

Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute, Humanities

**How can an Independent Third-Party Support High-Quality
Deliberation to Bridge the Gap between Organic and Induced
Participation in Pune, India?**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of
Curtin University**

July 2021

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any other degree or diploma in any university.

Human Ethics

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number HURRGS-06-14.

Signature:

Date: 17 July 2021

Abstract

Public participation in civic governance is recognized as an attribute of sustainable development. However, the current mechanisms of participation in Indian cities, characterized as organic and induced public participation, do not necessarily provide the inclusive, egalitarian platforms for the effective engagement of ordinary citizens needed for sustainable development. Organic or bottom-up public participation includes, among others, rights-based social movements, formal and informal sector labour movements, membership-based organizations, and civil society organizations formed to promote the interests of a particular group. Induced or top-down participation refers to mechanisms promoted through policy actions of the state and implemented by bureaucracies, such as decentralization and top-down community-driven development supported by donor agencies. These forms of participation, separately and together, do not allow for ordinary citizens, representative of the broader population, to have a platform for empowered participation. On the other hand, high-quality public deliberation has arisen in recent years, mostly in developed countries, as a form of democratic involvement of ordinary citizens in governance. It is inclusive of diverse viewpoints and values, where demographically representative participants can engage in open dialogue, have access to user-friendly information, space to understand and reframe issues, weigh options and seek consensus, and influence.

This research sought to understand how an independent third party could support high-quality deliberation to enable equitable, inclusive, and effective participation in a democratic, developing country context, building upon existing forms of public participation. It used an action research approach centred around efforts to introduce high-quality deliberation processes to existing public participation initiatives and opportunities in Pune, India.

The action research approach was supported by a mixed-methods research methodology to investigate different dimensions of civic governance and participation in Pune. A quantitative survey helped confirm the need for innovations in public governance and participation mechanisms. The survey also helped to establish a baseline of perceptions about governance and participation. Interviews with knowledgeable individuals, facilitators, participants and others provided deeper insights into what was working, what was not, and what was needed. The research proceeded by developing a framework and assessment tools for high-quality public deliberation in an Indian context. These were applied to three public

deliberations conducted in Pune during 2014–2017 and facilitated by an independent third party. They include two participatory budgeting reviews and one street design initiative. A case study of an earlier public deliberation in 2013 was also reviewed. Learnings are drawn from these case studies regarding the effective implementation of public deliberations and the role of an independent third party. The results are consolidated to present recommendations for improvements to public participation processes in the Indian urban context and more broadly. Four refereed publications were produced based on the study and form an essential part of the PhD thesis. In addition, a book chapter containing a description and reflection on the earlier public deliberation conducted in 2013 by CUSP with local partners was written and published during the research period. This publication is also submitted as a part of this thesis.

The action research is a pioneering effort to introduce high-quality public deliberation in Indian cities. Its outputs contribute to understanding how public participation can be more effective in a democratic developing country, in this instance, India. The insights generated from the research provide a basis for a framework to implement high-quality public deliberations in Indian cities that can enable and enhance the democratic participation of ordinary citizens in civic decision-making, critical to sustainable development.

Acknowledgement of Country

We acknowledge that Curtin University works across hundreds of traditional lands and custodial groups in Australia and with First Nations people around the globe. We wish to pay our deepest respects to their ancestors and members of their communities, past, present, and their emerging leaders. Our passion and commitment to work with all Australians and peoples from across the world, including our First Nations peoples, are at the core of the work we do, reflective of our institution's values and commitment to our role as leaders in the Reconciliation space in Australia.

The spirit of this acknowledgement holds true with regard to local and traditional communities in India as well, where I live and work.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks go to all members of my thesis committee, especially Prof Dora Marinova, and my immense gratitude to Professor Janette Hartz-Karp for her guidance over many years. I acknowledge their contributions to the publications emanating from this research. I am grateful to Prof Peter Newman for his encouragement and for providing the opportunity to take up this research.

I acknowledge the contributions of information from the interviewees and key informants, survey respondents, participants and delegates in the public deliberation forums that form the basis of this research. I am grateful to the Pune Municipal Corporation, Parisar, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Curtin University Sustainability Policy (CUSP) Institute and Centre for Environment Education for supporting the public deliberations.

I am grateful to my colleagues Avinash Madhale and Amarnath, who are fellow travellers in the efforts to introduce deliberative democracy processes in Pune, and Savita Bharti, Preetee Oswal, Ojas SV, Nikhil VJ, Sadhana Dadhich, Vinay Tanksale, who were the team of facilitators. I acknowledge the support provided by Parth Tailor for the analysis of the quantitative data and Shripad Darvatkar, Monika Kalamkar, Sangita Diggikar, Supriya Pacharane, and Amol Kale for the survey. The contribution of Sneha Rapur, my co-author in one of the publications submitted as part of this thesis, is also recognised.

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List of publications

The following publications, including four refereed journal articles and one book chapter, are the basis of this thesis and are provided as appendices following the introductory segment, referred to as the exegesis. Copyright statements for the published materials can be found in the Appendix.

1. Publication-I

Menon, S., & Rapur, S. (2018). “Deliberative democracy and learning for sustainable mobility in Pune”. In *Academia and Communities: Engaging for Change. Innovation in Local and Global Learning Systems for Sustainability. Learning Contributions of the Regional Centres of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development* (pp. 76-89). UNU-IAS, Tokyo, Japan, 2018. <http://collections.unu.edu/view/UNU:6601>

2. Publication-II

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2019). Institutional innovations in public participation for improved local governance and urban sustainability in India. *Sustainable Earth*, 2(1), 6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s42055-019-0013-x>

3. Publication-III

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2019). Linking traditional ‘organic’ and ‘induced’ public participation with deliberative democracy: Experiments in Pune, India. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, 0973408219874959. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0973408219874959>

4. Publication-IV

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2020). Applying mixed methods action research to explore how public participation in an Indian City could better resolve urban sustainability problems. *Action Research*, 1476750320943662. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750320943662>

5. Publication-V

Menon, S., Hartz-Karp, J., & Marinova, D. (2021). Can deliberative democracy work in urban India? *Urban Science*, 5(2), 39. <https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci5020039>

In addition, the following publications are related to the topic of the research but do not form part of the PhD thesis:

1. Menon, S. (2020, December 22). Civic Sanskriti: Talk the talk and ensure our city walks the walk. *Hindustan Times*, Pune Edition, p 06.
2. Menon, S. (2021, January 26). Civic Sanskriti: Mini-publics within the Republic. *Hindustan Times*, Pune Edition, p 05.

These articles illustrate some outreach efforts taken up by me towards the conclusion of this research to enhance awareness about deliberative democracy as a direct outcome of the study.

Copyright Statement

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Co-authors' Statements

Publication-I Menon, S., & Rapur, S. (2018). Deliberative democracy and learning for sustainable mobility in Pune. In <i>Academia and Communities: Engaging for Change</i> . Innovation in Local and Global Learning Systems for Sustainability. Learning Contributions of the Regional Centres of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development, (Pp.76-89) UNU-IAS, Tokyo, Japan, 2018.						
	Concepti on and Design	Acquisitio n of Data and method	Data Conditioning and manipulation	Analysis and Statistical Method	Final Approva l	Total % contributio n
Sanskriti Menon Co-author 1	60	80	60	60	80	68
Co-author 1 Acknowledgment: I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output Signed:						
Sneha Rapur Co-author 2	40	20	40	40	20	32
Co-author 2 Acknowledgment: I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output Signed:						
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Publication-II

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2019). Institutional innovations in public participation for improved local governance and urban sustainability in India. *Sustainable Earth*, 2(1), 6.
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	Concepti on and Design	Acquisitio n of Data and method	Data Conditioning and manipulation	Analysis and Statistical Method	Final Approva l	Total % contributio n
Sanskriti Menon Co-author 1	60	70	70	60	60	64
<p>Co-author 1 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Janette Hartz- Karp Co-author 2	40	30	30	40	40	36
<p>Co-author 2 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Publication-III

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2019). Linking Traditional ‘Organic’ and ‘Induced’ Public Participation with Deliberative Democracy: Experiments in Pune, India. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, 0973408219874959. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0973408219874959>

	Concepti on and Design	Acquisitio n of Data and method	Data Conditioning and manipulation	Analysis and Statistical Method	Final Approva l	Total % contributio n
Sanskriti Menon Co-author 1	60	70	60	60	60	62
<p>Co-author 1 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Janette Hartz- Karp Co-author 2	40	30	40	40	40	38
<p>Co-author 2 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Publication-IV

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2020). Applying mixed methods action research to explore how public participation in an Indian City could better resolve urban sustainability problems. *Action Research*, 1476750320943662. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750320943662>

	Concepti on and Design	Acquisitio n of Data and method	Data Conditioning and manipulation	Analysis and Statistical Method	Final Approva l	Total % contributio n
Sanskriti Menon Co-author 1	70	70	70	70	60	68
<p>Co-author 1 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Janette Hartz- Karp Co-author 2	30	30	30	30	40	32
<p>Co-author 2 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Publication-V

Menon, S., Hartz-Karp, J., & Marinova, D. (2021). Can Deliberative Democracy Work in Urban India? *Urban Science*, 5(2), 39. <https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci5020039>

	Concepti on and Design	Acquisitio n of Data and method	Data Conditioning and manipulation	Analysis and Statistical Method	Final Approva l	Total % contributio n
Sanskriti Menon Co-author 1	60	70	60	70	60	64
<p>Co-author 1 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Janette Hartz- Karp Co-author 2	15	15	20	15	20	17
<p>Co-author 2 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Dora Marinova Co-author 3	25	15	20	15	20	19
<p>Co-author 3 Acknowledgment:</p> <p>I acknowledge that these represent my contribution to the above research output</p> <p>Signed:</p>						
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

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1. Introduction to the research and its contributions

This chapter presents the context and need for this study. The research questions, objectives, and the overall contribution of the thesis are also explained.

1.1 How the research came about

As an Education for Sustainable Development professional, for me, understanding how people learn about and act individually and together for sustainability are of enduring interest. A particular question of interest to me was: How can ordinary people effectively be involved in public decisions that impact their lives and wellbeing? This was among the concerns that brought me to an exploration of deliberative democracy. In 2013, Curtin University Sustainability Policy (CUSP) Institute led a collaborative initiative to develop a pilot initiative on deliberative democracy in Pune, India. As part of this, CUSP and local partners conducted a public deliberation for street design and neighbourhood planning. This initiative was my first exposure to deliberative democracy, and it led to an interest in exploring more deeply how such processes could be integrated into civic governance.

The research took further inspiration from a World Bank study that suggested that “induced participatory processes” would gain by drawing upon “organic” participatory change, learning, experimentation and persistent engagement (Mansuri & Rao, 2012). Bottom-up, organic, public participation may include labour movements, rights-based social movements, membership-based organizations, civil society organizations formed to promote the interests of particular groups. On the other hand, top-down or induced participation processes are promoted by the government through policy actions and implemented by bureaucracies. Such state-led participation includes decentralization as well as top-down community development interventions, typically supported by donor agencies.

Indian cities have a wealth of organic participation and movements that emanate from the many issues people are concerned about and interested in. However, most urban dwellers who do not take part in civic movements are not involved in public decisions. Formal processes of civic governance often have minimal scope for any meaningful public engagement. The call by Mansuri & Rao (2012) resonated with the experiences of participation in Pune and honed my interest in what might constitute effective public

participation for sustainable development; in particular, whether deliberative democracy could be effective in the context of urban India.

Deliberative democracy is characterized by demographically representative participants, inclusive of diverse viewpoints and values, having the opportunity to engage in high-quality deliberation. It may involve learning from others, discussing user-friendly information from diverse perspectives, having the space to understand and reframe issues, weigh options, and seek consensus, with their findings having influence (Carson & Hartz-Karp, 2005). The idea of investigating whether deliberative democracy could bridge the gap between induced and organic public participation took shape following the pioneering initiative in Pune in 2013. The idea that the role of a third party should be an aspect of research crystallized after reflecting on the experience of the public deliberation in Pune in 2013 and other public consultation processes.

My earlier experience in civic participation in India included being part of facilitation teams of public consultations on very significant and consequential issues such as the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan, the commercialisation of the genetically modified Bt Brinjal, and the formulation of legislation on the coastal regulatory zone. These consultations, especially around Bt Brinjal, had sharply brought forth questions on the roles of elected representatives and government, scientists, and the processes of consultation, including “whether democracy’s participatory mechanisms and regulatory institutions are sufficiently robust” (Alam, 2011). Questions such as who organizes and conducts the deliberation and how those who participate in the deliberation view the organizers and the facilitators assume importance for legitimacy, transparency and accountability. These experiences and questions helped shape the idea of conducting action research in 2014 to understand the role an independent third party could play in orchestrating robust, high-quality public deliberation to resolve complex sustainability issues in Pune, India.

1.2 Research question, objectives and approach

The core question for this research is: How can an independent third-party support high-quality deliberation to bridge the gap between organic and induced participation in Pune, India. Since high-quality public deliberations are very rare in Indian cities, including Pune, it became clear that the most appropriate way to address the research question would

be to conduct such deliberations using an action research approach. Accordingly, the objectives of the research were to:

1. Develop the framework and assessment tools for high-quality public deliberation in an Indian context;
2. Design and implement three public deliberations in Pune, India, with the participation of an independent third party;
3. Compare and contrast the findings of each of the public deliberation initiatives and analyse the role of the independent third party; and
4. Review the results, with the aim of recommending improvements to public participation processes in the Indian context and more broadly.

A mixed-methods methodology was devised to support the action research. The research tools included a quantitative survey to understand people's perceptions about civic governance and public participation. This survey helped elicit a baseline of the experiences and expectations of public participation. In addition, qualitative interviews with knowledgeable individuals from non-governmental organizations, academia, and bureaucrats provided insights into citizens' groups' larger democratic context and efforts. Quantitative feedback surveys were also conducted following the deliberations. Importantly, participant reports were generated at the end of each deliberative initiative, allowing community views and recommendations to be captured and consequently analysed.

Given its history as an educational organisation with high public trust, the Centre for Environment Education¹ (CEE) was deemed an appropriate agency to act as the third party. Furthermore, it is broadly accepted as an unbiased organisation, at arm's length from any specific interests of government, industry and special interest civic groups.

To achieve this role of being the independent third party, CEE's first task was to convene and orient a team to facilitate public deliberations effectively. The methodology initially proposed, wherein high-quality public deliberations would be incorporated into ongoing government-led public engagement, i.e. implementing deliberative democracy, did not ensue as envisaged. Consequently, I adapted the research process to conduct three public

¹ The Centre for Environment Education was founded with support from the Government of India, Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change as a national centre of excellence in 1984. It is incorporated under the Indian Societies Registration Act of 1860 and has its own Governing Council.

deliberations as essentially a civil society effort, with only partial support by the local government. Despite these challenges, described in Chapter 3, the preparatory processes, design, and conduct of the deliberations and participants' feedback yielded important insights regarding the research question.

The decision to organise this thesis as a compilation of five refereed publications was made early in the process, given the need to popularise the action research initiatives' outcomes quickly. Each of the five publications – one book chapter and four journal papers – address different aspects of the research question. This description preceding the actual publications (commonly referred to as exegesis) is intended to put them into perspective and explain how they represent a cohesive and consistent contribution to the body of knowledge related to deliberative democracy.

Two articles from a weekly column I write in the Pune city edition of a national daily newspaper are also presented. These are not meant for evaluation but to illustrate public outreach efforts being simultaneously made to enhance understanding about the need for innovation in democratic public participation.

1.3 Research contributions

This research is a pioneering effort to introduce deliberative democracy, which evolved into high-quality public deliberation in an Indian city, namely Pune, a major city in western India, in Maharashtra. Pune has a population of over 3.5 million and has a democratically elected local government. The use of deliberative democracy or citizens' deliberation forums is not legislated in Pune or any other Indian city.

The research shows that there is dissatisfaction among people with local governance and government-led participation in Pune. Ordinary people do not want the government to merely consult them, but nor do public servants and decision-makers want the public to be making decisions. What citizens do want is partnership with the government. However, although people expect a partnership in civic governance, the current experience of public participation falls very short of this expectation. The quantitative study results obtained in Pune on public perceptions about governance and participation represent a valuable baseline dataset for future efforts.

In terms of theory, this research adds to the understanding of high-quality deliberation in the developing world context; and how this could help bridge the gap between

government-led top-down participation and civil society organized bottom-up participation. Based on this Pune case study, the substantive results show the feasibility of inclusive, facilitated, high-quality public deliberations facilitated by a third party to bridge critical gaps between organic and induced participation. Furthermore, feedback from participants in deliberative forums organized as part of the action research indicates high levels of satisfaction with the learning gained about the issues under discussion, the quality of deliberations, and facilitation.

Importantly, it also shows that participants can reach agreements about the deliberation output, that is, the participant recommendations about the civic issues being considered. However, given the ongoing reluctance of Pune's local government to take on a consequential role in such processes, the implementation of deliberative democracy, with influential decision-making, remains out of reach. Thus, the institutionalization of high-quality public deliberation is likely to remain a challenge. On the other hand, organic civic groups expressed support and willingness to form coalitions to ask for and integrate public deliberations in their own work on various issues of public concern. This support presents a possible way forward for future efforts at enabling and possibly embedding deliberative democracy in the Indian urban context.

In terms of research methodology, various methods were used to investigate the extent and depth of the gap between organic and induced participation and how this could be addressed using high-quality public deliberations via an independent third party. The methods included a justification for the type of research done, namely action research, the methods of data collection and analysis, and why they were used. The research results showed that participants, facilitators, and observers of public deliberation, and other key informants interviewed indicated a preference for third-party facilitation. Civic groups also stated a preference for issue-agnostic entities acting as an independent third party. Expectations about the role and characteristics of a third party were elicited from the interviews and responses of various participants in this research. These would be helpful in the future for further developing and formalizing the notion of a third-party facilitator of public deliberations.

The thesis enhances the understanding of the limitations and adaptations of well-known deliberation techniques and evaluation tools in the context of the developing world. Specific examples include the challenge of applying sortition to recruit a demographically representative group, namely a mini public, due to incompleteness and errors in voter lists

and the complexity of sampling a highly heterogeneous population; the reluctance of women to participate; and suspicion, especially among the informal workers and informal housing dwellers, of being invited to a municipal public participation forum. In addition, the limitations of low-tech deliberation tools became evident. There is a need for easily accessible and usable ‘civic tech’ software with local language interfaces to enable the rapid collation and processing of the output of deliberations. The heterogeneous and complex nature of Indian society, leading to challenges in balancing power, especially concerning gender, class, caste, political economy, and hidden relationships such as for *hafta* or protection money rackets, further showed the need for skilled third-party facilitators.

This thesis also contributes to action research methodology. The relative dearth of contributions from the Global South has been noted in reviews of action research approaches (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). Furthermore, contributions describing the use of mixed-methods designs in action research, especially how participatory knowledge production can improve quantitative methods, are also rare (Martí, 2015). This research from India, with a mixed-methods design, in the field of urban governance, may be among only a handful of such contributions to the action research literature.

2. Action research methodology and contributions of publications

This chapter presents the rationale for selecting the research methodology and describes the methods and tools used. It also describes challenges that arose, necessitating an adaptation of the research methodology. Next, this chapter presents the contributions of the five publications submitted as part of this PhD thesis. A more detailed discussion of the findings and contribution of the research is presented in the next chapter.

2.1 Research approach and tools

This research aimed to explore and enhance understanding about the applicability of deliberative democracy in Indian cities. However, given that public deliberations of the kind to be investigated are rarely found in urban contexts in India, it was necessary to create and conduct high quality public deliberation as part of ongoing public consultation processes in order to study them. A mini public is a demographically representative sample of the population affected or likely to be affected by the issue on the agenda for the deliberative initiative (Escobar & Elstub, 2017). As this definition indicates, participant representativeness is important to the quality of public deliberation. In a developing country such as India, a high-quality deliberation not only needs the careful selection of mini public participants so they are representative, but also participants may need preparation for the deliberative exercise.

An action research approach was thought to be most appropriate for this study. The methodology of action research, combined with mixed-methods for a more comprehensive understanding of the context and possibilities for deliberation democracy, is described in Publication-IV. To summarise this approach, action research (AR) is a “family of practices of living inquiry...that seeks to create participative communities of inquiry in which qualities of engagement, curiosity and question posing are brought to bear on significant practical issues” (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). This study's main action research components were the high-quality deliberations implemented together with a team of facilitators hosted by the Centre for Environment Education (CEE), a non-profit organization in India. The Facilitators Team included two to three staff members from CEE and four other members recruited through a public workshop presenting the concept of deliberative democracy and inviting interested

individuals to join the initiative. The team of facilitators thus assembled was oriented to the concept of deliberative democracy and facilitation through workshops.

Since one aim of the research was to explore how to build upon existing organic and induced participation processes, interviews were conducted with knowledgeable individuals to obtain their insights into civic participation. The interviewees included government officials, development sector professionals, representatives from non-profit organisations, academicians, and others who have experience developing, leading, facilitating participation processes, or having an academic interest in democracy, political science, urban planning, and participation.

A baseline survey of public perceptions about civic governance and participation was carried out to assess the effectiveness of the planned public deliberation initiatives. The survey method is described in Publication-IV and Publication-V. The questions aimed to understand public perceptions in Pune about the local government's decision-making and the extent of public involvement in such civic decision-making. It included questions on the opportunities people have to participate in civic decision-making and their interest and ability to participate. The survey yielded 597 valid responses, which were analysed using spreadsheet tools. One of the questions was on the present experience of participation and the desire for participation, using the Ladder of Participation described by Arnstein (1969).

The research tools included:

- Review of literature describing the democratic context in Indian cities, the nature of public participation in urban governance, theories and experiences of deliberative democracy, and the concept and role of a third-party and facilitators;
- Interviews and focus group discussions with knowledgeable individuals, key informants from civil society organizations in Pune, academia and government, and the facilitators' team to obtain insights from their experiences of urban governance and participation;
- A quantitative survey of public perceptions about governance and participation;
- Mini-public deliberations and quantitative and qualitative feedback;
- Participant Reports produced after each deliberative initiative; and
- Action research observation, analysis and findings.

2.2 Deviations from the original research design

Two major deviations from the proposed research design occurred in the actual conduct of the research. The research design originally intended to use the responses to the

question using the Arnstein Ladder of Citizen Participation in the public perception survey as a baseline. It was envisaged to include a similar question in the participant feedback surveys, following public deliberation processes or events. However, the questionnaire form used in the 2014 survey had translation errors. These errors were discovered too late to correct the survey and use its results to compare participants' feedback in the deliberation events in 2015 and 2017. The translation errors made the answers to some essential parts of the questionnaire unreliable as there were differences in interpretation of the wording. A similar public perceptions survey free of errors was completed in 2017, though it was possible to analyse it only after the deliberation event, which was also conducted in 2017. Hence, it was not possible to assess the mini-public deliberations using the Arnstein Ladder of Citizen Participation tool. However, it was possible to use quantitative and qualitative feedback from the participants. Qualitative feedback was also obtained from facilitators. The facilitators included staff of local organizations and colleges, volunteers and masters level students, and observers in one case that had a researcher from a government training institute and an academic from a renowned college to assess the mini-publics, as planned.

Secondly, it was initially expected that the mini publics would be carried out under the aegis of the municipal government, in the areas of participatory budgeting (PB) and street design, which the municipal government implements. Therefore, efforts were made to present the concept of high-quality public deliberations and to integrate these into the ongoing PB and street design work. However, this was only partially successful. At least six proposals were made to the local government, including presentations on the need for an inclusive deliberation process due to the complexity of the situation (on street vending, street design and participatory budgeting). However, it was possible to get government collaboration in only three cases. Of these, two deliberations – neighbourhood planning in Dattawadi in 2013, the participatory budget review in 2015 – were completed satisfactorily, while one deliberation, embedded in the actual municipal participatory budget process in 2014, was disrupted and could not be completed. Nevertheless, the recommendations of the deliberations conducted jointly were partially implemented. Furthermore, a presentation of the outputs of another deliberation in 2017 was given a careful hearing by the authorities. While further research would be needed to explore underlying reasons for the perceived constraints and prevarication, in the current initiative, the use of action research methodology allowed the study to proceed without the expected full government support.

2.3 Mixed-Methods Action Research Plan

The mixed-methods approach that finally resulted, incorporating the deviations, is presented in Table 1, which was originally published in Publication-IV. It is reproduced here for ready reference. One strand of the literature on mixed methods research designs discusses how the individual methods are combined. The literature describes qualitative, quantitative, and performative elements and the different ways in which they are integrated into research questions, designs, methods, data analysis and results (Hong & Pluye, 2018). An important aspect is that the intentional integration of data from the different methods may reveal greater insights than those yielded from any individual approach alone (Guetterman et al., 2017).

The action research adopted an exploratory mixed-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) and sequential action learning cycles. A convergent synthesis was then drawn using the findings from the earlier stages. Ivankova & Wingo (2018) have noted that the multi-dimensional insights emerging from a mixed methods research design can inform programme action plans, implementation, evaluation and monitoring. Such approaches are useful to address complex practical problems. Furthermore, the results obtained are likely to be more scientifically sound and transferable (Ivankova & Wingo, 2018).

2.4 High Quality Deliberations – the Action Research Component

As part of this research in Pune, three public deliberation processes were conducted during the years 2014 to 2017. Descriptions of each of these deliberations are presented in Publications II to V. The deliberations were:

1. Review of Participatory Budgeting in Pune, 2014;
2. Participatory Budgeting Reform in Pune, 2015;
3. Street design and management in Aundh, Pune, 2017.

In addition, a case study of an earlier high-quality public deliberation on city planning, organized by CEE and Curtin University in 2013, is presented as Publication 1. This earlier case study is important since it provided the backdrop to the subsequent action research, triggering the action research project and providing valuable learnings applied in the research that followed.

The CEE orchestrated each of the deliberations between 2014 and 2017 in collaboration with different partners. These included another Pune-based non-government

organization (NGO), Parisar, and two academic institutions, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), from Mumbai, India, and Curtin University from Australia. The deliberation in 2015 was organized with the Pune Municipal Corporation. The topics of these deliberations were chosen considering that both participatory budgeting and street design are ongoing processes in Pune.

For each mini-public, an attempt was made to recruit demographically representative participation. The methods included a mix of random selection using voting lists, lists of informal sector organization members, participants of quantitative surveys sampled through random street encounters, and invitations to diverse groups from the city to reflect occupational and socio-economic diversity.

Each of the deliberation processes followed similar steps. First, the host organisations developed the deliberation charge and questions and discussed these with facilitators to ensure relevance and even-handedness. Secondly, sector experts made short presentations followed by a question-and-answer session to enable baseline participant understanding of the topic under deliberation. Thirdly, throughout the deliberations, all participants were seated in small, demographically mixed groups. Each group was supported by a facilitator and a scribe, to encourage the expression of diverse viewpoints and enable quality deliberation. Fourthly, various options to address the respective issue were raised and deliberated by the participants and then individually prioritized by all of them. Fifthly, the preferences from all groups were formulated into recommendations as part of the deliberation outputs.

At the end of each event, a Participants Report was prepared containing a brief description of the deliberation process as well as the recommendations made in the participants' words. This report was given to each participant at the closing of the event and later submitted to the city government.

Table 1- Mixed-methods Action Research Plan

Process	Purpose	Role in Goal	Research Tool
Review deliberative democracy theory and practice	Understand deliberative democracy discourses, and global implementation	Explore whether deliberative democracy could improve public participation in civic decision-making about urban challenges	Literature review
Explore the broad landscape of public participation in India	Understand Indian participation experiences Explore whether high-quality participation in Pune could be organized through an independent third-party	Explore adequacy of current forms of participation Identify measures to improve the quality of public participation Assess the need for and qualities of a third-party conducting mini-public deliberations	Interviews with experts
Establish a baseline of perceptions about public engagement and aspirations	Understand whether there is a gap between people's current and ideal levels of participation	Establish the gap in current and ideal levels of participation ² prior to mini-public deliberations	Public perception quantitative surveys
Explore specific public participation processes in Pune	Understand the experience of different forms of participation in Pune Prepare to organize high-quality participation in Pune through a third-party	Establish whether current forms of participation in Pune are adequate Prepare for high-quality deliberation as a method to improve public participation	Collaborative inquiry with facilitators
Facilitate a public deliberation (performative action research) on street design	Compare participation perceptions pre and post public deliberation Provide substantive outputs on the deliberation topics	Establish whether the gap in current and ideal levels of participation is bridged after mini-public deliberations ¹ Establish whether public deliberation can produce well-reasoned outputs Assess how a third party should conduct public deliberation	Participant and Facilitator feedback on deliberation effectiveness and the role of a third-party

² The research design of establishing a quantitative baseline of the experience and aspiration of public participation pre and post deliberative participation was similar to that adopted in Geraldton, Australia (Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2019), as also indicated in Publication-IV.

		Build local capacity to organize and conduct mini-public deliberations	
Review the findings from each step of the research.	Re-visit areas of discontent with public participation in civic governance, compared with current experience, aspirations, priority options for participation; and assess the extent of gap closure through participant and facilitator feedback.	Draw conclusions about the extent to which deliberative democracy could improve public participation in civic decision-making and improve sustainability outcomes.	Comparison and Synthesis
From Publication-IV			

2.5 Contributions of the Research Publications

The five publications submitted as part of this thesis by compilation contribute important insights for implementing deliberative democracy in developing countries, particularly Indian cities, which has been lacking in the global deliberative democracy literature and the Indian literature on civic participation. Earlier works on public participation in governance in the Indian context include the following: overviews of the history of deliberations in the Indian society, such as those by Sen (2005), Parthasarathy & Rao (2017); those referring to decentralization and devolution to Indian local self-government bodies especially the *gram sabha* (village assemblies) in the rural context (Heller & Rao, 2015; Rai, 2007); participatory planning in Kerala (Blair, 2020; Heller et al., 2007; Kuruville & Waingankar, 2013; Williams et al., 2011); and more recent efforts such as of the Aam Aadmi Party in Delhi (Bijulal, 2018). Examples of deliberative processes in recent years involving ordinary citizens in the formulation of specific policies or recommendations include contributions by Pimbert and Wakeford (2003) on a citizens' jury on food and farming in rural Andhra Pradesh; by Ganguly (2016) on the preparation of India's National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP) and the Forests Rights Act; by Gurtoo (2011) on the participation of consumers in public meetings organized by electricity sector regulators; by Jillella et al. (2015) on decisions around land-value capture processes; and, by Chava and Newman (2016) on developing stakeholder engagement strategies for transit-oriented development in Bengaluru.

These works indicate a discourse on empowered deliberation in the Indian context. However, there is a dearth of experience, practice and research literature on deliberative democracy in the urban areas of India. This dearth mirrors the lack of deliberative forums for ordinary citizens in cities.

The publications emanating from this research are significant given the lack of research and literature on implementing deliberative democracy in Indian cities. They help understand the challenges and argue that a third party is essential to support civil society-led deliberations in the absence of institutionalization of high-quality public participation. Each publication presents different, though connected and in some instances, overlapping aspects of the research. Table 2 explains how the descriptions of the context, literature review, methods, results, and discussions appear in these articles to draw together the research output logically. Information about the case studies covered in each of the five publications is presented in Table 3.

Table 2 - Overview of the thesis by compilation

Context and why deliberative democracy is imperative for urban India	
The sustainability challenge	Publication-III
Strengths and gaps of current participation mechanisms	Publication-II Publication -III
Why deliberative democracy may be an appropriate model	Publication-III
Methodology	
Action research supported by mixed-methods	Publication-IV
Description of the strategy of the introduction of high-quality public deliberations to Pune (Case-study I)	Publication I
Results and discussions	
Citizens' perception survey results Feedback from mini publics (Case-studies 1, 2, 3)	Publication-V
How high-quality public deliberation criteria worked (Case-studies I, 2)	Publication-II
How organic participation added value (Case-studies I, 2)	Publication-II
Applying high quality public deliberation criteria (Case-study 3)	Publication-IV
How the role of an independent third-party functioned	Publication-II
Role and characteristics of a third party	Publication-V
Transformative nature of action research and contribution of mixed-methods research	Publication-IV

Table 3 - Coverage of the case studies

	Case 1 Dattawadi, 2013	Case 2 Participatory Budget 1, 2014	Case 3 Participatory Budget 2, 2015	Case 4 Aundh Streets, 2017
Publication I	X			
Publication II	X	X	X	
Publication III	X	X	X	
Publication IV				X
Publication V		X	X	X

Together, the five publications which make up this thesis by compilation provide new information, research insights and answers to the question posed in its title: “How can an independent third-party support high-quality deliberation to bridge the gap between organic and induced participation in Pune, India?”. Moreover, they represent a cohesive argument about urban India in an area that has not been previously explored. Further details about each publication are presented in the following sections. A more extensive discussion of the findings from the research is presented in the next chapter.

2.5.1 Publication I

Deliberative democracy and learning for sustainable mobility in Pune

This publication presents a description of the experience of introducing a high-quality deliberative democracy model to different actors in Pune over several months in the year 2013. The context was a collaborative initiative of the Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute and partners in Pune, including local architecture colleges and other academia, non-governmental organizations and civic groups, the Pune Municipal Corporation and elected officials. The article discusses why deliberative democracy is especially relevant in the Indian urban context.

The contribution of this publication to the field of deliberative democracy (DD) is the description of the approach to the transnational transfer of a model of deliberative democracy and its actual implementation in the Indian city context. It describes the process of engagement of local actors through knowledge-sharing workshops about deliberative democracy and strategizing the implementation of the DD model through an initiative on local area planning and street design. The article further describes the preparatory processes of studying the specific substantive issue for deliberation, the community context, and the engagement with elected representatives and municipal officials. The actual process of deliberation is presented in detail, followed by an assessment of the deliberation. The further uptake of the deliberative democracy model by civil society groups is also described.

This article, which is part of a monograph about engaging with change, places the introduction of deliberative democracy into the context of government-led planning and the ongoing advocacy of civil society actors. The social learning aspects of deliberative democracy processes are also highlighted with the specific role of knowledge institutions, such as the local architecture college, in developing a sound information base. The need for greater engagement of knowledge institutions to examine deliberative democracy is identified. It highlights that: “To reach a point where high-quality deliberative democratic processes are institutionalised is itself a transformative journey for a society”. This early descriptive article about deliberative democracy in an Indian city begins to address the scarcity of literature on deliberative democracy initiatives in Indian cities.

Finally, and importantly, the learnings from this early work in deliberative democracy provided the background for this thesis and its focus on action research into deliberative

democracy in urban India. It helped frame the opportunities and roadblocks that might be involved in the implementation of deliberative democracy processes.

2.5.2 Publication-II

Institutional innovations in public participation for improved local governance and urban sustainability in India

Publication-II suggests that deliberative democracy may be introduced in urban public decision-making in India with a contextualization of processes and methods to address civic participation and sustainability challenges. It suggests that the design of deliberations may consciously aim to surface and consider the characteristics of Indian society that make democratic engagement challenging. Using case studies of the action research conducted in Pune, the article shows the potential, challenges and possibilities for deliberative democracy in Indian cities.

This article, published in a sustainability journal, initially presents a literature review of earlier efforts to deepen the institutional mechanisms of induced democratic participation in cities in India, such as the Model Nagar Raj Bill, which have been only partially successful or have not materialized. Publication-II makes the proposition that high-quality public deliberation can be a model to help address the gaps in induced or government-led participation in urban areas in India. However, it is more likely to succeed if the assets of organic participation are incorporated. Additionally, while the article highlights the strengths of organic, grassroots movements and claimed spaces of participation in India, its challenges are also discussed. Thus, potentially, if these two modes of participation could work in tandem, such gaps could be bridged. This idea is drawn from Mansuri and Rao (2012) and elaborated in the urban context in Publication-II.

The article explores the potential for deliberative democracy using the case studies of the public deliberations in Dattawadi (in 2013) and the review of Pune's participatory budgeting mechanism (in 2014 and 2015). First, the action research methodology is briefly presented. Next, a detailed discussion is done of how the criteria of high-quality public deliberation were met and the challenges encountered in the process. In particular, the article describes how deliberative democracy was incorporated into induced participation and how inclusiveness and deliberativeness were achieved. Finally, though it was limited, the

influence of the recommendations developed by the mini publics in the case studies on civic decision-making is presented.

Using the three case studies, a potential framework in inductively drawn for how deliberative democracy initiatives (induced participation), could work inclusive of civil society (organic and claimed) participation, and supported by an independent third party. The article contends that city government in India and elsewhere could use such a framework of high-quality public deliberations that integrates the strengths of organic participation to develop more implementable decisions that are better able to address complex challenges of urban sustainability.

Further, the article suggests that advocacy will be needed to develop a social environment supporting democratic renewal. A potential way forward is to “(find) ‘champions’ within political, administrative and civil society willing to pioneer deliberative democracy initiatives, to build professional capacity to conduct high-quality deliberation, and to ensure the outcomes of such processes are influential”.

This article contributes to the understanding of implementing deliberative democracy in urban areas of a developing country. It explains how the criteria of high quality public deliberation can be met, how organic participation can be incorporated to enhance induced deliberation, and an independent third party can assist by coordinating and facilitating the process.

2.5.3 *Publication-III*

Linking Traditional ‘Organic’ and ‘Induced’ Public Participation with Deliberative Democracy: Experiments in Pune, India

Publication-III presents a review of literature and case studies from the action research in Pune. The article published in a journal on education for sustainable development also presents the case studies of public deliberations for area planning and street design in Dattawadi Pune and participatory budget reform. These are then briefly discussed to show how organic and induced participation contributed to the transformation desired in these efforts.

The article makes the case that governance reform is essential to integrate deliberative democracy, which is highly relevant for sustainability transformations in urban areas in India.

