

Goethe University Frankfurt am Main

Citizen participation in research and practice: comparing scientific evidence and local guidelines

RESEARCH REPORT

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Public trust in political institutions remains low, even as citizens' political interest and engagement in non-institutionalised forms of participation increase. Against this backdrop, many German municipalities have introduced voluntary guidelines (GLs) since 2014 to structure and institutionalise citizen participation (CP). These GLs aim to make participation more transparent, systematic, and effective within local decision-making processes. This research examines the extent to which municipal GLs for CP align with scientific evidence and recommendations. Drawing on an iterative literature review, we developed a coding scheme and applied a qualitative content analysis (QCA) to nineteen GLs from municipalities of various sizes across Germany. The results show a strong correspondence between the GLs and the scientific literature, particularly regarding the establishment of procedural and institutional foundations for CP. The guidelines consistently emphasise administrative structures such as defined responsibilities, transparent procedures, Offices for Participation, Advisory Boards, and adequate resources to support systematic implementation. However, they remain comparatively unspecific concerning the concrete design and deliberative quality of participation. While many of the benefits and favourable conditions emphasised in the literature — especially inclusiveness, transparency, responsiveness, and legitimacy — are well represented, challenges, power asymmetries, and deliberative aspects receive little attention. Overall, the guidelines provide a coherent framework for embedding citizen participation within local governance structures, contributing to trust and legitimacy in municipal decision-making. Yet, their real impact depends on how these structural commitments are translated into practice.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CP	Citizen participation
GL	Guideline
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QCA	Quantitative Content Analysis
SVR	Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration

MUNICIPALITIES

For citing the GLs, we use the following abbreviations for the cities and indicate the page numbers ([abbreviation]: [page number]), e.g. (Bam 2023: 4).

Bam 2022	Stadt Bamberg (2022)
Ber 2024	Senatsverwaltung Berlin (2024)
Col 2024	Stadt Köln (2024)
Ehn 2016	Gemeinde Ehningen (2016)
Erf 2017	Stadt Erfurt (2017)
Fra 2025	Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2025)
Gie 2015	Stadt Gießen (2015)
Gro 2019	Gemeinde Großpösna (2019)
Ing 2017	Stadt Ingolstadt (2017)
Itz 2024	Stadt Itzehoe (2024)
Jev 2024	Stadt Jever (2024)
Kra 2025	Gemeinde Kranenburg (2025)
Lic 2022	Stadt Lich (2022)
Rot 2020	Stadt Rottweil (2020)
Saa 2014	Landeshauptstadt Saarbrücken (2014)
Tre 2018	Stadt Treuenbrietzen (2018)
Tüb 2019	Stadt Tübingen (2019)
War 2024	Stadt Warendorf (2024)
Was 2024	Stadt Wassenberg (2024)

PERSONAL CONTACTS

We have been in contact with public officials responsible for CP of some of the cities via mail or phone. The following table shows the abbreviations used for citing them.

PC Fra	Citizen participation Unit Frankfurt, personal communication, 11.03.2026
PC Jev	City of Jever, personal communication, 09.03.2026
PC Was	City of Wassenberg, personal communication, 11.03.2026
PC Itz	Coordination for participation Itzehoe, personal communication, 13.03.2026
PC Lic	Coordination for public participation Lich, personal communication, 23.03.2026
PC Col	Office for public participation Cologne, personal communication, 18.03.2026
PC Gie	Office for the Mayor, Information and Services Giessen, personal communication, 18.03.2026
PC Ber	Senate Department for Urban Development, Construction and Housing Berlin, personal communication, 10.03.2026

1 INTRODUCTION (STEINWANDEL)

Public trust in politics, particularly in political institutions, remains low, yet political interest among citizens is on the rise, especially in forms of non-institutionalised political participation. While political interest, participation, and self-efficacy vary by income, education, and migration background, citizen participation (CP) can function as both a means to involve citizens more deeply and to rebuild trust in political decision-making. There is a vast scientific literature on forms, benefits, potential challenges and success/appropriateness conditions of citizen participation. At the same time, numerous German cities and municipalities have developed guidelines (GLs) for CP. These GLs, though mostly voluntary, define goals and instruments intended to make participation more systematic, transparent, and effective. This study investigates the following question: **To what extent do GLs for citizen participation of German municipalities align with scientific evidence and recommendations?** On the one hand, investigating this question can reveal which scientific recommendations on citizen participation are known and adopted by practitioners and which are not, thus identifying where to improve the communication of scientific findings to practitioners. On the other hand, this research can also reveal benefits, potential challenges and success conditions of citizen participation which practitioners experience but are not yet addressed in the scientific literature. In sum, it could improve communication between scientists and practitioners, thus enhancing the effectiveness and usefulness of scientific research as well as the quality of local citizen participation. We apply a literature review (Chapter 2) to develop a coding scheme for qualitative content analysis (QCA) of 19 municipal GLs. After explaining our methodological approach in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 presents our findings, while Chapter 5 discusses them in relation to existing research and compares the practices across different cities.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review will first provide empirical background information on political trust, interest and self-efficacy in Germany (Chapter 2.1), as well as theoretical background information on CP in democracy (Chapter 2.2). This is followed by a chapter on defining and conceptualising CP (Chapter 2.3). Subsequent chapters focus on the benefits of CP (Chapter 2.4), the challenges it presents (Chapter 2.5), and the conditions that facilitate it (Chapter 2.6), as well as situations in which it is particularly useful (Chapter 2.7). These chapters also provide the basis for our coding scheme and, consequently, our analysis of the GLs.

2.1 POLITICAL TRUST, INTEREST AND SELF-EFFICACY IN GERMANY (STEINWANDEL)

Studies show that trust in politics among German citizens is low. Following the 2024 European elections, half of Germans expressed little or no trust in democracy and its processes.¹ Only a third of the German population said they trust political parties in 2024. Although trust has increased slightly compared to the two previous years, distrust remains the dominant attitude.² Overall, trust in political institutions is far lower than in e.g. police (64%) and courts (58%). Among political institutions, German citizens have greater trust in civil service/administration (50%) than in political parties (26%) and national parliament (35%).³ The picture of political system responsiveness — that is,

whether people feel that politicians are attentive to their concerns — is ambivalent. While agreement with statements that politicians maintain close contact with citizens and care about public opinion did not decline substantially between 2021 and 2023, overall levels of agreement remain low.⁴ In Germany, less than a third of respondents believe that the political system enables individuals with similar backgrounds to influence government policy,⁵ showing little confidence in political self-efficacy.

Studies also show that political interest increases, especially among youth and young adults. Political interest among German citizens has exhibited a marked resurgence since the early 2000s, exceeding 1990 levels by 2014 and demonstrating sustained incremental growth through 2024.⁶ Particularly among individuals aged 12–25, interest in politics has reached a peak since the 2000s.⁷ Among young adults aged 22–25, the proportion reporting general political interest rose by 12% in 2024; for those aged 18–21, it even increased by 22%; and for adolescents aged 15–17, it more than doubled, underscoring heightened engagement demanding enhanced opportunities for (youth) participation.⁸ The degree of political involvement regarding traditional, organisational forms of participation, above all membership of trade unions and political parties, has declined significantly between 1990 and 2018/19.⁹ However, forms of non-institutionalised political participation (e.g. contacting politicians, collecting signatures and demonstrations) have been steadily increasing in Germany since the late 1950s.¹⁰

However, statistics show inequalities in political interest as well as involvement in relation to income, age and education level as well as migration background, gender, place of residence and working hours. CP can provide a means for more inclusiveness but can also reinforce exclusionary politics on the other hand (see Chapters 2.4.1 and 2.6.1). Significant for citizens' interest in politics is their education level, age, gender, and migration background. Disparities in participation between people with and without higher education occur systematically across all forms of participation.¹¹ Structural equation modelling reveals lower satisfaction with the functioning of democracy among women and individuals with migration backgrounds, while predicting higher satisfaction for those with advanced education.¹² Similarly, there is a positive effect of income and a negative effect of migration background on political participation among youth, suggesting socio-economic disadvantage as a key barrier manifesting over the life course.¹³ Moreover, people who perceive a high degree of inequality are also less confident that they can influence change through their political actions.¹⁴ Another study by Hübler shows that women are less involved in participation in citizens' initiatives than men. It also finds that people who express strong allegiance to their preferred political party and live in rural areas are more politically active than those who feel little connection to any party and live in large cities. Moreover, the number of working hours is negatively correlated with willingness to get involved in citizens' initiatives. Thus, people who work less (or want to work less) than others show a greater willingness to get involved in citizens' initiatives.¹⁵

CP can provide both an answer to the demand for more (especially informal) political involvement of citizens as well as an attempt to promote trust in political decisions as well as political institutions. Considering the inequalities previously outlined, it is imperative to ensure that CP is as inclusive as possible, empowering citizens to exercise their agency, reducing inequalities and fostering a sense of trust in the political system.

2.2 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AS PART OF DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY (STEINWANDEL)

Because different conceptualisations of democracy understand (citizen) participation differently, we want to briefly explain the understanding we refer to. In a (purely) representative understanding of democracy, the democratic process consists of the aggregation of preferences in a political competition, since decisions are determined by the preferences with greatest numerical support. Citizens are treated “as atomized, privately responding to itemized opinion poll questions.”¹⁶ This minimal understanding of democracy is advanced and complemented by normative or participatory theories of democracy. Schäfer and Zürn view democracy as “a process of public opinion-forming and decision-making in which all those affected have the same opportunity to participate freely and equally. At the same time, democracy must produce decisions that can be justified on normative grounds.”¹⁷ Similarly, Young advocates for a deliberative democracy in which decisions are informed by the “proposals the collective agrees are supported by the best reasons.”¹⁸ Schäfer and Zürn further emphasise the responsiveness of the political regime towards its citizens and their equality.¹⁹ For Young, ideals for the relationships and dispositions of deliberating parties include the *inclusion* of all those affected by a decision; inclusion on equal terms (*political equality*), *reasonableness* which refers to a set of dispositions that discussion participants have, and *publicity* of deliberative processes.²⁰ It is important to note that in a deliberative system, not all forms of interaction and decision-making need to be deliberative. Rather “[w]hat matters is that these are deliberatively justified and contribute to the deliberative and democratic qualities of the system as such.”²¹ The forms of CP we analyse in this report precisely constitute ways of participation beyond formal elections. This is why we position these forms of CP as part of deliberative democracy, even though concrete formats may vary from public forums to deliberative working groups. The ideals of deliberative democracy are taken up more concretely in Chapter 2.4 on benefits of CP.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (STEINWANDEL)

Definitions of CP vary considerably, highlighting different aspects. Across these definitions, **CP is generally understood as a voluntary activity by non-professional citizens through which they seek to shape collective decisions, public policies, or the broader political order.**²² It is closely tied to democracy and treated both as a normative ideal (e.g. for empowerment, inclusiveness, justice) and as a set of empirically observable practices ranging from information exchange to direct co-decision-making. Most authors converge on several baseline features of (political) participation: it is an *activity* rather than a mere attitude; it is undertaken *voluntarily* and without coercion; it is carried out by people in their role as citizens or non-professionals; and it is oriented towards politics, government, the state, or collectively binding decisions.²³ Participation is typically conceived as a means for citizens to *influence* decision-making, whether by affecting who governs, what policies are adopted, or how public tasks are performed.²⁴

As with the different definitions of CP, there are also various conceptualisations and typologies. The typologies vary according to the selection and inclusion of participants, the forms of communication, the degree of citizen power/influence, and the level of institutionalization. For our research we use the **Democracy Cube** by Fung (see Figure 1)²⁵, which builds upon Arnstein's ladder of CP²⁶ and shows parallels to Nanz and Fritzsche regarding

authority and power²⁷, as well as Rowe and Frewer regarding communication²⁸. According to Fung, „[m]echanisms of participation vary along three important dimensions: who participates, how participants communicate with one another and make decisions together, and how discussions are linked with policy or public action.”²⁹ The **first dimension** looks at who the **participants** are and the mechanisms through which they are selected. Here Fung distinguishes five common selection mechanisms: [1] *self-selection* from the general population, which is often unrepresentative; [2] *selective recruitment* of participants from underrepresented subgroups; [3] *random selection* from the general population, which usually guarantees descriptive representativeness; [4] *engagement of lay stakeholders* who are citizens deeply interested in public concerns and willing to invest substantial time and energy; and [5] *professional stakeholders*, who are often paid representatives of organized interests and public officials. The **second dimension** focuses on **communication and decision-making modes** in participatory processes and includes the following: [1] *Spectatorship*, which involves merely observing and receiving information without expressing participants' views; [2] *Expression* of participants' opinions or questions; [3] *Exploration* and development of preferences through discussion and learning; [4] *Aggregation and bargaining* among participants with fixed interests and preferences to reach a collective decision; [5] *Deliberation and negotiation* among participants to seek a decision based on mutual understanding; and [6] *Technical expertise* by professionals or officials on which decisions are based.

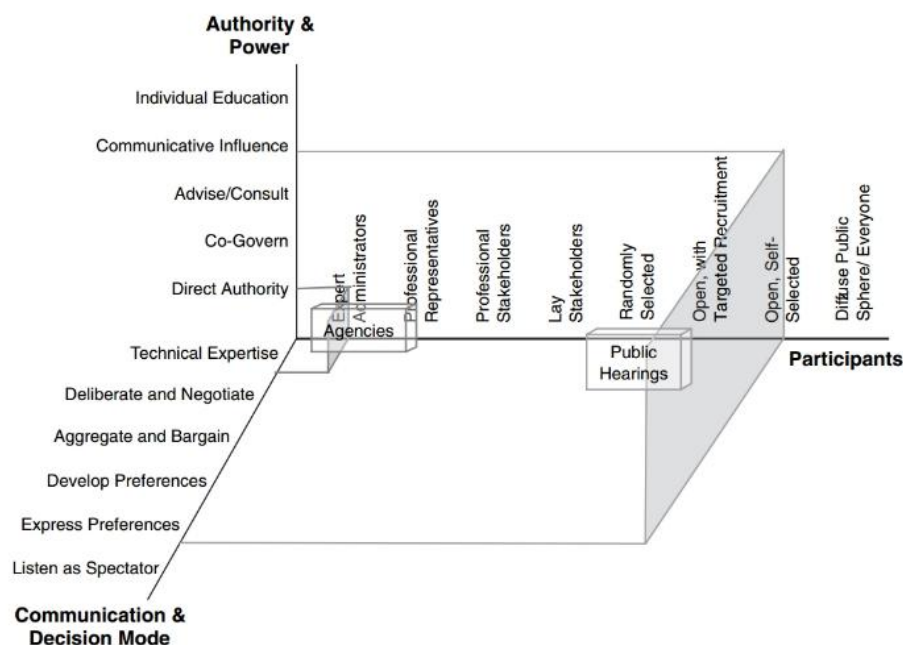


Figure 1: Democracy Cube (Fung 2006: 71)

The **third dimension, authority and power**, asks for the connection between participants' conclusions and opinions and public policy and action. It focuses on the impact of participation and differentiates between the following: [1] *Personal benefits* with little or no expectation of influencing political decision making; [2] *Communicative influence*, which indirectly affects political officials by influencing public discourse and opinion; [3] *Advice and consultation* considered by political officials, though decision-making power remains with them; [4] *Co-governance* between citizens and officials to develop strategies/concepts for public action. The highest level of empowerment is [5] *direct authority* over public decisions by participatory bodies. While [1] has no influence on officials or political decision-

making, [2] and [3] have the potential to influence officials, though the power to make decisions still lies with them. In [4] and [5], citizens are empowered and gain real decision-making power.³⁰ Fung's conceptualization of CP helps to differentiate between different modes and levels of participation and influence. It is important to note that this typology does not entail a normative judgment of the different modes themselves, since, depending on the context, different modes can be justified. This typology mainly helps us to distinguish regarding the selection of participants and the level of citizens' potential influence, while communication is a secondary dimension for our analysis.

2.4 BENEFITS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (STEINWANDEL)

This chapter summarises the potential benefits of CP, which is closely related to the purpose and aims of GLs and CP. We first discuss benefits for participating citizens and then for political decision-making and politics in general, even though the difference between these two areas is not completely sharp. While all the following benefits can potentially result from CP, different forms of CP are more likely to lead to specific benefits. Moreover, achieving these benefits also partly depends on certain beneficial conditions (see Chapter 2.6). Therefore, the following should be viewed as a range of possible benefits, rather than as guaranteed outcomes of CP. The following benefits are partly theoretically, partly empirically based.

2.4.1 (Participating) citizens

Participatory processes have the potential to enhance citizens' political interest and engagement by involving them more actively in policymaking.³¹ This effect is particularly important for politically marginalised groups. A quantitative analysis of 2025 by the German Youth Institute shows that participation can foster broader motivation for social and political involvement, strengthen interest in democratic practices, and stimulate issue-specific engagement with public decision-making.³²

CP can foster inclusion and representation of all potentially affected individuals and can thereby also increase inclusion of marginalised persons. This is especially feasible in local or regional decision-making processes that focus on specific issues. While territorially based electoral democracy is often criticised for failing to include all affected individuals, CP is argued to function as a corrective measure.³³ However, this presupposes that constituencies are defined by issues rather than territory (and citizenship), and that measures are in place to identify, address, and represent/include all those affected. (This is also linked to the modes of participant-selection by Fung.) **CP can enhance understanding of differing reasonings and positions of others** through the exposure to different opinions and arguments.³⁴ This refers both to differing views of other citizens as well as of public officials.

Moreover, through their experiences in participatory processes, **participants may experience self-development through the strengthening of personal as well as social qualities.**³⁵ Some scholars argue that characteristics that can be fostered through CP include individuals' intellectual and moral capacities as well as democratic skills and attitudes such as cooperation, deliberation, and responsibility.³⁶ Moreover, participating in CP can foster a stronger sense of community and identification.³⁷

CP can help to **increase citizens' autonomy** by enabling them to influence their own lives and environment. Through participation, citizens can transform themselves from passive subjects into active authors of their lives. They can shape their environment by exercising genuine influence over political and social decisions. However, this depends heavily on the level of influence and power granted to citizens. Participation can help to clarify and stabilise citizens' preferences, feed them more coherently and specifically into decision processes, and ensure that public policies better reflect their needs.³⁸ Thus, many scholars argue, CP can make policymaking more responsive by integrating citizens' preferences into decision-making processes.³⁹ Moreover, participatory processes make decision-making processes more transparent and publicly visible. Representatives and agencies are compelled to justify their actions and align policies more closely with citizens' expressed preferences⁴⁰, which strengthens accountability and responsiveness. Especially because of the pluralism and diversity of interests and opinions that traditional, party-centred institutions cannot fully represent, CP can help ensure that policy outcomes reflect the full complexity and heterogeneity of contemporary societies rather than a simplified or uniform majority view.⁴¹

CP can help improve participants' psychological well-being. Following from increased autonomy and feelings of political efficacy, CP can foster self-confidence, self-reliance, and hope by showing participants that collective action can bring meaningful change.⁴² The benefits for participating citizens may also have a positive indirect effect on politics. However, there are also more direct benefits for political decision-making and politics in general. The same applies to the following benefits, which primarily concern political decision-making and politics in general, while also indirectly benefiting participating citizens.

