UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Anja Polajnar

Uporaba socialnih medijev v Evropskem parlamentu in Ameriškem kongresu - Primer aplikacije Padgets

The use of social media in the European Parliament and in the American Congress - The Case of the Padgets Application

Magistrsko delo

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The master thesis comprises a conceptual and historical overview of the E-participation processes. It exposes the limitations of the eGovernance tools usage in the process of decision-making in the European Union. In the empirical part the empirical study of the Padgets project which was financed by the 7th Framework programme of the European Commission is presented.

The conceptual base consists of an E-participation outline through three classifications of the European governance – the intergovernmental which is based on realism, the supranational which is based on liberalism and the constructivist theory.

The thesis encompasses an overview of the E-participation historic processes with limitations of the E-participation tools usage. The thesis focuses on the social media usage by the Members of the European Parliament and the US Congressmen. It emphasises the possibility of lowering the democratic deficit by means of the E-participation tools usage, especially as regards their use of social media. Here the focus falls on the Padgets project, which is a three-year project financed by the 7th Framework programme of the European Commission. The Padgets platform is designed to enable decision-makers communication with the European citizens through social media. Results of the Slovene pilot project implemented with the help of the Slovenian Members of the European Parliament show positive acceptance of the Padgets program among decision-makers but also among citizens. However, the shortcoming of the project was a lack of interactivity from both sides.

The motivation for financing E-participation projects can be understood through three different theoretical approaches. The intergovernmental approach indicates the attempts of the E-participation projects are attempts to make citizens feel included with the real motivation of the MePs promotion. The supranational approach which is based on the liberalist theory describes E-participation as a positive act of decision makers who really do want to include people in the decision-making process. Constructivism defines the meaning of E-participation as a tool – and the value of it depends on every individual's value system. The answer whether the project brings about the lowering of the democratic deficit in the European Union cannot be answered. These projects are mainly very technically advanced however they also lack the social science component, and what is more, are usually organised »top down« and not »bottom up«. Here it would be crucial to involve the principles of deliberative democracy. The empirical part of the thesis shows that while the project did satisfy the expectations of the Members of the European Parliament, the latter were not interactive enough with citizens and in addition did not provide sufficient feedback to citizen proposals. Citizens who used the application stated it was user-friendly but nevertheless complained about the missed feedback from the involved decision makers. This explains why the motivation for cooperation was lower. According to the statistics of the social media usage by the Members of the US Congress it can be concluded that the application would prove useful also for different political levels in the USA.

Key words: eGovernance, social media, democratic deficit, Padgets, FP7 European project, European Parliament, U.S. Congress

Uporaba socialnih medijev v Evropskem parlamentu in Ameriškem kongresu - Primer aplikacije Padgets

Magistrska naloga zajema konceptualni in zgodovinski pregled procesov eParticipacije, pri čemer izpostavi omejitve uporabe orodij eUpravljanja v procesu sprejemanja političnih odločitev. V empiričnem delu predstavlja študijo evropskega projekta Padgets, ki ga je financiral 7. okvirni program Evropske komisije.

Konceptualno izhodišče zajema pregled eUpravljanja preko treh pojasnjevalnih pristopov evropskega vladanja – medvladnega, ki temelji na teoriji realizma, nadnacionalnega, ki temelji na teoriji liberalizma, in konstruktivizma.

Naloga zajema pregled zgodovinskih procesov eUpravljanja, kjer izpostavi tudi omejitve uporabe orodij eUpravljanja v procesu sprejemanja političnih odločitev. Naloga se osredotoči na uporabo družbenih medijev s strani poslancev Evropskega parlamenta in kongresnikov v ameriškem kongresu in poda možnost zmanjšanja demokratičnega primanjkljaja z uporabo orodij eParticipacije, še posebej preko družbenih medijev. Pri tem izpostavi projekt Padgets, ki je triletni evropski projekt, financiran preko 7. okvirnega programa Evropske komisije. Preko tega projekta je bila razvita platforma Padgets, ki odločevalcem omogoča razpravo z evropskimi državljani prek družbenih medijev. Rezultati slovenskega pilotnega projekta, ki je bil izveden s pomočjo evropskih poslancev iz Slovenije, kažejo pozitivno sprejetost programa Padgets tako s strani odločevalcev kot tudi s strani državljanov, kljub temu da je bilo kot pomanjkljivost izpostavljeno pomanjkanje interaktivnosti z obeh strani.

Naloga se zaključi z odgovori na zastavljena raziskovalna vprašanja. Motivacijo za uvajanje projektov eParticipacije je mogoče razumeti različno preko treh različnih teoretičnih pristopov. Medvladni pristop, ki temelji na teoriji realizma, bi označil poskuse eParticipacije kot ukrepe, ki si želijo pri ljudeh ustvariti občutek, da si prizadevajo za njihovo vključevanje v proces odločanja, v resnici pa si želijo samo svoje promocije. Nadnacionalni pristop, ki temelji na liberalizmu, eParticipacijo označuje kot pozitivno dejanje odločevalcev, ki želijo ljudi resnično vključiti v proces oblikovanja politik. Konstruktivizem pa opredeljuje pomen eParticipacije kot pripomoček, katerega vrednost je odvisna od vrednostnega sistema posameznika. Na vprašanje, če projekt prispeva k zmanjšanju demokratičnega primanjkljaja v Evropski uniji, bi lahko odgovorili s pomočjo longitudinalne študije. Take vrste projekti so večinoma zelo tehnično dovršeni, pri čemer je opazen manjko družboslovne komponente. Poleg so ti projekti večinoma zastavljeni »od zgoraj navzdol« in ne »od spodaj navzgor«, pri čemer bi morali ključno upoštevati načela deliberativne demokracije. Empirični del naloge kaže, da je projekt v večini zadostil pričakovanjem evropskih poslancev, vendar vseeno niso bili dovolj odzivni na komentarje državljanov in večinoma niso poskrbeli za povratne informacije. Državljani, ki so uporabili aplikacijo, so povedali, da je prijazna za uporabnike, vendar so pogrešali pridobivanje povratnih informacij odločevalcev, zato je bila motivacija za sodelovanje manjša. Glede na statistiko uporabnikov družbenih medijev in študijo uporabe družbenih medijev med kongresniki v ZDA sklenemo, da bi bila aplikacija uporabna tudi na različnih političnih nivojih v ZDA.