Such governance reform may build on traditional participation forms in Indian cities. This article contributes to the deliberative democracy literature by reviewing the links between urban sustainability transformations, governance characteristics, and the learning that can contribute to such transformations in the Indian context, suggesting that deliberative democracy may provide the answer. India has a significant opportunity for sustainable development in cities, with a large and growing urban sector and population. However, this transition is a wicked problem. Deliberative democracy has characteristics that are particularly suited to address wickedness: the potential to engage diverse knowledge bases and actors, inclusivity, especially of those marginalized in civic decision making, an increase in trust so that experimentation and innovation are supported, reflexivity to enable learning and adaptation, and a focus on community well-being.

While existing literature has discussions on the application of deliberative democracy to sustainability in addressing wickedness, enhancing a systems understanding, and the role of trust, this is the first article that brings such aspects together. It suggests that bringing such elements together through deliberative democracy could be an essential method of addressing urban sustainability issues in India.

Links are also made, using references from literature, between Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Deliberative Democracy, highlighting that the critical need is not that people change their behaviour to do specific “sustainable” things, but that they develop the critical capacities to engage in issues of sustainability (Wals, 2010). However, as deliberative democracy approaches are so rare in Indian cities, some reform in urban governance is needed to enable the critical engagement that Wals (2010) calls for at a systemic and individual level. The ESD literature has very few articles linking social learning and governance, and this research helps to meet that gap.

The article suggests that India’s traditions and experiences of public participation would be a useful base for reform in civic governance. The review of literature further assesses the current experiences of induced and organic participation. Critical gaps are identified in existing participatory institutions and processes using the criteria of inclusiveness, deliberativeness and influence. The absence of a mandate for governments to enable influential participation of everyday citizens is a key gap. This in turn has meant that there is a lack of structures and procedures for inclusive participation. The processes that do exist are characterized by non-deliberativeness, a lack of transparency, insufficient support and facilitation, and a narrow conception of participation. Experiences from Indian

participatory governance corresponding to good practices are also identified through the literature review, such as the People's Campaign of Decentralized Planning in Kerala (Heller et al., 2007), micro-planning in Maharashtra (Yashada, n.d.), the formulation of India's National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan and development of the Forest Rights Act (Ganguly, 2016). Understanding these gaps and positive examples can provide a solid foundation of knowledge and experience relevant for governance reform. In the literature review carried out, there was little to no analysis of urban governance provisions in India using the lens and criteria of deliberative democracy. This article contributes to bringing these two perspectives together with an explicit focus on their importance for developing such abilities within the Indian urban society, including the role of an independent third party.

2.5.4 Publication-IV

Applying mixed methods action research to explore how public participation in an Indian City could better resolve urban sustainability problems

Publication-IV presents the action research (AR) initiative conducted from 2014 to 2017 to introduce deliberative democracy initiatives in Pune. The article briefly explains the context of development issues in Indian cities and the need for change, which could be enabled by transformative public involvement. The article addresses the question, "How can the integration of action research and mixed-methods improve the transformative capacity of public deliberations to resolve urban sustainability problems?"

The article outlines the research design integrating qualitative, quantitative and performative steps. It presents the quantitative survey results, which produced a valuable baseline of citizens' perceptions about the experience and desire of public participation, assessed using Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969). As this survey question has been used in other cities (Grossardt & Bailey, 2018; Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2019), the results may be helpful to compare public perceptions in different contexts. Second, it shows the use of the other tools, including interviews with knowledgeable individuals and a collaborative, reflective learning process of a team of facilitators to study the deliberation context in detail. The team of facilitators was needed to help prepare for and conduct the public deliberations, which had action research at the core. The key informant interviews gave insights and built confidence to proceed with and frame the action research with public

deliberations. At the same time, the quantitative survey provided further clarity on the public's perceptions and reinforced the conviction about the need for deliberative democracy in Indian cities.

A case study of the public deliberation in 2017 around street design work in the Aundh ward of the city of Pune is presented in this article. The context is a residential area with multiple social and economic activities and a range of mobility needs. A project for street design was implemented in this locality by the Pune Smart City Development Corporation Ltd. In this case too, as has been the experience with other public deliberations, there were gains from the deliberation that included surfacing several dimensions of issues, learning, and elicitation of recommendations and priorities for mobility services and street management. These were submitted to the city authorities, though their influence was limited.

The article contributes to the literature on research methodology in several ways. First, this research responded to the conundrum of whether a case study provides the basis for a worthwhile research pursuit. Second, the article shows how mixed methods helped build a more robust and multi-dimensional understanding around introducing public deliberative approaches in the case of Pune. As stated in Publication-IV, “(t)he integration of the mixed-methods approach in the action research to design and facilitate deliberative participation processes, helped to broaden and deepen understanding, and enhanced the transformative capacity of the research design”. This case study explicitly emphasises the advantages of a mixed-methods approach with action research.

Secondly, as noted earlier, this particular publication and the thesis as a whole are among the few contributions from the Global South that combine mixed-methods and action research methodology in the social sciences fields. The relative dearth of such contributions has been highlighted in the action research literature (Martí, 2015; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). Importantly, this research methodology contributed to the deliberative democracy field by showing how high quality public deliberations are relevant in the Indian context.

2.5.5 *Publication-V*

Can Deliberative Democracy Work in Urban India?

Publication-V presents a case study of the results of the efforts to introduce high-quality public deliberation in Pune, India. Specifically, the article presents the results of a perception survey that revealed the need for strengthening citizens' participation in public

governance and quantitative and qualitative assessments of high-quality public deliberations conducted between 2014 and 2017. Apart from the data synthesized from the quantitative survey, the article provides insights from the key informant interviews and feedback from the public deliberations, the facilitators, observers and organic civic groups. While the prior publications described have theory and methods as their focus, this article, published in an urban studies journal, weaves together the story of what actually transpired in Pune, India, from different vantage points.

The research findings are integrated around eight themes: disaffection of the public with civic decision-making by the local government, the desire of the public to participate in civic decision-making, high-quality public deliberations, the ambivalent attitude of the local government with regard to public deliberations, the response of politicians, citizens' readiness for partnership, the role of a third-party, and the support for deliberative democracy expressed by civic advocacy groups. This integration allows for a conclusion to be drawn that in the Indian urban context, processes of public participation through deliberation about emerging issues would largely depend on the active involvement of organic civic groups. The essential role of an independent third party is emphasised.

As presented in the article, the research results indicate that "to successfully implement deliberative democracy initiatives in the Indian context, it will be important to include India's traditionally strong grassroots organic participation". They would help to keep the government accountable in terms of the implementation of the deliberative decisions. In addition, it is contended that using an independent third party in conducting deliberations could help address democratic deficits in India, including lack of public trust in government and perceptions of lack of accountability. While this study's research findings lend some support for these contentions, further research will be required. The research findings presented in this article are a contribution to the deliberative democracy field. They empirically show how high-quality deliberations in urban India, supported by an independent third party, can provide a satisfactory space for public participation in important issues, enabling learning, egalitarian deliberation, and the development of balanced outcomes, reflecting common ground.

This chapter summarized the research methodology and the contributions from the published articles. The next chapter presents the academic contributions from the study.

3. Conclusions, limitations and scope for future research

This concluding chapter presents a brief reflection on the research findings. It presents the significant academic contributions of the study, its limitations and the scope for future research.

3.1 The research question revisited and contributions to scholarship

The PhD study considered the question: “How can an independent third-party support high-quality deliberation to bridge the gap between organic and induced participation in Pune, India?”. This question was addressed through action research, enriched with a mixed-methods approach, including qualitative interviews with knowledgeable individuals, facilitators, participants and officials, and a survey of public perceptions. The research considered the concept of deliberative democracy prevalent primarily in high-income democracies and sought to adapt it for application in Pune and developing country cities more broadly. Mini publics were organized for deliberative initiatives on street design and reform of participatory budgeting in Pune. A team of facilitators was elicited through local NGOs. They were trained in facilitation and oriented for critical thinking about participatory processes through a collaborative inquiry about contemporary participation processes in Pune.

This research found that respondents are dissatisfied with local government decision-making and government-led participation, that ordinary people do not have a say in the decision-making by the local authority, and that the local government does not care about their views. There is considerable interest in citizens’ own organic participation initiatives. Also, there is recognition of such interest among others. Such positive attitudes can provide a supportive environment for public deliberations to be instituted. Importantly, the research found that while people desire “partnership” with the municipal government in public decision-making, their experience is something between “informing” and “consultation”, using Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969) as a reference. This result – indicating that the public is interested in more collaborative forms of governance, but not yet experiencing it – is a solid basis for deliberative democracy innovations. The results of the three mini-publics organized between 2014 and 2017 during this research, and the findings from an earlier deliberation in which the researcher was closely involved, were considered in

the research analysis. Insights were generated from the research about how high-quality deliberations may be organized and conducted and how organic civic participation might add value to induced deliberations, which is at the core of this research.

Given the initial success with a public deliberation at Dattawadi, Pune in 2013, it was assumed that it would be possible to integrate public deliberations into the ongoing street design and participatory budget processes under the aegis of the city government. However, the government was ambivalent, and the public deliberations were ultimately organized and supported as a civil society initiative. Nevertheless, these deliberations showed that the core idea and the act of an inclusive mini-public engaging in egalitarian, well-informed deliberation as “citizens” can be exhilarating and empowering, something that has not been experienced and even imagined as a possibility or meaning of democracy.

The potential of deliberative democracy to bring about transformation was realised even as certain critical challenges and opportunities became apparent. The research thus reaffirmed the core idea of deliberative democracy as well as extended, enlarged and adapted certain conceptual, theoretical, empirical and methodological dimensions of its application in Indian cities. These contributions are described in the next section.

3.1.1 Conceptual expansion of deliberative democracy criteria

The research had started with a clear definition and criteria of deliberative democracy. However, this changed during the research in relation to each of the characteristics of deliberative democracy – representativeness, deliberativeness and influence. The research showed that some of the processes and criteria of public deliberation work differently in the developing country context.

Assembling a representative group as a mini-public is a key criterion that had to be enlarged. The attempt at sortition using electoral rolls revealed large errors in the voter database. Migrants and new entrants to the city form a significant part of the urban population but often do not enrol in local electoral rolls. The spatial distribution of the population in a city is not even. The presence and movement of people through the cityscape are also linked to different socio-economic and cultural dimensions. Consequently, the concept of a demographically representative group spurred comments from knowledgeable individuals about possibly further excluding marginalized groups if it is not done with greater thought. Thus, during the course of research, the concept of a demographically representative

group was adapted as “inclusion” to ensure the participation of people from different marginalized groups. This adaptation was necessitated due to the challenges of sortition in a complex and heterogeneous society, its distribution across the city's physical space, and the lack of systematic population lists or databases from which to draw a randomized sample.

“Deliberativeness” took on another form that focused more on dialogue and multi-faceted communication because of multiple languages, reading abilities, and social stratification. With government ambivalence, influence in public decisions was not achieved. Instead, a more diffuse form of influence could be said to be achieved – a combination of empowerment, greater understanding of the issues taken up for deliberation issues, and advocacy resulting from this enhanced understanding and reports of deliberation events, based on trust in the independent third party. The concept of “influence” was thus also broadened and seen as empowerment of participants, and the understanding gained about the subject of deliberation as useful for advocacy and thus having indirect influence. These additional constructs were added to the conceptual framework of deliberative democracy.

3.1.2 Contributions to theory

This study also allowed for a contribution to the development of broader theories about the roles and responses of different actors in participation and in developing a conjoined participatory framework. They are presented in turn below.

The roles and responses of institutional and civic organic actors

The roles and responses of key actors who might enable induced participation were distinctly different from those of organic civic groups and knowledgeable individuals engaged in organic participation. It was found that the key actors related to induced participation were ambivalent about public deliberation. Politicians played an important role in enabling at least one public deliberation, while the administration was supportive in another. On the other hand, the initial proposals for deliberation around street design projects in the Pune Smart City area, which was a high visibility project, and around potentially contentious topics such as street vending, which might upset the power balance and political economy, did not go forward. Even the recommendation resulting from the deliberation on improving participatory budgeting was ultimately not adopted when it touched upon actual budget allocations. Hence, influence on public decision-making could not be achieved in the otherwise successful deliberative initiative. In an extreme case, an elected representative even

disrupted a prioritization meeting during the actual participatory budget process. From a theoretical perspective, the success of deliberation in a developing urban context is not dependent on the quality of deliberative outcomes. It is conditioned by the responses of institutional and civic organic actors.

The conjoined participation framework

Eventually, institutional arrangements to enable deliberative democracy are desirable and have been made in different countries, though they are currently largely experimental and evolving (Chwalisz, 2020). The conceptual construct of deliberative democracy benefitting from the strength of organic and induced participation forms, and the exploration of how a third party might support high-quality deliberation, led to developing a framework for conjoined participation, presented in Publication II. This action research study helped improve the understanding of the different stages and steps in preparing, conducting and following up on public deliberation and which type of actor might best perform these tasks. The proposed framework blends induced and organic participation and clarifies the role of the third party, and may be considered a theoretical contribution to the field of public participation in developing countries, relatively younger democracies, and the global study of deliberative democracy.

3.1.3 Empirical contributions

The research findings include the quantitative public perception survey results that show dissatisfaction with current public participation and the desire for partnership. In addition, these survey results cover responses to a question based on Arnstein's Ladder of Participation that has been used elsewhere (e.g. the USA and Australia) and thus provide comparable information.

That deliberative democracy might work differently in Indian cities could be surmised from the existing literature about participation and previous examples. However, the present research empirically showed specific aspects that worked differently when the western model of deliberative democracy is applied to a developing country context. These aspects include the ambivalent support of the government, the challenges in the application of sortition as a method to select participants and the influence of a mini-public deliberation on civic decisions.

Interviews with knowledgeable individuals, especially those involved with deliberative processes, had alerted about the complexity of society and hidden aspects of power and domination beyond gender, class and a superficial understanding of caste. Identity politics, invisibility of marginalized segments (Narayan, 2015), exclusions in relation to the spatial distribution of population in the city, and hidden subversive nexus arrangements of extortion and protection pose further challenges for inclusion, equitable participation and open deliberation. Preparatory studies done for some of the deliberations during this research showed how important it is for the third party to be aware of and sensitive to such socio-political and cultural aspects while designing and managing the deliberation process. It was shown empirically that a third party as the facilitator of a mini-public is preferred by participants and will generally be needed to anchor public deliberation.

3.1.4 Methodological contributions

By using mixed methods and action research, the study also makes methodological contributions. The use of multiple methods of measurement, including quantitative, qualitative and performative methods, enhanced the construct validity of the measures. This study showed several ways in which the elements of deliberative democracy might be implemented differently in a developing country urban context as well as measured and captured through a mixed-methods approach, which constitutes methodological contributions to scholarship.

The research showed that it cannot be assumed that a local government would be willing to support public deliberation. This aspect is also likely to depend on a city's political leadership, the choice of the topic, and other aspects of governance. However, Indian cities, especially large urban centres with high migration rates, may present similar contexts as the research area (namely, Pune), and the findings may be generalisable. For example, the research showed how effectiveness could be achieved in an Indian city context with respect to aspects such as methods of recruitment of participants to achieve inclusion and representation, the blending of organic and induced forms of participation, and the role and functioning of a third party to support public deliberation processes. The research thus highlighted the methodological adaptations needed to implement deliberative democracy in an Indian city context.

The research spanning about eight years showed that the characteristics aiding and blocking deliberative democracy in a developing democracy may persist over time – despite several changes in economic, social and cultural governance as well as urban development during that period. Finally, the contribution of the study to methodology can be used to discern potential weaknesses in the design of past studies.

3.2 Limitations of the study

Ideally, public deliberations ought to have been conducted by the local government. Though the municipal corporation did partly support one of the deliberations (in 2015), perhaps more effort should have gone into convincing the officials to support more mini-publics. There was some interaction with politicians, such as a detailed presentation of a case study of street design issues, made for seeking approval for the conduct of the deliberations in certain areas of the city (which did not materialize), and discussions on the concept of public deliberations by facilitators with the local elected representatives. Councillors were invited and attended the presentation of the results from one of the deliberations (in 2015). The mechanism for budget allocations based on an index (WISE) was also presented by the municipal commissioner at the General Body of the municipal corporation (where it was not carried forward). However, extensive or in-depth discussions were not done with many councillors on the possibilities and merits of integrating deliberative democracy within representative systems.

It would be possible to run larger sortition sampling to make up for the hesitation and eventual non-participation on the part of some women invited through sortition to public deliberations. However, due to time and financial resource constraints in the present research, more extensive sortition was not possible.

The limited possibilities for conducting public deliberation linked to participatory budgeting and street design posed a challenge. For example, participatory budgeting in Pune has a fixed annual schedule with a limited window for public inputs. Street design projects in general have a long gestation period and are also a new area of work in Pune with several uncertainties. These uncertainties and the schedules of the city government posed a time constraint for the research itself.

Limited time and resources prevented detailed explorations of several aspects of the research. Even though the different stages of research and findings were discussed with a

team of facilitators and research guides and their inputs helped shape the research, finally the scope, analysis and sense-making in the research process is limited by the single researcher and her subjectivity.

3.3 Scope for future research

This research showed that innovation in how ordinary people participate in public governance is a need in Pune, that high quality public deliberation can provide a satisfactory process for inclusive participation and lead to well-reasoned outputs. However, the difficulty encountered was that the government was not always willing to support such processes.

Further research needs to be undertaken to find a broader array of options to engage decision-makers which could raise the likelihood of public deliberation results being influential. However, this task is abstruse, as demonstrated by the many and varied attempts to achieve this throughout this research. The following examples illustrate this. A meeting of citizens to prioritise suggestions for neighbourhood projects was closed down by a councillor who stated that this was the job of elected officials. When the proponents of public deliberation briefed elected officials about impending planning problems which could be averted through public deliberation, no action was taken. Though elected officials offered support throughout the participatory budgeting deliberations, including of the reform recommendations, when it came to implementation, the reforms were dropped. The support of administrative officials was also elusive. In one instance, a public official stated that public recommendations could not be guaranteed.

Resistance to public deliberation on the part of the bureaucracy and especially elected representatives may be due to a fear of not getting a “correct” result (such as in high visibility projects), while elected representatives may be apprehensive of losing decision-making power and see it as a challenge to their authority. Of course, corruption is among the reasons to block the public view about projects. It may also be due to the complexity of the topic, and the fear of opening up an issue and inviting more thankless work, and an inability to meet expectations. Bureaucrats would in general prefer to take on projects that can be completed during their tenure, and not open up controversial situations.

This barrier to public deliberation and innovation for deepening democracy is an important, though not unexpected finding. Government support to not only organize public deliberations but also integrate their recommendations would make deliberative democracy

initiatives much more effective, efficient and meaningful. Like in Pune, competitiveness of local politics, the level of decentralization, and the mandates of local government may be important factors in how governments in other cities view deliberative democracy

Taking these likely impediments into account, it will be important to undertake and assess different strategies to elicit government support. Since the immediate progress of deliberative democracy may take place at the initiative of organic civic groups or academia, research on approaches to advance acceptance and embed deliberative democracy in different cities and states in India would be highly relevant. This may be done in various Indian cities on different topics of interest, appropriate for public deliberation. Large and small cities such as Bengaluru and Bhuj that have active ward committees and organic civic groups may be appropriate contexts in which to take up further research. Kerala and Delhi where the state governments have themselves led participatory planning and budgeting, may be highly appropriate contexts as well to refine the methods of public deliberation processes. Other approaches of deepening democracy and deliberative democracy more implementable in the Indian context should also be tried out. These might be new approaches or those that build on the existing concepts and structures of ward committees, ward *sabhas*, and area *sabhas*.

Of course, the lack of government support need not be considered as a “deal-breaker” for public deliberation. Civil society initiatives can continue to help enhance thinking about complex civic issues from multiple perspectives, and have other benefits including preparing the ground for induced, government-led public deliberation. Nevertheless, further research in engaging state and city governments with deliberative democracy is essential to advance democratic renewal and sustainability in India and across the world.

3.4 Conclusion

This research in Pune, India began with concern for sustainable development in the Indian urban context, recognizing the wickedness of current issues. It drew inspiration from the call by Mansuri and Rao (2012) to use the strengths of organic civic groups and their desire for participatory change, their willingness to learn, experiment, and their persistent engagement, in designing induced participatory processes. The research reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of current organic and induced participation mechanisms. Deliberative democracy approaches were identified as having certain characteristics that improve society’s ability to respond to complex sustainability questions. The research

explored how high-quality public deliberations could be conducted in an Indian city, given the complexities of the context, and to what extent such processes would be an effective mechanism for public participation. A third party is usually involved in the conduct of high-quality public deliberations in other countries where deliberative democracy is practiced. Hence, one aim of this research was to understand what may constitute an independent third party as a facilitator of public participation process in the Indian context, and how this could be assessed.

This study showed that the deliberative democracy models developed elsewhere can be adapted for the Indian urban context. An independent third party can support high-quality deliberation and help bridge the gap between organic participation and induced processes. The research revealed that public deliberation supported by a third party can be a satisfactory space for participation, learning and developing balanced outcomes. Political champions, administrators, civil society leaders and civic groups can help conduct increasingly more public deliberations on important urban sustainability issues. However, while political champions can support and amplify public deliberations, there is also the possibility of derailment.

A mechanism of public deliberation may be needed in the future that draws institutional authority from the representative government and submits recommendations to it, while being independent, transparent and open with regard to arranging public deliberation processes. Such a mechanism would enable the public to submit topics, undertake background research, appoint third-party facilitators and oversight committees through transparent processes, commission public outreach, provide grievance redress and maintain records of deliberations. Organic groups can assist in public deliberation mechanisms by surfacing issues for deliberation, providing expert information on issues and framing communications, and supporting the participation of marginalized groups. Civic groups could also participate in oversight committees. They would, as they do now, keep issues alive and aid institutional memory to follow up on recommendations of mini-publics and their implementation.

The need to develop different strategies to elicit government support for deliberative democracy as well as the appropriateness of other potential approaches of deliberative democracy are identified as key areas for further research. As such, the two meanings of institutionalization, that is legal and cultural (Chwalisz, 2020), are both important for an arrangement to be deep-rooted and long-lasting. However, formal legal institutionalization of

deliberative democracy in Indian cities may take several years, going by the earlier efforts to enable area *sabhas* (TERI, 2010). On the other hand, Donella Meadows suggested that “a shared idea in the minds of society” is a more powerful leverage in a system (Meadows, 1999) than formal rules. In Pune, civil society groups indicated their support for high-quality public deliberation, even when these are organized by NGOs, of course, having the characteristics of a neutral and capable third party, committed to sustainability and inclusivity. Efforts to make deliberative democracy a reality in Indian cities, would need to focus on institutionalization in the legal sense, as well as a civic value that goes deeper and may ultimately be more powerful than formal institutions. For this, civic groups working in the sphere of participatory governance will have to reach out to political leaders, academia, other citizens’ groups to advocate for deliberative democracy as a way to strengthen and deepen democracy, and to co-create an environment of practice, research, capacities, and eventually policies and institutions.

It is hoped that individuals and organizations engaged in promoting participatory approaches in public governance and broader social mobilization around democratic values would find the results of this research relevant and applicable to other Indian cities. It can also inform deliberative opportunities in other parts of the world where citizens strive for a partnership engagement with their government.

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5. Publications

5.1 Publication I

Menon, Sanskriti, and Sneha Rapur. 2018. “Deliberative democracy and learning for sustainable mobility in Pune.” In *Academia and Communities: Engaging for Change Innovation in Local and Global Learning Systems for Sustainability*. Learning Contributions of the Regional Centres of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development, UNU-IAS, Tokyo, Japan, 2018. <http://collections.unu.edu/view/UNU:6601>

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Chapter 4

Deliberative Democracy and Learning for Sustainable Mobility in Pune



▸ Summary

ESD Innovation

Viewed from the lens of ESD (Education for Sustainable Development) innovation, this deliberative democracy process aimed to enhance understanding about sustainable mobility and streets, as well as the equity in the decision-making process. Efforts such as community-led design and participatory planning have been used for many years, especially in the developed world. The value of such processes for social learning has also been highlighted.

However, such efforts are rather rare in Indian cities. Street space is highly contested as there are multiple uses. The needs of the more marginalised can be, and are often quashed. A structured process that values learning and deliberation, seeks out multiple points of view as contributors to our collective understanding, and thereby places all participants on an equal footing, may be one way of addressing sustainability challenges locally.

Societal Transformation

The experience has also brought about some learning for public governance. Considering India's own experience of the implementation of Panchayati Raj¹, and examples from around the world, such as participatory budgeting, Dialogue for the City in Perth, and several others, Deliberative Democracy (DD) can be a powerful way of societal transformation. To reach a point where high quality deliberative democratic processes are institutionalised is itself a transformative journey for a society. Deliberative democratic forums have much to offer even when not institutionalised. Work areas have emerged among RCE Pune members following the work described here. These include using and demonstrating DD tools and techniques in various fora, and using these as part of RCE Pune's dialogues and within its networks.

Implications of Development for Knowledge Institutions

Students and faculty from an architecture college played an important role in creating an information base for the deliberation. These inputs were invaluable. This experience and subsequent processes carried out by RCE Pune indicate the need for greater engagement of knowledge institutions in the domain of DD in India. Practice and research efforts are needed to examine democratic governance, together with the realisation of citizenship from multiple disciplinary lenses, including political economy, sociology, communication and public discourse, among others.

These desired outcomes in relation to ESD innovations and societal transformation, and the deeper engagement of knowledge institutions are areas for further work in RCE Pune and at the Centre for Environment Education (CEE).

¹ 'Panchayati Raj' in India is a system of governance in which elected bodies at the village level and ward committees in urban wards are the basic units of local administration. These systems were introduced through amendments to the Indian Constitution in 1992.

Context

Among the top issues identified by citizens in Pune is traffic and transportation. This chapter presents an attempt at a DD process carried out in 2013 in Pune. This was a multi-stakeholder process of learning and action on sustainable mobility and street design, anchored by members of RCE Pune. RCE Pune was recognised in 2007 and has been anchored by the Centre for Environment Education (CEE). The work presented here involved a partnership between RCE Pune members, CEE and Parisar (a local NGO from Pune), the BN College of Architecture, and the Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute (CUSP). The work was supported by AusAid. The work offers some learnings for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), in particular in the engagement of local actors in cities.

Urban Mobility and Public Governance

Traffic and transportation are among the top civic issues in many Indian cities. Pune, a city located in western India with a population of about 3.2 million (2011 Census) is no different. It has seen a high growth rate of motorised traffic with more than 500 vehicles being registered every day. Local impacts include high air and noise pollution, a large number of traffic accidents, and time wasted caught in road congestion. The vehicular emissions contribute to global climate change.

The transportation situation, and the usage of streets as a particular element of the transportation system, is a complex problem – there are many types of road space users, and there is little initial agreement among them about what the problem is. Measures such as widening roads, building flyovers and increasing space for parking in response to increases in motorised traffic have not helped, and may have worsened the situation, which has been the experience in other parts of the world.

Efforts to streamline urban mobility in Pune have

come up short, when faced with the practical reality of having to deal with the street space claims of pedestrians, cyclists, street vendors, users of private motor vehicles, paratransit, public transit, utilities, waste collectors, and a multitude of others. How to design and devise the transitions becomes a complex exercise leading to much angst, accusations of non-transparency, and a waste of the creative energies of administrators, political leaders, consultants and citizens alike. Furthermore, the claims of some segments, such as informal workers or cyclists, are not even formally or adequately recognised, leading to further stresses in the urban fabric.

In 2009, RCE members, namely CEE, along with Parisar and the Institute of Democracy and Sustainability initiated a country-level network of NGOs and individuals on sustainable mobility. A core question for this Sustainable Urban Mobility Network (SUM Net) has been 'how can people be better informed and active partners in decisions on urban mobility and street design?'. In 2013, this ongoing exploration and a chance meeting with the CUSP, led CEE to anchor an effort for participatory street design in a neighbourhood of Pune, through a public deliberation process, in particular, a 'high quality deliberative democracy' process.

Deliberative Democracy as a Multi-stakeholder Process

'Multi-stakeholder partnership' (MSP) is described as an 'overarching concept which highlights the idea that different groups can share a common problem or aspiration, while having different interests or stakes'. MSPs are typically iterative and may take place over several weeks, months or longer durations. While an MSP may also be a short consultation, typically it would not be a 'one-off' workshop or a simple multi-actor gathering. It is a semi-structured process that helps people work together on a common problem over a shorter or longer time. The MSP Guide suggests four main

Deliberative democracy (DD), or participatory democracy, has been described as a nascent social movement, a response to the perceived inadequacies of representative democracy (Bohman 1998; Dryzek 1990; Smith and Wales 2000).

According to Levine (2003), democracy requires deliberation for three reasons:

- To enable citizens to discuss public issues and form opinions
- To give democratically elected leaders better insight into public issues than elections are able to do
- To enable people to justify their views in order to determine the better from the worse

phases: initiating the process, adaptive planning, collaborative action, and reflective monitoring (Brouwer 2016, 12).

A variety of deliberative processes exist around the world that use methods such as citizens' juries, citizens' panels, consensus conferences, deliberative polls, ChoiceDialogues, focus groups etc. (Fishkin 2000; Hendriks 2002; Abelson 2003; Fung 2003).

Carson and Hartz-Karp (2005) characterise 'high quality deliberative democracy' as a process that requires:

- Influence: capacity to influence policy and decision-making
- Inclusion: representative of population, inclusive of diverse viewpoints and values, equal opportunity to participate
- Deliberation: open dialogue, access to information, space to understand and reframe issues, respect, and movement toward consensus

Deliberative democracy strengthens citizen voices in governance by including people of all races,

classes, ages and geographies in deliberations that directly affect public decisions. As a result, citizens influence the policy and resource decisions that impact their daily lives and their future (*Deliberative Democracy Consortium 2003*).

While there are many commonalities in the underlying concerns, approaches and tools of deliberative democratic processes and multi-stakeholder processes, there is a difference. While members from MSPs are included, DD is more sharply attuned to the processes of public decision-making.

The presence of different points of view pertaining to the problem or problem cluster, enables the emergence of a better and more holistic picture of the system, and therefore highly valued in MSPs and DD. Indeed, this is what fosters learning from, and about other points of view.

In India, while the government and civil society organisations realise the importance of involving citizenry in decision-making processes, the actual progress in strengthening democratic institutions and processes at the local level in urban areas has been rather slow. The 73rd and 74th Amendments in the Indian Constitution in 1992-93 were the major steps taken toward creation and strengthening of local self-government institutions. These amendments provided for the structures of participatory democracy to be created at the village, city and district levels, with elections every five years, and reservations for women and representatives of marginalised groups. The formal institution of the *gram sabha*, that is a village assembly, within the representative structure of the *gram panchayat*, which is an elected local body, is recognised as a big step for deepening democracy.

However, there are many institutional and societal challenges in the effective functioning of *gram sabhas*. While the framework for participatory and

localised governance was created through the constitutional amendments, the actual devolution and decentralisation of governance functions and the funds to carry them out was left to State governments to decide on. This has taken place in varying degrees across different states. Structural inequities in society, inadequacy of procedures for conducting *gram sabhas*, inadequacy of information on which to base decisions, and the weak influence of *gram sabha* deliberations on decision-making, are some large barriers for effective public participatory governance.

Urban areas in India however, lack even a structure for regular and formal assembly of lay citizens for public governance, analogous to the *gram sabha*. In more recent years, the Maharashtra Municipal Corporations Act has been amended to include a fourth tier of urban governance, in the form of *Area Sabhas*. These are meant to be set up as assemblies at the very local level for citizens to participate in municipal functions, which are matters of their everyday concern. While this provision has been included in law, the rules for implementing the provision have not yet been prepared and the provision is thus not yet implemented in Maharashtra. With the advent of the Smart Cities Mission², there is some interest in citizens' engagement in urban governance since the extent of engagement is among the criteria used to select cities for participation in the programme. Early critiques of the engagement processes done in the Smart Cities Mission indicate that these have been rather light-touch survey processes or very simple engagements, and certainly not public deliberations.

Thus, while the democratic framework exists at the local level, its usability for organising a local multi-stakeholder deliberation leading to public decisions has been limited.

Promoting Deliberation in Pune

Preparation and Engagement Phase

The process of preparation and engagement took place over several months in 2013. It started with the coming together of a core team consisting of CEE, the BN College of Architecture, Parisar, and faculty from the Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute, Perth (CUSP). The project was supported by AusAid. The CUSP research team, led by Prof. Janette Hartz-Karp, designed the Deliberative Process for the research and was involved in training the facilitators. Prof. Hartz-Karp guided the partners in understanding the principles of DD and applying these in the Indian context.

The core team assembled in Pune in early 2013. The first steps were to select a site for the deliberative process, which was done through a discussion process, and to orient the architecture students and faculty on sustainable transportation and methods of studying street usage.

For site selection, the team members initially listed eight neighbourhoods in the city, considering attributes such as number of pedestrians using the streets, activities on the streets, importance of streets in terms of being located close to temples, educational institutions, or commercial areas. The participants listed the criteria that would help them jointly select a site:

² The Smart Cities Mission was launched in 2015 by the Government of India. The objective is to promote cities that provide core infrastructure and give a decent quality of life to its citizens, a clean and sustainable environment and application of 'Smart' Solutions. The approaches include 1. Area-based Development, where multiple projects are taken up in a specific area; and 2. Pan-city projects. The area-based approach is expected to create a replicable model which will act like a light house to other aspiring cities. The Smart Cities Mission is meant to set examples that can be replicated both within and outside the Smart City. 100 cities are being selected over 5 years as part of the Mission. More information: <https://india.gov.in/spotlight/smart-cities-mission-step-towards-smart-india> and <http://smartcities.gov.in/content/>

- Interest for the research team and community
- Replicable in other parts of the city
- Innovative in design and process
- Implementable due to political support for the initiative
- Measurable impact on traffic and community

The second day of the workshop had around 60 participants from many other organisations, including the Pune Municipal Corporation. The purpose of the workshop was to introduce the project to this wider group of stakeholders and seek their inputs on the project process design. This workshop also demonstrated a process of, and a few tools for deliberative discussion. Dattawadi was finalised as the area for carrying out the participatory street design work, having satisfied the criteria developed on the previous day.

The next step was to understand the existing uses of the neighbourhood streets, identify areas for improvement, and to evolve future usage patterns and physical designs that, when implemented, would help enhance the liveability of the neighbourhood. Soon after this step, a researcher at CEE was trained in deliberative processes and tools. CEE also discussed the proposed process with political leaders from the beginning.

Study Phase

Dattawadi, the locality selected, is a small neighbourhood of about 1 km². The area has been settled for several decades and is characterised by a dense, low-rise urban form. The character of a neighbourhood is influenced to a great extent by the quality of its streets. Streets that are safe and pleasant for walking, cycling, street vending, for children to play in and for elders to sit around, help make a neighbourhood more liveable. Such street uses are very much evident in Dattawadi. However, increasing motorisation and on-street parking are changing the quality of the street space and its usage.

CEE staff, and the students and staff of BNCA undertook studies of transportation issues in general and in Dattawadi, over five to six months. Three neighbourhood streets and a junction were chosen for a detailed study of street usage.

The BNCA students took up transportation studies as a semester-long landscape design studio. They studied transportation issues in Pune and conducted macro studies in different wards of the city about connectivity, pedestrian and cycle friendliness. A team of students prepared an in-depth investigation on the Dattawadi area. They studied transportation patterns, conflicts between different modes, different uses and activities on the streets, and facilities for non-motorised transport. These studies formed the inputs for the deliberations later in the process.

CEE conducted several small meetings to understand the characteristics of the public and specific stakeholders, as well as their views on the neighbourhood public and street spaces. Discussions with local families, different user groups, municipal ward officials and elected representatives helped the CEE team gain some insights into the current localised processes of decision-making for small neighbourhood projects, and the societal structures within them. CEE also provided the elected representatives and some community members a preliminary introduction to a process where different groups could come together to express their views about street use, difficulties encountered and jointly arrive at solutions.

This study phase helped in developing a detailed understanding of the physical and social context. The discussions helped prepare the ground for the deliberative process, such as some familiarity with the members of the anchor team who were by this time not perceived as total strangers.

The insights gained from the discussions with the community and others helped identify different stakeholder groups, their concerns and perspectives about the usage of street space. Study findings were converted into communication and information material including the invitation to a deliberative event, and presentations about the situation and issues. The invitations were sent out based on the understanding gained about the local community.

Good quality information as an input to the decision-making process is one of the key tenets for DD. The information needed may not already exist. For example, conflict between pedestrians and motorists is generally known, however the specific issues of this type to be addressed in Dattawadi had to be mapped and represented for use in the deliberative workshop held at the next stage.

Deliberative Event

The deliberative event was a formal workshop held in October 2013. The proceedings of the first day was held at the campus of BNCA, which is about 3km from Dattawadi. The venue for the second day was a local school in Dattawadi.

Prior to the deliberative event, the CUSP faculty trained a set of facilitators and scribes. They were assembled from member groups of RCE Pune and explained their roles. Some of the facilitators also helped translate the discussions into Marathi and English during the workshop.

A multi-stakeholder group of participants including residents, young people, teachers, hawkers and others from Dattawadi, municipal officials, NGOs, and students and faculty from BNCA was created. Around 60 participants on both days looked at how to design their local streets to be more 'people focused'.

At the formal inaugural session, a Member of Parliament and the local Corporator (elected representative) of Dattawadi were present and briefed about the exercise and the process. The Corporator participated throughout the day, lending seriousness to the process.

In terms of the process and tools of deliberation, a broad Design Charrette process was followed for the workshops. A charrette is an 'intensive, multi-disciplinary design workshop designed to facilitate an open discussion between stakeholders of a development project' (*Charrette Centre n.d.*). In these workshops, professionals work with community groups, developers and other stakeholders over the course of a few days. After the initial stage of information gathering, an iterative process of preparation of design solutions by the professionals and then critiquing by different stakeholders follows.

The charrette had embedded within it, processes of information inputs and multi-stakeholder deliberation.