2.4.2 Political decision-making and politics in general

CP can enhance the effectiveness of governance by mobilising citizens' knowledge, capacities and commitments to address complex public problems more intelligently and adaptively. Scholars argue that including citizens with specific expertise, opinions, capabilities and resources provides a broader knowledge base and a source of innovative ideas, making governance more informed.⁴³ Moreover, participatory governance can foster collective and social learning: deliberation tends to produce more considered judgements and solutions better oriented towards the common good.⁴⁴ Lastly, CP can help generate situated knowledge, shorten feedback loops between decision, implementation and revision, and allow multiple strategies to be tried in parallel so that more successful approaches can be identified and diffused.⁴⁵ Through increased legitimacy of political decisions (see below), citizens are also more likely to accept and actively implement policies, strengthening compliance, reducing blockages, and helping to break political deadlock in previously intractable situations.⁴⁶

CP can lead to more just outcomes by making political decision-making more inclusive, equal, accountable, and reason-based rather than power-based. When all those affected can articulate and justify their claims on an equal footing, preferences are forced to be revised considering others' legitimate interests. Under such deliberative conditions, decisions rely on reasons rather than power, so that the needs and perspectives of disadvantaged groups are more likely to be included and arbitrary domination constrained.⁴⁷ The degree of the justice of outcomes, however, highly depends on the actual inclusiveness and representativeness of CP.

CP can increase the legitimacy and public acceptance of political decisions as well as of the political regime in general. CP can strengthen the justification and acceptability of political rule beyond what elections alone can achieve.⁴⁸ First, by actively including those affected in agenda-setting and policy formulation, participation strengthens *input legitimacy*, as more actors and interests are accurately represented than through elections and party channels alone.⁴⁹ Second, participatory procedures can improve *throughput legitimacy* by making decision processes more transparent, fair and open to scrutiny.⁵⁰ Third, when participation improves problem-solving and policy quality, it contributes to *output legitimacy*, as citizens experience decisions as more effective and better aligned to their needs and preferences.⁵¹ Participation also tends to increase acceptance and active support for decisions.⁵² People may be more willing to agree with, cooperate in and help implement political/policy decisions related to CP processes because they were informed about, involved in or felt represented in the decision-making process.⁵³ Participation serves to prevent resistance by involving potential obstructors as co-makers of decisions, thereby securing their cooperation, neutralising opposition, and identifying risks of public backlash early.⁵⁴ Finally, deliberative participation can strengthen the normative legitimacy of decisions, even among those who disagree with the outcome, because these are considered to be fairer.⁵⁵ Overall, „legitimacy produces stability within the system and the regime that makes the rules”.⁵⁶

Whether the benefits described in this chapter result from CP is not guaranteed, since this depends on contextual and situational factors as well as on the forms and modes of participation.⁵⁷ Some of the presuppositions for making these benefits more likely, however, will be elaborated upon in Chapter 2.6.

2.4.3 Codes overview

Benefits of citizen participation

For (participating) citizens

- Increased interest & participation in politics
- Inclusion / representation of all potentially affected people
- Self-development: fostering desirable personal & social qualities
- Enhanced understanding of reasoning & position of others
- Increased autonomy: citizens can influence their lives & environment
- Improved psychological wellbeing

For political decision-making / politics

- More effective governance
- More just outcomes
- Increased legitimacy & acceptance of decisions & regime

Other

2.5 CHALLENGES FOR/WITH CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (GROß)

The challenges for CP mentioned in the literature can be grouped into three categories: They can refer to (1) the participants and stakeholders, (2) the participation process or to (3) the participation outcome. In the following, we

review each of these categories in turn. To be sure, just as different forms of participation differ in the extent to which they achieve the benefits mentioned in the previous chapter, they also differ in the extent to which the challenges discussed below apply to them.⁵⁸

2.5.1 Participants and stakeholders

Participants and stakeholders can pose a challenge in two ways. First, **the amount or composition of participants can be inadequate**. Some forms of CP (e.g., Deliberative Polling) can directly involve just a small proportion of those affected by the issue.⁵⁹ Moreover, often only few people participate in CP.⁶⁰ Beyond that, participation often reflects and reproduces inequalities, as certain groups of people tend to participate more than others.⁶¹ Researchers have identified a variety of factors enhancing or inhibiting participation. Inter alia, rhetorically talented, older, able-bodied, mentally healthy, civilly engaged, well organised people with high social, economic and cultural capital as well as political efficacy beliefs from mainstream and elite milieus with no migration background strongly affected by the decisions participate disproportionately often.⁶² Furthermore, elites often possess discretion in defining agendas and thus stakeholders.⁶³ In case of both low and unequal participation, the views of those who participate have more weight, which further increases inequality.⁶⁴ Unequal participation makes the participation process prone to manipulation by those actors who participate more often.⁶⁵ Low and/or unequal participation as well as the resulting manipulation decrease the legitimacy of the participation process and its outcomes.⁶⁶

Second, **participants' and stakeholders' knowledge, attitudes, relations or behaviour** can cause problems. Many citizens lack the knowledge to understand and make decisions on complex topics. This can lead to an inequality between citizen participants and experts as well as to less informed as well as more protracted and contentious decisions.⁶⁷ Incompatibility, inconsistency and imprecision of citizens' preferences can make it difficult for decision makers to respond to them.⁶⁸ Furthermore, citizens' attention may be focused on certain topics, e.g. highly visible or short-term problems. Thus, CP may prompt decision makers to focus on highly politicised and short-term issues while neglecting other important topics.⁶⁹ Since citizens, politicians and administrators are used to different organisational cultures, communication and agreement between them can be difficult.⁷⁰ Besides, citizens can have unrealistic expectations of participation processes, leading to disappointment, frustration and distrust.⁷¹ More generally, conflicts and low trust between stakeholders and/or in institutions can make participation difficult.⁷² However, "strong trust and interdependence among subsets of stakeholders may actually discourage collaborative strategies among a wider set of actors."⁷³ Moreover, participants or stakeholders might behave obstructively in various ways. Participants, especially powerful and/or persuasive ones, may pursue personal or organisational instead of common interests and dominate decision making.⁷⁴ Stakeholders may also refuse to take part in the participation process and use alternative venues to achieve their goals, especially if the latter seem more promising to them.⁷⁵ Decision makers "may understand the different positions in society and their involvement in the decision rather as an obstacle to their work than as an opportunity to improve their decisions."⁷⁶ Finally, politicians can co-opt citizen participants or civil society organisations.⁷⁷

2.5.2 Process

Six of the challenges mentioned in the literature refer to the CP process. **There is often little or no reliability regarding in which cases (which form of) CP is used.** This can be due to insecure funding or a lack of clear rules.⁷⁸ In consequence, the use of CP often depends on leadership and alliances, which is an unstable foundation.⁷⁹ Moreover, **CP is often expensive and time-consuming.**⁸⁰ The process may, further, include **too few or no opportunities for face-to-face interaction and/or deliberation**, e.g., because the area is geographically large.⁸¹ This makes misunderstandings and fragmentation more likely, may yield an aggregation of individual preferences instead of agreement on a common good and induces citizens to shift all responsibility onto the state.⁸² **Information transfer between stakeholders can be inadequate**, e.g. due to the chosen medium of information transfer.⁸³ Lack of decision power, a constrained agenda or limited resources may result in **the process being only marginally effective or even trivial..** This can cause disappointment, also with CP in general, and prevents CP from increasing legitimacy, efficacy and justice.⁸⁴ Finally, **certain norms and assumptions implicit in the process may exclude or marginalise certain people.** This refers to assuming shared interests and agreement among participants as a precondition or goal of CP as well as to norms of articulateness, dispassionateness and order.⁸⁵

2.5.3 Outcome

The literature also mentions two challenges related to the outcome of CP. First, **the decisions or recommendations made in the participation process may not or only partially be implemented.** This can be due to institutional constraints, lack of political will, and/or resistance in the wider population beyond the participants.⁸⁶ The latter can also be the result of the inability of participants to convince non-participants of the decisions made.⁸⁷ Non- or partial implementation can lead to frustration and resentment.⁸⁸ Second, while many scholars argue that **CP** leads to more effective governance (see Chapter 2.4.2), some argue that **it can also lead to undesirable outcomes.** Cupps argues that decision makers may implement citizens' demands without thoroughly assessing their consequences or cling to popular but ineffective or detrimental policies to gain public sympathies.⁸⁹

2.5.4 Codes overview

Challenges for/with citizen participation

Participants & stakeholders

- Inadequate amount / composition of participants

- Participants' / stakeholders' knowledge, attitudes, relations & behaviour

Process

- Lack of reliability

- High time & financial expenditure

- Lack of face-to-face interaction / deliberation

- Inadequate information transfer

- Marginal effectivity / triviality: lack of decision power, constrained agenda, limited resources

- Exclusionary / marginalizing norms & assumptions

Outcome

No / partial implementation of decisions

Undesirable outcomes

Other

2.6 BENEFICIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE REALISATION OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (GROß)

Beneficial conditions refer to factors which make participation more likely to achieve the benefits described in Chapter 2.4. Like the challenges, beneficial conditions can refer to the participants and stakeholders, the process or the outcome of participation. Beyond that, the societal context can also be beneficial. In the following, we review each of these categories in turn.

2.6.1 Participants and stakeholders

Participants' and stakeholders' attitudes, attributes or relations can be beneficial to CP. Beneficial **attitudes** include a general endorsement of and support for CP among citizens, politicians and administrators⁹⁰ as well as participants being reasonable, i.e., willing "to listen to others who want to explain to them why their ideas are incorrect or inappropriate"⁹¹, open to changing their opinion and aiming to reach agreement.⁹² Stakeholders should also share an understanding of the problem, the goal of the participation process and the means to achieve this goal or develop such a shared understanding during the process.⁹³ Moreover, they should commit themselves to the process, see themselves as its 'owners' and abide to its results even if they do not match their preferences.⁹⁴ Two further beneficial conditions pertain to the **attributes** of participants and stakeholders. First, CP works best in small and homogenous communities because this usually speeds decision making and makes both face-to-face meetings and the persuasion of non-participants easier.⁹⁵ Second, the composition of participants should be adequate. Many scholars emphasise that participants should be representative of the affected population.⁹⁶ However, Rohr et al. argue that the criteria for inclusion depend on the purpose of participation and that representativeness is not always necessary.⁹⁷ Additionally, citizens need certain resources and knowledge to participate, e.g., knowledge about the political system. Politics can support citizens in developing these.⁹⁸ Beneficial **relations** among participants and stakeholders comprise a prehistory of cooperation⁹⁹ and an equal distribution of power distributed between stakeholders.¹⁰⁰ High interdependence between stakeholders can also be beneficial,¹⁰¹ but "may also enhance incentives to act manipulatively and co-optively."¹⁰² Additionally, participation is more likely to succeed when there is a high sense of community among citizens¹⁰³ and when participants have influence in their communities, enabling them to persuade non-participants.¹⁰⁴

Citizens, politicians and administrators should be allowed to initiate participation processes.¹⁰⁵ Beyond that, **participation should be inclusive:** It should be open to everyone interested or affected as far as possible¹⁰⁶ and involve as many people as possible.¹⁰⁷ Different forms of participation should be offered to appeal to the preferences of different citizen groups.¹⁰⁸ Groups typically underrepresented should be specifically recruited,¹⁰⁹ and public relations work should be extensive.¹¹⁰ The language used throughout the process should be comprehensible to

everyone.¹¹¹ All participants should have an equal opportunity to contribute to the decision-making process.¹¹² Participants should also be **recruited actively**¹¹³ and **personally**¹¹⁴. Moreover, citizens should be **involved** as **early** as possible and **continuously** across project phases.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, participants should be **provided with all informational, human, material, and time resources necessary to fulfil their task**.¹¹⁶ Finally, the process should include opportunities for **trust building** between participants, especially if they have a highly antagonistic prehistory.¹¹⁷

2.6.2 Process

Politics should **develop GLs for CP** to clarify responsibilities, processes and results as well as build security and trust between stakeholders.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, **the topic** dealt with **should be comprehensible and relevant** to citizens.¹¹⁹ Beyond that, there should be **a clear, joint and case-specific design of the participation process** at the outset. The scope, goals, procedures, rules, roles, and output (use) should be defined clearly and collaboratively by citizens, administrators, and politicians.¹²⁰ The process design should also be adapted to the specific problem, goals, and affected communities, as well as in the face of important new information.¹²¹ Besides, **adequate financial and personal resources** should be provided. This includes sufficient funding¹²² and skilled staff, especially credible and skilled facilitators.¹²³ In addition, the process “should be conducted in an **independent**, unbiased way.”¹²⁴ Participants, managers, and facilitators should be unaffiliated to the sponsoring body. Another beneficial condition is **transparency**, i.e., that procedures and decisions are traceable by the public.¹²⁵ This might involve releasing information on aspects of the procedures, varying from the manner of the selection of the public participants to the way in which a decision is reached to the minutes of meetings.¹²⁶ Moreover, stakeholders are more likely to participate if the participation process is the **exclusive or authoritative forum for decision making**.¹²⁷ This means that “alternative forums (courts, legislators, and executives) [...] respect [...] the outcomes”¹²⁸ of the process. Furthermore, the process should include **regular meetings**¹²⁹ and **face-to-face dialogue**¹³⁰. Additionally, Rowe and Frewer advocate for an **open response mode**. This means that the chosen format should allow participants to respond freely (like e.g., in a focus group) rather than making them choose among predefined options (like in a survey), for the former elicits more relevant information.¹³¹ Beyond that, **mechanisms to structure and display the decision-making process** should be used.¹³² Besides, **deadlines** can be beneficial but may also “arbitrarily limit the scope of discussion”¹³³. Thus, deadlines, if used, must be realistic.¹³⁴ Finally, participation processes should be **evaluated** to improve future ones as well as the participation GLs.¹³⁵

2.6.3 Outcome

Tangible “intermediate outcomes that produce **small wins**”¹³⁶, such as joint fact finding, can increase trust building and commitment, making participation more likely to succeed. **Feedback** from the general public **on (intermediate) results** of the participation process should be sought by those responsible for the participation process.¹³⁷ **A crucial point is the responsiveness or effectiveness**: The possible advantages of collaboration should be relatively concrete,¹³⁸ the process should be open-ended and the results should be concrete, understandable for non-participants as well as quickly implementable.¹³⁹ Decision makers should listen to participants, seriously consider their

proposals, and respond to them.¹⁴⁰ They should explain “how the decision was made and the role of participation within that”¹⁴¹ and visibly incorporate the results of participation into policy formulation.¹⁴² If they do not (fully) implement the results, they should justify that.¹⁴³ Dean argues that citizens should also be able to contest the policy decisions made in reaction to the participation process.¹⁴⁴

2.6.4 Societal context

High levels of “labour protection and social support decrease participatory inequality via more evenly distributed resources and engagement between high- and low educated citizens.”¹⁴⁵ Roth further argues that strengthening participation in central areas of life, such as schools and workplaces, is necessary to create a socially inclusive and democratic culture of participation.¹⁴⁶ Lastly, strengthening voluntary and community organisations can foster more (equal) participation since individuals who are part of such organisations are more likely to participate politically.¹⁴⁷

2.6.5 Codes overview

Beneficial conditions for the realisation of citizen participation

Participants & stakeholders

- Participants' / stakeholders' attitudes, attributes & relations
- Enable initiation of participation from various stakeholders
- Inclusiveness
- Active & personal recruitment
- Early & continuous involvement
- Provision of necessary resources
- Trust building

Process

- Developing guidelines for participation
- Comprehensible & relevant topic
- Clear, joint & case-specific design of participation process
- Different types of participation
- Adequate financial & personal resources
- Independence
- Transparency
- Exclusive / authoritative forum for decision making
- Regular meetings & face-to-face dialogue
- Comprehensible language
- Open response mode
- Structured decision making
- Deadlines
- Evaluation

Outcome

- “Small wins” during the process
- Feedback from the general public on (intermediate) results
- Responsiveness / effectiveness
- Other

2.7 HIGH-BENEFIT SITUATIONS (GROß)

The previous chapter described situations which are beneficial for participation. Beyond that, there at least three kinds of situations in which participation can be very beneficial, meaning that its potential positive effects are so large that they significantly outweigh its costs. First, participation can be very beneficial if an **issue is gridlocked**.¹⁴⁸ Second, participation can be beneficial if there is **high hostility toward government entities**.¹⁴⁹ Third, participation is likely to be very beneficial in “**wicked situations** [...] when problem formulation is ambiguous, judgment criteria are difficult to establish, and solutions are valued-based and do not lend themselves just to technical reasoning and analysis”.¹⁵⁰

2.7.1 Codes overview

High-benefit situations

- Gridlock
- High hostility toward government entities
- Wicked situations

3 METHODOICAL APPROACH

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN (STEINWANDEL)

To examine the extent to which CP GLs by German municipalities align with scientific evidence and academic recommendations, we employ a qualitative content analysis (QCA) based on a stratified random sample of such GLs. The research process proceeds in three main stages: (1) an review of the relevant literature accompanied by the development of a preliminary coding scheme; (2) the analysis of the sampled GLs using the coding scheme, while simultaneously complementing this by inductive refinement; and (3) a comparative assessment of the GLs both in relation to existing literature and among one another. The QCA follows Mayring’s approach¹⁵¹ and aims to provide the basis for answering the research question and its sub-questions. This approach is well suited to our research because the coding scheme is primarily developed deductively from the reviewed literature. During the coding process, the coding scheme is then extended inductively, though these inductively created codes are marked to highlight the similarities and differences between the literature and the GLs. The main codes of the coding scheme are *Definition of CP*, *Types of CP*, *Benefits of CP*, *Challenges for CP*, *Beneficial conditions for CP* and *High-benefit situations*, corresponding to the chapters of the literature review. The detailed coding scheme including sub-codes can be found in Appendix 2. The analysis of the GLs is carried out using MAXQDA. The data is analysed by comparing the findings with the literature, as well as comparing the GLs with each other.

3.2 SAMPLE (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

For this study, we employed data from the *Netzwerk Demokratie*¹⁵², which catalogues 134 municipalities with established or developing GLs for CP. Since it is not within the scope of our research to be able to analyse all municipalities' GLs and because not all municipalities have finalised or officially implemented these GLs — some only published preparatory documents announcing participatory process intentions — our analysis does not encompass the complete dataset. Instead, we conducted a purposive sampling procedure based on two principal criteria: (1) municipal population size, and (2) regional administrative classification (county). Following the typology of the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development, municipalities were classified into six size categories: large cities (>480,000 inhabitants), small cities (>100,000), large medium-sized cities (>50,000), small medium-sized cities (>20,000), larger towns (>10,000), and small towns (<10,000).¹⁵³ From each category, three municipalities were randomly selected. Two municipalities were too small to be considered towns. Therefore, we expanded the categories to include rural settlements, which are categorised in Germany according to the number of houses and inhabitants: single settlement, small group settlement, large group settlement (village), and small town.¹⁵⁴ To further account for regional heterogeneity in political culture, resource allocation, societal demands and CP practices, we ensured inclusion of municipalities from diverse counties. While findings drawn from this sampling strategy offer insights into the diversity of municipal CP frameworks, representativeness is expressly not claimed, given the non-exhaustive and qualitative design of the investigation. The concrete selection of GLs for our analysis can be found in Appendix 1.

