i·we   /// **Participedia**

McMaster
University

Global Citizens Assembly Citizen Selection and Recruitment Workshop

Wednesday, April 23, 2025 | 12:00pm-2:00pm EST

Iswe Foundation x Participedia

@Iswe_Org
@Participedia

Global Land Acknowledgement

Although a digital database and global community, Participedia is grounded at McMaster University, which is in Hamilton, Ontario (Canada), what is the traditional territory of the Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee, and Mississauga Nations. This land is governed by the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Agreement. The agreement describes the 'dish' to represent the territory and 'one spoon' to symbolize the peoples living on and sharing the resources of the land; only taking what we need and keeping the dish clean. We recognize the ongoing effects of colonial processes of erasure, marginalization, and extraction, of which we are intimately a part. We encourage those joining us today, to reflect solidaristically on the Indigenous sovereignties, colonial legacies, and life relations on the land in which you are residing, or find yourself on in this moment.

Rules of Conduct

This workshop is open-access and grounded in the spirit of collective discussion and a shared commons. We all agree to:

1. **Speak with care, listen with respect:** be mindful of your words, assume good intent, and honor others by listening fully

2. **Challenge ideas, not people:** engage critically and constructively, focus on the content

3. **Make space, take space:** be conscious of the time you are speaking or the space you are taking up in chat, be inquisitive
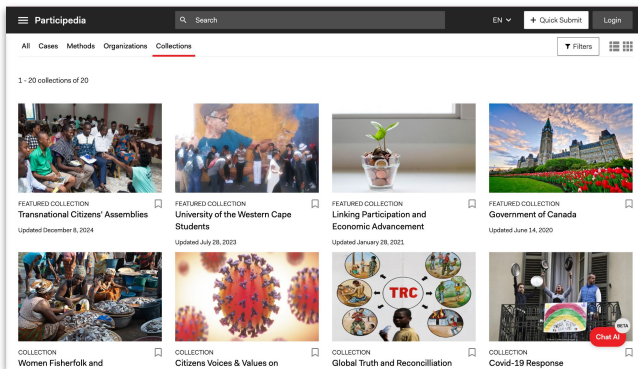
Chat Introductions

To help us get a sense of who is in the room, please briefly describe **who you are** and if you have any **experience with citizens assemblies or global deliberation.**

Links are welcome!

/// Participipedia

- Global democracy research & practice community

- Open-source data crowdsourcing platform

- Education and knowledge mobilization: Participipedia Schools, Teaching Cafes, Design Jams, Conferences, #JustParticipation Podcast + more!

/// Participipedia School on
DIGITAL DEMOCRACY
Exploring New Forms of Democratic Representation, Participation & Governance
Two-part Program, Across Two Locations in Asia!
Part 1:
August 11-12, 2025
Tsinghua University in Beijing, China
Part 2:
August 14-15, 2025
International University of Japan in Minami Uonuma, Niigata, Japan
Register at Participedia.net/ParticipediaSchool

/// Participipedia School on
DEMOCRATIC INNOVATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA
Social Movements, Indigenous Peoples & Traditional Communities
July 27-31, 2025
Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Register at Participedia.net/ParticipediaSchool
Artwork: "Benzimentos (Blessings)" by André Vargas, 2021-current

Iswe

- Foundation working towards political system change
- Convener of the Global Citizens' Assembly for People and Planet
- Initiator of the Coalition for a Global Citizens' Assembly
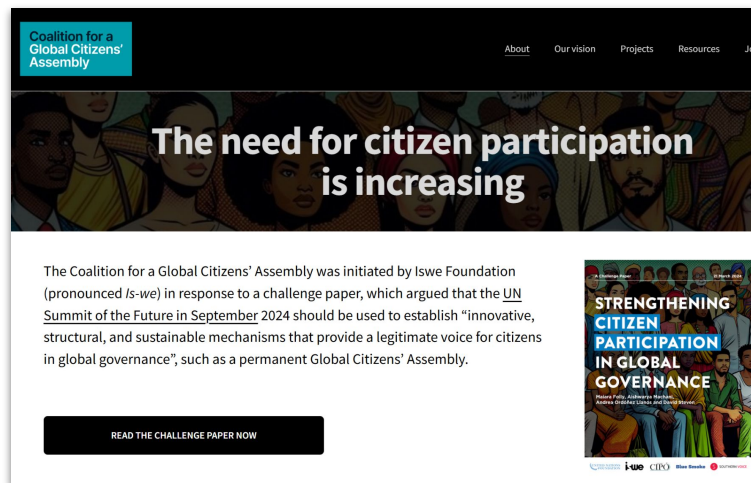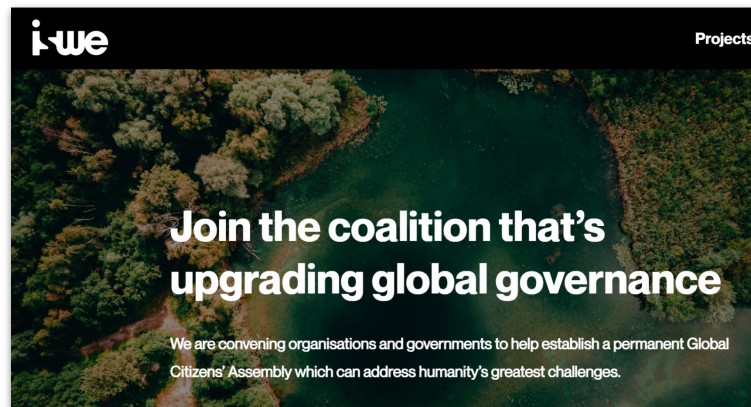
Deliberating in the open -

what approach to recruitment?

23 / 04 / 2025

Reema Patel, Canning Malkin, Claire Mellier, Johnny
Stormonth–Darling, Rich Wilson

i-we

Welcome and principles for deliberating in the open

- **Step forward/step back,** and allow people to share their perspectives in full without interruption. If you have privilege (eg academic or other forms of privilege, check your privilege and make space for less heard voices!)
- **Understand** that this workshop is **future facing** not retrospective - about informing the methodology of the GCA in 2025.
- **We hope that this workshop is useful for you too -** that it is about **facilitating, and progressing your own thinking** and work in this space through creative collaboration (and possibly friction!).
- **Next steps** - share what emerged from the workshop, we commit to explaining how some of this thinking informed GCA methodology, in line with the Vancouver guidelines, and to acknowledging the contributions of speaking contributors in the final report of the 2025 GCA. We plan a **formal written response (article)** to the perspectives shared today, from both speakers and the breakouts, outlining how these have influenced the thinking of the GCA recruitment methodology.

