidu, K. (2020). Feminist Participatory Action Research as a tool for climate justice. *Gender & Development*, 28(3), 593–615. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2020.1842040>
- Greenbaum, Susan D., Jacobs, G., & Zinn, P. (2020). *Collaborating for Change: A Participatory Action Research Casebook*. Rutgers University Press.
- Holman, C. (2013). Reconsidering the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform Phenomena: Castoriadis and Radical Citizen Democracy. *New Political Science*, 35(2), 203–226. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2013.790710>
- James, E. A., Milenkiewicz, M. T., & Bucknam, A. (2008). *Participatory action research for educational leadership: Using data-driven decision making to improve schools*. Sage Publications.
- Jordan, S. (2009). From a Methodology of the Margins to Neoliberal Appropriation and Beyond: The Lineages of PAR. In D. Kapoor, & S. Jordan (Eds.), *Education, Participatory Action Research, and Social Change* (pp. 15-28). Palgrave Macmillan Us.
- Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., & Nixon, R. (2014). *The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research*. Springer Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-4560-67-2>

- Keyl, S. (2022). *Development, Education, and Participatory Action Research to Empower Marginalized Groups: Critical Subaltern Ways of Knowing among Migrant Domestic Workers* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003166566>
- Kincheloe, J. L. (2009). Critical Complexity and Participatory Action Research: Decolonizing “Democratic” Knowledge Production. In D. Kapoor, & S. Jordan (Eds.), *Education, Participatory Action Research, and Social Change* (pp. 107-122). Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Kindon, S., Pain, R., & Kesby, M. (2007). *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*. Routledge.
- Landemore, H., & Fourniau, J.-M. (2023). Citizens’ assemblies, a new form of democratic representation? *Participations*, 34(3), 5–36. <https://doi.org/10.3917/parti.034.0005>
- Lawson, Hal A., Caringi, J., Pyles, L., Jurkowski, J., & Bozlak, C. (2015). *Participatory Action Research*. Oxford University Press.
- Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. *Journal of Social Issues*, 2, 34-46.
- Macq, H., & Jacquet, V. (2023). Institutionalising participatory and deliberative procedures: The origins of the first permanent citizens’ assembly. *European Journal of Political Research*, 62(1), 156–173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12499>
- Rousiley C. M. (2023). Citizens’ assemblies and communication studies. In Reuchamps, M., Vrydagh, J., & Welp, Y. (Eds.), *De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens’ Assemblies* (pp. 365-377). De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110758269>
- McIntyre, A. (2008). *Participatory Action Research*. Sage Publications.
- OECD (2020). *Innovative Citizen Participation and New Democratic Institutions: Catching the Deliberative Wave*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/339306da-en>.
- Pilet, J., Bol, D., Vittori, D., & Paulis, E. (2023). Public support for deliberative citizens’ assemblies selected through sortition: Evidence from 15 countries. *European Journal of Political Research*, 62(3), 873–902. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12541>
- Podgórska-Rykała, J. (2024). *Deliberative Democracy, Public Policy, and Local Government* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032670799>
- Pow, J. (2023). Mini-Publics and the Wider Public: The Perceived Legitimacy of Randomly Selecting Citizen Representatives. *Representation*, 59(1), 13–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2021.1880470>
- Prati, G., Mazzoni, D., Guarino, A., Albanesi, C., & Cicognani, E. (2020). Evaluation of an Active Citizenship Intervention Based on Youth-Led Participatory Action Research. *Health Education & Behavior*, 47(6), 894–904. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198120948788>
- Qvortrup, M., & Vancic, D. (Eds.). (2022). *Complementary democracy: The art of deliberative listening*. De Gruyter.
- Rappaport, J. (2020). *Coward don’t make history: Orlando Fals Borda and the origins of participatory action research*. Duke University Press.
- Reuchamps, M., Vrydagh, J., & Welp, Y. (Eds.). (2023). *De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens’ Assemblies*. De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110758269>
- Rountree, J., Anderson, C., Reedy, J., & Nowlin, M. C. (2022). The internal dynamics of “scaling up” deliberative mini-publics. *Communication and the Public*, 7(3), 146–164. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20570473221106025>

- Rountree, J., Park, C. H., & Richards, R. C. (2024). The Washington Climate Assembly: Note-taking modalities as deliberative guidance in an online citizens' assembly. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2024.2319630>
- Schmid, P., Lamotte, L., Curran, M., & Bieri, S. (2024). Creating pathways to just and sustainable food systems with citizen assemblies. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2024.2309173>
- Stern, T. (2019). Participatory action research and the challenges of knowledge democracy. *Educational Action Research*, 27(3), 435–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09650792.2019.1618722>
- Suiter, J., Farrell, D. M., & O'Malley, E. (2016). When do deliberative citizens change their opinions? Evidence from the Irish Citizens' Assembly. *International Political Science Review*, 37(2), 198–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512114544068>
- Trajber, R., Walker, C., Marchezini, V., Kraftl, P., Olivato, D., Hadfield-Hill, S., Zara, C., & Fernandes Monteiro, S. (2019). Promoting climate change transformation with young people in Brazil: Participatory action research through a looping approach. *Action Research*, 17(1), 87–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750319829202>
- Vincent, J. (2019). The Role and the Future of Deliberative Mini-publics: A Citizen Perspective. *Political Studies* 67(3), 639–657.
- Vlerick, M. (2020). Towards Global Cooperation: The Case for a Deliberative Global Citizens' Assembly. *Global Policy*, 11(3), 305–314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12785>
- Wakeford, T., Pimbert, M., & Walcon, E. (2015). Re-Fashioning Citizens' Juries: Participatory Democracy in Action. In H. Bradbury, *The SAGE Handbook of Action Research* (pp. 230–246). SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473921290.n23>
- Walsh, C. D., & Elkink, J. A. (2021). The dissatisfied and the engaged: Citizen support for citizens' assemblies and their willingness to participate. *Irish Political Studies*, 36(4), 647–666. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2021.1974717>