4 FINDINGS

4.1 GENERAL FINDINGS (STEINWANDEL)

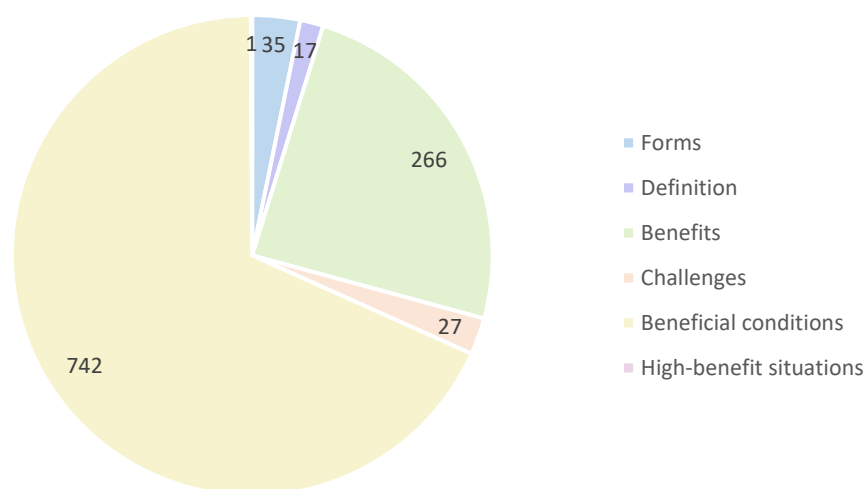


Figure 2: Occurrence of the main codes in all GLs combined (Compiled from own data, March 2026)

Number of the occurrence of each main code including all sub-codes across all GLs combined
This figure functions more as an impression than an actual finding

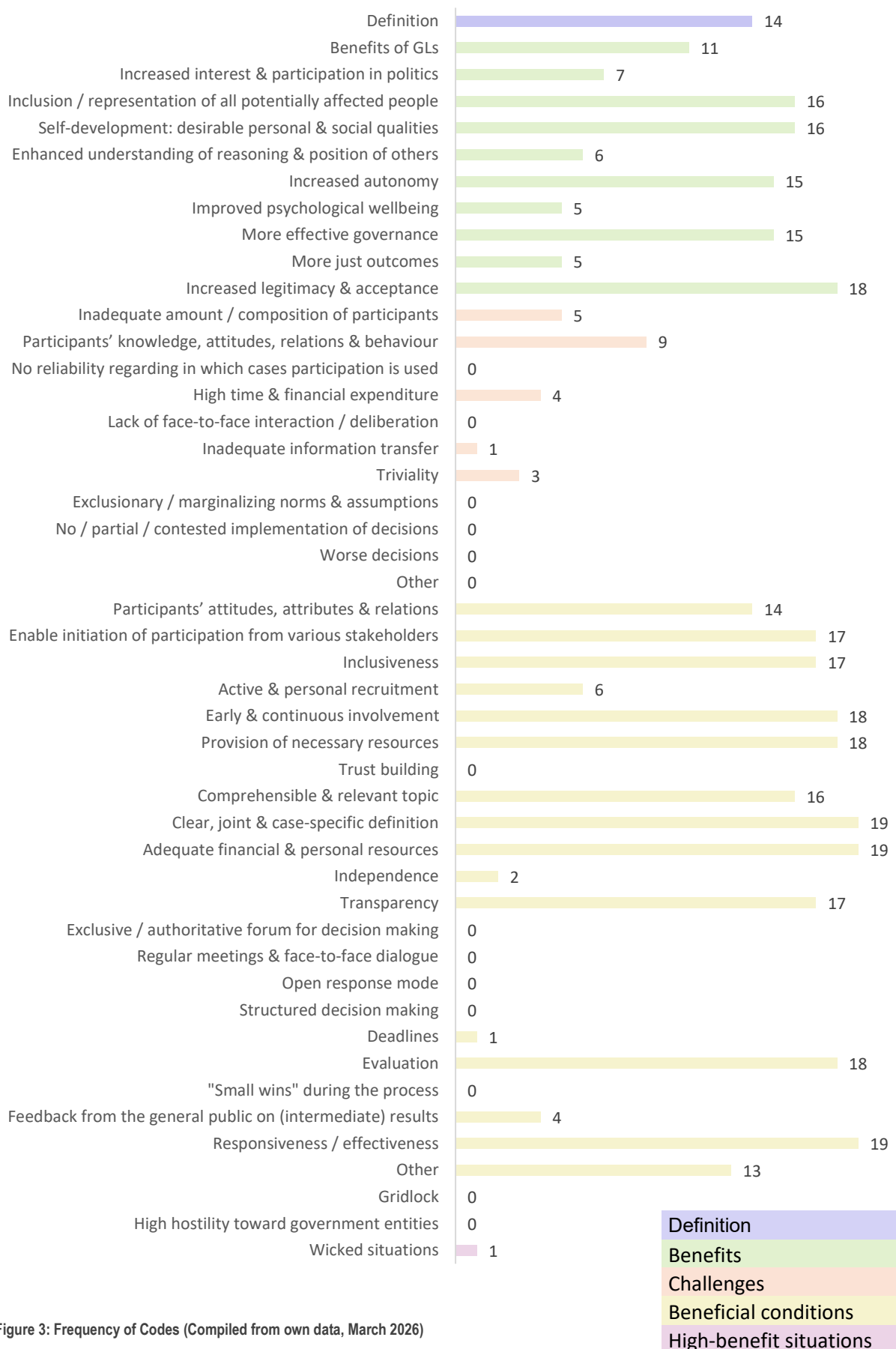


Figure 3: Frequency of Codes (Compiled from own data, March 2026)

Number of GLs in which a code appears, out of a total of 19 GLs
(A more detailed overview can be found in Appendix 3)

The GLs analysed differ regarding their year of adoption and implementation, their length, as well as their thematic focus. The years of publication and implementation vary and are spread across all years between 2014 (Ingolstadt) and 2025 (Kranenburg and Frankfurt), while most are from 2024. While some of the GLs are already updated versions, some are still first versions. The GLs' lengths vary between three pages (Saarbrücken) and 55 pages (Tübingen). Though it is noteworthy that some municipalities have brochures that are more elaborate, referring to specific projects. The median length is 13 pages, while the average length is 19 pages.

Overall, the GLs are very similar in their content and approach to institutionalise CP. The main institutional instruments are the implementation of a 'project list' ('Vorhabenliste'), a 'participation concept' ('Vorhabensteckbrief'/'Beteiligungskonzept'/'Projektsteckbrief'/'Vorhabenblatt'), a 'Office for Participation' ('Koordinierungsstelle'/'Stabstelle'/'Anlaufstelle'/'Büro für Bürger:innenbeteiligung'), as well as an 'Advisory Board' ('Beteiligungsbeirat'/'Steuerungsgruppe'/'Beratungsgremium'/'Arbeitskreis'). However, the level of detail varies considerably between the GLs. The **project list** can be found in 11 of the GLs.¹⁵⁵ It offers an overview of all the key initiatives and projects that many residents are likely to be interested in. In some municipalities, the administration creates this list independently; in others, citizens can also propose CPs relating to specific issues or projects. The project list serves both as a tool to help CP projects and as a means of providing the public with transparency and information. While Jever devotes five pages to describing the structure, content and implementation of the project list,¹⁵⁶ many others only briefly describe its purpose in a few sentences.¹⁵⁷ However, sixteen municipalities (additionally) develop tailored **participation concepts** to provide more detailed information on each project.¹⁵⁸ Concise project profiles contain essential information, relevant administrative contacts, timelines and opportunities for participation. Some GLs only make a side note of such concepts with little or no description,¹⁵⁹ while many others provide more detailed information on the requirements.¹⁶⁰ The **Office for Participation** acts as a coordination and contact point for CP projects and is mentioned by fourteen GLs.¹⁶¹ It facilitates communication and cooperation between residents, politicians and the administration, provides advice and information, assists in developing participation concepts and updates project lists. While it has no decision-making power, it handles organisational and administrative tasks. The level of description of the concrete responsibilities varies between the different GLs. Lastly, the **Advisory Board** as a consultative body that supports the council and administration in matters relating to CP is part of ten GLs.¹⁶² It advises on suitable participation topics, recommends participation process approaches and formats, and reviews informal participation proposals from residents. Composed of representatives from the council, citizens, local businesses and the administration, the Advisory Board meets as needed and operates without decision-making authority. The constellation and the responsibilities of the Advisory Board are described more in detail by almost all GLs with such a board.

Besides these institutional and administrative similarities, the GLs are also similar in that they do not specify concrete projects, methods or formats for CP. This is because the decision on which issues CP is used for determines the appropriate format. Another similarity is that some sentences can be found in (nearly) identical form in several GLs. Most of the passages with (almost) identical wording are found in the GLs from Gießen, Saarbrücken and Tübingen.¹⁶³ There are eleven more GLs containing almost identical passages.¹⁶⁴ The respective passages focus

primarily on shared responsibility¹⁶⁵, fair rules¹⁶⁶, transparency¹⁶⁷, an open-ended approach to outcomes¹⁶⁸, and taking the results of participatory processes into account¹⁶⁹.

4.2 FOUNDATION FOR THE GLS (STEINWANDEL)

The foundations of the analysed GLs include the GLs and experiences of other cities, official recommendations and collaborations with external service providers, according to information in the GLs and information gathered from contact with responsible officials. We do not have any information from Ehningen, Saarbrücken, and Erfurt. We were in contact with Jever, Wassenberg, Itzehoe, Gießen, Frankfurt, Cologne, and Berlin. We know from five municipalities that they used **official recommendations** for input and orientation. Ingolstadt is the sole city to explicitly cite the document on participatory culture issued by the 'German Association of Cities' ('Deutscher Städtetag') of 2013,¹⁷⁰ though the nine biggest of the cities analysed are members of the German Association of Cities. However, given that the paper on participatory culture is not binding, it is unclear which cities have based their GLs on it. Wassenberg and Lich drew on the framework developed by the 'Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie' of the Bertelsmann Foundation¹⁷¹; Itzehoe drew on publications from various foundations¹⁷²; and Itzehoe, Cologne and Frankfurt drew on publications from the 'Netzwerk Demokratie und Beteiligung'¹⁷³. **Other cities** were used for orientation and recommendations by at least seven municipalities¹⁷⁴, whereby Heidelberg was named as a pioneer by five municipalities¹⁷⁵. Moreover, Berlin and Itzehoe specifically state that they have considered cities that are very similar.¹⁷⁶ The Office for public participation Cologne also told us about networking events for local authorities organised by the 'Netzwerk Demokratie und Beteiligung'.¹⁷⁷ Apart from continuous engagement with scientific resources and organisations, as mentioned earlier, five GLs also briefly allude to **scientific materials** on specific aspects.¹⁷⁸ These sources again include the 'Allianz Vielfältige Demokratie' and the 'Netzwerk Demokratie und Beteiligung'.¹⁷⁹ **External service providers** were used by at least six of the cities analysed and include the companies ZebraLog¹⁸⁰, Ifok¹⁸¹ and the Dialogik gGmbH¹⁸². Moreover, three municipalities collaborated with **scientists**: the German Research Institute for Public Administration (FÖV)¹⁸³, the Chair of Business Administration and Service Management at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt¹⁸⁴, and the German Institute for Urban Studies (PCI Col). Furthermore, a target group in Berlin was consulted by representatives of professional associations, chambers, research institutions, and interest groups.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, most of the cities involved **citizens** in the development process of the GLs in working groups/committees¹⁸⁶, workshops¹⁸⁷, and other participatory formats¹⁸⁸.

4.3 DEFINITION OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (STEINWANDEL)

In general, CP is understood in the GLs as the active involvement of citizens in **influencing local political and planning decisions**, rather than merely being informed about them.¹⁸⁹ The GLs refer to informal and voluntary CP, either explicitly or implicitly, in contrast to formal CP. Informal CP is defined as any participation that is not regulated or prescribed by law.¹⁹⁰ Some GLs highlight that informal CP complements and extends, rather than replaces, representative democracy and participation.¹⁹¹ Moreover, CP is often understood as a 'dialogue' between citizens/the public, the administration and the city council/politics.¹⁹² While many GLs use the term '(informal) citizen participation' ('(informelle) Bürgerbeteiligung/Öffentlichkeitsbeteiligung')¹⁹³, some introduce their own terms such

as 'extended citizen participation ('Erweiterte Bürgerbeteiligung')¹⁹⁴ and 'cooperative citizen participation' ('Kooperative Bürgerbeteiligung')¹⁹⁵.

4.4 BENEFITS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (STEINWANDEL)

Overall, it can be noted that the potential or suggested benefits of the GLs and CP are primarily stated as aims or expected results in the analysed GLs. The most prevalent benefits in the GLs are as follows: [1] *Increased legitimacy and acceptance* (coded 56 times), with a particular focus on increased transparency, building trust, and fostering positive relationships between citizens and political actors/decision-makers; [2] *More effective governance* (coded 38 times); [3] *Increased autonomy* (coded 36 times); and [4] *Inclusion/representation of all potentially affected people* (coded 35 times). However, the latter is usually simply stated as 'everyone is included' (i.e. as part of beneficial conditions), rather than being explicitly referred to as a benefit or aim. The most rarely mentioned benefits are [1] *Improved psychological well-being* (coded four times); [2] *More just outcomes* (coded seven times), although this also depends on the interpretation of this code; and [3] *Enhanced understanding of reasoning and position of others* (coded eight times). Especially Ingolstadt, but also Erfurt, Cologne, Warendorf and Treuenbrietzen name only few benefits. In contrast, Frankfurt and Rottweil show the greatest emphasis on benefits.

While the deductive codes based on the literature focus on the benefits of CP, the GLs frequently mention **benefits of the GLs for the realisation of CP**. This is why we added this benefit inductively. It is stated that the GLs are intended to provide clear structures, framework conditions and common rules for CP¹⁹⁶, ensuring good quality¹⁹⁷ and a systematic CP procedure¹⁹⁸, anchoring CP in the long term¹⁹⁹ and increase clarity and transparency of CP²⁰⁰. Overall, the GLs are supposed to motivate more people for participation²⁰¹ and strengthen democracy²⁰².

4.4.1 (Participating) citizens

In the GLs, **increased interest and participation in politics** means: increased interest to be informed about decisions/decision-making processes²⁰³; greater (motivation for) active participation in local/regional decision-making processes and the development of the city²⁰⁴; fostering a vibrant democracy and democratic interest in general²⁰⁵; a vibrant culture of community involvement²⁰⁶ and civic engagement²⁰⁷; as well as in particular motivating youth for democratic processes²⁰⁸.

Inclusion and representation of all potentially affected people is usually simply stated as an objective rather than explicitly as a benefit. The GLs state that all citizens have the option to participate in CP/participation processes²⁰⁹, to initiate participatory processes – usually via the project list²¹⁰, and to participate in the planning of projects²¹¹ and urban planning²¹² as well as in political decision-making in general²¹³. More on the initiation of participation can be found in Chapter 4.6.1. Several GLs state that not only residents²¹⁴, but also people working in the municipalities²¹⁵, property owners, and local associations or businesses²¹⁶, other outsiders with a justified local interest²¹⁷, and people who are otherwise involved in community life²¹⁸ are allowed and asked to participate in CP. Moreover, some GLs specifically name the importance of including those (most) directly affected by an issue and whose lives are influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the decision under discussion.²¹⁹ The GLs also mention

including people regardless of their residence status²²⁰, nationality²²¹, social status²²², age²²³, gender, education, or religion²²⁴, as well as addressing marginalised persons in particular²²⁵. However, the GLs only explicitly describe what inclusiveness means and how to achieve it in the larger cities of Saarbrücken, Frankfurt, and Berlin.²²⁶ More on inclusion can be found in Chapter 4.6.1.

The most significant emphasis on **self-development** in the GLs is on the sense of community and identification and trust building. Many GLs underscore the importance of cultivating a sense of togetherness, belonging, connection, and identification within local communities and environments.²²⁷ In relation to this, a focus on the citizens' commonalities²²⁸ and their responsibilities to the community²²⁹ is imperative, as is the establishment of relationships founded on partnership and mutual respect, and the engagement in continuous dialogue to fortify the community²³⁰. Furthermore, CP is expected to promote the development of democratic skills, including the cultivation of a deeper understanding of democracy²³¹, the formation of political opinion and decision-making²³², and the enhancement of the democratic agency of all involved parties²³³. CP is further connected to facilitate the development of open and respectful dialogue, as well as relationships founded on partnership and mutual respect.²³⁴ It is said to foster self-determination, agency²³⁵, and trust between and among citizens, politicians, and public administrators²³⁶.

On the aspect of **enhanced understanding of reasoning and position of others**, some GLs mention that CP can help decision-makers and participants understand diverse perspectives, appreciate differing interests, and foster mutual respect.²³⁷ This process can promote balanced decisions, reduce conflict, strengthen constructive dialogue and increase acceptance of decisions.²³⁸

Regarding **increased autonomy** through CP, many GLs emphasise that citizens get the opportunity for being involved in decision-making processes, urban planning, and the resulting outcomes.²³⁹ Several GLs mention the incorporation of citizens' views and ideas into planning and decision-making processes.²⁴⁰ However, the potential to influence these processes and outcomes is only explicitly noted in a few GLs.²⁴¹ Furthermore, several GLs emphasise the capacity of citizens to shape their immediate environment and local community,²⁴² and fostering a sense of self-determination and shared responsibility.²⁴³ In Rottweil's GL participatory processes are viewed to enhance the effectiveness of voluntary civic engagement and to promote collaborative efforts aimed at developing well-founded, widely supported solutions.²⁴⁴ Bamberg's GL highlights the contributions that citizens make to CP, such as time, ideas, views and knowledge.²⁴⁵ Saarbrücken highlights the increase of the democratic agency of all participants with the scope and depth of their participation, demonstrating how individual civic engagement can directly impact the conditions of the community.²⁴⁶

Improved psychological wellbeing is mentioned rarely in the GLs. Only Rottweil and Cologne aim to make participation and engagement in political and social life a source of joy for the people of involved.²⁴⁷ Even if the outcome does not match individual preferences, the experience of being actively involved, having the ability to influence decision-making processes, and the presence of fairness and mutual respect in participatory processes can help achieve widespread support.²⁴⁸

4.4.2 Political decision-making and politics in general

In terms of **more effective governance**, many GLs emphasise the benefit of engaging citizens with local knowledge and experience.²⁴⁹ This knowledge and skill can be utilised²⁵⁰ to achieve better solutions²⁵¹ and provide outcomes that can be effectively incorporated into planning and decision-making, thereby supporting policymakers and public authorities.²⁵² Furthermore, CP is said to provide a platform for introducing, developing and discussing new ideas, alternatives and innovations.²⁵³ Overall, decisions can be based on a more balanced source of information,²⁵⁴ leading to higher-quality decisions and outcomes.²⁵⁵ Moreover, the mutual exchange of ideas and arguments can contribute constructively to the formation of political will and to decision-making processes.²⁵⁶ Frankfurt and Berlin even argue that it can speed up decision-making processes,²⁵⁷ as interests can be expressed and discussed at an early stage.²⁵⁸ This is further enhanced by the argument that conflict can be moderated and reduced by CP,²⁵⁹ as well as by the idea that project implementation can be facilitated²⁶⁰.