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1. GLOBAL MINI PUBLIC
"anyone on earth can be selected"
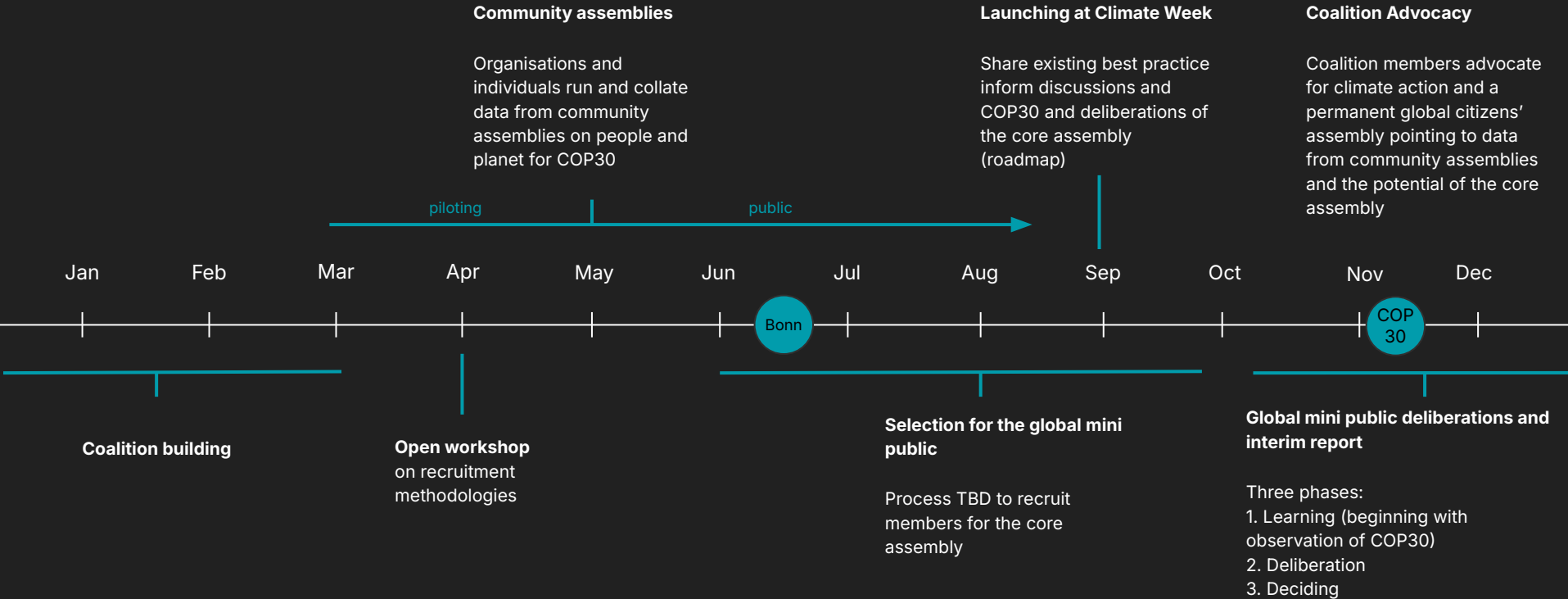
a snapshot of the human family

100 people, a sample of the global population who represent ......

What kinds of diversity? (We are discussing this today)

Funding for this was recently confirmed, and subject to agreement with funders we will share full details publicly in a few weeks.

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The roadmap this year (2025)

Community assemblies

Organisations and individuals run and collate data from community assemblies on people and planet for COP30

Launching at Climate Week

Share existing best practice inform discussions and COP30 and deliberations of the core assembly (roadmap)

Coalition Advocacy

Coalition members advocate for climate action and a permanent global citizens' assembly pointing to data from community assemblies and the potential of the core assembly

piloting   public

Jan   Feb   Mar   Apr   May   Jun   Jul   Aug   Sep   Oct   Nov   Dec

Bonn

COP 30

Coalition building

Open workshop on recruitment methodologies

Selection for the global mini public

Process TBD to recruit members for the core assembly

Global mini public deliberations and interim report

Three phases:
1. Learning (beginning with observation of COP30)
2. Deliberation
3. Deciding

Plans for 2025

Why explore recruitment - specifically?

- Traditional approach to sortition - statistical representation.
- New interventions in the field: Niemeyer and Dryzek's paper, "How to constitute global citizens' forums: Key selection principles" discusses the merits of and alternatives to conventional stratified random sampling.
- Types of selection proposed:
  - Random (random sampling)
  - Diverse (captures relevant variety of social characteristics)
  - Discursive (captures relevant variety of discourses)
  - Developmental (participants with prior experience in deliberative processes to reduce learning time),
  - Affected (degree to which participants are affected by the topic).
- Given Niemeyer and Dryzek's critiques, and others, we are beginning to think about different options for a selection process.

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2. COMMUNITY ASSEMBLIES
"anyone on earth can participate"

Assemblia allows anyone to run their own Assembly anywhere on earth in e.g. communities centers, libraries, schools, organisations, and more.

Community Assemblies follow the same learning journey as the core assembly but over a time period that works for the community. They will produce stories, decisions, data and action plans.

Community Assembly Members

2021	2025	2027	2030
4000+	100,000+	1M	10M

3. CAMPAIGN: CULTURE, MEDIA INFLUENCERS

Izeldete Botelho, Global Assembly Member 2021, Brazil

Madeleine Kiendrebeogo, Global Assembly Member 2021, Cote...

Global Public Awareness

2021	2025	2027	2030
n/a	1%	2%	10%

The Guardian

HELSINKI TIMES
NEWS FROM FINLAND

BBC NEWS

Le Monde

Vanessa Nakate
@vanessa_vash

MOROCCO WORLD NEWS

WIRED

THE TIMES

THE Sun

LTO

HT Hindustan Times

Leonardo DiCaprio
@LeoDiCaprio

EL ESPAÑOL

Forbes

REUTERS

How can the GCA create impact?