Ključne besede: eUpravljanje, socialni mediji, demokratični primanjkljaj, Padgets, evropski projekt, Evropski parlament, ameriški kongres

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1 INTRODUCTION

Nowadays we are faced with the technological and social evolution which has caused immense social-cultural changes. These changes have pressed governmental organizations to co-create services of the government. Policy makers who back public service cuts should be welcome to decision makers looking for public service cuts and could lead to the Digital Era Governance type models (Escher, Margettes, Petricek and Cox 2006).

These social changes caused new organizational forms with the possibility of using the internet to organize without organizations (Shirky 2008, 29). A widespread deformulization of organizations could generate a governmental response along the Digital Era Governance lines. Quasi-organizations from Facebook groups and multi-authored blogs to discussion sites and peer-produced goods (like Wikipedia) are all extremely difficult to categorize according to the conventional organizational theory. As a result, government officials and decision makers are often unsettled or confused by the need to respond to these informal organizational developments.

As a response to these topics the Padgets project was proposed to the European Commission which decided to finance it. The main goal of the project is to provide policy makers with a tool which analyses unorganized citizens' inputs.

The main aim of the master thesis is to describe, examine, problematize and supply proposals for a democratic upgrading by using new media channels as presented on the case of the Padgets application with the use of the methodological apparatus of political science according to different theories. From the main aim also other goals arise, as are the content and process analysis of the new media channels in the case of the Padgets application, the analysis of the usage of new media channels through lens of different theories, and the description of political concequences of the usage of new media channels such as the Padgets.

In my particular case I am in a lucky position of taking an active part in the research project named - Policy Gadgets Mashing Underlying Group Knowledge in the Web 2.0 Media (Padgets) which is a European research project financed under ICT for

Governance and Policy Modelling of the European 7th Framework programme. The objective of the project is to develop a tool for decision makers to create web applications in the new media Web 2.0. The concept of the Policy Gadget (Padget) – represents an application that combines a policy message with underlying group knowledge in the new media and interacts with citizens in popular locations (such as social networks) in order to convey their message input to decision makers.

Through the platform policies can become web applications to be used in relation to social activities on the web. Decision makers can set up such applications on their own and use them to communicate their ideas to citizens. People can use these applications as they use everyday services and decision makers can track the results of this interaction back to their policy making process to assist them in reaching solid decisions that represent citizens' input and aspirations.

The Padgets platform represents a bridge across institutional boundaries, allowing them to establish an interactive communication flow between decision makers and citizens. The value generated by such a tool unfolds along a number of dimensions, is perspective dependent and may vary among the different phases of the policy-making cycle.

Nevertheless, in its essence it may be conceived as a reduction in the distance between policy-making and citizens' needs, both in terms of time and tools required. In other words, the use of policy gadgets allows providing better information to the policy decision process, by supplying a clear and dynamic vision of the different stakeholders' opinions and priorities. By giving decision makers a privileged channel for hearing citizens, directly where they choose to express their opinion, a padget enables an innovative way to gather, evaluate and decide upon citizens' input.

For this thesis the role of the Padgets application is examined with the Members of the European Parliament from Slovenia (MePs) and the Slovenian citizens and representatives of non-governmental organisations. The MePs establish different campaigns through the Padgets application and collect information on specific topics. The research especially examines the use and motives of Slovenian citizens and representatives of non-governmental organisations.

The research focuses on the democratic deficit of the European Parliament (EP) and the possibility of lowering the same deficit by the use of the Padgets application. Furthermore, the case of the social media usage by the Members of the U.S. Congress is observed. These foresee the possibility of the Padgets usage.

Different theories of international relations show the results of the Padgets pilot and the possibilities of lowering the democratic deficit in a different way. The technological tool is examined through lens of different theories, especially as regards the inclusion of civil citizens into the democratic policy cycle, i.e. cycle of policy-making.

The first part of the thesis examines e-participation through three different approaches – supranational, intergovernmental and constructivist. The views on human nature, communication, motives, e-participation and finally the Padgets project are presented through different lenses. These theories have been chosen since in my opinion they are the basic theories with nevertheless totally opposing views.

The thesis then examines the history of eGovernance processes and the use of e-participation tools, including social media networks in the U.S. Congress. The next chapter is dedicated to the role of the European parliament and the problem of the democratic deficit of the European Parliament followed by the empowerment of the Parliament as a decision-making body of the European Union. One of the possible solutions is presented by describing political consequences of the new media channels such as Padgets however on the other side also a limited inclusion of democratic potentials of the new technologies into decision-making is shown.

The following chapter introduces the role of the U.S. Congress, the democratic deficit of the U.S. Congress and highlights the use of social media channels by the Congress.

The third part of the thesis exemplifies the purpose of the Padgets application and its effects. An analysis of the interactive policy-making with the Padgets project is done through a description of the methodology used and the elements of the analysis, where its results are included as well. After that the applicative additions of the interactive policy-making with the Padgets tool are highlighted.

All in all, a reflection of the interactive policy-making with the use of the Padgets application is formed. The discussion focuses on the problem of limited E-participation, content selection and the possible deficit implementation as well as all the problems with the usage of the data provided by the tool.

At the base of the indicated assumptions the thesis looks for answers to the following research questions:

- 1. Under which conditions, according to different theories, can decision-making processes of the European Union become more inclusive with the use of technology?
- 2. Can the Padgets application improve the communication between Members of Parliament and civil citizens, and with that lower the democratic deficit of the European Union?
- 3. What are the expectations of the Slovenian Members of the European Parliament and of the Slovenian citizens and representatives of non-governmental organisations?
- 4. Could the Padgets application be used in the United States according to the Social Media usage trends survey?

To answer these research questions, a theoretical overview and case studies introduce the research methods that are used in the thesis.

To present the theme and answer the research questions two basic approaches are used – the theoretical and empirical respectively.

Finding the answers to the research questions is based on the methodological approach of explaining and understanding. With the methodological approach of understanding the Padgets project is explained through categories of political power, decision-making and political discourse. The methodological approach of understanding is used in embedding the Padgets application into the context of interpretations, reflections and qualitative descriptions regarding the European political framework, i.e. democratic deficit of the EU, computerization of European governance, and the decision-making process.