More just outcomes are not mentioned explicitly in the analysed GLs but are more prevalent implicitly. Decisions based on a variety of perspectives can lead to better solutions based on more balanced source of information.²⁶¹ This serves as a counterbalance to the legitimate interests of individuals, committing to the common good.²⁶² Moreover, the objective of more just outcomes closely relates to the inclusiveness of participatory processes and the level of influence that citizens are granted (see Chapters 4.4.1 and 4.6.1).

Increased legitimacy and acceptance are mainly addressed when speaking about trust building and improving relations as well as increasing transparency of decisions and decision-making processes and thereby increasing legitimacy. CP can improve relationships between citizens, politicians and administrators²⁶³ and can increase trust among participants,²⁶⁴ between citizens, local authorities and the local council more generally.²⁶⁵ It can further improve citizens' trust in politicians and administrators²⁶⁶ through qualitative participation,²⁶⁷ mutual respect and conflict resolution²⁶⁸. Wassenberg highlights that CP also aims to develop trust among citizens, politicians and local government officials that the agreed procedural steps will be followed.²⁶⁹ CP aims to strengthen transparency²⁷⁰ by making the planning and decision-making processes more open, traceable and understandable to the public.²⁷¹ It enables residents to access information about projects and plans from an early stage and throughout their implementation,²⁷² thereby fostering a better understanding of decisions.²⁷³ CP can enhance transparency and, consequently, the legitimacy of decisions.²⁷⁴ CP is generally seen as fostering public understanding, acceptance and acknowledgment of decisions.²⁷⁵ This is supported by the opportunity to participate,²⁷⁶ actual citizen involvement,²⁷⁷ continuous public communication,²⁷⁸ and outcomes supported by the broader public.²⁷⁹ The GLs and CP can also foster a deeper understanding of democratic processes in the long term, thereby strengthening democracy.²⁸⁰

4.5 CHALLENGES FOR/WITH CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (GROß)

4.5.1 Participants and stakeholders

Some GLs mention an **inadequate composition** of participants as a challenge. In most cases, this occurs when describing objectives or measures designed to achieve more inclusive participation.²⁸¹ For example, Frankfurt's GL

states that the city wants to identify and remove barriers hindering participation. The GL then introduces barriers resulting from disabilities, language, low income or lack of permanent residence.²⁸² The only reference to this challenge that is not related to the measures or goals that address it is found in Bamberg's GL. It states that it is not possible to always capture the views of the entire urban community and to reach all social groups in the same way.²⁸³

Challenges related to participants' and stakeholders' **knowledge, attitudes, relations or behaviour** are mentioned slightly more often. Several GLs note that citizens may have unrealistic expectations regarding participation which may be disappointed, leading to frustration. Here again, this is typically mentioned as something that certain measures (usually a clear communication of the goals, form and scope of the participation process) are supposed to prevent.²⁸⁴ Saarbrücken's GL states very broadly that citizens, politicians and administrators may have different views and expectations regarding participation and communication.²⁸⁵ Moreover, the GLs mention public or past conflicts on the same or similar issues²⁸⁶, resistance by persons or organisations²⁸⁷, and the topic being outside the target group's area of experience²⁸⁸ or too complex²⁸⁹ as challenges that might occur.

4.5.2 Process

A few GLs name **high time and financial expenditure** as a challenge. Berlin's GL states that participation takes time but also speeds up processes.²⁹⁰ Tübingen's GL mentions failure to adhere to the schedule and unmanageable costs as possible risks.²⁹¹ Wassenberg's GL emphasises that CP should not unduly prolong the decision-making and implementation process.²⁹² Treuenbrietzen's GL broadly states that whether CP can take place particularly depends on the availability of resources.²⁹³

Some GLs address the challenge of **triviality**. Saarbrücken's GL emphasises that CP must not be used to secure acceptance for decisions that have already been made or to legitimise them retrospectively.²⁹⁴ Kranenburg's GL states that projects offering little or no scope for action are not suitable for CP.²⁹⁵ Lich's GL refers to a previous participation process during which the administration's communication was inadequate, leaving residents dissatisfied as they had not been informed or involved in time to be able to influence the political decision-making process. This addresses both triviality and **inadequate information transfer**.²⁹⁶ The other three process-related challenges we identified in the literature, i.e., a) lack of reliability regarding in which cases (which form of) participation is used, b) lack of opportunities for face-to-face interaction and/or deliberation and c) exclusionary/marginalizing norms and assumptions, are not mentioned in the GLs. The same applies to the two outcome-related challenges of worse decisions and non- or partial implementation of recommendations. Moreover, the GLs do not introduce any challenges that are not included in the scientific literature.

4.6 BENEFICIAL CONDITIONS (GROß)

4.6.1 Participants and stakeholders

Almost all GLs address participants' or stakeholders' **attitudes, attributes or relations**. Two issues are predominant here. First, many GLs emphasise (the importance of) **participants' and stakeholders' commitment**. Several

stress that all participants share and take responsibility for the success of CP.²⁹⁷ Some GLs demand that all participants take responsibility for/respect the results and decisions of CP.²⁹⁸ Few GLs particularly emphasise (the importance of) politicians' commitment: Cologne's and Tübingen's GLs state that CP should only be conducted if political decision-makers agree with the process and are willing to consider its results in their decisions.²⁹⁹ Bamberg's GL states that the city councillors and administrative welcome and support CP.³⁰⁰

Second, more than three quarters of the GLs state that stakeholders should **interact respectfully, constructively, cooperatively, appreciatively and on equal terms**.³⁰¹ Almost half particularly emphasise that all ideas and opinions should be respected.³⁰² Some state that stakeholders should agree on binding rules stipulating such behaviour.³⁰³ Some call on politicians, administrators and citizens to recognise each other's different types of expertise. They especially emphasise that the former two should recognise the latter's expertise.³⁰⁴ A few stipulate that all participants should ensure that they can all respect the results.³⁰⁵ Großpösna's GL states that all stakeholders should strive toward the common goal of a "thriving life together and the well-being of Großpösna"³⁰⁶ („Ein gedeihliches Zusammenleben und das Wohl Großpösna“).

Almost all GLs allow **initiation of participation from various stakeholders**. In most cases, citizens, politicians and administrators can initiate CP.³⁰⁷ Almost two thirds of the GLs especially or only emphasise that and how citizens (including groups and organisations) can suggest CP if none is planned.³⁰⁸ In a few cities, citizens can also propose more encompassing CP than planned.³⁰⁹ In some cities, the Advisory Board consisting of citizens, politicians and administrators (see Chapter 4.1) can also propose (more encompassing) CP.³¹⁰ In Cologne, the administration must include a recommendation regarding the use of CP in every draft resolution for political bodies. If it does not propose CP, it must give reasons for this.³¹¹ While some GLs, notably Berlin, Lich and Treuenbrietzen, describe this aspect in great detail, most only dedicate a few sentences to it.

Inclusiveness is also specified in almost all GLs. On the one hand, different aspects of inclusiveness are mentioned as a **goal**. Most GLs state that CP is or should be open and accessible to everyone.³¹² Several GLs declare that CP should address and include as many (different) citizens and target groups as possible³¹³ and addresses all people living, working, learning or owning property in the respective city³¹⁴. Multiple GLs emphasise that everyone affected by the decision should be addressed and able to participate.³¹⁵ Some GLs especially highlight accessibility³¹⁶ or the inclusion of all age groups, especially children and youth,³¹⁷ as goals. A few GLs also stress the inclusion of usually underrepresented groups³¹⁸ and that all participants should have an equal opportunity to contribute to decision-making processes³¹⁹. Gießen's GL notes that the inclusion of those directly affected and the general public must be weighed against each other.³²⁰

On the other hand, the GLs also name multiple specific **measures** to make CP more inclusive. Almost all GLs call for comprehensible³²¹ and many for target group-oriented information and communication³²². Several GLs mention targeted recruitment of usually underrepresented groups³²³ or extensive public relations work regarding CP processes³²⁴. Multiple GLs name accessibility measures.³²⁵ A few call for suitable event times and places which are suitable and accessible for the target groups³²⁶ or measures to explicitly address those affected by the decision³²⁷.

Some emphasise target group-oriented methods and event formats³²⁸ or the targeted use of digital participation methods³²⁹. A few mention the use of multipliers³³⁰, the selection of participants based on certain attributes³³¹ and the involvement of children's and youth parliaments, pupil councils or other forms of youth representation³³². Overall, Berlin and Frankfurt address inclusiveness in much greater detail than the other cities. The latter particularly stands out as it introduces multiple inclusiveness measures not listed by any other GL, such as offering different forms of CP to address different needs, incentives (e.g., childcare, free food or public transport tickets) as well as educating decision-makers and facilitators on target groups' challenges and needs.³³³

Early and continuous involvement of citizens is mentioned in all but one of the GLs. Most of them stress the importance of early³³⁴ and some also of continuous³³⁵ communication and information about the city's projects and CP processes. To achieve this, more than half of the cities use the aforementioned project list (see Chapter 4.1).³³⁶ More than half emphasise that CP should begin at an early stage of the project under discussion,³³⁷ while only two state that it should be continuous³³⁸. All but one of the GLs indicate the **provision of necessary resources** for participants. In almost all cases, this refers to information and advice,³³⁹ but sometimes also to access to administrators, politicians or experts³⁴⁰ or rooms³⁴¹. Both kinds of resources are usually at least partly provided via the project list³⁴² and in a few cases (also) by the Office for Participation³⁴³ (see Chapter 4.1). This provision is treated in particular detail in Berlin's GL. Finally, some GLs mention **active and personal recruitment** of participants,³⁴⁴ whereas trust building is not mentioned at all.

The GLs also include measures regarding participants and stakeholders which do not reflect any beneficial conditions we identified in the literature. Two GLs state that the benefits ("Nutzen") of the CP process should be highlighted to motivate citizens to participate.³⁴⁵ Cologne's GL states that CP should be designed to be enjoyable for participants and to strengthen the sense of community in the city.³⁴⁶ Two GLs mention that local councillors are invited to participate in CP events³⁴⁷ or may take part in them at any time³⁴⁸. Bamberg's GL states that participants should include specifically selected experts, whose views should be given "due weight in the assessment".³⁴⁹ Finally, Tübingen's GL states that "the role of those affected in the future is also taken into account"³⁵⁰ without elaborating this any further.

4.6.2 Process

Almost all GLs emphasise the importance of the **topic's relevance**. More than half state that CP should only or mostly take place on issues which affect or interest many citizens³⁵¹, significantly change the townscape ("stadtbildprägende Maßnahmen")³⁵², are very costly³⁵³ or groundbreaking future planning ("wegweisende Zukunftsplannungen")³⁵⁴. Almost all the others stipulate that the project list only includes projects which meet one of these criteria.³⁵⁵ Two GLs also stress the necessity of a **comprehensible topic**.³⁵⁶

All GLs refer to aspects of a **clear, joint and case-specific definition** of the goals, target groups, scope, procedures, rules, roles, resources and use of results off/in a CP process. Almost three quarters emphasise that the methods and procedures of a CP process must be clearly defined and communicated from the outset.³⁵⁷ More

than two thirds state the same for the framework conditions, scope (“Gestaltungsspielraum”, “Entscheidungsspielraum” etc.) and level („Intensitätsstufe“, „Beteiligungsstufe“) ³⁵⁸ and more than half for the goals³⁵⁹ of the CP process as well as for roles, responsibilities, contact persons and decision competences³⁶⁰. A similar amount mentions the definition of target groups or groups that should be particularly invited³⁶¹ and the resources required or available³⁶². More than a third stress the clear definition and communication of the handling of the process results from the outset.³⁶³ Some mention the definition of binding “rules of the game”³⁶⁴. In almost two thirds of the cities, at least some of these aspects are defined in and communicated via a participation concept (see Chapter 4.1).³⁶⁵ This concept is usually created by the administration, but in a few cities, citizens or politicians can propose changes to it.³⁶⁶ In two cities, participation concepts for large-scale or important CP processes are developed jointly by all stakeholders.³⁶⁷ Almost all stress that (certain aspects of) CP processes be tailored to each individual case³⁶⁸ and two that they can still be adapted during implementation³⁶⁹. Overall, Berlin, Frankfurt, Lich and Tübingen refer to this beneficial condition in much more depth than the other cities.

All GLs at least implicitly or partly include the provision of **adequate financial and personal resources**. Only four GLs can be said to completely fulfil this beneficial condition, stating that the city provides *the required* resources for CP.³⁷⁰ Others just state that the city provides resources³⁷¹, CP needs sufficient resources³⁷², CP should only take place if the required resources are available³⁷³, participation concepts must list the necessary or available resources³⁷⁴ and/or CP needs to be adapted to the available resources³⁷⁵. Regarding personal resources, more than a third of the GLs mentions the definition of contact persons in the administration.³⁷⁶ and almost as many the use of facilitators³⁷⁷. Two GLs state that external advisors may be consulted.³⁷⁸ Moreover, the creation of institutions and bodies for CP in most cities, such as offices and Advisory Boards (see Chapter 4.1), is also a provision of resources. Notably, the adequacy of resources is much more extensively described by the three large cities in our sample (Berlin, Cologne and Frankfurt) than by the other cities.

All but two of the GLs mention **transparency**. More than a third vaguely state that CP processes must be transparent.³⁷⁹ Some stipulate that CP processes are documented (e.g., through protocols).³⁸⁰ Almost three quarters state that (intermediate) results of CP processes must be published.³⁸¹ Some stress that procedures³⁸² and decisions³⁸³ in CP processes must be traceable. Two GLs note that CP processes are public.³⁸⁴ Transparency is particularly emphasised in the GLs of Bamberg, Cologne, Frankfurt and Lich. **Evaluation** is mentioned in all but one of the GLs. More than two thirds state that both the individual CP processes³⁸⁵ and the GLs themselves³⁸⁶ are evaluated. The evaluation is often conducted by the Advisory Board³⁸⁷ and sometimes (also) by the Office for Participation³⁸⁸. In two cities, the evaluation is already described in the participation concept (see Chapter 4.1).³⁸⁹ Berlin, Frankfurt, Lich and Tübingen describe the evaluation very thoroughly, others just in one sentence. Frankfurt again stands out in this regard, as it sets out numerous detailed evaluation criteria for both participation processes and the GLs.³⁹⁰

Just two GLs state that the CP process should be or is conducted in an **independent**, unbiased way.³⁹¹ The use of **deadlines** is explicitly mentioned only in Bamberg’s GL, which notes that deadlines should be reasonable.³⁹² However, almost half of the GLs state that participation concepts (see Chapter 4.1) should include a timetable.³⁹³ The

remaining four process-related beneficial conditions we identified in the scientific literature, i.e., a) the CP process being the exclusive or authoritative forum for decision making, b) regular meetings and face-to-face-dialogue, c) an open response mode and d) structured decision making, are not referred to in the GLs.

The GLs also include process-related measures which do not correspond to any of the beneficial conditions in the scientific literature. In three cities, the local authorities must justify in the project list (see Chapter 4.1) for which projects (no) CP is planned.³⁹⁴ Two GLs mention procedures for conflict resolution.³⁹⁵ Two others state that the methods used should be cost- and time-effective.³⁹⁶

4.6.3 Outcome

Responsiveness or effectiveness is mentioned in all GLs. Almost half state that CP should only take place if there is scope for action (“Gestaltungsspielraum” etc.) and the substantive decisions have not yet been made.³⁹⁷ A few stipulate that during a CP process, no decisions must be made that change the scope of action.³⁹⁸ More than half emphasise that CP is open-ended (“ergebnisoffen”).³⁹⁹ All but two stipulate that the results of a CP process must be considered by policymakers and/or administrators in their final decision.⁴⁰⁰ One GL states participants “should see that [...] they can influence the outcomes of decision-making processes.”⁴⁰¹ More than half highlight that the results of CP are not binding for decision-makers.⁴⁰² However, more than three quarters rule that the latter must inform the public about if and how the results influenced their decision and give reasons if they do not (fully) implement the results.⁴⁰³ One GL just states that citizens must always receive feedback on their proposals.⁴⁰⁴ Another one only demands that citizens are informed if proposals are rejected.⁴⁰⁵ Another one states that the decisions made on the basis of the results of CP must also be transparently implemented.⁴⁰⁶ Beyond that, four GLs state that **feedback from the public on (intermediate) results** should be sought.⁴⁰⁷ Wassenberg’s GL is particularly detailed in this regard. Small wins during the process are mentioned in no GL.

Some GLs also include outcome-related aspects not mentioned in the scientific literature. Three GLs address the issue of consensus. On the one hand, Ehningen’s GL declares that CP should aim for a broad consensus, especially if interests are conflicting or highly divergent.⁴⁰⁸ On the other hand, Großpösna’s GL stresses that a consensus should be sought but not enforced⁴⁰⁹ and Tübingen’s emphasises that CP “is also useful if no consensus is reached, as it helps to make the different positions visible”⁴¹⁰. In a similar vein, Saarbrücken’s GL states that CP should aim at clarifying and acknowledging participants’ different interests and perspectives.⁴¹¹ Relatedly, two GLs refer to the common good. Rottweil’s GL declares that CP “is a corrective to legitimate individual interests and is committed to the common good”.⁴¹² Saarbrücken’s GL states that CP processes should “weigh up the common good” (“wägen das Gemeinwohlinteresse ab”).⁴¹³ Moreover, Bamberg’s GL rules that the views of those who are more affected should be listed separately “to identify major deviations from the general public sentiment” and that “citizens are involved in the implementation process in an appropriate manner.”⁴¹⁴ Jever’s GL notes that the proposals resulting from CP must take into account “the prudent use of scarce resources.”⁴¹⁵

4.7 HIGH-BENEFIT SITUATIONS (GROß)

The only GL coming close to mentioning a high-benefit situation is Tübingen's, which states that CP should only take place for controversial projects.⁴¹⁶ This can be interpreted as reflecting Roberts' claim that CP should only be used in **wicked situations** when "solutions are valued-based and do not lend themselves just to technical reasoning and analysis."⁴¹⁷ **High hostility toward government entities** and a **gridlocked issue** are not mentioned as high-benefit indicators in the GLs. On the contrary, Saarbrücken's GL even states that CP "must *not* be used [...] to overcome a temporary inability to make decisions",⁴¹⁸ thus explicitly contradicting Irvin and Stansbury's claim that CP can be very *beneficial* if an issue is gridlocked.⁴¹⁹

5 DISCUSSION

Overall, the central purpose of the GLs seems to be to structure and organise CP by providing clear structures, framework conditions and common rules for CP, a systematic CP procedure and increasing clarity and transparency of CP. This may also be the reason why the content of the GLs refers to a great extent to the institutional and administrative instruments (project list, participation concept, Office for Participation, and Advisory Board) put in place for anchoring CP more into local political decision-making. In contrast, no GL gets very specific on concrete forms and methods for the realisation of CP projects – apart from mentioning a list of potential formats – stating that this depends on the issue to discuss. This is also consistent with the literature, which states that CP should be adjusted on a case-by-case basis. It may also explain why we did not find much on the codes *Communication* and *Enhanced understanding of reasoning and position of others*, since this is assumably most relevant for concrete CP processes. Moreover, we could not identify any significant differences in GLs according to municipality size. However, given the small size of our sample, this should only be taken as an indication.

