

For better or worse? A systematic literature review on the effects of local participatory arrangements and their contributing factors¹.

Lieven Boelen² & Kristof Steyvers³

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² Lieven Boelen is a PhD Candidate at the Center for Local Politics, Political Science Department, Ghent University

³ Kristof Steyvers is a professor at the Center for Local Politics, Political Science Department, Ghent University

⁴ Contact: lieven.boelen@ugent.be

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Abstract – Participatory arrangements are increasingly applied at the local level in many political systems. This is often based on normative claims that underline the potential of citizen participation in aiding legitimacy, bringing forth better policy or producing better citizens. Empirical research investigating the fulfilment of such promises has increased in the past decade providing insights on the potential effects of participatory arrangements. Systematic assessments of such effects or on the factors at the base of positive or negative effects remain scarce or limited to specific arrangements. The current systematic literature review aims at filling this gap by identifying which effects are observed throughout the empirical literature and which factors contribute to these observed effects. Through wielding the PRISMA-protocol, we selected empirical contributions of the past decade on the effects of participatory arrangements at the local level. Observed effects and their contributing factors were categorized according to a conceptual framework focusing on legitimacy and families of democratic innovations. As opposed to earlier assessments, the current review illustrates growing attention to both positive and negative effects. Furthermore, it indicates the necessity to look beyond the design features of the arrangements in assessing the contribution to observed effects. Particularly, the involvement of political and administrative actors in these processes provides us with more clarity on how participatory arrangements produce positive and negative effects.

1. Introduction

Local governments are increasingly experimenting with new ways to involve citizens in policy-making. High hopes are vested in these participatory arrangements to ‘cure the democratic malaise’ (Geissel & Newton, 2012). Such hopes are based on the potential of these arrangements in fostering legitimacy (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2016; Jacobs & Kaufman, 2021; Fung, 2015), their potential to increase the effectiveness of the policy-making process (Fung, 2015; Pogrebinschi & Ryan, 2017) or further enhancing democratic attitudes and civic skills among citizens (Fung, 2003; Geissel, 2009; Michels, 2011).

In the past decade the amount of empirical contributions studying the variety of arrangements and their possible consequences has increased. Marking an ‘empirical turn’ in the study of the related subfield of democratic innovations (Spada & Ryan, 2017). The broad variety of participatory arrangements applied across governance levels has made it increasingly difficult for scholars and practitioners to keep track of the observed effects and the conditions under which these occur. This is apparent in the extant literature aiming to take stock of these developments. Existing systematic literature reviews are limited to a specific form of participatory arrangement (van der Does & Jacquet, 2020), initiator of a participatory process (Igalla, 2019), or a specific actor (Migchellbrink & Vandewalle, 2020). Moreover, the sheer number and variety of arrangements applied across governance levels has created the need to further explore what effects these participatory arrangements bring forth and if these effects indeed live up to their expectations in remedying the ‘democratic malaise’. The call for more systematic and overarching efforts in identifying effects across different arrangements and contexts has resulted in a select number of evaluation frameworks that can be equipped to gauge these effects and their potential contribution to the quality of democracy (Geissel, 2018; Geissel, 2012; Michels, 2011). Furthermore, existing empirical contributions on possible effects often do not explicitly depart from the reasoning that arrangements initiated and applied at the local could bear different effects. The local level, however, does provide a fertile ground for experimentation as a multitude of participatory arrangements are established (Geissel, 2009). It is here that the impact of involvement in policy-making is often assumed as most tangible for participating citizens and where the proximity to the decision-making process could yield different effects (Steyvers et al., 2007).

The current systematic literature review develops and applies a conceptual framework that exceeds specific effects or arrangements and aims at identifying more comprehensively which effects of participatory arrangements at the local level are observed throughout the literature. Moreover, the current review aims at gaining more insight into if and how design features of participatory arrangements and contextual factors (i.e. embeddedness, involvement of actors and the financial and instrumental capacity of municipalities) contribute to observed effects. In doing so, we aim to respond to the call for more systematic research on the impacts of participatory arrangements. Concretely, we aim to find an answer to two central questions: What effects of local participatory arrangements are observed throughout the literature (RQ1)? And, what factors are mentioned as contributing to these observed effects (RQ2)?

Current review has the explicit aim to provide clarity on what *are* rather than what *could be* the effects of participatory arrangements. Thus, delineating the scope to empirical observations on effects of the past decade.

The review starts out by developing a conceptual framework to map observed effects and their potential contribution to the different dimensions of legitimacy (input-, throughput- and output) on the one hand or effects pertaining to ‘the school of democracy’ on the other. Turning to the contributing factors we discern the design features of participatory arrangements and contextual

factors. These components make out the conceptual framework that guided our coding and research strategy (section three). The results section reports on the observed effects and arrangements under research and how the functioning of these arrangements is related to the previously mentioned contributing factors.

2. A conceptual framework for evaluating the effects of participatory arrangements

The literature indicates a variety of assumed effects of involving citizens in policy-making processes. To address this, the first part of this section develops a conceptual framework that departs from the potential contribution of participatory arrangements to the different dimensions of legitimacy (input, throughput and output) as well as their potential contribution to more 'enlightened citizens'. We continue to discuss how certain effects can contribute to each of these dimensions. This part further links these dimensions to categories that broadly depict the assumed benefits of participation contributing to 'better support', 'better policy' and 'better citizens'. This enables the actual categorization of observed effects throughout the literature. The second part then discusses the different families of participatory arrangements and discerns factors related to the context in which these arrangements appear and how these could contribute to observed effects.

Legitimacy and participation: by, with and for the people?

The premise on which the desirability of participatory mechanisms is based, is their potential to increase the legitimacy of decision-making (Fung, 2015). As our main aim is to discern what effects are observed throughout the literature, the question that remains how effects of participatory initiatives eventually weigh in on the legitimacy of the political decision-making process. In gauging the potential contribution of participatory governance, existing frameworks vary along the criteria for evaluation. Geissel (2012) identifies four dimensions pertaining to input-legitimacy, democratic processes, effectiveness and civic education. A slightly different approach is wielded by Michels (2011) pointing towards more delineated effects on inclusion, influence, skills and virtues, deliberation and (perceived) legitimacy. The distinctions between effects in these frameworks are valid but their core elements can be further linked in assessing their contribution to legitimacy.

Gaining legitimacy through participatory governance is founded on the degree of support for the process and outcomes through involvement of citizens. Differently put: 'public policy is legitimate when citizens have good reasons to support it' (Fung, 2006). However, in gauging the potential effects of participatory arrangements contributing to 'legitimacy', the concept requires further unpacking. This can be done by referring to the three dimensions commonly associated with the concept: input, throughput and output legitimacy (Schmidt, 2013).

In 'earning' support participatory arrangements must live up to the expectations of enabling 'government by the people' aiding to alleviate the perceived discrepancy between citizens needs and the policies enacted in current democratic systems, or otherwise referring to increasing input-legitimacy (Scharpf, 1970). Participatory initiatives inherently encompass the ability to increase input-legitimacy through including citizens on 'equal and significant' footing (Geissel, 2012) or the 'openness towards public demands' (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2016). Smith (2009) refers to inclusiveness as containing two elements that contribute to political equality namely: presence and equality of voice. The former directly referring to the design choices made in participative arrangements and to what extent these "motivate the engagement of citizens from across social groups, ensuring that a particular social group is not marginalized or excluded from participation" (Smith 2009: 25). Therefore, the degree to which these participatory arrangements can effectively involve a broad variety of citizens further enhances or deteriorates input-legitimacy. Related to gauging the impact on input-legitimacy

of participatory processes is ‘perceived’ legitimacy by citizens or other stakeholders partaking in the processes (Geissel & Newton, 2012).

When evaluating participatory arrangements the perceptions on their procedural aspects could further add on to or deteriorate the degree of legitimacy of the process itself and potentially (perceptions of) the (political) system as a whole. Throughput legitimacy is then concerned with the quality of governance processes (Schmidt & Wood, 2019) or government *with* the people. One element in gauging the impact on throughput legitimacy is the quality of deliberation (Geissel & Newton, 2012) within a participatory arrangement. The manner in which rational arguments are respectfully exchanged could thus determine the perceived legitimacy of the process and its outcome.

Transparency, as another criterion for throughput legitimacy, is concerned with the provision of information about the process that is followed. As Smith (2009: 29) puts it: *“If institutions that engage citizens are to have significant effects on public decisions, then the process needs to be open to scrutiny not only by the participants, but also the wider public.”* Citizens that have a clear view of which procedures are followed or which criteria are equipped throughout the process have a possible ‘yardstick’ against which actions or decisions can be measured (Schmidt & Wood, 2019). This enables them to take action if provided information (on the process) deviates from the premised course of action by policy-makers.

Furthermore, participatory governance provides additional possibilities for citizens to hold political actors to account if diversion from a commonly agreed set of principles or policy measures occurs. Through the participatory processes, political actors can justify decisions and citizens could in turn seize their opportunity to judge such actions as desirable. Applications of democratic innovations do, however, imply a multitude of changing accountability relations between citizens and political actors (Weale, 2019). In our framework, we remain vigilant for possible effects on accountability relations, not limited to cases that solely depict citizens as accountability holders through the use of participatory instruments. Lastly, we integrate the more applied concept of ‘perceived procedural fairness’ as citizens (at least at the local level) partly base their judgment of decision-making on that criterion (Jäske, 2019).

Output legitimacy, also referred to as ‘government *for* the people’ is reached if ‘the policies adopted will generally represent effective solutions to common problems of the governed’ (Scharpf, 2003: 3). Similarly, Geissel (2012) conceives effective participatory arrangements as the processes that succeed in the ‘identification and achievement of collective goals’ by a constituency. The challenge for participatory initiatives then lies in facilitating this identification process and the political system that is able to reach those goals (through concrete policy).

The distinction between input, throughput, and output legitimacy is necessary and useful from a theoretical and analytical perspective but the empirical reality and operationalization across research endeavors show how criteria overlap or are related to each other. For example, Smith (2009:25) refers to *equality of voice* as an element of inclusion signifying the potential impact a participant could actually have. Equally, Michels (2011) in her framework points to the opportunity to influence the outcome. In line with this, Geissel (2013) refers to relevance in assessing if participation is meaningful and actually impacts public policies. In assessing the effects of participatory arrangements empirically this element contributing to input-legitimacy is closely related to the manner in which ‘effectiveness’ is conceptualized in empirical contributions. More recently Pogrebinschi & Ryan (2018) for example point to ‘effectiveness’, inherently contributing to *output*-legitimacy, as the “translation of citizen’ preferences into policy”. Additionally, Caluwaerts & Reuchamps (2016) make a similar distinction in their operationalization of output-legitimacy between the actual political uptake (implementing the outputs of deliberative processes into public policy) and the possibility to set the political agenda

(considered a tier lower). In assessing the empirical literature, we thus remain vigilant for these overlapping conceptions and make a distinction between ‘influence’ on the one hand and ‘effectiveness’ on the other while including these as effects that through empirical applications could co-determine output-legitimacy.

Participation as a ‘school of democracy’

Lastly, we turn to the well-documented potential of participatory arrangements to produce ‘better citizens’ and possibly contribute to a ‘better citizenry’. More specifically, partaking in participatory initiatives could have a transformative effect on individual citizens. Through participating they gain knowledge on the subject at hand (Geissel, 2009) or better comprehend decision-making processes (A. Michels & de Graaf, 2010). More broadly, participation could contribute to the generation of social capital relating to feelings of connectedness and mutual trust. Additionally, the extent to which they feel (politically) self-confident and able to take political action (internal efficacy) potentially increases as well as their perceptions of being able to effectively influence policy-making (external efficacy) (K. B. Strandberg, K.: Berg, J.: Karv, T., 2021). In short, partaking in participatory initiatives could contribute to enhanced knowledge, civic skills and political efficacy. While staying attentive to other observed effects we encompass abovementioned effects on participants under the banner of ‘better citizens’ and ‘better citizenry’.

