

**Institutionalizing Participation in Municipal Policy Development:  
Preliminary Lessons from a Start-Up  
Process in Plateau-Mont-Royal**

Julien Landry and Leonora Angeles  
Centre for Human Settlements  
*University of British Columbia*

*Résumé*

Suite à sa victoire électorale dans le Plateau-Mont-Royal en novembre 2009, l'administration du parti politique Projet Montréal expérimente avec un nouveau dispositif d'élaboration de politiques basé sur la participation de Comités aviseurs. Ces comités-experts citoyens, formés de résidents, d'experts, de professionnels et d'élus ont pour mandat de développer les projets et politiques compris dans la plate-forme électorale. Cette expérience soulève des questions et offre des leçons par rapport aux défis reliés à l'institutionnalisation de la gouvernance participative au niveau municipal. Employant comme méthodologie de recherche l'évaluation collaborative, cet article explore la phase initiale d'institutionnalisation de la participation dans l'élaboration de politiques et propose des mesures afin de promouvoir son évolution continue et sa durabilité. Les conclusions révèlent les avantages et défis relatifs à l'institutionnalisation de la participation et permettent de cerner les limitations de l'évaluation collaborative. L'expérience du Plateau-Mont-Royal offre quelques leçons aux municipalités canadiennes qui s'intéresseraient aux premiers stages de ce type de dispositif d'élaboration de politiques.

**Mots clés:** élaboration de politiques, gouvernance participative, institutionnalisation, Plateau-Mont-Royal, évaluation collaborative

*Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, Volume 20, Issue 1, Supplement pages 105-131.  
Copyright © 2011 by the Institute of Urban Studies.  
All rights of reproduction in any form reserved.  
ISSN: 1188-3774

*Abstract*

Following its electoral victory in Plateau-Mont-Royal in November 2009, the new administration led by the *Projet Montréal* political party has been experimenting with a model of policy development based on the participation of expert citizen advisory committees, or *Comités aviseurs*. These committees, made up of volunteer residents, experts, professionals, and elected officials are mandated to develop projects and policy proposals contained in the party's electoral platform. This ongoing experience raises questions and insights on the challenges of institutionalizing participatory governance mechanisms at the municipal level. Based on a collaborative evaluation research methodology, the article examines the initial phase in institutionalizing modes of participation in policy development and how the process can evolve further in order to become more resilient. The findings point to some challenges and opportunities, and raise insights on the process of institutionalizing participation, as well as on the limits of using a collaborative evaluation approach. The Plateau-Mont-Royal's experience offers lessons to other Canadian municipalities interested in the initial processes of this model of policy development.

**Key words:** policy development, participatory governance, institutionalization, collaborative evaluation, Plateau-Mont-Royal

**Introduction**

On November 1, 2009, *Projet Montréal* swept the municipal elections in Montreal's Plateau-Mont-Royal (PMR) borough, winning every council seat as well as the mayor's office. The new administration promptly introduced a new model of policy development, based on the work of *Comités aviseurs*, henceforth CA, or advisory committees, that incorporates participatory forms of citizen engagement. Each committee is made up of residents, experts, professionals and political staff who work with political officials and public servants to confront the combined challenges of submitting project proposals to the public service for approval and implementation while operating under budgetary constraints. Building on the PMR's history of implementing citizen engagement strategies and participatory governance structures and processes—most notably, the participatory budget experience from 2006-2008 (see Rabouin, 2009)—the CAs' emergence is consistent with the resurgence of interest in participatory governance in Canada in the last decade (see Phillips and Orsini, 2002; CCPA, 2003; Lerner, 2004; Lerner and Van Wagner, 2006; Nieuwland, 2003).

There is increasing interest in institutionalizing participatory processes that engage citizens in decision-making in Canada. Even though “governments rarely have the institutionalized means to acquire the advice of these citizen experts”

(Phillips and Orsini, 2002: 20), there have been many Canadian experiences in public engagement and citizen participation (see Fung, 2007, 2008; Motsi, 2009; Lerner and Van Wagner, 2006). Yet, Canadian urban experiments in participatory governance have not been well examined, since “few efforts have been made to address [the evaluation of] good governance at the local level, perhaps mostly because of data collection difficulties” (Stewart, 2006: 197).

The PMR’s experience provides interesting insights on the start-up process of municipal policy development that institutionalizes a specific model of participatory governance in a Canadian municipal context. Using collaborative evaluation research, this article highlights the challenges and opportunities for adjustments that surface in the initial phases of the PMR’s attempt to institutionalize participation in project or policy development through the work of CAs. It argues that this initiative breaks with previous trends insofar as citizens are engaging with local government and stakeholders at different stages of the policy process. The experience highlights the importance of early and ongoing process monitoring in participatory models of governance and points to some lessons and best practices in adaptive planning and management at the local government level.

### **Participation, Policy Cycle and Institutionalization**

This section briefly examines the necessary ingredients of successful forms of citizen participation in governance, as well as their benefits and limitations. Second, it highlights the challenges of institutionalization, and why it is important for us to recognize the importance of the initial phases of institutionalizing participatory governance mechanisms. Third, it demonstrates how participatory governance fits into the overall policy development cycle.

Historically, more participatory forms of democratic deliberation have emerged to remedy the limitations and weaknesses of classical models of “direct democracy”—from Athenian to Marxist models—and “protective democracy” that characterize modern representative democracies that rely heavily on elections, political parties and other pluralist institutions. This system often lead to a form of competitive elitist democracy that thrives on a poorly informed electorate, elite competition and the strong role of a highly skilled technical experts and managers (Held, 1987). Since formal representative democracies have become less representative of people’s interests, and even less democratic in their deliberative processes, proponents of participatory governance models attempt at finding tools and mechanisms to make them work effectively and efficiently for citizen satisfaction and other purported benefits.

Since the 1990s, citizen participation is increasingly recognized worldwide as a key element of “good governance” based on accountability, transparency and rule of law (Angeles, 2004; Edralin, 1997; Schneider, 1999; UNDP, 2000; DESA,

2007). Authors arguing for more collaborative governance stressed the importance of establishing, opening, facilitating, steering and monitoring organizational arrangements to address public policy problems that cannot be easily addressed by a single organization or sector (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Freeman, 1997; Jung, Mazmanian and Tang, 2009; Paquet, 2009). Others stressed the importance of engaging ordinary people in forms of 'empowered participatory governance' that "rely upon the commitment and capacities of ordinary people to make sensible decisions through reasoned deliberations [and empowered] because they attempt to tie action to discussion" (Fung and Wright, 2003: 5; 2008). Models of participation that rely on 'coproduction' by involving service users with professionals in service planning, delivery and/or evaluation recognize user-input as crucial to success as provider-resources (Needham 2008: 98) and can also engage and empower citizens. In this article, participation refers to the direct means that go beyond the more traditional forms of indirect representation and by which "citizens influence and exercise control in governance" (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999: 4). The term 'participatory governance' will be used to refer to the various institutional arrangements in public decision-making that permit, promote or depend upon citizen participation and in the case of the PMR, are operationalized for policy development.

Participatory governance models include public consultation, public inquiries, citizen advisory panels, citizen juries, referenda, oversight committees, mass meetings, civic mobilization for co-production, neighborhood councils, citizen's assemblies and participatory budgeting (Meadowcroft, 2004; Blair, 2008; Fung, 2008; Fung and Wright, 2003; UN-DESA, 2009: 71; Wampler, 2007; Leach and Wingfield, 1999). They vary qualitatively in outcomes, ranging from manipulation and tokenism to empowerment and self-mobilization (Arnstein, 1969) and according to other criteria, e.g., top-down or bottom-up, uniform or diverse, simple or complex, static or dynamic, controllable or uncontrollable, predictable or unpredictable (Meldon, Kenney and Walsh, 2004: 39).