Input to the Deliberative Process

External information provided as input into the deliberation included:

- An expert presentation of current thinking about sustainable mobility
- Findings from the studies in Dattawadi

The deliberation processes were designed and facilitated to explore the views of every individual present, finding commonality and providing an opportunity to explore and examine differences in views. The deliberation tools used were 21st Century Dialogue on Day 1, and a 'Station Rounds' process on Day 2.

Deliberation Using the 21st Century Dialogue Technique³

The deliberative process has:

- A 'mini public' consisting of diverse people, drawn as representative of the concerned population, inclusive of various points of view
- A team of facilitators and scribes and a Theme Team with networked computers running a platform such as 'Civic Evolution' that permits collation of text
- An observation team, if possible

The participants' seating is arranged to provide a comfortable discussion environment, where all participants of the deliberating mini public are treated as equals in the seating structure.

Each table has:

- A diverse group of five to eight people
- A trained facilitator whose task is to ensure all members of the group have an opportunity to express their views on the questions being deliberated upon, to help explore underlying values and to maintain a conducive discussion environment

- A scribe to record the responses of the group including common views, majority views and minority views, on a computer that is linked (through the internet) to the computers of the Theme Team

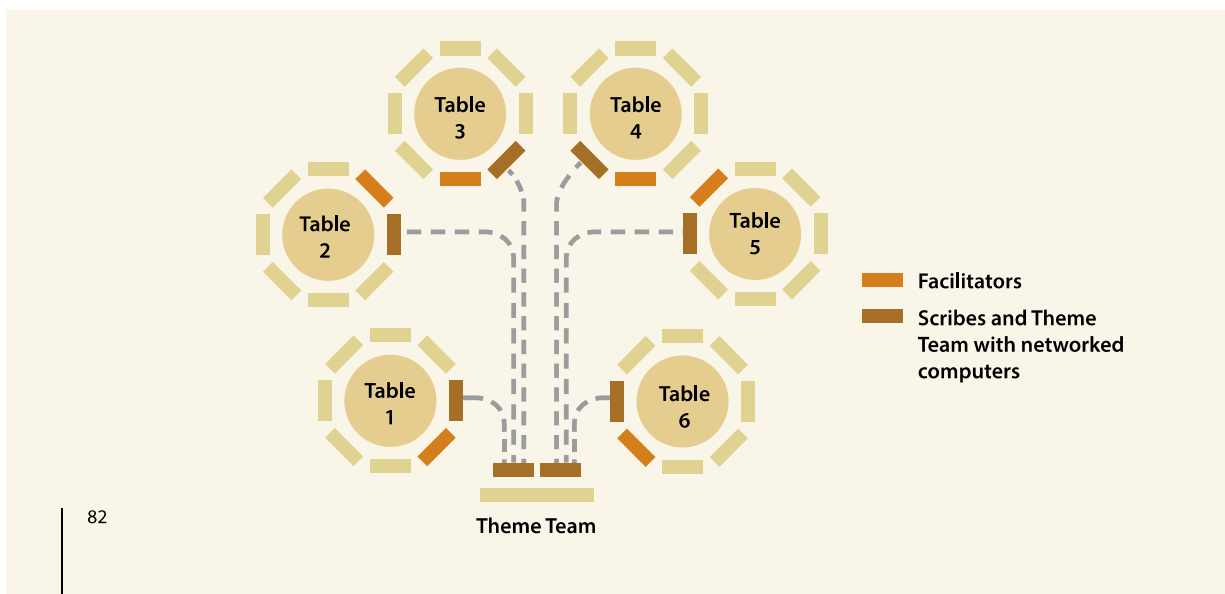
Each table discusses the question given for deliberation. The scribe 'sends' the discussion outcomes to the Theme Team. The Theme Team collates the inputs from each table, clustering the responses, indicating agreement and counter views. The sum of the responses is presented back to the room for further discussion or prioritisation, which is done at each table. The results of the table prioritisation are again collated and presented in an iterative manner until there is adequate deliberation, and a view emerges that people can accept.

In Dattawadi, the questions posed for deliberation were:

- What is valued about Dattawadi?
- What should be kept, what should be changed and what are the 'hot spots' likely to be?
- What are the participants' priorities?

³ Video on 21st Century Deliberation: <https://whatdowethink.com/>

Figure 1: The room arrangement for 21st Century Dialogue.



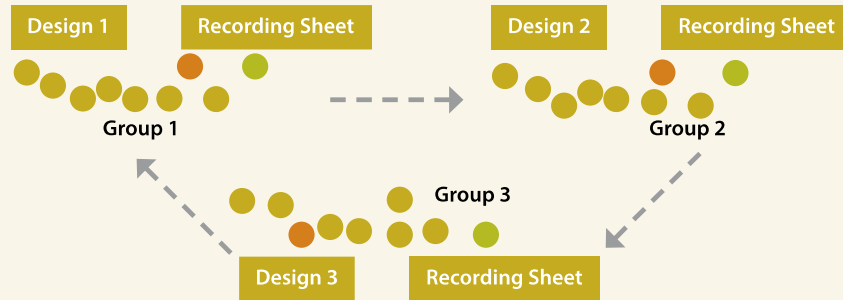


Figure 2: Arrangement for 'Station Rounds'

The 21st Century Dialogue technique with networked computers makes it possible to collate the discussions happening at each table, in real-time (Hartz-Karp 2006). A consolidated picture can be presented to the whole group in minutes after the group discussions. The clustering and sense-making of varied views from each discussion table, very rapidly helps sustain the interest and create trust about the process among the participants. At the end of Day 1 in Dattawadi, the outputs of this process were used to refine the rough street designs prepared by BN College of Architecture students and faculty. The 21st Century Dialogue helped understand the community's views on aspects of value in the neighbourhood, aspects in which change was needed, and to prioritise the changes needed. An outcomes report was produced for all participants at the close of the deliberation on Day 1. The report documented the group outcomes from each of these areas.

By the end of the session, the Member of Parliament announced that the detailed designs developed by the students and enhanced through the deliberative process would be implemented. Later that evening, the 'technical team' comprising of the college faculty and students developed the scenario options presented during the workshop and incorporated the feedback from the participants. Various options for street design in Dattawadi were developed by the architecture students and faculty, responding to the views of the public, that is, the 'mini-public' assembled at the workshop.

These designs were put forth for a public deliberation on the second day. As the venue on the second day was the local school in Dattawadi, it enabled a larger number of people from the community to review the designs. The previous day's discussions were summarised and presented to the participants on the second day.

Deliberation Using Station Rounds

The deliberation technique used in this instance was Station Rounds. This technique had 'stations', each with a different design option presented on charts, placed for review by the community. Each station had a facilitator and a scribe. Groups of six to eight persons were formed, who visited each station in turn making suggestions and discerning the extent of consensus as they went. This enabled a wider range of community members to comment and contribute to the development of the design. The responses were clustered by topic, while marking the responses of each group separately within the cluster. The attempt was to update each group with the inputs of the previous group, seek their inputs on the same topics as well as add any new topics the group suggested. After all groups had commented upon each design, the entire group was asked to take some time to read through and understand all the views expressed, and then as individuals, identify the top few key elements they would like to see or change in the designs. This technique was structured to enable deliberation in groups, understand the views of others in the room, as well as exercise individual voting on selecting



Community members review the design options and prioritise actions for implementation in Dattawadi.

designs or requesting change of a design to reveal the group's priorities and dissents. As with the previous day, facilitators helped foster dialogue between participants to provide suggestions for refining the designs.

Again, municipal elected representatives were part of the deliberative processes. It was agreed that the designs would be refined based on the inputs from the second day of public deliberation, and submitted to the municipal authorities for implementation.

Evaluation

The deliberation processes should ideally be assessed against the three defining criteria of inclusivity, quality of deliberation, and influence. This could have been achieved by asking each participant to fill a survey form at the end. In Dattawadi, this process was not done formally but through an oral reflection with the assembled group about their experience of the deliberation process. An oversight team also provided its observations on fairness and other qualities of the process.

Post-deliberation

The feedback from the community was incorporated into the designs, which were submitted to the municipal authorities for consideration for implementation. After the public deliberation, CEE and the BNCA faculty continued to interact with the municipal authorities, and visit Dattawadi for explaining and further detailing of the designs. However, the response received from the municipal authorities was not so positive. Firstly, the designs prepared through the deliberative process were conceptual designs and not execution-level drawings. Secondly, the authorities informed the team that they had not dealt with such proposals before, especially as the materials and designs were not included in the schedule of rates, and therefore unclear how they could implement the designs.

The local Corporator made special efforts to present the designs to the municipal administration and secure funds for implementation. Certain unique elements of the designs therefore did get implemented. A later informal discussion with some members of the community revealed that they were satisfied with the design that was implemented.



Community members review the design options and prioritise actions for implementation in Dattawadi.

Discussion on Deliberation Quality

The stated aim of the activity was to bring about a change in the transport planning process in Pune through innovative forms of citizen engagement. The quality of deliberation is evaluated here, using the three critical components of DD as defined by Carson and Hartz-Karp (2005) – inclusiveness, deliberation and influence.

1. Inclusiveness

Theorists and practitioners have argued that to be inclusive, participation needs to be large scale and representative of the population. This is to avoid the typical consultation scenario that involves only a small number of the community, overwhelmingly skewed by those who are either ‘highly articulate’ or those ‘with an axe to grind’.

The DD forum for the research aimed to be both large scale and representative. Prior to the large deliberative forum, the aim was to involve as many of the community as possible in understanding and talking about the issues. Invitations in Marathi and English were sent to the stakeholders, local authorities and to community members to be part of the forum. It was ensured the participants from the community were from diverse backgrounds,

and included residents, street users, women, old residents, students and members of a hawkers’ association of Dattawadi. The organisers arranged transport to the location of the workshop from Dattawadi. The vendors and auto rickshaw drivers who had to forgo their daily wages to participate were compensated for their time.

The second day of the workshop was held at a school premises in Dattawadi on a Sunday afternoon to encourage better participation from the local residents who could not attend the workshop the previous day. The participants were asked to go through each proposal and comment on it. Good responses were received through this process. However, the response for the forum would have been more widespread if the publicity of the event had been better and more widespread.

Other instances of DD, such as the Dialogue with the City Forum in Perth, demonstrate that several strategies can be adopted for enhancing participation and awareness among the community. In Perth, several forms of media were used to publicise the event; websites were created to disseminate information to the public, activities such as painting competitions were organised for

students to re-imagine their city, and online fora were created to allow people to share their views, which were displayed on the day of the workshop.

Many such techniques may be considered for future deliberative events, to keep the public informed and involved in the process on a regular basis.

2. Deliberation

Informed dialogue is an important feature of a successful deliberation. The project teams consisted of Masters students and PhD candidates dedicated to work on this project. They collected and synthesised the information prior to the DD forum. This information was presented to the participants on the day of the workshop to equip them with enough knowledge to get involved in a dialogue. The concepts of sustainable transportation, walkability, and urban design were presented by experts from CUSP, as well as the local sustainable transportation experts, in order to educate and inform the participants.

The forum encouraged open dialogue, respect, access to information, and offered the space to understand and reframe issues, and to move toward consensus. To encourage open and free discussion, small groups were formed with diverse participants. Each group was supported by a trained facilitator, with the task of encouraging in-depth discussion and respect for others' views. A trained scribe in each group input data into a computer that the group deemed to be a fair representation of their discussion. The small group interaction provided a safe environment to express views, learn from others and reach a collective view. Staff from RCE member organisations, students, faculty members and the CUSP team volunteered to facilitate, act as scribes, and take other support roles. This team was given rigorous training prior to the workshop. Not only were commonly-held views fed into the computer, so were strongly-held minority views and views of individuals. The computers on each table were networked, transmitting the data to a

'Theme Team' who analysed the data in real-time and broadcast the common themes back to the entire room via large screens along the breadth of the room. In a short space of time, participants could see the build-up of collective views from the individual tables to the whole forum.

In terms of evaluating the deliberation process, it is important to measure the effectiveness of deliberation to reflect on the process and how people felt about the exercise. However, such a method was not employed during the workshops except for the oral feedback of random participants, which has been documented.

Participant comments included:

- "[The deliberation was] the first time I spoke as a citizen of India."
- "...give people a little chance and they deeply respond. It is a spiritual matter."
- "It is very important to see how much people understand."
- "It made me very excited when we first heard about it and then it came true."
- "A unique way for getting things done."
- "A very different experience, which doesn't usually involve people in this way."
- "Training that reaches into every class."

Comparing the Dattawadi process with the Dialogue with the City Forum in Perth, the procedure adopted in Perth is noteworthy in the sense that extensive information in the form of well-researched discussion papers were provided prior to the workshop through a dedicated website, along with newspaper features and articles which provided background briefing. This process of information dissemination needs to be explored in Pune in future engagement exercises.

3. Influence

The Dattawadi case shows that the deliberation was influential in bringing about a change in the traditional planning process by incorporating

feedback from citizens. The deliberative fora gained considerable media attention which could be positively used for future deliberation workshops.

Reflection

A reflection was also completed with the faculty of the architecture college, and other resource persons to understand their views on this method of urban

design and public engagement. The students and faculty expressed that this was a completely new method of planning which should be developed further. The Principal of the college suggested that a Department of Deliberative Democracy could be set up at the college, and that CEE could work with CUSP to help develop a curriculum with supportive teaching materials, methods and skill enhancement for participatory planning and DD processes.

Comments from the BNCA Faculty

Indian Streets are not merely for commuting; rather they are part of the local culture, part of life. The workshops with Curtin University, Australia, CEE and SUM Net, hosted by BNCA, were linked with the Second Year Landscape Studio 'Deliberative Democracy model for Cycle and Pedestrian-friendly Street Space Design and Development for the City of Pune'. The Studio focused on safe mobility through the involvement of children, young people, women, elderly people, people with disabilities, street vendors, NGOs, Pune Municipal Corporation and various users of street space.

The students prepared the designs based on the deliberations where concerns of various stakeholders related to Dattawadi and their priorities were articulated. The streets and open spaces of Dattawadi were thus 'Design by All, for All'.

I am glad the project is going ahead with initiative from the local authorities. Success of the project and the workshop lies in implementation of the designs, and safe and sustainable use of the streets by the people.

*Shubhada Kamalapurkar
Professor and Head of the Department,
Landscape Department, BN College of
Architecture, Pune*

Longer-Term Outcomes and Future Directions

The introduction and demonstration of the concept of DD to RCE Pune members has set off some sparks. Discussions are unfolding on what participatory democracy means to its members, with discussions also joining up with similar conversations in Pune and elsewhere. An *Abhyas gat*, or study circle has started to meet on the topic of participatory governance. Intermittent discussion on deliberation and participation has been continuing with some of the actors who were closely associated with the Dattawadi efforts. These include elected representatives, the facilitators from the RCE Pune member groups, faculty from the BN College of Architecture together with another college, and CEE staff. The Dattawadi work has become a part of the language and shared memory of some of these actors to draw on when discussing participatory processes.

It is realised that instituting DD within the Indian context may require considerable political engagement, and strengthening and consolidating the bottom-up demand for citizens' participation in governance. Media engagement, capacity-building and research are also crucial. Experiments and innovations for deepening democratic processes, and for dialogic approaches to citizens' engagement would help enhance understanding about such processes and develop capacities to conduct them. Furthermore, deliberative democratic forums have much to offer even when not institutionalised. Work

areas have emerged among RCE Pune members. These include using and demonstrating DD tools and techniques in various fora, and using these as part of RCE Pune's dialogues and within its networks. The association of RCE Pune partners such as CEE and Parisar with CUSP has introduced thinking about DD into CEE's and SUM Net's approaches to promoting citizens' engagement in urban governance. Deliberative tools have since been used, deliberative processes have been initiated in various ways, internal discussions have been conducted, and workshops have been designed to be facilitated jointly, discussing the issues of street vendors for example, in attempts to initiate multi-stakeholder processes for shaping the evolution of sustainable mobility in other cities as part of the work of SUM Net.

In 2014 and 2015, CEE facilitated public deliberations to review the participatory budget process that Pune has been running since 2007. These public deliberations have tried to follow the methods that characterise DD: the recruitment of participants represented a 'mini public', the presentation of information was in a clear and understandable way, the design of the deliberative events where discussions were facilitated attempted to embed the outcomes in city decisions, and the quality of deliberation was evaluated.

The review of participatory budgeting in 2015 recommended improved information availability on the levels of infrastructure and services in different wards of Pune. In discussion with the Municipal Commissioner, CEE took forward this recommendation to develop a Ward Infrastructure Services and Environment (WISE) information base and index for Pune. This index was used to provide a more rational basis for budget allocations for different wards, with wards that rank lower getting a higher budget allocation. As it happened, this rationality was not quite accepted by the elected

representatives who rejected the idea of using the WISE index for allocation of resources. However, the WISE index and its rationale were well reported in the media, and occasionally still appear in press articles several months later.

Reflection on this experience of 2013 is especially relevant in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the UNESCO Global Action Programme (GAP). The experience directly links to SDG 4.7 on education for sustainable development and SDG 11.5 on participatory planning. The UNESCO GAP on ESD identifies 'accelerating sustainable solutions at the local level' as Priority Action Area 5. It suggests that local authorities and leaders need to increase and strengthen learning opportunities for the whole community through formal, non-formal, and informal venues.

One of the activities carried out by CEE with SUM Net in parallel with the DD work has been the development of a 'Streets for People' elective course, and studio or workshop conducted by CEE with two other architecture colleges – the PVP College of Architecture in Pune and in CEPT Ahmedabad. The DD element was synergised with the Streets for People studio at BN College of Architecture in 2013. At CEPT and PVP College of Architecture, the street design course does seem to succeed in helping students to recognise the multiple users of streets, and that a design process should integrate their views. However, it does not yet prepare the students for facilitating public deliberation or public engagement processes. The bachelors level curriculum in architecture does not particularly address the realm of public space design using participatory methods, while the Urban and Regional Planning programmes also do not have substantial course content on participatory planning. CEE hosts the UNESCO Chair on Sustainable Habitats with CEPT Ahmedabad.

The Chair programme presents an opportunity to develop a course on the theory and practice of public deliberation, especially for students of urban design, planning, architecture, habitat studies, public administration and social work. This is one of the directions for future work for ESD that would fit in well with UNESCO GAP priority area 5.

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Watch a video about this work:

Taming Streets: Design, Deliberation and Delivery in Indian Cities <https://youtu.be/NxXDntcaMno>

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5.2 Publication-II

Menon, S., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2019). Institutional innovations in public participation for improved local governance and urban sustainability in India. *Sustainable Earth*, 2(1), 6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s42055-019-0013-x>

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RESEARCH

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Institutional innovations in public participation for improved local governance and urban sustainability in India

Sanskriti Menon^{1,2*}  and Janette Hartz-Karp¹

Abstract

Background: Improving urban governance is an imperative for India, with its accelerated rate of urbanization, distrust of government, and inadequate public involvement in policy development and decision-making. Deliberative democracy initiatives in other parts of the world, and similar experiences in rural India have demonstrated their effectiveness at resolving complex issues with decisions that are acceptable to constituents, and are seen to be in the public good.

Results: Learnings are drawn from two cases of action research in Pune, India about achieving inclusion and deliberation in public engagement efforts, and their influence on public decision-making. The stratified and complex socio-economic and political context in India, power imbalances, inadequacy of decentralized governance structures, and information for civic decision-making makes public engagement challenging. From this experience, we inductively developed a potential framework for good governance, of deliberative democracy initiatives (induced participation), inclusive civil society (organic and invented) participation, overseen by an independent third party. It is contended that such a framework can enable city governments, in India and elsewhere, to resolve complex urban sustainability challenges with more implementable decisions.

Conclusions: Based on what was learnt from the Pune case studies, this article suggests that a combination of leaders willing to pioneer good governance, capable third-party facilitators, and strong organic participation groups working together through the structured approaches of deliberative democracy can effectively integrate the public into civic decision-making. However, to implement deliberative democracy in urban areas in India, the framework proposed will require advocacy at multiple levels. It will be critical to find 'champions' within political, administrative and civil society willing to pioneer deliberative democracy initiatives, to build professional capacity to conduct high quality deliberation, and to ensure the outcomes of such processes are influential. Good governance will rely on an ecosystem supporting such democratic renewal.

Keywords: Deliberative democracy, Good governance, Sustainability, Urban governance, Organic participation, Induced participation, Participatory budgeting, Street design, Third party facilitation

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Introduction

With rapid urbanization in India, a focus on good governance is critical for urban sustainability. Public participation is an important element of good governance. Using the results of an action research initiative, this article proposes a particular form of participation in governance in Indian cities to improve sustainability outcomes, that is Deliberative Democracy, which has been implemented successfully elsewhere in the world. Deliberative democracy is characterized by inclusivity, deliberative quality, and influence on decision-making.

According to Varshney (1989), India is sometimes called an 'unlikely democracy', built as it has been in 'poverty, widespread illiteracy, and a deeply hierarchical social structure' which are seen as 'inhospitable conditions for the functioning of democracy'. However, the focus of this paper is not to critique representative democracy or to suggest that deliberative democracy may fix the shortcomings of representative democracy. Rather, it is to consider deliberative democracy as an essential element of deepening democracy in the Indian context.

On the basis of an action research initiative in Pune, India, carried out over 2013 to 2018, we suggest that deliberative democracy may be introduced in urban public decision-making in India as a way of addressing sustainability challenges. In particular we suggest that deliberative democracy must build upon the strengths of the public participation experiences in India. Though its processes and methods would need to be contextualized, Deliberative Democracy may help to address some challenges in efforts to enhance public participation. Further, some of the characteristics of Indian society that make democratic engagement challenging, could in fact be surfaced and consciously addressed in the design of deliberations. Besides integrating the strengths and challenges of organic participation, Deliberative Democracy can also be one of the models to meet the institutional gaps in induced or government led participation in urban areas, with reference to the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act of India.

The article is organized in three sections. In the Background section, we suggest that deliberative democracy would build upon current participation processes, but first, we identify key strengths and challenges of organic or grassroots claimed spaces of participation. We also present some gaps in the institutional structures for participation in the urban context. Next, we briefly introduce deliberative democracy and the role of a third party. The second section presents our methodology and outlines the action research initiative. In the third section, we discuss the results of our research. We conclude with a summary of our findings and present some suggestions for the way forward.

Background: Participation in urban governance

India is rapidly urbanizing, with approximately 377 million or 32% of the population living in cities [1] and projected to be about 800 million and 50% of the population by 2046 [2]. The challenges of urban sustainability for India are immense, and effective decision-making – good governance, will be critical. Good governance here refers to decision-making that is participatory, inclusive (including the views of the disempowered), egalitarian, accountable and transparent, where corruption is minimized. In short, effective public participation – meaningfully involving the broad public in issues that matter – is key to good governance. UN Sustainable Development Goal 11 on sustainable cities and communities also incorporates enhancing capacity for 'participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management' as a target. Public participation has instrumental value in improving democratic decision-making that supports sustainability [3, 4] as well as intrinsic value [5], and is recognized as a highly worthwhile endeavour [6–9]. It should be noted, however, that some authors have qualified such assertions in the case of highly stratified societies [10], or those characterized by corruption and patronage [11]. This is due to the danger of elite capture of participation processes and spaces, perpetuating inequity. Heller suggests that the exercise of citizenship can be subverted in societies where extraconstitutional forms of authority such as patriarchy and caste subordination over-ride public authority [12]. We come back to this thread in the discussion on organic participation later in this section.

Elections and universal adult suffrage are seen as a fundamental method of participation in representative democracies. Since Independence, India has had regular and relatively inclusive elections, separation of powers, an active and independent judiciary, apolitical military, and open press. On this basis, the country is said to be a successful, albeit an 'unlikely democracy' given poverty, illiteracy, socio-cultural diversity and deep structural inequity [13–15]. Varshney [14] also points out that "marginalized and oppressed groups are exercising their democratic rights to a degree that was unheard of in the 1950s and 1960s". However, if democracy is judged according to broader effective governance measures, including meaningful participation of the people in governance, India's democratic success is questionable. The founders of the Indian Constitution seemed to adopt the spirit of collective deliberation and action as a core principle of Indian democracy. Dr. B R Ambedkar, the Chairman of the drafting committee of the Indian Constitution, held that:

"There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. In other words, there must be social endosmosis. This is fraternity, which is only another name for democracy. Democracy is not

merely a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen." [16] (p. 50).

However, this concept has not yet been realized in the everyday practice of democracy in India's cities. Though India does have a wealth of experience and long traditions of participation in governance in various forms, in the following discussion we show that there is a space in India for deepening democracy beyond the range of the current participation processes.

Mansuri and Rao (2013) [17] have characterized participation as 'organic' and 'induced'. 'Organic participation' includes social movements that fight for greater democratic expression and for the rights of the underprivileged, labour movements, unions, membership-based organizations to improve livelihoods and living standards (ibid). Others, like Miraftab [18] and Cornwall [19] describe the struggles of the poor as claimed, invented or insurgent spaces of participation. 'Induced participation' is 'promoted through policy actions of the state and implemented by bureaucracies, ... and comes in two forms: decentralization and community-driven development' (Mansuri & Rao). These are not cleanly divided processes or spaces, and have some strengths and present some challenges, discussed further in this section.

Organic and claimed Participation

Social movements, claimed participation spaces, including organic NGO-led participation, are a strong shaping force in India, surfacing important issues of social and environmental justice, entitlements and equity. They have thrown new light on different aspects of the human condition, and followed up with the authorities, through to the judicial system, to secure rights and justice. In recent years, a range of rights-based initiatives have led to legislation and substantive gains on crucial elements of human rights and well-being in India, such as on the right to education, right to information [20], the Domestic Violence Act [21], the Street Vendors Act, the securing of livelihoods of waste pickers [22], and shelter for the poor in Mumbai [23]. Advocacy groups can provoke civic interest in and attention to issues, and in doing so, provide fertile ground for public participation initiatives. For example, the Pune urban design deliberative democracy initiative, described later in this article, emanated from organic participation and advocacy. Similarly, referring to the experiences in Mendha Lekha village in eastern Maharashtra, Mohan Hirabhai Hiralal suggested that *abhyas gats* or study circles could be convened on topics that emerge as *jivhalya-chya prashna*¹ - issues that people felt strongly about. These would be the issues people voluntarily spend time deliberating, precisely because of their strong feelings. Additionally, leaders of organic participation initiatives

often, though not always, develop considerable expertise about the issues they raise. They can bring new knowledge to the table and new resolve to ensure decision-makers take this seriously.

Organic participation plays an influential role in reaffirming democracy in India, irrespective of the substantive or normative views involved, depth of understanding, or perspective – holistic or fragmented. It is a demonstration and reaffirmation of people's freedom of expression, the right to associate, and to raise issues of concern for examination, deliberation and action by the larger polity. Goswami & Tandon (5) suggested that this is what makes Indian democracy alive and vibrant [21].

Although organic participation is an integral element of meaningful participation, alone it cannot bring about good governance. It has been said that democracy is better sustained when there are community networks and a social fabric of trust and cooperation [24], neighbourhood organizations [25], and a tradition of discussion in society [26]. People living in such a society may feel more readily able to voice topics of concern, and for the neighbourhood associations to take these concerns forward. However, these societal qualities can malfunction when there are prevailing deep-rooted structural inequities like the caste system, and divisions among socio-economic classes. Hence, rather than cooperation, organically emerging issues have often tended to drive divisive behaviour, turning one group against another [27]. Such structural inequities prevent disempowered marginalized people from raising concerns organically [10]. Or, if they have been surfaced, the mostly elite groups responding have not listened and acted on them, or such concerns have been crowded out among issues raised by more vocal and powerful groups.

Inequities and exclusions may be exacerbated in certain types of elite-led participation [28, 29], while the poor are forced to access public services through political patronage [27]. While public resistance often supports more sustainable outcomes, in recent years in India, the nature of such resistance is changing, with middle-class and upper-class protestors becoming prominent, and the marginalized largely failing to make visible protests against decisions that affect them, exacerbating existing inequities [30]. Miraftab, highlighted that often planning and governance processes in the global South engage with certain types of community-based groups who are 'celebrated as civil society representatives' and invited into participatory processes while criminalizing and disengaging others from decision-making processes, who have to resort to insurgent practices to claim their rights and access to basic services [18].

For these reasons, and more generally in the interests of good governance, relying on organic participation or community bonds and associational life to achieve equity

and sustainability is inadequate. Indeed, it could be said that both organic participation and elected government have distorted motivations (the former due to structural inequities, and the latter due to party political influences and the need to be re-elected).

Induced Participation

In India, the most consequential enablers of induced participation have been the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (CAA), creating institutions of local self-government in villages and urban areas across the country, with elected councils. However, the elected councils or civic groups per se and the extent to which they deliberate is not the focus of this research, but rather whether the elected councils involve civic groups and the general public meaningfully in deliberation on difficult issues.

Much of the literature referring to empowered participatory governance in India refers to local self-government in rural India, especially in relation to *gram sabhas* (village assemblies). These include the well-known decentralized people's planning processes in Kerala [31, 32] and also in Maharashtra [33] and Mendha Lekha (Mohan Hirabhai Hiralal, oral communication, September 2016), including deliberative democracy processes.²

There are some efforts of induced participation in urban areas as well, such as participatory urban planning in Chhattisgarh, planning for street vending in Mumbai, for slums in Ahmedabad [34] and neighbourhood level and urban ward planning in Kerala [35]. An induced participatory method that has had success in reducing structural inequities is Participatory Budgeting (PB). PBs have now been implemented in around 3000 places across the globe [36]. A percentage of a government budget (usually around 10%) is allocated to projects by those living and working in the area. Civic groups develop proposals which are broadly disseminated, and then community members vote on their preferences [37]. This process is particularly effective when it is co-decisional (between the government and its constituents); and when it is supported by a mechanism to reduce inequity, e.g. an Index listing issues important to well-being, so during the budget prioritization process, additional weight can be given to those disadvantaged [38]. Though ideally, PBs foster more democratic and equitable decision-making, in Pune and elsewhere PBs are often more tokenistic than meaningful public participation. For example, in Pune, an independent review of the local PB process highlighted problems that it was inadequately co-decisional and unable to systematically address issues of inequity [39]. A deliberative initiative, described later in this article, developed recommendations to improve Pune's PB regarding both empowerment and

equity, however they were not taken up by Pune's municipal government. Conversely, in areas with traditionally strong public participation, such as in Kerala and induced and externally supported participation in rural Maharashtra, specific processes are implemented to bolster empowerment and equity. For example, in both areas, a development report is made public prior to annual budgeting so the community is better informed about areas of strength and inequality.

Since the mid-90s, the Indian Government has promoted the formation of self-help groups (SHGs) for savings, credit and microenterprise activity, especially of urban poor women. In some cities these SHGs are also vehicles for prioritization of shortfalls in basic services provision in poor neighbourhoods and slums, and supervision of improvement projects [40]. Participatory micro-planning under Kerala's similar Kudumbashree programme nests within annual municipal planning. Overall inclusion and equity are variable, particularly in relation to local patterns of formal and informal political power, which may also reinforce exclusion of the poorest. Nonetheless, these programmes have been successful in enhancing the presence of women in participatory governance processes [41].

However, there are critical deficits in the institutional reforms of urban governance: limited implementation of decentralization under the 74th CAA [42], disjuncture between planning, governance and poverty alleviation [34], the poor ratio of representation, the lack of structures in urban areas analogous to the village gram sabha [43, 44], and limited functional and financial autonomy for municipal governments even if participatory processes are undertaken [35]. Public hearings are provided for as part of Environment Impact Assessment legislation so people can voice their views, though experience shows that such inputs have unclear influence on the decisions made [45]. As part of master plan preparation processes, the public may formally record objections and suggestions, but the decision-making processes do not incorporate opportunities for public participation to evolve combined thinking about the issue that could reflect common ground [46].

Critically, unlike the 73rd CAA that created gram sabhas in rural areas, the 74th CAA has not created a structure for direct democratic participation in cities. Ramanathan (2007), Founder of the non-profit Janaagraha [43] proposed that area sabhas be created in urban areas with every registered voter in a polling station as a member. Subsequently, under the Government of India's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission that was launched in 2006 (to which Ramanathan was a Technical Advisor), state governments were asked to include a provision for community participation as a pre-condition for receiving funding from

the central government. A provision for area sabha was enacted by at least 12 states but none have constituted these [47].

Thus, there is a near absence of inclusive, egalitarian, well-informed, induced participation forums in urban areas in India. Governments rarely seek public participation in urban issues, other than to provide information, allow for grievances and hearings, and sometimes to seek opinions through surveys, workshops and consultations. The aim of such participation is to inform or consult (receive public feedback) and sometimes to involve (understand and consider public views), but rarely, if ever, to collaborate or empower [48]. While the struggles of the urban poor and other organic participation efforts have led to major gains, in the absence of structured forums of direct participation underpinned by public authority, societal inequities continue to pervade access to formal governance.

Then there is the disjunction between the formal and substantive aspects of citizenship in India, especially in cities. Desai & Sanyal (2012) point out that the poorest are denied many of their fundamental rights in practice [49]. Luckham et al. [50] have described the distinction between democratic institutions and democratic politics. Democratic institutions are the formal structures and procedure of democracy, while democratic politics refers to the actual engagement of the public in decision-making. The levels of government decentralization achieved in Indian cities remains inadequate. Paralleling insurgent participation described by Miraftab and Wills [18] of the urban poor in South Africa, Harriss [27] suggests that the poor in urban India are left out of the new politics of participation, which spaces are occupied by middle class activists and associations who as 'consumer-citizens', speak the language of collaboration with local governments. For the poor, Harriss suggests, the principal possibility to obtain representation for themselves remains through political parties (ibid), which continue practices of patronage.

We suggest that the inadequacy of formal democratic institutions, procedures, space and capacity also results in the inadequacy of a deeper democratic politics in the city, for much of India. What then is the way forward for democratic deepening?

Miraftab and Wills suggest that planners, including planning professionals working outside government entities, need to work with the resources of the state as well as with the resources of citizens, and especially inclusive of those who are insurgent participants, who have invented their spaces of citizenship [18]. In this context, Heller's view [12] gives some hope to urban India, that with the strengths of social mobilization, and structured, local, procedural democratic engagement for participatory planning such as in Kerala and some parts

of Brazil and South Africa, it is possible for democracy to be built bottom up. The following section describes such a structured, participatory democratic practice, that of Deliberative Democracy.

Deliberative Democracy

Modern deliberative democracy initiatives and discussions have emerged, largely in Western democracies over the last four decades. This article defines deliberative democracy as inclusive public deliberation that influences decision-making by an elected representative government. We view deliberative democracy as Heller and Rao (2015) posit, as an 'amalgam of deliberative process and institutionalized sanction' and 'that deliberation as such is not a substitute for electoral democracy but a necessary condition for deepening democracy' [51] (pp 7–8).

A range of deliberative democracy initiatives have been developed in recent years. These have dealt with complex urban issues of city-wide planning [52], to the allocation of 100% of the infrastructure budget in the capital city of Melbourne in an 'Australian Participatory Budgeting' initiative [53], and to national issues such as constitution formation processes in Turkey [54] and constitutional reviews in Ireland [55]. Concomitantly, deliberative democracy academic and practitioner discourse has examined the nature of public deliberation in society: how it may be embedded within a political system, particularly within electoral representative democracy, gains from public deliberation by everyday people, potential pitfalls, tools to organize deliberation, what essential qualities make deliberative processes valuable, and how the quality of deliberation might be evaluated, as well as the longer term impacts of deliberative democracy initiatives [8, 9, 31, 56].

According to Gastil and Richards '(W)hen people deliberate, they carefully examine a problem and arrive at a well-reasoned solution after a period of inclusive, respectful consideration of diverse points of view' [8]. While deliberation is essential in all types of democratic governments, representative, participatory and direct, Catt has suggested that deliberation within the community is the key characteristic of participatory democracy [57]. Fung (2012) proposed that the quality of democratic governance may be improved by considering three elements of institutional design: who participates in public deliberation; how they communicate and make decisions; and the connection between their conclusions and opinions on one hand and public policy and action on the other [58]. Further, as Mansbridge (2015) [59] suggested, democratic deliberation may be viewed as having epistemic, ethical, and political functions. The epistemic function relates to the generation of opinions, preferences, and decisions, informed by facts and logic. Participants in the deliberation consider, discuss and weigh a range of views and information. The ethical function refers to

mutual respect and absence of coercion in the consideration of views or formation of decisions. The political function refers to inclusion and egalitarian nature of who participates in deliberation. This affects the quality and content of deliberation as well as its legitimacy. Carson & Hartz-Karp (2005) [60] suggested three essential elements of an effective deliberative process as: 1. Influence on policy and decision making; 2. Inclusion, of diverse viewpoints and values, providing equal opportunity for all to participate; and 3. Deliberation quality such that there is open dialogue, with access to information, space to understand and reframe issues, devise options, and search for common ground.

One of the cornerstones of deliberative democracy is participant inclusivity and representativeness. The method of 'sortition', or random selection, or selection by lot, has been proposed as ideal to ensure representativeness of the broad population involved, with stratified sampling to ensure the group selected mirrors the populations' demographics [61]. However, other methods may be used to ensure inclusion, depending on the nature of the deliberative forum, and such that the broadest spectrum of the population is elicited to participate [62].

The underlying contention of the practice and discourse of deliberative democracy is that if value is to be added to government decision-making, public participation needs to be meaningful i.e. have real potential to shape decisions or policies. In short, it should have 'influence'. This means that the decisions that emerge from a public deliberation are actually implemented, or integrated into the decisions and policies of the representative government. This ensures the deliberation has gravitas, which is important not only for those deliberating, but also for achieving implementable, sustainable, substantive outcomes [60, 63].