Beyond the arrangement: Macro-level effects

In achieving their full democratic potential, effects of arrangements should transcend the specific process and participants. They should equally impact the wider population and political system. These potential ‘macro-effects’ of citizen participation have gained more attention marked by the ‘systemic turn’ in deliberative democracy research. Since the start of the new decade e.g. interest in effects of mini-publics on non-participants as well as long-lasting effects on participants has increased (Van der Does & Jacquet, 2021). Research on macro-political effects of mini-publics highlights attitudinal changes in the wider population (Knobloch, Barthel & Gastil, 2020), affecting political support (Boulianne, 2019), perceived legitimacy (Jaske, 2019) and informing public opinion (Ingham & Levin, 2018). Studies researching if and how participatory arrangements at the local level contribute to overcome the hurdles in current democratic systems provide valuable insights and are further included in the current review. In complement to the micro-political effects this review can contribute to a more holistic compilation of empirical insights on both forms of effects.

Building on earlier work of Fung (2003) a recent contribution in the study of deliberative mini-publics discerns assumed benefits of participatory arrangements vis-à-vis current representative institutions (Renson, 2021). The framework distinguishes between these micro- and macro-level effects. Firstly, this results in assumptions on the effects of participatory governance that contribute to ‘better support’ and on macro level pertaining to ‘better legitimacy’. Secondly, the assumption that involvement of citizens could yield ‘better decisions’ and thus, on systemic level, contribute to ‘better policy’. Lastly, participatory democracy is assumed to bring forth ‘better citizens’ as through engaging in such procedures they learn socially. This could further affect the population as a whole resulting in a ‘better citizenry’. Our conceptual framework wields these broad categories to classify effects observed throughout the literature and consciously weigh them against the normative claims on the contributions of participatory democracy.

The other side of the coin: negative effects

Furthermore, Spada & Ryan (2017) point out that there is a significant lack of studies discussing possible negative outcomes or ‘failures’. Indeed, the possible contributions to the quality of our democracy and partaking individuals seem clear. However, the potentially negative effects remain understudied. Some of these have been explored. The phenomenon of ‘cherry-picking’, emerging in the margin of defective participatory arrangements, e.g. indicates a instrumentalization of participatory initiatives to attain pre-defined goals aligned with an existing political agenda (J. S. Font, G.: Galais, C.: Alarcon, P., 2018). Or the process may first and foremost enables organized interest pushing ordinary citizens out of the equation (Conrad, 2011; Geissel, 2009). This could dramatically undermine the actual influence citizens can exert. Positive outcomes for individual citizens, such as an increase in internal efficacy, may further shape other potential effects. Citizens learning about the functioning of the political process and the road to influence might be shaken in their belief to actually have influence on governmental decision-making, thus, negatively affecting external political efficacy. (Lindell, 2020). Overall, empirical works systematically researching potential negative outcomes are rather scarce (J. L. G.-E. Fernandez-Martinez, P.: Jimenez-Sanchez, M., 2020; J. S. Font, G.: Galais, C.: Alarcon, P., 2018). Throughout the review process we remained vigilant for findings that provided further insights into such effects.

Contributing factors: Design, embeddedness, actors and capacity

An indispensable part of the framework are the factors on which observed effects are contingent on. The following section discusses the main elements current review takes into consideration. These are related to the design features of the participatory arrangements, their embeddedness in the local context or vis-à-vis representative arenas, the involvement and role of specific actors therein (excluding citizens) and factors related to the financial and instrumental capacity of municipal governments.

The past two decades the scholarly debate has given substantial attention to the design features of participatory arrangements and how configurations thereof influence effects (Michels, 2011). Fung (2006) famously distinguished three axes that made out the ‘democracy cube’ discerning the methods for ‘participant selection’, the ‘modes of communication’ and the ‘extent of authority and power’. This provided the basis for a novel typology on democratic innovations aimed at dissecting ineliminable and quasi-contingent features establishing ‘families’ of democratic innovations (Elstub & Escobar, 2019). More concretely, we take into account the *participant selection method* dealing with how inclusive the selection process of participatory arrangements is. Secondly, we aim to discern the role of the *mode of participation* that defines the interactions of the involved citizens. The third component consists of the *mode of decision-making* within the arrangement where the possibility of not deciding, the aggregation of preferences, bargaining and decision-making through deliberation are taken up. Lastly, the degree to which the participants of the arrangement can exert influence is distinguished.

While acknowledging that the wielded typology in the current review (derived from Elstub & Escobar, 2019) may not encompass all specific forms of democratic innovations, it does provide a sufficient range of features by which a more fine-grained understanding of the impact of certain design choices on different effects can be discerned throughout the literature.

Next to the design of participatory arrangements, Michels & Binnema (2019) indicate the relevance of contextual factors for the potential of effects. According to these authors, the embeddedness of the initiative in the local political context, a possible connection to civil society and interactions between involved actors further shape such effects. In what follows we elaborate on the embeddedness and

the involvement of specific political or administrative actors and finalize the conceptual framework with factors related to the overall system capacity.

Embeddedness entails multiple dimensions the institutional one being of specific interest to this research (Bussu *et al.*, 2022). This refers to the extent to which participatory initiatives are connected to representative decision-making bodies (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2016: 3). Political actors supporting the (functioning of) participatory initiatives or the role of representative arenas in the workings of the participatory arrangement could facilitate or hamper its actual impact. In addition, Bussu *et al.* (2022) identify two additional forms of embeddedness related to the (re-)occurrence of the initiative (possibly sustaining effects over time) and *practices* of embeddedness referring to the existence of a legal framework.

The literature further points to the relevance of considering the role and involvement of political or administrative actors (Sorensen *et al.*, 2020). A strong involvement of political actors could either steer the process increasingly, leaving no space for participants to provide input or have influence. Alternatively, administrative or political actors could take up a facilitating role ensuring a smooth process and/or enabling participants to be empowered. Furthermore, the literature also discerns a shift towards more meta-governance and boundary-spanning of political and administrative actors in interactive governance. Lastly, we take into account factors related to the potential financial and instrumental capacity and experience (with participatory initiatives) of local government. Provision of a solid financial framework and structural commitments by local government signal their level of commitment and influence political efficacy. Municipalities that built up experience through other participatory initiatives further add to the increase in political efficacy of its citizens (Geissel & Hess, 2017).

The following section elaborates on the applied research method for the current literature review, the followed research strategy as well as the coding process. The fourth section highlights the findings with regard to the observed effects throughout the literature and the contributing factors.

3. Research method – PRISMA protocol

The current review of the literature follows the PRISMA-method. This method aims at reducing bias in the selection and integration of the literature and follows a step-wise model in filtering and selecting sources that can be integrated. The following section clarifies the steps taken in the search strategy, selection of the relevant records and the coding process.

3.1 Research strategy

Existing systematic reviews are limited to a specific form of participatory arrangement (van der Does & Jacquet, 2020), initiator of a participatory process (Igalla, 2019) or a specific actor (Migchelbrink & Vandewalle, 2020). This systematic review aims to complement extant literature with a broad take on the effects that exceed individual actors or specific arrangements. This, by wielding a more systematic approach in coding the researched effects and contributing factors in the obtained records linked to the conceptual framework described above. In observing these potential effects we focus on the local level as it can be conceived as ‘a dynamic field for experimentation’ (Geissel, 2009). The particularity of the local level in terms of proximity and tangibility of the outcomes sharpens expectations with regard to potential effects as “*It is here that the gap between the governors and governed is at its narrowest*” (Steyvers *et al.*, 2007: 12). The content of the processes and the scope of the topics discussed in local participatory arrangements directly relate to the day-to-day lives of citizens. Policy could thus be further informed and enhanced through ‘situated knowledge’ on context-specific issues (Fenton, 2016). Apart from political impact, participatory arrangements at the local level provide an opportunity

to further enhance and bind existing local communities within a municipality (Michels & Binnema, 2019).

The processes of selecting and excluding records was conducted by the two research questions central to this review, namely:

- 1) What effects of local participatory arrangements are observed throughout the literature?
- 2) What factors are mentioned as contributing to the observed effects?

And more precisely:

- Which features of the arrangements contribute to observed effects?
- What factors related to the context of the arrangement contribute to specific effects?

The first question pertains to the initial conceptual framework and subsequent potential effects explained earlier. In posing this question we aim not only to determine what range of effects is studied but equally if the study in question observed a positive or negative influence or no effect at all (neutral). However, as the current review equally serves the exploratory purpose of identifying effects that are not (as) commonly researched, we wield 'open' categories in coding the records identified through the screening of found studies. This iterative approach allowed the refinement of the conceptual framework throughout the coding process.

The second research question aims to identify what factors are taken into account. We further specify these into two sub-questions. Distinguishing between factors related to the 'design' of the arrangements and contextual factors. Coding the former by wielding the typology developed by Elstub & Escobar (2019) and their underlying quasi-contingent features. In doing so, we aim to discern which quasi-contingent features were mentioned as contributing factors to the observed effects in the studies under review. Contextual factors are related to the different dimensions of 'embeddedness', the involvement and role of local government actors and the financial and instrumental capacity of a municipality.

We do stress that drawing causal relationships across the studies is not within the current outset of the systematic literature review. Rather, in providing an overview led by a more systematic approach this review aims to contribute to more clarity on the contributing factors linked to the design of the arrangements and identifying possible gaps.

Furthermore, this review hopes to identify possible tensions between the different effects and design choices observed by scholars. Bobbio (2019) points to such dilemmas as a result of choices in design. For example: how does the quality of deliberation forming the outcomes of a process shape the level of influence that participants finally have (Bobbio, 2019: 51)? Or, for example: does an open method of selection contribute to an increase in terms of process inclusiveness but a decrease in the effectiveness of the participatory arrangement (in terms of translation of preferences into policy)?

3.2. Scope of the review and eligibility of the records found:

The scope of the current review encompasses empirical research from the past decade (2009-2022). The current body of literature on democratic innovations, participatory and deliberative democracy consists more and more of empirical research, marking an 'empirical turn' in published works since the beginning of the new decade. However, in studying effects articles tend to focus on 'best practices' and 'successes' thus neglecting possible 'failures' and negative outcomes as a result of participation (Spada & Ryan, 2017). In limiting our scope to empirical articles, this review can provide a more recent take on the presence or absence of such positivity bias in findings. By focusing on empirical research this review moves beyond the normative perspective of what impacts of participatory arrangements could be, but instead effectively are.

In our search strategy we encompassed different groups of concepts related to the core elements of this research. These concepts were gathered through an initial review of the literature by the first author and formed into a search query in two online databases: *Web of Science* and *Scopus*. The groups consisted of:

- Group 1: Concepts related to 'citizen participation' (9)
- Group 2: Concepts related to 'effects' (3)
- Group 3: Concepts related to 'arrangements' (12)

We compiled these concepts in a search query for both databases. This delivered a total of 3806 records after limiting the scope of the search to region and field of research. More concretely, we limited the search to Western countries containing more than 30 studies and labeled as 'working democracy' or 'deficient democracy' (Democracy Matrix, 2022). Research on citizen participation in autocratic and hybrid regimes of moderate democracies thus falls beyond the scope of this review. Pre-determined research areas were 'Social Sciences' (Scopus), 'Public Administration', 'Political Science' and 'Urban Studies' (the latter three included in the web of science search query).