There is ample evidence that citizen participation yields benefits for the local governments that institutionalize it to aid policy development. By involving citizens in decision-making, local governments can benefit from a more responsive and representative government apparatus and an alert and active citizenry (Callanan, 2005), increased cooperation, ingenuity, financial resources and political accountability, better service planning, improved prioritization and resource use, and more relevant performance standards and monitoring (Fung 2008; Lovan, Murray and Shaffer, 2004: 5-6). Citizens benefit from learning and community building through the process (Pinnington, Lerner and Schugurensky, 2009: 469), as well as from an expansion of citizenship rights and accountability (Wampler 2007: 255-56). Furthermore, participatory governance provides opportunities to encourage public debate, widen representation, and increase citizen and stake-

holder access and empowerment (Wampler 2004; Heinelt et al. 2002: 52-53). Impacts tend to be greater in those arrangements that foster more deliberative participation and include ordinary citizens.

Participation also faces many limitations and challenges. In fact, failures outnumber successful experiences (Fischer, 2010: 16-17), leading some to critique the ‘tyranny’ of participation that has become another form of social control (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Osmani (2008) framed the challenges as “three gaps” of effective participation: a capacity gap, an incentive gap and a power gap. Other authors point to representativeness biases (Cnaan, 1991) leading to skewed perspectives and incentives, inefficiencies in process and added demand on decision-makers (Huntington 1981, Moynihan 1965). Citizens’ lack of expertise or technical understanding of complex problems, their personal self-interest and excessive time commitments can ultimately lead to their disillusionment, alienation or unwillingness to participate (Arnstein, 1969; Box, 2001; French and Laver, 2009; Fung, 2008; Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, 2002; Pinnington, Lerner and Schugurensky, 2009: 463).

Participatory governance success can be hampered by the lack of civic capacity, a term that refers to “the ingredients that *can* make the machinery of governance effective: institutions that combine learning and bargaining effectively and constantly [...]; multiple forms of accountability [...] to make ‘solutions’ more broadly legitimate and sustainable; and space for the ‘grassroots’ or the ‘grasstops’ (authority figures and other influentials) to initiate important change regardless of how broad participation becomes over time” (Briggs, 2008: 12). Further challenges relate to the need for continuity (or institutionalization), insufficient financial resources, and lack of political will (Callanan, 2005; Gaventa and Valderrama 1999; Irvin and Stanbury, 2004; Beauchamp and Dionne, 1997). Even when participation is institutionalized, there are challenges with respect to the authorities’ capacity to facilitate effective participation (Fischer 2009; 2010), and to avoid co-opting the process (Baccaro and Papadakis, 2009; Blair, 2008; Lovan, Murray and Shaffer, 2004), compartmentalizing policy-making and policy implementation, and instrumentalizing policy (Heinelt 2002: 53-55).

The institutionalization of participatory processes occurs in phases and in different arenas (see Greenwood, Hinings and Suddaby, 2002; Enrione, Mazza and Zerboni, 2006). Korten (1988) identified “five phases or “interrelated learning stages” that can last several years: identifying a need for change; conceptualizing a new participatory approach; testing the new approach on a small scale; systematizing the lessons relevant to the broader use of the new approach and; developing and institutionalizing the capacities to use the approach on a broad scale (cited in Thompson 1995: 1523-24). At each stage in this process, learning, experimentation and innovation occur, based on a pragmatic “learning-by-doing” and social learning approach (Dewey 1927, 1935).

Participatory processes can also be designed and institutionalized such that citizens intervene at one or many stages of the policy cycle. Yet it is often challenging for urban planners and managers to design appropriate institutional mechanisms to foster deliberation and inclusion within organizations (Pimbert, 2001: 82). Osmani (2008) identifies four phases of policy development where participation can occur: ascertaining preferences over social outcomes and processes (*policy preference*); formulation of policies, rules and institutions according to preferences (*policy formulation*); *policy implementation*; and *monitoring and evaluation* and ensuring accountability. As will be discussed, the PMR's experience based on the CA model primarily inserts citizen participation the first two phases.

Some authors have delineated institutional design properties to foster and sustain participatory governance. Skelcher and Torfing (2010) demonstrate that different participatory institutional designs influence the type of citizen, the level of participation, the degree of institutionalization and the actors' level of influence. They find that a higher degree of institutionalization is correlated with higher levels of participation and influence. Thompson (1995) outlines some key elements required to transform public agencies into strategic and enabling institutions—e.g., a policy framework, strong leadership, financial commitment, creative management and an organizational climate open to experimentation. The institutionalization of participatory planning and governance must also be appropriated by the public administration, the civil society sector and citizens as partners in “an ongoing process of strengthening actors in order to empower them” (Peris, Acebillo-Baqué and Calabuig, 2010: 91).

This paper argues the need for careful attention and adequate support of the institutionalization process in the initial stages, or as Forester puts it, “going slower at first to go faster later” (2009: 176). There remains a need for more guidance and greater understanding on the part of public officials about how, when, and with whom to engage (Bingham, Nabatchi and O’Leary 2005; Thomas, 1995: 2). Although there is little literature on institutionalizing participatory governance in the Canadian municipal context, it is useful to consider its process as parallel to institutionalizing deliberation: “incorporating [it] into the legally-constituted political decision-making structures and processes of a community or society” (Hartz-Karp and Briand, 2009). In other words, it is to “embed” (Fagotto and Fung, 2009) participation such that it supplements, and not supplants, the apparatus of representative democracy, enabling citizens to combine their capacity as voters and as stakeholders (Olsen, 2003).

Institutionalizing participatory governance is a context-sensitive exercise. Aulich (2009) argues that the principles of subsidiarity, citizen empowerment and community engagement are more established features in the Canadian political landscape than in other jurisdictions. In the Canadian context, citizen engage-

ment has been characterized as the interactive and iterative processes of deliberation among citizens, government officials and organizations in order to contribute meaningfully to public policy decisions in a transparent and accountable manner (Graham and Phillips, 1998; Abele et al. 1998, Mendelsohn and Cutler, 2000). The factors that enable participatory governance include leadership from within the government or institution, staff experience in community participation, acceptance or inattention of political leaders, grassroots community pressure and support, budget shortfalls and pressures (Lerner and Van Wagner, 2006). As we will see in PMR, its history of consultation and participation, active civil sector, experience with participatory budgeting, pro-active municipal staff, and current financial situation have led its activist political administration to initiate a new model of policy development based on the participation of CAs.

### **Method: A Collaborative Evaluation Approach**

This analysis of the CA model relies on data gathered through a collaborative evaluation methodology (O'Sullivan, 2004; Davidson, 2005; Brousselle et al. 2009). By deliberately seeking the involvement of stakeholders during all stages of the research, the evaluation iteratively and interactively creates knowledge and analysis about the situation. This methodology was selected as a means to contribute to the participatory nature of the CA process, to minimize the influence of preconceptions (Alkin, 1990: 140), and thereby contribute to stakeholder ownership of the process. Limitations to this methodology include time and logistical constraints for stakeholder involvement, researcher subjectivity, limitations to true participation, and trade-offs between the level of stakeholder engagement and the production of empirical data (Lukowicz and Nunan, 1999: 693; Daigneault and Jacob, 2009).

The research process was limited by the fact that data gathering was conducted only six months after the CAs' inception. Given that the committees are projected to operate for the entire duration of the administration's four-year term, it is early in the process to effectively evaluate outcomes and results. Hence, this research provides a preliminary analysis of the process, rather than the outcomes, results or impacts, and focuses on the initial phases of institutionalizing the process and structures. While the relatively short experience may limit the ability to evaluate the process as a whole, it provides an opportune moment to gain insights on strengths and weaknesses and to identify opportunities for adaptation and improvement. The findings demonstrate the importance of early and ongoing process monitoring and adaptive planning in the institutionalization participation in policy development.