Institutional actions
Metric: policy specific uptake and implementation ass

Citizens actions
Metric: self and collective efficacy; and activity logging

Solidarity (local & global)
Metric: social capital [bonding + bridging]

Learning at scale
Metric: retention, comprehension, self-reflection

Inclusion
Metric: global & vulnerability representativeness

Lightning Talks: *Challenges & Prospects*

Round One

Sortition Beyond Borders: The Potentials and Challenges of Transnational Sortition in the Global Citizens' Assembly

Lucas Veloso

Sortition Beyond Borders:

The Potentials and Challenges of Transnational Sortition in the 2021 Global Citizens' Assembly

Lucas Veloso

Postdoctoral Researcher

University of Padua / UFMG

Grounding the Experience of Sortition

- **The value and consequences of sortition**—both for citizens selected and those not selected for citizen assemblies—cannot be fully predicted, demanding careful consideration of their specific cultural, political, and material contexts.

- Interviewing 14 assembly members and 10 cluster facilitators of the 2021 GA, employing Grounded Theory Methodology, we found that personal and contextual factors significantly shape the *experience of being selected by civic lottery*

Grounding the Experience of Sortition

- **Individual political self-esteem:** Interviewees who felt unqualified to discuss the climate crisis viewed sortition as legitimizing their participation, regardless of prior knowledge or status.

- **Perception of legitimacy and value of democratic methods:** In contexts marked by political corruption, participants viewed sortition positively, reinforcing trust in the GA and democratic methods by signaling that "anyone could be there."

However…

- **Sortition alone does not guarantee inclusion:** An individual selected via sortition in southeastern Africa not join the assembly due to limited resources and inadequate infrastructure to support participation.

- **Contextual conditions shape feasibility of sortition:** Community Hosts also struggled to implement random geographic selection in areas with high violence or sparsely populated regions, such as deserts and rural communities.

Selection Methods for a Global Citizens' Assembly: A Chinese Experiment-Based Perspective

Baogang He

Selection Methods for a Global Citizens' Assembly: A Chinese Experiment-Based Perspective

Baogang He

Main Argument: **Lessons from China**

Random Selection Is Not Entirely Random in Practice

- **Global Citizen Assembly and Nation**

- *Number of Participants: Rethinking Representation in the Global Climate Assembly*
- *Whom Selected participants should be represented?*
- *How to Carry out Random Selection or a Mixed Approach?*

  Inclusion and Diversity

  - *Should the Global Climate Assembly Include Critics?*

- *Discursive Representation in the Global Climate Assembly*

Evidence

Randomly selected participants (18)	How each is selected
Participant 1 **Female, student**	I was recommended by my older sister who works at a healthcare institution. She saw a recruitment post looking for Chinese participants and suggested I apply. I had just started university and didn't really understand what the conference was about. She told me it was a global event and encouraged me to participate to broaden my horizons. I submitted the application form and, to my surprise, I was selected.
Participant 2 **Male, self-employment**	What led you to join the Global Assembly? I've always had a strong desire to engage with climate change issues and speak out. I'm also deeply inspired by the vision of a non-governmental, global citizen initiative.
Participant 3 **Male, student**	A senior schoolmate recommended the event to me. At the time, I was already interested in environmental topics, so I registered and was eventually selected.

Deliberative Representation in Mini-Publics: Beyond Simply Sortition

Dimitri Courant

Deliberative Representation in Mini-Publics

Beyond Simply Sortition

Dimitri Courant, Ph.D.
(Harvard University)

HARVARD Kennedy School
ASH CENTER
for Democratic Governance
and Innovation

Two representative uses of sortition

+ **Illusion**: sortition = representativeness.

+ **Representative sample:** large group (1'000 people) &/or mandatory participation (including the non-civically-minded).

+ **Diverse panel:** quotas are necessarily arbitrary, limited, & issue dependent.

+ **Representative dimensions** in DMPs, between descriptive and active representation:

    1. Demographic mirroring,

    2. Diversity of values and/or life experiences,

    3. Advocacy for specific perspectives,

    4. Representation of absent interests (like future generations).

Representation beyond the sorted citizens

+ Much attention is given to the selection of citizens, little to those of **organizers & experts**.

+ How to ensure a **fair representation** of expert & stakeholder positions during auditions?

+ How to preserve the DMP against **illegitimate attempts to influence** its work?

+ Preserving the **equal-access principle** to avoid partisan and group capture.

+ The **paradox of deliberative representation**: initially similar, becoming different.

+ Can **"counter-factual"** & "enlightened" citizens still claim to represent the citizenry?

+ Maintaining descriptive representativeness and enabling transformative deliberation through **referendum**: "the government by the people", not just by the mini-public.

+ These challenges exists at every level and are all **increased in a Global Assembly**.

Hybrid Selection Methods

Hillary Abindabyamu

A Hybrid Approach
Submitted to: ISWE Foundation & Participedia Workshop
Author: Hillary Abindabyamu, Sustainability Specialist, Albert Hofmann Institute for Physiochemical Sustainability

Pure random sampling risks excluding marginalized voices. A 3-phase hybrid model, combining randomness, purposive outreach, and deliberative vetting, ensures equitable representation while maintaining public trust.
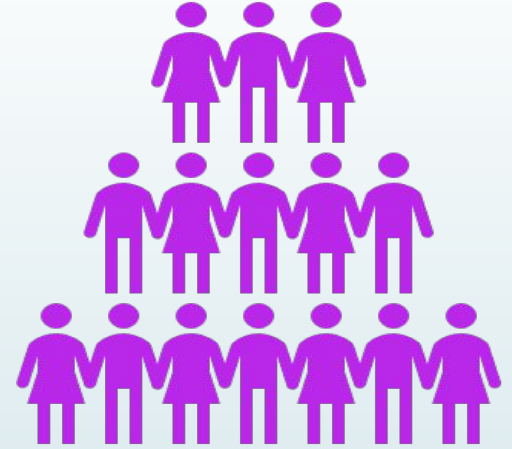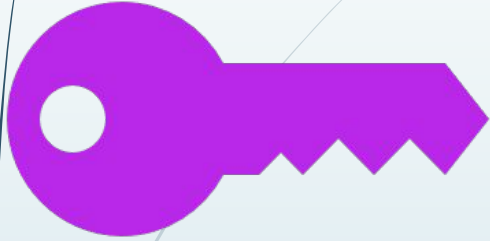
What is the key argument or claim?

The Global Citizens' Assembly must move beyond pure random sampling. A 3-phase hybrid model, stratified randomness, purposive outreach, and deliberative vetting, ensures both statistical fairness and representation of marginalized voices.

Proposed Framework: A 3-Phase Hybrid Model

✔ **Phase 1:** Stratified Random Sampling
Goal: Baseline legitimacy
via demographic/geographic quotas (e.g., 50% Global South, 50% women).