5.1 COMPARISON BETWEEN GUIDELINES AND LITERATURE (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

(STEINWANDEL)

In total, we coded 33 of the 46 codes derived from the literature (72%) in the GLs; we coded all 10 benefits, but only five of the 10 challenges, 15 of the 21 beneficial conditions and one of the three high-benefit situations. This matches with our overall impression that the GLs mainly refer to beneficial conditions by introducing different instruments and measures for structuring CP and to benefits when stating aims of the GLs and of CP. Definitions of CP remain rather short but similar across the GLs, understanding CP as the active involvement of citizens in influencing local political and planning decisions. An overview of the occurrence of the different codes in the GLs can be found in Appendix 3.

All **benefits** derived from the literature also appear in the GLs. On the benefits of CP for participants and citizens, in accordance with the literature, the GLs greatly emphasise the development of a sense of community and identification, increasing local engagement as well as democratic interests more generally, as well as fostering inclusion and representation of all potentially affected individuals (more on this see Chapter 5.4). While enhancing understanding of the reasoning and position of others is mentioned rarely in the GLs (eight times in total), there is also

not a great emphasis in the literature either. Psychological well-being is also explicitly mentioned rarely in the GLs. However, assuming that this can (implicitly) result from increased autonomy – as stated in the literature – this is implicitly present a lot more since increased autonomy and self-development are stressed quite often in the GLs. Furthermore, both the literature and the GLs highlight the benefit of mobilising citizens' knowledge, capacities and commitments for building a broader knowledge base as a source of innovative ideas, thereby making governance more informed. Aiming for the common good is also mentioned quite frequently in the GLs and fostering collective and social learning. Here, no direct link to deliberation is made as can be found in the literature, which may be because this is more related to concrete deliberative settings which the GLs generally do not refer to. Moreover, the GLs do not mention the advantages of shortening the feedback loops between decision-making, implementation and revision, or of allowing multiple strategies to be tried in parallel, as derived from the literature. Conversely, the GLs emphasise more than the literature that conflict can be moderated and reduced through CP. Increasing legitimacy is very prevalent in both literature and GLs, which refer to all levels, being linked to transparency, communication, trust-building and inclusiveness (see Chapter 5.4). More concrete aspects regarding legitimacy derived from the literature that do not occur in the GLs are the prevention of resistance as well as strengthening the normative legitimacy of decisions, even among those who disagree with the outcome. Overall legitimacy of democracy in general is mentioned only rarely in the GLs. It is noteworthy that the GLs do not explicitly identify more just outcomes as an intended objective or benefit of CP. However, such results may nonetheless be understood as an implicit effect: Decisions informed by a range of perspectives can lead to more balanced and contextually grounded solutions, thereby promoting fairness and legitimacy. Moreover, some GLs note that CP can act as a counterbalance to the legitimate interests of individuals by orienting decision-making towards the common good. With regard to the benefits of CP, the development of participants' intellectual and moral capacities is entirely absent from the GLs, and deliberation is present only implicitly when the GLs discuss mutual respect and an understanding of other views in CP processes. While this may be partly due to the GLs not referring to specific forms of CP, this does not fully explain the omission.

(GROß)

Five out of the ten **challenges** we identified in the literature are mentioned in the GLs. One of them, inadequate information transfer, is mentioned just in one GL. However, this corresponds to our literature review in so far as this challenge is also mentioned in just one research article in our review. All three aspects of triviality described in the literature (lack of decision power, constrained agenda, limited resources) are also addressed in the GLs. However, the GLs treat triviality very superficially, whereas several studies highlight it as one of the central challenges. Regarding the other three challenges mentioned in the GLs, the latter address some aspects of certain challenges less than others or not at all. Regarding an inadequate amount or composition of participants, the GLs only mention unequal participation (which is also the aspect that is by far the most frequently and most extensively discussed in the literature) while ignoring the related issues of elite discretion and too few participants. Regarding participants' and stakeholders' knowledge, attitudes, relations and behaviour, the GLs on the one hand address citizen's lack of

knowledge and unrealistic expectations as well as different organisational cultures and conflicts between stakeholders. On the other hand, they do not consider incoherent, incompatible, inconsistent and imprecise citizen preferences, a focus on highly politicised and short-term issues, strong trust and interdependence among subsets of stakeholders. They also do not deal with obstructive behaviour of participants/stakeholders (beyond vaguely stating that there might be “resistance by persons/organizations”⁴²⁰). Beyond that, the issue of the time required for CP is addressed by more GLs than its financial costs, while the literature addresses both aspects equally often. Five of the challenges identified in the literature are not mentioned in the GLs at all. Regarding exclusionary or marginalising norms and assumptions as well as worse decisions, this is less surprising, as these are each also addressed in just one or two publications in our review. It is more remarkable regarding partial, contested or non-implementation, which is emphasised as a central challenge by several authors.

The GLs include 15 of the 21 **beneficial conditions** discussed in the literature. Independence is only mentioned in two GLs, but also just in one article on our review. Deadlines are only addressed in one GL, which states that they should be appropriate. This aptly reflects the fact that they are also only mentioned in one article in our review, whose authors note that the usefulness of deadlines in CP is disputed in the literature and quote a study suggesting “that timetables, when used, must be ‘realistic’”⁴²¹. The emphasis of many studies in our review on inclusiveness is reflected in the latter being mentioned in almost all GLs and all aspects of it mentioned in the literature being included in the GLs (openness to everyone interested/affected, offering different forms of CP, involving as many people as possible, targeted recruitment of underrepresented groups, extensive public relations work, comprehensible language, adapting communication to target groups and equal opportunity to contribute to decision making process). The GLs even include further aspects of inclusiveness not addressed in the literature, e.g., event times and places which are suitable and accessible for the target groups, incentives and involvement of youth representation. One GL stipulates that CP should aim for a broad consensus, whereas two others stress that consensus must not be enforced and is not necessary for CP to be useful. This perfectly corresponds to Ansell’s and Gash’s observation that the usefulness of consensus rules in CP is disputed in the scientific literature⁴²² (which is also why we did not include it into our coding scheme). Responsiveness is both highlighted by a lot of studies and addressed in all GLs.

The GLs mention some aspects of certain beneficial conditions less than others or not at all. In both the literature and the GLs early involvement and case-specific design are emphasised far more than continuous involvement and joint design by stakeholders. Regarding participants’/stakeholders’ attitudes, attributes and relations, the GLs mention stakeholders supporting CP, being committed to the process and sharing a common goal as well as participants being reasonable. They do not include a shared understanding of the problem or means to solve it as well as high interdependence or an equal distribution of power among stakeholders. Neither do they address a small and homogenous community, adequate composition or resources and knowledge of participants, a prehistory of cooperation, a high sense of community or influential participants. The GLs mostly focus on the provision of material and in few cases also personal resources to participants while omitting material and time resources. While the literature equally stresses the importance of the topic being comprehensible and relevant, the GLs heavily focus on

relevance. For all aspects that should be clearly defined and communicated at the outset according to the literature (scope, goal, output, procedures, rules and roles), this is also stated in the GLs. Adequate financial and personal resources are at least implicitly mentioned by all GLs, but only in a few cases this condition is really fulfilled (at least on paper).

Six of the beneficial conditions from the literature are not mentioned in the GLs. However, five of them (trust building, exclusive/authoritative forum for decision making, open response mode, structured decision making and small wins during the process) are also mentioned in only one paper in our review. By contrast, the importance of regular meetings and face-to-face meetings is stressed in several articles but not in any of the GLs. This may be because regular, face-to-face meetings are more relevant to specific CP processes, which the GLs do not refer to. Conversely, enabling the initiation of participation from various actors and evaluation are mentioned in almost all GLs but just in one of the studies we reviewed. The GLs include 13 aspects not identified as beneficial conditions in the literature. They are almost evenly distributed across the three subcategories (participants and stakeholders, process, and outcome). Almost all of them are only mentioned in one or two GLs, except for consensus and justifying for which projects (no) CP is planned, which are addressed by three GLs. Finally, both the literature and the GLs put little emphasis on **high-benefit** situations. The literature we identified on this topic comprises just two articles which in total list three such situations. Similarly, only one of these (wicked situations) is addressed in just one GL, while the other two (gridlock and hostility towards government entities) do not appear there at all.

5.2 COMPARISON AMONG CODES (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

The most prevalent **benefits** in the GLs concern *enhanced legitimacy and public acceptance* through increased transparency, trust-building, and the strengthening of relationships between citizens and decision-makers; *more effective governance* by drawing on citizens' local expertise and providing a forum for the introduction, elaboration, and discussion of new ideas, alternatives, and innovations; *fostering individual and collective autonomy*, particularly at the local level, by enabling people to shape their immediate environment and strengthen sense of community — thereby linking self-development with a sense of belonging; the *inclusion and representation* of all potentially affected individuals, often regarded as essential conditions for achieving these broader benefits.

Beneficial conditions are by far the most frequently mentioned across all GLs. Almost all beneficial conditions relating to participants and stakeholders are mentioned very frequently (between fourteen and eighteen different GLs), with the exception of *active and personal recruitment* and *trust building*. The most prevalent process-related beneficial conditions are *clear, joint and case-specific definition* of the goals, target groups, scope, procedures, rules, roles, resources and use of results of/in a CP process; *adequate financial and personal resources*; *evaluation*; *transparency*; and *comprehensible and relevant topic* as well as *responsiveness* as a beneficial condition regarding the outcome. This can be explained by the fact that most of these aspects relate to the administrative and institutional instruments introduced by the GLs. Moreover, it is very striking that the beneficial conditions are either not mentioned by a single GL – this applies to a total of six codes – or are mentioned in almost all GLs – this applies to 11 of the codes (apart from two exceptions). The high prevalence of beneficial conditions in the GLs can be partly

explained by the aim of the GLs to create favourable conditions for CP. Additionally, most of our codes fall into the category of beneficial conditions, which advances their prevalence even more.

Of **high-benefit situations**, only one is mentioned in only one GL, namely that of Tübingen. Almost all **challenges** are mentioned in none or very few GLs. The only exception is *participants' knowledge, attitudes, relationships and behaviour*. Challenges relating to outcomes are not mentioned at all. If challenges are mentioned, it is only once and very briefly in a document, whereas **beneficial conditions** are often mentioned several times in the same document and in greater detail. Moreover, challenges are usually mentioned to describe what should not happen or what certain measures are intended for prevention. The most rarely mentioned **benefits** are *improved psychological well-being* and *enhanced understanding of reasoning and position of others* among participants and citizens, as well as achieving *more just outcomes*, although this also depends on the extend of interpretation of this code (see Chapter 5.1). The **beneficial conditions** mentioned by the least GLs are *active and personal recruitment of participants*, *independence* and *deadlines* as part of the process as well as asking for *feedback from the general public* on the outcome. These seldomly mentioned codes are almost all very specific and/or relating rather to the concrete realisation of CP in specific formats which the analysed GLs do not encompass. In contrast, many of the frequently mentioned codes are much broader in scope (e.g. inclusiveness; transparency, responsiveness) which fits the overall broader purpose of the GLs.

5.3 COMPARISON AMONG GUIDELINES (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

One main finding is that the GLs are very similar in their purpose and scope. All GLs introduce some or all of the administrative and institutional instruments for structuring and anchoring CP. It is noticeable that twelve out of nineteen municipalities actively involved citizens in the development of their GLs. Seven municipalities used other cities' GLs for orientation, while especially Heidelberg is viewed as a pioneer. A few municipalities state that they used official recommendations, and that they worked together with scientists and experts for the development of their GLs. In sum it is ten different municipalities who used official recommendations, expert/scientific sources and other cities for orientation. Even though we did not receive information on these questions from all municipalities we analysed, the striking similarities between the GLs still leave open questions, considering that there does not seem to be one recommendation or pioneer GL that all other GLs are built upon. Some municipalities even explicitly state that they only use others' GLs as inspiration but develop their own according to local conditions and citizens' preferences.

Overall, all GLs refer to a significant number of different codes – there is no GL referring to less than thirteen of our codes. The GLs that mention the most different codes are Bamberg, Tübingen, Jever, Frankfurt and Lich. While there seems to be no clear connection to city size, these are all rather longer GLs (in page numbers) and thus more detailed. However, considering our small sample size, this should be taken as an impression rather than a significant finding. Only a few codes are mentioned by only one GL: Bamberg is the only GL to mention deadlines; Ehningen and Warendorf are the only GLs to refer to independence; Lich is the only GL to highlight inadequate information transfer; and Tübingen is the only GL to refer to wicked situations. Ehningen, Ingolstadt and Erfurt are

the most prevalent among the cities that (almost) exclusively do not mention certain codes. The topics most prevalent among the other GLs, but that are missing in Treuenbrietzen and Erfurt, are inclusiveness and transparency. Moreover, Bamberg and Ehningen introduce many aspects that are not found in the literature. Cities that frequently refer to aspects very briefly are Warendorf, Jever and Wassenberg, while Berlin, Lich and Frankfurt describe many aspects in great detail.

As noted before, there is no visible difference between cities of different sizes, and all codes are processed in cities of all sizes. Moreover, all types of benefits, challenges and BC are mentioned in almost all city sizes. The only exception: small and medium-sized towns do not mention process-related challenges. Further, Kranenburg as the only village mentions fewer beneficial conditions than the other town sizes.

5.4 ON THE LEVEL OF INCLUSIVENESS AND INFLUENCE (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

As outlined in Chapter 2.1, CP can serve both as a response to citizens' demand for greater political involvement and as a means to enhance trust in political decisions and institutions. Given the inequalities regarding political interest as well as involvement, it is crucial that CP initiatives are designed to be as inclusive as possible, enabling citizens to exercise agency and fostering confidence in the political system. Relating the findings of this analysis to Fung's Democracy Cube thus provides a framework for assessing inclusiveness through participant selection and for evaluating the distribution of power and influence through the authority dimension.

In most municipal GLs, CP is designed to be broadly inclusive, allowing all citizens to engage in the participatory processes. Thereby, the term 'citizen' is often extended to include not only official residents. The initiation of CP processes is generally open to all citizens to propose topics (*self-selected*). The aspect of inclusion is usually simply stated descriptively rather than explicitly be set as a normative aim. Moreover, as Fung notes, "[t]hough complete openness has an obvious appeal, those who choose to participate are frequently quite unrepresentative of any larger public."⁴²³ This poses a main limitation to the inclusiveness of the CP described in the GLs. Moreover, little can be said about the inclusiveness of CP in practice, since the GLs leave methods and formats of CP open to contextual adaptation, participant selection likewise varies according to the specific issue, purpose, and scope of each project. However, some GLs here highlight that directly affected persons will be involved explicitly, thereby counteracting the limitation of representativeness. There are few cities that introduce specific ways to reach particular social groups: The most detailed GLs on inclusion are Berlin⁴²⁴ and Frankfurt.⁴²⁵ Treuenbrietzen notes to also involve *randomly selected* citizens as part of the participatory process in contentious cases so that even those who are not directly affected can engage with the issue.⁴²⁶

Across the examined municipal GLs, citizens' **authority** within participation processes remains largely *communicative influential* and *consultative* rather than *decisive*. While citizens are consistently *informed* about municipal initiatives via instruments such as project lists, public forums, or online platforms — and may propose new topics or projects — the ultimate decision-making power resides with elected representatives, typically the city council or mayor.⁴²⁷ This positions CP firmly within the realm of *indirect democracy*, distinguishing it from binding, direct-

democratic procedures. Most GLs characterise participation as *dialogue-oriented consultation* through the expression of interests for the project list, as well as in the concrete CP processes resulting from the GLs. In some cases, the language gestures toward *cooperation* or *co-governance*⁴²⁸, yet such arrangements do not grant citizens decision-making parity with political authorities. The Advisory Boards established under the GLs can offer recommendations that may inform but not determine policy outcomes. Consequently, in Fung's typology of *Authority and Power*, these GLs situate CP primarily at the lower end of the spectrum — centred on *communicative influence*, *consultation* and *advice*, occasionally extending toward *co-governance*, but never reaching full delegation of authority or citizen control. However, it is important to note that this finding does not entail any normative evaluation. There may be good reasons for limiting influence and decision-making power of participants and citizens since they are usually not able to provide the same time commitments, technical expertise and accountability as public officials. Because the dimension of **communication** is rather secondary for our analysis, especially since this highly depends on the concrete formats of CP this will not be discussed in detail here.

5.5 STRENGTHS, LIMITS AND IMPLICATIONS OF OUR RESEARCH (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

The chosen research design proved well suited to addressing the research question, and the research process itself was straightforward, without major obstacles. Nonetheless, it must be emphasised that this study can only assess the extent to which the GLs align with scientific evidence and recommendations; such alignment does not necessarily translate into practice. This limitation is particularly relevant given that the GLs are not legally binding documents but rather instruments for publicly articulating cities' commitments and thereby enhancing their accountability. As has been noted repeatedly, there is no assurance that the conditions described in the GLs will be implemented in their entirety, nor that the stated aims and anticipated benefits will necessarily be achieved. Their realisation highly depends on how cooperation is enacted in practice — on the specific formats employed, the degree of inclusiveness and influence afforded to citizens, and the responsiveness of public officials. These crucial aspects lie beyond the scope of the present research. Furthermore, this study did not systematically examine potential contradictions between the GLs and scientific evidence; however, no apparent inconsistencies emerged during the research process (apart from Saarbrücken's GL contradicting Irvin and Stansbury's argument on gridlocked issues as a high-benefit situation). These limitations of our research propose topics for further study. It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which the institutions and standards described in the GLs are actually implemented in the respective cities, how inclusive they are, and how this contributes to fostering CP and achieving its goals. Since many GLs emphasise that citizens have the opportunity to initiate CP processes, it would be interesting to study how often this is used and by whom.

6 CONCLUSION (GROß & STEINWANDEL)

Overall, the analysed guidelines demonstrate strong alignment with the scientific literature on citizen participation, particularly regarding the establishment of structural and procedural foundations. They consistently emphasise institutional and administrative frameworks—such as transparent procedures, defined responsibilities, participation offices, advisory boards, and sufficient resources — that aim to embed citizen participation more firmly into local

governance. However, the guidelines remain largely generic when it comes to the concrete design and deliberative quality of participation processes. Specific methods, communication practices, and forms of engagement are left open to contextual adaptation, resulting in little guidance on how inclusiveness, mutual understanding, or citizens' actual influence can be ensured in practice. While many of the benefits and favourable conditions identified in the literature are reflected in the guidelines — particularly inclusiveness, transparency, responsiveness, and legitimacy — references to challenges, conflicts, or power asymmetries are scarce and often superficial. In sum, the guidelines provide a coherent and well-grounded procedural basis for citizen participation. Nevertheless, their practical effectiveness will depend on how these structural commitments are enacted in concrete participatory processes — through inclusive design, genuine deliberation, and responsiveness in decision-making.