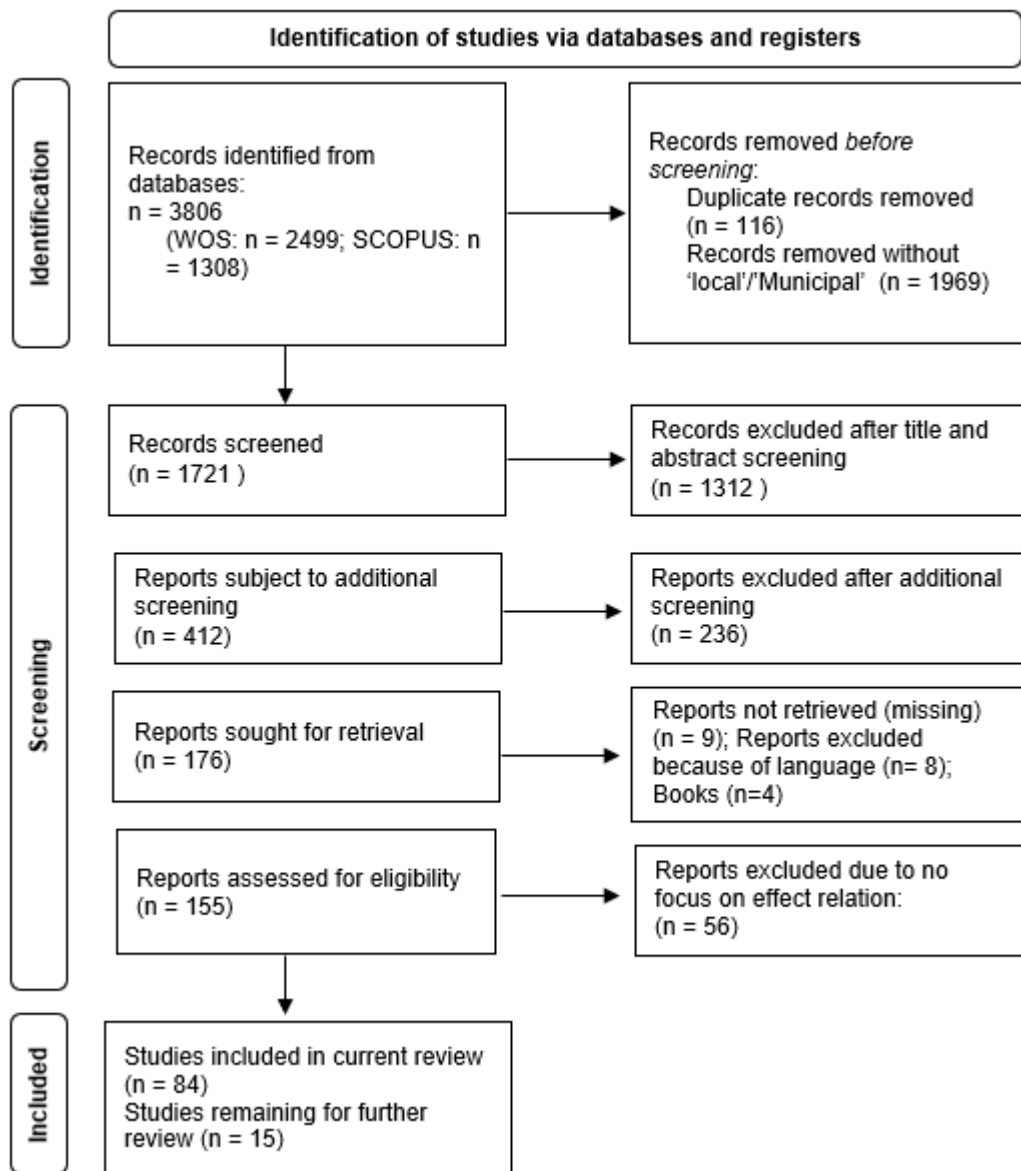


Figure 1 - PRISMA Flowchart - Process of record selection

As a result of our search in both databases we identified 3806 records. As the central topic of the current literature review is the effects of citizen participation at the local level we delineated the scope of retrieved records accordingly, selecting those studies that explicitly mentioned 'local' or 'municipal' in their title and/or abstract (1721 records). The title and abstract of these studies was then screened for further eligibility on the basis of following criteria:

- Title and/or abstract mentioned a (potential) effect of participatory initiatives on the local level.
- Title and/or abstract mentioned the general study of effects of participatory initiatives (not specified) on the local level.
- Title and/or abstract that mentioned a form or different forms of participatory arrangements on the local level.

- Title and/or abstract that mentioned contextual factors (potentially) determining the effects of participatory initiatives.

This search delivered 412 records that were subject to further and more stringent screening focusing solely on empirical research thus excluding fundamental or theoretical contributions. The records were subject to additional eligibility criteria further delineating the scope of the literature review to:

- Title and/or abstract explicitly mentioning effects and a form of participatory arrangement at the local level.
- Excluding studies that only concerned motivations or factors for the mere introduction of participatory arrangements.
- Excluding (as stated above) records that are theoretical and fundamental in their contribution.

Such additional filtering resulted in 176 records that were sought for retrieval of which 167 records were found (missing records: $n = 9$). The current review includes English, peer-reviewed articles thus excluding an additional 12 records. The remaining records ($n = 155$) were subject to a full-text eligibility check. In addition to the abovementioned criteria, articles that did not investigate the presence or absence of an effect relation and/or possible factors at the basis of such relation were further excluded ($n = 53$). In line with the current status of the literature review a selection of contributions published in 2021 ($n = 15$) are to be further reviewed and, if eligible, integrated in current review.

This final eligibility criterion embodies the connection of the abovementioned research questions linking observed effects and possible factors explaining such effects. Recent systematic reviews have equipped a similar approach focused on specific effects (spill-over effects) of mini-publics (van der Does & Jacquet, 2021). Through application of this criterion the current review enables us to look beyond the 'potential' effects and assumptions that characterize the normative debate on democratic innovations and participatory governance. In doing so, the current review aims to heed to the earlier call of scholars to provide a more systematic answer to the question if and how participatory arrangements deliver on their promises (Michels, 2011; Geissel & Newton, 2012). The current review aims to provide more clarity regarding the actual effects observed by scholars in the past decade.

The current study equally entails a set of limitations through wielding the PRISMA-method. In searching, reviewing and selecting studies the eventual results of current review are contingent on our initial search query and selection process. We aimed at encompassing a wide variety of concepts related to citizen participation, arrangements as well as concepts related to effects. The filtering process further encompasses a potential risk in excluding studies that effectively pertained to the local level but which was not mentioned throughout the title or abstract. This equally applies to those studies that observed effects of local participatory arrangements but failed to include this information in the title or abstract of the study at hand.

3.3. Coding of the records: observed effects and contributing factors

The studies subjected to full-text screening were coded through the use of a scheme based on the abovementioned conceptual framework encompassing information on the research design, observed effects and contributing factors shaping the effects as mentioned by the authors. The section below delves into the different categories used to map the observed effects and the compilation of (quasi-contingent) factors related to the design of the participatory arrangement as well as contextual factors mentioned by authors.

Observed effects

Six broad categories were equipped based on previous work on the potential benefits participatory arrangements could produce (Fung, 2003; Renson, 2021). In light of the exploratory nature of the current review these categories were further specified on the basis of previous scholarly efforts in mapping the potential effects of democratic innovations (Geissel & Newton, 2012) as well as on the mentioned effects in the reviewed studies. In wielding such an interactive and iterative approach the framework was sensitive for effects for which no category was yet established.

At the outset of the current systematic review we aimed at distinguishing effects situated on a micro- and macro-level by adapting the framework accordingly (e.g. 'better decision' situated on the micro-level, 'better policy' situated on the macro-level). In doing so discerning empirical contributions that join the 'systemic turn' in research on democratic innovations. Such macro-effects pertain to systemic impacts on non-participants and the wider public or having a certain degree of durability in time (Ingham & Levin, 2018; van der Does & Jacquet, 2021). However, it proved difficult to make a clear distinction between such effects from the empirical contributions. This further hampered the process of distinguishing concrete directions of the effects and the contributing factors. In line with the aim of the current review we opted for a broader take. Thus, eventually adapting the framework to three broad categories: *better support*, *better policy* and *better citizens*. Encompassing both, but not distinguishing between micro- and macro effects in the actual analysis.

These three broad categories are preceded by 'better', indicating their possible contribution to support, policy and citizens in line with the assumed benefits of participatory arrangements. We do stress that the aim of the current review equally entails to identify and map negative effects or decreases in certain values and neutral or no apparent change as observed by the authors. The category of 'better support' dealt with observed effects that add on to (or deteriorated) the *input*- and *throughput* legitimacy of the process, involved political actors or the political system in general. A further distinction between effects on *input-legitimacy* and *throughput legitimacy* was made. The first category pertains to the question if and how citizens are (better) represented and equally involved through the use of participatory arrangements vis-à-vis current representative institutions (Geissel, 2012; Calluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2016: 2). Throughput-legitimacy then concerns the quality of the process. For example, transparent procedures through which accountability relations between political and societal actors can take form further shape the possible contribution to legitimacy.

'Better policy' then captures effects that are related to *output-legitimacy* indicating the effectiveness or performance of participatory arrangements. Different conceptions throughout the literature are wielded to describe the capacity of participatory arrangements '*to solving the substantive problems they are set to address*' (Fung, 2015: 5) or attaining goals set out to achieve (Geissel & Newton, 2012: 169).

'Better citizens' encompassed effects that relate to changes at the individual or aggregate level in knowledge, (civic) skills, (internal and external) political efficacy and learning among participants. Therein, participation is seen as school of democracy (with particular learning potential at the local level).

Contributing factors: design and context

In wielding the typology established by Elstub & Escobar (2019) we integrated four ‘families’ of democratic innovations to code the empirical research included in the current review. ‘Mini-publics’, ‘participatory budgeting’, ‘collaborative governance’, ‘e-participation’ and ‘referendum’ were used as labels to code the discussed arrangements. Secondly, we coded if and which of the quasi-contingent features contributed to the observed effects as stated in the included studies. For example if, according to the authors, the participant selection method contributed to an increase in perceived legitimacy we included ‘participant selection method’ as one of the contributing factors. Thus, excluding factors that were solely mentioned in e.g. describing the case at hand and not specifically contributing to the observed effect(s).

With regard to the contextual factors, we coded if the role of the involved actors contributed to the observed effect as mentioned by the authors (1) or if the role of involved actors was not mentioned (0). In line with previous literature (Michels & Binnema, 2019; Bussu, 2022) we equally coded for factors linked to the ‘embeddedness’ as factors contributing to the observed effects. If the study mentioned the presence or absence of a legal framework, the (dis)connection to the existing representative institutions, the re-occurring (or ad-hoc) nature of the arrangement or the involvement of civil society actors the ‘embeddedness’ category was labeled as (1). Additionally we coded factors linked to the ‘capacity’ of the local government initiating the participatory process (Geissel & Hess, 2017). More concretely, the potential role of resources provided by the municipality, personnel attributed and the experience of the municipality with participatory procedures. Finally, in remaining sensitive to factors outside the initial coding scheme, we included ‘other contextual factors’ as mentioned by authors further divided in four categories: individual-level factors, process-level factors, systemic level factors and factors related to the possible outcomes of the process.

4. Results

4.1. Overview of the studies included

The current review encompasses 83 empirical studies. We see a remarkable balance in the number of qualitative and quantitative designs. Qualitative methods were applied in 36 studies next to 35 contributions that wielded a quantitative approach and a remaining 12 studies that included a mixed methods research design.

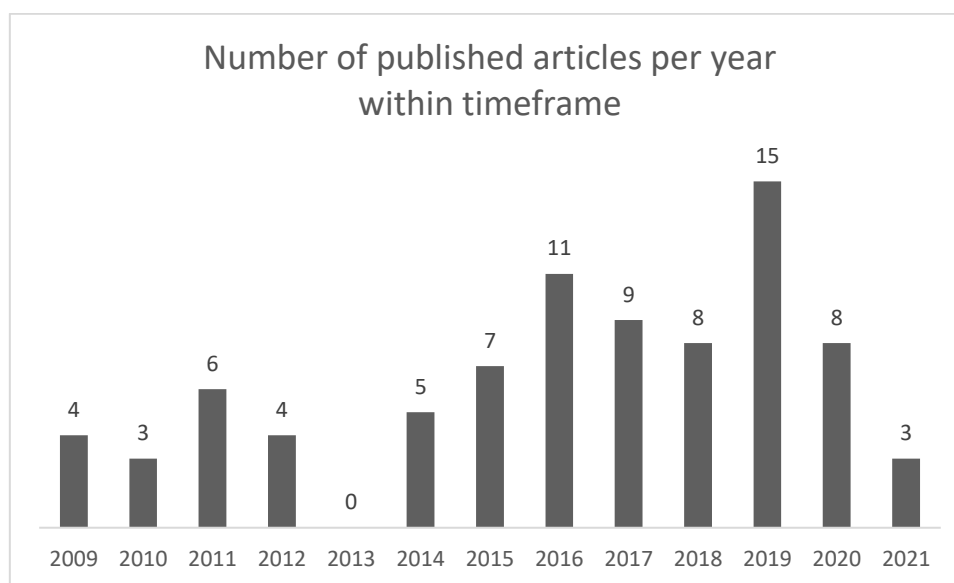


Figure 2 – Number of articles published per year within the timeframe included

Figure 2 displays the number of articles published per year in the timeframe included in the current review. Overall, an increase in the scholarly attention for the effects of participation on the local level can be discerned.