This is based on the interpretative logic of scientific research on the assumption of combined effects of different levels and elements of the analysis. In the theoretical chapters an interpretation and analysis of secondary sources, i.e. literature, research, theories of democracy, theories of democratic deficit, and theories of information citizens, are used. In the empirical part the description method, i.e. descriptions of the Padgets application and other applications of the European Parliament, is included. The case study is mixed – partly quantitative and partly qualitative; it consists of the analysis of the communication (decision-making) process with set variables – such as the number of posts by the four Members of the European Parliament who took part in the pilot project and the number of interactions with citizens; a semi-structured interview with four decision makers (Slovenian Members of the European Parliament – MePs) and Slovenian citizens who take part in the Padgets project.

The case study in the empirical part presents how and under which conditions the Padgets application can be used from the point of view of political decision makers. In our case the expectations of the MePs are researched by means of a semi-structured face-to-face interview with four Slovenian Members of the European Parliament who take part in the study. On the other hand, also the expectations and motives of the representatives of the Slovenian citizens and representatives of non-governmental organisations who use the application as users are presented.

With the description method facts and processes of the Padgets tool operation are described. In our case the number of interactions, number of likes, and number of positive and negative comments to certain Padgets policy campaigns set by the Slovenian MePs are measured. By means of the semi-structured interview with the Members of the European Parliament, i.e. four Slovenian Members of the European Parliament, and the representatives of Slovenian non-governmental organisations and Slovenian citizens, information on their motives and experience in the use of the Padgets application are acquired.

The Padgets project is in its initial pilot phase through which we try to foresee the first implications and reactions of its users from both the decision makers' and citizens' side. Nevertheless, in order to study the impacts on the democratic deficit a longitudinal study would be needed.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE E-PARTICIPATION TOOLS AND THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

In a very diverse and broad literature in the field of European studies a variety of different models of the European government can be found which are justified with different philosophical, theoretical, political and historic views on European governance. This thesis focuses on the politological view based on the science of international relations.

In the literature on European government two main models or explanation approaches exist – these are the intergovernmental and supragovernmental approaches, which are ideal models of the design, development and mode of the EU political institutions. Both models represent a view on the operation of the EU institutions which besides sometimes a simplified view contribute significantly towards an integrated approach to understanding the governance of the European Union (Bromley 2001, 13).

From the view of political participation in the decision-making system of the EU, it is significant for the intergovernmental approach that democracy is established through democratically elected governmental institutions of the member states. According to the supranational model democracy in the European Union is established by means of a new Europe-wide democratic institution (Lord 2001, 169). The intergovernmental model defends the principle of representative democracy in which it is close to the conferedation system with the main role of national states, while the supranational model includes the principles of direct democracy in which it is close to federal systems with supranational power (Andersen and Eliassen 1996, 41). The intergovernmental approach is based on the realist theory of international relations and the supranational one on the liberalist theory. To embrace a holistic view also the constructivist approach which focuses on the question of how rules and norms are formed is analysed.

2.1 Intergovernmental approach

2.1.1 View on human nature

Jackson and Sørensen (1999, 68–70) list two of the four main points of the realist theory

regarding the view on human nature: the pessimist view on human nature and the scepticism towards the possibility of progress in international politics.

The realist theory is according to Dunne (1997, 112) divided into the structural, historical and liberal realism. Morhenthau and Tukidid see international politics as eternal fight for power, which arises from human nature and is impossible to overcome.

Human nature is in Morgenthau's opinion (in Donnley 2000, 161) too ignorant, too selfish and too poor. On the other hand, according to Spykman (in Donnelly 2000, 161) people would not only be selfish and mean but would be motivated because of other wills, for example the will to possess power. Morgenthau (in Donnelly 2000, 161) states fair treatment and receiving fairness are the basic guidelines of an individual.

According to Morgenthau (1948/1995, 75–90) one of the six principles of the political realism is also that citizens are governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. The main characteristic of human nature is that it does not change through history. The objectiveness of the law of politics is the basis for the creation of the rational theory.

In the realist theory the meaning of facts is conducted through reason. However examination of the facts themselves is not sufficient. In giving meaning to the factual raw material of foreign policy, it is necessary to approach the political reality with a kind of a rational outline, a map that suggests possible meanings of foreign policy. We assume that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power.

Little knowledge on human nature will convince us that with far the greatest part of mankind the governing principle is interest and that almost every man is more or less under its influence (Morgenthau 1978, 4–15).

2.1.2 View on motives

According to Morgenthau (1978, 4–15) motives for public virtue can be activated for a certain time, but not all the time. Human beings are not capable of sacrificing their private interests in order to contribute to common good.

Searching for the motives of statesmen is futile and deceptive. It is futile because motives are frequently beyond recognition, by the interests and emotions of actor and observer alike. Do we really know what our own motives are? And what do we know of the motives of others? Even if we had access to the real motives of statesmen, that knowledge would help us little in understanding their actions. If we look into history it shows us no correlation between the quality of motives and the quality of foreign policy in both moral and political terms. Also if we know that intentions of a statesman are good, we cannot conclude that his foreign policies will be either morally praiseworthy or politically successful.

In accordance, foreign policy is dependant on political decisions of the statesmen themselves – do the proposals of civil citizens play an important part? Are their proposals taken into account?

Deviations from the rationality of the policy maker may appear contingent only from the vantage point of rationality, but may themselves be elements in a coherent system of irrationality.

Aware of the inevitable gap between good—that is, rational—foreign policy and foreign policy as it actually is, political realism maintains not only that theory must focus upon the rational elements of political reality, but also that foreign policy ought to be rational in view of its own moral and practical purposes.

The concept of interest and power are, besides balance, two crucial concepts for realists. The interest is the leading principle of humanity according to many politicians, because it leads almost every person in his deeds and behavior. Interest is a central motive of activity of an individual and citizens. The idea of interest is crucial for politics and is dependent on time and space. The concept of interest defined by power is an objective and commonly accepted category which does not have a final significance. It interlinks ratio on one side and facts on the other. Interest defined by power has a task to separate politics from the self-standing sphere of activity from other spheres (as for example economy and ethics) (Morgenthau 1995, 75–6). That is why the question of the relation between political realism and moral or ethics is put forward.

Political realism is aware of the tensions among moral legality and demand to successful political action. History does not list cases of urgent linkage among quality of motives and quality of foreign policy nor in moral nor in political sense (Morgenthau 1995, 77). Good intentions of a statesman are certainly not enough to conclude that politics would be moral or politically successful. Morgenthau states that many times politicians are driven by will to improve the World however many times they just worsened it through their deeds. At the same time they also strived for a certain aim but achieved something they did not expect nor want.