¹ Körber Stiftung 2024

² European Commission 2024, as cited in Statista: 2026

³ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2024

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ bpb 2024

⁷ bpb 2025

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ bpb 2024

¹¹ bpb 2024

¹² Ibid.: 16-17

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Busemeyer et al. 2025: 5

¹⁵ Hübler 2024: 103-105

¹⁶ Young 2000: 22

¹⁷ Schäfer & Zürn 2021: 26-27

¹⁸ Young 2000: 22

¹⁹ Schäfer & Zürn 2021: 26-27

²⁰ cf. Schäfer & Zürn 2021: 27; Young 2000: 23

²¹ Landwehr & Schäfer 2023: 9

²² Arnstein 1969: 216; Buse 1978: 41; Emerson 2011: 2-3; Newig 2011: 486; Roberts 2004: 320; Teorell 2006: 788-790; Theocharis & Van Deth 2018: 143; Van Deth 2014: 351; Verba 1995: 38-39; Von Alemann 1978: 21;

²³ Van Deth 2014: 351-352; Theocharis & Van Deth 2018: 143; Verba 1995: 38-39; Buse 1978: 41; Newig 2011: 486

²⁴ Verba 1995: 38; Teorell 2006: 788-789; Buse 1978: 41; Kersting 2016: 93

²⁵ Fung 2006: 71

²⁶ Arnstein 1969: 217

²⁷ Nanz & Fritzsche 2012: 23

²⁸ Rowe & Frewer 2005: 255

²⁹ Fung 2006: 66

³⁰ For this section see Fung 2006: 67-69

³¹ Dean 2018: 180

³² Rottach et al. 2025: 19

³³ Warren 2009: 7-10

³⁴ Schroeter et al. 2016: 118

³⁵ Teorell 2006: 794-795; Roberts 2004: 323; Von Alemann 1978: 30

³⁶ Burke 1968: 288; Fung & Wright 2003: 28-29; Roberts 2004: 323

³⁷ Burke 1968: 288; Roberts 2004: 323

³⁸ Fung 2006: 670-673

³⁹ Dean, 2018: 180; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 57; Fung 2006: 675; Fung & Wright 2003: 27-28; Roberts 2004: 324; Teorell, 2006, p. 792; Warren, 2009, p. 11

⁴⁰ Fung 2006: 677-678

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- ⁴¹ Lietzmann 2016: 52; Warren 2009: 6
⁴² Roberts 2004: 323; Burke 1968: 288
⁴³ Burke 1968: 290; Fung 2006: 679-680; Fung 2015: 517; Glaab 2016: 6-7; Newig 2011: 491; Roberts 2004: 324; Rohr et al. 2017: 39
⁴⁴ Fung & Wright 2003: 25; Landwehr & Schäfer 2023: 9; Roberts 2004: 323; Teorell 2006: 795
⁴⁵ Fung & Wright 2003: 25
⁴⁶ Fung 2006: 670,679; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 57
⁴⁷ Fung 2015: 519-520; Fung & Wright 2003: 26; Young 2000: 17,26,29-30,35-36
⁴⁸ Fung 2015: 515
⁴⁹ Fung 2015: 515,517; Glaab 2016: 6; Newig 2011: 490
⁵⁰ Glaab 2016: 6; Newig 2011: 490-491
⁵¹ cf. Glaab 2016: 6-7
⁵² Glaab 2016: 17; Newig 2011: 491; Rohr et al. 2017: 39
⁵³ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 56; Lietzmann 2016: 52-53
⁵⁴ Burke 1968: 291; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 58
⁵⁵ Teorell 2006: 796
⁵⁶ Roberts 2004: 323
⁵⁷ cf. Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59
⁵⁸ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59
⁵⁹ Fung 2006: 674
⁶⁰ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59; Roberts 2004: 325
⁶¹ Range & Faas 2016: 120
⁶² Ansell & Gash 2007: 551; Aring & Kuder 2023: 172; Forschungsbereich beim Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR-Forschungsbereich) 2020: 50; Glaab 2016: 19; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59; Lowndes et al. 2006: 286-287; Rohr et al. 2017: 37-42; Roth 2016: 61; Rottach et al. 2025: 7; Warren 2009: 9-10
⁶³ Warren 2009: 9
⁶⁴ Rohr et al. 2017: 37
⁶⁵ Ansell & Gash 2007: 551; Roberts 2004: 325-326; Rohr et al. 2017: 38; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 12
⁶⁶ Ansell & Gash 2007: 556; Aring & Kuder 2023: 172; Schroeter et al. 2017: 117-118
⁶⁷ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62; Roberts 2004: 324-327, 339; Schroeter et al. 2016: 118
⁶⁸ Roberts 2004: 325
⁶⁹ Cupps 1977: 480
⁷⁰ Glaab 2016: 16-17
⁷¹ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59; Selle 2018: 198
⁷² Ansell & Gash 2007: 553-554; Dean 2018: 181-182; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62
⁷³ Ansell & Gash 2007: 553-554
⁷⁴ *ibid.*: 551; Fung 2015: 517; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59-60; Roberts 2004: 325
⁷⁵ Ansell & Gash 2007: 552-553
⁷⁶ Schroeter et al. 2016: 118
⁷⁷ Fung 2015: 517; Warren 2009: 11
⁷⁸ Vetter et al. 2012: 1
⁷⁹ Fung 2015: 520
⁸⁰ Glaab 2016: 16; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 58; Roberts 2004: 327, 339
⁸¹ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62
⁸² Roberts 2004: 327, 340; Rowe & Frewer 2005: 27; Selle 2018: 198
⁸³ Rowe & Frewer 2005: 271
⁸⁴ Ansell & Gash 2007: 552; Arnstein 1969: 216; Fung 2015: 521; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59; Roth 2016: 69; Warren 2009: 9-10
⁸⁵ Young 2000: 38-48
⁸⁶ Dean 2018: 186; Glaab 2016: 17-18; Schroeter et al. 2016: 118
⁸⁷ Fung 2006: 674; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 58; Warren 2009: 10
⁸⁸ Ansell & Gash 2007: 552; Dean 2018: 186; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 59, 62
⁸⁹ Cupps 1977: 479-480, see also Wamsler et al. 2020 for an argument regarding climate change adaptation
⁹⁰ Vetter et al. 2012: 2-3
⁹¹ Young 2000: 24
⁹² Glaab 2016: 15
⁹³ Ansell & Gash 2007: 560; Rohr et al. 2017: 70-71
⁹⁴ Ansell & Gash 2007: 559-560
⁹⁵ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 58, 62
⁹⁶ Ansell & Gash 2007: 556; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 61; Range & Faas 2016: 121; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 12-13; Schroeter et al. 2016: 117-118

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- ⁹⁷ Rohr et al. 2017: 11-12, 39-44
⁹⁸ Lowndes et al. 2006: 286-287; SVR-Forschungsbereich 2020: 54-55
⁹⁹ Ansell & Gash 2007: 553
¹⁰⁰ Fung & Wright 2003: 23; Roberts 2004: 343; Young 2000: 23
¹⁰¹ *ibid.*: 552-553
¹⁰² *ibid.*: 560
¹⁰³ Lowndes et al. 2006: 286-288
¹⁰⁴ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62
¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*: 4
¹⁰⁶ Ansell & Gash 2007: 555-556; Glaab 2016: 15; Roth 2016: 68
¹⁰⁷ Fung 2006: 674; Rowe & Frewer 2005: 267
¹⁰⁸ Lowndes et al. 2006: 288-289
¹⁰⁹ Ansell & Gash 2007: 551-552, 556; Glaab 2016: 19; Range & Faas 2016: 121; Roth 2016: 68; Rowe & Frewer 2005: 268
¹¹⁰ Aring & Kuder 2023: 175-177; Range & Faas 2016: 121; Rohr et al. 2017: 72-73
¹¹¹ Aring & Kuder 2023: 175-177; Glaab 2016: 14-15; Rowe & Frewer 2005: 272-273
¹¹² Aring & Kuder 2023: 177; Roth 2016: 68; Schroeter et al. 2016: 117-118
¹¹³ Lowndes et al. 2006: 286-288
¹¹⁴ Rohr et al. 2017: 72-73
¹¹⁵ Rowe & Frewer 2000: 14; Vetter et al. 2012: 3-4
¹¹⁶ Glaab 2016: 15-17; Rohr et al. 2017: 74; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 15-16; 2005: 270-273; Schroeter et al. 2016: 118
¹¹⁷ Ansell & Gash 2007: 558-559
¹¹⁸ Vetter et al. 2012: 3
¹¹⁹ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62; Rohr et al. 2017: 71; Roth 2016: 68
¹²⁰ Ansell & Gash 2007: 556-557; Glaab 2016: 18-19; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 61; Rohr et al. 2017: 71; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 15-16; Schroeter et al. 2016: 118
¹²¹ Glaab 2016: 14-15; Range & Faas 2016: 121; Rohr et al. 2017: 11-12, 39-44, 73; Roth 2016: 68; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 16; Vetter et al. 2012: 4
¹²² Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 61; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 16
¹²³ Ansell & Gash 2007: 554-555; Burke 1968: 293; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 61-62; Rowe & Frewer 2005: 269, 273-274
¹²⁴ Rowe & Frewer 2000: 13
¹²⁵ Ansell & Gash 2007: 556-557; Glaab 2016: 15; Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 61
¹²⁶ Rowe & Frewer 2000: 15
¹²⁷ Ansell & Gash 2007: 552
¹²⁸ *ibid.*: 553
¹²⁹ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 61
¹³⁰ Ansell & Gash 2007: 558; Rowe & Frewer 2005: 272; Schroeter et al. 2016: 118
¹³¹ Rowe & Frewer 2005: 269-270
¹³² Rowe & Frewer 2000: 16-17
¹³³ Ansell & Gash 2007: 557
¹³⁴ *ibid.*
¹³⁵ Vetter et al. 2012: 5
¹³⁶ Ansell & Gash 2007: 561
¹³⁷ Vetter et al. 2012: 5
¹³⁸ Ansell & Gash 2007: 561
¹³⁹ Rohr et al. 2017: 71
¹⁴⁰ Lowndes et al. 2006: 286, 289
¹⁴¹ *ibid.*: 289
¹⁴² Glaab 2016: 18; Range & Faas 2016: 118-120; Rohr et al. 2017: 73-74; Rowe & Frewer 2000: 14-15; Vetter et al. 2012: 5
¹⁴³ Glaab 2016: 18
¹⁴⁴ Dean 2018
¹⁴⁵ Schneider & Maskzin 2014: 437, see also Roth 2016: 70
¹⁴⁶ Roth 2016: 70
¹⁴⁷ Lowndes et al. 2006: 286, 288
¹⁴⁸ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62
¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*
¹⁵⁰ Roberts 2004: 343
¹⁵¹ Mayring 2015
¹⁵² Netzwerk Demokratie und Beteiligung
¹⁵³ Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung 2024
¹⁵⁴ Henkel 2020: 213ff.

¹⁵⁵ Ber 2024: 5; Erf 2017: 3; Fra 2025: 11; Gie 2015: 2; Gro 2019: 4; Jev 2024: 4; Lic 2022: 6; Rot 2020: 7; Tre 2018: 2; Tüb 2019: 7; Was 2024: 3
¹⁵⁶ Jev 2024: 4-9
¹⁵⁷ Gie 2015: 2, 5; Rot 2020: 10 (0.5 S); Tre 2018: 2-3 (0.5 S); Tüb 2019: 7; Was 2024: 3, 5
¹⁵⁸ Bam 2022: 10; Ber 2024: 14; Col 2024: 12; Erf 2017: 4; Fra 2025: 15; Gie 2015: 3; Gro 2019: 7; Itz 2024: 5-6; Jev: 7-8; Lic 2022: 11, 16; Rot 2020: 10, 11; Saa 2014: 2; Tre 2018: 3; Tüb 2019: 9; War 2024: 5; Was 2024: 4
¹⁵⁹ Col 2024: 11, 12; Gro 2019: 6; Saa 2014: 2; War 2024: 2, 5
¹⁶⁰ Bam 2022: 10, 13; Ber 2024: 31-32; Fra 2025: 15; Jev 2024: 7-8; Lic 2022: 18-19; Tüb 2019: 9-10; Was 2024: 5, 10
¹⁶¹ Ber 2024: 12; Col 2024: 9; Ehn 2016: 2; Erf 2017: 5; Fra 2025: 15; Gie 2015: 2; Gro 2019: 6; Itz 2024: 5; Jev 2024: 6; Lic 2022: 6; Rot 2020: 7; Tre 2018: 3; Tüb 2019: 9; Was 2024: 4
¹⁶² Ber 2024: 12; Col 2024: 10; Erf 2017: 5; Fra 2025: 17; Gie 2015: 4; Jev 2024: 9; Kra 2025: 5; Lic 2022: 17; Tre 2018: 3; War 2024: 4
¹⁶³ Gie 2015: 3, 4; Saa 2014: 1, 2, 3; Tüb 2019: 6, 7, 8, 35
¹⁶⁴ Bam 2022: 11; Ber 2024: 21, 28; Col 2024: 13; Erf 2017: 4; Ing 2017: 9; Jev 2024: 5; Kra 2025: 5; Lic 2022: 7, 8, 19, 20; Rot 2020: 2, 6, 10, 12; Tre 2018: 3; Was 2024: 2, 3, 7
¹⁶⁵ Gie 2015: 3; Lic 2022: 7; Saa 2014: 2, 3; Tüb 2019: 6
¹⁶⁶ Gie 2015: 3; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 6
¹⁶⁷ Gie 2015: 3; Rot 2020: 2, 12; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 8; Was 2024: 2
¹⁶⁸ Ber 2024: 21; Gie 2015: 3; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7
¹⁶⁹ Bam 2022: 11; Col 2024: 13; Gie 2015: 4; Ing 2017: 9; Lic 2022: 8; Rot 2020: 6; Rot 2020: 12; Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 35; Was 2024: 4
¹⁷⁰ Ing 2017: 4
¹⁷¹ Was 2024: 1; PC Lic
¹⁷² PC Itz
¹⁷³ PC Fra; PC Itz; PC Col
¹⁷⁴ Ber 2024: 9; PC Col; PC Fra; PC Gie; PC Itz; PC Jev; PC Lic;
¹⁷⁵ Ber 2024: 9; PC Fra; PC Gie; PC Jev; PC Lic
¹⁷⁶ Ber 2024; PC Itz
¹⁷⁷ PC Col
¹⁷⁸ Ing 2017: 4; Kra 2025: 4; Rot 2020: 8; Tüb 2019: 11, 28; Was 2024: 1
¹⁷⁹ Kra 2025: 4; Rot 2020: 8; Was 2024: 1
¹⁸⁰ Fra 2025: 6; PC Col
¹⁸¹ Lic 2022: 4
¹⁸² Tre 2018: 1
¹⁸³ PC Gie
¹⁸⁴ Ing 2017: 5
¹⁸⁵ Ber 2024: 10
¹⁸⁶ Ber 2024: 7; Fra 2025: 6; Gro 2019: 15; PC Itz; Kra 2025: 2; War 2024: 4; PC Jev; Stadt Köln, n.d.
¹⁸⁷ PC Itz; Tüb 2019: 6
¹⁸⁸ Ber 2024: 10; PC Gie; Lic 2022: 5; Tre 2018: 1; Stadt Köln, n.d.
¹⁸⁹ cf. Bam 2022: 5; Gie 2015: 1; Ing 2017: 4; Itz 2024: 2; Lic 2022: 9; Rot 2020: 9; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 25; Was 2024: 2
¹⁹⁰ Ber 2024: 16; Fra 2025: 7; Itz 2024: 2; Rot 2020: 10; Tre 2018: 1; War 2024: 2
¹⁹¹ Gie 2015: 1; Lic 2022: 9
¹⁹² Cf. Gie 2015: 1; Tüb 2019: 25; Was 2024: 3
¹⁹³ Bam 2022: 3; Col 2024: 3; Fra 2025: 7; Gie 2015: 1; Ing 2017: 4; Lic 2022: 9; Rot 2020: 9; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 25; Was 2024: 2
¹⁹⁴ War 2024: 2
¹⁹⁵ Erf 2017: 1
¹⁹⁶ Bam 2022: 3; Ber 2024: 16; Itz 2024: 2; Kra 2025: 2; Was 2024: 1
¹⁹⁷ Bam 2022: 3; Ber 2024: 5
¹⁹⁸ Ber 2024: 5; Was 2024: 1
¹⁹⁹ Ber 2024: 5; Gie 2015: 1; Gro 2019: 9
²⁰⁰ Itz 2024: 2; War 2024: 2
²⁰¹ Jev 2024: 3
²⁰² Ber 2024: 4; Col 2024: 3
²⁰³ Kra 2025: 2
²⁰⁴ Fra 2025: 5; Jev 2024: 3; Kra 2025: 2; Rot 2020: 2
²⁰⁵ Fra 2025: 5; Kra 2025: 2
²⁰⁶ Bam 2022: 4; Lic 2022: 3; Rot 2020: 2; Fra 2025: 2
²⁰⁷ Col 2024: 3
²⁰⁸ Rot 2020: 13