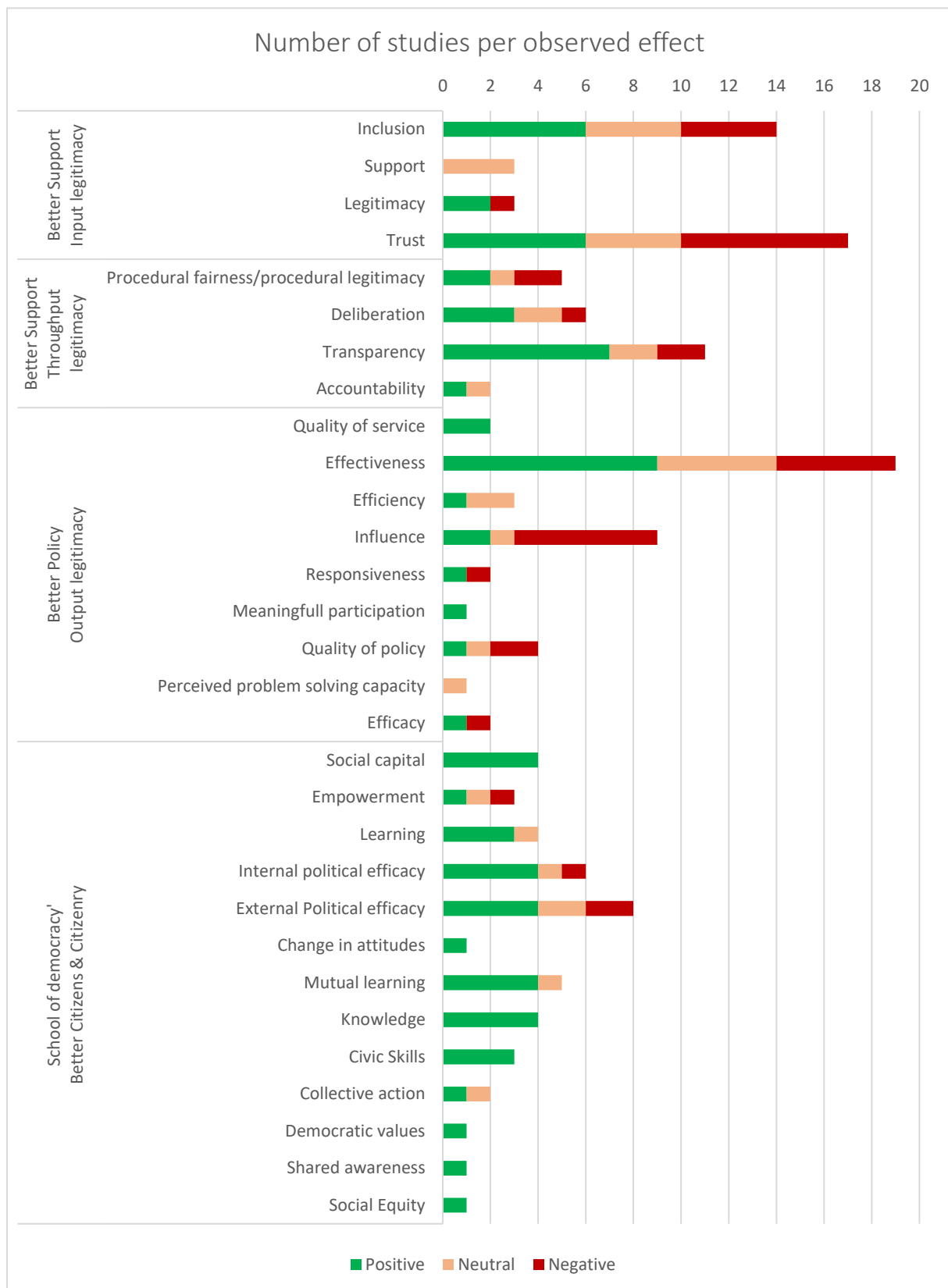
In line with the abovementioned coding scheme, we categorized studies according to the researched effects in three categories that correspond to potential outcomes of participatory initiatives at the local level. The iterative approach implied a refinement within these categories through adding labels and further specifying observed effects. In this respect we added *input-legitimacy*, *throughput legitimacy* and *output legitimacy*. Within the category of ‘better support’ this enabled us to specify the part of the political system the observed effect pertains to (*input- or throughput legitimacy*). The final coding categories can be found in annex.

In addition to a nominal inventory of the observed effects, we also coded their direction. In doing so we are able to discern positive (or increase), negative (or decrease) and neutral (no observed changes) outcomes. For example, J. Font and Galais (2011) found that the role of civil society organizations in designing the participatory arrangement increased the deliberative capacity of the process. Thus ‘deliberativeness’ was positively affected. The approach does contribute to providing the reader with an oversight of the observed effects throughout the literature and enables us to identify trends.

Figure three displays the distribution of observed effects from the empirical studies included in the current systematic review. More often than not a study discusses multiple effects. Our data thus displays the mentioned effects across included studies. The empirical works under review 37 findings pertaining Effects within the category of output-legitimacy, containing effects related to improvement of policy and performance of participatory arrangements, are slightly less observed (41 findings) than effects pertaining to 'better citizens' and displaying effects related to changes in attitudes, skills and knowledge (49 findings). However, the latter category does suffer from conceptual density encompassing 15 denominators pertaining to individual level-effects.

Considering the direction of the effects, the studies under review mostly report positive impacts or an increase in the observed features (77 findings). In contrast, negative impacts (or decrease) are less frequently reported (36 findings). The literature thus tends to the '*for better*' in our title, without neglecting the '*for worse*'.

This discrepancy can partially be accounted for when taking the substance of the 'school of democracy' into consideration. Studies focusing on changes in skills, attitudes and knowledge of the participants, and the operationalization for measuring such changes, are inherently focused on the presence or absence (status-quo) of the mentioned effects. As such, explicit negative impact on e.g. 'learning' or 'social capital' is not measurable or reported. However, a decrease of or negative impact on internal and external political efficacy can be observed (3). 'Political inefficacy' as experienced by participants may surface (J. L. G.-E. Fernandez-Martinez, P.: Jimenez-Sanchez, M., 2020) as a possible effect pertaining to a waning disbelief of being able to influence political decision-making (Lindell, 2020).



4.2. Observed effects

The figure above provided an overview of the effects observed in the studies included. The section below delves deeper into these effects and their directions.

Better support – input legitimacy

From the data overview we can derive a significant amount of scholarly attention concentrated on 'inclusion' (14). Findings report an increase in 'inclusiveness' (6) but equally refer to a possible detrimental effect (4). Findings reporting changes in 'inclusiveness' through participatory arrangements on the local level mostly refer to the 'descriptive representativeness' vis-à-vis the general population. As such, successfully involving those groups that are typically excluded further contributes to the inclusiveness of the initiative.

In achieving this, findings indicate the importance of direct interaction with these groups. Civil servants present in disadvantaged neighborhoods able to bridge the gap between local representative institutions and underrepresented strata of society e.g. succeed in engaging citizens to get involved (L. v. H. de Graaf, M.: Michels, A., 2015; T. R. Nyseth, T.: Agger, A., 2019). However, the merits of such a personal approach reoccur in cases with a highly (descriptive) representative group of citizens involved (B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010).

Next to this more personalized approach, relying on existing (civil society) networks or community organizations to involve citizens produced mixed outcomes. Involving civil society organizations in the process signals the significance of a process initiated by local government to other actors (J. G. Font, C., 2011). However, contradictory findings stipulate that through involving community organizations no 'new' participants (and voices) were included. Thus, deteriorating the inclusive character of the process (A. D. G. Michels, L., 2010). 'Self-selection' further entails a risk for partisan mobilization among participants. Potentially steering the process and acting as a barrier for participants to *voice* their opinion that might defer from the partisan tones present (Bassoli, 2012).

The latter refers to an additional aspect of inclusion: *equality of voice* (Smith, 2009). This refers to getting the chance to participate on equal terms and being able to voice interests during the process while respecting co-participant' views (Lindell & Ehrström, 2020). In turn this is dependent on the ability of participants to engage in such discussions thus reliant on their internal political efficacy and civic skills (cf. infra). Equal means to participate in terms of internal political efficacy and the needed (civic) skills could be achieved through facilitation or training of the participants before or during the process. However, a promise of training to achieve more of a level-playing field among participants can also have a contradictory effect, scaring off participants reluctant to invest additional time and effort in such preparatory activity (Arceneau & Butler, 2015). Eventually resulting in a lack of citizens from strata of society for which the training was meant. Remarkable in this category are the findings indicating a decrease in 'trust' from citizens towards institutions and political actors (7) which, in our sample of studies, is higher than the observed increase of trust through participating in participatory initiatives. This is in line with earlier work on the role of citizen participation and its differential effect on trust and legitimacy stating that the mere act of participation rather influences legitimacy perceptions than increasing trust in political institutions (Johnson, 2015). However, these indications of the direction of the effect on trust deserve nuance. Trust remains a complex concept that can pertain to the process-level (S. S. Barros, R., 2016; C. B. Wilkinson, J.: Salt, K.: Vines, J.: Flynn, E., 2019), that of (specific) public actors (C. R. Guemes, J., 2019) or ranges across governance levels (Gielen, 2017; S. L. Kim, J., 2012). It might even be the case that a decrease in trust on process- or individual level is contingent on levels of trust in the broader political system (Johnson, 2015). Furthermore, effects on trust are dependent on other evaluations made by participants and effects experienced by these

actors. For example, a decrease in feelings of (external) political efficacy or lack of influence on the process deteriorate levels of trust of participants in political institutions (J. L. Fernandez-Martinez, Garcia-Espin, & Jimenez-Sanchez, 2020). Conversely, participants that gain more knowledge about the functioning of (local) government through participating in participatory arrangements show higher levels of trust in political institutions (Swaner, 2017). Finally, a decrease in trust does not immediately indicate a complete lack of trust resulting in 'mistrust' (C. R. Guemes, J., 2019; C. B. Wilkinson, J.: Salt, K.: Vines, J.: Flynn, E., 2019) or 'distrust' (Montambeault, 2019a) in public authorities.

Equally noteworthy is the lack of studies that discuss effects as 'support' or 'perceived legitimacy'. Gathering support for a policy proposal through involvement of citizens has the potential to increase input-legitimacy (Geissel, 2009). The studies under review, however, paint an inconsistent picture with regard to the directions of the effects thereon. Those that did mention effects on support saw no increase after the participatory event (Geissel, 2009; Hartmann, 2018). Studies indicating an increase in perceived legitimacy were based on the outcomes of the processes that through involvement of citizens gained in legitimacy, thus rather referring to *output-legitimacy*. Factors indicative for the loss of legitimacy could be situated on process-level such as the absence of a truly inclusive participatory process (Fenton, 2016; Gardesse, 2015), thus rather referring to *input-legitimacy*.

Better support - throughput legitimacy

With regard to effects contributing to or deteriorating *throughput legitimacy*, the findings point to a markable increase in transparency. At the same time the data remains rather inconclusive with regard to the direction of the effects for accountability, procedural fairness and deliberativeness. Our data suggests a lack of studies regarding (perceived) accountability as a result of participatory initiatives. A possible explanation is the focus within the included literature on 'transparency' which further determines the possibility of participants to hold involved actors (political or administrative) to account (Cabannes, 2015).