As part of the capstone requirement for a graduate program in Community and Regional Planning, the primary author worked as an intern with the *Projet*

*Montreal* staff, while the second author acted as faculty supervisor. Initial discussions with *Projet Montréal* staff members regarding the research mandate and goals began in early February 2010. An 'Advisory Group' made up of three *Projet Montréal* staff who worked closely with the CAs was formed in the initial phase of data collection. In collaboration with this committee, evaluation questions were identified and decisions were made on data gathering methods and sources. Two subsequent focus groups were held with the Advisory Group and served as a key source of guidance and feedback on the research objectives and direction. The information gathered influenced the data collection approach, as well as the types of data that were sought and obtained through other methods.

Seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with *Projet Montréal* staff, elected officials, the Mayor, the Borough Director, *Projet Montréal's* governance and democracy expert and an expert on participatory budgeting. A survey was sent to all CA members and inquired about a) member selection and involvement, b) roles and functioning, c) decision-making, and d) participation. Thirty-two (32) of the fifty-four (54) CA members—or 59% of the membership—responded and 36% of respondents agreed to participate in a follow-up focus group. Finally, the primary author attended nine (9) CA meetings and two (2) Borough Council meetings as an observer. The information gathered was used in a SWOT (Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats) analysis, with particular attention to the analysis of meeting agendas and content, group dynamics, leadership, the nature of communication, knowledge exchange and member participation. Finally, a report was submitted to present preliminary findings to *Projet Montréal* and *Comité aviséur* members.

### **Context: Governance and Participation in the Plateau-Mont-Royal**

The Plateau-Mont-Royal (PMR), one of the 19 boroughs that comprise the City of Montreal, has a thriving creative economy, and one of Canada's densest, most transient, socio-economically and culturally diverse, and relatively well educated population (Thibert, 2010; Ville de Montréal, 2009). Each Montreal borough elects a mayor and a council that have jurisdiction over an array of services and policy and planning areas. Decision-making and planning authority are divided between city-level and borough-level responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> Since 2006, this decentralized governance structure has given boroughs significant power, bringing "certain aspects of local governance closer to the citizens" (Alfaro, 2010).

Since 2002, the City of Montreal's Public Consultation and Participation Policy (Ville de Montréal, n.d.) has lent increased legitimacy to citizen participation and consultation, where social actors act in partnership with government and are involved in the provision of public services (Bourque, 2000; Jetté 2008). Civil society organizations not only participate significantly in metropolitan gov-

ernance (Klein and Tremblay, 2009), but they have also had an increasing role in organizing and engaging the public, as well as serving as watchdogs for some of the borough's planning processes.

As decentralization gave boroughs greater control and flexibility over their budgets, previous PMR councils experimented with citizen engagement strategies and participatory governance structures and processes (see *Plan de déplacement urbain*, 2009; *Soirées du Plateau*, 2003; *Sommet de Montréal*, 2002). An engaged civil society, combined with a political climate that legitimizes and fosters citizen participation, enabled the PMR to implement a participatory budget (PB) from 2006 to 2008 (Rabouin, 2009: 88-89; 2005). For over two and a half years, the *Union Montréal*<sup>2</sup> administration, in concert with local community organizations experimented and adapted the PB process by adopting a more pragmatic and territorialized approach, allocating a larger portion of the capital expenditure budget and providing training sessions. However, lower participation rates than expected, poor results, and a lack of funding weakened the PB's credibility ultimately led to its abrupt end (Latendresse, 2010: 17). The process suffered from having unclear objectives, limited public participation, a non-institutionalized oversight committee, a process affected by partisanship, and a lack of clarity as to how it impacted the decisions. Another problem was the absence of public servants in the process (Rabouin, 2009: 89). Politically, the process was criticized for co-opting opposing interests, for excessively constraining and narrowing its scope, and for its poor fiscal management (Bergeron, 2008: 4-10).

Despite its demise, the PB experiment opened up public and political space; increased transparency in decision-making and planning, public participation, public awareness of the borough's functioning; and reinforced local democracy by redefining the relationships between institutions, elected officials, public servants and citizens (Latendresse, 2010: 24). Although PB could not be implemented beyond 2009, some actors believed that participatory governance could evolve in the right direction, and that PB could become "a process of participatory democracy [...] that is adapted to the Montreal context" (Rabouin, 2009: 97). When *Projet Montréal* was elected, however, it moved away from PB and promoted instead a novel model of policy development using more limited forms of public participation.

### **Comités Aviseurs: Inception and Start-Up Phase**

*Projet Montréal* was founded partly on the premise that the city ought to be a place for citizens first, as opposed to the supremacy of the automobile (*Projet Montréal*, 2007). Participatory democracy has been central to its vision and approach to municipal politics since its inception. It is committed to instituting measures and policy changes to foster a more participatory form of governance and a more

engaged population (Dubuc, 2009; *Projet Montréal*, 2010). Facing no political opposition in PMR, it began implementing some of the approximately 150 projects and proposals in their electoral platform by forming citizen and expert advisory committees typically made up of five to eight volunteer members. Starting in January 2010, committee mandates were developed around the key issue areas outlined in *Projet Montréal's* electoral platform, as outlined in Table 1. Some CAs are formed around pre-existing organized groups of residents that work on matters consistent with the party platform, while others are determined by elected officials. Because the CA model is designed to be dynamic and responsive to emerging policy issues and to adapt to the changes as policies are implemented over time, committees can be formed or dissolved based on need.

**Table 1: *Comité Aviseurs* Issue Areas and Mandates as of June 2010**

<b>Committee Issue Area</b>	<b>Committee Mandate</b>
Urban Planning/Design	Recommend measures and proposals for urban design
Noise and Nuisance	Identify problematic areas with respect to excess noise and nuisance and propose regulations and enforcement measures
Champs des possibles	Recommend a detailed project to transform a brown-field into a naturalized park
Traffic Calming and Reduction	Recommend traffic calming and reduction solutions, including urban design measures
Social and Affordable Housing	Explore and identify legal and regulatory measures, innovative spaces and funding opportunities for social and affordable housing
Commercial Alleyways and Merchant-Resident Relations	Recommend regulatory solutions and enforcement measures for problems related to access and uses of commercial alleyways
Parking	Recommend solutions to problems related to parking availability, parking fee structure and identify income-generating options
Greening and Green Spaces	Recommend and develop greening plan