Meaningful participation does not imply giving less importance to expert and technocratic views. Rather, it highlights that the values and considered views of the community involved are also important, and should influence decisions made. Not taking them seriously is highly likely to result in public resistance when government tries to implement changes. Officials responsible for urban governance and infrastructure are often criticised for making notoriously bad infrastructure decisions: being blind-sided by political dispositions, not seeing the big picture, inadequately examining options, and failing to understand project risks [64]. Moreover, their 'expert' solutions regularly backfire when there has been inadequate involvement of the diverse community. This is relevant in India too, as the media has often highlighted botched projects, that range from ill-conceived slum rehabilitation [65], flyovers [66], metro [67], and monorail [68], to a whole township [69].

We suggest that inclusivity, quality and influence of public participation in civic governance in Indian cities may be greatly enhanced through deliberative democracy, leading to more substantive outcomes for the public, and especially the marginalized. Moreover, given the importance of accountability and transparency to accrue public legitimacy for such deliberative democracy processes, we suggest it is important to have an overseeing, independent third party.

An independent third-party

According to Stephens & Berner (2011) [70] "(T)he third party's role is to assist in designing and managing a process that pursues a variety of goals beneficial to the stakeholders and decision-maker(s)". In this instance, the goals are to achieve good governance. This is currently difficult to achieve given the noted prevalence of exclusionary organic participation, as well as the rising levels of public distrust in India's democratic governance [71], and the unsatisfactory experiences with most government-induced participation in Indian cities. We propose that this could be resolved if there was an independent third party, tasked with overseeing good governance.

The need for an independent third-party has been evidenced in the Indian experience of public participation, where independent facilitation has been required, often provided by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and educational institutes. For example, participatory budgeting in Kerala and other cities around the world, as well as participatory planning in rural Maharashtra have documented the importance of an independent facilitation team in public participation processes [32, 33]. When the provision for conducting gram sabhas (village assemblies) was legislated, this did not inevitably lead to village assemblies automatically deliberating and preparing their development plans. Recognizing this gap, in 2018, the Indian Government launched a federal programme (the *Rashtriya Gram Swaraj Abhiyan*, national campaign for rural self-governance) to strengthen the capacities of rural local self-government institutions for participatory planning. The programme recognizes that developing Gram Panchayat Development Plans may require intensive facilitation, and envisages professionals and educational institutions providing such support to villages [40]. This is relevant in urban areas as well. Meaningful participation requires that participants receive unbiased, comprehensive information and reports written in ways that can be easily understood, regardless of participant levels of education. Additionally, public participation data needs to be collected and maintained. This is currently a significant gap in existing participation forums, which could be taken on by an independent third party.

In the deliberative democracy discourse, it has been proposed that a collaborative countervailing power is needed [31], to help foster the integrity of empowered

participatory governance, and reduce its susceptibility to various forms of corruption. Sources of countervailing power, Fung & Wright suggested [31], were NGOs or movements, with local groups potentially being best suited to this role. The recent formulation of the Forest Rights Act in India provided insights on the use of countervailing power via a different route - adversarial yet collaborative. Ganguly described the process as one that combined the utilization of formal deliberative spaces (in this case a Joint Parliamentary Committee) with mass mobilizations of tribal community groups and NGOs when those spaces were threatened, and then with NGOs playing mediation and facilitation roles [72]. Ganguly's description also highlighted how arguments and points of view were crystalized, not by the political sphere but by the independent deliberative public sphere. National advocacy organizations as well as local community groups were able to come together to form a broad national coalition that advocated for the rights of the historically marginalized. This combination served as a strong counter to the 'tiger versus people' argument of the conservationist NGOs that aligned with the Forest Department (ibid). While this outcome was highly effective, it is not always the case that such coalitions supporting the disadvantaged will emerge. Hence the inclusion of an independent third party as an integral part of the public participation process could help to provide that countervailing power, and enable/ upskill marginalized people to form empowered groups [10].

Hence while the Indian experiences of traditional organic and induced participation provide a foundation for good governance, the considerable gaps in effective public participation institution and practice highlight the need for governance reform in urban India. Considering the success of deliberative democracy in other parts of the world [56] and similarly structured and facilitated participation in rural India [32, 33], there is reason to believe that Indian cities too could benefit from such reform. In particular, it is proposed that implementing deliberative democracy as an integral element of induced participation, and conjoining organic participation, would result in meaningful participation and bridge current gaps in good governance. If this conjoining was done synergistically, it would maximize the strengths of each, i.e., the commitment and energy of local organic participation with the authority and structure of induced participation. The claimed and invented spaces of participation would be important to broaden the base of those involved, bringing to the fore an understanding of the issues of those often excluded from government's purview, and providing the advocacy needed to press governments to enact the commitments made to their constituents. To achieve this, organic, claimed and invented participation would need to be formally integrated

within each stage of the induced deliberative democracy process (i.e. accepted by all parties), from the initial framing of the problem and implementation of inclusive, deliberative processes, through to championing the implementation of recommendations, and ongoing review of impacts. Additionally, to ensure the participation process would be comprehensive, transparent, egalitarian and influential, it should be overseen by an independent third party, which would foster process legitimacy, and in so doing, bolster public trust in the democratic system.

The next section describes an action research initiative in Pune, India that explored how the traditional and ongoing strengths and energy of organic participation, together with structured, meaningful, induced participation opportunities could be utilised and enhanced to enable good governance in Indian cities.

Methodology: pioneering new routes to achieve good governance – instituting deliberative democracy initiatives in Pune, India

Pune, with a population of 3.5 million, is a prominent city in western India. As in many developing country cities, the expansion of the urban area, population increase and changes in lifestyles have exerted great pressure on municipal capacities. There is also considerable innovation and experimentation, often due to an active civil society [73].

Between 2013 and 2017, the authors were involved in a deliberative democracy action research initiative that was implemented to introduce high-quality public deliberations, successfully applied in developed cities, and assess their applicability to the Indian urban context. Inclusive, deliberative public participation was sought to improve neighbourhood street design and participatory budgeting. A mixed methods approach was used including interviews, public perception surveys, a collaborative inquiry with a team of facilitators and implementation of public deliberative processes, as performative components in an action learning cycle. The research goal was not only to advance theoretical understanding about deliberative democracy in the urban Indian context, but also to actually initiate such processes in Pune through a non-profit organization seeking to advance sustainability. This article limits the description of the action research to the public deliberation component. Bradbury-Huang [74] noted that in action research, understanding and action are not readily separable; and that 'only through action is legitimate understanding possible'. There is a dilemma in action research, that action researchers have a dual role as researcher and implementer or 'change agent' [75]. This was indeed the case in this action research on deliberative democracy initiatives in Pune.

The first initiative took place in 2013 in Dattawadi, to resolve chronic mobility and liveability problems. Though these concerns are key to relevant NGOs and

a bus commuter forum, at that time, they had not engendered visible public or government concern. The second initiative described in this article took place in 2015 in Pune, to improve the city's Participatory Budgeting (PB) process, which allocates scarce resources to urban projects. A number of PB initiatives have been carried out in Pune since 2007. Though they started out promisingly, the PB process has deteriorated over time. The reasons for selecting these topics for public deliberation were twofold. Firstly, in Pune, the use of streets as public space, mobility and road safety are ongoing concerns that cut across class and cultural segmentation, though the reasons for concern are varied. Secondly, improving the Participatory Budgeting process was chosen because it is a regular activity of the local municipal government, and though it is implemented ineffectively, it does still offer a structured annual forum for the public to be involved to a certain extent in decision-making.

In both deliberative democracy initiatives, challenges emerged from the outset including: the extent to which the government decision-makers were actually prepared to be involved; what roles supporting groups such as NGOs and tertiary institutions should play; how diverse public participation could be elicited including those usually excluded from such processes; and how the outcomes of such processes could influence change. As is likely in action research, the planned methodology needed to be adapted to the situations as they arose. As a consequence, the research resulted in learnings about the challenges of inclusive, deliberative models, and insights into how they might be addressed in the future.

The first challenge to the original plan arose as the initiatives progressed, when it became apparent that while government officials were prepared to go along with this work, it was more on the basis of 'look and see what happens,' rather than active involvement. Hence, rather than overseeing and supporting the process, the NGOs and two tertiary institutions became the drivers and organisers of the processes. It also became apparent that to have public legitimacy, these participation processes would require the NGO and Universities to act as independent arbiters, so the broader public could have confidence that this work was worth their consideration and support. In short, the NGOs and Universities also took on the role of an independent third party. Obviously, this was not ideal. However, because the Universities and one of the NGOs in particular were perceived as having no special interests, it was plausible to the public for these organisations to jointly play the role of organisers and independent third party. Finally, there was the challenge of ensuring the deliberations resulted in some influence on decisions being made.

From this experience, it became clear that meaningful public participation in India would require a combination of a/ induced participation - the authority of government; b/ organic participation - the support of NGOs and community groups; and c/ an independent arbiter - an NGO or university or other trusted organisation to oversee the process. Moreover, for success, these three elements - induced participation, organic participation, and third-party oversight - would need to work effectively in tandem. From the experience of trying to conjoin these three elements, a framework was inductively developed. Mirroring this inductive pathway: 1/ the two deliberative democracy case studies in Pune, India have been described; 2/ the learning and insights from those case studies have been highlighted; and 3/ the potential role of an independent third party has been examined. The framework evolved from the experience of implementing these steps. This has been outlined in a table of roles and functions, and a figure charting the process.

Results - deliberative democracy initiatives in Pune, India

Case study 1: resolving street design and mobility challenges in Dattawadi, Pune, India

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) in Pune had been advocating for improvements in facilities for walking, cycling, public transport and mobility systems for several years. The advocacy included appeals to political leaders and municipal officials, seminars, and vision statements. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) had also collaborated with the local government and offered technical inputs in developing projects, and capacity building workshops. This organic participation had resulted in some, but not much change on the ground. It was in this context that the Dattawadi process (fully described in Menon and Rapur 2018 [76]) was conducted in partnership with the Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institution (CUSP), the BN College of Architecture, and two NGOs, the Centre for Environment Education (CEE) and Parisar, together with the support of the local NGOs that had been urging the government to adopt urban mobility improvements. This initiative was one element of an AusAid action research grant, offered by the Australian government.

Dattawadi was selected to be the area of study after a deliberative process that involved a broad Pune stakeholder group, determined this to be the most appropriate area, based on the multi-purpose nature of street usage, multi-scalarity of the issues, and political support. The neighbourhood is about one square km in area, with a dense fabric of low-rise buildings. The area was largely inhabited after a local dam breach in 1961 when the flood-affected families were awarded land here. The neighbourhood is bounded by a very

busy arterial and two collector roads. The inner streets have little traffic and see neighbourhood life and usage of the streets as a common open area. This typically includes street vending, shop front displays, recreation, mobility and residential activity such as water heating, water storage, children's play etc. Since this area was built before the motorization uptrend of the 1980s and 1990s (and which continues), the individual buildings do not have parking spaces. Almost all streets and footpaths have parked vehicles, mostly motor cycles. The increase in motorization and the busy traffic around the neighbourhood produces conflicts among different uses of the street, and the different modes of transport. The purpose of the deliberation in Dattawadi was to develop neighbourhood street design that would serve to enhance the quality of life of the residents and the broad range of street users.

As the first such process in Pune, the intent was also to demonstrate a high-quality deliberation process to diverse actors in Pune, including elected representatives, local government, experts, NGOs, academic institutions, media and members of the public. The process of preparing for the deliberative forums, conducting them, and submitting the documentation took place over a one-year period. It included discussion among the partners about the issue of street design, identification of the most appropriate neighbourhood to pioneer deliberative democracy, discussions with elected representatives to elicit their agreement on the conduct of such a process, local area studies about street usage, and discussions with different stakeholder groups in the neighbourhood to gather insights into the varying viewpoints on issues of concern.

Numerous techniques were employed to maximise the inclusiveness of the Dattawadi participants. Over one hundred people were involved in total, including official and unofficial workers and residents. Invitations were distributed through the elected representative to residents, and through meetings with the municipal community worker, local school, senior citizens, women's self-help group representative, shop keepers and street vendors. Arrangements were made for participant transport where needed, and payment of a compensation for daily wage workers. The public deliberation process took place over two days. A relatively large-scale deliberation was organized with 60 participants purposefully seated at small tables to maximise diversity, each table group being supported by a facilitator from the host organisations as well as partner NGOs. The facilitators received training prior to the event to understand the processes and techniques to be used for the deliberation. Throughout, presentations and conversations were translated into two languages, English and Marathi (the local language). The

21st Century Deliberation³ technique, ideal for medium to large scale deliberations, was used with an online platform (Civic Evolution)⁴ to network the participants' small group table discussions. All participants' ideas were submitted to their table's computer; these were themed by an independent group, and later displayed on large screens, enabling individual participants to prioritise their preferred suggestions. A Workshop Outcomes Report [77] of the day's process and findings was disseminated to all participants at the close of the day. A second public deliberation process was held the next afternoon without the online technology, with about 80 participants, including those from the first day deliberation as well as other interested community members. Their task was to assess the street options developed by the BN College students, who overnight and the following morning had designed options that reflected the priorities of the first deliberation.

The two days of deliberation recommended the features participants wanted to keep in Dattawadi and those they wanted to change, and prioritised those plans deemed most beneficial to the area. The local councillor and a Member of Parliament who attended the first day's deliberations, saw the value of the process and publicly agreed to fund the implementation of the agreed deliberation priorities. However, actual implementation was limited. In part, this was due to the lack of follow-up processes to ensure the government carried out its commitments; but also, it was due to the municipality baulking at some street design recommendations which deviated from the municipality's standard designs and materials. This outcome was very disappointing, especially since the municipal decision-makers had announced at the public deliberations, and recorded in the local newspaper, that they would support all the deliberation recommendations. It was precisely because of government's publicised intentions to implement the recommendations that the NGOs involved did not follow their usual course of action to maintain pressure on the government, both elected officials and relevant government agencies, to carry through with their commitments. Although the immediate implementation of changes was limited, the process was influential in the longer term. When the deliberations began in Dattawadi in 2013, the city had just begun to develop street design guidelines. Even though this deliberative democracy process alone did not significantly impact the trajectory of change towards improved street design at the city scale, the Dattawadi experience did provide momentum with some clear directions forward. Additionally, it demonstrated the usefulness of organic participation working in tandem with induced public deliberation, overseen by an independent third party. Furthermore, a few years later, the learnings from this initiative assisted in the development of the PB deliberative review initiative.

Case study 2: review of participatory budgeting in Pune

Since the initiation of Pune's Participatory Budget process in 2006–7, annually, citizens are invited to submit suggestions for neighbourhood projects. Each electoral ward has an equal and fixed budget allocation for PB projects. From August to September, participants have a window of 4 to 6 weeks to submit suggestions using a printed form or online. Once received, ward-level municipal officials assess the feasibility of suggestions, including their approximate value (which is capped). Finally, the elected *Prabhag Samitis* (ward councils) make decisions about whether these suggestions will be incorporated into the city budget.

In 2013, CEE carried out a review [39] of Pune's PB, which revealed that when the PB was introduced in 2007, it had shown promise as a potential deliberative forum. In the first year, ward-wise group meetings were held where participants discussed each of the suggestions received and prioritized these. However, this practice was only partially continued in subsequent years. Though the annual process for submitting suggestions had continued to be simple and accessible to all, only a few hundred suggestions had been received every year. The PB process had not been transparent, neither regarding which projects were included in the budget nor whether they were implemented. Although a potentially powerful initiative, according to the indicators of a successful PB, Pune's PB had been deficient [39]. An additional review was carried out using inclusive deliberative participation to make suggestions for Pune's PB in 2014. This process suggested the addition of several steps to the PB process, including participatory social audits of the previous year's projects, information on the projects already budgeted for the year, and preparation of status reports on civic services in each ward. While this review process resulted in useful, implementable recommendations, government did not implement them.

In 2015, CEE, Parisar and Curtin University organized a second inclusive deliberative forum with a view to refining the protocols for Pune's PB along with the municipal government, and supported by the Municipal Commissioner. This was at the initiative of CEE, which had been involved with PB over the years, and could see the annual PB as being a potential vehicle to introduce area-based participatory governance and deliberative democracy processes. Participants were recruited from the broad public to elicit diversity in terms of age, gender and economic background, ensuring representation of those normally excluded from such processes. They included street vendors, women's organisations, college students, neighbourhood association representatives, differently-abled persons, and professionals. Though randomly selected participants from varied streets

were elicited, and public survey respondents who had expressed interest in attending were also invited, few participated. Approximately 50 participants attended. Some municipal officials were present throughout the deliberation, including a Zonal Commissioner and the Environment Officer. While invitations had been sent to several officials, the ones who attended probably did so out of general interest, since they were themselves involved in some form of public engagement. The process began with presentations of the Pune PB review, and global PB best practice. Applying the 21st Century Deliberation technique, participants in small deliberation groups submitted to their table computer ways to increase participant diversity and ways to 'share power' in the prioritization of projects and their implementation. Participant ideas were first individually prioritized, then combined to form a list of the room's preferences in order of importance for strengthening Pune's PB process.

The deliberation output was a Workshop Outcomes Report [78], prepared in Marathi and English, which was presented to attending municipal and elected representatives, distributed to all participants, and later, submitted to the local government. The Municipal Commissioner committed to immediately discussing the workshop outcomes with the municipal administration. One promising outcome was that the PMC then entered into a partnership with CEE to prepare a Ward Infrastructure, Services and Environment (WISE) information base and Index, and also placed the budget online in a form permitting easier analysis. This enabled more empowered public participation [79]. Using a range of indicators, WISE provided the public a reference point for the status of civic amenities and services and rationale for budget allocations. The scores for each ward were used to calculate and yield a relative development index. However, in the subsequent budgeting process, the elected officials did not fully accept the WISE rationale [80], and their reasoning behind fund allocations remained opaque to the public.

This again highlighted the tenuousness of meaningful participation in the Indian context. Good governance demonstration projects, and organic participation advocacy play an important role in fostering change. However, for good governance to be institutionalized, i.e. become 'business as usual', this could well require formal reform in urban governance.

Discussion

In this section we discuss the results of the two Pune deliberative forum case studies, firstly in terms of the key features of deliberative democracy, and secondly assessing how the integration with organic and induced participation processes worked, and the role of the third

party. These findings are based on the reflections of the organisers and facilitators from both deliberative democracy initiatives, as well as the formal feedback from the deliberation participants.

How deliberative democracy was incorporated into induced participation

Considering the deliberative forums as a form of induced participation, we discuss here the extent to which they achieved the three key principles of deliberative democracy - inclusivity, deliberativeness and influence.

Achieving inclusiveness/ representativeness

Our attempts to recruit participants in Pune through random selection revealed significant challenges and the need for creative thinking to get diverse voices in the room. Endeavouring to randomize from the Pune electoral roll revealed large-scale errors in the rolls. This finding was consistent with other more rigorous studies on electoral rolls in India [81]. Another randomized effort involved inviting participation from a pool of individuals from randomly sampled survey respondents who had been willing to share their contact information for future discussions. This however, did not produce useful results as those contacted could not make the time.

Additional efforts included random face-to-face elicitation. However, this too resulted in challenges: several women approached were very unwilling to participate and asked for the men in the family to substitute (e.g. a woman saying, 'I am not a citizen, please talk to my husband'); and, given the lack of precedent for officials to invite everyday people in the street to participate in a public event, these requests were often treated with suspicion or fear. Further, people in informal occupations could not afford to participate without compensation for the earnings they would forfeit on the days spent in the deliberative meetings. Moreover, prolonged absence from the place of occupation or service provision could result in their displacement, and loss of several days' earnings.

The goal of eliciting diverse perspectives in the room was more usefully achieved by ensuring that representatives of the variety of people in the neighbourhood and different types of users of the street were in the room, rather than through rigorous random sampling. Diverse participation in both Pune public deliberations was achieved through face-to-face encounters on the streets and requests to a broad range of CSOs for representatives from different types of street users and different age groups of people on the street, those using different modes of transport, street vendors, and people from different residential areas including the slum community.

While stratified random sampling is considered highly desirable for recruiting participants, other methods are useful as well, and may be more suited depending on the purpose of the deliberative forum. A random sample may also still leave out minority groups, especially if the sample is small. Purposive sampling and recruitment may be done to include specific group members, such as those most impacted, or most marginalized, and may also consider over-inclusion of certain groups [62, 82]. The goal is to have equitable representation and a diversity of attitudes and viewpoints within the deliberating group.

Achieving deliberativeness

Gastil has suggested that the key practices of deliberation are to create a solid information base, prioritize the key values at stake, identify a broad range of solutions, weigh the pros, cons, and trade-offs among solutions and then make the best decision possible [83].

The facilitators' tasks to enable deliberativeness include framing the issues being discussed to be inclusive, setting ground rules for the discussion, encouraging equity and respect, and helping groups analyse issues and make decisions [84]. Good facilitation may be considered an art [85] as things may not go according to plan. A facilitator may design a deliberation plan and then have to adjust it depending on the needs of the situation. The skills of facilitators, their social intelligence, and their understanding of what is important for the deliberation are key to effective deliberation. The facilitation role calls for remaining independent, and balancing the group process, the task at hand, and the individuals involved. Facilitators need to create an environment that nurtures the social aspects of deliberation, including the adequate distribution of speaking opportunities, mutual comprehension, consideration of others' ideas and experiences, and respect for other participants [83].

In both case studies, the qualities of good deliberation were largely achieved, though sometimes with difficulty. Overall, however, the feedback indicated that good facilitation enabled respectful listening as well as the elicitation of participant values, discussion of diverse options, and prioritization of ways forward.

In the Dattawadi deliberations, the University worked to provide unbiased and comprehensive information, though particularly architectural maps and graphics were not easily understood by all participants. Ensuring easily understood information could be an additional role overseen by the independent third party.

In both case studies, broad and open framing of the deliberation question ensured all viewpoints could be safely aired. Researchers [86] have suggested that both in normative and operational terms, independent analysts are useful to encourage participants to consider different

ways of thinking about the issue under discussion, not only counter-arguments, but counter-frames. From our experience, the independent third party could also take on this role, especially if they have already ascertained this information during the background research that should have included a broad range of experts, advocates of organically arising issues, and those likely to be impacted by decisions made.

The different languages spoken by participants did not seem to impede deliberation, with facilitators providing translations. Fung and Wright noted (6) that the high literacy rate in Kerala was an enabling factor for participatory planning and budgeting. However, from our experience, if efforts were made to enable two-way communication in non-textual modes, participant literacy was not essential. In Dattawadi, the information collected in the prior studies as well as the street design prepared were presented orally and with photographs and illustrations. Where text was used, such as in the prioritization exercises, the options were read out by the facilitators in each group and discussed. The conduct of the deliberations in small facilitated groups helped provide each person adequate opportunity to speak. Once again, we suggest that an independent third party could oversee efforts to ensure disadvantaged, illiterate or semi-literate groups could meaningfully participate in deliberations, potentially bolstering their sense of self-efficacy and group empowerment.

Balancing the power differential in India's stratified society was the most difficult group dynamic to manage. In one particular example, an egalitarian environment was not successfully maintained when street vendors were seated with local representatives on the same table, and it became apparent that the street vendors always agreed with the local representative. Existing power dynamics appeared to stifle open and free dialogue. Such power-over relationships could be mitigated with stronger facilitation and/or with purposeful seating to avoid such power-over relationships at the one table. Then the views of the vulnerable could be voiced in the deliberations without worries about repercussions. Additionally, preparatory workshops of more vulnerable groups could be held prior to the deliberation to strengthen their skills and confidence. Again, the independent third party could take on the task of finding ways to include impacted, marginalized groups, avoiding negative fall-outs, if they were not able to form an effective 'counter-public'.

The Dattawadi process was not formally evaluated through quantitative surveys, though qualitative participant feedback was sought orally at the end of the day. The PB review process, on the other hand, was assessed through a quantitative feedback questionnaire administered at the end of the process, with facilitators working

with non-literate participants to record their feedback. The questions pertained to assessment of the key characteristics of public deliberations, including the usefulness of the information provided, the deliberative quality including respectfulness, and the satisfaction with the outcome. Participants rated the forum highly on all of the above aspects.

Achieving some, but very limited influence

Deliberative democracy highlights the need for influential public deliberation. Ideally the recommendations of a mini-public are accepted and implemented. The implementing agency would usually be a government agency, but recommendations may also be for the community itself to implement, or other entities. Though the Dattawadi case held the promise of such influence, implementation only minimally materialised in accordance with the designs envisaged. The PB review was influential insofar as the local government did go forward with the development of an information base and public infrastructure index to support rational budgeting.⁵ However, in the following year, though the Municipal Commissioner did introduce this rationale in budget making, the budget decisions made by elected representatives did not reflect the usage of this information [80].

In the absence of formal governance reform, keeping government honest is no easy task. Additionally, in India, as public participation is rarely legislated, efforts made in this regard are entirely voluntary. Although the lack of impact of such initiatives has not been clearly documented, as this research documents, even when clear government commitments had been made to influential public deliberation, the outcomes of these initiatives did not translate into action on the ground. The reasons were no doubt typical of government reluctance to adopt new practices. For example: government representatives apparently wanted public acceptance, but not enough to expend the limited budget on the public's recommendations; there was a lack of timeliness in the government response, so the issues raised faded from urgent to chronic; there was departmental unwillingness or inability to implement initiatives that were out of the ordinary; and over time, the history and context of the initiative were lost with changes in elected representatives and/or administration officials.

Suggested mechanisms to foster the influence of future public deliberations include:

- Continuing advocacy of civic groups throughout and following the deliberative process.
- Ongoing implementation of inclusive, deliberative, influential demonstration projects involving the broader public throughout.

- Iterative deliberations, one building on the next, gaining momentum as broader issues and more people are involved.
- Promoting institutionalization of more meaningful public participation in governance as in Kerala, Maharashtra and Mendha Lekha, as well as innovative methods such as the Citizens' Initiative Review (CIR) in Oregon, USA.

It should be noted that research elsewhere has shown positive long-term effects of deliberative democracy initiatives on citizen efficacy [87]. This has also been evidenced in Kerala's Kudumbashree programme, which has resulted in greater public participation by urban poor women in ward meetings after participating in microplanning in their own neighbourhoods [41]. Indeed, participant feedback from both Pune deliberative democracy case studies indicated that participating appeared to enhance their sense of self-efficacy, civic understanding and potential civic participation in the future – all important to effective democratic governance.

How organic participation added value to deliberative democracy induced participation

It is our contention that deliberative democracy in Indian cities needs to build upon the wealth of participatory initiatives, advocacy efforts, and the spaces claimed or invented through movements and struggles. In Dattawadi, the learning from involving organic participation included:

- Organic participation was crucial to gaining the trust and inclusion of the marginalised and disempowered.
- With known and trusted civic groups standing alongside elected representatives, the participatory process was able to accrue greater legitimacy.
- The deliberation issue became more broadly owned by both the public and the elected representatives
- Members of organic groups, used to dealing with a diversity of views, helped the deliberation process, in particular as facilitators, translators and scribes.
- Funding of the project and implementation of some of its recommended designs were made possible through the conjunction of well-known civic groups, governmental officials and publicly trusted organisations, including universities.

In the PB review, there were similar learnings to those from Dattawadi, plus the following:

- Organic participation (CEE and others) had continually tried to improve the inclusivity and

influence of the Pune PB process through studies and critiques [39, 88], but with little success. This new method of including diverse voices in considered deliberation had some success in that the government did commit to seriously considering its recommendations.

- The deliberative democracy PB Review also succeeded in gaining government recognition that change was needed to their PB process. This has given civic groups hope that through their continued advocacy, the deliberative review recommendations, including the usage of the WISE InfoBase and index, will be implemented.

How the role of an independent third party functioned

For meaningful participation to elicit public legitimacy, the process and the parties involved need to be seen to be trustworthy – inclusive and egalitarian, transparent and accountable. This can best be achieved by an independent third party. In the Pune case studies, in the absence of government interest in democratic renewal, the consortium of academic institutes and NGOs took on the role of piloting high-quality public deliberation to demonstrate good governance. As well as driving and administering the initiatives, they played the role of an independent third party, conducting background studies, framing, arranging and facilitating the deliberations, while overseeing each project to ensure its processes were open, inclusive, egalitarian, accountable and transparent. The fact that the consortia had taken on this role was neither initially recognized nor specifically evaluated. However, the participant feedback on each of the different elements of a trustworthy process were highly evaluated – regardless of who was responsible.

Based on our action research, and the literature on how public deliberation forums are conducted elsewhere, we suggest that the roles of a Third Party could include pre-deliberation preparations such as background research, preparatory meetings, especially with marginalized groups, framing the deliberation, preparing the input materials in easy to understand formats, and designing the deliberation process. The tasks during and immediately after the deliberative forum could include facilitating the deliberation, soliciting participants' feedback, preparing an evaluation of the deliberations and the report of the deliberation. Third Parties could also contribute to broader reviews of deliberation processes and provide suggestions to the organizing entities, typically the government.

Based on our action research learnings, we have attempted to inductively derive a process flow of a deliberation process that could be anchored by the government, facilitated by a third party and could integrate organic advocacy agencies. Our suggestion is that public deliberation

processes could be organized periodically (such as annual Participatory Budgets), as well as around particular issues or projects, and especially in response to the needs of the marginalized since such issues have often remained unresolved. The careful attention and deep thinking from multiple points of view that an issue would get in an inclusive public deliberation could help build real solutions, political will, and positive ways forward. The roles in such a process are outlined in Table 1, while the generic flow of such a process is pictured in Fig. 1. It should be noted that this Table and Figure which have evolved from our particular experience are presented as potential guides for others beginning this journey. However, contextual issues need to be at the forefront of any future endeavours. There is unlikely to be any one particular way of designing a public deliberation – so adaptations will be almost inevitable.

Conclusions

Improving urban governance is an imperative for India, with its accelerated rate of urbanization. The stratified and complex socio-economic and political context in India, power imbalances, and inadequacy of information for civic decision-making makes public engagement challenging. It is an opportune moment in India for deliberative democracy innovations. The rising interest in participation, together with discontent with current participation methods and governance can provide fertile ground for deliberative democracy to take root.

Using the learnings from action research case studies in Pune, we have shown in this article that a combination of leaders willing to pioneer good governance, capable third-party facilitators, and strong organic participation groups working together through the structured approaches of deliberative democracy can effectively integrate the public into civic decision-making. The add-on value of organic participation is particularly relevant in the Indian context for several reasons including its ability to highlight important issues of

Table 1 Conjoined Induced and Organic Participation aided by an Independent Third Party

Role	Induced Participation by Government	Third Party commissioned by Public Deliberation Office	Organic Participation Advisory support by NGOs
Suggest topics for deliberation (by the public)			○
Receive topics for deliberation	●		
Prioritize topics through a panel (random selected public and elected officials + experts, civic officials)	●		
Research the topic, map stakeholders	○	●	○
Hold preparatory meetings with different stakeholders	○	●	○
Frame the deliberation	○	●	○
Compile and prepare materials for the public to review	○	●	○
Design deliberation process and its evaluation method	○	●	○
Appoint an oversight committee	●		
Recruit an inclusive, representative group of deliberators	●	○	○
Provide participation support, if needed (wage compensation, travel, child care)	●		
Conduct and facilitate the deliberation	○	●	○
Prepare the evaluation of the deliberation		●	
Prepare the report of deliberation (including evaluation)		●	
Publish the report of the deliberation	●		
Submit the report to the relevant government authority	●		
Publish how deliberation recommendations are incorporated in government decisions	●		
Track and follow-up to ensure implementation			○
Review of the process, implementation and impacts	○	●	○
Report learning with suggested changes or adaptations for the future	○	●	

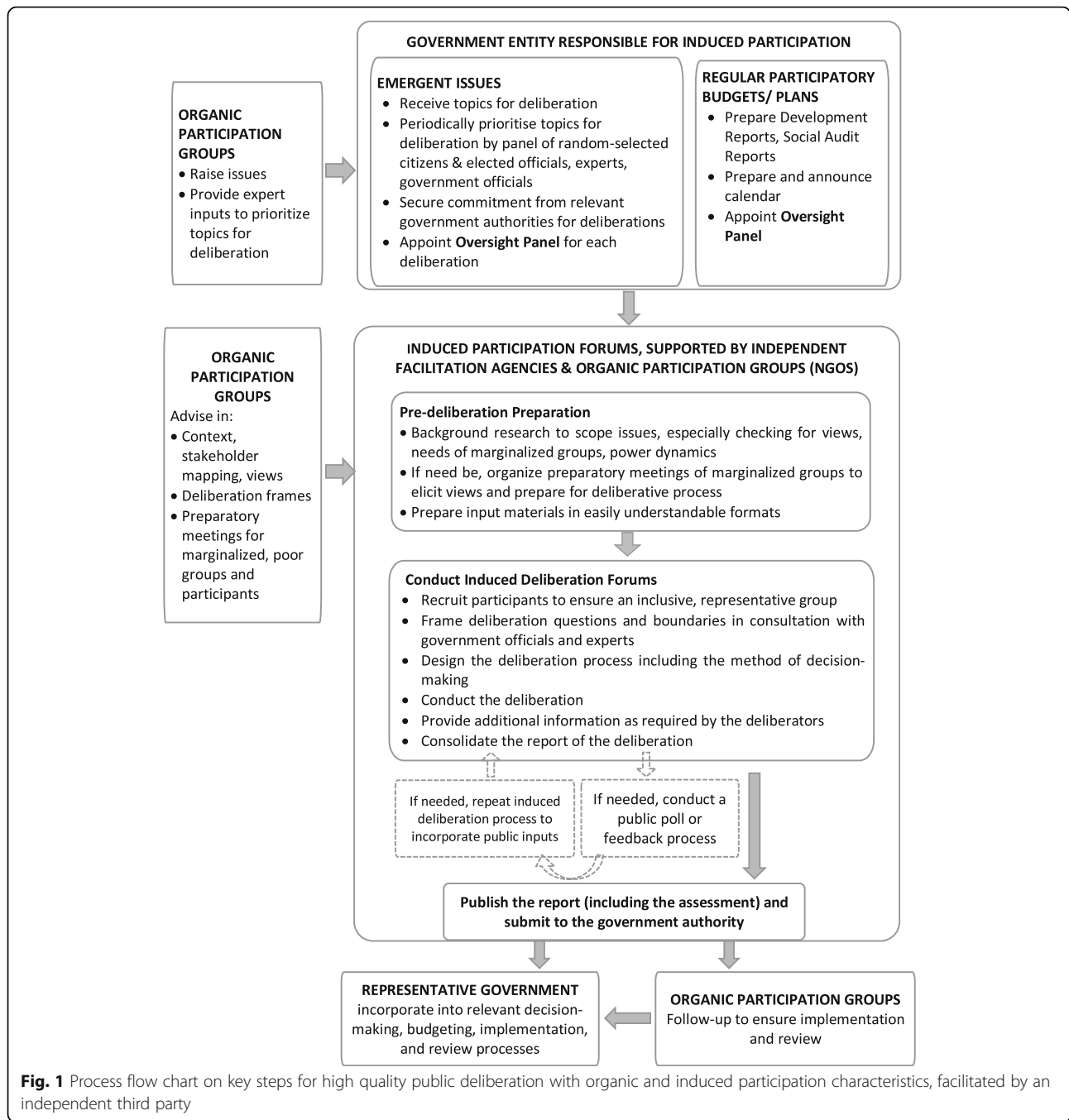


Fig. 1 Process flow chart on key steps for high quality public deliberation with organic and induced participation characteristics, facilitated by an independent third party

concern for public deliberation, as well as the expertise, deep involvement and perseverance of advocacy groups. In particular, deliberative democracy can purposefully include those publics that are often not invited into the formal consultation-oriented participation spaces of government induced processes. Deliberation processes can and should aim to address such exclusions, that are also the reason India is called an 'unlikely' democracy.

To promote and facilitate public deliberations, the role of the independent third-party can be played by universities or NGOs that enjoy public trust, as has been the experience in Kerala, and rural Maharashtra. Additionally, the process flow we have inductively derived for conjoined organic and induced deliberative democratic participation, facilitated by an independent third party can be a useful reference point for future efforts.

However, achieving ongoing good governance in India will be a challenge. It will require an organic movement not just to call for, but also help implement governance reform in Indian cities. It will require advocacy at multiple levels to encourage and support governments to implement deliberative democracy processes, strengthen the skills and willingness of organic participation, and advance an effective independent third-party to promote, oversee and ensure best practice public participation in governance. Such advocacy will need ‘champions’ within political, administrative and civil society willing to try out public deliberations. A key challenge will be to overcome scepticism among leaders. Leaders of issue-focused organic advocacy who may well perceive risks in ‘going to the general public,’ that is beyond their particular interest groups and political or administrative decision-making venues, and in particular, potentially giving the floor to those with opposing views, thus hampering their organization’s advocacy. Moving past such critiques will require involving those likely to resist or oppose in different roles in meaningful public deliberation initiatives. For example, they could be involved as members of overseeing groups, or as community ‘experts’ who present their views to deliberation participants and are questioned by them.

Additionally, it will require ongoing research and evaluation of good governance initiatives that can enable continual adaptation and foster ongoing innovation. Working in cooperation, an ecosystem for democratic renewal can be created. This will be integral to the ability of Indian cities to more effectively resolve their highly challenging urban sustainability dilemmas.

As has been evidenced elsewhere, nothing succeeds like success, that is, such efforts can create a virtuous cycle and repetition of such processes is more likely if they were seen to be successful. This was also the experience in Pune, with collaborators and key civil society actors who were part of the organizing teams later becoming advocates of deliberative democracy. Experience elsewhere has demonstrated that well designed, well implemented, inclusive, influential public deliberations have proven to be highly successful in accruing public legitimacy [53, 89].

Some starting points to introduce deliberative democracy initiatives in Pune and other Indian cities include: the application of recent national guidelines for urban master planning,⁶ conducting pilots to operationalize the area sabha provision in municipal law in states that have created such a provision, and adding deliberative democracy processes in initiatives by municipal line departments, such as for improving waste management, street designs, access to welfare benefits, introducing or strengthening participatory budget processes. Deliberative democracy can provide the opportunity for deepening democracy, addressing some of the core conditions that make India an ‘unlikely democracy,’ and enabling democratic structure

and democratic politics to come together at the granular level of governance that cities provide.