Scholars researching potential effects on transparency often depart from the perception of the participants as an indicator. Consequentially, the assessment is related to others on their participation and the process it follows. Assessments of transparency seem to correlate with the overall satisfaction with and the degree of (perceived) influence throughout the process (Gardesse, 2015; S. L. Kim, J., 2012, 2019). Additionally, the supposed increase in transparency through participatory governance further affects the levels of influence that participants (perceive to) have, following the popular mantra of 'information is power' (Gardesse, 2015) and citizens assess government as more trustworthy (Swaner, 2017). Thus, results pertaining to an objective contribution to or detriment of transparency are mostly absent. Theory stipulates that citizen involvement demands a form of information disclosure thus increasing transparency on the process or issue at hand from the side of the instigating actors. Moving beyond the estimations of the partaking citizens such a link was confirmed through a large-n study effectively finding an increase in the (active) provision of information as a result of the introduction of participatory initiatives (Welch, 2012). Finally, the differential conceptualization and operationalization of 'transparency' further distorts clear-cut conclusions. Next to the (more) measurable indicator of 'provision of information', a genuine or sophisticated level of understanding of such information by participants, could additionally be interpreted as an indicator (M. I. L. Brun-Martos, I., 2017; Swaner, 2017). In turn, this is inevitably linked to potential gains in knowledge or even internal political efficacy.

Under the banner of throughput legitimacy we can also find a selection of studies that refer to the increase of procedural fairness and procedural legitimacy (Herian, 2012; Jaske, 2018; Kim, 2016). The

concepts pertain to a value judgement of the procedures by the citizens subjected to them (Bua, 2018; Jaske, 2019). As such, these concepts are related to general legitimacy perceptions of such processes.

With regard to the effects on deliberative capacity of a participatory process, further shaping mutual listening, understanding and consensus building among participants, individual motivations for the partaking in initiatives and the inclusiveness of the arrangement were shown to have an impact. Citizens taking part in an initiative through an open call participate on the basis of individual motivations. A selection of studies pointed out that this resulted in expressing (personal) preferences rather than deliberating with other participants (A. Michels & de Graaf, 2010; van Maasakkers, 2020). Purposive selection then contributes to an increase in deliberative capacity as it allows for conversation and leaves space for participants to learn from each other's arguments and reach consensus (S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015).

Better policy – output legitimacy

Turning to observed effects that pertain to the promise of 'better decisions' and 'better policy' through participatory governance, thus contributing to its output-legitimacy, we find a great deal of scholarly attention for the possible increase in effectiveness and influence through participatory arrangements. However, through wielding an open-coding strategy, we also found a fair amount of conceptual ambiguity with regard to 'effectiveness'. The concepts wielded in the studies encompassed a variety of interpretations. This makes drawing conclusions on possible directions of the effects harder. Secondly, we observe a number of related concepts that aim to describe possible effects on the outcome. We briefly elaborate on the conceptual density as displayed above before turning to the directions of the effects as observed by the studies.

A variety of articles interprets 'effectiveness' in line with the abovementioned definition from our conceptual framework which signifies 'successful identification of collective goals' as well as 'having the capacity to implement policy to reach those goals' (Geissel & Newton, 2012). A number of studies did wield this interpretation. As such, the effectiveness of local participatory arrangements depends on the possible administrative burdens and legal constraints involved actors face when outputs of the arrangements are to be implemented (Geissel, 2009; K. F. Yang & Pandey, 2011). More straightforward is the degree of decision-making power granted to partaking citizens. Studies found an increase in effectiveness in those cases that continuously included citizens from agenda-setting to granting the final approval of policy measures. Leaving limited to no space for manipulation (B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010; Fenton, 2016; S. Franceschini & Marletto, 2015).

Next to this interpretation, 'perceived effectiveness' is mentioned in a number of studies (S. S. Barros, R., 2016; Conrad, 2011; S. Kim, 2016; A. F. Leal & Lui, 2018; Seller, 2017). Indeed, the assessment of the participants, or involved actors, can provide valuable information but does not necessarily pertain to the same results as the previously mentioned outcome, namely identification and reaching of set goals through the participatory initiative. Closely related to this are conceptions that refer to effectiveness as 'needs of citizens reflected in the policy process' (Lim & Oh, 2016). However, authors are right to mention that integration in the policy process doesn't necessarily imply actual implementation thus wielding 'rate of implementation' of policy proposals as a possible yardstick for measuring effectiveness of participatory initiatives (Font, Smith, Galais, & Alarcon, 2018). In addition, some conceptions simply refer to the 'good' functioning of the participatory process (Geurtz, 2010; K. F. P. Yang, S. K., 2011). Other referring directly to output-legitimacy as the effectiveness of the policy outcomes for the people concerned (Gundelach, 2017).

A significant amount of findings further referred to a decrease in the level of 'influence' as perceived by participants related to design choices and interaction with involved actors. Evidently, 'influence'

pertains more to the individual level rather than a judgement on the level of the process such as effectiveness. This becomes apparent when considering one of the three axis' in the well-known work of Fung (2006) which directly pertains to extend of power and influence.

The observed decreases in the degree of influence are related with the competence and skills of participants. Naturally, influence is further determined through the actual power vested into the participatory initiative and the possibility to determine the outcome of the participatory procedure. Involvement after decisions are taken naturally hamper real influence. Besides, even if participatory processes are 'effective' in terms of 'identification of goals' absence of political will to effectively attain them will limit eventual influence (Bua, 2018).

The component of 'output-legitimacy' related to effectively addressing problems (or achieving goals) identified through participatory initiatives is further conceptualized as 'perceived problem-solving capacity' (Bučaitė-Vilkė, 2019) or 'local government efficacy' (Perez Espes, Wimmer, & Moreno-Jimenez, 2014; Petrova, 2011). Achieving such better decisions or policy adapted to preferences of citizens often comes down to quality assessments by citizens. The included studies provide rather inconclusive or anecdotal findings with regard to the direction of effects on the assessment of the quality of policy and quality of services (Fenton, 2016; Hartmann, 2018; Montambeault, 2019b). Additionally, it seems that assessments of the quality of services through participating and gaining knowledge on the service-delivery process does not produce a positive assessment in the wider population (spill-over effect) (Dauti, 2015). Lastly, we notice a clear absence of studies centering around 'efficiency'. With only one finding indicating a possible increase in efficiency through participatory budgeting. (Y. J. Oh, S. H.: Shin, H., 2019).

Better citizens – 'school of democracy'

The ways in which participatory arrangements on the local level contribute to 'better citizens' and a 'better citizenry' are well-documented. From the 49 associated findings we can distinguish a predominantly positive picture. As mentioned earlier, this data must be interpreted with caution. The observed changes in the studies under review focus on the presence or absence (status-quo or 'neutral') of the mentioned effects. A decrease in knowledge or civic skills is thus not measured or found.

Standing out in the current overview are the effects on internal and external political efficacy. Respectively referring to perceptions of being able to undertake effective political actions and the to the belief that political decisions can be influenced and (local) government is responsive. In line with previous work, current empirical contributions signify an increase in internal political efficacy through deliberative events (Lindell, 2020; Y. Oh & Lim, 2017). Increased knowledge on the policy process and political system contributes to a decrease in internal political efficacy (Lindell, 2020; K. B. Strandberg, K.: Berg, J.: Karv, T., 2021).

Citizens partaking in participatory initiatives did experience learning effects or considered themselves more knowledgeable. Not surprisingly, this occurred mostly in deliberative settings with facilitation (R. Deyle & Slotterback, 2009; S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015).

Slightly more scholarly attention was devoted to the positive impact citizen participation had on the development of social capital. Authors pointed towards an increase in both 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital respectively pertaining to a strengthening of internal relationships among participants and establishing new contact between governmental actors and existing community initiatives (Geissel, 2009; S. Kim, 2016).

4.3. Design and contextual factors

The current section elaborates on the variety of arrangements mentioned throughout the empirical contributions. In discussing these arrangements we identify their essential design features and how these relate to the observed effects. Along the ‘families’ of arrangements we explore if and how the role and involvement of politicians and contextual factors related to embeddedness and capacity of the municipality weigh in on the observed effects. In line with the open-coding strategy wielded throughout the review, we remained vigilant for contributing factors that did not fit the aforementioned framework.

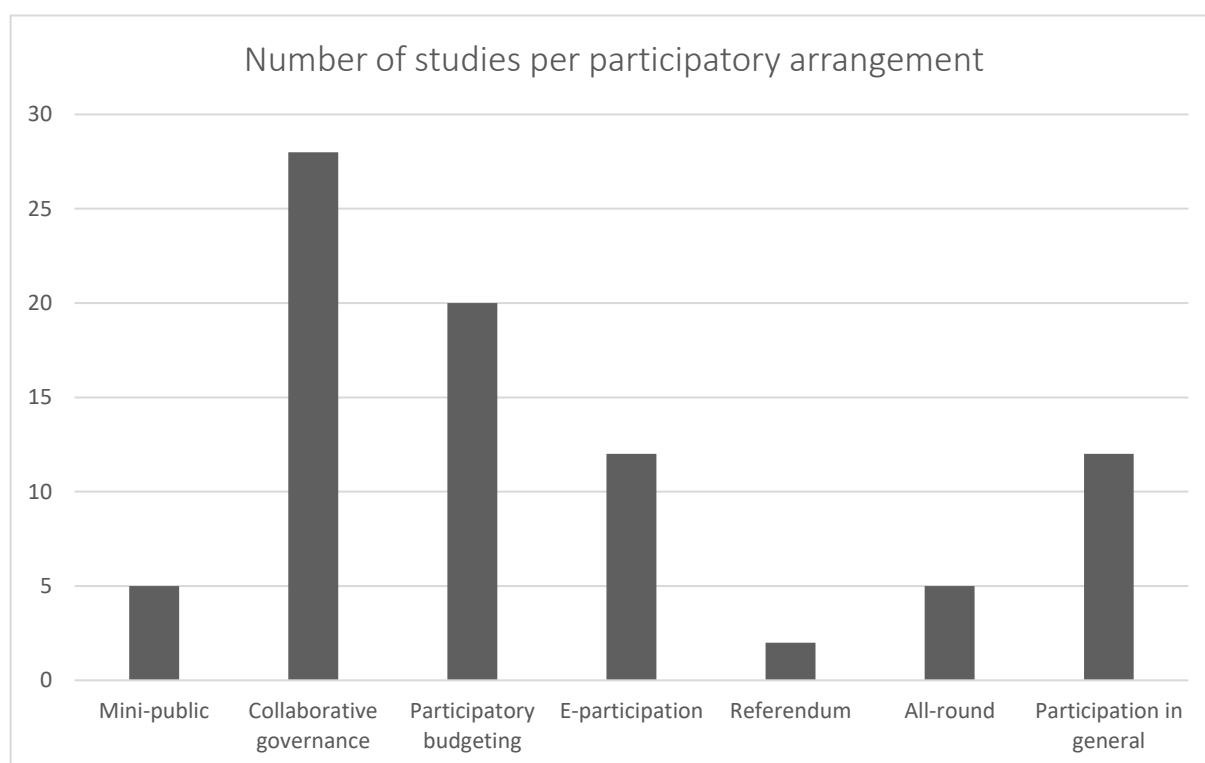


Figure 3 – Number of studies per participatory arrangement

We depart from a typology on the families of democratic innovations to categorize the arrangements under study (Elstub & Escobar, 2019). Studies coded as ‘all-round’ focused on a variety of arrangements of which the method was predominantly based on the use of existing datasets on participatory initiatives. ‘Participation in general’ then encompasses studies that focus on ‘participation mechanisms’ or ‘participatory governance’ not specified to a specific arrangement or a set of distinctive features that could enable categorization. Only a small number of included studies referred to direct democratic procedures (Dvorak, 2017) or the effects of a local referendum on future political participation (Kern, 2018). Closely related is a recent case where in the context of an approaching referendum effects of mixed deliberation were researched (K. B. Strandberg, K.: Berg, J.: Karv, T., 2021). However, this inability to categorize the discussed cases in the typology does not imply a redundancy of the remaining categories. For example, the extend of power and influence vested in participatory initiatives or the involvement of specific actors mentioned as contributing factor to a specific observed effect are valuable findings to include in our overview regardless of the ‘fit’ to a specific family of democratic innovations.