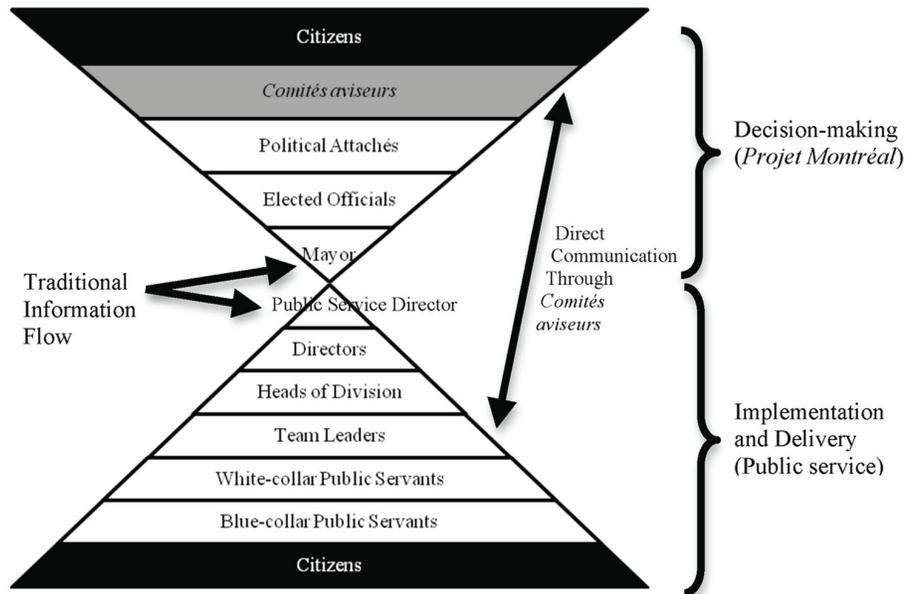
The idea behind these issue-based CAs emerged during the electoral campaign, when mayoral candidate Luc Ferrandez met supporters with exceptional skills and competencies and who were willing to work as volunteers. The approach sought to draw innovation from the PMR's highly creative and educated population, find solutions to budgetary challenges and deliver structured, interesting, coherent and integrated projects. The overarching objective is one of efficiency: "to submit the most complete preliminary policies and projects such that the public service is left with minimal work to add to the proposals"<sup>3</sup>. The committees are not intended to be representative of the population (*Comité circulation*, 2010: 2) or to serve as a consultation structure. Rather, there is a notion that citizens have clearly expressed their desires through previous public consultation processes, and what is now required of the administration, as Mayor Ferrandez highlighted, is a "project-implementing machine, not a consultation machine"<sup>4</sup>. This signals the CAs' role to be more involved in policy development rather than soliciting and organizing citizen participation systematically. As such the CAs are framed alongside the representative democratic apparatus, not in lieu of it.

Participation is therefore used strategically as a tool for efficient and expedited policy and project development. Proposed projects are those that may be more readily implementable, not necessarily those that appeal to everyone. CAs may develop policy recommendations, propose changes to bylaws or regulations, explore innovative solutions to problems, conceive specific projects and its members engage in research, benchmarking, identifying best practices, data analysis and report writing. Generally, committees refine and prepare project and policy proposals, but in some cases, they may be involved in evaluative activities. Ultimately, the CAs' work largely impacts how the borough budget is allocated. Some proposals create expenses (e.g., infrastructure development), others come at no cost (e.g., by-laws and regulations), and others still are expected to generate revenue (e.g., parking permitting system).

CA composition and membership selection vary depending on the issue and mandate. Typically, at least 50% of members are professionals or experts in the topic or issue at hand. The Mayor assigns a political attaché—unelected communications and logistics staff—and appoints a President (a citizen) to each committee. While there is no role in the CA process for the Borough Council as a whole, individual Borough Councilors do participate with levels of involvement that vary according to their personal availability and interest in the issue. Also, the monthly council meetings are an opportunity for the Council to hear the public's opinions and concerns related to the CAs' mandated issues and have served as a space for CA member recruitment. Public servants (e.g. planning staff, public works etc.) may join committees and participate in meetings, depending on the issue and on the stage of proposal development. Meetings occur semi-regularly (approximately twice a month), depending on the nature and status of the work

and the time required for project development. Proposal development also varies significantly from one committee to another. The borough Mayor regularly attends CA meetings and often plays a very active role. As Figure 1 illustrates, the CA structure has redefined the lines of communication between the political apparatus and the public service.

**Figure 1: PMR decision-making and implementation information flow**



Traditionally, information flow from the political to the administrative body was directed at a high level between the Mayor and the Director of Public Service. The latter would forward decisions down the ranks to the different levels of public servants. The CA model provides an important node for initial policy development, as well as an arena for direct communication between committee members (citizens), public servants in positions as low as Team Leaders, and all actors in between. As a result, this model of policy advisory committees brings decision-making closer to citizens, but it raises various issues related to the process of engaging citizens in public decision-making and policy development, as demonstrated in the findings and discussion below.

**Findings: Challenges and Opportunities in Institutionalization**

The 25-question electronic survey sent to all CA members (n=54) had a response

rate of 59.3%. Almost half (45.8%) of the respondents identified primarily as residents; 29.2% identified as experts or professionals; while others sat as representatives of community organizations (12.5%), public servants or borough employee (8.3%) or elected officials (4.2%). In terms of member selection, the vast majority of respondents (81%) were personally invited to become a volunteer member because of previously demonstrated interest, expertise and/or commitment to the issues. Other members (19%) responded to a public invitation made at a borough council meeting. The majority of respondents were male (73.9%) and the mean age of participants was 43 years. Most respondents (62.5%) hold a graduate or post-graduate degree, and 91.6% have at least obtained an undergraduate degree. Respondents' mean gross annual income is \$49,999.

The respondents' profile suggests that CA members are highly skilled and motivated individuals with a capacity to understand complex issues and provide some expertise in seeking solutions. Party officials directly invited the majority of members, who are likely to be more sympathetic to *Projet Montréal's* political platform. While partisanship was not expressed as a factor for member recruitment, the strategy was not completely open to the public in practice.

Triangulating the survey findings with data obtained through other methods highlights that the CA model, in its first six months, was already exhibiting some strengths and weaknesses (see Table 2). Furthermore, the context within which the committees are functioning provided several opportunities for improvements and external threats to the policy development model's sustainability.

**Table 2: Comité aviseur Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats**

Strengths	Weaknesses
•Efficient in generating and developing projects and proposals	•Not open to the general public
•Committed elected officials	•Inconsistency from one Comité to the next
•Committed citizens, professionals, experts	•Shortsightedness of certain members
•Participation from public servants	•Lack of clarity around roles and responsibilities of members
•Creative thinking, innovative ideas	•Irregular workload (lulls, strain on bureaucracy, dip in momentum)
•Capacity for quality research	•Irregular meeting schedule
•Common vision between most citizens and officials	•Unclear medium- or long-term timeline
•Cost effective (volunteer)	•Comités aviseurs little known by population
•Access to public opinion through previous consultations (PDU, PB, etc.)	•Little communication between members of different Comités
•Concrete platform with clear actions and priorities	•Little communication with public
•Activist administration	•Little publicly available information

**Table 2 continued**

- Availability of some funds
- Connects citizens to public servants
- Involvement of unorganized and organized citizens

<b>Opportunities</b>	<b>Threats</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Combining <i>Comité</i> expertise with public consultation and participation</li> <li>•Ad hoc committee formation</li> <li>•Potential combination with some variation of the PB model</li> <li>•To channel public participation from Borough Council meetings into <i>Comités</i>' work</li> <li>•Highly educated public</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•<i>Comités</i> risk being seen by public as exclusive or partisan</li> <li>•Self-interested positions</li> <li>•Professional members eventually seeking compensation for work (limits of volunteerism)</li> <li>•Little participation from traditionally marginalized groups or stakeholders</li> <li>•Little presence from multi-cultural and ethnic communities</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Active civil society and role in public engagement</li> <li>•High computer literacy and online access in borough</li> </ul>	

Seven key issues emerged during this initial stage of institutionalization and are discussed below along with some opportunities to overcome challenges.

First was the issue regarding clarity, from the outset, around the process, steps and the time required in project development, assessment and approval. Confusion stemming from unclear relationships and channels of communication between *Projet Montréal*, the CAs and the public service frustrated some of the initial efforts. Although there was a concrete platform of action with concrete priorities set earlier during the electoral campaign, establishing a clear framework with realistic expectations and timelines and ensuring open communication between CA members and other stakeholders could avoid or address this overarching need for process clarity and policy direction.