Endnotes

¹Mohan Hirabhai Hiralal, pers. comm., September 2016 <https://puneabhyasgat.wordpress.com/2016/11/29/notes-2-sept-2016/>

²Mohan Hirabhai Hiralal, an activist researcher, has supported the evolution of remarkable deliberative democracy processes over several years in Mendha Lekha, a tribal village in eastern Maharashtra. Abhyas gats or study circles, are convened of interested individuals from the village community on issues of public or community interest. These study circles act as a deliberative space for considering issues of interest, and include deliberation on inputs of invited experts, views from the village community, working through information, expert inputs, diverse views and arriving at potential ways ahead. The deliberative space, that is the study circles, are different from the decision-making space, that is the gram sabha, which is the assembly of all adults of the village. The results of deliberation are presented to the gram sabha where decisions are made through consensus, with quorum. If consensus is not achieved, the issues are referred back to the study circles for further deliberation., Maharashtra. See also <https://kalpavriksh.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Community-Conserved-Areas-in-India.pdf>

³The 21st Century Deliberation involves a large number of people, organized into small, facilitated discussion groups using networked computers. Each table’s suggestions to designed open questions are collated and then prioritised by participants, with a Participant Report disseminated at the conclusion.

⁴CivicEvolution was an online software tool that enables rapid collation of content from different groups of discussants using networked computers, and subsequent prioritization if needed. A newer version is now available as WhatDoWeThink at <https://whatdowethink.com/>

⁵See <http://ourpuneourbudget.in/>

⁶The Urban and Regional Development Plans Formulation and Implementation Guidelines 2015 (URDPFI), issued by the Government of India recommend participatory planning and citizen engagement.

Abbreviations

CAA: Constitutional Amendment Act; CEE: Centre for Environment Education; CIR: Citizens’ Initiative Review; CSO: Civil Society Organization; CUSP: Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute; NGO: Non-governmental Organization; PB: Participatory Budget; WISE: Ward Infrastructure, Services and Environment (index or information base)

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Authors' contributions

SM and JHK are responsible for the conception and design of this article, drafting the manuscript, and for final approval of the version to be published. SM is accountable for all aspects of the work and ensuring the accuracy or integrity of the work. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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5.3 Publication-III

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Linking Traditional ‘Organic’ and ‘Induced’ Public Participation with Deliberative Democracy: Experiments in Pune, India

SANSKRITI MENON AND JANETTE HARTZ-KARP

Abstract

Resolving urban challenges or ‘wicked problems’ is a dilemma for most governments, especially in developing countries, and India is a case in point. Collaborative, dialogue-based approaches have been posited as critical to addressing wicked problems. This would require a reform of Indian cities’ governance systems to enable citizens to be embedded in decision-making about complex issues. This article contends that while India’s traditional forms of civic participation can provide a strong foundation for reform, new forms of representative deliberative, influential public participation, that is, deliberative democracy, will be important. Traditional organic and induced participation examples in India are overviewed in terms of their strengths and gaps. Two deliberative democracy case studies in Pune, India, are described, and their potential for reform is assessed. Traditional, together with innovative, induced and organic participation in governance, will be needed to overcome significant pitfalls in governance if Indian cities are to become more capable of addressing urban sustainability challenges.

Keywords: Deliberative democracy, urban governance, organic participation, induced participation, urban mobility, street design

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INTRODUCTION

Indian cities provide major opportunities to create a better quality of life for citizens. Since Indian cities do not yet have path dependence and locked-in infrastructure (International Energy Agency, 2015) (Sims et al., 2014), there is an opportunity to leapfrog towards sustainability, integrating the traditional with the new and domestic with international best practices (Sarabhai, Joshi, & Menon, 2016). However, the urban transition to sustainability constitutes a ‘wicked problem’—it is highly consequential but has potentially unknowable causes and solutions. In India, the complexity is exacerbated on the one hand by enormous societal heterogeneity in cities, informal occupations, informality in the use of public spaces as well as how the built environment evolves (especially housing); and on the other hand, by inadequate governance, public service delivery and lack of data to understand these issues. Though India has accepted the global Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) and the importance of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), these urban conditions make the task of transitioning to greater sustainability even more difficult.

Such wicked problems pose particular challenges for analyzing problems, searching for alternatives including innovations, and choosing a course of action that seems right for the local context (Sarabhai, Joshi, & Menon, 2016, p. 232). It has been posited by Rittel and Webber (1973), who coined the term ‘wicked problems’, and others, that collaborative, dialogue-based approaches to governance are critical to addressing wicked problems (Carcasson, 2016; Lundström, Harri, Pirkko, & Lindell, 2016). Hence, this article starts from the premise that Indian city governance will need to be reformed to achieve the participatory governance that could enable transitions to greater sustainability.

Citizens will need to be embedded in decision-making about complex issues for several reasons: to contribute their own knowledge and aspirations; to hear others’ views, including those of experts, and learn from them; to find common ground as well as to dissent; and to develop new thinking and new ways forward independent of narrow political stakes. This will improve accountability in democratic arrangements and the well-being of participants, since participation in decisions that affect one’s life is an element of individual well-being.

Transitioning to more sustainable cities will require progress on the SDGs. We posit that for headway on the SDGs to be achieved, it will require public participation, that is, inclusive, egalitarian, structured, deliberative and influential. The SDGs present a universal people’s agenda of how a sustainable future could be achieved. To reach this future, it will require more meaningful ways of actively involving everyday people as well as stakeholders, working across divides and together with governments. Since the SDGs are not legally binding, if they are to be implemented, then it is the people who can keep governments honest. Moreover, it is the people who can localize the broad, sweeping goals, so they are relevant and implementable at the local level. This involvement will be critical to the implementation of all the SDGs (Sriskandarajah, 2018). In terms of this research, such involvement will be particularly important in implementing Goal 11, Sustainable Cities and Communities; as well as Goal 16, Peace Justice and Strong Institutions, particularly good governance; Goal 17, Partnerships for the Goals, including partnerships with everyday people; and Goal 4, Education, particularly ESD.

REFORMING INDIAN CITY GOVERNANCE

Globalization and urbanization have diminished the sense of individual and community agency. However, active involvement by the people in the issues of governance will be critical if wicked problems are to be resolved, and the SDGs are to be implemented. To involve the public effectively, it will require characteristics of good governance that support citizen learning and capacity to respond (ESD) and enhance government decision-making. Such characteristics include:

Engaging Diverse Knowledge Bases and Actors

Complex urban problems require the perspectives, knowledge and experience of a broad range of people. Policy developers and decision-makers need to seek out the holders of different knowledge bases and experiences and engage them in deliberation about the issue at hand in order to understand its varied dimensions. Further, decisions on what changes are desirable and how to implement them need to be grounded on agreed steps forward. For example, Jameson and Baud (2016) suggest that flood water and drinking water management in Chennai would benefit from a model that assembles varieties of knowledge, different discourses, formal and informal power dynamics, actor coalitions and processes of practice. Creating such a process and learning situations is integral to ESD, to help build a more systemic and multi-cultural understanding of development issues. However, there are few intersections between technical knowledge and complementary tacit knowledge. Integrated flood management envisages iterative processes, multi-disciplinary coalitions of local government and civil society, recognition of multiple knowledge types including community and experience bases, integration of political will, and participation of all stakeholders (*ibid.*). Similarly, Carcasson (2016) notes that municipal governments must go beyond discussions among the elected representatives, contending that 'adaptive changes and broad range of actions, critical to addressing wicked problems, require shared responsibility and ownership by the public' (*ibid.*). Ready-made solutions provided by the elected representatives, without consideration and convergence among different stakeholders, have proven to be inadequate, especially when it comes to implementation.

Inclusiveness

Opportunities for the participation of the poor and marginalized in civic decision-making are important since they are highly likely to be excluded from the development of civic services, which will impact them. The rapid growth of urban areas has resulted in a proliferation of poor migrants who have no unions or associations, and as they are often not enrolled in election lists, they have no public representatives. Heller highlights such fundamental deficits of representative democracy in the global south:

The key point here is that the missing link between representation and substantive outcomes is the unequal nature of participation. To understand that if any virtuous linkage might exist or emerge between subordinate class politics and economically and socially just

outcomes, we need to focus more specifically on the conditions and possibilities for the effective practice of democratic politics...this means focusing on the formation of citizens rather than the formation of classes. (2012, p. 645)

The importance of increasing equitable participation in decision-making is reflected in a number of SDGs, including SDG 5.1 and 5.5 on gender equality; SDG 10.3 on promoting equal opportunity and reducing inequalities of outcome; SDG 11.3 on cities with direct participation structure of civil society in urban planning and management that operate regularly and democratically; SDG 16.6 on effective, accountable and transparent institutions; and SDG 16.7 on responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels. Indeed, the measure of SDG 11 (enhancing the 'capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries'), targets the 'proportion of cities with a direct participation structure of civil society in urban planning and management that operate regularly and democratically' (Division for Sustainable Development Goals, UN-DESA, 2015).

Increasing Trust

For people to come together, mobilize, experiment, innovate and resolve critical problems, it requires trust. A current dilemma for global democracies is that although democracy is built on the foundation of trust, citizens' trust levels in government have been rapidly declining (Pew Research Center, 2015, p. 18). This trust deficit, together with the increasing urgency to resolve cities' wicked problems, is increasingly eroding governments' ability to do so (Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2015). The authors contended that resolving this impasse requires fundamental reform of existing democratic governance structures, in particular, instituting inclusive, deliberative, influential public participation. Their four-year case study in a Western Australian city showed improved resolution of wicked problems together with increased public trust (ibid.). Such democratic reform is now increasing globally, including in developing countries (Bächtiger, Dryzek, Mansbridge, & Warr, 2018).

Practising Reflexivity to Enable Learning and Adaption

To institute political change that can more effectively respond to sustainability will require ongoing reflection—carefully considering and evaluating whether interventions achieve the desired end result. Simple cause and effect thinking will be inadequate. Wicked problems require systems thinking that reflects the circular relationship between what is examined and the belief structures of those examined, that is, reflexivity. Dryzek and Pickering (2017) argue that deliberation is central to reflexive governance. Deliberation enables us to understand what does and does not make a difference and why; and increases our ability to adapt to unforeseen changes. This is ESD in practice, with deliberative processes accessing the knowledge resources of the participants themselves, together with external inputs as per need, such that reflection, learning and planning for further action can happen.

A Focus on Community Well-Being

Being a part of decisions that affect one's everyday life contributes to our sense of social belonging, well-being, civic mindedness and trust in fellow citizens and government. This has not only instrumental value—yielding better solutions but also intrinsic value—self-actualization and contribution to the public good (Sen, 1999). If the purpose of developmental activity is to enhance human well-being, then having structures and opportunities for meaningful civic participation contributes to that purpose.

Many of the characteristics that we would want governance to have are also characteristics of ESD. Hartz-Karp and Stocker (2013) suggest that deliberative processes are a critical pedagogy fostering empowered, integrative thinking and action because they are inclusive, mutually respectful, cognizant of beliefs and values including those underlying science and societal development; they may be considered 'new technologies of cooperation' and learning tools.

India's representative government does have mechanisms that enable some of the above characteristics of participation. Notably, there are public hearings, social audits, Parliamentary Standing Committees and special committees set up by the judiciary to investigate issues. The electoral quotas for the Scheduled Castes (former 'untouchable' community) at the state level have fostered inclusiveness, opening the political arena for those excluded, helping to break stereotypes and social barriers, and reducing caste-based discrimination (Jensenius, 2017). Jensenius, however, notes that political discourse and party agendas will need to change if deeper changes to the material conditions of discriminated against segments of society are to occur (*ibid.*). Finally, decentralization trends have also increased the influence of actors other than governments, such as financial institutions, donors, corporates, consultants and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in public sector governance (Kumar & Narain, 2014)—though we make no normative comments about such influences. Overall, however, these mechanisms are not aimed consciously and systematically at achieving characteristics of good governance. Nor are they applied to deciding, implementing and reviewing policies, programmes and projects at the city level.

Urban governance in India is mostly judged to be problematic (Kapoor, 2017). An extensive survey in India by the Association for Democratic Reform in 2014, showed that citizens are highly dissatisfied with the performance of government on issues that matter the most, including employment, essential services (drinking water, education, health, electricity), infrastructure (roads, public transport), lower food prices, law and order and women's security (Sastry, 2014). There is a high degree of criminalization of politics (*ibid.*) and widespread public perception that the government is corrupt and unaccountable, as evidenced by the large public following for a recent Indian anti-corruption campaign led by Anna Hazare (Chatterjee & Roychoudhury, 2013; Gupta, 2017). The need for reform and evolution in governance to allow for the emergence of more coherent city politics, more pro-people, inclusive, pro-environment, approaches, better service delivery, greater transparency and accountability is articulated by many (e.g., Kumar & Narain, 2014; Maringanti, 2012).

To make progress on SDG 11, Sustainable Cities and Communities as well as the other SDGs, Indian city governance needs to be reformed, so the challenges are

addressed with the people rather than despite them. Systematically incorporating the characteristics of good governance would be a useful start. In our view, this could be achieved by adding India's representative democracy to another form of decision-making—'deliberative democracy'. This would incorporate the desired characteristics of good governance, that is, reflecting diverse knowledge bases, inclusivity, increased trust, reflective thinking and reflexivity and a focus on community well-being (Dryzek & Hendriks, 2012; Fung & Wright, 2003). The links between ESD and governance, and the distinction of ESD from 'behaviour change communication or education' also need to be recognized. Arjen Wals suggests:

the role of education is not to change behaviour (e.g., to get people to carpool, recycle or to shift away from meat-based diets) but to create capacities for critical engagement in the key issues of our time such as: anticipatory thinking, integrative thinking, dealing with complexity and ambiguity, action competence, to name just a few, and to create learning spaces for the development of qualities such as care, empathy and solidarity that appear critical. (Peters & Wals, 2016)

Wals further says that (the emancipatory perspective) strengthens deliberative democracy and opens up conversations about the nature of both education and sustainability (*ibid.*). Deliberative democracy is ideally placed to foster the ESD needed to achieve the SDGs. Sustainability is inherently complex with no simple answers. If tough issues are to be resolved in implementable ways, it will take careful consideration of diverse viewpoints, including the science and data with rational discourse and the search for common ground to find creative ways forward. These are the characteristics of a deliberative democracy process. As venues for informal learning and multi-stakeholder processes, public deliberations relate strongly to the Priority Area 5 'Accelerating sustainable solutions at local level' of the UNESCO Global Action Programme for ESD (UNESCO, 2014). Several studies discuss how deliberative democracy can foster social learning, suggesting that problems can be best identified and alternatives explored through deliberation (Rodela, 2013). Barraclough (2013) suggests that there is a value in dialogue, deliberation and learning, irrespective of achieving consensus. Deliberative processes enable social learning and decision-making to function together and create a conducive environment for mutual understanding. Læssøe (2010) has pointed to the risk of marginalization of certain problems and themes even when genuine participation efforts have been organized, and that dilemma, dissensus and deliberative communication are essential elements of democratically oriented ESD.

POTENTIAL REFORM THROUGH DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

According to Gastil and Richards, '(W)hen people deliberate, they carefully examine a problem and arrive at a well-reasoned solution after a period of inclusive, respectful consideration of diverse points of view' (2013, p. 255). However, for public deliberation to become an accepted part of governance, our current assumptions about what constitutes democracy will need to be challenged, in particular, that 'elections equal

democracy' (Bouricius, 2013) and that it is the job of the elected officials to exercise power over the people. In our view, elections are only one element of an effective democracy, and elected officials could more effectively resolve wicked problems if they demonstrated power with the people rather than power over them. We propose that governance reform that incorporates deliberative democracy could address key limitations of our current representative democracy and better support future sustainability.

Deliberative democracy is characterized by being inclusive of diverse viewpoints and values, that is, demographically representative of the population, where participants are able to engage in open and egalitarian dialogue, having access to user-friendly information, space to understand and reframe issues, weigh options and seek common ground and for their outcomes to be influential. Evidence from different countries has demonstrated the capacity for high-quality public deliberation to arrive at a coherent public voice that influences both participants' civic efficacy and democratic decision-making (Knobloch, Gastil, Feller, & Richards, 2014). To date, modern deliberative democracy has been documented more in developed than in developing countries. However, there have been examples of deliberative democracy, in particular, deliberative polls, in China (He, 2014) and Africa (Fishkin, Mayega, Atuyambe, Tumuhamy, Ssentongo, & Bazeyo, 2017) demonstrating that deliberative democracy can be equally effective in developing countries. The reform of governance through deliberative democracy would simultaneously foster ESD and the implementation of the SDGs.

While the incorporation of deliberative democracy can bolster effective city governance, in our view, for such reform to be effective in urban India, it needs to be based firmly on India's traditions and experience of public participation in governance.

TRADITIONAL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN INDIA

India's formal democratic governance has three tiers, namely, national, state and local.

Mansuri and Rao (2013) describe the existing participation of citizens in governance in India as being 'organic' and/or 'induced'. Though public participation cannot be neatly divided into either 'organic' or 'induced' categories, this differentiation does give greater clarity to participation examples in India, enabling the strengths and weaknesses of each to be elucidated. It is relevant to consider the distinction, since organic participation is usually a product of the agency of actors, while induced participation is indicative of the institutional opportunities and procedures for participation. Both forms are important for the advancement of participation processes that are integral to efforts for sustainable development. Moreover, developing countries, including India, often have long traditions of strong organic participation, likely strengthened by the frequent absence of good governance or the resources needed to resolve local challenges. Using this categorization of organic and induced participation is also particularly useful in helping to clarify the evaluation of opportunities for reform in governance, particularly deliberative democracy.

Organic Participation

‘Organic participation’, as per Mansuri and Rao (2013)

...has historically been the norm for civic expression. It includes social movements that fight for greater democratic expression and for the rights of the underprivileged...It also includes attempts to build membership-based organisations to improve livelihoods and living standards...Organic participation may also include labour movements that form unions to protect workers and trade associations formed to represent the interests of a particular industry. (p. 285)

In India, there is a wealth of experience in ‘organic’ participation involving the struggles and advocacy of people and organizations, including in the areas of housing, livelihoods, waste, transport and in the resultant creation of positive legislation and initiatives such as the Right to Information Act and the Domestic Violence Act (Goswami & Tandon, 2013). It also includes social movements such as those related to the rights of people in informal occupations like street-vendors (Sen, 2013) and waste pickers (Chikarmane, 2012), and shelter for the poor by the Scheme for Promotion of Academic and Research Collaboration in Mumbai (Appadurai, 2001), residents’ associations and self-help groups (Goswami & Tandon, 2013). Civil society organizations (CSOs) are engaged in a wide spectrum of activities encompassing governance, advocacy, policy-making and facilitating people’s participation through generating awareness (Singh, 2012), action projects and service delivery. These have had an ‘important role in making Indian democracy alive and participatory’ (Goswami & Tandon, 2013, p. 656).

However, gaps in organic participation are also highlighted. For example, Harriss (2006) and Singh (2012) noted that the informal working class may be largely excluded from active participation in CSOs, which is a sphere of middle-class activism. Issues of housing and livelihood frequently bring the middle class and the informal working class into contention (Harriss, 2006). Singh (2012) notes that state-civil society partnerships such as Advanced Locality Management groups in Mumbai are inherently exclusionary of lower socio-economic groups. Similarly, highly influential organic participation of business and industry leaders leaves out the voices of ordinary citizens.

Organic participation has been an integral element of the Indian democracy, yielding issue-focussed points of view, as well as knowledge and diverse values that help to expand understanding about the issues. Organic participation has achieved large wins, such as improving livelihoods or securing shelter for the poor. However, it may be an inadequate process for the public at large. Creating successful social movements usually requires enormous personal commitment and investment of resources by both leaders and members. This significantly limits broad participation. Moreover, as these organic expressions can be exclusionary, they rarely lead to shared decision-making, and they may not be influential in effecting change. Despite such limitations, organic participation can be vital to fostering ESD and to strategically introducing governance reform.

Induced Participation

Mansuri and Rao define 'induced' participation as '...participation promoted through policy actions of the state and implemented by bureaucracies...and comes in two forms: decentralisation and community-driven development' (Mansuri & Rao, 2013, p. 286). This can be exemplified by the 73rd and 74th Amendments in the Indian Constitution providing for the structures of local self-government to be created at the village, city and district levels, with elections every five years and electoral quotas for women and marginalized groups. The formal institution of the *gram sabha*, a village assembly within the representative structure of the *gram panchayat*, an elected local body, is recognized as a significant step towards deepening democracy. The 74th Amendment—defining representative democracy in urban areas—has a 12th Schedule, which lists 18 functions that state governments may decide to devolve to the municipal governments. The two main decision-making processes involved are the master planning process and annual budgets and plans. Additional formal institutions that support civic participation include mandatory public hearings, free access to information, public scrutiny and feedback on the policy process, public notice of agency decisions, and citizen's right to file objections and concerns as a para-judicial process (Gurtoo, 2011). These have helped to improve public service delivery and the claiming of entitlements (Roy, Dey, & Kashyap, 2017).

However, if we apply the characteristics of good governance, particularly those of inclusiveness, deliberativeness and influence, there are significant gaps in these participatory institutions. Concomitantly, there are gaps in the opportunity that governance could provide for social learning and ESD. These gaps include:

- Inadequate structure and mandate for influential participation by everyday citizens:
While the framework for participatory and localized governance was created through the Constitutional Amendments, the actual devolution and decentralization of governance functions and the funds to carry them out were left for the state governments to decide. Take-up has been variable across different states. As Mansuri and Rao (2013) recognized the promotion of induced participation can be constrained by higher levels of government that do not desire to cede power, authority and finances to the local governments and communities over which they may have little control. Urban areas in India lack a structure for regular and formal assembly of lay citizens for public governance, analogous to the *gram sabha*. Elected representatives tend to be removed from the people (Sivaramakrishnan, 2007) and do not respond adequately to the people's needs, especially the poor. The regulatory frameworks for public participation are inadequate. This is not helped by the disconnect between national policy development and local decision-making (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011).

There have been some reforms, for example, amendments to the Maharashtra Municipal Corporations Act to include a fifth tier of urban governance in the form of Area *Sabhas* (assembly). These local-level assemblies aim to enable

citizens to learn about and discuss civic issues and municipal policies, programmes and projects, giving their views and suggestions for neighbourhood works. Even though this provision does not give citizens a clear voice in decision-making, it provides a structured venue for the public to assemble and discuss municipal concerns. The provision has been included in law, but there are still no rules for implementing it. With the advent of the Smart Cities Mission,¹ interest in citizens' engagement has increased, since this was a criterion for selection. However, Smart Cities' public engagement has mostly involved surveys and consultations, rather than inclusive, empowered, public deliberation.

- **Inadequate procedures and unclear influence:**
Environmental impact assessment (EIA) and master planning processes incorporate the 'consultation' or 'hearings' forms of public participation. People may voice their views, but the hearings committee can choose to overrule objections without providing a reasoned response (EIA in India). It is unclear, whether or to what extent the inputs that the public provides are actually considered when the decisions are made.
- **Non-deliberative:**
The hearings or master plan suggestions and objections procedures enable the public to formally record objections and suggestions. However, decision-making processes do not incorporate opportunities for public participation in egalitarian, facilitated, influential deliberation that could help evolve combined thinking about the issue.
- **Non-transparency due to high stakes and corruption:**
This critique, often in relation to land values or infrastructure kick-backs, is inimical to meaningful and transparent public participation. Describing the Mumbai master planning process, Pethe, Nallathiga, Gandhi and Tandel (2014) noted that 'the distribution of land and its use is subject to intense political negotiations among slum dwellers, corporate capitalist class, politicians and bureaucrats' (p. 130). Khan and Swapan (2013) highlighted the differences between developed and developing countries regarding citizen involvement. They attributed this to differences in democratic traditions, pathways of urbanization and socio-economic and cultural conditions. The strong undermining influence of a highly politicized bureaucracy that operates within complex, patron-client networks, created by bureaucrats and politicians for mutual benefits was seen as a major obstacle to meaningful participation.
- **Narrow conception of participation:**
In urban India, like elsewhere, there is increasing interest in and critiques about forms of public participation and civic engagement, other than those related to elections and representative democracy. Coelho, Kamath, & Vijayabaskar (2013) suggest the importance being given to urban areas in India is related to a rise in neo-liberal interest in city management, smart city projects, and the economics around urban infrastructure development. Despite the veneer

of popular participation giving the appearance of legitimacy, critiques of the experiences of participation and consultation abound (Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University, 2014). These include manufactured consent, elite capture (Singh, 2012) or citizens participating by paying user charges for services (Ranganathan, 2013). These critiques offer insights into how to progress the discourse around participation. Especially important is the call to recognize the public as citizens who are integral to public decision-making, rather than involving them more narrowly as consumers or economic entities.

- Insufficient support for facilitation and administration: Participatory Budgeting (PB) in Pune, operating since 2007, exemplifies this critique. In the first year, local NGOs volunteered to facilitate the process directly and to train other facilitators to conduct public group discussions at the municipal ward offices to prioritize suggestions from the public. In the subsequent years, voluntary facilitator efforts could not be sustained, and the quality of deliberation declined. Similarly, the National Rural Health Mission has a provision for untied funds available to village level *Rogi Kalyan Samitis* (community health committees). Fund utilization is more effective when community health workers or NGOs are proactive and support the community to deliberate its best use. Otherwise, the funds are returned unspent or bureaucrats decide themselves, getting committee members including elected representatives (who may be largely unaware about the provision) to sign-off on their decision (Abhay Shukla,² personal communication, 11 July 2014). Illiteracy and lack of awareness about the role and rights of the committee (and the public) exacerbate non-participation. Facilitation can help overcome these constraints.

Induced Participation Examples Reflecting Good Governance Characteristics

Induced participation examples reflecting good governance have mostly been because of organic participation and are primarily in rural areas. The effective implementation of the *gram sabhas* in India is the most well known. From the early 1990s, these have been implemented in the southern state of Kerala through a 'Peoples' Campaign of Decentralised Planning'. Heller and Harilal (2007) noted that the People's Campaign led to the 'formation of new institutions of governance and democracy', and that 'these new institutions and practices have had a significant impact on the quality, efficacy, and inclusiveness of development' (p. 643). They suggested that the nature of participant mobilization in the *gram sabha*, as a campaign, may have impacted positively. Other potentially positive elements were the procedures for identifying issues when preparing local development plans, the facilitation of the whole process and the emphasis on funds being available for local development. However, with a change of political party in government, the campaign character of mobilization ended, and the training of facilitators was stopped. As a consequence, the levels of participation also dropped, though decentralization and devolution of powers to the village councils and assemblies persisted.

In Maharashtra, the United Nations Children's Fund and the state government carried out a pilot project for supporting microplanning in selected villages in the state. A structured and facilitated process of problem identification and proposal development was adopted with tools designed to ensure broad participation, not just of elites. This process, carried out over six days, had a further innovation, where separate assemblies of marginalized groups, and women were convened prior to the general assembly or *gram sabba* of the whole village, which discussed and approved the village development plan. Volunteers, facilitators and resource people were trained to carry out the microplanning processes. The positive experience of the pilot led the government to scale up microplanning in the state in 2015 (Yashada, undated).

In a recent paper revisiting the promise of PB, Cabannes and Lipietz (2017) characterized PBs as technocratic when they relate to improving budget efficiencies such as in cost-cutting; or as contributing to good governance when they relate to reorienting spending priorities to the neglected areas and seek engagement of broad actors such as youth. They suggested that only when PBs are politically motivated with an emphasis on inclusion of excluded groups and city-wide perspectives, can they bring more radical change, support the deliberative process more generally and lead to autonomy and solidarity and expand urban possibilities (ibid.).

At the Indian national level, two recent noteworthy participatory processes were the formulation of the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP) and the Forest Rights Act. The first was an induced process, created in response to the requirements of the Convention on Biological Diversity to which India is a signatory. The planning process was remarkable because it was designed to be decentralized and extensively participatory. The outcomes were recognized as plans in their own right. It created a top-down mobilization. The Forest Rights Act, implemented a few years later, saw grass-roots organizations representing traditionally marginalized voices advocating both within and outside the deliberative spaces provided by representative democracy, pushing rights-based claims into national legislation. The process saw extensive horizontal linkages among the tribal and forest-dependent community groups across the country, as well as vertical linkages with mediators, who connected with the national legislators' formal spheres of deliberation. In a detailed comparison of the context and process of the NBSAP and the Forest Rights Act, Ganguly (2016) noted an increasing interest in India in deliberative processes. She highlighted two trends, the opening up of mediation and deliberation spaces in the formal sphere of decision-making by elected representatives and the bureaucracy; and the emergence of connections between the 'organic' or public sphere and mediation spaces in the formal sphere.

The examples of Kerala and Maharashtra show that the success in participatory governance is dependent not only on the creation of devolved, decentralized, induced participation structures and processes but also on other triggers such as mobilization, structure, facilitation, information generation, deliberation and influence. The country-level examples of the NBSAP and Forest Rights Act reinforce the notion of gains from joining up organic and induced participation. Organic participation brings life to induced participation structures and richness to deliberation; and induced participation enables collaboration between decision-makers and the public. These examples indicate a changing climate in India towards more inclusive, deliberative,

influential public participation, often driven by organic participation. In the opposite direction, however, there is a rising concern in India that widespread changes in political ambitions and formulations may reverse these gains.³

The Indian experiences of traditional organic and induced participation provide a solid foundation for governance innovation. The gaps highlight the need for governance reform. Considering the success of deliberative democracy in other parts of the world and similarly structured and facilitated participation in rural India, there is a reason to believe that Indian cities too could benefit from such reform. In particular, cities could apply the traditions and ongoing strengths and energy of organic participation together with structured, induced participation opportunities. In addition, deliberative democracy initiatives could bridge gaps in governance, especially if they are designed to construct a meeting point between organic and induced participation. Two experiments in Pune that combined organic participation with deliberative democracy are described. The first is an urban design process (described fully in Menon & Rapur, 2018). The second is an attempt to reform PB to make it more inclusive, deliberative and influential. These two examples offer some insights for future work to combine the energies of organic participation with the institutional authority of induced participation through well-structured and facilitated deliberative democracy processes. These case studies specifically address significant challenges to progress on SDG 11, especially Targets 11.2 (on inclusive mobility and road safety) and 11.3 (on participatory planning). They also contribute to SDG 10.2 on social, economic and political inclusion.

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY COMBINED WITH ORGANIC PARTICIPATION IN PUNE

Urban Mobility in Pune

Context

Traffic and transportation are among the top civic issues of concern in many Indian cities, including in Pune, located in western India with a population of about 3.2 million (2011 Census). Pune has seen a high growth rate of motorized traffic with more than 500 vehicles being registered every day. Local impacts include high air and noise pollution, road crashes and time wasted in road congestion. The problem is complex, and measures to resolve it have often backfired. Transitioning to future street design is fraught with anxiety and frustration, by both, the public and the administration. Additionally, many voices have been excluded, their only influence being through protests against evictions and police harassment about encroachment, achieving occasional, hard-won, tenuous legitimacy. Advocacy efforts by global and local NGOs to create more sustainable transport and urban development have been largely ineffective, and any changes have been expert-led. All such efforts can be described as organic participation. In this context of 'organic participation', it was decided to pioneer 'induced' participation in street design, specifically in Dattawadi, a mixed-income neighbourhood of around 1 sq. km in Pune.

Dattawadi Urban Design: Deliberative Democracy Case Study

Given the paucity of Dattawadi data on, for example, assessments of street usage patterns, conflicts between motorized traffic and other uses and views of different stakeholders, a data collection study was carried out by students of the BN College of Architecture, Pune. Additionally, the structure of the local community and nature of stakeholder groups were studied by the Centre for Environment Education (CEE)⁴ through site visits and conversations with elected representatives and community members.

An 'induced' participation process was carried out over two days to deliberate and develop solutions. It is considered 'induced' since there was a political buy-in from a Member of Parliament and local government Road Department officials (who also attended), and participation was invited. Participants were diverse, demographically representative of the local area. The deliberative design included a learning phase with presentations by the architecture students of their Dattawadi research findings, as well as a presentation on good practices globally around the street design and transport planning. Using the twenty-first-century Dialogue technique,⁵ the mini-publics deliberated on what is valued in the neighbourhood, what changes are desired and what are the hot spots or priorities for change. Based on this input, the architecture students and faculty developed several street design options and neighbourhood improvement projects. These were then presented to the broader community on the second day of this process. Using low-technology deliberation methods again in diverse small groups, assessments were made about desired design features and what needed to be changed. These findings formed the participant report. This process was integral to the unfolding of sustainability learning—participants clearly understood the sustainability challenges and trade-offs of the various options and made their recommendations accordingly. The elected representatives publicly announced (including in the local press) their willingness to support the implementation of these neighbourhood and street improvement projects, commending the inclusive participatory nature of the deliberation process and output. However, when it came to implementing the recommended designs, some were built, but others were not, due to limited budgets, and the Road Department has stated inability to implement innovative designs and materials.

The role of organic participation was critical to the Dattawadi research and the framing of both deliberations that enabled participants to consider the street space usage question from a 'well-being' perspective, rather than a narrow view of who can or cannot use street space or a mechanical re-design. Despite publicly accepting the deliberations' design outcomes, elected officials did exert considerable influence on them, limiting their implementation. Typically, with organic participation in India, advocates continue 'following up' with the government until the desired ends are achieved. However, given the clear political acceptance of the forum decisions and the fact that the deliberation organizers were NGOs and academic institutes, this follow-up did not occur. Clearly, organic participation from inception through to implementation will be critical to achieving the desired outcomes of deliberative democracy initiatives. And without institutionalization of urban democratic reform, progress towards good governance will be unpredictable.

Review of Participatory Budgeting in Pune

Context

The PB, implemented by the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) since 2006–2007, enables citizens to give inputs to allocate the spending of a portion of the municipal budget, usually 1–2 per cent. Annually, the process starts with the PMC asking for suggestions for neighbourhood projects. Citizens have four to six weeks to submit suggestions using a printed form or online. Then, the municipal officials assess the feasibility of suggestions, including their approximate value (which is capped). Finally, the elected *Prabbag Samitis* (ward councils) make decisions about whether these suggestions will be incorporated into the city budget (Menon, Madhale, & Karan, 2013). A review of Pune's PB by CEE in 2013 revealed the following positive features—its simplicity and accessibility to the public and its regular conduct every year. Areas for improvement included the number and diversity of citizens participating, the conduct and quality of discussion among citizens about civic issues, potential solutions and projects, the transparency of the process and the implementation of projects. After 2007, public meetings were no longer held to review and prioritize suggestions, and only a few hundred suggestions have been received every year. The PB process has not been transparent, neither regarding which projects are included in the budget nor whether they are implemented. Although a potentially powerful initiative, Pune's PB has been deficient.

Pb Review: Deliberative Democracy Case Study

In 2014, CEE worked with a team of facilitators over several months to engage with the PB process in five wards.⁶ The facilitators included CEE staff as well as interested individuals from NGOs and youth networks. They attended training in facilitation, collaborative governance and inquiry-based approaches. The facilitators interviewed elected representatives and municipal officials to understand their civic priorities. The facilitators then organized public meetings in different neighbourhoods, including slums, also involving elected representatives, community groups and organizations. Additionally, facilitators attended meetings arranged by two-ward offices with citizens who had submitted suggestions. The first fairly well-attended meeting was disrupted by an elected representative preventing any reasonable discussion. Hardly any citizens attended the second. These experiences reaffirmed the findings of the earlier PB review.

The CEE then organized a deliberative democracy initiative to refine protocols for Pune's PB. Participants were recruited to elicit diversity in terms of age, gender and economic background, ensuring representation of those normally excluded from such processes. It began with information about global best practice protocols followed by participant deliberation on: 'How can Pune PB be strengthened?' including needs assessment, proposal development, selection and implementation and the annual PB activity cycle. At the end of the day, a Participant Report in Marathi (the local language) and English was disseminated. Participants rated the mini-publics inclusivity, deliberativeness, facilitation and output quality very highly. However, no municipal officials or elected representatives attended this deliberation, so despite

yielding improvements deemed important by participants, they did not influence how the municipality conducted PBs.

A second inclusive, deliberative forum was organized with the municipal government, supported by the Municipal Commissioner, who committed to immediately discussing the workshop outcomes with the municipal administration. Some municipal officials were present throughout the deliberation. Participants included street vendors, women's organizations, college students, neighbourhood association representatives, differently abled persons and professionals. This group was supplemented by randomly selected participants from varied streets and public survey respondents who had expressed interest in attending.

The process began with presentations of what is PB, the Pune PB review, and global PB best practice to inform about powerful and effective PB processes being organized in different parts of the world.

Applying the twenty-first-century Deliberation technique, participants in small groups submitted to table computers the ways to increase participant diversity and 'shared power' in the prioritization of projects and their implementation. Participant ideas were individually prioritized and their preferences included in the Participant Report, which was presented to attending municipal and elected representatives, distributed to all participants and later, submitted to the local government. Its influence was mixed. One promising outcome was that the PMC then entered into a partnership with CEE to prepare a Ward Infrastructure, Services and Environment information base and index (WISE) and also placed the budget online in a form permitting easier analysis. This enables more empowered public participation (International Budget Partnership, 2016). Using a range of indicators, WISE provided the public a reference point for the status of civic amenities and services and rationale for budget allocations. The scores for each ward were used to calculate and yield a relative development index (Jatkar, Abhyankar, Madhale, & Menon, 2016). However, the elected officials did not fully accept the WISE rationale, so their reasoning behind fund allocations remained opaque to the public. This highlighted, once again, that without institutionalizing urban government reform, implementation of good governance and desired outcomes will be tenuous.