²⁰⁹ Bam 2022: 4, 8; Ber 2024: 17, 21; Col 2024: 7, 9; Fra 2025: 9, 21; Gie 2015: 2; Ing 2017: 13; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Jev 2024: 11; Kra 2025: 2-3, 4; Lic 2022: 3, 7, 19; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 6; War 2024: 2; Was 2024: 4, 7
²¹⁰ Bam 2022: 10; Ber 2024: 20; Col 2024: 3; Erf 2017: 4; Fra 2025: 14; Gro 2019: 10; Itz 2024: 4-5; Kra 2025: 5; Tre 2018: 4; Tüb 2019: 6, 27-28; War 2024: 2, 4; Was 2024: 3
²¹¹ Jev 2024: 6
²¹² Ber 2024: 5; Fra 2025: 4, 5; Gro 2019: 7; Saa 2014: 1
²¹³ Gie 2015: 1; Gro 2019: 7; Saa 2014: 1
²¹⁴ Ber 2024: 17; Gie 2015: 5; Gro 2019: 7; Itz 2024: 4; Jev 2024: 6
²¹⁵ Ber 2024: 17; Gro 2019: 7; Jev 2024: 6
²¹⁶ Ber 2024: 17; Gie 2015: 5; Jev 2024: 6
²¹⁷ Itz 2024: 4
²¹⁸ Gro 2019: 7; Jev 2024: 6
²¹⁹ Bam 2022: 8, 9; Ber 2024: 17; Fra 2025: 5, 9; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Col 2024: 7
²²⁰ Lic 2022: 7
²²¹ Gie 2015: 1; Saa 2014: 1
²²² Gie 2015: 1
²²³ Bam 2022: 3; Gie 2015: 1
²²⁴ Bam 2022: 3
²²⁵ Bam 2022: 8; Ber 2024: 20; Fra 2025: 5
²²⁶ Saa 2014: 1; Fra 2025: 4, 9, 21; Ber 2024: 17
²²⁷ Ehn 2016: 1; Erf 2017: 1; Itz 2024: 2; Jev 2024: 3; Col 2024: 12; Kra 2025: 2; Lic 2022: 3; Tüb 2019: 10
²²⁸ Tüb 2019: 10
²²⁹ Ehn 2016: 1
²³⁰ Ibid.
²³¹ Ber 2024: 4; Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 10
²³² Saa 2014: 1
²³³ Ibid.: 3
²³⁴ Bam 2022: 8; Ehn 2016: 1; Lic 2022: 7
²³⁵ Lic 2022: 7
²³⁶ Bam 2022: 8; Erf 2017: 1; Frau 2025: 2, 4, 7; Gie 2015: 1; Gro 2019: 2, 3; Itz 2024: 2; Lic 2022: 7; Rot 2020: 7; Tüb 2019: 10; Was 2024: 1
²³⁷ cf. Jev 2024: 3; Kra 2025: 2; Lic 2022: 7; Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 10
²³⁸ Bam 2022: 4, 8; Tüb 2019: 10
²³⁹ Bam 2022: 3; Ehn 2016: 1; Gie 2015: 2; Kra 2025: 2; Lic 2022: 7; Tüb 2019: 39; War 2024: 2
²⁴⁰ Bam: 5; Ehn 2016: 1; Erf 2017: 1; Fra 2025: 4; Ing 2017: 5; Kra 2025: 2; Lic 2022: 3, 7; Rot 2020: 2; Tre 2018: 2; War 2024: 2; Was 2024: 3
²⁴¹ Bam 2022: 3; Ehn 2016: 1; Kra 2025: 2; Rot 2020: 2; Saa 2014: 3
²⁴² Ehn 2016: 1; Fra 2025: 4; Gie 2015: 2; Gro 2019: 2; Kra 2025: 2; Lic 2022: 3
²⁴³ Lic 2022: 7; Ehn 2016: 1; Rot 2020: 6; Was 2024: 2, 3
²⁴⁴ Rot 2020: 2
²⁴⁵ Bam 2022: 3, 4
²⁴⁶ Saa 2014: 3
²⁴⁷ Col 2024: 12; Rot 2020: 5
²⁴⁸ cf. Ehn 2016: 1; Jev 2024: 3
²⁴⁹ Bam 2022: 8; Ehn 2016: 1; Gro 2019: 2, 7; Rot 2020: 2; Tre 2018: 2; Was 2024: 1
²⁵⁰ Gie 2015: 2; Gro 2019: 7; Rot 2020: 2; Was 2024: 1
²⁵¹ Rot 2020: 12
²⁵² Ber 2024: 5; cf. Fra 2025: 7
²⁵³ Erf 2017: 1; Gie 2015: 1; Gro 2019: 7; Lic 2022: 7; Rot 2020: 12, 13; Tüb 2019: 25; Was 2024: 1
²⁵⁴ Fra 2025: 5; Itz 2024: 2; Tüb 2019: 10
²⁵⁵ Bam 2022: 8; Fra 2025: 5; Itz 2024: 2; Rot 2020: 12
²⁵⁶ Bam 2022: 4
²⁵⁷ Fra 2025: 5
²⁵⁸ Ber 2024: 16
²⁵⁹ Bam 2022: 8; Ber 2024: 5; Erf 2017: 1; Fra 2025: 7; Gie 2015: 2; Tüb 2019: 10
²⁶⁰ Rot 2020: 5
²⁶¹ Fra 2025: 5; Itz 2024: 2; Tüb 2019: 10
²⁶² Rot 2020: 6; Saa 2014: 3
²⁶³ Gie 2015: 1; Gro 2019: 3; Lic 2022: 7; Tüb 2019: 10
²⁶⁴ Itz 2024: 2
²⁶⁵ Gro 2019: 3; Rot 2020: 2

266 Bam 2022: 4; Erf 2017: 1; Fra 2025: 7; Was 2024: 1
 267 Fra 2025: 4
 268 Bam 2022: 8
 269 Was 2024: 1
 270 Ber 2024: 5; Erf 2017: 1; Fra 2025: 7; Gie 2015: 1; Ing 2017: 5; Itz 2024: 2; Rot 2020: 2; Was 2024: 1
 271 Ber 2024: 5; Fra 2025: 4; Gro 2019: 3; Ing 2017: 5; Rot 2020: 2; Was 2024: 2
 272 Itz 2024: 2
 273 Itz 2024: 2; Kra 2025: 2
 274 Gie 2015: 1; Jev 2024: 3
 275 Fra 2025: 5; Gro 2019: 2; Jev 2024: 3; Saa 2014: 3; Rot 2020: 4; Tüb 2019: 10; Was 2024: 2
 276 Fra 2025: 5
 277 Rot 2020: 4; Tüb 2019: 3
 278 Gro 2019: 2
 279 Fra 2025: 4
 280 Ber 2024: 4
 281 Fra 2025: 21-22; Gie 2015: 3; Lic 2022: 19; Tüb 2019: 31
 282 Fra 2025: 9
 283 Bam 2022: 9
 284 Bam 2022: 7-8; Col 2024: 8; Gro 2019: 10-11; Ing 2017: 4-5, 11; Rot 2020: 9
 285 Saa 2014: 1
 286 Fra 2025: 10
 287 *ibid.*: 29
 288 *ibid.*: 31
 289 Kra 2025: 5
 290 Ber 2024: 16
 291 Tüb 2019: 29
 292 Was 2024: 2
 293 Tre 2018: 1
 294 Saa 2014: 2
 295 Kra 2025: 5
 296 Lic 2022: 4
 297 Col 2024: 3, 6-7; Gie 2015: 4; Lic 2022: 7; Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 6, 8
 298 Gie 2015: 3; Saa 2014: 2-3; Tüb 2019: 6
 299 Col 2024: 4; Tüb 2019: 27
 300 Bam 2022: 3-4
 301 Bam 2022: 8; Ber 2024: 20; Col 2024: 3, 7, 10; Ehn 2016: 3; Fra 2025: 22; Gie 2015: 3; Gro 2019: 6; Ing 2017: 4, 12; Itz 2024: 4; Jev 2024: 3; Lic 2022: 7; Rot 2020: 5-7; Saa 2014: 2; Tre 2018: 2; Tüb 2019: 6
 302 Ber 2024: 20; Col 2024: 7; Gie 2015: 3; Gro 2019: 6; Ing 2017: 12; Jev 2024: 3; Rot 2020: 7; Saa 2014: 2; Tre 2018: 2
 303 Ber 2024: 5; Gie 2015: 3; Saa 2014: 2
 304 Bam 2022: 4, 8; Lic 2022: 8
 305 Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 6
 306 Gro 2019: 6
 307 Bam 2022: 10; Ber 2024: 20; Col 2024: 3; Erf 2017: 4; Fra 2025: 14; Gro 2019: 10; Itz 2024: 4-5; Kra 2025: 5; Tre 2018: 4; Tüb 2019: 6, 27-28; War 2024: 2, 4; Was 2024: 3
 308 Ber 2024: 20, 29-30; Col 2024: 11; Ehn 2016: 2; Fra 2025: 2, 8, 11; Gie 2015: 2, 5; Gro 2019: 4; Jev 2024: 7; Kra 2025: 6; Lic 2022: 6, 12, 14; Rot 2020: 8, 11; Tre 2018: 2-3; War 2024: 4
 309 Ber 2024: 20; Erf 2017: 4; Fra 2025: 2, 8, 11; Jev 2024: 7; Lic 2022: 6, 11-12
 310 Jev 2024: 8, 10; Kra 2025: 5; Lic 2022: 11, 15-17; War 2024: 4-5
 311 Col 2024: 11-12
 312 Bam 2022: 8; Ber 2024: 17, 21; Col 2024: 7, 9; Fra 2025: 9, 21; Gie 2015: 2; Ing 2017: 13; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Jev 2024: 11; Kra 2025: 2-3; Lic 2022: 7, 19; Saa 2014: 1; War 2024: 2; Was 2024: 4, 7
 313 Bam 2022: 4, 8-11; Ber 2024: 21; Ing 2017: 8; Jev 2024: 6; Lic 2022: 19; Saa 2014: 1
 314 Ber 2024: 17; Gro 2019: 7; Jev 2024: 11; Kra 2025: 4; Lic 2022: 3; Rot 2020: 2
 315 Bam 2022: 9; Ber 2024: 17, 21; Col 2024: 7; Fra 2025: 21; Gie 2015: 2; Ing 2017: 13; Itz 2024: 6; War 2024: 2
 316 Bam 2022: 4; Ber 2024: 17; Fra 2025: 5, 9; War 2024: 3
 317 Ber 2024: 18; Fra 2025: 5, 10, 21-22; Lic 2022: 7; War 2024: 3
 318 Bam 2022: 13; Ber 2024: 5, 20-21; Col 2024: 7; Fra 2025: 15
 319 Ber 2024: 20-22; Ehn 2016: 5; Lic 2022: 8; War 2024: 3
 320 Gie 2015: 3
 321 Bam 2022: 7; Ber 2024: 20, 22, 25, 27; Col 2024: 7, 13; Ehn 2016: 3; Fra 2025: 9, 20, 22; Gie 2015: 2, 5; Gro 2019: 4; Ing 2017: 8, 10; Itz 2024: 6; Jev 2024: 7; Kra 2025: 4; Lic 2022: 6, 8, 19; Rot 2020: 6; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7, 31

322 Bam 2022: 8; Ber 2024: 18; Col 2024: 4, 14; Fra 2025: 9, 21-22; Gie 2015: 3; Ing 2017: 8, 13; Itz 2024: 4; Lic 2022: 19; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 29-31

323 Bam 2022: 8, 11; Ber 2024: 21; Fra 2025: 9; Rot 2020: 11-12; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 8; Was 2024: 7

324 Ber 2024: 22, 31-32; Col 2024: 9, 11, 14; Fra 2025: 2, 9, 15, 22; Gro 2019: 4; Jev 2024: 11; Lic 2022: 8, 19; Was 2024: 5

325 Bam 2022: 14; Ber 2024: 17, 21; Fra 2025: 20; Ing 2017: 13; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Lic 2022: 8

326 Bam 2022: 14; Fra 2025: 31; Gie 2015: 3; Itz 2024: 6

327 Bam 2022: 8; Itz 2024: 4; Lic 2022: 19

328 Bam 2022: 8; Gie 2015: 3; Lic 2022: 19

329 Fra 2025: 21; Itz 2024: 6; Was 2024: 4

330 Fra 2025: 21; Ing 2017: 8; Tüb 2019: 31

331 Lic 2022: 20; Was 2024: 7

332 Ber 2024: 18; Rot 2020: 13

333 Fra 2025: 21

334 Bam 2022: 7, 14; Ber 2024: 20; Col 2024: 4, 7; Fra 2025: 9, 20; Gie 2015: 2; Gro 2019: 5, 11; Ing 2017: 4, 10; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Jev 2024: 3; Kra 2025: 2; Lic 2022: 7, 19; Rot 2020: 5-6; Tre 2018: 2; Was 2024: 2

335 Ber 2024: 22; Col 2024: 4, 7, 14; Gie 2015: 2; Gro 2019: 5; Itz 2024: 4

336 Ber 2024: 21, 27; Erf 2017: 3; Fra 2025: 11; Gie 2015: 2, 5; Jev 2024: 4, 6, 11; Lic 2022: 11, 13; Rot 2020: 10; Tüb 2019: 7, 26; Was 2024: 3, 5

337 Ber 2024: 5, 21; Col 2024: 3; Fra 2025: 2, 9; Gie 2015: 3; Gro 2019: 3; Itz 2024: 4; Lic 2022: 11; Saa 2014: 2; Tre 2018: 2; Tüb 2019: 7; War 2024: 3

338 Col 2024: 3; Was 2024: 3

339 Bam 2022: 6-7, 14; Ber 2024: 20-21, 24-26; Col 2024: 7, 11, 14; Fra 2025: 9, 12, 20; Gie 2015: 1, 5; Gro 2019: 5, 7, 9; Ing 2017: 8; Itz 2024: 4; Jev 2024: 3; Lic 2022: 7-8; Rot 2020: 6; Saa 2014: 2; Tre 2018: 3; Tüb 2019: 31; War 2024: 4; Was 2024: 2

340 Bam 2022: 11, 14; Col 2024: 9; Ber 2024: 25; Ehn 2016: 2-3; Gro 2019: 6, 9; Ing 2017: 8, 11; Jev 2024: 7; Lic 2022: 7, 11, 19; Tre 2018: 3

341 Bam 2022: 5; Ber 2024: 25

342 Ber 2024: 22, 27; Erf 2017: 3; Jev 2024: 4, 7; Lic 2022: 11; Rot 2020: 10; Tüb 2019: 7, 26; Tre 2018: 3

343 Ber 2024: 20, 24-25; Col 2024: 7; Ehn 2016: 2

344 Bam 2022: 8, 11; Ehn 2016: 2-3; Gro 2019: 7, 9; Lic 2022: 19; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 11, 30; Was 2024: 5, 7

345 Bam 2022: 13; Ing 2017: 12

346 Col 2024: 12

347 Gro 2019: 7

348 Bam 2022: 11

349 Bam 2022: 9

350 Tüb 2019: 8

351 Bam 2022: 5, 10; Ber 2024: 28; Col 2024: 4, 12; Fra 2025: 12; Gro 2019: 5; Itz 2024: 5; Kra 2025: 5; Lic 2022: 11; Saa 2014: 1; Tüb 2019: 31

352 Lic 2022: 11

353 Fra 2025: 12

354 Ber 2024: 28; Itz 2024: 5; Kra 2025: 5

355 Ber 2024: 27; Erf 2017: 3; Gie 2015: 2, 5; Jev 2024: 5; Tüb 2019: 7, 26-27; Rot 2020: 10; Tre 2018: 3; Was 2024: 3

356 Kra 2025: 5; Tüb 2019: 31

357 Bam 2022: 7, 10, 13, 14; Ber 2024: 20, 31-32; Col 2024: 13; Erf 2017: 2, 4; Fra 2025: 12, 15; Ing 2017: 4, 8-9; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Jev 2024: 3, 7; Lic 2022: 19; Rot 2020: 11-12; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7, 29-30; Was 2024: 3; Kra 2025: 6

358 Bam 2022: 7, 9, 12, 14; Ber 2024: 5, 21-22, 31; Col 2024: 8; Ehn 2016: 2; Erf 2017: 2, 4; Fra 2025: 2, 9, 15, 22; Gie 2015: 3; Ing 2017: 4-5, 11-12; Itz 2024: 4; Lic 2022: 8, 19; Rot 2020: 6, 9, 11; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7, 29, 32, 35

359 Bam 2022: 7, 12, 14; Ber 2024: 21; Col 2024: 8; Fra 2025: 9, 22; Gie 2015: 3; Gro 2019: 6, 10-11; Itz 2024: 6; Kra 2025: 4, 6; Lic 2022: 8, 19; Rot 2020: 11; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7, 29

360 Bam 2022: 10, 14; Ber 2024: 20-21, 31; Fra 2025: 19; Ing 2017: 8, 11; Itz 2024: 6; Gro 2019: 9; Jev 2024: 7; Lic 2022: 7, 11, 19; Saa 2014: 2; Tre 2018: 3; Tüb 2019: 7, 30

361 Bam 2022: 10, 13; Ber 2024: 21, 31; Col 2024: 12; Erf 2017: 2, 4; Fra 2025: 12, 15; Ing 2017: 4, 8; Itz 2024: 6; Kra 2025: 6; Lic 2022: 19; Rot 2020: 11-12; Tüb 2019: 8, 29, 31; Was 2024: 3

362 Bam 2022: 10; Ber 2024: 31-32; Fra 2025: 15; Gro 2019: 7; Kra 2025: 6; Lic 2022: 19; Rot 2020: 12; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7, 30; Was 2024: 3

363 Bam 2022: 12; Ber 2024: 31-32; Col 2024: 8; Fra 2025: 15; Ing 2017: 12; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Lic 2022: 8, 19; Saa 2014: 2-3

364 Bam 2022: 14; Ber 2024: 5; Gie 2015: 3; Jev 2024: 3; Rot 2020: 5; Saa 2014: 2

365 Bam 2022: 10; Ber 2024: 21, 31-32; Col 2024: 12; Erf 2017: 2, 4; Fra 2025: 15; Itz 2024: 5-6; Kra 2025: 6; Lic 2022: 18-19; Rot 2020: 11; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7-8, 28-30; Was 2024: 3

366 Bam 2022: 10; Erf 2017: 4-5; Lic 2022: 17-19

367 Ber 2024: 31; Tre 2018: 3

368 Bam 2022: 8, 10; Ber 2024: 31; Col 2024: 4, 6, 8; Erf 2017: 2; Gie 2015: 4; Gro 2019: 6; Ing 2017: 7; Itz 2024: 5; Kra 2025: 4; Lic 2022: 7, 19; Saa 2014: 1-2; Tre 2018: 4; Tüb 2019: 28; War 2024: 2; Was 2024: 6
 369 Bam 2022: 14; Ber 2024: 31
 370 Ber 2024: 5, 23, 28; Fra 2025: 10; Itz 2024: 5; Kra 2025: 4
 371 Ehn 2016: 2; Lic 2022: 7
 372 Saa 2014: 2
 373 Bam 2022: 9-10; Col 2024: 4, 12; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 27
 374 Bam 2022: 10; Erf 2017: 2, 4; Lic 2022: 19; Tüb 2019: 30; Was 2024: 3
 375 Lic 2022: 19
 376 Bam 2022: 14; Fra 2015: 19; Gro 2019: 4, 6, 8; Ing 2017: 11; Jev 2024: 7, 11; Lic 2022: 7, 11; Tre 2018: 3
 377 Bam 2022: 13-14; Ber 2024: 20, 24; Ehn 2016: 3; Fra 2025: 10, 19; Gro 2019: 6, 10; Tüb 2019: 8, 32
 378 Bam 2022: 13; Ehn 2016: 6
 379 Bam 2022: 10; Col 2024: 11; Ehn 2016: 3; Fra 2025: 2; Gie 2015: 1; Gro 2019: 2; Kra 2025: 4
 380 Bam 2022: 11; Ehn 2016: 3, 5; Itz 2024: 6; Jev 2024: 20-21
 381 Bam 2022: 7, 11, 15; Ber 2024: 25; Col 2024: 13; Fra 2025: 10, 15; Gro 2019: 11; Ing 2017: 10; Itz 2024: 4; Jev 2024: 3, 7-8, 20; Lic 2022: 20; Rot 2020: 7-8, 12; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 8, 35; War 2024: 3; Was 2024: 2, 7
 382 Bam 2022: 11; Fra 2025: 22; Gie 2015: 3; Gro 2019: 11; Ing 2017: 10; Itz 2024: 6; Saa 2014: 1
 383 Gie 2015: 4; Ing 2017: 5; Rot 2020: 12; Saa 2014: 3
 384 Ehn 2016: 2-3; Was 2024: 2
 385 Ber 2024: 23; Col 2024: 8; Ehn 2016: 3; Erf 2017: 6; Fra 2025: 10, 16-17, 23; Gie 2015: 4; Itz 2024: 5-6; Kra 2025: 4, 6; Lic 2022: 7-8, 22, 21; Saa 2014: 3; Tre 2018: 3; Tüb 2019: 9, 36; War 2024: 2, 5; Was 2024: 4
 386 Bam 2022: 3; Ber 2024: 23, 26; Col 2024: 8; Erf 2017: 5; Fra 2025: 10, 16-17, 23; Gie 2015: 4; Gro 2019: 3, 14; Itz 2025: 5; Jev 2024: 10; Kra 2025: 7; Rot 2020: 5, 14; Tre 2018: 3; Was 2024: 4, 8
 387 Ber 2024: 23, 32; Erf 2017: 4-5; Fra 2025: 16; Gie 2015: 4; Jev 2024: 10; Kra 2025: 7; Lic 2022: 17, 22; Tüb 2019: 36; War 2024: 5
 388 Ber 2024: 6; Col 2024: 4; Fra 2025: 16; Tüb 2019: 9
 389 Ber 2024: 32; Fra 2025: 15
 390 Fra 2025: 16-17, 23
 391 Ehn 2016: 2; War 2024: 3
 392 Bam 2022: 13
 393 Bam 2022: 7, 13; Ber 2024: 31-32; Itz 2024: 4, 6; Kra 2025: 6; Lic 2022: 19; Rot 2020: 11-12; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 30; Was 2024: 3
 394 Ber 2024: 27; Fra 2025: 9, 11; Jev 2024: 7-8
 395 Ehn 2016: 3; Rot 2020: 12
 396 Jev 2024: 3; Was 2024: 6
 397 Bam 2022: 9; Col 2024: 4, 12; Fra 2025: 12; Itz 2024: 5; Kra 2025: 5; Lic 2022: 6; Saa 2014: 12; Tüb 2019: 7, 26-27
 398 Bam 2022: 11; Ber 2024: 30; Col 2024: 4
 399 Bam 2022: 8; Ber 2024: 21; Gie 2015: 3; Jev 2024: 3; Kra 2025: 4; Lic 2022: 8; Rot 2020: 6; Saa 2014: 2; Tüb 2019: 7; War 2024: 3; Was 2024: 2
 400 Bam 2022: 3, 6, 8-9, 11, 15; Ber 2024: 5, 17, 22; Col 2024: 4-5, 8, 13; Ehn 2016: 3; Erf 2017: 4; Fra 2025: 15; Gie 2015: 4; Gro 2019: 11; Ing 2017: 9, 12; Jev 2024: 12; Kra 2025: 6; Lic 2022: 8, 20-21; Rot 2020: 7, 12; Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 35; War 2024: 3; Was 2024: 4
 401 Ehn 2016: 1
 402 Bam 2022: 3-4, 11; Ber 2024: 17; Col 2024: 4, 13; Ehn 2016: 4; Gro 2019: 11; Ing 2017: 9; Lic 2022: 8, 20; Rot 2020: 6; Tüb 2019: 35; War 2024: 3; Was 2024: 4, 7
 403 Bam 2022: 7, 11, 15; Ber 2024: 17, 22-23, 25; Col 2024: 5, 8, 13; Ehn 2016: 3; Erf 2017: 4; Fra 2025: 10, 15; Gie 2015: 4; Gro 2019: 11; Ing 2017: 10, 12; Itz 2024: 4; Jev 2024: 12; Lic 2022: 8, 20-21; Rot 2020: 2, 6-7, 9, 12; Saa 2014: 3; Tüb 2019: 8, 35
 404 Tre 2018: 3
 405 Kra 2025: 6
 406 Col 2024: 8, 13
 407 Erf 2017: 4; Gie 2015: 4; Saa 2014: 2; Was 2024: 3, 6, 8
 408 Ehn 2016: 3-4
 409 Gro 2019: 10
 410 Tüb 2019: 6
 411 Saa 2014: 3
 412 Rot 2020: 6
 413 Saa 2014: 3
 414 Bam 2022: 9, 15
 415 Jev 2024: 3
 416 Tüb 2019: 27