Second was the issue around clear definition of roles and responsibilities within the committees and need for improved *intra-committee* communication. Roles and responsibilities were expressed in CA mandates to an extent, yet in practice, there remained questions on where the leadership actually lied. This was compounded by the fact that roles vary from one CA to another. Those committees where roles and responsibilities have been successfully defined attained a highly functional, efficient and effective division of labor, and hence, achieved results. Although there was clear intention to communicate with and link citizens with public servants and professionals experts and to tap into the pool of unorganized but competent and highly educated citizens, there was little clarity in how these communicative linkages and talent mobilization would be done. In particular, there was little communication with the general public about the operations and

mandates of the CAs, despite the opportunities presented by an active civil society and momentum created by their previous experience in participatory processes.

Third was the issue of effective *inter-committee* communication and coordination, since committees work on issues, problems and solutions that are closely related and interdependent. There was inter-committee communication only to the extent that individuals who sat on more than one committee shared information. Some members voiced a desire for more direct contact and increased sharing of ongoing work with members from other CAs. There is opportunity through online environments to open new and transparent lines of communication and up-to-date information as well as in tapping communication professionals and experts within the borough in order to address this weakness in committee operations.

Fourth, on a more practical level, was the need for more formal meeting structure and process in order to increase productivity and efficiency. Regularly occurring meetings where roles of members were clear and responsibilities were shared generated and maintained momentum in the CAs' work. Establishing a more predictable and reliable meeting structure would serve to develop group dynamics and keep members better informed. Organizational development experts within and outside the borough can perhaps address this weakness.

A fifth issue stemmed from the lack of documenting and managing information. There was very little documentation of steps taken, work accomplished, and results achieved by CAs, making it difficult to monitor and assess progress and accomplishments. It also posed challenges of accountability and transparency. Improved information management could encourage more efficient and timely work, and increase access to information.

Sixth was the question of sustaining committee members' motivation to participate. Since the committees' success relies on the volunteer efforts of residents and professionals, it is important for the borough to financially support and facilitate the committees' contributions by investing in a sound process, and also acknowledge and foster the elements that motivate and sustain participation. These include opportunities for members to have impact on the built and natural environments, to effect change, to influence how decisions are made at the borough level, to solve problems, to improve the neighborhood, and to harness creativity in public service.

Finally the question of the extent to which the borough staff and elected officials should engage in broader public engagement and participation processes was raised. The CA mandates state that a "committee does not have a role of public representativeness within an exercise of participatory democracy. It executes mandates that have been expressed by the population and ratified by the electoral platform of the recently elected team"<sup>59</sup> (*Comité Champs*, 2010: 1). Although the

assessment and consolidation of public opinion is not at the centre of the CAs' work, the mandates state: "a committee may ask the assigned elected official to organize a public consultation—if it believes the consultation will help move the work forward"<sup>6</sup> (2010: 3). As priorities shift in the PMR, there is opportunity to strengthen the link between the CAs and broader public participation under various formats: a) CAs could serve as public representatives, or at least act as conduits for public opinion; b) They could broaden public accessibility to the committees; c) CAs could operate in tandem with strategic public consultation initiatives conducted by the borough; and finally, d) The CAs could frame their work within a broader citizen engagement and civic capacity-building strategy, similar to the previous participatory budgeting process, where the public could have a stronger role in determining issues and priorities, and monitoring the committees' work.

### **Discussion and Analysis**

These key issues emerging in the start-up phase signal the complexity of institutionalizing participation in municipal governance and policy development. The findings show the importance of early and ongoing monitoring and adaptive management in overcoming initial challenges and realizing opportunities.

The PMR's experiment with CAs represents a political administration's attempt to go beyond representative and participatory forms of democracy, and move into harnessing both forms—or a hybrid form—to assist elected officials and public servants in planning and policy making. Inasmuch, it recognizes principles already identified in the literature: public inclusion, fostering genuine deliberation, fostering relational or rational discourse, empowerment by government, and yielding tangible outcomes (Fung 2003a, 2003b; Fung and Wright, 2003; Ryfe, 2002; Torres, 2003; Williamson, 2004) that address the limitations of formal representative democracies. Despite not engaging a broad base of citizens, it is also informed by three foundational principles of empowered participatory governance identified by Fung and Wright (2003: 15): a focus on specific, tangible problems; the deliberative development of solutions to these problems; and the involvement of ordinary people affected by these problems and of officials close to them. Although there are variations in the way the CAs have functioned in the first six months, generally, the model exhibited positive features, such as the ability to deal with conflict during deliberation (Silver, Scott and Kazepov, 2010:464; Mansbridge, 2003: 188-89), the development of transformative partnerships, information exchange and knowledge transfer, as well as decentralized decision-making, reciprocity and mutual trust between actors (Reddel and Woolcock, 2003: 93). From the SWOT analysis above (see Table 2), the CA model embodies elements of careful planning, openness, flexibility, and inclusiveness,

while the elements of representativeness, transparency and sustainability<sup>7</sup> are still in their infancy. This analysis of the PMR's initial phases of institutionalizing participation in policy development corroborates the literature on how to minimize risks and maximize the efficacy of participatory arrangements. First, a genuine concern for the viability and quality of participation is required (Fischer, 2010: 16-17). This in turn necessitates political will, a certain degree of devolution of power and resources and accountability to local residents (Blair, 2008). Because resources alone are not sufficient and participatory governance involves deliberation and conflict, decision rules and effective negotiation and mediation are crucial to ensure that all actors can legitimately participate and be heard (Schmitter, 2002; Forester, 2009: 135; Heinelt, 2002: 16). Success also depends on the nature of the relationship between public officials and the public, the inclusion of the civil sector and support from and collaboration between the top and the grassroots (Bucek and Smith, 2000; Wampler and Avritzer, 2004; Fischer, 2009; 2010; Pinnington, Lerner and Schugurensky, 2009: 471-75; Pimbert, 2001).

Recalling Osmani's (2008) four phases of policy development—(1) policy preference, or ascertaining preferences about social outcomes and processes; (2) policy formulation; (3) policy implementation; and (4) monitoring and evaluation—different policy stages can incorporate various participatory arrangements (Blair, 2008) and participation may even “resemble governance” (Silver, Scott and Kazepov 2010: 465) when citizens are involved in the latter stages of policy implementation and evaluation. In its initial six-month period, the CA model strategically inserted citizen participation in various phases of the policy cycle. There emerges a clear and consistent focus in their work on policy formulation, as all CA are mandated to assist in the development of concrete solutions that translate into borough policies and projects. In the process, most CAs also engage in research and analysis to identify alternatives and priorities (policy preferences). Fewer CAs engage in implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The more complex, broad and contested issue areas of urban design and social housing have proceeded less efficiently in capturing policy preferences and deliberating on policy directions. Committees working on more narrow, technical, and relatively easy-to-implement issues such as parking, noise and nuisance, and brownfield transformation have acted to some degree on most or all phases of the policy cycle.<sup>8</sup> The more narrow and technical the mandate or issue at hand is, the more focused and efficient the process of achieving results seems to be.

The best way to assure the sustainability of a participatory framework in municipal policy development is through its institutionalization. There are three different levels at which municipal participatory mechanisms can be institutionalized: they can be built into existing government agencies' strategic plans; there can be new agencies created whose mandate is to promote citizen participation in government activities; and participatory mechanisms can be legislated (Acker-

man, 2004: 459). Similarly, institutional design features can stabilize and deepen a participatory and deliberative governance model by devolving public decision authority to local units; creating formal linkages of responsibility, resource distribution, and communication between decentralized and centralized units; and creating new state institutions to support and guide problem solving efforts (Fung and Wright, 2001: 17).