DISCUSSION

As Mansuri and Rao suggest:

(F)or induced participatory projects to have a chance of meeting their objectives, they have to attempt to bring in the spirit of experimentation, learning, and persistent engagement that characterize organic participatory change. (2013, p. 299)

Although this was the spirit that underlay both the deliberative democracy case studies, there was no 'persistent engagement'. However, some organic participants did remain involved throughout these initiatives, over several years, including during feedback, debriefing and learning sessions. Additionally, their involvement from the selection and framing of the issue, through to the organization and facilitation of the deliberations, and then debriefing and ongoing learning, demonstrated the add-on value of organic participation to effective induced participation.

If the success of these deliberative democracy initiatives combined with organic participation is defined as providing processes that demonstrate good governance principles and reach implementable outcomes to wicked problems, then they can be deemed successful. Moreover, if the initiatives provide opportunities for everyday citizens to experience agency and citizenship, then that too can constitute success. This was evidenced by participant feedback and was epitomized in the words of one initially very reluctant participant who said to the whole room '[This deliberation was] the first time I spoke as a citizen of India'. However, if success is understood to be that deliberative, outcomes are influential and are seen to be influential, then these initiatives had either very variable or minimal success.

In the matter of the SDGs, both these case studies had some success in terms of—developing more sustainable communities and promoting more grass-roots knowledge of precinct planning for sustainability (Goal 11); 'nudging' the government to transparently consider equity in budget allocation (Goal 16); and education (Goal 4), ESD in particular. In terms of ESD, in both these case studies, there were several learning elements—of learning about good practice examples, opportunities to share views, hear others and reflect on what is working or not working well in the Pune context. At the very least, the deliberations provided occasions to recognize such dimensions of social learning and well-being. However, in the design of the deliberation processes, achieving learning outcomes was an implicit objective and not a stated objective that was carefully planned for and assessed. Though the strong linkages of social learning and deliberation are recognized, whether and how deliberative processes can contribute to the inculcation among the adult participants of 'sustainable development competences', such as critical thinking, systemic thinking, future-oriented thinking, empathy, cooperation (Adomßent & Hoffmann, 2013), are the areas for further research and praxis. For ESD professionals who choose to promote and facilitate public deliberations, an area for further research is on the 'educator competences' (UNECE—United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Steering Committee on Education for Sustainable Development, 2011), which they must develop in order to consciously build within deliberations, the processes that enhance integrative thinking, and the abilities to envision change and achieve transformation.

A key learning, from both the case studies, was that ad hoc deliberative democracy initiatives supplemented by organic participation will have only limited scope and influence, and hence little capacity to resolve cities' wicked problems. For this to occur, they will need to be ongoing, iterative and reflexive. They will require the systemic inclusion of factors including the following—Deliberation topics will need to have public and government gravitas, and be framed as open-ended questions, with any constraints clarified at the outset. The city government will need to more openly share the information and be more willing to embed citizens in their decision-making processes. Citizens will need to demonstrate their willingness to accept their civic responsibilities, as participants in resolving urban challenges. To avoid urban governments lurching between adoption and rejection of such principles, these good governance characteristics will need to be institutionalized within governance systems. This, in turn, will help to bolster the currently weak rule of law in India. As Heller suggests, 'for participatory democracy to take hold, a certain amount of bootstrapping is necessary' (2012, p. 663).

CONCLUSION

The instigation and continuing survival and thriving of innovations in good governance will require champions and broader coalitions, prepared to continually learn, adapt and promote best practice, ensuring that even if desired changes do become institutionalized, that they do not become mired in bureaucracy. Concomitantly, a broader and deeper societal commitment and culture of democratic deliberation will need to evolve that may be more organic, born out of the desire of individuals and groups to have more personal and community agency in the resolution of urban challenges. Since ESD aims to empower people to change the way they think and work towards a sustainable future (UNESCO, 2013), creating such commitment is also an aim, leading to a mutually reinforcing process of more effective implementation of the SDGs and ESD.

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Notes

1. The Smart Cities Mission, launched in 2015 by the Indian Government, promotes cities that provide core infrastructure, quality of life, clean and sustainable environment and 'Smart' Solutions. <https://india.gov.in/spotlight/smart-cities-mission-step-towards-smart-india>
2. Member of the National Rural Health Mission Advisory Group for Community Action.
3. Recent media articles have highlighted instances of denial of parliamentary debate in formulation of legislation, violations in the appointment of judges and misuse of judiciary, the appointment of the chief of the army, deletion of historical references in school textbooks, bribing of media houses, and the increasing trend of religious lynching and vigilantism, censorship, crackdown on NGOs, etc. in the last few years (e.g., Bal, 2018; Bhatia, 2017).
4. Centre for Environment Education (CEE) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization in India with a mandate to enhance public understanding of environment and sustainability. See www.cceindia.org
5. The twenty-first-century Deliberation involves a large number of people organized into small, facilitated discussion groups using networked computers. Each table's suggestions to designed open questions are collated and then prioritized by participants, with a Participant Report disseminated at the conclusion.
6. This process was supported by the Hanns Seidel Foundation through a project titled 'Green Federalism'.

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5.4 Publication-IV

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Applying mixed methods action research to explore how public participation in an Indian City could better resolve urban sustainability problems

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Abstract

Public participation in governance is regarded as a key element in enhancing urban sustainability. While there is a wealth of participation efforts in Indian cities, there are inadequate processes for regular, inclusive, egalitarian, informed and well-structured democratic participation that provide a real say to citizens in public decision-making. ‘Deliberative democracy’ has emerged as one way to improve effective public participation in decision-making, though it is mostly prevalent in developed countries. An action research initiative was implemented over several years in Pune, India. It used mixed methods to introduce and assess the applicability to the Indian urban context of high-quality public deliberations. This article presents a case study of a deliberative democracy initiative, framing the transformative public involvement needed to address sustainability problems. It also shows how the integration of the mixed methods approach in the action research to design and facilitate deliberative

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participation processes, helped to broaden and deepen understanding, and enhanced the transformative capacity of the research design.

Keywords

Action research, mixed methods, transformative research, transformative action, deliberative democracy, public engagement, developing countries, India, Pune

Introduction

Public participation in governance is key to enhancing urban sustainability, as the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly 16.7, emphasise: 'Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels'. However, effective public participation processes to resolve equity and sustainability problems in Indian cities are rare, inadequate and particularly challenging, as in other developing countries. In India, these include socio-cultural diversity, structural inequities, inadequate and inaccessible information, and weak governance. Furthermore, Indian cities do not have public participation provisions like the *gram sabha* in Indian villages, which enables local self-government through assemblies of adult voters. For India to improve urban governance and sustainability, new methods of public participation must be trialled and evaluated.

This article describes an action research (AR) initiative, integrated with mixed methods, conducted over 2013 to 2017 in Pune, India. It shows how 'high-quality public deliberation', successfully implemented in western cities, was also transformative for urban sustainability problems in an Indian city. The urban problem to be addressed was the lack of intentional street design to meet current needs in a city with high private transport usage, inadequate road safety and streets used as public spaces with multiple, often conflicting social and economic activities.

This was achieved together with a non-profit organisation, the Centre for Environment Education (CEE), which the first author is associated with. CEE facilitates a range of public engagement initiatives, including participatory processes and consultations on sustainability at local, state and national levels. The first author and colleagues at CEE wanted to enhance their theoretical understanding about high-quality public deliberations as well as initiate such processes in Pune. The second author has been theorising and implementing high-quality public deliberations in Australia and elsewhere, and agreed to guide the work in Pune.

An AR project resulted, involving the implementation of several public deliberation processes, one of which is described in this article. The deliberation in this case focused on street usage, design and mobility issues in the Aundh neighbourhood in Pune, and brought together diverse individuals in an egalitarian environment, facilitated by an independent third party.

This study integrated AR with mixed methods research (MMR). This was deemed appropriate since both approaches are based on similar principles of inquiry and reflective practice, involving a transformative, advocacy lens, utilising quantitative and qualitative information (N. V. Ivankova, 2015). AR was at the core of the public deliberation processes conducted with citizens. Interviews, quantitative surveys and a collaborative, reflective learning process, improved the AR, contributing to its transformative nature and capacity to address the urban sustainability problems raised in the case study.

As a contribution to the literature on the intersection between AR and MMR, this research addressed the following challenge: How can the integration of action research and mixed methods improve the transformative capacity of public deliberations to resolve urban sustainability problems? The context was the unsustainability of urban India and the need for transformative public involvement to effect change.

Conceptual framework

This research is inspired by two literature strands. One is deliberative democracy – which frames the transformative public involvement needed to address sustainability problems. The second is research methodology – which integrates AR to design and facilitate deliberative participation processes, with MMR, to broaden and deepen understanding, so enhancing the transformative capacity of the research design.

Deliberative democracy

Deliberative democracy is grounded in an ideal in which people come together, on the basis of equal status and mutual respect, to discuss the political issues they face and, on the basis of those discussions, decide on the policies that will then affect their lives. (Bächtiger et al., 2018, p. 2)

Globally, deliberative democracy initiatives range from 100% participatory budgeting in Australia (Christensen & Grant, 2017; Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2019), to constitutional reform in Ireland (Carolan, 2015) and Turkey (Baburoglu & Goker, 2014); and the recent Citizens Assemblies on climate change in Europe and the UK.¹ In some countries, deliberative democracy initiatives have been institutionalised in legislation, for example, the Citizens Initiative Review in the USA² and an ongoing randomly selected Citizens Council in East Belgium³ (Chwalisz, n.d.).

Most practical and theoretical research on deliberative democracy has been carried out in the western world (Bächtiger et al., 2018; Dryzek, 2000; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004), in different political contexts (Tang, 2014), and only occasionally in developing countries, mostly China (Fishkin et al., 2017).

On the intersection between AR and mixed methods

Reason and Bradbury (2008) described AR as an orientation to, or ‘family of practices of living inquiry...that seeks to create participative communities of inquiry in which qualities of engagement, curiosity and question posing are brought to bear on significant practical issues’.

MMR is described as an approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative elements in research questions, designs, methods, data analysis and results (Hong & Pluye, 2018), and with the intentional integration of data yield inferences beyond what either approach alone may yield (Guetterman et al., 2017). Ivankova and Wingo (2018) noted that the MMR approach is closely aligned to AR, and multi-dimensional insights from MMR can inform action plans, implementation, evaluation and monitoring, helping to address complex practical problems and produce more scientifically sound and transferable results.

In an overview of the evolution and future directions of MMR (Mertens et al., 2016), the authors identified the need for further work on MMR designs to support the potential for transformative change. Using a social justice worldview, Mertens developed frameworks for transformative MMR designs (Mertens, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013). Mertens (2011) also highlighted the need for further work on how MMR designs contribute to knowing what is real, especially to understand contextual complexity using both quantitative and qualitative data, providing dialogic opportunities to plan research steps, and effect social change in culturally appropriate ways. Martí (2015) suggested a typology of how quantitative (QUAN) methods may be integrated with action approaches (PART). The typology includes sequential designs: $QUAN \rightarrow PART$ in which quantitative data informs the participatory phase such as in participant selection or identifying topics for discussion, and $PART \rightarrow QUAN$ in which the quantitative phase can be used, for example, to monitor or measure outputs or outcomes from the participatory phase. Another design is embedded integration: $PART(quant)$ and $QUAN(part)$ in which the quantitative tools and participatory tools are dependent and nested within the same method. Martí also highlighted the relative dearth of contributions that address MMR designs in AR, and especially how quantitative methods can help to improve participatory knowledge production. Earlier, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010) highlighted that the majority of MMR literature is from the global North; and in terms of disciplines, MMR has been used primarily in health, medicine and education.

This research addresses a number of those gaps. Its area is different, that of urban sustainability, and it takes place in a developing country, India. The AR applies deliberative democracy, rarely implemented in developing countries, and the MMR involves varied, sometimes unconventional techniques. As such, it adds to the diversity of the MMR and AR literature. Additionally, it contributes to the research design literature by deepening and broadening how participation can contribute to knowledge production. Finally, it seeks ways to integrate

quantitative and qualitative methods in ways that can enhance the transformative potential of the research.

Methodological approach

The MMR design adopted for this AR was initially exploratory (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), followed by an action learning cycle. It ended with a convergent synthesis drawing upon the findings from the earlier stages.

The approach included: expert interviews; quantitative surveys; collaborative inquiry and implementation of public deliberations as a performative component in action learning cycles, designed and implemented by the authors with the facilitators; and assessment and comparison of the participants' experience with the baseline established through the quantitative survey (see Table 1). Quantitative techniques were also used within the deliberative processes, in for example, ranking of options produced through deliberations.

Interviews and surveys gave the researchers a broad understanding of the participation context, including public perceptions and aspirations about participation in governance, as well as the topic under discussion – urban street design. Together with collaborative enquiry and praxis, they enhanced the researchers' preparedness to initiate and facilitate quality public deliberations.

The planned process was adapted when significant efforts to encourage local authority involvement were ultimately unsuccessful, leading to both challenges and opportunities.

The primary researcher carried out this work together with a core inquiry team of four CEE staff and four volunteers who responded to a call for involvement in the research. Additionally, other CEE colleagues and members of three other local organisations took key roles in the public deliberations, including facilitation. Two academic and research experts were requested to be Expert Observers to provide structured feedback. Table 2 outlines the roles taken. The public perception surveys were carried out by independent teams, guided by the first author.

Case study: Urban participation in Pune

Context

Pune, a city of over 3.1 million population in western India, has a democratically elected government, supported by a municipal administration. Although democracy is understood to be the preferred form of government to enhance sustainability (Soderbaum, 2014), there is increasing discontent about the performance of democratic systems (Dahlberg et al., 2014; Reybrouck, 2017). In Pune too, voter turnout and trust in electoral democracy are declining (Parchure et al., 2017). Although there are co-existing public participation mechanisms – civic advocacy groups and some government led consultation – in Indian cities, they have done little to bolster good governance. Pune urban dwellers have little opportunity for

Table 1. Mixed methods action research plan.

Process	Purpose	Role in goal	Research tool
Review deliberative democracy theory and practice	Understand deliberative democracy discourses, and global implementation	Explore whether deliberative democracy could improve public participation in civic decision-making about urban challenges	Literature review
Explore the broad landscape of public participation in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understand Indian participation experiences Explore whether high-quality participation in Pune could be organized through an independent third party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore adequacy of current forms of participation Identify measures to improve the quality of public participation Assess the need for and qualities of a third party conducting public deliberations 	Interviews with experts
Establish a baseline of perceptions about public engagement and aspirations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understand whether there is a gap between people's current and ideal levels of participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish the gap in current and ideal levels of participation⁶ prior to public deliberations 	Public perception quantitative surveys
Explore specific public participation processes in Pune	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understand the experience of different forms of participation in Pune Prepare to organize high-quality participation in Pune through a third party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish whether current forms of participation in Pune are adequate Prepare for high-quality deliberation as a method to improve public participation 	Collaborative inquiry with facilitators
Facilitate a public deliberation (performative action research) on street design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compare participation perceptions pre and post public deliberation Provide substantive outputs on the deliberation topics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish whether the gap in current and ideal levels of participation is bridged after public deliberations⁶ Establish whether public deliberation can produce well-reasoned outputs Assess how a third party should conduct public deliberation Build local capacity to organize and conduct public deliberations 	Participant and Facilitator feedback on deliberation effectiveness, and the role of a third party
Review the findings from each step of the research.	Re-visit areas of discontent with public participation in civic governance, compared with current experience, aspirations, and priority options for participation, and assess, the extent of gap closure through participant and facilitator feedback.	Draw conclusions about the extent to which deliberative democracy could improve public participation in civic decision-making and improve sustainability outcomes.	Comparison and synthesis

Table 2. Roles of the action research team members.

Role	Research design	Research design and tools	Interviews	Inquiry	Periodic reflections	Public events planning	Public events reflection and feedback
Research Leader	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Collaborative Inquiry Team – staff (4)		X	X	X	X	X	X
Collaborative Inquiry Team – volunteers (4)				X	X	X	X
Public event facilitators (4)							X
Expert observers (2)							X

genuine involvement in public decision-making. Democratic, inclusive, informed public participation and even well-structured participation with clear intent and aligned processes is absent.

This research introduced a methodology for participation featuring these attributes of good democratic governance, i.e. deliberative democracy.

Description of the case study: Exploring Indian public participation through AR and mixed methods

Stage 1: Peer group. After a literature review about the nature of participation in India, and deliberative democracy efforts in different countries and contexts, the first step of primary research in Pune was to gather insights about how participatory governance in India was understood and experienced by interviewing a peer group of seven diverse experts in Pune: a political science academic, an academic practitioner of adult education and the urban informal sector, a leader of a rural community-based health movement, a slum-housing planning architect, a proponent of radical ecological democracy (RED) and two bureaucrats.

The experts interviewed are actors who have helped shape participatory initiatives and/or helped shape discourse and views in Pune and larger spheres. The interviews provided insights into the broad socio-political context, current state of public participation efforts and desirable public engagement. They yielded an understanding of the interviewees' convictions, information about notional and meaningful deliberative spaces in India, equitable and inclusive processes, countervailing power, barriers to participation and the need to transform urban participation.

Substantively, the experts' insights included: (a) there is a great need for deepening democratic processes; (b) by forming coalitions, civil society organisations could influence the formalisation of deep democratic structures and processes (which led to further focused conversations on developing such a coalition or movement); and (c) localised potential criteria for effective participation.

By illuminating the nature of the sector in India, these interviews helped shape the enquiry at the exploratory stage of the mixed methods research. They also provided normative and strategic directions for study and action. Importantly, they strengthened the conviction that this AR was worthwhile.

For example, the urban planner, had the view that:

(The municipal) (B)udget is one where participatory planning should be increased and encouraged at ward, zone and city level; and

(A coalition to improve democratic processes) is a good thought. We do believe in this and would be happy if it is strengthened.

The inclusion of interviews of expert peers as part of the mixed methods approach complemented the AR and improved its transformative capacity by providing deep context-related insights including practical advice for the conduct of the AR step, and by strengthening the research team's conviction about the value of the research and their commitment to remain actively involved. As a peer group, the interviewees offered broader advocacy support for the furtherance of the AR. For example, the health movement leader suggested:

... you may have to have alliances and linkages across multiple levels. In Pune, given the fact that there is such a diversity of social groups, organisations, and if one can have that kind of alliance... then it starts becoming more of a political issue. My apprehension is if it remains completely localised then it will not gather that larger social momentum. Participatory Planning will flourish in a conducive socio-political environment, and it is our job to try and create that. . .

The informal work sector academic-practitioner suggested:

Somebody has to take the lead in it. It needs a group or people somebody who feels it is important to engage with people on these issues. Actually, I am saying it means going back to the people on these things. So, if there is a group interested in participatory methods, call all these organisations together. Say this is what we want to do. And if you have your groups and contacts, then let's do it together.

Stage 2: Surveys of public perceptions about participation. The next step was to understand through street surveys in Pune, how people viewed current civic governance, their opportunities for participation and their interest in and ability to participate.

The surveys were carried out in September–October 2014 and in June 2017. The sample size was 500 in 2014 and 600 in 2017, with an age distribution similar to that of the city population (adults), drawn from more than 30 localities well-spread across the city, including a mix of residential, commercial, up market and poorer areas.

Perceptions about the current and desired level of participation were explored, based on Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969). Arnstein described citizen involvement in planning processes in the United States, using eight steps from high to low to assess people’s current and desired participation levels. Weymouth and Hartz-Karp (2019) customised the Ladder by including brief explanations of each step, and making slight changes to the nomenclature for clarity. This same tool was adopted for the study in Pune, to enable cross comparisons (See Figure 1). Although this tool was included in both the 2014 and 2017 survey, only the responses from the 2017 survey were used to prepare a baseline. Due to inadequate orientation of the survey team and errors in the Marathi translation, a large number of responses from the 2014 survey had to be discarded.

The 2017 survey showed a gap between the experienced reality of participation and expectations. The experience is mainly ‘informing’ (residents are told about the decisions made) or ‘placation’ (residents are given some role in decision making, but have no real way of contributing), with a mean score of 3.6, while the preferred level of participation is ‘partnership’ (agreed sharing of decision making between the local government and residents) and ‘delegated power’ (residents make final decisions in some important areas), with a mean score of 5.5. The mean was calculated by ascribing the value of the rung from 1 to 8, from the bottom to the top. Overall, there is a desire for higher levels of participation (see Figure 2). This preference for ‘partnership’ mirrored the research results in Geraldton, Australia.

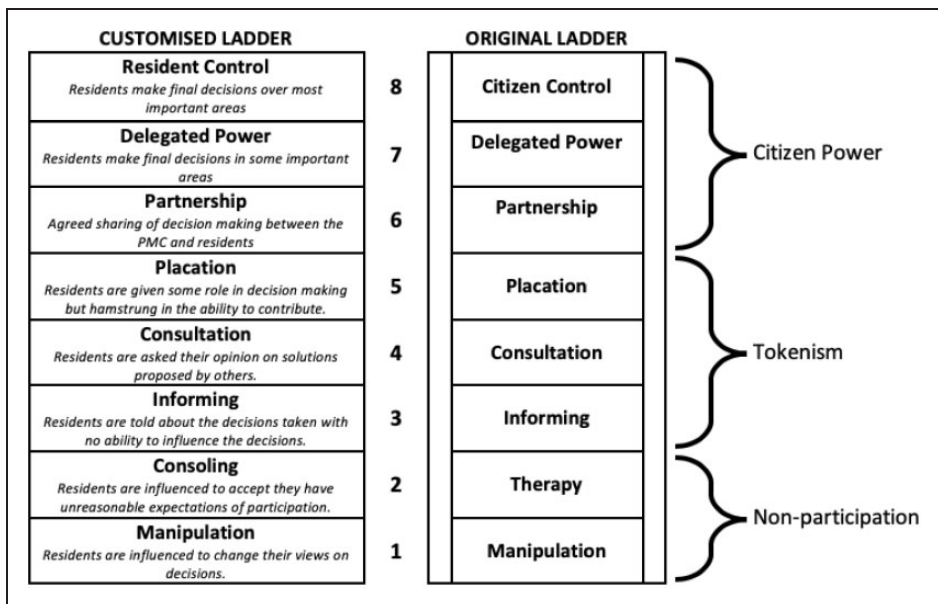


Figure 1. Arnstein’s Ladder and customization, from Weymouth and Hartz-Karp (2019).

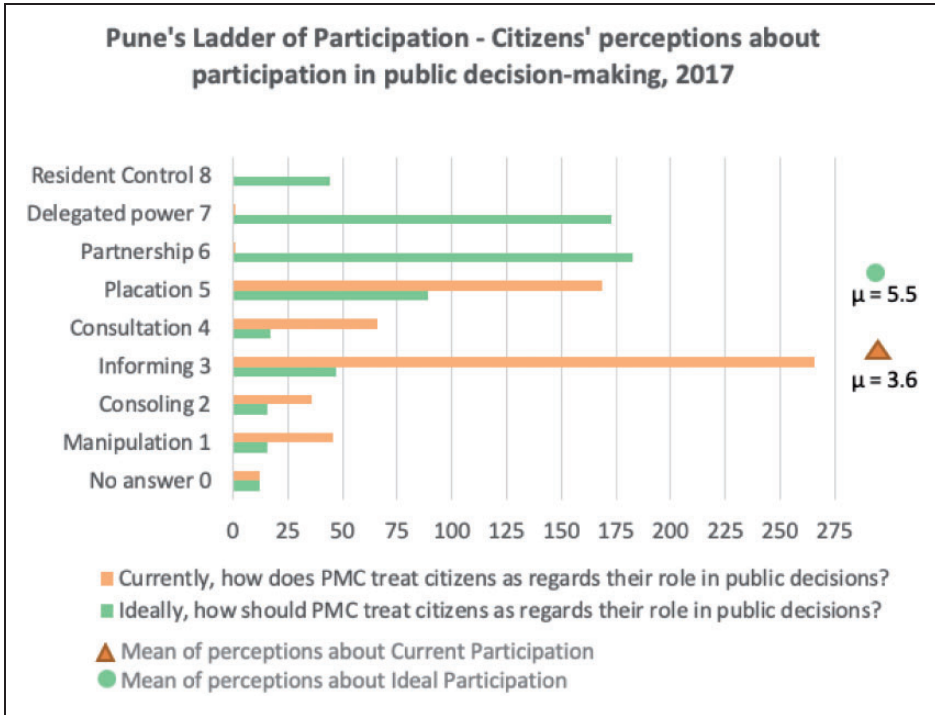


Figure 2. Citizens' perceptions about participation in public decision-making, 2017.

Following the MMR design, the results of the first survey and the learnings from the collaborative inquiry (described next) fed into the evolution of the second survey design. Although the second survey was similar to the first, it had a few additional questions, generated by the collaborative inquiry team. These explored respondents' awareness about public participation processes, as well as preferred options and measures to improve citizens' participation in public decision-making. Responses showed that awareness of participatory budgeting was almost non-existent. From options for participatory processes at the neighbourhood level with and without elected corporators, the preference was for meetings with elected representatives (73%), and a report card on the performance of elected representatives (82.7%) – echoing the desire for partnership (see Figure 3).

The quantitative survey clearly showed the need for the transformation of civic participatory processes, mirroring a clear understanding about the type of participation desired. This prepared the ground for the AR. It became clear that the transformation the AR should aim to achieve was high quality, inclusive public deliberations that arrived at a tangible outcome which had the potential to influence the decision-making of the elected and municipal officials. This enabled the

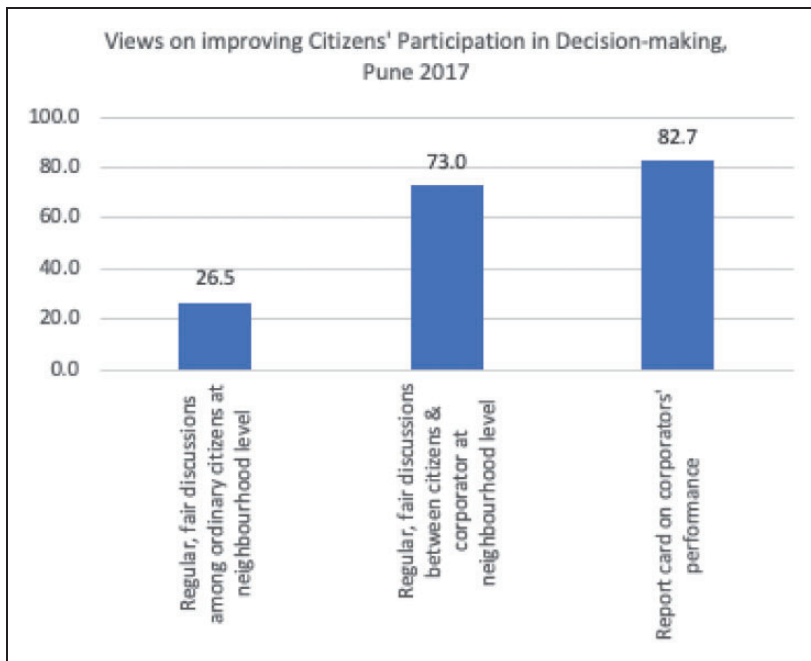


Figure 3. Preferences for how to improve citizens' participation in decision-making, Pune 2017.

researchers to more clearly define the scope and desired outcomes of the project actions to be designed in the AR.

Stage 3: Preparing for the AR involving public deliberations. An important step was to prepare a team of facilitators to conduct public deliberations. A team of eight, including both CEE staff and volunteers was set up as a Collaborative Inquiry Team. The team went through an experiential, inquiry-based orientation, with regular opportunities for discussion. They helped plan and conduct, and later reflected on the public deliberation events. The joint sharing of experiences helped the entire team develop their understanding about participation, in particular inclusion and deliberation, in an egalitarian environment.

The team orientation started with individual reflections on personal experiences and expectations about participatory governance, group discussions about forms of participation in Pune and elsewhere, and an introduction to facilitation. Next, the team conducted a collaborative inquiry through interactions with municipal staff, elected representatives and residents' groups. The questions explored included: What are some of the current participation efforts in Pune? What really happens in discussions about civic issues? Who attends such initiatives, what is discussed, and with what results? What are some attitudes and perceptions of elected representatives, municipal officials, community leaders and active citizens?

Through multiple interactions with diverse stakeholders in different locations, the inquiry group was able to rapidly advance its collective understanding about public participation. Several observations of the group were similar to those of the experts interviewed. For example, an excerpt from a facilitator's notes highlighted class differences in access to information, knowledge about civic matters and voice in public meetings:

I attended a meeting of community group (female-led welfare group). I found all were women working [there] for . . . more than 20 years. Though many of them think the system is very corrupt, yet they never gave up work . . . Later I also attended *Mohalla samitee* (neighbourhood group) meeting. There, old activists were in command of situations, whereas new groups from . . . slums . . . were struggling to get their voice heard. It looked clearly that class mattered and also knowledge about function/work-ing of the (municipal) system.

A workshop with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working among slum communities helped identify potential ways to overcome deliberation challenges. These included: creating awareness, eliciting community needs, running an annual deliberation schedule and integrating elected representatives into participation processes rather than bypassing them.

This inquiry group mirrored the intent and process of cooperative inquiry. It involved cycles of action and reflection (Bray et al., 2000) by which a 'group of peers strives to answer a question of importance to them' (in Yorks et al., 2008). It became a method for 'conducting participatory research and facilitating adult learning through experience'. It involved research 'with people', rather than 'on people', with the inquiry group as co-researchers rather than the subjects of research (Yorks et al., 2008).

There were challenges to this collaborative inquiry and action learning. Not having clear answers about whether and what type of participation was to be advocated was frustrating to some. For example:

It was nice to co-build it, and necessary. Working with completely newcomers, it's nice to have the democracy. But at the same time, because of the democracy . . . (we) couldn't understand what we wanted to do, where were we going. For the next people who come, we should have a protocol ready.

Reflecting on the use of collaborative inquiry, it had several advantages: the AR plan was strengthened by considering the challenges and opportunities from different peer group perspectives. For example, facilitators attended and also helped organise other community meetings. They encountered difficulties such as lack of information about planned neighbourhood projects and lack of implementation of agreed projects. These field experiences helped the authors design in detail the action steps of deliberations that followed. Additionally, this initial immersion meant that facilitation tasks could be quickly undertaken when deliberation

opportunities arose, assisting research task management. Finally, the process was powerful because deliberative approaches were already being integrated into our work.

The mixed methods applied improved the preparation for the AR – the steps became much clearer and more detailed.

Stage 4: AR in public deliberations for street design. The key component of our AR was conducting public deliberations in Pune. Since 2013, several initiatives were undertaken in Pune, though only one is described here.

This deliberation focused on chronic mobility problems in Aundh, Pune, when public dissatisfaction was exacerbated by the municipal government's introduction of a street improvement project. This issue was selected because of the considerable public interest it had inspired – a useful participatory opportunity. Traffic and transportation issues were among the topmost concerns in Pune as per citizens' surveys conducted by the local government (Pune Municipal Corporation, 2015) as well as our survey in 2017. The use of streets as public space, road safety and mobility were concerns that engendered much public interest, cut across class and cultural segmentation, and invoked a range of views – an opportunity for diverse, inclusive public deliberation.

Additionally, mobility planning and street design have been areas of civic advocacy in Pune, focused on strengthening local policy, project formulation and technical capacity of the local government (Kamath et al., 2018). Although public engagement has emerged as an essential element to achieve transformation, this has often been constrained by the lack of well-structured processes. This was evidenced in Aundh by rising tensions after street design projects had been implemented without participation, resulting in protests from residents' associations and road users as well as anxiety expressed by vulnerable groups. This context became the motivation for the 2017 neighbourhood street design deliberation. The AR process that resulted involved three important steps.

Introducing an independent third party. As a local NGO interested in furthering participatory governance, CEE approached the government entity responsible for the street design project to arrange for structured deliberations to address the issues. CEE offered to play the role of an independent third party that could provide input materials, the deliberation design and facilitation support for a deliberative process, anchored by the local government.

The role of an independent third party has been described as assisting 'in designing and managing a process that pursues a variety of goals beneficial to the stakeholders and decision-maker(s)' (Stephens & Berner, 2011). In this instance, the goal was implementing a fair, inclusive deliberation process about street design and mobility planning.

Although the local government had initially agreed to the research team's detailed, structured, public engagement process, they later withdrew from this commitment, though not formally. They did implement a very popular tactical

urbanism intervention of street design, followed by minimalist public engagement event – a large community meeting, at which a few unilateral views were expressed, primarily by businessmen. As it became apparent to the research team that government support for a well-structured public deliberation waned, it was decided to go ahead even as the street design work got underway. The deliberative process could still be carried out, and could potentially have public influence, even if not direct government support. Adapting the process, CEE needed to anchor the deliberation. Additionally, the deliberation topic needed to be changed from a street design process, to developing a citizens’ manifesto on street design.

Preparing and conducting the deliberation. The following criteria explain how the research implemented a fair, inclusive and well-informed process.

Comprehensive information gathering: As prior preparation, information was collated about mobility policies, projects and plans relevant to the locality. CEE facilitated studies by public policy Masters’ students⁴ collecting the views of around 50 people including street users, shopkeepers, street vendors, waste collectors, residents, senior citizens, community leaders, political leaders and representatives. The student analyses confirmed and added to the understanding about street use contestations, and helped the researchers frame the deliberation. A student’s report⁵ is illustrative of such contestations:

While the design established the ‘Streets for All’ concept in consonance with central policy, it failed at the implementation stage, due to the conflicts between the residents and the street vendors. The inability of the institutions that surround them to bring them onto the same platform meant that only the voice of the powerful was heard...In the absence of formal, open fora for the voicing of issues...by the people, the stakeholders...have precipitated into pressure groups – each with its own agenda and more importantly, no equal platform to communicate with the other pressure groups. Thus, the alliances made are tenuous at best, and the conflicts remain unresolved.

Inclusivity: Invitations to participate in the public deliberation were made with a view to having a cross-section of the members of public. Many of the individuals earlier interviewed by the students were personally invited. Printed invitations were delivered to about 500 individuals including residents, shops, schools, office and informal workers, youth and senior citizens. Information about the event was circulated over WhatsApp groups of residents in the area as well as in other areas who might visit Aundh for shopping or work. About 50 demographically representative participants attended.

Deliberative quality: An open agenda was prepared, with the charge: ‘How do we the people representing all those who live and work on or nearby our streets and travel through them, want our streets to be used, designed, developed and maintained to make our streets places that are productive, safe to enhance the well-being for ALL in our community?’ To enable quality deliberation, small facilitated

groups developed ideas, while plenaries determined the way forward. The basic phases of deliberation were implemented – learning about current policies and plans, determining participant values relating to street space, creating desired ideas for change and then collectively deciding on priorities and action plans.

Evaluating the public deliberation. The quality of the deliberation was assessed through the substantive outputs and outcomes as well as feedback from participants and facilitators. Additionally, two senior social sector professionals were requested to be ‘observers’, focusing on deliberative quality. The observers provided a detailed report on the inclusivity, power balance, design and conduct of the deliberation, deliberation quality, quality of facilitation and suggestions for improvements. Key results of the overall evaluation process are described below.

Deliberation quality: Quantitative participant feedback showed high levels of satisfaction with the representativeness of the forum, the deliberation quality, the opportunities to express ones’ views and hear others’ views, and on the deliberation output.

Verbal feedback noted that these public deliberations served as a demonstration of democracy, exemplified by the following comment to the plenary:

Today I felt I am a citizen of India

Facilitator feedback highlighted the quality of discussions among people with diverse views, particularly the ‘sense-making’ in the process, for example:

Observing contesting participants voicing the need for competing interests, the deliberation process was almost like a civilised parliament where all citizens had a common goal, despite differing means.

Balancing endemic power differentials requires highly skilled facilitation, often not available. Observer feedback showed that while diverse views at each table were encouraged, it was sometimes difficult to balance power:

The power dynamics in the group at times hampered participation . . . e.g. members of hawker-vendor association with local representatives on the same table would always agree with the local representative.

Outputs: These revealed new perspectives on street design preferences, and highlighted the need for and possibility of developing negotiated ways forward among different road user groups. The public deliberations identified ideas and priorities for the desired street designs including increasing green cover, decreasing cement, retaining sense of place and culture, including street vending. The priorities for ‘change’ were vehicle congestion, poor footpaths and public transport, safety for women, the lack of public forums and lack of information. Strikingly, these needs for greater sustainability had barely emerged in the earlier discussions

that were dominated by demands for on-street parking. This reflected the importance of diverse participants being equal partners in the deliberation process.

Influence: The output was presented to the local authorities, who had previously indicated they would consider this in future decisions. However, their consideration was not apparent. This was a concern for participants, for example:

My main concern – interestingly of others in the group too – is how effective is this, if the government attitude is to be deaf, or know-all?

Nevertheless, there was influence in other ways. Civic advocacy groups realised the value of deliberation with diverse others, including those often excluded from their own outreach efforts – in terms of developing ways forward that were acceptable to multiple parties. Public officials, though not directly responding to the outcomes of the deliberation, apparently realised the usefulness of involving the broader public in street design developments. A local newspaper quoted one of the officials as saying that a public relations team would be appointed, an interactive website would be developed to ensure more citizens engagement, and that all stakeholders would be taken into consideration while planning (Dharwadkar, 2017). Later, the smart city officials did organise community meetings over several months to update the public on the street design projects.

Desirability of an independent third party: The participant feedback survey showed that about 69% felt it was very important and 11% felt it was somewhat important that such processes be coordinated by an independent third party.

Qualitative feedback from the participants, facilitators and observers indicated that well-structured events can produce carefully considered, useful outputs and that good techniques and facilitation by an independent third-party are necessary. Ideally, they suggested, the government needed to play an integral role if there was to be continuity and impact.

Observer feedback also suggested the need for repeated or iterative deliberations, since while this particular event produced a well-reasoned and well-informed output,

it is only after many such exercises with progressively less ‘safe’ participants that we can begin to take the outcomes and formulate a citizens’ agenda with some rigour.

An iterative ‘deliberative system’ would be needed to advance understanding and progressively develop better ways of providing inclusive, influential public deliberation.

Discussion

The following discussion focuses firstly on the transformative nature of the AR in Pune and secondly on the contribution of MMR.