According to Morgenthau (1978, 4–15) the concept of power is defined as anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man. In this context power can be understood as physical violence to psychological by which one mind controls another. According to that why would politicians listen to citizens' views through e-participation chanells and tools? However, political realism does not assume that the contemporary conditions under which foreign policy operates with its extreme instability and the ever present threat of large-scale violence can be changed. The political realist maintains autonomy of the political sphere and thinks in terms of interest defined as power and always poses himself a question: "How does this policy affect my power?" The political realist is not unaware of thought other than political ones. However as a political realist, he subordinates other standards to those of politics. This means he might part company with other schools when they impose standards of thought appropriate to other spheres upon the political sphere. Regarding the two items of the realist theory which are a high evaluation of the state's interest, state's survival and scepticism to progress in politics, it can be concluded that E-participation tools are only a measure to preserve the existent system.

If we want to know the moral and political qualities of the statesmen's deeds we have to know the deeds and not the motives for them (Morgenthau 1995, 78). Good motives protect from bad intentional politics but they do not ensure moral kindness and political success of policies which they are inspired by. These tensions are not hidden and do not create an appearance that political facts are more morally satisfactory and moral laws less demanding as in reality. One and the other would mean blurring the moral and political problem. It is not possible to judge the deeds of states by means of general moral principles in their abstract universal formulation. These principles need to be

filtered through concrete circumstances of time and place. Political morality without political deliberateness cannot exist. Deliberateness between the consequences of alternative political deeds is the biggest superior feature in the realist theory. The main distinction between the abstract and political ethic is that the abstract ethic judges certain political action considering its fitting to the moral law while the political ethic judges it considering its political consequences (Morgenthau 1995, 85). In this sense and according to realism, are then only the results from the E-participation important? The results can be measured by the number of messages that were incorporated in the politician's initiatives and amendments.

This theory rejects identification of national moral aspirations with the universal moral law since nations would usually want to cover their special wills in a mantle of universal moral goals (Morgenthau 1995, 86).

However realist theorists do not have a clear view on morality (Donnelly 2000, 1966). Some say that moral principles can be relative as for example Carr (in Donnelly 2000: 166) states that there are ethical principles of unconscious reflection of national interest, so there might be no reason why these could not be considered in foreign politics. Morgenthau is of the opinion (in Donnelly 2000, 167) that unselfish action cannot be totally unselfish, because it can never totally avoid the limits of selfishness. Already Kant (in Donnelly 2000, 167) warned that there is extreme rarity of activity for pure moral goals without admixtures of other motives. In my opinion these actions can be at least partly moral and consequently there might be a certain level of moral acts possible.

An important characteristic of the realist approach is the exclusion of moral principles from foreign politics (Donnelly 2000, 161). According to Morgenthau (in Donnelly 2000, 161) universal moral principles cannot be considered by states. In addition, according to Kennan (in Donnelly 2000, 161) the process of reign is a practical and not a moral task. The problem of morality in international relations arises from norms of international relations and is related to debates on the state's motives and national interest (Donnelly 2000, 161).

2.1.3 View on communication

Speaking about globalisation in 1999, according to Kenneth N. Waltz international travel has become faster, easier, and cheaper; music, art, cuisines and cinema have all become cosmopolitan in the world's major centres. Communication is almost instantaneous and more than words can be transmitted which makes the reduced mobility of labour of less consequence. Finance capital moves freely across the frontiers of the OECD countries and quite freely elsewhere (Weiss 1998, XII in Waltz, 1999). Despite today's ease of communication, financial markets at the turn of the previous century were at least as integrated as they are now (Wade 1996, 73–75 in Waltz 1999).

Nowadays secessionist pressures, environmental, health and demographic tendencies, globalisation of the world economy are all seen as decreasing the jurisdiction of a sovereign state (Stephen J. Del Rosso, Jr. 1995, 3.chapter). State authority has also been diminished regarding its supervision over communications, its role in ensuring economic wellfare and its capability to shelter its territorial integrity (ibid.).

2.1.4 View on e-participation

If citizens of a certain state value direct democracy as an important goal of foreign and domestic politics, their national interests could be assured by e-participation tools accessible to everyone. All in all, where is e-participation placed in the realist theory?

According to the theory, e-participation might just be a smokescreen by means of which politicians are viewed as the ones who take into account citizens' needs and opinions, but in the end they do actions only for their own private interest. On the other hand, their interest might also be shown in their readiness to listen to people's opinions and suggestions – in order to get elected again.

At the same time political realism considers a rational policy to be good policy; for only a rational policy minimizes risks and maximizes benefits and, hence, complies with both the moral precept of prudence and the political requirement of success (Morgenthau 1978, 4–15). In line with that, e-participation has a motivation in minimizing risks and maximizing benefits when consulting civil citizens.

According to realism, e-participation itself is not important. The important thing is the result – the policy itself.

2.2 Supranational approach

2.2.1 View on human nature

Liberalist theory argues that human nature is good in general. Liberalists believe humans are beings of progress and growth. According to Burchill (2001, 33) human beings have the capacity to realize their potential. This is why liberals believe that war can be avoided. In their opinion preservation of the good democracy is significant.

Liberalists believe in democratic peace, which states that democracies generally do not attack each other. In this case we can argue that domestic peace has a direct effect upon international relations.

According to Moravcsik (1997, 516) basic actors in international politics are individuals and private groups which in average act rationally and are not in favour of taking a risk. Because of that exchange and common actions to present different interests are organized.

Liberal theories are based on the "bottom-up" model of politics, which means that groups and individuals are the most important elements in creating politics. Political action is based on the predisposition that rational individualists and groups create common interests and demands which politics should realize. And while on one hand activities of individuals and groups are dependent on circumstances and citizens, actors on the other hand can be in conflict or cooperative. Strong social demands which might be characterized as conflict are linked to many other factors. Three are the most important according to Moravcsik (1997, 517), i.e. different basic convictions, conflict regarding material goods and inequality of political power. Where differences and social influences are stronger, there is also a bigger possibility of conflict escalations (Moravcsik 1997, 517).