Tool: Algorithmic sortition weighted by:
Climate vulnerability (ND-GAIN Index)
Urban/rural divide.

✔ **Phase 3:** Deliberative Vetting

Panel: Randomly selected GCA applicants + civil society reps review nominations for fairness.

Criteria:
Compensates for gaps in Phase 1 (e.g., lack of disability representation).
Ensures no single group dominates.

✔ **Phase 2 :** Purposive Supplementation
Target Groups: Indigenous leaders, displaced communities, youth activists.

Method:
Community nominations via grassroots partners (e.g.Slum Dwellers International).
Self-descriptive submissions (video/audio accepted).

"They came to our farms and listened." — Ugandan women farmer

Linguistic Considerations for Inclusive Recruitment in Global Citizen Assemblies

Lisa Verhasselt

Linguistic Considerations
for Inclusive Recruitment in Global Citizen Assemblies

Dr. Lisa Verhasselt

A language-inclusive strategy

- Language determines who can participate + sets conditions for deliberation
  - Guiding principle: *no one is excluded due to language*
- Identify languages:
  - Reflect global & regional demographics + historical, cultural & symbolic significance
    - **Community input**: use open calls/surveys to nominate (key) language
  - Set language inclusion quotas using stratified model by language family, region & language overlap, political status
- Inclusive & accessible recruitment methods:
  - Partner with local civil society networks
  - Ensure multilingual & multimodal information materials + applications
  - **Linguistic identity-based + proficiency-based participant selection**
    - Include question(s) about preferred language(s) & mode(s) of communication

A language-inclusive strategy

- Hybrid communication infrastructure:
  - **Language tiers**:
    - Tier 1 = working languages (rationale: global reach)
    - Tier 2 = supported languages (rationale: regional coverage)
    - Tier 3 = community languages (rationale: community significance)
    - Lingua franca(s) + real-time translation + subgroups
  - Support with plain language, culturally adapted visuals, glossaries of key terms in supported languages, …
- Additional:
  - Language justice claus: commitment to non-dominantation + right to express oneself fully in one's chosen language
  - Pre-session language orientation + train facilitators & participants
  - Optional add-ons:
    - Use open-source translation tech
    - Peer-language advocates, language access 'hotline', …

Do not just *translate* deliberations. **Co-create** multilingual conversations from the start.

Exploring Second-Best Approaches

Paolo Spada

Our Claim

- **We recommend abandoning the idea of designing a recruitment system to achieve representation**, as this standard is often unattainable in practice and leaves initiatives vulnerable to criticism.

- **Instead, alternative designs should be adopted with the objective of:**

  - **Promoting Fairness**
  - **Addressing specific failures of inclusion**
  - **Preventing domination/capture**
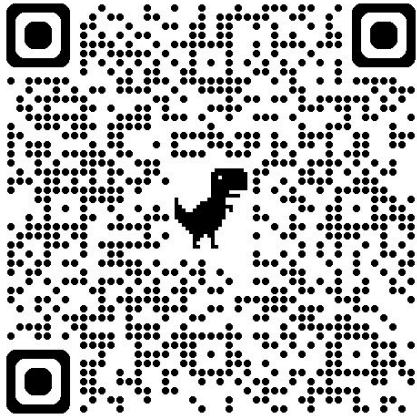
Why Abandoning Representative Claims?

- In a recent article (building upon discussions with academics and practitioners covered in **Blog 1** and **Blog 2**) we highlight the challenges of leveraging sortition based recruitment systems to achieve various ideas of representation:

  - Represent the population's opinions (survey)
  - Represent the demographic diversity of the population (intersectional)
  - Represent population's decision-making styles (collective intelligence)
  - Represent population's discourses (discursive representation)

- **Challenges:**

1. Sample size required is larger than current technology for good deliberation allows
2. No "neutral" way to chose which characteristic to represent
3. Difficulty in securing a reliable list of the entire population to draw from
4. Refusal to participate [OECD data: in 90% of the processes 90% of the invitee refuses to participate, median is below 5%]
5. Group effects
6. Impossibility to use weights in political processes

May Citizens' Assemblies depart from strict statistical representation? Responding to the equality objection

Stuart White

May Citizens' Assemblies depart from strict statistical representation?

Stuart White, Jesus College, Oxford. April 23 2025. stuart.white@jesus.ox.ac.uk

In designing a CA is it ever legitimate to depart from strict proportionality in representation to statistically over-/underrepresent certain groups?

One argument for strict proportionality is that it follows directly from a principle of political equality.

The political equality argument:

1. The design of CAs should respect the principle of political equality: each citizen/person has an equal right to a 'say' = an equal right to representation in a representative democracy.

2. This right is satisfied, and only satisfied, by strict proportionality in representation (by chosen characteristic). Therefore:

3. The design of CAs should respect strict proportionality in representation (by chosen characteristic).

My claim: there is an alternative, more plausible understanding of political equality which allows for departures from equal representation and, therefore, strict proportionality. Such departures may or may not be a good idea, all things considered; but they are not necessarily ruled out by the basic value of political equality.

A reply to the equality argument: 'complex proceduralism'

Beitz 1989 offers a competing interpretation of political equality as 'complex proceduralism': (1) we recognize each person's status as an equal by adopting political arrangements that are <u>equally justifiable to all</u>; where (2) justifiability appeals to *regulative interests* which are: (i) *recognition* – affirming equal status in making decisions; (ii) *equitable treatment* – protection against decisions that put one's life and projects 'unfairly in jeopardy'; and (iii) *deliberative responsibility* – commitment to informed deliberation as the basis for decisions.

(i) may have to be balanced against (ii) and/or (iii). This can entail justifiable movements away from formal equality of representation.

Two examples consistent with complex proceduralism: consociational democracy; a hypothetical constitutional convention in UK that overrepresents minority nations.

Possible applications to a Global Assembly?