By adapting and adjusting the process, *Projet Montréal* can capitalize on its opportunities and minimize factors that threaten the CAs' long-term viability (see Table 2). Regardless of the extent to which the administration wishes to involve the public in policy development, doing so will require building civic capacity, that is, "the capacity to devise, decide, and act collectively to improve our lives" (Briggs, 2008: 11). This requires "institutions (beyond the CAs) that combine learning and bargaining effectively and constantly rather than divorcing dialogue from forging wise agreements [as well as] multiple forms of accountability [...] to make 'solutions' more broadly legitimate and sustainable" (2008: 12). It is not participation for the sake of participation that makes democracy strong or effective; rather, it is the way citizen participation is structured to promote a vibrant culture of deliberative policy development process and in the long run, achieve social progress.

## Conclusion

Public servant participation in the CAs integrates actors responsible for implementation, and may be seen as a "best practice" that could provide continuity in their work, beyond the electoral fortunes of a political party. Given these advantages, the issue for *Projet Montréal* does not seem to be that of setting up and experimenting with the CAs as a tool for citizen participation in municipal policy development. Rather, the challenge is how to institutionalize the model such that it can be sustained through the electoral term and beyond.

Feedback loops were already set into motion through this collaborative evaluation research into the initial phases of institutionalizing participation in municipal policy development. Based on adaptive management principles where parties learn while planning, the innovative model in the PMR can benefit from early and ongoing monitoring and systematic evaluation. Irvin and Stanbury (2004: 62) have developed a series of indicators—such as citizen and stakeholder profiles, community characteristics, the nature of information and the stage of the issue in the policy cycle—to help determine if the conditions in a given context are favorable to further institutionalizing citizen participation. Their basic cost-benefit analysis can be applied on two levels in this case. First, it can help assess whether it is worth forming new CAs on other new emerging or long-standing issues and borough-level policy areas. Second, it can help a CA decide

whether to engage in broader public consultation or participation with respect to its work.

Currently, the administration faces limitations related to staff time and budgetary constraints in spending more resources for monitoring. Given the PMR's demographics, the CAs are dependent on an existing stock of highly qualified professionals, who could experience burnout if this pool is not expanded, or if broader inputs and participation from the wider public are not sought. Briggs (2008: 68) also reminds us that proactively involving groups and interests that are likely to oppose a mandate or proposal lead to success stories of collaborative processes. The lack of opposition and lack of attempts to include groups that hold opposing views point to the importance of fine-tuning the deliberation phase prior to proposal or project implementation.

While the CA model represents an effective and efficient way to 'get the work done' and achieve results by engaging citizens, it comes with a series of caveats that can negatively affect its political viability in the long run. This speaks to the trade-offs that often occur between efficiency and representation, between inclusion and exclusion. Even though people involved in the CAs are highly skilled, their expert capacity does not readily translate into civic capacity, thus reinforcing the importance of representation, inclusiveness, and access in participatory governance initiatives.

Finally, a collaborative evaluation as a participatory research method for monitoring participatory governance processes may prove fruitful in gathering data and other useful information, while involving diverse stakeholders in a process that integrates joint learning, reflection, and action. While the collaborative evaluation process used in this research is limited by time and resource constraints as well as stakeholders' schedules, the process has nevertheless generated useful insights on the initial phase of institutionalization. It is possible that future use of collaborative evaluation research can generate additional lessons that can assist in the further institutionalization and sustainability of this innovative participatory policy development model in a Canadian municipality.

### **Acknowledgements**

The authors thank Christine Gosselin and the *Projet Montréal* staff, the Plateau-Mont-Royal Mayor and council members, as well as *Comité avisé* members for their participation and willingness to share experiences. They acknowledge the support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (CURA seed grant for the LOI- "Participatory Budgeting in Canadian Municipalities," 2004) and the School of Community and Regional Planning Student Travel Grant, 2010.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Montreal's City Council, the primary decision-making body, has jurisdiction over public safety, governmental agreements, building renovation subsidies, environment, the Master Plan, The three-year capital works program, while Borough Councils have jurisdiction and decision-making power over urban planning, waste collection, culture, recreation, social and community development, parks, roads, housing, human resources, fire prevention, non-taxation fees, financial management.

<sup>2</sup> *Union Montréal* was the municipal political party in office in the Plateau-Mont-Royal from 2005-2009.

<sup>3</sup> “*De soumettre des politiques préliminaires ou des projets préliminaires à la fonction publique pour que, elle, aie un minimum de travail*” (L. Ferrandez, personal communication, May 20, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> “*C'est une machine à faire des projets qu'on a de besoin, c'est pas une machine à consulter*” (L. Ferrandez, personal communication, May 20, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> “*Le comité n'a pas un rôle de représentativité de la population dans un exercice de démocratie participative. Il exécute des mandats exprimés par la population et entérinés par la plate-forme électorale de l'équipe récemment portée au pouvoir.*”

<sup>6</sup> “*Le comité peut demander à l'élu responsable d'organiser une consultation publique – s'il juge qu'elle est de nature à faire évoluer ses travaux.*”

<sup>7</sup> These elements have been identified in Ansell and Gash (2007); Meldon, Kenney and Walsh (2004, 50); and NCDD (2009).

<sup>8</sup> Note that not all *Comités aviseurs* are mandated to act on all stages of the policy cycle. Some are not involved in dealing with policy preference, for example. It is also important to acknowledge that committees were formed at different times. Some had been working together for a longer period than others.

<sup>9</sup> The *Champs des possibles*, or “Field of the possible” is a vacant green space (brownfield) in one of the Plateau-Mont-Royal's industrial sectors. Citizen groups and the borough have been exploring how to preserve, manage or develop this site.

## References

- Abele, F., K. Graham, A. Ker, A. Maioni and S. Phillips. (1998). *Talking with Canadians: Citizen Engagement and the Social Union*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development.
- Ackerman, J. (2004). Co-Governance for Accountability: Beyond “Exit” and “Voice”. *World Development* 32 (3): 447–463.
- Alfaro, D. (2010). Montreal's borough system. (Accessed November 11, 2010). <http://meslin.wordpress.com/2010/04/19/boroughs/>.
- Alkin, M. C. (1990). *Debates on Evaluation*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

- Angeles, L. C. (2004). New Issues, New Perspectives: Implications for International Development Studies. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 25 (1): 61-80.
- Ansell, C., and A. Gash. (2007). Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18 (4): 543-571.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35 (4): 216-224.
- Aulich, C. (2009). From Citizen Participation to Participatory Governance in Australian Local Government. *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance* 2: 44-60.
- Baccaro, L., and K. Papadakis. (2009). The downside of participatory-deliberative public administration. *Socio-Economic Review* 7 (2): 1-31.
- Beauchamp, A., and J. Dionne. (1997). Public Participation in Municipal Life: The City of Quebec in the North American Context. In *International Strategies and Techniques for Future Local Government: Practical Aspects towards Innovation and Reform*, edited by M. Pröh, 103-30. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann.
- Bergeron, R. (2008). *Bilan 2006-2008 du budget participatif: Un sommet de recuperation politique partisane*. Projet Montréal.
- Bingham, L. B., T. Nabatchi, and R. O'Leary. (2005). The New Governance: Practices and Processes for Stakeholder and Citizen Participation in the Work of Government. *Public Administration Review* 65 (5): 547-558.
- Blair, H. (2008). Innovations in Participatory Local Governance. In *Participatory Governance and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*, edited by Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 77-126. New York: United Nations.
- Bourque, G. L. (2000). *Le modèle québécois de développement: De l'émergence au renouvellement*. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Box, R. C. (2001). Private Lives and Anti-Administration. *Administrative Theory and Praxis* 23 (4): 541-58.
- Briggs, X. S. (2008). *Democracy as Problem Solving: Civic Capacity in Communities Across the Globe*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Brousselle, A., F. Champagne, A-P. Contandriopoulos and Z. Hartz. (2009). *L'Évaluation: concepts et méthodes*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- Bucek, J., and B. Smith. (2000). New approaches to local democracy: direct democracy, participation and the 'third sector'. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 18: 3-16.
- Bureau de recherche d'animation et de consultation. (2003). *Les soirées du Plateau: Rapport final*. Montreal.
- Callanan, M. (2005). Institutionalizing Participation and Governance? New Participative Structures in Local Government in Ireland. *Public Administration*, 83 (4): 909-929.

- Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. (2003). *Democracy Counts!: Participatory Budgeting in Canada and Abroad: Alternative Federal Budget 2003*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- Comité aviseur sur la circulation: *Document d'encadrement*. (2010). Montreal.
- Comité aviseur sur le bruit: *Document d'encadrement*. (2010). Montreal.
- Comité aviseur sur le verdissement: *Document d'encadrement*. (2010). Montreal.
- Comité cohabitation résidents-commerçants: *Rapport et recommandations*. (2010). Montreal.
- Comité de conception du Champs des possibles: *Document d'encadrement*. (2010). Montreal.
- Cooke, B., and U. Kothari. (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* London: Zed.
- Cnaan, R. A. (1991). Neighborhood-representing Organizations: How Democratic Are They. *Social Science Review* 65: 614-634.
- Daigneault, P., and S. Jacob. (2009). Toward Accurate Measurement of Participation: Rethinking the Conceptualization and Operationalization of Participatory Evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation* 30: 330-348.
- Davidson, E. J. (2005). *Evaluation Methodology Basics: The Nuts and Bolts of Sound Evaluation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2007). *Public Governance Indicators: A Literature Review*. New York: United Nations.
- Dewey, J. (1935). *Liberalism and Social Action*. New York: GP Putnam's Sons.
- Dewey, J. (1927). *The Public and Its Problems*. New York: Holt Press.
- Dubuc, B. (2009). *La fin du Néandertal: Un projet pour Montréal*. Canada: Copyleft. (Accessed October 12, 2010) <http://pages.videotron.com/brunodub/la%20fin%20du%20neandertal.html>.
- Edralin J.S. (1997). The new Local Governance and Capacity Building: A Strategic Approach: Examples from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. *Regional Development Studies* 3: 109-149.
- Enrione, A., C. Mazza, and F. Zerboni. (2006). Institutionalizing Codes of Governance. *American Behavioral Scientist* 49: 961-973.
- Fagotto, E., and A. Fung. (2009). *Sustaining Public Engagement Embedded Deliberation in Local Communities*. East Hartford: Everyday Democracy and the Kettering Foundation.
- Fischer, F. (2010). Participatory Governance. *Jerusalem Papers in Regulation & Governance, Working Paper No. 24*. Jerusalem.
- Fischer, F. (2009). *Democracy and Expertise: Reorienting Policy Inquiry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forester, J. (2009). *Dealing with Difference: Dramas of Mediating Public Disputes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Freeman, J. (1997). Collaborative Governance in the Administrative State. *UCLA Review* 1:1-98.

- French, D., and M. Laver. (2009). Participation Bias, Durable Opinion Shifts and Sabotage through Withdrawal in Citizens' Juries. *Political Studies* 57: 422-450.
- Fung, A. (2008). Citizen Participation in Government Innovation. In *Innovations in Government: Research, Replication and Recognition*, edited by Sanford Borins, 52-70. Washington: Brookings Institute Press.
- Fung, A. (2007). Democratic Theory and Political Science: A Pragmatic Method of Constructive Engagement. *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 443-458.
- Fung, A. (2003a). Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11 (3): 338-67.
- Fung, A. (2003b). Associations and Democracy: Between Theories, Hopes, and Realities. *Annual Review of Sociology* 29: 515-39.
- Fung, A., and E. O. Wright. (2008). Empowered Participation for the UK? In *Building a Citizen Society: The Emerging Politics of Republican Democracy*, edited by Stuart White & Daniel Leighton, 83-92. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Fung, A., and E. O. Wright. (2003). *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso.
- Fung, A., and E. O. Wright. (2001). Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. *Politics and Society* 29 (1): 5-41.
- Gaventa, J., and C. Valderrama. (1999). *Participation, Citizenship and Local Governance: Background note prepared for workshop on 'Strengthening participation in local governance.'* Institute of Development Studies.
- Graham, K. A., and S. D. Phillips. (1998). Introduction. In *Citizen Engagement: Lessons in Public Participation from Local Government*, edited by Katherine A. Graham and Susan D. Phillips. Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada.
- Greenwood, R., C. Hinings, and R. Suddaby. (2002). Theorizing Change: The Role of Professional Associations in the Transformation of Institutionalized Fields. *Academy of Management Journal* 45: 58-80.
- Hartz-Karp, J. and M. Briand. (2009). Institutionalizing deliberative democracy: Practitioner Paper. *Journal of Public Affairs* 9: 125-141.
- Heinelt, H., P. C. Schmitter, R. Smith, E. Swyngedouw, P. Gemitis and G. Kafkalas. (2002). *Achieving Sustainable and Innovative Policies through Participatory Governance in a Multi-level Context*. Darmstadt University of Technology. European Community.
- Held, D. (1987). *Models of Democracy*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Hibbing, J. R., and E. Theiss-Morse. (2002). *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs about how Government should Work, Cambridge Studies in Political Psychology and Public Opinion*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Huntington, S. P. (1981). *American Politics: the Promise of Disharmony*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- International Association for Public Participation. (2010). IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation. (Accessed December 14, 2010). <http://www.iap2.org/associations/4748/files/spectrum.pdf>.
- Irvin, R., and J. Stanbury. (2004). Citizen Participation in Decision Making: Is It Worth the Effort? *Public Administration Review* 64 (1): 55-65.
- Jetté, C. 2008. *Les organismes communautaires et la transformation de l'État-providence*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Jung, Y-D., D.A. Mazmanian, and S.-Y Tang. (2009). Introduction. In *Collaborative Governance in the United States and Korea*, edited by Yong-Duck Jung, Daniel A. Mazmanian & Shui-Yan Tang, 1-20. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- Klein, J.L., and D.G. Tremblay. (2009). Social Actors and their Role in Metropolitan Governance in Montréal: Towards an Inclusive Coalition? *GeoJournal* 75 (6): 567-579.
- Korten, F. F. (1988). The working group as a catalyst for organizational change. In *Transforming a Bureaucracy: The Experience of the Philippine National Irrigation Administration*, edited by Frances F. Korten and Robert Y. Siy, Jr., 61-89, West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- Latendresse, A. (2010). *Le BP du Plateau-Mont-Royal: Évaluation d'une expérience unique à Montréal*. Preliminary document presented to Plateau-Mont-Royal administration, March 2010. Report forthcoming.
- Leach, S., and M. Wingfield. (1999). Public Participation and the Democratic Renewal Agenda: Prioritisation or Marginalisation? *Local Government Studies* 25 (4): 46-59.
- Lerner, J. (2004). *Building a Democratic City: How Participatory Budgeting Can Work in Toronto*. M.Sc. Planning Thesis. University of Toronto, Canada
- Lerner, J., and E. Van Wagner. (2006). *Participatory Budgeting in Canada: Democratic Innovations in Strategic Spaces*. Washington, DC: Transnational Institute.
- Lovan, W. R., M. Murray, and R. Shaffer. (2004). Participatory Governance in a Changing World. In *Participatory Governance: Planning, Conflict Mediation and Public Decision-Making in Civil Society*, edited by Robert Lovan, Michael Murray and Ron Shaffer, 39-60. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Lukowicz J. A., and D. Nunan. (1999). The Limits of Collaborative Evaluation. *TESOL Quarterly* 33: 681-700.
- Mansbridge, J. (2003). Practice-Thought-Practice. In *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, edited by Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, 175-199. London: Verso.
- Meadowcroft, J. (2004). Participation and sustainable development: modes