Transformation through enhanced participatory processes

This research explored the question of whether high-quality deliberations could better resolve urban sustainability problems in Pune by bridging gaps in conventional participation mechanisms.

Tough barriers to high-quality deliberations were discovered including

- a. the general reluctance of the government to involve constituents in ways that could add value not only to resolving urban challenges but also to democratic governance;
- b. endemic, cultural and social power differentials and
- c. civic advocacy groups' inability or unwillingness to involve people not like them/not agreeing with their point of view

Although government unwillingness to be involved in the case study was disappointing, it was encouraging that inclusive public deliberations could be conducted without government assistance, and could produce useful outcomes which could be promoted via civic advocacy groups, while positively influencing those involved.

For those involved in the AR – members of the public, NGOs, the university faculty and students, and the team of facilitators, observers and researchers – it transformed this diverse group's understanding about how the public could be engaged in civic planning. Given the embedded stratification of Indian society, the importance of creating an egalitarian environment, intentionally breaking down barriers between highly diverse participants, was challenging but also transformative in and of itself. Participants gained insights into the multiple perspectives around street design, and ascertained common values. They overcame cultural hierarchies, extreme diversity and self-interest, deliberating with respect to arrive at, agreed outcomes – a 'transformative' experience for many, as noted in previously described participant feedback.

Some NGO participants became 'champions' of public deliberation. This was exemplified by one participant suggesting:

Keep doing a lot of deliberations, . . . where you can start to build people's confidence or faith that if I participate in these types of decisions, I can get an outcome that I can see, whereby encouraging me to participate in another kind of deliberative process.

Members of one NGO, previously sceptical about inclusive public deliberation, now saw a role for other civil society organisations in promoting deliberative processes, and the need to build a 'deliberations support community'. As one member suggested:

Talk to organisations to see if they want to incorporate participatory methods in what they already do . . . somebody will have to keep pushing these efforts. Document what

happens better when you do these processes compared to when you don't; which methods work better, and why; how do I evaluate participatory methods: Is it on the basis of inclusivity, how people felt after they had participated, or the quickness with which a project got implemented? Is it the general satisfaction with the outcome, even among the people who didn't take part in the process, if they were told about the process adopted?

The facilitators' team at CEE became committed to a programme of advocacy and practice around public deliberations, thus showing how actions research can transform an organisation towards adopting new ways of working. For example, a CEE staff member considered the action learning provided by public deliberations as critical:

We should establish a programme of embedding DD into our own projects . . . other NGOs conduct direct advocacy. (Our) work can be public engagement. Education and public engagement are complementary, there is an educational value of engagements, it helps in evolution of solutions, develops critical thinking ability and collaborative learning. Colleagues who have not experienced public deliberation may feel that it's risky. Even after colleagues experience a public deliberation event, they need some theoretical grounding, because the culture of top-down decision-making is so ingrained.

Another suggested that CEE should work towards building government commitment:

We should present the outcome-orientedness of deliberative processes to government.

The AR thus led to changes in understanding among participants, facilitators, NGOs, academics and some officials about deliberation and participation. Changes in formal processes were hoped for, but barriers were encountered. Addressing these will require further research, advocacy and action cycles.

The contribution of MMR to AR

The importance of integrating MMR with AR was intensified given the situational complexity, including the uncertainty and the need for adaptability, the challenge of implementing innovative public deliberation events to address the inadequacy of street design and the need to demonstrate the value of such processes.

The interviews had provided insights into the heterogeneity and complexity of the community. For example, the community health activist highlighted the need to be aware of diversity and representation within the deliberative forum:

Communities, sub-communities, small groups, small interest groups have to be genuinely reached out to and represented . . . You go to a slum and you will find that even

within one slum there are so many sub groups, small groups, some have come from Andhra, some from Marathwada, there are micro communities, the message should reach them and their issues should emerge. Then we can say that... participatory deliberation is happening.

These interviews helped shape the AR, leading to careful studies prior to deliberation, to understand views of different groups and types of street users in the neighbourhood, as well as the nature of power dynamics, both overt as well as not easily visible. This research helped to develop relevant and useful participant information as well as questions for the deliberative democracy AR. For the AR to reflect high-quality deliberation, diverse participation was critical. Importantly, the analysis of the interviews, clarified how a more inclusive and representative recruitment process could be created.

An insight from several expert interviewees helped shape crucial steps in the AR – that improving public participation would require considerable collaborative effort, especially with other NGOs and academic institutions. Additionally, at the deliberative forum, the presence of NGOs and the university as ‘critical friends’, resulted in their witnessing the process, offering useful assessments of the process, and becoming advocates of this form of participatory process.

The interviews and the quantitative survey highlighted a gap between the current and desired levels of civic participation. These survey results provided a baseline of citizens’ views enabling a comparison of the success of the participatory action steps taken. The feedback about the deliberation process conducted in the AR showed high satisfaction with the inclusivity and deliberative quality as well as satisfaction with the outcome of the process. As noted, the Arnstein Ladder results were not able to be utilised for feedback on the AR deliberation. However, the baseline survey is now available for future AR in this domain, especially in Pune and other Indian cities.

The surveys also revealed social attitudes, perceptions about political attitudes and civic and sustainability concerns in Pune. These findings helped in the drafting of questions to be asked during the deliberation, and in the preparation of participant information materials and the training of facilitators – all critical elements of this AR. The research design incorporated two types of integration between the quantitative and participatory elements (Martí, 2015), that is the sequential QUAN → PART, since the survey results helped shape the participatory deliberations step, as well as the PART(quant), since within the deliberation, participants used quantitative tools to rank options, and later, the researchers used a participant survey to assess the deliberation quality, among other feedback tools.

The collaborative inquiry with the facilitators, with their prior exposure to participation processes, their understanding of typical gaps and facilitation experiences provided an important preparatory step, creating a firm foundation for conducting the deliberation process.

The AR led to changes in the perceptions of facilitators and some of the NGO actors. Such deep-felt support could not have been gained without a mixed

methods approach that enabled both self-learning and an exploratory approach to the dilemmas faced. Thus, the mixed methods steps helped shape the action, provided strategic and practical guidance, presented a reference point for assessment of the action and helped prepare the team to carry out the AR.

The mixed methods research was able to enhance transformative change in attitudes and behaviours regarding public participation because both those carrying out the research and research subjects had the opportunity to think through their views, delve into their taken-for-granted interpretations about the world in which they live and empathetically understand the stance of diverse others. This promoted both self-learning and willingness to devise different ways forward.

Conclusions and way forward

This initiative demonstrated how mixed methods enhanced the transformative potential of the AR. The research had an exploratory and sequential design of QUAL-QUAN and performative steps. The performative step itself integrated quantitative participant feedback surveys and qualitative reflections to further learning about the conduct of public deliberations. The mixed methods provided detailed insights into the context, prepared a team to take up the action, provided a reference framework for assessment of the action and helped build broader support for the desired transformation. The deliberative processes in themselves had substantive and influential outcomes for those involved.

Considering the key characteristics of deliberative democracy outlined earlier, high-quality public deliberations facilitated by an independent third party could well be a potential solution for improving public participation in civic decision-making. However, for public deliberations to have influence in government decision-making, these would need government commitment and involvement. Regardless, this research highlighted that high-quality deliberations can bridge gaps left by conventional participation, i.e. efforts by advocacy groups and government consultation.

Achieving an ongoing impact would require iterative deliberations leading to a culture of deliberation, working in tandem with civic advocacy initiatives. For this, champions in both the government and civil society would be key – working within an ecosystem of cyclic and transformative research, practice and reflective learning. Especially in the Indian urban context, this will not be easy, given their entrenched social, political and administrative power structures. However, the first steps have been taken, indicating that deliberative democracy can be applied in developing countries. Hopefully, our experience can help other researchers to devise ways to bolster democratic practice and more effectively plan for and use mixed methods integrated with cycles of AR for the desired transformations. ‘It is not the task of the action researcher to describe *the world as it is*, but to realize visions of *what the world can become*’ (Gergen & Gergen, 2008, p. 167).

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Notes

1. See <https://www.climateassembly.uk/>
2. See <https://olis.oregonlegislature.gov/liz/2011R1/Measures/Overview/HB2634>
3. See <https://www.buergerdialog.be/>
4. From Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, as part of a winter school jointly designed by the faculty and CEE staff.
5. From <https://theblogurk.wordpress.com/2018/08/25/commoning-of-governance-students-suggest-how-to-make-streets-more-inclusive/> (accessed 13 November 2019).
6. The research design of establishing a quantitative baseline of the experience and aspiration of public participation pre and post deliberative participation was similar to that adopted in Geraldton, Australia (Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2019).

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5.5 Publication-V

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Article

Can Deliberative Democracy Work in Urban India?

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Abstract: India faces extensive challenges of rapid urbanization and deficits in human well-being and environmental sustainability. Democratic governance is expected to strengthen public policies and efforts towards sustainability. This article presents a study in Pune, India, which aimed at exploring perceptions about public participation in urban governance and the potential of high-quality public deliberation to meet deficits. The research reveals disaffection of the public with government decision-making and government-led participation. Further, it shows that people are interested in participating in community life and seek to be partners in civic decision-making, but find themselves unable to do so. The study illustrates that high-quality public deliberations facilitated by an independent third party can provide a satisfactory space of participation, learning, and developing balanced outcomes. Citizens expressed readiness for partnership, third-party facilitation, and support from civic advocacy groups. Challenges with regard to government commitment to deliberative democracy will need to be overcome for a purposeful shift from conventional weak to empowered participation of ordinary citizens in civic decision-making. We anticipate that while institutionalization of high-quality public deliberations may take time, civil society-led public deliberations may help raise community expectations and demand for induced deliberative democracy.

Keywords: deliberative democracy; participation; Pune; sustainability; local government; facilitation



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1. Introduction

India's cities face extensive and chronic challenges, which are becoming ever more acute with the rapid rate and enormous scale of urbanization. These challenges include the poor quality of life due to the inadequate basic services of water, sanitation, housing and transport, high income inequality, high proportion of informal occupations in urban employment, and increasing pollution [1,2]. With the COVID-19 pandemic, these aspects have become even more pronounced. In this time of climate change and pandemic, focusing on the responsiveness of governance, the sustainability of city infrastructure and the resilience of the livelihoods of urban dwellers, including migrant workers, will be key components of economic recovery [3].

Developing urban resilience is not just complex, it is a “wicked” problem—one that defies simple ways out, since what constitutes the issue varies with the perspective of different stakeholders, and any solution based on a narrow standpoint may exacerbate the problem [4,5]. Rather than empowering citizens to help resolve such “wicked problems”, India, the largest democracy in the world, like many other democratic countries, is critiqued for being a “weak democracy”, i.e., individualist, conflicted, and with elected governments that diminish the role of citizens [6,7]. This is in contrast with “strong democracy”, wherein the citizenship is empowered as much as possible as a way of living [6–9].

India as a democratic nation, like other democracies across the globe, is struggling to embody the principles of governing “by the people, of the people, for the people” [10]. Weak, and even stronger, democracies have tended to give stakeholders in a challenging issue a ritualistic role of “have your say”, with little real influence, especially given opaque

public participation practices, wherein only the loudest, most influential voices are listened to [11–16]. This dilemma has been described as typical of the system's archetype "Fixes that Fail", where the "fix" has the unintended consequences of exacerbating the problem [17,18]. Weymouth and Hartz-Karp [19] suggest that a way to intervene in the "Fixes that Fail" cycle is to purposefully shift from public participation which has little to no impact on a decision, to collaborative and empowered participation of those representative of the population impacted by the issue.

Such empowered participation involves three key principles: representativeness, deliberativeness, and influence [20,21]. Representativeness requires the engagement of participants from different backgrounds with diverse perspectives. Deliberativeness involves the time and environment to enable open dialogue and deliberation, with participants having access to user-friendly information, the space to understand and discuss the issues, find options and weigh them against their values to develop recommendations. Influence implies decision-makers making a commitment to consider the deliberation outcomes, and being open to the recommendations having some impact on policy development or decision-making [22]. Such a form of partnership between government and citizens to resolve difficult issues is called deliberative democracy [22]. Over the past few decades, the world has been implementing deliberative democracy as a way forward to address issues of public concern, often "wicked" problems [21,23–25]. In 2020, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) described this shift as a deliberative wave [26]. Given the success of deliberative democracy initiatives, there are numerous examples of institutionalization, such as the Citizens' Initiative Reviews in Oregon, USA and the permanent Citizens' Council in Ostbelgien, Belgium [27–29].

By contrast, traditional community development approaches, especially top-down, project-induced community participation, adopted by development cooperation agencies have fallen short of achieving equitable and sustainable outcomes [30]. Hence, Mansuri and Rao [30] have called for induced participation efforts to draw upon the spirit of organic participatory change, of learning, experimentation, and persistent engagement, and also to find ways of enabling civic activists to influence government to be more responsive to the needs of citizens.

Inspired by the call from Mansuri and Rao [30], this study conducted in the city of Pune, India aimed to explore the potential for deliberative democracy (DD) initiatives to build upon existing forms of "organic" (community-led) and "induced" (government-led) public participation. Given the complexities of the Indian society, it explored what the nature of high-quality public deliberation would be in this context, and to what extent it would be an effective mechanism for public participation. High-quality public deliberations organized globally usually have an independent entity, referred to as a third party, that conducts the process [26]. Hence, this study also aimed to understand what would constitute an "independent third party" in the context of public participation in the Indian context, and how its contribution could be assessed.

This study was conducted in the city of Pune where one of the authors is based. In recent years, a range of collaborative initiatives of civil-society groups working closely with the municipal government emerged in Pune. These include participatory budgeting [31], integration of informal sector waste pickers into municipal waste management [32], and advocacy on sustainable transportation leading to municipal investment in bus rapid transit [33] among others. A deliberative democracy initiative focused on options for neighborhood street design had also been carried out in Pune in 2013 [34]. However, this was the first study to explore the role of an independent third party within the Indian urban context where deliberative democracy is not institutionalized.

The responsibilities of the municipal government in Pune are vast and range from civic services, including water, waste water, and solid waste management to development of parks and gardens, roads, as well as certain types of welfare schemes. Annual plans and budgets for these services are made by elected and administrative officials. Master plans, made or commissioned by the municipal government, require the approval of the

state government. The municipal government has the opportunity to enhance public well-being and sustainability, but also faces enormous challenges, such as the scale of the city, availability of funds and capacity to address all issues. Currently, though citizens are invited to submit suggestions for local amenities every year, public participation is not solicited in preparation of long-term or annual plans and budgets for the main civic services. Public participation in longer-term (20 or more years) master plan processes is limited to the submission of suggestions and objections to the already developed documents.

This research led to the realization that to successfully implement deliberative democracy initiatives in the Indian context, it will be important to include India's traditionally strong grassroots organic participation [35]. Additionally, it was realized that it will be important to address the decreasing trust in Indian governments and decision-making [36–38]. One way to address this democratic deficit is via the use of an independent third party [39]. Finally, it has been noted that deliberative democracy is particularly suited for deeply divided societies [40]. In such environments, conflict and polarization can be overcome through facilitated deliberation [40], when a third party, external to any potential divisive issues, can create egalitarian, open discussions based on standard deliberation principles [22,34].

The article provides evidence that lends credibility to and support for these claims. It is important to acknowledge that deliberative democracy, originating from political theory [40], is a normative concept that lays down how political practice should occur, rather than explaining it [41,42]. Hence, it is deeply linked with practice and empirical social science research [40,41]. Firstly, the disaffection of the public with government decision-making and government-led participation is outlined. Secondly, the article illustrates that people are interested in participating in community life and seek to be partners in civic decision-making, but find themselves unable to do so. Next, it shows that high-quality public deliberations can provide a satisfactory space of participation, learning, and developing balanced outcomes.

However, there are challenges with implementing deliberative democracy in urban India with regard to the government not committing to high-quality public participation despite agreeing to do so, and also not acting upon the recommendations when high-quality deliberations do get organized by civil society efforts. Hence, the argument that deliberative democracy initiatives could intervene in the "Fixes that Fail" cycle could not be fully tested. However, our data shows that: (1) citizens are ready and capable of taking more empowered roles in resolving complex issues; (2) an independent third party convening the deliberations is supported by participants, increasing their trust in the initiative; and (3) civic advocacy groups are willing to support this effort by having a continued role in developing and implementing high-quality public deliberations, and later, following up on the implementation of recommendations.

The remainder of the article is organized as follows. We first describe the methodology of a case study conducted in Pune, India between 2014 and 2017. Then we present the findings from the research, integrated around eight major themes that emerged from the analysis, namely: disaffection with local government decision-making, desire to participate, high-quality public deliberations, government's ambivalence about public deliberations, role of politicians, citizens' readiness for partnership, third-party facilitation and support from civic advocacy groups. The conclusion draws together the main argument of the article that in the Indian context, the concept of public participation through deliberation would largely depend on organic civic groups being very active for issues of importance to emerge and be taken up as well as to keep the government into account on implementation of deliberative decisions.

2. Materials and Methods

This study is based on a case study methodology [43] with the unit of analysis being Pune, a city with a population of about 3.5 million in the state of Maharashtra in western India. Pune is the ninth most populous city in India and has a democratically elected local

government. In the vein of case study research, a suite of methods was used to best analyze the issue about public participation in civic governance. They include:

- a quantitative survey conducted in Pune in June 2017, referred to as Pune Civic Perceptions Survey 2017, or PCPS 17;
- participants' feedback surveys after three public deliberations in Pune between 2014 and 2017; the deliberated issues were the process of participatory budgeting, street usage, mobility, and design;
- qualitative interviews with knowledgeable individuals, including senior leaders of local non-profit organizations, bureaucrats, and academics conducted between 2014 and 2017;
- qualitative verbal and written comments from support team meetings prior to and following the three public deliberations, including sessions with deliberation observers, facilitators, and advisors conducted between 2014 and 2017.

The findings from the surveys and interviews were analyzed manually using investigator discretion to elicit the main themes emerging from the questionnaires. Quantitative statistics were also generated in response to particular questions. Further information about the specific components of this mixed-methods methodology [44], which allows for a deeper meaning and better understanding about a phenomenon to emerge [45,46], is presented below.

2.1. Pune Civic Perceptions Survey

The purpose of the Pune Civic Perceptions Survey was to understand public perceptions about decision-making by the local government in Pune, the extent of public involvement in decision-making, opportunities for participation, as well as the public's interest in participation and ability to participate. There were 19 questions in the survey instrument related to this study. They were linked to civic governance and civic participation covering the following areas: decision-making in Pune, citizens' participation in decision-making in Pune, community engagement with local issues generally and that of the respondent, and the respondent's capacity to contribute to community affairs. Table 1 presents the questions asked together with the responses received.

Table 1. Pune Civic Perceptions Survey, 2017.

Survey Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Answer
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the decision-making by Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) for the development of the city:						
Q1.1 Decisions are made in a transparent manner so that citizens find it easy to understand what decisions are being made and why.	10	98	188	276	25	
Q1.2 Decisions for the city's development benefit all sections of society, and especially the poor.	10	79	189	299	19	1
Q1.3 The PMC makes efficient use of public money on different projects and programs.	16	123	232	210	16	
Q1.4 The PMC usually has good reasons for its decisions, even when those decisions are not popular.	21	218	289	65	4	
Q1.5 The decision-making process at PMC is in great need of reform.	61	325	158	50	3	
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the extent of citizens' participation in decision-making by Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC):						
Q2.1 The PMC involves the public in decision-making.	7	57	103	405	25	
Q2.2 There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what local government does.	16	226	297	54	4	
Q2.3 People like me do not have any say about what the local government does.	34	288	174	94	6	1
Q2.4 Local government does not care much about what a person like me thinks.	34	453	68	40	2	
Q2.5 The vote of a person like me in local government elections does not make a difference in influencing local decisions.	21	195	155	222	4	

Table 1. Cont.

Survey Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Answer
Thinking about the citizens of Pune community in general, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:						
Q3.1 People do their part to make their local community a better place to live.	29	254	166	143	5	
Q3.2 Few people consider voting in local government elections as an important civic duty.	23	234	167	164	9	
Q3.3 When asked to do their part, most people in Pune will make personal sacrifices if it benefits the community.	1	31	251	190	115	9
Thinking about your role in your local community, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:						
Q4.1 People like me play an important role in the life of my community.	41	271	246	37	2	
Q4.2 I often fail to do my part to make my local community a good place to live.	9	93	238	245	12	
Q4.3 I take my responsibilities as a citizen seriously.	43	335	189	30		
Thinking about yourself, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:						
Q5.1 I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics and community affairs.	22	142	138	283	12	
Q5.2 I have a pretty good understanding of the important issues facing Pune.	31	204	283	77	2	
Q5.3 I think I am better informed about politics and government than most people.	14	48	210	316	9	

Respondents to the Pune Civic Perceptions Survey were recruited randomly from several different localities well-spread across the city, including a mix of residential, commercial, up-market and poorer areas. The survey generated 597 valid responses, with 38.2% female and 61.8% male respondents, resulting in a representative sample of the total city's population at the 95% confidence level with a confidence interval of 4.01. There is a sample bias in the number of male and female responses with more men completing the survey. This is likely to be due to the reduced likelihood of encountering women in random selection of respondents in urban public spaces in India. Cluster analysis done to understand patterns of response in relation to gender is discussed in the results section.

2.2. Public Deliberations

In rural India, the Gramsabha is a body consisting of persons on the electoral roll of a Panchayat, or a self-governing body, at a village level [47]. The Gramsabha is an empowered local self-government institution in rural areas equivalent to a citizens' assembly. By comparison, cities in India do not have an analogous constitutionally recognized citizens' deliberation forum. This is a critical gap in urban governance in most of India, with only the state of Kerala and a few other instances of urban planning being exceptions. Hence, public deliberation is not institutionalized in Pune. We wanted to understand how urban dwellers in Pune felt about the potential of high-quality public deliberations in addressing governance challenges in the city. It was appropriate to organize such deliberations to help citizens understand the process and its outcomes.

Three deliberation processes were undertaken in Pune between 2014 and 2017 [35,39]. Two of these related to improving the participatory budgeting process in Pune, and the third was on street usage and design in one particular neighborhood (see Boxes 1–3). Each deliberation began with input presentations by experts in the sector. The questions for deliberation were initially discussed by the facilitators and then given to the representative mini-publics [35,39]. Demographically diverse participants were seated in small, purposefully mixed groups, each with a facilitator from an outside organization and a scribe from the participants. The deliberation outputs were put forward and ranked by the participants and later on, formulated into recommendations. A report outlining the deliberation process and the recommendations made was shared with the participants at the end of each event, and then submitted to the city government.

The Centre for Environment Education (CEE), a non-profit organization in India, supported the arrangement of public deliberations in collaboration with the local non-government organization (NGO) Parisar—a community-based partnership working on lobbying and advocacy for sustainable development established in Pune in the early 1980s, and academic institutions, namely Curtin University from Australia and Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) based in Mumbai, India. They acted as third-parties in the deliberation processes.

Detailed descriptions of these deliberations are presented in previous publications by Menon and Hartz–Karp [35,39,48], including brief assessments, learnings from each case, and explanations about how the principles of high-quality public deliberation were applied in the conduct of these forums. What is of interest to this article are the participants' feedback surveys implemented after each public event which have not been previously analyzed. The feedback surveys contained questions on inclusivity, deliberation quality, fairness, satisfaction with the deliberation process, and influence of the process on decision-making. There were 18, 26, and 33 completed participant responses received from the three forums, respectively. The findings from these surveys are presented in the results section.

Box 1. Public Deliberation to Review Participatory Budgeting in Pune, 2014.

Context: The Pune Municipal Corporation initiated a form of participatory budgeting (PB) in 2007 which included a simple form to make suggestions for neighborhood amenities, and an allocation of funds to each electoral ward. It allows the public to organize studies, discussions, submit suggestions individually or collectively, though no such processes are proactively organized by the local government. This was a commendable step by the local government. However, due to lack of publicity, lack of administrative support, and non-transparent procedures, the provision has been used sub-optimally and has seen very limited participation in recent years.

Public Deliberation: With the intent of revitalizing Pune's participatory budgeting process, a public deliberation to refine PB protocols was organized by the Centre for Environment Education (CEE), a local NGO. Twenty-four participants were recruited to elicit diversity in terms of age, gender, and economic background, ensuring representation of those normally excluded from such processes. This was done mainly by inviting participation from informal sector workers' associations, community groups and organizations working with people with disabilities. Presentations were made about the Pune Participatory Budget history and performance and global best practices. The participants were seated in small groups, ensuring diversity. Each group had a facilitator to support the deliberations and to document the outputs of their discussions. Care was taken to provide each participant adequate opportunities to share and discuss their views. The facilitators also managed translations where needed. The topic of deliberation was: 'How can Pune Participatory Budget be strengthened?' with specific questions on needs' assessment, proposal development, selection and implementation and the annual PB activity cycle. Questions posed included those on needs' assessment, technical soundness and feasibility, prioritization, review of implementation and the annual calendar for PB. The responses from each deliberation question were collated mechanically, while the next questions were posed. All aggregated responses were shared for further deliberation, including prioritization of options. At the end of the day, a Participant Report in Marathi (the local language) and English was disseminated.

Assessment: An assessment of the deliberation was carried out through a feedback form which asked questions about the representativeness, deliberation quality and outcomes of the process. Eighteen forms were received.

Influence: No municipal officials or elected representatives attended this deliberation. Prior to and post deliberation, team sessions were held with the facilitators and observers. The deliberation implementation team identified during the forum was also invited to the post-deliberation team session. As agreed during the public deliberation, the produced Participant Report was submitted to the Municipal Commissioner requesting its implementation. However, this official was soon transferred to another position and a new official assumed responsibility. Thus, despite yielding improvements deemed important by the participants, this deliberative process did not change how the municipality conducted PBs. As organizers, CEE shared the report outputs with the new official too, and as a NGO interested in advancing improvements in PB, it continued to advocate for improved processes. This led to the organization of a second public deliberation on PB in 2015.

Box 2. Participatory Budgeting Reform in Pune, 2015.

Context: Pune's participatory budgeting has seen limited participation over the years. Local NGOs have felt the need to revitalize this potentially progressive and citizen-empowering provision. With this in view, in 2015, a briefing about the participatory budgeting process in Pune was provided by the Centre for Environment Education (CEE) to the Municipal Commissioner who had recently assumed office.

Public deliberation: An inclusive, deliberative forum was organized with the support of the Municipal Commissioner, who committed to immediately discussing the workshop outcomes with the municipal administration. This public deliberation was facilitated by CEE together with the Curtin University Sustainability Policy Institute and a local NGO, Parisar whose staff had also been involved in the PB facilitation since its inception in Pune. Input presentations about the Pune experience of PB as well as best practices from other parts of the world were made, including the empowered deliberations accompanying PB in Australia. Next, the deliberating group of about 60 participants addressed the following questions: 1/What can we do differently/better in our next Pune PB, given what we have learned from these global and local PB experiences? 2/How can we get more people, including more diverse people involved? 3/How can we structure the PB process so that people can better understand the issues in their ward, and from a more holistic perspective (social, environmental and economic at different scales), and hence make choices that are more informed and considered? 4/ How can we encourage more "shared power" in prioritizing projects and implementing them? The 21st Century Meeting technique was used for deliberations between participants in groups, with facilitators, translators, and scribes entering the group outputs into networked computers. The group outputs were collated and prioritized to yield a printed Participant Report.

Assessment: The suggestions and recommendation made by the participating citizens were provided to each of the participants. An assessment of the deliberation was carried out through a feedback form which asked questions about representativeness, deliberation quality, and outcomes of the process. Twenty-four forms were received back.

Influence: This Participant Report was presented to municipal officials and elected representatives during the last session of the deliberative workshop. One promising outcome was that the local government then agreed to prepare a Ward Infrastructure, Services and Environment information base and index (WISE), with CEE as a partner [49]. Using a range of indicators, WISE provided the public with a reference point for the status of civic amenities and services and rationale for budget allocations. The scores for each ward were used to calculate and yield a relative development index. This WISE index was presented by the Municipal Commissioner to the municipal general body during the presentation of the draft budget for the next financial year. However, the elected officials did not fully accept the WISE rationale in the budget proposals [50], so their reasoning behind fund allocations remained opaque to the public.

Box 3. Street Design in Aundh, Pune, 2017.

Context: Pune is one of the cities selected for implementation of the Government of India's Smart City Mission. One of the projects implemented under the Smart City Programme was for re-design of streets. A plan for a public deliberation was discussed, to accompany the design process. However, though the local government was initially supportive of a public deliberation, it later withdrew. An excellent tactical urbanism approach was adopted, but the meetings that followed were not inclusive deliberative events, with views of only a few stakeholders being presented. The project was implemented and a highly walkable, attractive environment has been created. However, a range of other related needs that had emerged during the tactical urbanism process beyond the scope of the street design project but within the ambit of the Smart City Programme have remained unmet. About a year later, an opportunity for a public deliberation arose when the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), a Mumbai-based academic institute, approached the Center for Environment Education (CEE) to support the exploration of the theme of "commoning of governance". The CEE again approached the Smart City authorities to anchor the deliberation, with postgraduate students of public policy as a valuable resource to carry out preparatory activities and assist in the conduct of the deliberation around mobility and street design in the neighborhood. As the authorities remained unresponsive, CEE and TISS decided to host a public event, framing it as a process to develop a citizens' manifesto.

Public deliberation: The question for the deliberation event, which was attended by about 40 demographically diverse participants, was: "How do we, the people representing all those who live and work on or nearby our streets and travel through them, want our streets to be used, designed, developed, and maintained to best meet our needs as a community?" Participants were seated in small groups with facilitators, translators, and scribes. The agreed-upon responses at each table were written on chart sheets and collated on a computer. This made the process somewhat slow, revealing the need for good "civic tech" to support deliberations. A printed Participant Report of the suggestions and recommendation made by the participating citizens was provided to each of the participants.

Assessment: An assessment of the deliberation was carried through a feedback form which asked questions about representativeness, deliberation quality, and outcomes of the process. Thirty-three forms were received back. In addition, two observers provided feedback.

Influence: Soon after the deliberation day, the output was presented to the CEO, Pune Smart City Development Corporation Ltd (PSCDCL). Local newspapers also reported on the studies done by the TISS students and the deliberation event [51]. After receiving the Participant Report, the PSCDCL asked for a detailed report of the studies done prior to the deliberation and of the day itself. The fact that certain segments of society have not been heard was noted and subsequently PSCDCL started organizing monthly and area-wise meetings to present project updates, but these eventually stopped.

2.3. Interviews

A number of qualitative interviews were conducted with a range of individuals knowledgeable about citizen participation in the context of India. These included in-depth, one-on-one interviews with senior leaders of local non-profit organizations, bureaucrats, and academics, that provided broad insights (scribed and later analyzed) on the nature of democracy and public participation in the country and the city. These seven interviews lasted around one hour each and although the interviewees were given an outline of the expected questions, the interviews followed a free format allowing for unrestricted flow of thought.

2.4. Team Meeting Notes

Additional, qualitative inputs included documented verbal as well as written comments from support team sessions held prior to and following the three deliberative events, including those of deliberation observers, facilitators, and advisors. Public participation issues raised during these meetings were documented and later analyzed.

3. Results

The sections to follow present the findings from the research within the context of Pune and relevant previous studies. They are organized around eight themes which emerged from the analysis. Table 1 specifically summarizes the quantitative responses from the representative Pune Civic Perceptions Survey.

3.1. Disaffection with Local Government Decision-Making

The PCPS in 2017 showed that over 60 percent of the respondents felt that government decision-making needed reform. Over 80 percent of them felt that the city's development does not benefit all sections of society and especially the poor, and that decision-making is not transparent. Women tended to be more neutral about government decision-making and "slightly dissatisfied" with opportunities for public participation, while men expressed stronger dissatisfaction. Less than a quarter of the participants were of the opinion that public money is used efficiently.

These findings are similar to surveys conducted across India by the Association for Democratic Reforms in 2013–2014 and 2017. They show dissatisfaction and "below average" scores for all top expectations from government, including employment, healthcare, education, drinking water, roads, public transport, and women's empowerment [36,52]. Another study showed a significantly lower level of trust in government than in NGOs and businesses [38]. Surveys in 2017 and 2018 in India by the Pew Research Center originally indicated high satisfaction with the national government in place after the regime change in 2014, which resulted in a new party system and renationalization [53]. However, the latter survey showed that nearly 69 percent of the respondents felt that the elected leaders are corrupt and noted a marked decline in satisfaction in key sectors of employment, with a high degree of concern in areas related to terrorism and crime [37,54]. This dissatisfaction with government also permeated the level of the municipality in Pune as indicated by PCPS 17 and potentially leads to disengagement with democracy, particularly as voting in India is not compulsory.

Voter turnout has been an ongoing concern in Maharashtra [55] and this research identified an underlying reason which can only exacerbate the situation. The PCPS 17 showed that only 52 percent of the participants were inclined to vote in the next election. This compares fairly with the extent of voting in the Lok Sabha (national) election that took place subsequently in the country in 2019, in which voter turnout in Pune was about 50% [56]. The dissatisfaction of the public is also revealed in the fact that about 167,000 voters opted for "none of the above" option in the last civic polls [57]. An important underlying reason for low voter turnout is the perception among people—over one-third of the respondents in PCPS 17, that their vote does not influence decision-making. Other studies by Parchure et al. [58,59] on why a large proportion of people does not vote in the

Mumbai and Pune urban regions also reveal the top reasons for not voting include “my vote hasn’t changed anything”.

3.2. *Desire to Participate*

This disinclination to vote is not however an indication of a lack of interest in democratic governance. On the contrary, people are interested in participating in civic affairs and community life. The PCPS 17 revealed a high level of interest and voluntary participation in community-oriented activities. Over 60 percent of the respondents said they took their responsibilities as citizens seriously and over 50 percent felt that people like them play an important role in community life. Further, there was recognition that other citizens too are concerned about their civic duty and contribute to community improvement. Over 40 percent of the respondents held the view that others do their part to make the community a better place, and even make personal sacrifices for this when asked.

There was also the perception that being involved in the community, both for others and oneself, is more important than voting. About 43 percent of the respondents felt that people do not think voting is important, while almost 67 percent thought people do their part for the community, and over 50 percent thought people in Pune would make personal sacrifices if it would benefit the community.

The desire to participate and the recognition of the role of others are important as they can form the foundation for public deliberation. Using participatory deliberative methods involves not only voicing your own view, but also listening to others and giving due consideration to their perspectives. The appreciation of associational life and community involvement alongside voting for particular representatives is also a key element of democratic life [60]. Some describe this as participation in civil life and argue that this is the way to reform democracies [61]. Such civil life practices represent solidarity and care based on shared moral perceptions.

Most respondents felt that though there are legal ways for citizens to influence local governance, the government in Pune has minimally involved the public. The perception among more than half of the respondents (53 percent) was that ordinary people do not have a say in what their local authorities do. Furthermore, over 80 percent felt the local government did not actually care about their views.

The current mainstream forms of participation were described as inadequate in almost all qualitative interviews. Examples of inadequacies described included: the perspectives of different segments of society are not sought, though they are critical to understanding the problems and to jointly evolving solutions; that the current processes of government-induced participation provide no opportunity for public discussion or more thoughtful deliberation, they do not adequately include the voice of marginalized individuals and groups, including new migrants. Further, the extreme “heterogeneity and structural schisms in society” are not addressed adequately in regular participation forums. The complexity of urban issues and the “varied relationships of different segments of society with the city” are overlooked or inadequately considered in the development of solutions. A trend towards erosion of democratic politics and political discussion came up repeatedly in the interviews.

Hence, against broad disaffection with government decision-making and a perception that one’s vote does not impact democratic processes, people do have an interest in community life and do their part. They also recognize the same about others in the community, but have little influence on government decision-making, particularly in the absence of effective ways to engage with the public.

3.3. *High Levels of Acceptance of Public Deliberations*

The participant surveys conducted at the end of each deliberative forum indicate that high-quality public deliberations can provide a satisfactory space for participation, learning, and developing balanced outcomes. For example:

- In all cases, over 80 percent of the participants felt that they had adequate opportunities to speak, were treated with respect, and listened carefully to others;
- In all cases, at least about 85 percent of the participants were satisfied with the deliberation;
- Over 90 percent of the participants in the case where this issue was explored found their learning to be adequate;
- All participants in the case where this issue was explored were satisfied with the neutrality of the facilitators.

At the third deliberation event (which took place in 2017), several participants, facilitators, and two observers (a professor at a higher education institute and a researcher at the government academy for in-service training of administrators, who were requested to critically observe the deliberations for fairness, deliberative quality, facilitation, etc.) expressed their opinion that there is need for repeated consultations under the same format. They observed that participation in such events contributes to civic capacity or the democratic ability of citizens and noted the merit of such a process in yielding better discussion outcomes as compared to other public meetings that were generally held in Pune. The post-event feedback survey provided convincing evidence that high-quality public discussions as the ones occurring during deliberative events improve the ability to generate better recommendations for more sustainable urban living. Below are some indicative quotes:

- “all segments of society were invited and given an equal opportunity to speak and all views were heard”;
- “first-hand experience of witnessing individuals to discuss issues affect(ing) their daily lives as well as the free forum in which their views could be presented without the chance of their voices being drowned out by others”;
- “... experience(d) first-hand the ability of citizens to come together and interact, something which was considered impossible by me before this”.

3.4. Government's Ambivalence about Public Deliberations

An important aspect of deliberative democracy is its ability to influence public policy. The implementation of deliberative democracy in Pune has had some success, but has also seen some ambivalence on the part of the authorities. Below are some examples which support this finding.

One high-quality deliberation, namely the 2015 review of participatory budgeting (see Box 2), was supported by the local government. Administrative officials were present throughout the deliberation, and elected officials joined in when the recommendations were presented by the deliberating mini-public. The recommendations were reviewed and selected measures were taken up for implementation. For example, one promising outcome was that the local government agreed to prepare a Ward Infrastructure, Services and Environment information base and index (WISE), with CEE as a partner [49]. However, later the elected officials did not fully accept the WISE rationale in the budget proposals [50], so their reasoning behind fund allocations remained opaque to the public. This highlighted that without institutionalizing an urban government reform that gives a status and obligations related to the influence of such public deliberations, implementation of good governance, and desired outcomes would remain tenuous.