(Charles R. Beitz, *Political Equality: An Essay in Democratic Theory,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989.)
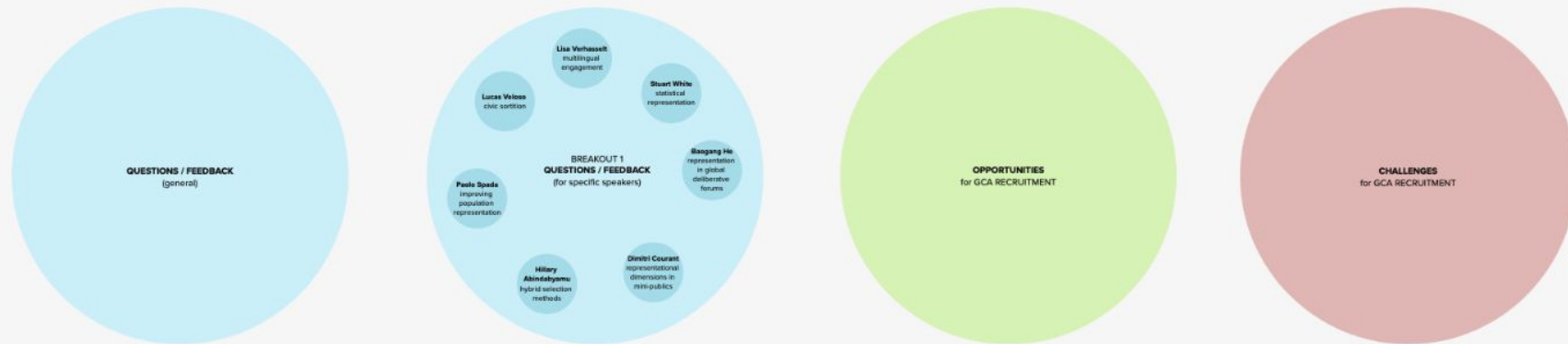
- Brief introductions
- General feedback / questions
- Feedback / questions for specific speakers
- Key **opportunities** and **challenges** for recruitment for a Global Citizens Assembly (GCA)

Lightning Talks: *Methods & Approaches*

Round Two

Community-Specific Recruitment Methods

Azucena Moran

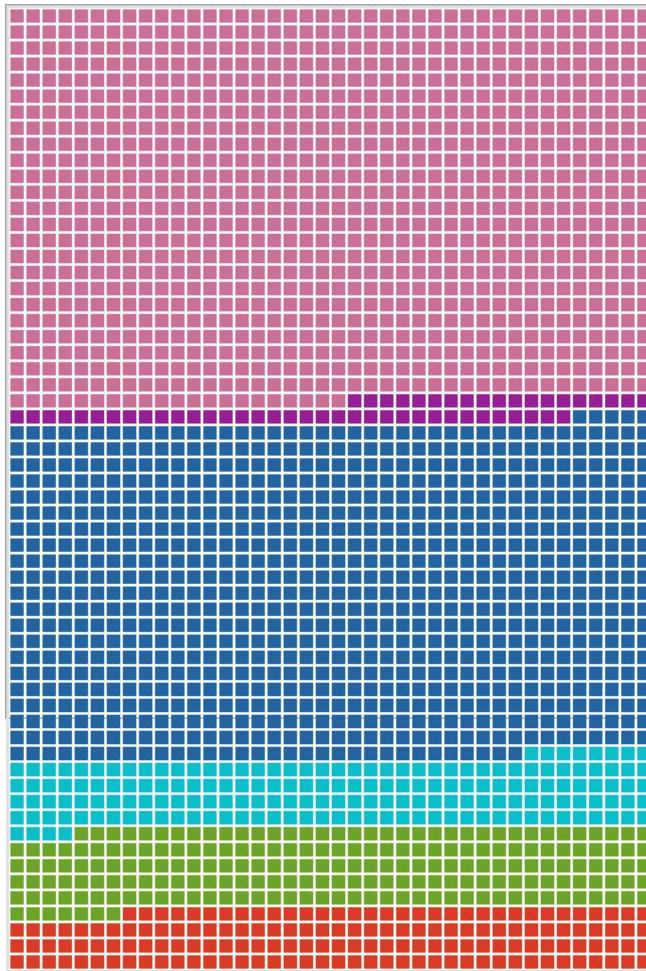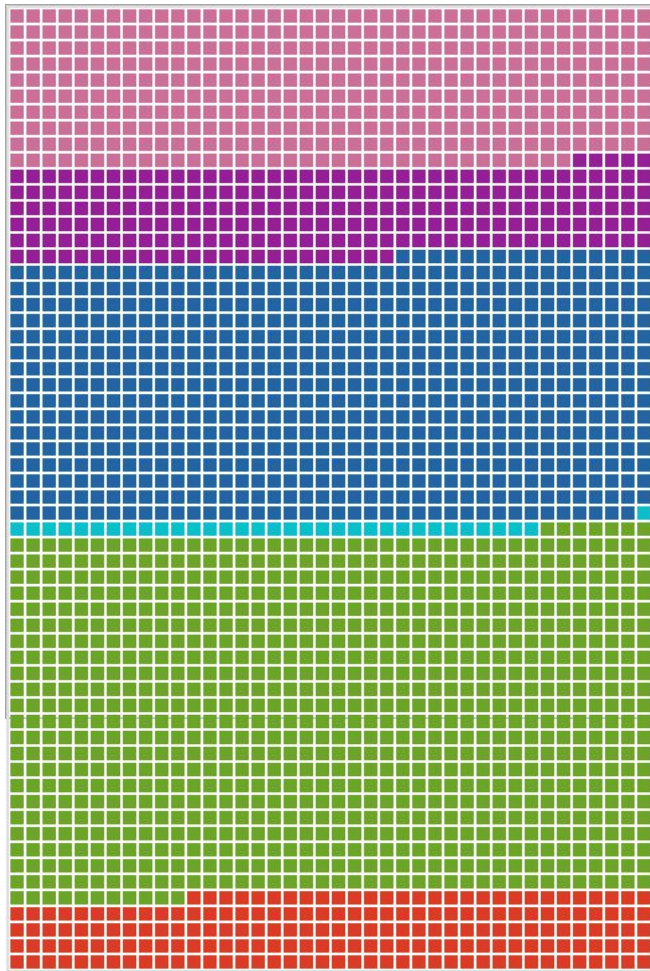# Who deliberates [what is deliberated] at the global level?

Azucena Moran

European University Institute (EUI)

Research Institute for Sustainability (RIFS)

Review and deliberation on COP agreements, consolidating observations from COP, reconsideration of principles, deliberation on speakers

Dialogue

Break / Reading Time

Facilitator's interventions

Translation

Procedural Challenges

Deliberative moments

Connecting recruitment strategies [enabling coalition work around key issues] to climate challenges

- **It cannot be implemented always, everywhere:** An approach that respects deliberative autonomy stresses the need to engage indigenous leaders and traditional governance structures (Xon Riquiac, Sobrino Huarcaya, Morán, 2025).