- of citizen, community and organisational involvement. In *Governance for Sustainable Development: The Challenge of Adapting Form to Function*, edited by William M. Lafferty, 162-90. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Meldon, J., M. Kenney and J. Walsh. (2004). Local Government, Local Development and Citizen Participation: Lessons from Ireland. In *Participatory Governance: Planning, Conflict Mediation and Public Decision-Making in Civil Society*, edited by Robert Lovan, Michael Murray and Ron Shaffer. 39-60. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Mendelsohn, M., and F. Cutler. (2000). The Effect of Referendums on Democratic Citizens: Information, Politicization, Efficacy and Tolerance. *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 685-698.
- Motsi, G. (2009). *Evaluating Citizen Engagement in Policy Making: A paper presented at the Canadian Evaluation Society Conference June 2, 2009, Ottawa*. Institute on Governance.
- Moynihan, D. P. (1965). *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty*. New York: Free Press.
- National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation. (2009). Core Principles for Public Engagement. (Accessed December 15, 2010). <http://www.thataway.org/main/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/PEPfinal-expanded.pdf>.
- Needham, C. (2008). Participation, Citizenship and Public Services. In *Building a Citizen Society: The Emerging Politics of Republican Democracy*, edited by Stuart White & Daniel Leighton, 93-100. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Nieuwland, H. (2003). A Participatory Budgeting Model For Canadian Cities: Improving Representation Through Increased Citizen Participation. In *The Municipal Budgeting Process*. Paper presented at Lifelong Citizenship Learning, Participatory Democracy & Social Change Conference, October 17-19, 2003, Transformative Learning Centre, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.
- Olsen, J. P. (2003). What is a Legitimate Role for Euro-citizens? *Comparative European Politics* 1 (1): 91-110.
- Osmani, S. (2008). Participatory Governance: An Overview of Issues and Evidence In *Participatory Governance and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*, edited by Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1-45. New York: United Nations.
- O'Sullivan, R. G. (2004). *Practicing Evaluation: A Collaborative Approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Paquet, G. (2009). *Scheming Virtuously: The Road to Collaborative Governance*. Ottawa: Invenire Books.
- Peris, J., M. Acebillo-Baqué, and C. Calabuig. (2010). Scrutinizing the link between participatory governance and urban environment management: The experience in Arequipa during 2003-2006. *Habitat International* 35: 84-92.

- Phillips, S., and M. Orsini. (2002). *Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes*. CPRN Discussion Paper. Canadian Policy Research Networks.
- Pimbert, M. (2001). Reclaiming our right to power: some conditions for deliberative democracy. *PLA Notes* 40: 82-84.
- Pinnington, E., J. Lerner, and D. Schugurensky. (2009). Participatory Budgeting in North America: The Case of Guelph, Canada. *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management* 21 (3): 455-484.
- Projet Montréal. (2010). Democracy and Governance. (Accessed on August 18, 2010). <http://www.projetmontreal.org/theme/democratie/>.
- Projet Montréal. (2009). Plate-forme Projet Montréal – Plateau-Mont-Royal: Une pluie d'interventions à l'échelle humaine – maintenant. (Accessed on August 18, 2010). [http://en.projetmontreal.org/files/documents/2009\\_09\\_14\\_projetmontreal\\_document\\_1252902112\\_fr.pdf](http://en.projetmontreal.org/files/documents/2009_09_14_projetmontreal_document_1252902112_fr.pdf).
- Projet Montréal. (2007). Projet Montréal: Statuts et Règlements. (Accessed on August 21, 2010). [http://www.projetmontreal.org/files/leparti/SR\\_2007\\_final.pdf](http://www.projetmontreal.org/files/leparti/SR_2007_final.pdf)
- Rabouin, L. (2009). *Démocratiser la ville: Le budget participatif: De Porto Alegre à Montréal*. Montreal: Lux Éditeur.
- Rabouin, L. (2005). *Vers un Budget Participatif sur le Plateau: Rapport présenté à l'arrondissement du Plateau-Mont-Royal*. Montreal.
- Reddel, T., and G. Woolcock. (2003). A Critical Review of Citizen Engagement Strategies in Queensland. In *Facing the Future: Engaging stakeholders and citizens in developing public policy*, edited by National Institute for Governance. NIG, University of Canberra, Canberra.
- Ryfe, D. M. (2002). The Practice of Deliberative Democracy: A Study of 16 Deliberative Organizations. *Political Communication* 19 (3): 259–377.
- Saulnier, R. (2009). *Le Plan de déplacement urbain 2009-2024 du Plateau-Mont-Royal: Se réappropriier le quartier*. Le Plateau-Mont-Royal.
- Schmitter, P. C. (2002). Participation in Governance Arrangements: Is there any Reason to Expect it will Achieve Sustainable and Innovative Policies in a Multilevel Context? In *Participatory Governance. Political and Societal Implications*, edited by Jürgen R. Grote and Bernard Gbikpi, 51-70. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.
- Schneider H. (1999). *Participatory Governance: The Missing link for poverty Reduction*. OECD Policy Brief No. 17.
- Secrétariat du Sommet de Montréal. (2005). *Montréal, une ville à réussir ensemble: Sommet de Montréal, Bilan des réalisations 2002-2005*. Ville de Montréal.
- Silver, H., A. Scott, and Y. Kazepov. (2010). Participation in Urban Contention and Deliberation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34 (3): 453–77.
- Skelcher, C., and J. Torfing. (2010). Improving democratic governance through institutional design: Civic participation and democratic ownership in Europe.

- Regulation & Governance* 4: 71-91.
- Stewart, K. (2006). Designing good urban governance indicators: The importance of citizen participation and its evaluation in Greater Vancouver. *Cities* 23 (3): 196-204.
- Thibert, J. (2010). Quelques observations sur le Plateau Mont-Royal. Spacing Montreal. (Accessed August 16, 2010). <http://spacingmontreal.ca/2010/02/17/quelques-observations-sur-le-plateau-mont-royal/>.
- Thomas, J. (1995). *Public Participation in Public Decisions: New Skills and Strategies for Public Managers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Thompson, J. (1995). Participatory Approaches in Government Bureaucracies: Facilitating the Process of Institutional Change. *World Development* 23 (9): 1521-54.
- Torres, L. H. (2003). *Deliberative Democracy: A Survey of the Field: A Report Prepared for the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation*. Washington, DC: AmericaSpeaks.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2009). *People Matter: Civic Engagement in Public Governance*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Development Program. (2000). *Urban Governance: A Sourcebook on Indicators*. Kuala Lumpur: UNDP. (Accessed September 13, 2010). <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/indicators/contents.html>.
- Ville de Montréal. (2009). *Profil sociodémographique: Le Plateau-Mont-Royal*. Montréal en statistiques: Montreal.
- Ville de Montréal. (No date). *The Challenge of Participation: Montreal's Public Consultation and Participation Policy*. Montreal.
- Wampler, B. (2007). *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation and Accountability*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Wampler, B. (2004). Expanding Accountability Through Participatory Institutions: Mayors, Citizens, and Budgeting in Three Brazilian Municipalities. *Latin American Politics & Society* 46 (2): 73-99.
- Wampler, B., and L. Avritzer. (2004). Participatory Publics: Civil Society and New Institutions in Democratic Brazil. *Comparative Politics* 36 (3): 291-312.
- Williamson, A. (2004). *Mapping Public Deliberation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government.