2.2.2 View on motives

According to Moravcsik states (or other political institutions) represent smaller social groups. On the basis of these groups the superiors create state's preferences and act in accordance with the global politics. In this case the state is understood as a representative of interests of its citizens. These interests are continually changing, because demands of coalition in social groups are changing. With that the state acts as a transmitter between the interests of citizens and the state politics. The biggest role of these groups is their power arising from strong influence, support and also clientage which helps them to mediate politics of the state. However states do not treat mediation of demands of individuals as rationalists and institutionals foresee according to the liberal tradition. The state does not maximize concepts of security, sovereignty and wealth in a homogeneous way, but tries to find special combinations and interpretation of security, sovereignty and wealth represented by important social groups (Moravcsik 1997, 518–20). Interests determine behavior of the state in international politics. However this does not indicate that states do not take into consideration the interests of other states. States exercise their interests in order to seek common interests with other states. The main problem of the state interest and its behaviour is described as an interdependence of politics. Regarding the efforts to reach the state's interests, these are divided into three groups. When interests are not compatible, possibilities for conflict escalation are low and coexistence is not problematic. When claims of a powerful social group in one state are in contradiction with claims of a group in another state, there exists a higher possibility for the escalation of conflict. Thus states should use different techniques to practice interests in international environment coordination, insurance, prisoner dilemma etc. (Moravcsik 1997, 520–521).

2.2.3 View on communication

According to Held (2003, 161) the today's processes of globalization create covering nets of power which can reach cross border. Sovereignity is understood as legitimate authority which is limited with legal concepts that try to merge cosmopolitan principles and values with the state's organization and limit the legitimate nature of power.

According to Moravcsik (2010, 1) liberals defend the view that globalization is the

universal requirement of global politics. Sovereign states have been insterted in home and transnational societies, which makes impetus for interaction on various themes abroad. Some groups can get help from or be damaged by this kind of policies, while others put pressure on the government for policies with the intention to achieve their goals.

2.2.4 View on E-participation

In accordance with the theory E-participation is a legitimate category in the new liberally focused international politics. Initiatives for E-participation arise from civil citizens and public opinion — which is a "bottom up" approach. E-participation is determined as a connecting element among interdependent states.

Basic element of the liberal theory is cooperation and the subordination of general will. In order to avoid risk states enter into supranational organizations. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should join platform transnational organizations in order to gain power and impact on the World's agenda.

E-participation should be used as a promotor of democratic government which is according to liberalists the only way to global peace.

E-participation according to Zittel (2001, 433–470) is important for participatory ideas of democracy in which citizens should become engaged in political processes as much as possible. This means the participatory idea involves the elements of both direct and representative democracy. This is why citizens should have an active role in decision-making processes and opinion formation. The liberal concept stresses the democratic participation in a "liberal sense" which is based upon the representative system. The main problem arising in this context is reflected in the citizens' participation options which are mainly restricted to voting actions.

2.3 Constructivist approach

Interests and identities can be a changing category in constructivism whereas other theories discuss these categories as static. Constructivists state that the main mistake of other theories is the fact that global politics cannot be changed (Ruggie 1998, 855). According to Wendt (1995, 73) social world is seen through intersubjective and collective structures and processes of significances. In this world material means acquire significance for people's action through the structure of distributed knowledge.

Constructivist approaches focus on the question about how rules and norms are shaped. They presume the mutually created nature of institutions and identity of actors. Institutions define actors in a certain situation and how their roles are determined. Partisans of constructivism emphasize that international institutions can change identities of states. The constructivist theory enhanced the rise of the analyses of international institutions where nothing is fixed: relevant actors, interests and understanding of the rules are at hand for interpretation (Martin and Smimmons 2003, 194–8).

Wealth and power are not means but more or less the final result. Interests are not only there and cannot wait to be discovered but are constructed through social interaction. The state's interests are defined in the context of international norms and understandings of what is good and convenient (Martin and Simmons 2003, 26).

The major ideas of constructivism are the mutual connection between the concept of international norms and the state's behaviour and the main characteristics of the agent-structure debate. It means that actors can influence each other through behaviour, interests and identities. Among other elements constructivism focuses on the norms of behaviour which are defined as expectations of appropriate behaviour by a community of actors. Norms are common and social and are not just subjective but also intersubjective. Norms of state are the only appropriate and legitimate political units in internal politics and are researched by academics in contemporary period. The majority of academics treat states as a natural and indisputable fact and not as a socially constructed and historical coincidence (Finnemore 1996, 22–4).

2.3.1 View on human nature

According to Jackson (1992, 106) the focus of constructivism is on human awareness or consciousness and its place in world affairs.

According to Immanuel Kant (Hacking 1999, 41 in Jackson) we can obtain subjective knowledge because it is filtered through human consciousness.

Max Weber (1977, 15) emphasized that human beings rely on 'understanding' of each other's actions and assign 'meaning' to them. We cannot know until we assign meaning to the act. 'Subjective understanding is the specific characteristic of sociological knowledge (ibid.). In order to comprehend human interaction, we cannot merely describe it in the way we describe physical phenomena, we need a different kind of interpretive understanding (Morrison 1995, 273–82).

In social theory, constructivists emphasize the social construction of reality. Human relations, including international relations, consist of thought and ideas and not essentially of material conditions or forces. According to the constructivist philosophy, the social world is not an external reality of which laws can be discovered by scientific research as positivists and behaviouralists argue.

According to Karns and Mingst (2010, 50) constructivism is about identity and interest. This means that humans can change the world by changing idea.

By Alexander Wendt (1999, 1) there are two increasingly accepted basic tenets of constructivism "that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature".

2.3.2 View on communication

As a theory, constructivism is concerned with the cognitive processes which would analyse the actual communication within a given situation. Measuring and observing these cognitive processes can be a difficult task. According to Delia (1982, 147–91) people who are able to adapt their messages to particular situations and audiences are more successful than those who are not, saying that those who are more cognitively complex are always more successful is probably misrepresenting the truth (Delia 1982, 147–91).

2.3.3 View on motives

In Waltz's theory, state motives and objectives are not causative. The theory requests to explain the results of states' actions under given conditions and those results cannot be foreshadowed in any of the actors' motives or be contained as objectives in their policies (Waltz 2001, 118). Waltz implies that focusing on motives and objectives can be misleading because the structure of international politics causes actions to have consequences they did not intend to have (Waltz, 2001, 107).

2.3.4 Conclusion – a possible view on E-participation

The basic difficulty in installing participatory norms in citizens is the supposition of democratic values in the state's standard. Participatory demands are very specific, since they focus on that aspect of the politician's power which is an important base for sovereignity.

Social norms design and establish characteristics of policies which are of the static category – for example who and what state is. The constructivist approach can help us to understand the nature of politics. An important characteristic of social norms is the formation of examples for behaviour. The constructivist predictive is that these examples can be a result of social reality and also norms and understandings as well as material realities emphasized with dominant paradigms. International norms can dictate that state can be the most suitable shape of political organisation and there is still enormous space for diversity in the form of government ranking inside the accepted international normative parameters. A particular shape of any state is a result of international and local factors.