Mini-publics

A first observation is the apparent lack of empirical studies on the observed effects of ‘mini-publics’ at the local level. This, despite including a specific search term at the beginning of our search. This finding contrasts with recent systematic literature reviews highlighting an increase in research interest on the (macro-political) consequences of mini-publics (van der Does & Jacquet, 2021). From our findings we can derive that research on the effects of mini-publics at the local level is still developing. This finding could equally imply the still lower level of usage of this form of democratic innovation at the local level.

In addition, a greater amount of included cases signified deliberative procedures but did not meet the requirement of ‘sortition’ or ‘random selection’ as this entails an eliminable feature of mini-publics (Elstub & Escobar, 2019). The findings of these studies on mini-publics mainly focused on the potential increase in internal and external political efficacy and learning effects detected among participants (S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015; Lindell, 2020; A. Michels, 2019; A. B. Michels, H., 2019; Y. L. Oh, S., 2017). Identified contributing factors center around the mode of communication (deliberation) and involvement of political and administrative actors to facilitate or guide the process. Increase in involvement of political or administrative actors does however not always contribute to the effectiveness or ‘influence’. The (in)existent ‘political will’ remains determinant for the eventual translation into policy (Michels & Binnema, 2019). Other findings stress the need for coordination by the relevant authority as essential for the ‘success’ of the procedure (S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015).

With regard to embeddedness, authors pointed towards the ‘ad-hoc’ nature of the mini-publics as potentially harmful for the effective impact on policy (Michels & Binnema, 2019). Involvement of political actors in mini-publics at the local level furthermore did not guarantee the effectiveness of the forum in terms of political uptake of the recommendations although it did achieve a broader social impact, bringing together communities (Michels & Binnema, 2019).

Collaborative governance

A substantial amount of studies can be brought under the banner of ‘collaborative governance’ (28). This immediately implies the vast variety of arrangements situated in this category. Therefore we included a list of initiatives as they were mentioned throughout the included studies (Annex IV). Again, the variety in labeling signifies the diverse nature of initiatives. Ranging from ‘participatory mapping exercises’ to ‘Mixed deliberation panels’. A future effort in further specifying this range of initiatives would further aid in providing an overview of (under)researched forms of collaborative arrangements. The current review does provide a basis for identifying factors related to these arrangements that contribute to the observed effects.

Within the analyzed collaborative arrangements the contribution of the quasi-contingent features is rather ambiguous. A large part of the studies did not refer to any of the design features as a contributing factor to any of the effects. These studies do stress the roles of the involved actors to shape certain outcomes. Next to this finding, studies mentioned ‘participant selection method’ (10) center around the negative influence of ‘self-selection’ on the inclusiveness of the initiative, further shaping the outcomes of the initiatives (Farrelly, 2009; Geissel, 2009; K. B. Strandberg, K.: Berg, J.: Karv, T., 2021). The studies that highlighted the ‘extend of power and authority’ (7) in collaborative governance arrangements as a contributing factor mostly underline the ‘advisory’ nature of the bodies (Geissel, 2009; D. L. Leal & Teigen, 2018; Seller, 2016) with a notable exception (Bua, 2018).

A majority (20) of the collaborative arrangements signals the importance of the involved actors as a factor contributing to the observed effects. More specifically, the involvement of experts and specialized public administrators had mixed effects. Their contribution and expert role can be

facilitative in identifying and reaching the goals set out in the collaborative arrangement (B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010; C. R. Guemes, J., 2019; A. D. G. Michels, L., 2010). But simultaneously this could highlight or even aggravate existing asymmetries in capabilities or knowledge, leaving citizens confused or with little influence (Gardesse, 2015). Facilitators or civil servants could then function as go-between and ensure a level playing-field among the involved stakeholders (Damyanovic, 2014; B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010; C. R. Guemes, J., 2019). When the literature refers to the role of political actors it centers most around the possible benefits this involvement has for the connection with the local representative arena or institutionalization of the collaborative arrangement. It is argued that such connection contributed to closer connection to decision-making bodies, affecting the responsiveness of local government and effectiveness of the arrangements (Dauti, 2015; Gustafson, 2017; K. B. Strandberg, K.: Berg, J.: Karv, T., 2021) or even trust between the involved actors (Dauti, 2015; S. Kim, 2016). Too much involvement of political actors equally triggered an opposite effect, reducing effectiveness of the procedure (Farrelly, 2009)

As it comes to embeddedness, a selection of studies (15) marked the relevance of political commitment and/or the (dis)connect(ion) between participatory arenas of governance, the temporal dimension and the absence or presence of a legal framework. The temporal dimension related to the 're-occurrence' of initiatives which signaled the (im)possibility of continuing the participatory trajectory (B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010; Farrelly, 2009; Gustafson, 2017; K. B. Strandberg, J.: Karv, T.: Backström, K., 2021). With regard to the role of the absence or presence of a legal framework, findings remain inconclusive. On the one hand, the presence of a legal framework ensured more political commitment. But simultaneously a tight one limited possibilities for citizens to exert influence (Geissel, 2009; Seller, 2016). Sometimes, the application in practice differed resulting in bad translation to policy (Bua, 2018).

Factors contributing to observed effects from collaborative arrangements related to 'capacity' (8) underlined the importance of sufficient resources provided by the municipality to the initiatives in terms of time and financial backing (Dauti, 2015; Fenton, 2016; A. F. L. Leal, L., 2018) and resources and time available from the participant' side (Blunkell, 2017; Dauti, 2015). Having previous experience with participatory processes was further highlighted as beneficial to the collaborative process and its outcomes (J. K. Baldy, S., 2019; Fenton, 2016; Gundelach, 2017).

Participatory budgeting

A large section of studies focusses on participatory budgeting initiatives at the local level (20). Within this category a large part of the studies did not mention specific quasi-contingent features as contributing factors to observed effects (9). Half of the included records referred to factors related to the involvement of actors (10), embeddedness of the initiative (10) and factors related to capacity (10).

The first two provide partial clarification on the contributing factors. More specifically, political actors facilitated the flow of information (Geurtz, 2010) and ensured the inclusion of excluded groups (Postigo, 2011) next to professional facilitators that aided the process (Manes-Rossi, 2021; A. D. G. Michels, L., 2010). An important negative outcome points to the motivations of politicians for getting involved. Political motives decreased trust in the procedure and political process (Lehtonen). Factors related to embeddedness point to the relevance of legal anchorage in the form of a fixed community fund or legal framework (Kasymova, 2014; Szescilo, 2018) as well as intra-government mechanisms that facilitate effectiveness of the arrangements through translation of preferences into policy (Cabannes, 2015; Geurtz, 2010; Lehtonen). Within the PB literature it is not surprising that the allocation of funds to the initiative (or lack thereof) influenced the outcomes (M. I. Brun-Martos & Lapsley, 2017; Cabannes, 2015; Lehtonen). Additionally, the experience with previous processes did

equally surface as a factor contributing to effectiveness of the arrangements (Manes-Rossi, 2021; Y. J. Oh, S. H.: Shin, H., 2019; Szescilo, 2018).

Those cases mentioning them paint an equally distorted picture of possible relevant quasi-contingent features. The 'extend of power and influence' and 'participant selection method' were both equally referred to (5). With regard to the first, the mere 'consultative' nature of the initiatives was translated into neutral outcomes related to 'effectiveness' or 'perceived effectiveness' (Gundelach, 2017; D. L. Leal & Teigen, 2018).

The participant selection methods mentioned reveal the two sides of 'purposive selection' in PB procedures. On the one hand, purposely selecting participants caused distrust as political instigators deliberately excluded certain (groups of) citizens supposedly lacking sufficient communicative skills (Wilkinson, J.: Salt, K.: Vines, J.: Flynn, E., 2019). On the other hand, we note a negative influence of purposive selection on inclusiveness as recruitment relied mostly on existing social structures and community organizations leaving 'new participants' out of the picture (Karner, 2019). Inversely, purposive selection aimed at increasing participation of specific groups contributed to an increase in social equitable outcomes through redistribution of the funds (No, 2020). The deliberative nature of the decision-making mode in PB procedures further establishes the positive impact of the procedures.

E-participation

The fairly recent literature on e-participation equally encompasses a variety of mechanisms enabling participatory budgeting, proposal of policy measures and consultation. In the studies under review a fair amount investigated e-participation processes that were consultative of nature (6) or part of a participatory budgeting initiative (3). The contributing factors to identified effects center around the functioning, use or usability of the applied e-participation tool rather than the known quasi-contingent features or mentioned contextual factors (Afzalan, B., 2018; A. I. B. Alonso, R. L., 2016; S. L. Kim, J., 2012). From a normative perspective e-participation has the potential to increase inclusion as limited personal resources have to be put to use by participants. But as is apparent through the included studies, this outcome is not guaranteed. Perceived inclusiveness suffered in e-participation processes as participants were reluctant to learn skills to be able to participate or experienced a threshold to do so (Afzalan, B., 2018; Alonso & Iglesias, 2020; Arceneaux, D. M., 2016). Moreover, it remains rather unclear what non-technological factors lay at the basis in deciding to partake in an e-participation process (Alonso & Iglesias, 2020; Alonso, R. L., 2016). A number of studies compare e-participation and offline arrangements with a focus on the 'mode of communication' and its possible contributions (Kim, J., 2019; Kubicek, 2016; Lim & Oh, 2016). A comparative analysis across 13 participatory arrangements even found no single advantage in improving the quality of the proposals, inclusiveness or a contribution to community building vis-à-vis traditional participation modes (Kubicek, 2016). Findings equally point to the fact that the offline or online character in itself does not determine effective participation but the degree of representativeness and deliberation does. As such, offline arrangements encompassing a wide variety of citizens and providing space for deliberation, can produce substantive outcomes that are more likely to be adopted by the political class (Lim & Oh, 2016). Blended participation and mixed forms of offline and online participation are pushed forward as possible remedy to attain democratic qualities.

Studies discussing various forms of participation

A number of articles aimed at an overview of participatory initiatives (J. G. Font, C., 2011) provide insights based on a large set of cases moving beyond (single-)case studies (J. S. Font, G.: Galais, C.: Alarcon, P., 2018. Jaske, 2019). These shed light onto the role of variations in design of the arrangements or other contributing factors. As such, the important role of civil society and non-

governmental organizations in supporting local government in attaining specific effects became apparent. Involvement of such actors in the establishment of the procedures and a clear connection to local policy-making (embeddedness) resulted in increased deliberative capacity as well as the inclusiveness of the arrangements (Font, C., 2011). Similar findings point to the important role of NGO's in supporting local governments that lack experience, personnel and resources to successfully implement citizen participation. In doing so, increasing the problem-solving capacity of municipalities and making processes more inclusive (Petrova, 2011). With regard to 'effectiveness' of the arrangements results indicate the irrelevance of factors related to capacity (e.g. size of municipality, resources available or participation policy) in determining the 'rate of implementation' of proposals. Contributing factors are related to the process and proposal itself. Effective implementation occurs when proposals are less costly, have internal political and administrative support and fit current practices (Font, G.: Galais, C.: Alarcon, P., 2018). Other findings connected the three dimensions of Fung's democracy cube in order to evaluate the participatory initiatives organized by local governments in the area of urban planning. Purposive selection of participants provided space for deliberation and more often resulted in broader influence for participants. In line with this, processes that relied on self-selection and aggregation of preferences as mode of decision-making resulted in low levels of influence for participants (van Maasakkers, 2020).