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- ⁴¹⁷ Roberts 2004: 343
⁴¹⁸ Saa 2014: 2, emphasis added
⁴¹⁹ Irvin & Stansbury 2004: 62
⁴²⁰ Tüb 2019: 29
⁴²¹ Ansell & Gash 2007: 557
⁴²² *ibid.*
⁴²³ Fung 2006: 67
⁴²⁴ Ber 2024: 21
⁴²⁵ Fra 2025: 21 ff.
⁴²⁶ Tre 2018: 4
⁴²⁷ Bam 2022: 3, 7, 11; Ber 2024: 17; Gro 2019: 7; Kra 2025: 4; Itz 2024: 3; Jev 2024: 12; Lic: 20; Rot 2020: 2; Saa 2014: 3; Tre 2018:1; Tüb 2019: 35; War 2024: 3; Was 2024: 7
⁴²⁸ Bam 2022: 6; Col 2024 6; Fra 2025: 20; Gro 2019: 6; Ing 2017: 14; Itz 2024: 3; Lic 2022: 9; Rot 2020: 9; Tüb 2019: 32

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE SELECTION

Municipality	County	Size	Type	Year
Kranenburg	NRW	771	Medium-sized village	2025
Großpösna	Sachsen	5.570	Small town (< 10.000)	2019
Treuenbrietzen	Brandenburg	7.539	Small town (< 10.000)	2018
Ehningen	Baden-Württemberg	9.198	Small town (< 10.000)	2016
Lich	Hessen	14.167	Larger town (> 10.000)	2022
Jever	Niedersachsen	14.774	Larger town (> 10.000)	2024
Wassenberg	NRW	19.713	Larger town (> 10.000)	2024
Rottweil	Baden-Württemberg	24.985	Small medium-sized city (> 20.000)	2020
Itzehoe	Schleswig-Holstein	32.725	Small medium-sized city (> 20.000)	2024
Warendorf	NRW	37.703	Small medium-sized city (> 20.000)	2024
Bamberg	Bayern	77.150	Large medium-sized city (> 50.000)	2022
Gießen	Hessen	89.179	Large medium-sized city (> 50.000)	2015
Tübingen	Baden-Württemberg	92.322	Large medium-sized city (> 50.000)	2019
Ingolstadt	Bayern	141.185	Small city (> 100,000)	2017
Saarbrücken	Saarland	182.971	Small city (> 100,000)	2014
Erfurt	Thüringen	218.793	Small city (> 100,000)	2017
Frankfurt am Main	Hessen	756.021	Large city (> 480,000)	2025
Cologne	NRW	1.024.621	Large city (> 480,000)	2024
Berlin (Land)	Berlin	3.685.265	Large city (> 480,000)	2024

APPENDIX 2: CODING SCHEME

Code	Sub-Code	Sub-Sub-Code	Description / Explanation
Definition			
Types / Levels of CP			
	<i>Authority and Power</i>	<i>Personal benefits</i>	Little / no expectation of influencing policy or action: Instead, he or she participates to derive the personal benefits of edification or perhaps to fulfill a sense of civic obligation. Forums that principally affect participants rather than policy and action employ the first three communicative modes (listening expressing preferences, and developing preferences) rather than the three more intensive decision-making modes described in the previous section. (Fung 2006: 69)
		<i>Communicative influence</i>	On members of the public or officials who are moved by the testimony reasons, conclusions, or by the probity of the process itself (Fung 2006: 69) → exerting influence on the state or its agents indirectly by altering or mobilizing public opinion
		<i>Advice and Consultation</i>	Officials preserve their authority and power but commit themselves to receiving input from participants (Fung 2006: 69)
		<i>Co-Governance</i>	They join with officials to make plans and policies or to develop strategies for public action (Fung 2006: 69)
		<i>Direct Authority</i>	Over public decisions or resources → higher level of empowerment (Fung 2006: 69)
	<i>Participants (Selection)</i>	<i>Self-selected</i>	A self-selected subset of the general population → frequently quite unrepresentative of any larger public (Fung 2006: 67)
		<i>Selectively recruited</i>	Selectively recruit participants from subgroups that are less likely to engage (Fung 2006: 67)
		<i>Randomly recruited</i>	Randomly selecting participants from among the general population → the best guarantee of descriptive representativeness (Fung 2006: 67-68)
		<i>Lay stakeholders</i>	Engaging lay stakeholders in public discussions and decisions → Lay stakeholders = unpaid citizens who have a deep interest in some public concern and thus are willing to invest substantial time and energy to represent and serve those who have similar interests or perspectives but choose not to participate (Fung 2006: 68)
		<i>Professionals</i>	Professional stakeholders → frequently paid representatives of organized interests and public officials (Fung 2006: 68)
	<i>Communication</i>	<i>Spectatorship</i>	Participants attend mainly to observe and receive information without expressing their own views. (Fung 2006: 68)
		<i>Expression</i>	Individuals publicly state or pose their views, questions, or preferences to officials or audiences. (Fung 2006: 68)
		<i>Exploration</i>	Participants discuss and learn together, possibly revising or deepening their opinions. (Fung 2006: 68)
		<i>Aggregation & Bargaining</i>	Participants with fixed preferences negotiate and aggregate their interests into a collective decision. (Fung 2006: 68)

		<i>Deliberation & Negotiation</i>	Participants exchange reasons and seek mutual understanding or principled agreement before deciding. (Fung 2006: 69)
		<i>Technical expertise</i>	Decisions are made by professionals or officials based on specialized knowledge rather than citizen input. (Fung 2006: 69)
Benefits	<i>For (participating) citizens</i>	<i>Increased interest & participation in politics</i>	- active incorporation of citizens into policy-making process - fostering broader motivation for social and political involvement - strengthen interest in democratic practices - stimulate issue-specific engagement with public decision-making
		<i>Inclusion / representation of all potentially affected people</i>	inclusion and representation of all potentially affected individuals -> also increase inclusion of marginalised persons
		<i>Self-development: fostering desirable personal & social qualities</i>	- strengthening of personal & social qualities individuals' - e.g. intellectual / moral capacities; democratic skills; sense of community and identification
		<i>Enhanced understanding of reasoning & position of others</i>	enhanced understanding of differing reasonings and positions of others through the exposure to different opinions and arguments
		<i>Increased autonomy: citizens can influence their lives & environment</i>	citizens become active authors of their lives & shaping their environment by exercising genuine influence over political and social decisions -> connected to political responsiveness
		<i>Improved psychological wellbeing</i>	positive feelings such as self-confidence, self-reliance, hope
	<i>For political decision-making / politics</i>	<i>More effective governance</i>	- by mobilising citizens' knowledge, capacities and commitments (broader knowledge base) - to address complex public problems more intelligently and adaptively - deliberation -> more considered judgements and solutions - increased legitimacy can enhance acceptance and implementation of policies
		<i>More just outcomes</i>	making political decision-making more inclusive, equal, accountable, and reason-based rather than power-based -> more just outcomes
		<i>Increased legitimacy & acceptance of decisions & regime</i>	CP can help to strengthen the justifiability and acceptability of political rule beyond what elections alone can provide - Input legitimacy: when citizens are directly involved in shaping decisions and can voice and weigh in on their needs and preferences - Throughput legitimacy: making decision processes more transparent, inclusive, and fair - Output legitimacy: participation improves problem-solving and policy quality -> better outputs and higher satisfaction with results
	<i>Other</i>		
Challenges			
	<i>Participants & Stakeholders</i>		

Process	<i>Inadequate amount / composition of participants</i>	- amount: Some forms of citizen participation can only directly involve a small proportion of those affected by the issue. Moreover, often even fewer people participate than would be possible. - composition: participation is often unequal, as certain groups of people tend to participate more than others
	<i>Participants' / stakeholders' knowledge, attitudes, relations & behaviour</i>	- many citizens lack the knowledge to understand and make decisions on complex topics. - attitudes: incompatible, inconsistent and imprecise preferences; focus on short-term politicized topics; different organisational cultures of citizens, politicians & administrators; unrealistic expectations - relations: low trust & conflicts between stakeholders / in institutions; strong trust and interdependence among subsets of stakeholders - obstructive behaviour: pursuing personal / organisational interests; using alternative venues; unwillingness to include citizens; co-opting citizens
	<i>Lack of reliability</i>	It is often not clear in which cases (which form of) participation is used. Thus, the use of participation often depends on leadership and alliances, which is an unstable foundation.
	<i>High time & financial expenditure</i>	Participation is often expensive and time-consuming.
	<i>Lack of face-to-face interaction / deliberation</i>	The process may include too few or no opportunities for face-to-face interaction and/or deliberation. This makes misunderstandings and fragmentation more likely, may yield an aggregation of individual preferences instead of agreement on a common good and induces citizens to shift all responsibility onto the state.
	<i>Inadequate information transfer</i>	Information is not adequately transferred between stakeholders. This might be due to the chosen medium of information transfer (e.g., mail that is treated as junk mail and thus not read).
Outcome	<i>Marginal effectivity / triviality: lack of decision power, constrained agenda, limited resources</i>	The process may be marginally effective or trivial due to a lack of decision power, a constrained agenda or limited resources.
	<i>Exclusionary / marginalizing norms & assumptions</i>	Assuming shared interests and agreement among participants as a precondition or goal of participation as well as norms of articulateness, dispassionateness and order can exclude or marginalize certain people.
	<i>No / partial implementation of decisions</i>	Decisions or recommendations may not / only partially be implemented due to institutional constraints, lack of political will, and/or resistance in the wider population.
Other	<i>Undesirable outcomes</i>	Decision makers may implement citizens' demands without thoroughly assessing their consequences or cling to popular but ineffective or detrimental policies to gain public sympathies. CP can lead to environmentally unsustainable outcomes.
	<i>Beneficial conditions</i>	
Participants & Stakeholders		

Process	<i>Participants' / stakeholders' attitudes, attributes & relations</i>	- attitudes: support for participation from citizens, politicians & administration; shared understanding of problem/means/goals among stakeholders; commitment to the process by stakeholders; reasonable participants - attributes: small & homogenous affected community; adequate composition of participants; possessing knowledge & resources for participation - relations: prehistory of cooperation; high interdependence between stakeholders; equal distribution of power between stakeholders; high sense of community; participants have influence in their communities
	<i>Enable initiation of participation from various stakeholders</i>	Citizens, politicians and administrators can initiate participation processes.
	<i>Inclusiveness</i>	Openness to everyone interested; involve as many people as possible; offer different forms of participation; targeted recruitment of typically underrepresented groups; extensive public relations work; comprehensible language; equal opportunity to contribute to decision process
	<i>Active & personal recruitment</i>	Citizens are actively and personally invited to participate.
	<i>Early & continuous involvement</i>	Citizens are involved as early as possible and continuously across project phases.
	<i>Provision of necessary resources</i>	Participants are provided with all informational, human, material, and time resources necessary to fulfil their task .
	<i>Trust building</i>	The process includes opportunities for trust building between participants.
	<i>Comprehensible & relevant topic</i>	The topics dealt with are comprehensible and relevant to citizens.
	<i>Clear, joint & case-specific design of participation process</i>	The scope, goals, procedures, rules, roles, and output (use) should be defined clearly and collaboratively by citizens, administrators, and politicians. The process design should also be adapted to the specific problem, goals and affected communities as well as in the face of important new information.
	<i>Different types of participation</i>	Different forms of participation are offered to appeal to the preferences of different citizen groups
	<i>Adequate financial & personal resources</i>	Sufficient funding and skilled staff are provided.
	<i>Independence</i>	Participants, managers, and facilitators should be unaffiliated to the sponsoring body.
	<i>Transparency</i>	Procedures and decisions should be traceable by the public.
	<i>Exclusive / authoritative forum for decision making</i>	The outcome of participation processes is respected by alternative forums (courts, legislators, and executives).
Outcome	<i>Regular meetings & face-to-face dialogue</i>	Participants meet regularly and have opportunities for face-to-face dialogue.
	<i>Comprehensible language</i>	The language used throughout the process is comprehensible to everyone.
	<i>Open response mode</i>	Participants can respond freely rather than having to choose among predefined options.
	<i>Structured decision making</i>	Mechanisms to structure and display the decision-making process are used.
	<i>Deadlines</i>	Realistic deadlines are set.
	<i>Evaluation</i>	Participation processes are evaluated.
	<i>"Small wins" during the process</i>	The process produces tangible intermediate outcomes that produce small wins.

	<i>Feedback from the general public on (intermediate) results</i> <i>Responsiveness / effectiveness</i>	Feedback from the general public on (intermediate) results of the participation process is sought. - The possible advantages of collaboration are relatively concrete. - The process is open-ended - Results are concrete, understandable for non-participants and quickly implementable - Decision makers listen to participants, seriously consider their proposals, and respond to them. They explain how the decision was made and the role of participation within that and visibly incorporate the results of participation into policy formulation. If they do not (fully) implement the results, they justify that.
<i>Appropriateness / Situations in which participation can be very beneficial</i>	<i>Other</i>	
	<i>Gridlock</i> <i>High hostility toward government entities</i> <i>Wicked situations</i>	The issue is gridlocked. Hostility toward government entities is high. Problem formulation is ambiguous, judgment criteria are difficult to establish, and solutions are valued-based and do not lend themselves just to technical reasoning and analysis.

APPENDIX 3: OCCURENCE OF THE CODES IN THE GLS

The following table shows the occurrence of the codes in the GLs. The left column lists all codes while the upper row lists all municipalities with their abbreviations (see List of Abbreviations), with the smallest on the very left, increasing in size to the biggest on the very right. Cells marked in blue indicate that the relevant code has been coded at least once in the respective GL. An empty white cell indicates that the relevant code has not been coded for the respective GL. The column on the right shows in how many of the 19 GLs the relevant code has been coded. The bottom row shows the total number of different codes that have been coded in the respective GL.

	Kra	Gro	Tre	Ehn	Lic	Jev	Was	Rot	Itz	War	Bam	Gie	Tüb	Ing	Saa	Erf	Fra	Col	Ber	SUM
Forms																				10
Definition																				14
Benefits																				
Benefits of GLs																				11
<i>For (participating) citizens</i>																				
Increased interest & participation in politics																				7
Inclusion / representation of all potentially affected people																				16
Self-development																				16
Enhanced understanding of reasoning & position of others																				6
Increased autonomy																				15
Improved psychological wellbeing																				5
<i>For political decision-making / politics</i>																				4
More effective governance																				15
More just outcomes																				5
Increased legitimacy & acceptance																				18
Challenges																				
<i>Participants & Stakeholders</i>																				
Inadequate amount / composition of participants																				5
Participants' knowledge, attitudes, relations & behaviour																				9
<i>Process</i>																				
No reliability regarding in which cases participation is used																				0
High time & financial expenditure																				4

Lack of face-to-face interaction / deliberation																				0
Inadequate information transfer																				1
Triviality																				3
Exclusionary / marginalizing norms & assumptions																				0
<i>Outcome</i>																				
No / partial / contested implementation of decisions																				0
Worse decisions																				0
Beneficial Conditions																				
<i>Participants & Stakeholders</i>																				
Participants' / stakeholders' attitudes, attributes & relations																				14
Enable initiation of participation from various stakeholders																				17
Inclusiveness																				17
Active & personal recruitment																				6
Early & continuous involvement																				18
Provision of necessary resources																				18
Trust building																				0
<i>Process</i>																				
Comprehensible & relevant topic																				16
Clear, joint & case-specific definition ...																				19
Adequate financial & personal resources																				19
Independence																				2
Transparency																				17
Exclusive / authoritative forum for decision making																				0
Regular meetings & face-to-face dialogue																				0
Open response mode																				0
Structured decision making																				0
Deadlines																				1
Evaluation																				18
<i>Outcome</i>																				
"Small wins" during the process																				0

Feedback from the general public on (intermediate) results																				4
Responsiveness / effectiveness																				19
Other																				13
High-Benefit Situations																				
Gridlock																				0
High hostility toward government entities																				0
Wicked situations																				1
SUM	21	18	18	16	22	23	20	21	21	18	27	22	25	19	18	13	23	19	19	

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