For constructivists the presence of non-state actors and non-state social structures is very important in the global social process. States are placed in the international social process and shape a local and transnational international community. The case of E-participation on the Padgets project shows that actions of individuals could also have important transnational effects. Constructivists thus see formation of the politician's/state's identity of which the value of democracy is constructed by using interactively the E-participation tools (like Padgets).

Constructivists like John Ruggie proved that collective purpose can change interest factors for which realists state they are a constant factor (Ruggie in Greenaway 1999, 5). In the conditions of complex interdependence the power can be focused to promote human interests (Koehane and Nye 1977; Crawford in Greenaway 1999, 5). Poststructuralists are of the opinion that resistance of civil citizens can change the collective destiny of humanity.

Constructivists see e-participation as an asset in domestic politics since using e-participation tools might create a positive image of a politician who promotes participatory democracy.

2.4 E-participation through three theoretic approaches

	REALISM	PADGETS	LIBERALISM	PADGETS	CONSTRUCTIVISM	PADGETS
MAIN	states	Governments	sub-, trans- and	Actors in	ideas, meanings,	It is not important
ACTORS		and parliaments	non-state actors	Padgets are:	norms	who an actor is,
		on one side and		governments,		but the idea of the
		citizens on the		NGOs,		Padgets discussion
		other are interacting in		international		is of importnce.
		interacting in communication.		organisations, citizens,		
		communication.		individuals who		
				communicate		
				with each other.		
VIEW ON A	complete actor	Only	many	Governments,	identities of actors in	Minorities, ethnic
STATE	1	represetatives of	governmental and	NGOs,	international relations	groups can be
·		state can be	non-governmental	international		initiators of
		initiators of	actors	organisations,		Padgets.
		Padgets.		individuals are		
				initiators of		
				Padgets.		
TIME	static	Nothing can be	Evolution	Padgets	co-creation	States and citizens
PERCEPTION	Static	improved.	Evolution	represents a	co-creation	should co-create
TERCEI HOIV		Padgets is only		level in		via Padgets tool.
		a smokescreen		evolution.		via i aagots tooi.
		for interests of				
		statesmen.				

	REALISM	PADGETS	LIBERALISM	PADGETS	CONSTRUCTIVISM	PADGETS
ATTITUDE	eternal laws	Padgets is a	changes and	Padgets could	changes of identities	Through Padgets
TOWARDS		smokescreen. It	possible progress	contribute	and interests of actors	identities and
CHANGES		will not		towards		interests could be
		improve		progress.		changed.
		anything. It is				
		there so that				
		people think				
		statesmen listen				
		to them.				
LEVERAGE of	nowar	Dadgets is a tool	aamnlay gaaistal	Padgets could	intersubjective	Padgets could
DYNAMICS	power	Padgets is a tool to gain power	complex societal movements	Padgets could merge different	understanding among	Padgets could contribute to
DINAMICS		through	movements	ideas together.	people among	collecting ideas
		knowing		ideas together.	people	into one place.
		people's				into one place.
		opinions.				
NATURE OF	conflict	Padgets would	harmony of	Padgets would	conflict of identities	If collected views
POLITICAL		collect opposing	interests	collect different	(construction of threat	were opposing
AND		views which		views and a	and enemy)	threats and
ECONOMIC		would lead to		solution could be	37	enemies would be
RELATIONS		conflict. This		found.		constructed.
		could even				
		worsen the				
		situation.				
LIMITATION	interstate system	Only	global citizens	Everyone could	individual's	If individuals
OF OBJECT		representatives		contribute to	understanding of their	recognize their
OF STUDY		of states can		international	importance in	opinion is
		contribute to		relations through	international matters	important they
		international		Padgets.		would state it

	REALISM	PADGETS	LIBERALISM	PADGETS	CONSTRUCTIVISM	PADGETS
		relations through Padgets.				through Padgets.
GOAL OF ECONOMIC ACTION	maximisation of national interests	Padgets could help only under condition of convincing the unconvinced people into a national interest.	maximisation of global welfare	Padgets could contribute towards global welfare.	individual's understanding of growth and prosperity	It depends on how people value economic welfare as progress.
THE MOST IMPORTANT THEME	national security	Padgets would collect people's views and intentions in order to maintain national security.	Welfare	Padgets would contribute towards global welfare.	social construction of reality	If people found Padgets useful according to their values, it would be used in a constructive way.
VIEW ON DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT	There is democratic deficit, but it shouldn't be lowered.	Padgets is just a smokescreen for »lowering democratic deficit«.	There is democratic deficit and it should be lowered	Padgets could lower democratic deficit.	Democratic deficit is socially constructed.	Padgets could be lowered if people would find it useful for lowering democratic deficit.
VIEW ON e- participation	E-participation is just a smokescreen for	Padgets is an e- participation tool for people	E-participation is a tool for hearing the voice of	Padgets tool is a good e-participation tool	E-participation can be a tool for hearing the society's voice; it is	Padgets can be a tool for hearing citizens' voice if it

	REALISM	PADGETS	LIBERALISM	PADGETS	CONSTRUCTIVISM	PADGETS
	people to think that their voice	to think their voice can be	citizens	which is based on social media	perceived as such by people	is perceived as such by people.
	can be heard.	heard.		where people feel domestic.		
View on human	ignorant, selfish	Padgets is a tool	Good in general,	Padgets tool is	Human awareness or	Padgets is used
nature		for maintating	humans tend to	used for progress	consciousness	according to
		selfish interests	progress and grow	and growth.		people thinking
		of people in				that usage of e-
		power.				participation
						would bring about
						towards better
						decision-making.
View on motives	posession of	Padgets is a tool	Motives are	Padgets is a tool		Focusing on the
	power	which is	changing, because	of which	and objectives can be	motives and
		maintained by	demands of	purpose can be	misleading because the	objectives of
		people in power	coalition in social	changed	structure of actions has	Padgets can be
		in order to	groups are	according to the	consequences not	misleading
		maintain their	changing.	demands of	intended.	because it might
		power.		decision makers.		have
						consequences it
						did not intend to
						have.