Participation in general

As previously mentioned a selection of included articles does not specify a specific form of arrangement but discusses possible effects of citizen participation or participatory governance in general. Half of these studies did not mention any form of quasi-contingent feature as a contributing factor but rather focus on factors related to the process itself (involvement throughout the policy cycle) or on the level of the municipality (e.g. size). The literature that does mention quasi-contingent features follows an equal division along the different features: two studies mentioning the extend of power and influence, two focusing on the mode of participation and lastly two articles mentioning the relevance of the participant selection method.

5. Discussion

Based on the abovementioned findings this section discusses the observed effects in relation to the mentioned design features and other contributing factors. Identifying trends along the observed effects on the level of the arrangements proved difficult as these were scattered across the 'families of arrangements'. We see two possible reasons for this. First, some of the wielded categories for the arrangements were too broadly defined (e.g. collaborative governance as a somewhat residual type). Secondly, the variation in internal characteristics within a family of arrangements were insufficiently accounted for. Albeit these limitations of the current review, the quasi-contingent design features mentioned as contributing factors to certain effects do enable us to discern trends. As such, the discussion departs from the observed effects and aims at discerning trends among contributing factors linked to positive or negative effects throughout the literature.

Better support?

Results on the 'inclusiveness' of participatory arrangements leave a mixed image. However, the included studies do point to some indicators that hamper or facilitate more inclusive processes. As might be expected, this particularly pertains to the participant selection method. The bias in procedures relying on self-selection towards 'the usual suspects' is well known. It implies risking underrepresentation of underprivileged strata of society which can be alleviated through the purposeful involvement of civil servants. Adopting a personalized approach for these specific groups contributes to more inclusive processes (L. de Graaf, van Hulst, & Michels, 2015; B. Denters & Klok,

2010; C. Guemes & Resina, 2019; T. Nyseth, Ringholm, & Agger, 2019). In terms of involved actors we see mixed results in involving civil society actors to increase inclusiveness as it relies on existing networks of which engaged citizens are already part of (A. D. G. Michels, L., 2010) but involvement of such actors could simultaneously signal the significance of the process and increase scrutiny in developing the arrangement (J. Font & Galais, 2011). Studies on e-participation provide a rather discouraging image of the potential to contribute to more inclusiveness. The digital divide and perceived lack of civic skills lay at the basis of the failing (N. Afzalan & Muller, 2018; K. Arceneaux & Butler, 2016). It remains to be seen how more hybrid arrangements can increase inclusiveness.

Additionally, we observe that less attention is paid to personal motivations of (non-)participants which could shed light on individual factors (A. H. I. Alonso & Iglesias, 2020). We do discern that participation out of self-interest could further hamper the deliberativeness of the procedure (A. Michels & de Graaf, 2010). Only a handful of studies focused on changes in procedural fairness but do pertain to perceptions of the wider population. Remarkable here is that discursive participatory mechanisms increased (perceived) procedural fairness among non-participants (Jaske, 2019). Moreover, the degree of knowledge about local politics (or awareness) influences these fairness perceptions. Citizens with limited knowledge reported more positive perceptions of procedural fairness (Herian, 2012) and more awareness of local politics moderated this positive effect (Jaske, 2019). This matters as procedural fairness perceptions further determine the perceived legitimacy of local government. Additionally, the involvement of local governmental actors mattered. Insufficient oversight or explanation of the process by instigating actors resulted in lower levels of procedural fairness (Bua, 2018; Herian, 2012). A firm commitment and active involvement of local governmental actors thus increased procedural fairness perceptions (Kim, 2016). Other findings underline an increase in perceived legitimacy through early involvement of citizens enabling collective identifications of goals and in doing so increasing chances of successful implementation (Fenton, 2016). This is illustrative for the connection between input, throughput and, eventually affecting, output legitimacy.

From the empirical articles we can derive that directions of the effect on trust are dependent on process related factors but equally to other observed effects. Evaluations of (previous) processes or subsequent lack of implementation negatively influenced levels of trust in local government (J. Baldy & Kruse, 2019; S. A. R. Barros & Sampaio, 2016). In addition to an implementation deficit, the lack of clear communication (transparency) and managing expectations with regard to the outcomes further deteriorate trust in local government if these expectations were not met (J. L. Fernandez-Martinez et al., 2020; Lehtonen; C. Wilkinson, Briggs, Salt, Vines, & Flynn, 2019). For participatory budgeting procedures such lack of trust became apparent if there was a discrepancy in expected (or announced) resources and available resources and goals could not be met (Cabannes, 2015; Lehtonen, 2021). In this sense trust in local government is shaped by the perceptions of fairness of the procedure (Swaner, 2017) and outcome satisfaction but it remains unclear to what extent this trust endures over time (C. Guemes & Resina, 2019). The relationship between trust and actual influence of participants on the outcome was confirmed in results indicating an increase in trust as participants indicated a higher level of influence through participatory processes (Kim & Lee, 2012). Furthermore, positive perceptions of government transparency (Gardesse, 2015; S. L. Kim, J., 2012) and citizens that gained knowledge on the workings of the policy-making process through participation reported an increased levels of trust (Volodin, 2019; Swaner, 2017). Whether the involvement of political actors during the process contributed to an increase in trust among participants or not, mostly depended on case-specific factors such as the salience of the issue (Strandberg, 2015) or the interactions with the political actors (Swaner, 2017).

In assessing the empirical results we discern that effects on (perceived) transparency are not directly related to specific features of the arrangements but findings do point to the role of involved actors and process-related factors. Scarce findings on the role of the design features were situated in e-participation literature. E-participation did however not live up to the expectation of increased perceived transparency vis-à-vis offline participation as citizens did not gain insights into how their input was further processed (Kim & Lee, 2019). Involvement of political or administrative actors negatively influences transparency if these actors do not adapt the provided information to the capacities of participants (M. I. L. Brun-Martos, I., 2017) and keep depicting them as 'lay participants', further determining their potential to influence the process (Gardesse, 2015). Furthermore, we discern the relevance of comprehensive involvement from agenda-setting to evaluation in increasing the perceived transparency of the process (Kim & Lee, 2019). Additionally, other findings indicated a link between perceived influence and transparency. If citizens perceived to have had influence on policy outcomes they equally perceived local government to be more transparent (Kim & Lee, 2012). Thus, one could argue that transparency perceptions are shaped by the willingness of political and administrative actors to involve citizens meaningfully. As, providing citizens with information in a comprehensible manner paves the way for citizens to co-determine the process and its outcomes. In doing so, further contributing to throughput legitimacy and, eventually, output legitimacy.

The few findings on the deliberative capacity of participatory arrangements indicate the importance of the participant selection method and mark an apparent trade-off between input- and throughput legitimacy.

Arrangements relying on self-selection attract participants expressing personal interests rather than engaging in deliberation (A. D. G. Michels, L., 2010; van Maasakkers, 2020). This could equally result in (one-sided) partisan representation or even in a situation where participants refrain from getting involved in the discussion as their preferences differ from partisan standpoints (Bassoli, 2012). Larger-n studies confirm this apparent trade-off by pointing to the decrease of inclusiveness in arrangements that use discursive methods (J. G. Font, C., 2011). Involving political actors hampers the deliberative capacity of arrangements as participants felt they were not treated as equals (Brun-Martos, 2017; Farrelly, 2009; Gardesse, 2015). Involvement of political actors throughout the procedure does impact the (perceived) influence of the procedure differently (cf. *infra*). Lastly, tentative findings point to the relevance of re-occurring initiatives that enable further learning and mutual understanding among participants (Farrelly, 2009; K. B. Strandberg, K.: Berg, J.: Karv, T., 2021). Turning to deliberative decision-making caused participants to consider wider needs of the community resulting in more social equitable policy choices (No, 2020) and a change in social policy aiding overall well-being (Wampler, 2019). Additionally, mixed deliberation with political actors resulting in decision-making through deliberation increased trust in the political actors and local institutions (Volodin, 2019).

Better policy?

Studies assessing the (perceived) effectiveness of participatory arrangements or the (perceived) influence of citizens on the eventual outcome provide an extensive view on factors that contribute to more or less effectiveness or influence. However, current research can benefit from increased harmonization of concepts and operationalization as to enable a shared understanding in the literature into if and how participatory arrangements are 'effective'.

The degree to which participants were involved from identification of the goals of the initiative until its implementation evidently increased (perceived) effectiveness (B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010; S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015; Manes-Rossi, 2021). More specifically, including an option for participants to 'grant approval' further ensured effective uptake of all citizen' recommendations (B. K. Denters, P. J., 2010; S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015). More self-explanatory factors contributing to effectiveness were related to the power vested in the arrangements in which a consultative nature hampered effective translation of preferences into policy (Gundelach, 2017; A. F. L. Leal, L., 2018). Moreover, the characteristics of proposals or input of citizens determine effective political uptake as low-cost proposals that fit the existing policy agenda are more likely to be adopted (Font, Smith, Galais, Alacron, 2016).

Factors related to embeddedness display mixed results on the presence of a legal and financial framework signaling commitment from local governments. As such, a tight framework hampers room for maneuver (Geissel, 2009). Confirmed financial commitment (in the case of participatory budgeting) could in turn ensure effective implementation (Font, Smith, Galais, Alacron, 2018). The connection to representative institutions further enables effectiveness through intra-governmental bodies that foster communication between participatory arenas and the workings of the municipal government (Geurtz, 2010; Cabannes, 2015).

Procedures can be perceived as ineffective through the lack of apparent support by political actors (S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015). The political will of these actors is thus of paramount importance (J. S. Font, G.: Galais, C.: Alarcon, P., 2018; A. B. Michels, H., 2019). Furthermore, the involvement of civil servants was beneficial to increase effectiveness (Font, Smith, Galais & Alacron, 2018). They ensured input from citizens was taken into account throughout the process (Denters & Klok, 2010) and provided a flow of information between citizens and political actors (Geurtz, 2010). Such a facilitative role does however imply a certain degree of professionalism and leadership that determined how input was handled (Yang & Pandey, 2011).

Perceived effectiveness is also influenced by capacity. It decreased as a lack of resources and infrastructure to implement proposals became apparent throughout the process (Leal, 2018). The amount of resources dedicated (time, facilitators, funds) to the arrangements further exemplifies the participatory determination of municipal government increasing the likelihood of adopting proposals (Font, Smith, Galais, Alacron, 2018). Specifically for participatory budgeting the available budget further determined to what extent proposals could be implemented (Manes-Rossi, 2021). Findings do underline the relevance of previous experiences with participation (Manes-Rossi, 2021; Y. J. Oh, S. H.: Shin, H., 2019). However, this does not guarantee as such that perceptions on the effectiveness of participatory initiatives are positive. Failure to implement recommendations of previous processes resulted in a lack of trust and perceived effectiveness of current initiatives (S. S. Barros, R., 2016). Reported decreases in influence can be attributed to the lack of provision of (understandable) information (transparency) and a possible discrepancy in capacity between stakeholders to express political opinions (Conrad, 2011; Gardesse, 2015; Seller, 2016, 2017). An additional source of lack of

influence derived from our findings is the involvement in (latter) stages of the process which, naturally, limits the capacity of participants to set the agenda (Blunkell, 2017; Conrad, 2011).

Participatory arrangements at the local level as a ‘school of democracy’?

Studies gauging changes in internal and external efficacy are prominent in our results. These studies mostly center around arrangements with a deliberative component (mode of communication) and almost exclusively make out the collection of mini-publics included in our review (S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015; Lindell, 2020; A. Michels, 2019; A. B. Michels, H., 2019; Y. L. Oh, S., 2017).

Next to the findings that indicate the contribution of deliberative initiatives (Lindell, 2020; Oh & Lim, 2017), internal political efficacy is equally related to the involvement of facilitators that guide deliberations (Michels, 2010; Bassoli, 2012). However, through learning about the decision-making process internal political efficacy could also decrease. This seemingly contradictory finding relates to the realization of participants that the political decision-making process is complex and knowledge is often insufficient. This might even affect external political efficacy in a negative manner (Lindell, 2020).