- Sortition as **a mechanism to promote justice** (Curato, Luís, Ross, Veloso, 2025).

- Recruitment should **leverage culturally embedded engagement strategies** (e.g., Bologna's Neighborhood Labs, Mexico City's LabCDMX, Berlin's upcoming Kiezblocks)

[**What triggered deliberation in the GA?** Talking about the lived experience of an assembly member around extractivism]

Youth Engagement in Climate Assemblies

Lianne Minasian, Katie Reid

Involving children in the Global Citizens' Assembly

The climate crisis is a child rights crisis and children have the right to be involved, and taken seriously, in decisions that affect their lives. And yet, children (those under 18 years of age) are routinely excluded from democratic processes and remain disenfranchised in most parts of the world.

Children (those under the age of 18) should be included in the Global Citizens' Assembly. Children should be recognised as stakeholders (e.g., as a group impacted by the issue), as participants (e.g., as assembly members) and as co-designers/facilitators within the process (e.g., young advisors).

Why? Recommendations better represent the views, concerns, and ideas of all current generations, and involving children leads to increased understanding of, and engagement in, deliberative democracy and climate action.

CRIN CHILD RIGHTS INTERNATIONAL NETWORK

What can this look like?

Parallel process in which children and young people participate in their own assembly and share recommendations with adults' assembly as 'stakeholders' and vice versa.

Integrated parallel processes with strong intergenerational learning and deliberation woven throughout.

Fully intergenerational assembly in which children and adults are recruited to form one assembly, experiencing the learning, deliberation and recommendation-forming together.

Partnerships should be formed with organisations, networks and practitioners focused on children's participation, including those who work with children of different ages, backgrounds and abilities.

CRIN CHILD RIGHTS INTERNATIONAL NETWORK

Equal human worth demands random selection: The GCA's fundamental composition principle

Dr. Farsan Ghassim

The Queen's College, University of Oxford

Iswe/Participedia workshop on Global Citizens' Assembly Recruitment and Selection

23 April 2025

Random selection and equal human worth:
The GCA's core composition principles

The ideal of random selection

- Next GCA Core Assembly's selection procedure should strictly aim for ideal of random sampling from world population

  - Based on underlying cosmopolitan assumption of equal human worth

  - Only way to achieve a statistically accurate representation of global population

- GCA's main appeal and claim to legitimacy

- Deviating from random selection risks jeopardizing GCA project

A brief Statistics 101

- **Assuming random sampling** and a 50-50 split in the population (e.g. Trump vs. Harris), sample sizes below represent the population at 95% confidence within stated error margins:

Sample size	Margin of error
100	9.80
300	5.66
500	4.38
1,000	3.10
10,000	0.98

Source: https://www.calculator.net/sample-size-calculator.Html

- So statistically speaking, the more the merrier, **but only under the assumption of random sampling**!

- Without that assumption, no claim to representativeness!

Problems of and alternatives to abandoning random selection and equal human worth

Problems with alternatives to randomness

- Suggestions to deviate from random selection are well-meaning but deeply problematic:
    - Which minorities or discourses are worth overrepresenting, e.g. Flat Earthers on Mars mission GCA?
    - What are relevant life experiences and who is most affected, e.g. Pacific islanders vs. Sub-Saharan farmers vs. South Asian coastal residents on climate GCA?
    - Who gives us the power and legitimacy to decide on these deviations?
- Arbitrary and normatively debatable selection criteria risk delegitimizing next GCA from inception

Other ways to reach goals

- Alternative paths to achieve suggested aims:
    - Underrepresented minorities could provide expert input to Core Assembly
    - Specific Community Assemblies could magnify underrepresented discourses and life experiences for Core Assembly
- Much more effective than adding a few members of supposedly underrepresented groups to Core Assembly and expecting them to carry burden of representing narrow group they have been reduced to
    - E.g. expecting me to represent Persian-Germans, while I see my role today as providing scientific input as a concerned citizen of the world

Deliberation by Design: Including Open Innovation Tools to the Design of a Global Citizen Assembly

Diana María Dajer Barguil, Armando José Navarro Burgos,
Angela María Beltrán Ortega

DELIBERATION BY DESIGN: INCLUDING OPEN INNOVATION TOOLS TO THE DESIGN OF A GLOBAL CITIZEN ASSEMBLY

Fundación corona   IXTITUTO POLÍTICA ABIERTA   ALCALDÍA MAYOR DE BOGOTÁ D.C. | SECRETARÍA DE PLANEACIÓN | BOGOTÁ

Contact: Diana Dajer, Fundación Corona, ddajer@fcorona.org

Deliberative Meta-Assembly / *Colombia*

Image by: Municipality of Bogotá

From October 18 to 21, 60 Bogotá citizens participated in the first meta-deliberative assembly in Colombia, and one of the first of its kind globally. Unlike typical citizens' assemblies that deliberate on substantive issues, this assembly focused on procedural deliberations about how to design future citizens' assemblies.

The assembly was composed of 34 women and 26 men, representing all 20 localities of the city. Age distribution included 20 young people, 30 adults, and 10 elders. Socio-economically, 30% of the participants were from low-income backgrounds, 10% from high-income backgrounds, and 50% from middle-income groups. To form the assembly, 51,000 citizens were initially contacted, with more than 2,000 expressing interest in participating. Outreach efforts included 11,000 phone calls, public registration sites set up in the city's 20 boroughs, and 40,000 WhatsApp text messages.

The meta-deliberative assembly made several recommendations, ranging from regulating the use of time in future deliberations to establishing methods for replacing members in case of vacancies. It also addressed procedures for revising previous assembly decisions, assisting in the drafting process, and monitoring the implementation of future recommendations by political agents. This included proposing oversight bodies to ensure accountability. To foster consensus-building, the assembly suggested voting mechanisms other than the majority rule and recommended visualization tools to help members understand their peers' perspectives. It also advocated for procedural flexibility, allowing future assembly members to modify agendas and introduce new discussion points. Additionally, the assembly set criteria for selecting future deliberation topics and clarified the roles of various stakeholders, including civil society and experts, in future citizens' assemblies.

Country (and city):
Colombia, Bogota

Organised by:
District Planning Secretariat of the Mayor's Office of Bogotá D.C., Fundación Corona, and Extituto de Politica Abierta

Question tackled:
How should Bogotá's Citizens' Assemblies operate starting in 2025?