	REALISM	PADGETS	LIBERALISM	PADGETS	CONSTRUCTIVISM	PADGETS		
View on	State authority	Padgets is in	Globalization	Padgets	Cognitive processes	Padgets' messages		
communiation	has control over	hands of	creates covering	consequences	preceed the actual	have to be adapted		
	communications,	decision makers	nets of power	can reach cross	communication within	to particular		
	its role in	and is	which can reach	border.	a given situation.	situations and		
	ensuring	maintained by	cross border.			audiences are		
	economic	decision				more successful.		
	prosperity and	makers.						
	its ability to							
	protect its							
	territorial							
	integrity.							

Source: Summarized and supplemented after Brglez (1996, 26), Brglez (1996, 28) and Waever (1996, 153) in Esih (2006, 37).

3 HISTORY AND LIMITATIONS OF THE USE OF E-GOVERNANCE TOOLS IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

To explain the history of eGovernance we first need to define eGovernance. However to define eGovernance would be almost impossible, because it is in constant state of evolution and because its meaning differs according to one's normative perspective (Chadwick 2006, 179). According to Gartner group consultancy e-government is "the continuous optimization of service delivery, constituency participation and governance by transforming internal and external relationships through technology, the internet and new media" (Seifert 2003, 2).

The U.S. federal government was one of the first who linked new technologies with a general program of administrative reshape under the auspices of its National Performance Review which began in 1993. In 2000 this terminated in the federal government's launch of Firstgov. The eGovernment agenda in the US was dominated by the executive branch, namely the Executive Office of the President through the Office of Management and Budget and the General Services Administration (Chadwick 2006, 180).

In 1997 the Clinton Administration established AccessAmerica (U.S. National Partnership for Reinventing Government) in order to re-engineer the relationship between government and citizens (Chadwick 2006, 181). E-government was perceived as as a computerization of government agenda that began in 1980s. Government in the Information Age was forced to adapt. The Internet assisted the creation of customer-focused public bureaucracies (ibid.).

The U.S. eGovernment program was focused on introducing new ways for customers to transact with government. The benefit system includes administration of food stamps, unemployment benefits, Medicare, Medicaid, child support and Social Security benefits, which have shifted to a system of electronic transfer. Customer inquiries are automated and handled through the use of call centres and one-stop shops much more efficiently. Email use has been extended across the federal government and a national network for law enforcement and public safety enabled communication within the criminal justice system and emergency services. In 1999 President Clinton called upon agency heads to

accelerate e-government. The failure to introduce mechanisms that would enable access services irrespective of the originating agency was particularly concerning. The portal named FirstGov was established and was first a navigable interface to government and public services with distinct emphasis on the individual consumer (Chadwick 2006, 182).

An important aspect of eGovernment is its potential to facilitate interaction between citizens and the government apparatus. This would reshape the relationship between public bureaucracies and those whom they serve. Citizens stay citizens and are not just consumers. Much of this depends upon the level of interactivity provided by government websites (Hacker 1996 in Chadwick 2006, 197).

Outward facing networks are a radical extension of eGovernment in order to involve citizens in policy making and administrative processes. Such perspectives go beyond electronic service delivery and seek to use Internet to incorporate citizens' delibertion into the initial stages of policy development (Coe et al 2001; Lenihan 2002; Lenihan and Alcock 2000; Milward and Snyder 1996; Taylor 1995 in Chadwick 2006).

The main positive benefits of eGovernment should be cost reduction, coordination, effectiveness and democratization (Chadwick 2006, 201). On the other hand, the use of new communication technologies rests upon a number of key claims, which have implications for power relations within executive branches and between executives and other components for political systems.

On the other hand enhancing deliberation, participation and citizen influence on policy seems to have been little more than an afterthought to cutting costs and improving efficiency inside agencies and government departments (Chadwick and May 2003; Musso et al 2000).

However there are serious doubts that e-government could democratize the public sector. One of the critics focuses on the increased potential for governments to control what they communicate to the public. E-government offers political elites a new electronic face which is controlled by government itself. Executive websites provide new paths for government self-publicity which allows them to avoid news media. The

internet thus offers political elites opportunities to intensify ways by which they sustain positions of power (Chadwick 2006, 202).

Functions of representations and deliberations that are supposed to preserve legislative bodies are seized by public bureaucracies. If government departments continue to establish their own online discussion forums, legislatures will find themselves marginalized (Chadwick 2006, 203).

The aim of this chapter of the thesis is to show the development of e-participation in the Europan Union with its incorporation into the institutional framework of the European Parliament. The Parliament has cooperated with the European Commission and the Council of the EU to establish the conceptual, political and financial basis of deployment of e-participation applications in the decision-making processes of the European Union.

A democratic deficit occurs when apparently democratic organizations or institutions fall short of fulfilling the principles of democracy in their practices or operation where the representative and linked parliamentary integrity becomes widely discussed (Levinson 2007, 859).

Democratic deficit in relation to the European Union refers to a perceived lack of accessibility to the ordinary citizen, or lack of representation of the ordinary citizen, and lack of accountability of the European Union institutions (Chryssochoou 2007, 360).

Democratic deficit could be called a structural democratic deficit which is inherent in the construction of the European Union as a supranational union. This means that it is neither a pure intergovernmental organization nor a true federal state (Pernice and Pistor 2004, 3-38). In other words, in a supranational union we might see how to reconcile the principle of equality among nation states on one side. This would apply also to international organisations. Another principle of equality among citizens might apply within nation states (ibid.).

However opinions differ as to whether the European Union has a democratic deficit (Moravcsik 2008, 331–340) or how it should be remedied if it exists (Pernice and Pistor

2004, 3–38). Pro-Europeans argue that the European Union should reshape its institutions to make them more accountable. On the other hand Eurosceptics argue that the European Union should reduce its powers.

According to Daniel Kelemen (2007, 21) fragmented power systems like the European Union and the United States of America (USA) may tend to produce more detailed rules that give member states less discretion in implementation (Kelemen 2007, 22).

Some observers argue that the EU does not have a formal democratic deficit, but an informal one due to a social deficit. People believe that there is a democratic deficit so they do not go to vote and thus create the democratic deficit by thinking there is a self-generating situation for which formal reshape can do little to help.

Democratic illegitimacy improves the weakness of the European Parliament. This has been countered by political scientists who have compared the systems of governance in the European Union and the United States of America and concluded that the alleged powerless or dysfunctional nature of the European Parliament is now a myth (Kreppel 2006, 2).