Another challenge was with regard to the government not formally committing to high-quality public participation, since particular outcomes could not be guaranteed. For example, one of the projects implemented under the Smart City Programmes was the re-design of streets, which became the context for another public deliberation (see Box 3). Though the Pune Smart City Development Corporation Ltd (PSCDCL) did take note of the recommendations of the deliberation, and even started holding regular meetings for some months, actions suggested for street improvement were not implemented or discussed further with the public. This case highlights that organic groups can try to remain engaged with city authorities and pursue resolution of civic issues including

through public deliberations. However, civil society-led deliberations can only go so far in developing solutions and following up with civic authorities. Eventually, institutional embedding is necessary for deliberative democracy to yield results for urban sustainability in India.

Thus, the public deliberation initiatives in Pune have had mixed support from the government. While the city government has sometimes collaborated in the conduct of public deliberations, and also taken up selected recommendations from such forums, there is no formal method of arranging public deliberative events with a certain quality standard and procedure. These experiences underscored the need for ongoing engagement of civic advocacy groups with the government, in order for the city to benefit from the results of high-quality public deliberations.

3.5. Role of Politicians

Deliberation efforts have both received excellent support as well as faced difficulties with politicians. In at least one of the Pune cases presented here, and in an earlier experience [34], politicians played a key role in supporting as well as opposing public deliberation. In the case where politicians played a supportive role, the researchers had detailed prior conversations with local councilors as well as a member of parliament. These politicians were highly supportive of the deliberation, stayed and observed the proceedings for a considerable time, and also made efforts to obtain funding for implementation of the generated recommendations.

Other efforts for deliberations on the citizens' budget suggestions sometimes encountered opposition. For example, prior to the public deliberation on participatory budgeting in 2014, the facilitators team had attempted to arrange a public meeting to review and prioritize the citizens' budget suggestions for that ward. However, soon after the meeting began, an elected official arrived at the venue and disrupted the deliberation, stating that making such decisions was the role of elected officials and not of the public. In this case, the researchers had not reached out to councilors to participate in the prioritization meeting.

The role of politicians vis-a-vis deliberative democracy experience in other countries has similarly been both positive and constraining. For example, it was a member of parliament who provided the enabling context for the first efforts of deliberative democracy in Western Australia [18,62]. More recently, politicians have been deliberants in the public deliberations for constitutional reform in Ireland, with research showing that they did not bias the discussions and instead helped keep them grounded [63]. Niesson's study in Belgium shows that politicians and stakeholders may oppose public deliberations if they aim to have a role in political decision-making beyond occasional, consultative uses [64]. The study also suggests that mini-publics may lead to reflection about the democratic quality of the overall political system, which may be an even more important outcome [64]. As such, the relationship of politicians and elected representatives with high-quality public deliberations of ordinary citizens is an important area for further research and practice in the Indian context. The longer-term experiences of participatory planning in Kerala and more recently of participatory budgeting in Delhi [65] may be fertile ground for such further exploration.

3.6. Citizens' Readiness for Partnership

Though the municipal government has been ambivalent towards the implementation of high-quality public deliberations, citizens have desired a much more active role in civic decision-making. The public perceptions survey conducted in 2017 included a question on the current experience of participation in civic decision-making, and what was desired. This question used the Arnstein Ladder of Citizen Participation [66] to show different levels of participation—from manipulation and therapy (levels 1 and 2, also deemed non-participation) to informing, consultation, and placating (levels 3 to 5, with a degree of tokenism) to partnership, delegated power, and citizen control (levels 6 to 8, with a degree

of citizen power), which respondents could select. Such a tool has been used in studies elsewhere, and enables comparison [67–69].

The survey results showed a gap between the experienced reality of participation and expectation, measured using the Arnstein Ladder [66]. The difference, termed the Arnstein Gap, in Pune is that people experience participation as “informing” and “consultation” by the local government (with a mean score of 3.6), while their expectation is towards “partnership” (mean score of 5.5) [48]. The mean was calculated by ascribing the value of the levels from 1 to 8. Overall, there is a desire for more engaged and collaborative forms of participation. These results match findings of studies in Geraldton, Australia, which showed a community preference for a partnership and an experienced reality between informing and consultation [69]. Similar findings were obtained in studies carried out in the United States around transportation planning [67].

3.7. Third-Party Facilitators

Given the distrust between the public and city government which appears to manifest in both directions, one aspect of the research was to explore the acceptability of an independent third party to be tasked with overseeing good governance [39]. The need for an independent third party was explored with the participants in their feedback following the three deliberative events, as well as in the interviews with key informants and knowledgeable individuals, including NGO leaders, bureaucrats, and academics. Such an independent third party included as an integral part of the public participation process could help provide research on deliberation topics, map stakeholders, hold preparatory meetings with different stakeholders, especially marginalized groups, help in the framing of deliberations, preparing materials for the public to review, as well as design the deliberation process and its evaluation method. Further, such a third-party facilitator could keep track of the implementation of recommendations and impacts, and report learning with suggested changes or adaptations for the future [39].

Participant feedback indicated a clear preference that public deliberations should be facilitated by independent third parties. In one event, over 83 percent felt it was very important or somewhat important, while only 6 percent felt that a third party was not important and 11 percent were undecided. In another event, about 80 percent of the participants felt this was important. Many gave additional feedback that it is very important to have an independent third-party coordinator to achieve a neutral solution. While the option of local government as a coordinator was not ruled out, the preference was for a third party.

The team of observers in the deliberation in 2017 felt that the facilitator role played by a third party was carried out well. Further, they suggested that the local government “may need to be counselled and trained to not become adversaries of this process or of citizens, in this process”, and that “initially the government may not be able to actively coordinate/facilitate”. Another input was that NGOs, informal coalitions of citizens, or residents’ organizations can play the role of coordinator in the initial phase. Eventually when the utility of these consultations is established, then they can be coordinated by the government. However, the role of facilitators should be given to independent persons.

Furthermore, the key informants similarly confirmed the need for an agency that can be a facilitator, mediator, or independent third party, to design and conduct inclusive, well-structured, fair participatory processes. Suggestions for the scope of work of such independent third parties included support for background research, preparation of information materials, design of participation processes, and facilitation. They also provided several suggestions for the qualities of agencies that may implement public deliberation. These included normative qualities, such as a sense of justice, honesty and openness, positionality, especially that such agencies should not be caught up in issues themselves and are trusted by people, as well as having functional capabilities related to organizing and facilitating deliberations. These pertain primarily to the abilities of organizations that may perform the role of independent third parties.

The qualities of individual facilitators are also crucial in effective deliberations. At the practice level, facilitators must have a dual expertise: on the one hand, they must introduce some informational equality among deliberants, and on the other, they must have processual expertise [70]. Crompton et al. [71] showed how deliberation can be rendered ineffective if crucial technical topics are not presented in easily understandable forms for participants, as well as the dominance of those with more knowledge or power. According to Mansbridge et al. [72], the facilitators' task can be seen as to get "as many relevant and useful ideas as possible out of the group". They also suggested that instrumentally, the facilitators' role involves maintaining the atmosphere of the deliberation so as to enhance (or not impede) the productivity of the deliberating group [72].

On the other hand, Spada and Vreeland [73] highlighted the effect of non-neutral moderators, and found that they can significantly influence participant attitudes and behaviors, including through endorsing or arguing for certain views. They flag the role of moderators as a potential vulnerability that may be exploited by interest groups.

The experience gained in the action research in Pune helped add to this list of qualities, especially the ability to enable each participant to have fair opportunities to express their views and balancing power, e.g., between street vendors and political leaders who may be running a protection racket or collecting rent illegally. Cultural and "street" awareness of perceptions and relationships between different segments of society, such as of caste and gender, seemed important for the facilitator to be able to address subtle power relations that may not be apparent. Table 2 presents a list of the qualities of third-party facilitators.

Table 2. Qualities of third-party facilitators.

Normative qualities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic human qualities of honesty, openness, enthusiasm for public involvement, and not as a mechanical process • Sense of sustainability, equity, and justice • Understands that sharing power is not a loss of power
Positionality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has the trust and confidence of people • Not caught up in issues themselves, not attached to particular fields or solutions
Functional capabilities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarity of purpose and process • Ability to collect relevant information, collate, analyze, present it in ways that people can understand and respond to • Facilitation skills, including maintaining group atmosphere and free-flow of discussion, ability and patience to listen, and draw out relevant and useful ideas out of the deliberators • Awareness of cultural, political or other impedances to free-flow of ideas and the ability to work around these to enable open, frank, and equal discussions • Ability to deal with and to resolve conflict • Ability to move the deliberation process forward, to consensus or common ground, and decisions or recommendations based on such common ground

As deliberative democracy unfolds in India and around the world, the role of promoters, third-party agencies, the team of facilitators, and individual facilitators will be a critical area needing further research. With progress in institutionalizing participation and public deliberative processes therein, governments may eventually need to set up independent commissions or entities, under whose aegis such deliberations may be held. In the interim, universities, NGOs or other independent research entities that enjoy public trust may well play the role of such third parties, at least at the outset [39].

3.8. Support from Civic Advocacy Groups

Civic advocacy groups have been willing to support the advocacy for instituting high-quality public deliberations in Pune [48]. They have also insisted on having a continued

role in developing and implementing public high-quality deliberations, and later, following up on the implementation of recommendations.

For example, after the public deliberation in 2015, once the municipal administration indicated an interest in the preparation of the WISE index, the NGO Centre for Environment Education formulated a collaborative initiative, consulting experts in the field and working in close coordination with the municipal accounts department, line departments and ward offices. Civic groups working on sectoral issues, such as sustainable mobility, also advocated for including public deliberations in planning processes they were working on, such as for a bicycle plan for Pune and a business plan for the public bus utility. A senior staff member of a partner NGO in a later interview, said:

“The fact [is] that a few deliberations therefore happened around the bicycle plan or were supposed to happen around the PMPML (Pune Mahanagar Parivahan Mahamandal Ltd, the public transport bus service) business plan was, because an organization felt that this is an important process and pushed for it. If every advocacy group did that, then you would see a lot more deliberations happening which is another way to promote the idea of deliberative decision-making.”

4. Discussion and Conclusions

This research confirmed the relevance of introducing deliberative democracy in Indian urban areas: disaffection with government-led participation, exclusions in and disaffection with electoral processes. A reform of the governance systems in Indian cities is needed to enable citizens to be embedded in decision-making about complex issues of urban sustainability. Collaborative, dialogue-based approaches have been posited as appropriate to address wicked problems, as presented in Menon and Hartz–Karp [39]. Mansuri and Rao [30] called for induced participatory projects to draw upon the spirit of organic participatory change, of learning, experimentation, and persistent engagement, and also to find ways of enabling civic activists to influence government to be more responsive to the needs of citizens. Social participation has also shown to be a powerful way to improve governance systems and enhance community input in other settings, such as revitalization of rural areas in Spain [74]. This study contended that in the Indian public decision-making context, deliberative democracy may function best as an induced participation process within the representative democratic governance framework of the country, with organic civic groups providing persistent engagement and institutional memory.

The experience and findings from this study are expected to be of relevance and applicability to other Indian cities. Many public and civil-society organizations in Indian cities are struggling with the “Fixes that Fail” archetype of decision-making. Initiating high-quality public deliberations in different urban contexts as informed by this study, together with building upon the processes already underway in Kerala and Delhi would help evolve both theory and practice. Of particular interest would be an examination of how stated political support for public deliberations actually measures up against the criteria of inclusivity, deliberative quality, and influence.

Ideally, induced processes anchored in government would provide unambiguous space, authority and resources for conducting deliberative processes. They would provide information about the issues chosen for deliberation, participate in oversight committees, appoint third-party facilitators, provide grievance redress mechanisms, document the process and make the records publicly available. However, institutionalization of deliberative democracy may take a while to materialize in the Indian urban context.

In the conjoined conceptualization of participation, organic civic groups would play a key role, providing strength and meaning to public deliberation. They would help surface issues for deliberation, assist in framing, communication about key areas of concern and presenting expert knowledge, and support marginalized and vulnerable segments of society to voice their views. They would participate in decisions on appointment of third-party facilitators, and participate in oversight committees.

Importantly, such organic civic groups would follow-up to ensure implementation of recommendations, or further deliberations as needed, and keep issues alive, providing continuity between bureaucrats and terms of office of elected representatives. In fact, as the action research in Pune showed, it is almost up to organic civic groups to improve their own methods of bringing about change. Civic groups would need to advocate for embedding public deliberation in public decision-making, and may well have to play all the roles necessary to support the conduct of participatory deliberations.

Within the “organic” sphere of public deliberation in India, a combination between civil society, independent third parties, government, and the broader community could provide the opportunity for an intervention in the “Fixes that Fail” cycle. In the future, organic or civil society-led public deliberation may help raise community expectations on what participation should be like, raising the demand for induced deliberative democracy.

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5.6 Newspaper articles

PUNE
TUESDAY
JANUARY 26, 2021

Hindustan Times | MY PUNE

05

{ CIVIC SANSKRITI }
Sanskriti Menon



Mini-publics within the Republic

The date we gave ourselves the Constitution, is an occasion to celebrate our democracy, acknowledge its challenges, and consider how we might evolve further as a Republic.

The word itself refers to the 'common good' rather than for 'private profit', when referring to the realm of public decision-making.

One promising development for improving democratic public decision-making is deliberative 'mini-publics' – temporary forums of ordinary people that help develop potential solutions on topics of concern. Deliberative mini-publics are taking place around the world for climate action, developing municipal budgets, constitutional reform processes, and even in India.

They could be convened in Pune and other cities too. People can get a chance to go beyond complaints, and become problem solvers contributing to policies and programmes for the 'common good'.

'Mini-publics' can operate between the 'public', that is the entire body of citizens, and the government, of elected corporators and officials taking final decisions.

Multiple mini-publics may be convened in different localities or at city scale, on local civic and sustainability issues. The task for mini-publics is to consider information about the issue, weigh options, identify and prioritise actions.

Elected and municipal officials, NGOs and other experts may provide technical knowledge, good practice examples, inform about on-going municipal initiatives and public budget availability.

Universities and trusted civic groups could help facilitate the deliberation process as a neutral third party.

Such innovations for participatory planning are also recommended in government of India's Urban and Regional Development Plan Formulation and Implementation (URDPFI) guidelines.

Such approaches get people from different walks of life involved, bringing their varied knowledge and experience. With good facilitation, we can develop a shared and rich understanding about issues. Developing solutions together can also increase trust between stakeholders and help



Mohan Hirabai Hiralal (foreground) in the Mendha-Lekha village, Gadchiroli district. This village has been practising deliberative democracy for years. HINDUSTAN TIMES



Provision for Area Sabhas of residents exists in municipal law and awaits implementation. groups. Mini-publics could help as these can include more than residents and also address city-scale issues

evolve partnerships for civic issues.

Villages are doing better than cities with *gramsabhas* already constituted for citizens' deliberations. Shri Mohan Hirabai Hiralal shared his experiences from Mendha-Lekha village, Gadchiroli district that is practicing such deliberative democracy for years. He said that people already have the right to decide on issues that concern their lives, resources etc; this is on the first page of our Constitution. He suggests the decision-making

forum should be different from the deliberation forum; the decision-making forum should occur after the issue is thoroughly explored and options for action developed.

A provision for Area Sabhas of residents exists in Maharashtra's municipal law and awaits implementation. Another difficulty in cities is of assembling large groups. The electoral ward, the smallest unit of governance, is several thousand people. Mini-publics could help in the meantime as these can include more than residents and also address city-scale issues. Unlike the Area Sabha conceived of as a permanent institution of residents in the area, a mini-public can be an inclusive small group of about 50 people, randomly selected by lottery, for a few weeks or months.

The deliberations of an operating mini-public could be communicated to the city at large through the media. A suitable 'Civic Tech' app, a term for software for e-governance and connecting people to government, could help in communication between the forum and the public.

Mini-public deliberations must apply three principles: 1. Inclusive – of different views and people from different walks of life; 2. Delibera-

tive – participants engage in respectful open dialogue on the range of views and information to develop recommendations and 3. Influence – formal governance processes must seriously consider and incorporate mini-public outputs in city plans and budgets.

Would mini-publics succeed? We can't be sure they will, but there are reasons for optimism: first, a focused, well-intentioned process of a deliberation on a civic issue, bringing together expert knowledge and the everyday wisdom of ordinary citizens is likely to yield some good outcomes.

Second, ordinary citizens are not worried about being re-elected, so the solutions they develop may be more guided by longer-term sustainability than short-term populist options. How about convening mini-publics around Pune's air quality, transport issues, river restoration, or climate resilience? They may help deepen and enrich our democracy.

Sanskriti Menon is senior programme director, Centre for Environment Education. She writes on urban sustainability and participatory governance. Views are personal. She can be reached at civic.sanskriti@gmail.com

Up next:
Chinmay Damle with his unique view on the food culture in Pune

{ CIVIC SANSKRITI }

Sanskriti Menon



Talk the talk, and ensure our city walks the walk

Late at night, last week, I listened to 'Conversations', a fusion jazz music piece by L Subramaniam and Stephane Grappelli. The violinists play in turn, their melodies responding to each other to make a harmonious whole. The music reaches a peak, and then seems to start another, quieter, more reflective strand of conversation.

Our public conversations are hardly like that. TV is driven by TRPs, social media is troll prone, isolating and limited by the digital divide. NGOs and social movements do organise public debates and discussions, but we can and must go further.

I mean democratic forums where ordinary citizens can come together on issues they care about, to have well-informed deliberations, the results of which influence public decision-making.

One may say that we elect representatives to discuss civic issues and make public decisions. But, around the world, we are seeing that representative democracy is just not enough!

The problem is not only that the typical elected representative is more focused on winning the next election. The problem is in thinking that a few people, just because they were elected on the basis of some promises made, actually know best on all issues.

What a responsibility to leave to elected representatives, and what a burden for them to carry!

Civic issues, such as air quality, green zones, traffic, waste, housing, are complex. They have more than one side, since people in different situations experience them differently. The collective situation is changing over time and has impacts that may go unnoticed and disregarded in public decisions.

A young woman travelling 20 km on a bike to a factory, a plumber cycling house-to-house for work, and a person on crutches crossing the road – each have different views on how to make their journey more comfortable.

Scientists point to the increasing number of private vehicles taking up more road space; more accidents, air pollution, and climate change.

Experts recommend walking, cycling and public transport. Such



A citizens' deliberation on street design in Aundh.

HT PHOTO



Walking, cycling and public transport. Such issues need talking through, so that we understand them better and figure out how to address them here in our own city and neighbourhoods.

issues need talking through, so that we understand them better and figure out how to address them here in our own city and neighbourhoods.

But, we don't have forums for people from different walks of life to deliberate on the most important issues of our lives and times.

In 2017, through the Centre for Environment Education, we conducted street surveys in Pune, on how people viewed current civic governance, their opportunities for participation, and their interest in and ability to participate.

About half the respondents were dissatisfied with government decisions. Most people were interested to participate in civic affairs, but felt that they did not have opportunities to do so.

Citizens' Assemblies are in fact happening in many parts of the world. Participants in these assemblies are selected through a lottery system. In Melbourne, recommendations from a mini-public on the entire municipal budget were actually implemented.

In Ireland, a citizens' mini-public recommendations were included in constitutional reforms. Over the last few months, climate assemblies have been convened in the UK and France on country commitments. I would like to see our local government arranging citizens' forums that include people from different walks of life in democratic dialogue and deliberation.

A citizens' jury that can examine different views, scientific evidence, and good practices in a structured way, will likely yield highly relevant recommendations that are better for people, our local environment and the planet.

Such a deliberative democracy forum does not replace, but enriches representative democracy. I think it is time to practice democracy in the true sense with well-structured inclusive public forums. Let's have civil, civic conversations!

Sanskriti Menon is senior programme director, Centre for Environment Education. She writes on urban sustainability and participatory governance. Views are personal. She can be reached at civic.sanskriti@gmail.com

Tomorrow:
Saili Palande-Datar on why Pune is hero of its own story

Permission to include newspaper articles in this thesis

From: yogesh.joshi@htlive.com <yogesh.joshi@htlive.com>
Date: Tue, 20 Jul 2021 at 11:02
Subject: Fw: Permission to reproduce two articles from Civic Sanskriti column
To: Sanskriti Menon <sanskriti.menon@ceeindia.org>

From: Sachin Kalbag (Editorial- Mumbai) <Sachin.kalbag@hindustantimes.com>
Sent: Tuesday, July 20, 2021 11:02 AM
To: Yogesh M Joshi (English Content Management- Mumbai) <yogesh.joshi@htlive.com>
Subject: Re: Permission to reproduce two articles from Civic Sanskriti column

Certainly

From: Yogesh M Joshi (English Content Management- Mumbai) <yogesh.joshi@htlive.com>
Sent: Tuesday, July 20, 2021 9:49:36 AM
To: Sachin Kalbag (Editorial- Mumbai) <Sachin.kalbag@hindustantimes.com>
Subject: Fwd: Permission to reproduce two articles from Civic Sanskriti column

From: Sanskriti Menon <sanskriti.menon@ceeindia.org>
Sent: Tuesday, July 20, 2021 9:40:14 AM
To: Yogesh M Joshi (English Content Management- Mumbai) <yogesh.joshi@htlive.com>
Subject: Re: Permission to reproduce two articles from Civic Sanskriti column

Request to reuse my published article in my thesis/dissertation

Dear Madam/ Sir,

I am the author of the following articles and wish to seek permission to include the published version in my PhD thesis, currently being undertaken at Curtin University.

1. Menon, S. (2020, December 22). Civic Sanskriti: Talk the talk and ensure our city walks the walk. *Hindustan Times*, Pune Edition, pg 06.
2. Menon, S. (2021, January 26). Civic Sanskriti: Mini-publics within the Republic. *Hindustan Times*, Pune Edition, pg 05.

Once completed, the thesis will be made available (subject to any applicable embargo periods) via Curtin University's Institutional Repository [espace](#). As per University policies, deposit of my thesis into espace is a requirement of my award.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this request.

I look forward to your response.

Best regards,

Sanskriti
Sanskriti Menon

6. Appendix

6.1 Questionnaires and interview schedules

6.1.1 Schedule for interviews of key informants, 2014-2015

1. Thinking of one or more participation initiatives you have been involved in either as an organiser or a participant: - run by government or by NGOs –
 - How did you feel being an organiser/participant?
 - How do you think others experienced this?
 - How successful was this initiative – according to whom?
 - How was success or lack of success judged or determined in that instance?
 - Can you think of ways that participation initiative could have been improved?
2. Can you think of other opportunities when more effective public participation could have been implemented in Pune?
 - Please describe some of these opportunities, and how other methods could have improved participation.
 - What do you think were the barriers to doing this?
 - Can you think of any ways these could have been overcome?
3. Given your knowledge and experience of Pune's public participation over the past decade:
 - Relative to other places you have heard about, how would you describe Pune's public participation efforts?
 - Does Pune have particular barriers/constraints and if so, what?
 - Does Pune have particular opportunities/advantages and if so, what?
 - Can you suggest ways Pune could make the most of its opportunities/advantages and reduce the barriers/constraints?
4. We know in Indian society that power relations play a significant role. How do you think this plays out in public participation initiatives in India, and Pune in particular?
5. Specifically, how do you think aspects such as literacy and differences in power and influence in society might be addressed when implementing public deliberation?
6. What in your view are the most important considerations or criteria for assessing public discussions or deliberations?
7. What qualities would you look for in the agency (individual or corporate entity) that implements public deliberation?
8. In Pune, can you think of existing entities that do or could take up the role of implementing public deliberation? Considering the qualities you just described, do you think any of the existing entities have shown such qualities? How would you suggest they develop any additional needed qualities?

6.1.2 Schedule for feedback from participants, 2014

Citizens Workshop for Participatory Budget Procedures

22 August 2014

The information below will **not** be used to identify you personally:

First name initial	Last name initial	Last two numbers in the year you were born (eg. 1970 = 7 and 0)	Last two digits in your phone number

Considering the citizens' workshop for participatory budget procedures in Pune:

1. Please share your views on the analytic rigour of the deliberative process

a. Learning

Please tick *ONE* box

	<i>Inadequate</i>	<i>Adequate</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
Do you believe you learned enough to make an informed decision	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b. Please rate the performance on each of the following criteria

Please tick *ONE* box

	<i>Inadequate</i>	<i>Adequate</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
i. Consideration of different values and concerns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii. Discussion and prioritization of values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iii. Considering a range of alternatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iv. Weighing pros and cons of measure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Your views on the 'democratic nature' of the process, and whether the group selected represents the interests of the whole community

a. Equality of opportunity to participate

Please tick *ONE* box

	<i>Inadequate</i>	<i>Adequate</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
i. do you think the group selected represents the interests of the whole community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii. did you have adequate opportunities to speak and share your views	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b. Understanding

<i>Please tick ONE box</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Often</i>
How often did you have trouble understanding or following the discussion?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. Consideration of different views

<i>Please tick ONE box</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Often</i>
i. When other participants expressed views different from your own, how often did you consider carefully what they had to say?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

<i>Please tick ONE box</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Not satisfied</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Highly satisfied</i>
ii. Did the Facilitators demonstrate a preference for one side or the other?/ How do you rate your satisfaction about the neutrality of the Facilitators?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

d. Mutual respect

<i>Please tick ONE box</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Almost always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Rarely</i>
How often did you feel that other participants treated you with respect?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. View on the output of the deliberative process

<i>Please tick ONE box</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Somewhat satisfied</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Highly satisfied</i>
Are you satisfied that the process produced a well-reasoned, well-informed output	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. View on the coordination of the deliberative process by an independent third party
(Very important, Somewhat important, Undecided, Not important)

<i>Please tick ONE box</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Very important</i>	<i>Somewhat important</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Not important</i>
How important is it that public participation events should be coordinated by an independent third party?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6.1.3 Schedule for feedback from facilitators, 2014

Citizens Workshop for Participatory Budget Procedures

22 August 2014

Thinking about the Citizens Workshop for Participatory Budgeting Procedures:

1. How was your experience overall?
2. What do you think worked well?
3. Have you attended any other public events which have worked well?
4. How important was it to have an independent third party coordinator? Do you think the PMC or government itself can play the role of the coordinator? Who, or which type of agency do you think could play such a role? What capabilities should they have?
5. Can you suggest ways we could improve the process?
6. Any other reflections or comments?

6.1.4 Schedule for feedback from participants, 2015

Citizens Workshop for Participatory Budget Procedures 24 May 2015

The information below will **not** be used to identify you personally:

First name initial	Last name initial	Last two numbers in the year you were born (eg. 1970 = 7 and 0)	Last two digits in your phone number

1. Do you believe you learned enough about PB to make an informed decision	Inadequate	Somewhat adequate	Good	Excellent

2. To what extent does the selected group represent the interests of community as a whole	Inadequate	Somewhat adequate	Good	Excellent

3. Did you have adequate opportunities to speak and share your views	Inadequate	Somewhat adequate	Good	Excellent

4. How often did you have trouble understanding or following the discussion	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Almost always

5. When other participants expressed views different from your own, how often did you consider carefully what they had to say	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Almost always

6. How often did you feel that other participants treated you with respect	Almost always	Most of the time	Sometimes	Almost never

7. Output of deliberative process - are you satisfied that the process produced a well-reasoned, well-informed output	Not satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Satisfied	Highly satisfied

8. View on coordination of deliberative process by an independent third party	Very important	Somewhat important	Undecided	Not important

6.1.5 Schedule for feedback from facilitators and support team, 2015

Citizens Workshop for Participatory Budget Procedures 24 May 2015

Support Team Feedback

Please indicate your role(s) at the Forum

1. What worked well on the day?
2. What could be improved
3. What was the most challenging part of your role today
4. Was there anything that you needed to know that we didn't tell you
5. What was your key learning from the day
6. Do you enjoy the experience, and if so, in what way?
7. Any other comments?

6.1.6 Schedule for feedback from participants, 2017

Workshop for Citizens' Manifesto for Streets and Transportation 14 October 2017

The information below will **not** be used to identify you personally:

First name initial	Last name initial	Last two numbers in the year you were born (eg. 1970 = 7 and 0)	Last two digits in your phone number

Thinking about the workshop for preparing a citizens' manifesto for streets and transportation:

1. Please share your view on how 'democratic nature' the process was, and whether the group selected represents the interests of the whole community

a. Equality of opportunity to participate

Please tick ONE box

	<i>Inadequate</i>	<i>Adequate</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
i. do you think the group selected represents the interests of the whole community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii. did you have adequate opportunities to speak and share your views	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b. Please rate the performance on each of the following criteria

Please tick ONE box

	<i>Inadequate</i>	<i>Adequate</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
i. Consideration of different values and concerns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii. Considering a range of alternatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iii. Weighing pros and cons of measure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. Understanding

Please tick ONE box

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Often</i>
How often did you have trouble understanding or following the discussion?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

d. Consideration of different views

Please tick ONE box

Never *Rarely* *Occasionally* *Often*

When other participants expressed views different from your own, how often did you consider carefully what they had to say?

e. Mutual respect

Please tick ONE box

Almost always *Often* *Occasionally* *Rarely*

How often did you feel that other participants treated you with respect?

2. Neutrality

Please tick ONE box

Not satisfied *Satisfied* *Highly satisfied*

Did the Facilitators demonstrate a preference for one side or the other? How do you rate your satisfaction about the neutrality of the Facilitators?

3. View on the output of the deliberative process

Please tick ONE box

Dissatisfied *Somewhat satisfied* *Satisfied* *Highly satisfied*

Are you satisfied that the process produced a well-reasoned, well-informed output

4. View on the coordination of the deliberative process by an independent third party
(Very important, Somewhat important, Undecided, Not important)

Please tick ONE box

Very important *Somewhat important* *Undecided* *Not important*

How important is it that public participation events should be coordinated by an independent third party?

6.1.7 Schedule for feedback from facilitators, 2017

Workshop for Citizens' Manifesto for Streets and Transportation 14 October 2017

Name:

From your experience today:

1. What did you enjoy?
2. What did you do well?
3. What did you find challenging?
4. What did you learn?
5. Can you suggest ways we could improve the process?
6. Can you suggest ways we could have better enabled you carry out your role?
7. Any other reflections or comments?

6.1.8 Schedule for feedback from observers, 2017

Workshop for Citizens' Manifesto for Streets and Transportation

14 October 2017

Overall feedback

1. How was your experience overall?
2. What do you think worked well?
3. What are your suggestions for ways we could improve the process
4. Any reflections on your own role as observer and critical friend?
5. Your suggestions for the way forward (ABB, or more generally in the sector of public deliberations)
6. Any other reflections or comments

About representation and participant engagement

1. Did the selected group represent interests of community as a whole?
2. Your observation about whether each participant had adequate opportunities to speak and share their views?
3. Were different values and concerns considered during the deliberations
4. Your observations about whether participants (not students) have trouble understanding or following the discussion
5. Do you think participants were able to listen to consider views different from their own
6. Your observations about whether all participants being treated with respect by other participants and the facilitators
7. Your observations and suggestions about the design of the day's proceedings

About the output of the deliberative process

Do you think that the process produced a well-reasoned, well-informed output

About the quality of facilitation

1. Neutrality - did the facilitators demonstrate a preference for one side or the other?
how do you rate your satisfaction about the neutrality of facilitators
2. What facilitation skills were good/ adequate?
3. What facilitation skills needs more attention?

About the 'independent 3rd party agency' as convener of the deliberation

1. Would you say that CEE acted as an 'independent third party coordinator'?
2. How well did CEE play this role?
3. Do you think the PMC or govt can play the role of coordinator?
4. Who or which type of agency do you think can play such a role?
5. What capabilities should they have?

6.1.9 Schedule for Pune Civic Perceptions Survey, 2017

The information below will **not** be used to identify you personally:

Gender: Male Female Age _____ Area _____

First name initial	Last name initial	Last two numbers in the year you were born (eg. 1970 = 7 and 0)	Last two digits in your phone number

1. Which of the following features of Pune do you like the most:

1. Education		5. Adequate cleanliness		9. Safety in public places	
2. Health facility		6. Regular water supply		10. Good social atmosphere	
3. Women's safety		7. Transport facilities		11. Religious atmosphere	
4. Not crowded		8. Cheaper than Mumbai		12. Other (mention)	

2. Which of the following features of Pune do you dislike the most:

1. Garbage everywhere		5. Cost of living	
2. Inadequate water supply		6. Local people hostile to people from other cities	
3. Inadequate transport facilities		7. Religious corruption	
4. Social unrest		8. Lack of public safety	
		9. Other (mention)	

3. Is your name included in the electoral roll of PMC election of 2017?

Yes No

4. Did you cast your vote in 2017 PMC election?

Yes No

5. How do you get information about various developmental works & projects undertaken by PMC?

1. Newspaper		4. Facebook		7. Seeing works construction	
2. Banners		5. WhatsApp		8. Flyers distributed by PMC	
3. TV		6. Corporators/ political party workers		9. PMC website	
10. Other					

6. How do you get information about various developmental works and projects undertaken by PMC

1. Newspaper		4. Facebook		7. Seeing works construction	
2. Banners		5. WhatsApp		8. Flyers distributed by PMC	
3. TV		6. Corporators/ political party workers		9. PMC website	
10. Other					

7. The PMC has been taking suggestions from citizens for its annual municipal budget. Are you aware about this initiative of PMC?

Yes

No

7a What do you know about the citizens' participatory budget? Have you participated in the participatory budget? Which works suggested by you have been done?

8. How long have you been living in Pune?

a. Since birth

b. Less than 5 years

c. 6 to 10 years

d. 11 to 20 years

e. Over 21 years

9. Are you aware about the Smart City Mission undertaken by the PMC?

Yes

No

10. Which are the most important projects of Pune Smart City, in your view?

Most important Smart City projects being implemented across the city (Pan city)	Most important Smart City projects being implemented in Aundh Baner Balewadi (Local Area)

11. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the decision-making by Pune Municipal Corporation for the development of the city

On EACH LINE, please tick ONE box

	Strongly Agree (100%)	Agree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree (100%)
a. Decisions are made in a transparent manner so that citizens find it easy to understand what decisions are being made and why	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Decisions for the city's development benefit all sections of society, and especially the poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The PMC makes efficient use of public money on different projects and programs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The PMC usually has good reasons for its decisions, even when those decisions are not popular.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The decision-making process at PMC is in great need of reform	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the extent of citizens' participation in decision-making by Pune Municipal Corporation

On EACH LINE, please tick ONE box

	Strongly Agree (100%)	Agree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree (100%)
a. The PMC involves the public in decision-making	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what local government does.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. People like me don't have any say about what the local government does.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Local government doesn't care much about what a person like me thinks.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The vote of a person like me in local government elections doesn't make a difference in influencing local decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. People from all around the world have been asked the following questions and we are interested in looking at where Pune-kars fit in with international research in this area.

Please indicate with ONE tick on the following scale your answer to the following question:

CURRENTLY,
How dos PMC treat citizens as regards their role in public decisions?
ONE tick on this side

IDEALLY,
How would you like the PMC to treat citizens in public decisions?
ONE tick on this side

8 **Resident Control**
Residents make final decisions over most important areas

Residents make final decisions over most important areas 8

7 **Delegated Power**
Residents make final decisions in some important areas

Residents make final decisions in some important areas 7

6 **Partnership**
Agreed sharing of decision making between the PMC and residents

Agreed sharing of decision making between the PMC and residents 6

5 **Placation**
Residents are given some role in decision making but hamstrung in the ability to contribute.

Residents are given some role in decision making but hamstrung in the ability to contribute. 5

4 **Consultation**
Residents are asked their opinion on solutions proposed by others.

Residents are asked their opinion on solutions proposed by others. 4

3 **Informing**
Residents are told about the decisions taken with no ability to influence the decisions.

Residents are told about the decisions taken with no ability to influence the decisions. 3

2 **Consoling**
Residents are influenced to accept they have unreasonable expectations of participation.

Residents are influenced to accept they have unreasonable expectations of participation. 2

1 **Manipulation**
Residents are influenced to change their views on decisions.

Residents are influenced to change their views on decisions. 1

14. Thinking about the citizens of Pune community in general, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

On EACH LINE, please tick ONE box

	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither Disagree or Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
a. People do their part to make their local community a better place to live	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Few people in voting in local government elections an important civic duty	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. When asked to do their part, most people in Pune will make personal sacrifices if it benefits the community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Thinking about your role in your local community to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

On EACH LINE, please tick ONE box

	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither Disagree or Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
a. People like me play an important role in the life of my community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I often fail to do my part to make my local community a good place to live.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. I take my responsibilities as a citizen seriously.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Thinking about yourself to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

On EACH LINE, please tick ONE box

	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither Disagree or Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
a. I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics and community affairs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I have a pretty good understanding of the important issues facing Pune	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. I think I am better informed about politics and government than most people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Do you intend to vote in the next municipal/ local government election?

Certainly	May be	Probably not	Name not in electoral list
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. What are your expectations from the newly elected body of the Pune Municipal Corporation?

1. 3.
2. 4.

19. How much time is needed to understand whether an elected corporator is effective and is taking up civic work for the benefit of citizens?

1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years
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20. Which of the following options may help in improving the role and relevance of citizens in public decision making:

1. Regular and fairly conducted discussions at the prabhag or Mohalla level where ordinary citizens can determine the priority of civic projects to be undertaken and municipal budget spending/ allocations.
2. Regular and fair discussions between elected corporators and citizens at the prabhag or Mohalla level
3. Publication of a Report Card on the performance of Elected Representatives

21. Do you have any comments to make about the topics in this survey?

Surveyor remarks, if any		
Place	Date	Name & Sign of surveyor