Number of Assembly Members: 60

Number of days of deliberation: 4

More details

Colombia

THREE INSIGHTS FOR THE DESIGN OF A GLOBAL CITIZEN ASSEMBLY

1. **PROCEDURAL DELIBERATION ABOUT THE DESIGN OF CITIZEN ASSEMBLIES TO FOSTER INCLUSION BY DESIGN**

- **The recommendations include measures to foster participation of women and traditionally marginalised groups in the assembly, and are part of the regulation of the assembly that is currently being drafted in the city, to be approved by June, 2025, and applied in the next substantial assemblies. This insight challenges traditional solely expert design of participatory mechanisms.**

2. BEHAVIOURAL INSIGHTS TO FOSTER DELIBERATION

- We designed and implemented experiments and tactics to use behavioral sciences using the behaviour change wheel to identify and intervene capacities, motivations and opportunities influencing the behaviours of participants.
- The verb deliberate, involves a series of mental and communication actions to make a decision after dialogue over a matter, such as hearing, reading, reflecting, augmenting, counter-argumenting, discussing, assessing and deciding.

Example: "Open letter to my home"

To encourage reflection, we tried to highlight the altruistic motivations that led people to make the effort to participate in the deliberative assembly. The members wrote a letter to their families, telling them about the four-day exercise and its significance. Some read their letters in public.

CHANGES IN PERCEIVED CAPACITIES
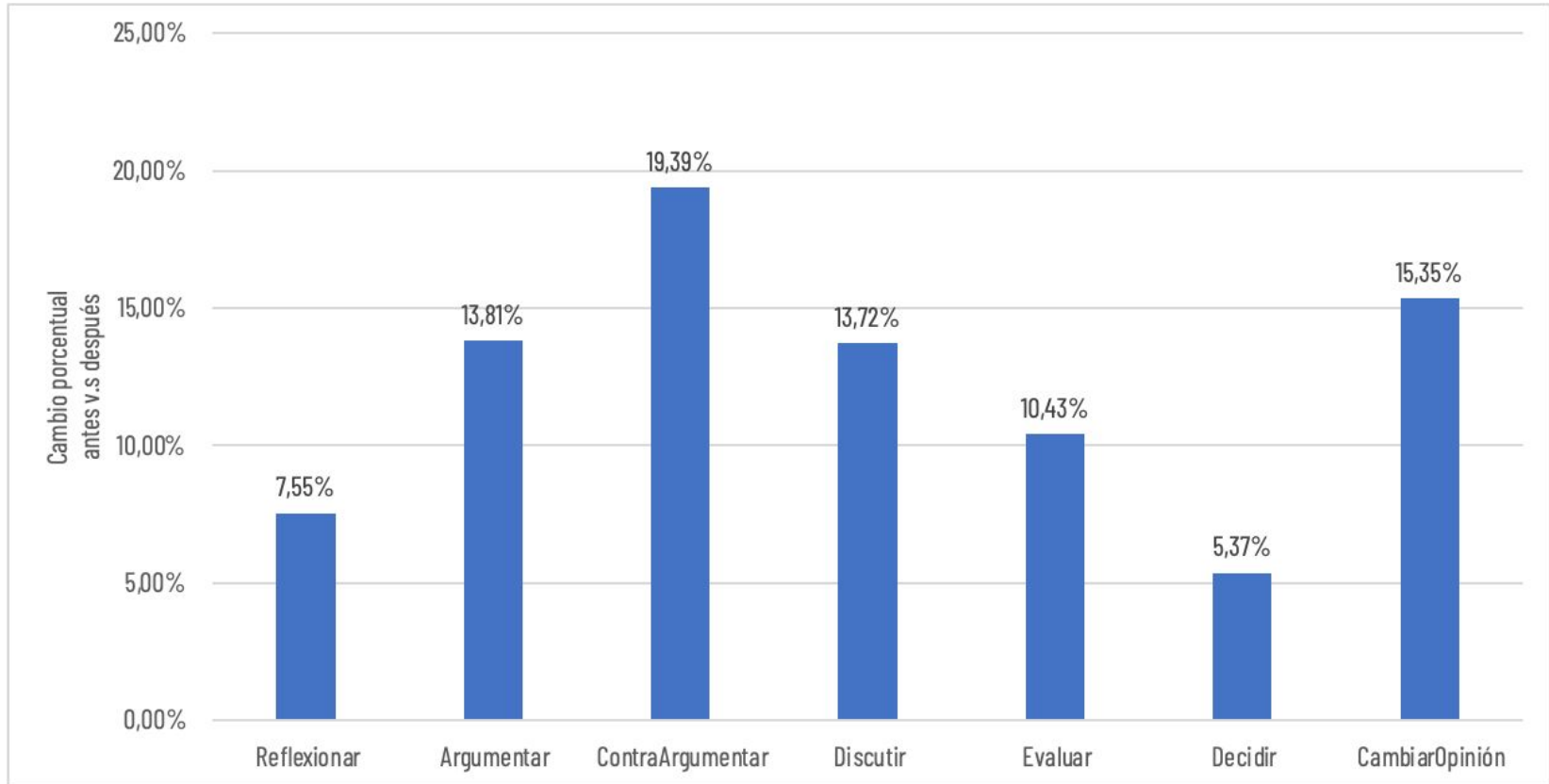
3. EXPANDING THE METHODS TO REGISTER PARTICIPANTS FOR THE SORTITION

51,163 people were reached through chatico (40,000), on-street random recruitment, and calls (11,163).

2,113 people registered: calls (1,301), tours (612), and chatico (200).

60 participants randomly selected.

85% of those registered had never participated in participatory democracy mechanisms.

Gracias!

Leveraging Hybrid Approaches to Strengthen Deliberative Democratic Processes

Aniya Hamilton, Sebastián Calderón

Hybrid Approaches to Participant Recruitment

23.04.2025

INNOVATION
FOR POLICY
FOUNDATION

Hybrid Recruitment = Inclusion

Randomness

Diversity

Most Affected

INNOVATION FOR POLICY FOUNDATION

3D Consultations

Participatory Activity Canvas

INNOVATION
FOR POLICY
FOUNDATION
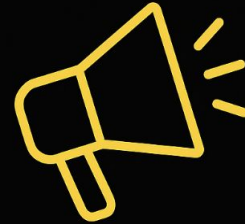
Online and Sortition Recruitment Methods

Maria Tazi, Guillemette Colombe, Clarie Alspektor, David Mas

What is **Make.org**'s key argument or claim?

Sortition alone is not enough to ensure democratic legitimacy at global scale — it must be complemented by large-scale, inclusive and accessible participation.