Apart from this sobering finding, research is rather ambiguous and cautious with regard to factors at the basis of increased levels of external efficacy. Personal characteristics and motivations proved to be slightly influential (Johnson, 2015) but simultaneously the mere supply of participatory initiatives (Y. Oh & Lim, 2017) and the proximity of local elections spurred external political efficacy of citizens engaging in participatory initiatives (Dipoppa, 2020).

Face-to-face interactions and arrangements with a discursive mode of participation further shaped learning effects and increases in (reported) knowledge by participants. Processes that required active information provision by participants spurred social learning (Carroll, 2018; R. S. Deyle, C. S., 2009; Fahy, 2009; S. M. Franceschini, G., 2015). Instances where a (limited) change in attitudes and support for democratic values was established, further indicated the importance of direct contact with political actors (Swaner, 2017). However, a possible negative impact on effectiveness of participatory governance was indicated as bonding capital disturbs existing relationships resulting in opposition towards proposed measures through participatory arrangements (Pares, Bonet-Marti, & Marti-Costa, 2012). The active facilitative role of governmental actors played a vital part in realizing both forms of social capital (Geissel, 2009; S. Kim, 2016). Additionally, a close connection to political and administrative actors contributed to an increase in bridging capital (Kim, 2016). A particular factor was the flow of information between the actors through the participatory initiatives (Damyanovic, 2014; Geissel, 2009).

6. Conclusion

The current systematic literature review aimed at providing more insight into the observed effects of participatory arrangements at the local level and factors at the basis of such effects. Although the amount of empirical contributions on effects has increased in the past decade, systematic contributions at the local level remains rather scarce. This is reflected in the ambiguity plaguing the scholarly debate referring to an abundance of possible conceptualizations of effects and subsequent operationalizations. The distinction between perceived and actual effects is a case in point. The nature of the effects studied should be clearly indicated throughout empirical contributions and not limited to the operationalization.

Despite the variety in effects, scholarly attention also seems to center around a select few. Effects on inclusiveness and questions revolving around how participation contributes to more input-legitimacy through involving a variety of citizens of all walks of life is prominently featured throughout the literature.

Our review contributed in exploring factors at the basis of the rather mixed results assessed in the empirical studies. This can be seen e.g. with regard to trust. Our review revealed that process related factors matter for perceptions of trust but other assessments by participants of their influence on the outcome and possible discrepancy between expectations and reality also mattered.

Lastly, we discerned a large amount of scholarly attention for the changes in effectiveness of participatory arrangements. However, the findings from empirical contributions point towards a multitude of potential factors that affected effectiveness whilst displaying mixed results with regard to the direction of the effect. It thus seems that effectiveness is a volatile democratic good that could easily be undermined by either one of the mentioned contributing factors.

A remarkable finding from the current review is the large amount of studies that did not consider or report one of the quasi-contingent design features as a contributing factor to the observed effects. This implores us to look beyond process-related factors in aiming to assert the occurrence or absence of certain effects.

Secondly, and related to this, the involvement of political actors or civil servants in the process proved to be an important factor in contributing to the observed effects. We see mixed findings with regard to their involvement in achieving positive outcomes. Facilitators guiding and explaining the process to participants proved valuable in attaining positive outcomes for deliberative procedures. Political actors that are involved signaled the commitment to the process or facilitated a connection to representative arenas but equally contributed to negative instances where participants refrain from partaking in discussions or the involvement predetermines the outcomes of the procedure.

So, for better or for worse? Short answer: it depends and can be either, both or neither. The indicated positivity bias in the current body of literature on effects of deliberative procedures (Spada & Ryan, 2017) does not seem to apply to the collection of studies in this review.

At least for empirical contributions focused on the local level not limited to deliberative procedures. This study provided insights into factors hampering or decreasing specific criteria across arrangements. However, we do observe that the in-depth study of potential negative outcomes of local participatory arrangements is still in its infancy. Studies explicitly focusing on negative outcomes and how these come about remain scarce (J. L. G.-E. Fernandez-Martinez, P.: Jimenez-Sanchez, M., 2020)

Potential avenues for future research

As the current paper is a work-in-progress we propose a number of potential avenues to further our analysis of the literature aiding the overview of observed effects and their contributing factors this review has attempted to provide:

First, in distinguishing apparent trade-offs or relationships between the observed effects. This could enhance our understanding of the interrelatedness among the wielded dimensions of legitimacy. For example, the observed trade-off between inclusiveness and deliberativeness of the arrangement as already hinted at by our findings. This could help signaling the choices that ought to be made by local governments when developing participatory processes but equally provide us with the needed knowledge to estimate the potential effects in real-life procedures. Secondly, further distinguishing between the characteristics within 'the families of arrangements' (e.g. collaborative governance) could

provide more insight into their role in determining specific effects. Third, future research could focus on the overlap between the observed effects that were least mentioned. Different conceptualizations by authors pertaining to the same phenomenon can benefit from more harmonization. Finally, another avenue for further development could consist of delving deeper into the potential contributing factors to further delineate the origin of specific effects.

A certain action in the further development of current review entails an update of the study with empirical contributions that fit the eligibility criteria published since march 2022.

Within the scope of the current review we focused on empirical research that delved deeper into effects of participatory arrangements and factors that lay at the basis of such effects. Inherently narrowing the scope to observations during or after the participatory event. In line with existing research future contributions could integrate the motives, rationales and attitudes wielded by local political actors and civil servants when introducing and designing participatory arrangements, typically situated at the inception of such efforts by local governmental actors (Sonderskov, 2020; Migchelbrink & Van de Walle, 2021). An avenue for future research then lays in researching if and how such attitudes and motivations are connected to possible (changes in) effects . The same applies for perceptions, expectations and motivations of participants. Gauging if and how perceptions on trust, legitimacy and influence evolve throughout the participatory process could further our understanding of what factors determined changes at the individual level.

This requires a more holistic approach in researching participation at the local level encompassing the process from ideation and inception by instigating actors until the implementation and evaluation of the process. A mixed method approach integrating quantitative results in testimonies of participants could aid such research endeavors.

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ANNEX I – Concepts integrated in search query

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Participation	Effect	Participatory budget*
Citizen participation	Impact	Citizens budget
Public participation	Consequence	Citizen panel
Collaborative governance		Deliberative panel
Interactive governance		Referend*
Participatory democracy		Mini-public
Deliberative democracy		Deliberative poll
Democratic innovation		Deliberative survey
		Deliberative for*
		Citizen jury
		Citizen conference
		Citizen dialogue

ANNEX II - Search Queries

The search queries depicted below delivered 3806 records. The search was performed on 02/02/2022.

Scopus

TITLE-ABS(participa* OR participation OR "citizen* participation" OR "public participation" OR "collaborative governance" OR "interactive governance" OR "participatory democracy" OR "deliberative democracy" OR "democratic innovation" AND (effect OR impact* OR consequence*) AND ("municipal*") OR ("participatory budget*" OR "citizens budget" OR "citizen panel" OR "deliberative panel" OR "referend*" OR "mini-public" OR "deliberative poll" OR "deliberative survey" OR "deliberative for*" OR "citizen jur*" OR "citizen conference" OR "citizen dialogue")) AND (LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA,"SOCI")) AND (LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2022) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2021) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2020) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2019) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2018) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2017) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2016) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2015) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2014) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2013) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2012) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2011) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2010) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2009)) AND (LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"United States") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Brazil") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"United Kingdom") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Spain") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Germany") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Sweden") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"South Africa") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Canada") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Italy") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Netherlands") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Japan") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Australia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Norway") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"France") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Finland") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Denmark") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Switzerland") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Portugal") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Belgium") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Chile") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Poland") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Austria") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Czech Republic") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"South Korea") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Ireland") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Slovenia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Greece") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Israel") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Estonia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Croatia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Hungary") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Cyprus") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Iceland") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Slovakia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Lithuania") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Latvia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Luxembourg") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"North Macedonia") OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY,"Undefined")))

Web of Science

(AB=('participat*' OR 'citizen participation' OR 'public participat*' OR 'public participation' OR 'collaborat* governance' OR 'interactive governance' OR 'participatory democr*' OR 'deliberat* democracy' OR 'democratic innovation' AND ('effect*' OR 'impact*' OR 'consequence*')) AND ('municipal*')) AND TI=('participat*' OR 'citizen participation' OR 'public participat*' OR 'public participation' OR 'collaborat* governance' OR 'interactive governance' OR 'participatory democr*' OR 'deliberat* democracy' OR 'democratic innovation' AND ('effect*' OR 'impact*' OR 'consequence*')) AND ('municipal*')) OR ('participatory budget*' OR 'citizens budget' OR 'citizen panel' OR 'deliberative panel' OR 'referend*' OR 'mini-public' OR 'deliberative poll' OR 'deliberative survey' OR 'deliberative for*' OR 'citizen jur*' OR 'citizen conference' OR 'citizen dialogue')) and 2022 or 2021 or 2019 or 2020 or 2018 or 2017 or 2016 or 2015 or 2014 or 2013 or 2012 or 2011 or 2010 or 2009 (Publication Years) and Public Administration or Political Science or Urban Studies (Web of Science Categories) and USA or ENGLAND or GERMANY or NETHERLANDS or AUSTRALIA or SPAIN or CANADA or BRAZIL or ITALY or SWEDEN or BELGIUM or SWITZERLAND or FINLAND or INDONESIA or FRANCE or NORWAY or SCOTLAND or SOUTH KOREA or DENMARK or CHILE or AUSTRIA or SOUTH AFRICA or PORTUGAL or IRELAND or NEW ZEALAND or CZECH REPUBLIC or WALES or ISRAEL or HUNGARY or POLAND or ROMANIA or SLOVAKIA or ESTONIA or GREECE or CROATIA or ICELAND or NORTH IRELAND or SLOVENIA or CYPRUS or MACEDONIA or MALTA or BULGARIA or LUXEMBOURG or LATVIA (Countries/Regions)

ANNEX III – Coding Scheme

	Category	Label
Effects	Better Support	Input Inclusion Support (Perceived) legitimacy Trust Throughput Procedural Fairness Deliberation Transparency Accountability
	Better Legitimacy (Macro)	Input (Null) Throughput Legitimacy Procedural Fairness Political Trust Social Trust
	Better Decisions	Effectiveness Perceived problem-solving capacity Responsiveness Influence Meaningful participation Quality of policy Quality of service
	Better Policy (Macro)	Quality of service provision Effectiveness Influence Quality of policy Perceived effectiveness Efficiency (Social) Equity Outcome satisfaction
	Better Citizens	Social Capital Empowerment Learning Mutual listening Internal political efficacy External Political efficacy Changes in attitudes Self-confidence Empowerment Mutual Learning Knowledge Civic Skills
	Better Citizenry (Macro)	Social Capital Collective action Public engagement Sense of shared awareness

	Other	(OPEN)
Direction	Effect 1 (name) – Effect 2 (name) – Effect 3 (name) – Effect 4 (name) –	+/0/- +/0/- +/0/- +/0/-
Negative?	Other	(OPEN)

Design	Arrangement	All-round E-participation Mini-public Collaborative governance (Specified) Participatory Budgeting Participation in General
	Quasi-Contingent Features	Participant selection method Mode of communication Mode of decision-making Extend of Power & Authority
Contextual factors		Involvement of actors (1/0) Embeddedness (1/0) Capacity (1/0)
	Other contextual factors	Individual level (OPEN) Process level (OPEN) Systemic level (OPEN) Outcome (OPEN)

ANNEX - IV

Variation in Collaborative governance arrangements – As mentioned in included records.	Advisory working groups Participatory mapping exercise Advisory council Advisory committees Citizen panel Digital citizen panel Municipal housing councils LCC (Local community center) Citizen' commission Consultation of civil society actors Working groups Face-to-face deliberation Consultative council Advisory groups Citizen councils Neighborhood panel Consultative panels Deliberative Citizen panel Citizen panel Community data initiatives Urban lab Advisory council Mixed Deliberation (panel)
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ANNEX V - List of included records after full-text review.

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