- Random selection creates fairness but often leads to distrust and skepticism about the representativeness of the pool of citizens

- Global legitimacy and ownership requires not just who is in the room, but all citizens who feel concerned

- Mass consultation can surface global concerns, increase transparency, and reinforce the authority of the Core Assembly's output.

This doesn't endanger deliberation — it complements it, increases ownership, and creates broader legitimacy and quality of the outcome.

How is it justified or supported?

Make.org hybrid model tested in practice:

🇩🇪 Forum Gegen Fakes (Bertelsmann Stiftung + German Ministry of Interior)

→ National face-to-face Citizens' Assembly

→ 45K+ citizens consulted online before and between rounds

→ Outcomes informed by both mini-public & maxi-public

→ Final proposals politically received — follow-up planned 2025

Theoretical Support: As proposed by **Dryzek & Niemeyer,** democratic legitimacy at global level requires more than random selection — it must reflect:

- Those affected by the issue (affected)
- Those with lived experience (discursive)
- A diversity of contexts (diverse)
  → Mass consultation is the only scalable method to meaningfully include these perspectives.

This hybrid model strengthens legitimacy by ensuring that the agenda itself is shaped by the public — not just experts or organizers. It turns recruitment into a process of collective agenda-setting, not just participant selection. It gives the Core Assembly a mandate rooted in public priorities, and builds shared ownership of the process and outcomes at the global level.

Our research-oriented justifications:

Giraudet, LG., Apouey, B., Arab, H. *et al.* "Co-construction" in deliberative democracy: lessons from the French Citizens' Convention for Climate. *Humanit Soc Sci Commun* 9, 207 (2022). https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01212-6

the respondents in the external survey expressed strong majority support (i.e., beyond 65%) for all measures

the respondents expressed strong skepticism about the representativeness of the pool of citizens (74% among CCC-aware respondents in W2)

They expressed more mixed feelings when surveyed about citizens' assemblies in general, only a minority showing confidence in "the ability of randomly chosen citizens to deliberate productively on complex issues" (32% in W1, 28% in W2)

Legitimacy, Inclusivity, and Transparency

Bea Sándor, Tom Lord, Nick Gill

SORTITION FOUNDATION

Brett Hennig & Tom Lord

23/04/2025

Why sortition / random selection? (why are we here?)

1. Fundamentally our interest in CAs is because we think **they are a better way of doing politics** and that's why **we advocate for permanent, powerful assemblies: see our 858.org.uk campaign to replace the HoL with a HoC**

2. If you believe CAs are a better way to do democracy then their legitimacy rests very heavily on **every adult** (provocation: child? future generations? animal? tree? river?) having **an equal chance** of being selected to participate.

3. If participation was compulsory that would be the end of the story.
   a. But (at the moment) it is not (aside: feel free to argue amongst yourselves if compulsory would be good or not!)
   b. We know from experience that we get a very skewed (socio-economic) response.
   c. We assume this implies a strong skewing in lived experience, "discursive diversity" so we try to correct that with stratification.

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Stratification (what does "representative" mean?)

What does a fair future look like to you?

Envision an EU where generations unite for a flourishing society. What do you want it to look like? And what should happen now to make it come true?

EU Commissioner Micallef, responsible for Intergenerational Fairness, Youth, Culture and Sport has been asked tasked with designing a Strategy to strengthen communication across generations.

This should ensure that the interests of both citizens of today and tomorrow are woven into EU policy and law-making. It is a challenging task because it concerns both the **present and the future** as well as all EU policies.

But together we can ensure prosperity across generations, into the future.

To do this, we are setting up a series of strategic dialogues with citizens, institutions and civil society to inform this future strategy and make sure everyone's voices are heard. Read on to find out how you can play your part.

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1. We agree the aim is to have all views represented (in proportion to their number in society)!

2. This has to follow OECD principles of transparency, legitimacy, inclusive

3. AND time/cost-effective, practical, understandable/communicable: trusted, consistent

4. Stratification means we can be sure that the assemblies "look like" the communities they come from, which also **increases trust**. (Public open-source software, data)

5. Our experience:
   a. Global Assembly #1, 200+ processes, EU-wide recruitment
   b. Two step lottery - diverse door-knocking locations, and stratified sample

SORTITION

Other comments...

1. Sometimes we purposively sample (usually limited, local, accountable)

2. Groups most affected e.g. living in areas affected by climate change are and should be brought it at expert / witness stage! They can be (over)represented!

3. We stratify on attitudes: we include diversity of opinion

4. We (can) include intersectionality for disadvantaged groups

5. **Process is (more?) important!** (not all issues can be resolved by changing recruitment methods) e.g. enclave deliberation, evidence provision, time, co-creation etc.

SORTITION

Breakout 2
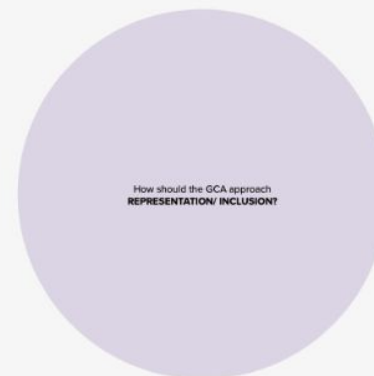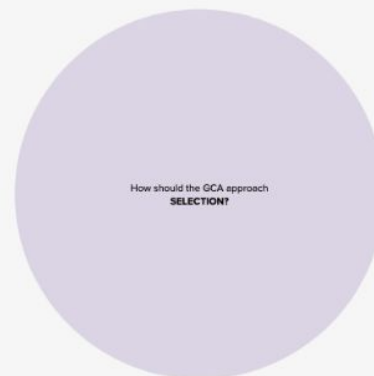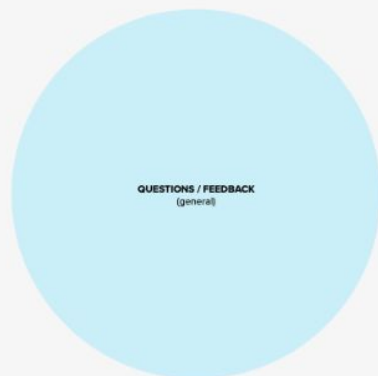
- General feedback / questions
- Feedback / questions for specific speakers
- How should the GCA approach selection of global citizens?
- How should the GCA approach representation and/or inclusion of global citizens?

Closing & Next Steps

Closing Survey
Please share your feedback!