National European parliaments are different in terms of the role of committees, voting, political parties, and government-opposition divide. These traits can also be seen in the US House of Representatives to a lesser or greater degree, however the European Parliament can be more compared with the House of Representatives of the US (Kreppel 2006, 1). Thereof, it is a powerful parliament, not controlled by a "governing majority". Majority has to be built for each item of law enshapecement, negotiation, persuasion (ibid.).

The EU's legislative initiative rests solely with the commission. On the contrary, in member states it is shared between the parliament and executive. Less than 15 % of legislative initiatives from MEPs become law when they do not have the backing of the executive. The European Parliament proposes amendments, but unlike in national parliaments, the executive has no guaranteed majority to secure the passage of its legislation. In national parliaments, amendments are usually proposed by the opposition, who lack a majority for their approval and usually fail. But given the European

Parliament's independence and the need to obtain the majority approval from it, proposals made by its many parties have an unusually high 80% success rate in the adoption of its amendments. Even in controversial proposals its success rate is 30%, something not mirrored by national legislatures (Kreppel 2006, 4).

According to results of the Eurobarometer "E-Communications Household Survey" in 2011, 55% of households in the EU had access to internet. Broadband access has increased by seven percentage points and almost every country has experienced a significant increase. Overall, broadband access has increased by seven percentage points and almost every country has experienced a significant increase (European Commission 2012). Access to the Internet is continuing to grow amongst EU households and has grown a further five percentage points since winter 2009.

The most common reasons for not having internet connection at home are a general disinterest in the Internet (no-one in the household is interested in the Internet). Another obstacle for not connecting to the internet is the cost (European Commission 2012).

4 THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The European Parliament (EP) has been directly elected by the EU's citizens since 1979. Every Member of Parliament (MeP) serves for a five-year term. The present Parliament has 766 members representing all 28 EU countries. The treaty sets the number of MePs per country according to a proportional system, with no Member State having less than six representatives nor more than 96 (Europa.eu 2012).

4.1 Democratic deficit of the European Union

The decision-making process has become the most complex ever. Todays' policy-making process is not often based on objective information. Often not all opinions can be shown and this guides to various challenges for citizens as well as for decision makers. Policy makers wish to possess clear evidence on the outright influence of their choices. However, in the end the impacts of policies reveal later.

Regarding the low voters' attendance in the European elections (28.25 % in 2009 and 28.35 % in 2004) means a sense of mistrust towards the European Parliament and a disinterest in politics on the European Union level (European Commission 2001a).

It is in the interest of the Members of the European Parliament to put more trust in the work of the European Parliament. The White paper on European governance from 2001 (http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf) states openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence present the principles of good governance.

The White Paper on European Governance (European Commission 2001a) proposes actions for better participation and proposes people to take part in public debate. In order to be able to do this they must be constantly informed on European issues. A good example for that are e-participation tools proposed by the European Union.

Constitutional changes have been introduced in order to increase democratic legitimacy of the European Union. The Maastricht Treaty introduced the status of the EU

citizenship, granting EU citizens the right to vote and stand in elections to the European Parliament and municipal elections in their country of residence, regardless of their citizenship (subject to age and residency qualifications). The Treaty initiated the legislative procedure known as the "co-decision procedure", giving the directly elected European Parliament the right of "co-deciding" legislation on the same footing with the Council of the European Union (Schütze 2012, 31–32).

The Treaty of Lisbon, which came into force on 1st December 2009, introduced a separate treaty title, confirming that the functioning of the EU shall be founded on representative democracy and giving EU citizens both direct representation through the European Parliament and indirect representation via national governments through the Council of the European Union (Schütze 2012, 43). The Treaty of Lisbon also established the co-decision procedure as the standard legislative procedure. This gave an important rise in the powers of the European Parliament (Schütze 2012, 44).

4.2 Members of the European Parliament and the use of e-participation channels

According to Simon Delakorda (2009, 89) there are four periods of e-participation on the level of the European Union. The period of no existence of e-democracy in the European Union lasted till the year of 1994. However the occurrence of internet induced the establishment of the European information citizens with the aim of maintaining growth and competitiveness of the European economy. In this period the European Union incorporated research of technologies in its research programs, approved first strategies and action plans and established institutions for the implementation and promotion of the policy of information citizens and e-governance.

According to Delakorda (2009, 89) the early stage of e-democracy in the EU is the period from 1995 to 1999. At that point in time the concepts of e-democracy became part of strategies and action plans of the EU e-governance. The first debates about advantages and dangers of e-democracy, the first experiments with applications and the beginning of financing of European projects in the field of e-democracy took place.

The period from 2000 to 2004 is the period of the rising of e-democracy in the EU. With the appearance of applications as are Interactive policy making, e-petitions of the

European Parliament, Futurom of European conventions, e-democracy becomes important in the context of democratic deficit of the European Union and in designing the process of The Treaty, establishing a Constitution for Europe. After the international seminar e-democracy in Brussels, it becomes a political priority of the European Union (Delakorda 2009, 90).

The period after 2005 is also a period of the implementation of e-democracy in the European Union or the period of e-participation. The European Commission begins with an initiative e-participation in scope of which it finances European projects, promotes awareness and the usage of new media channels such as Web 2.0 (Delakorda 2009, 89). An interesting latest effort has been done by a European Ombudsman, Paraskevas Nikiforos Diamandouros, who is dedicated to interaction with people through social media. He especially emphasizes it is important to "talk with citizens and not only about citizens" (European Parliament 2013).

4.3 European Parliament and the use of social media

The European Parliament has been following trends of new media channels. It uses social media as an institution. Members of the Parliament use their own social media accounts as well.

Facebook has been used by the European Parliament as an institution and has gained 879,367 fans (30. August 2013). There are also separate Facebook pages for the information offices in member states, which allow following news by the European parliament in the language of the state. Twitter accounts publish the latest developments in the European Parliament. Twitter used by the European Parliament which operates in 22 different languages has been followed by 28.077 people.

The European parliament is active also in the LinkedIn group for more in-depth discussions on the EU policy-making. According to the European Parliament they are constantly looking for new ways to interact with citizens (European Parliament, 2012).

5 THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

The US Congress and its legislature were established under the Constitution in 1789. The Congress consists of two houses: the Senate, in which it is represented by two senators per state, and the House of Representatives, to which members are elected on the basis of population of the state. Representatives and senators are chosen through direct election. Congress has a total of 535 voting members: 435 members in the House of Representatives and 100 members in the Senate. The House of Representatives members serve two-year terms, representing the people of a district. Congressional districts are apportioned to states by population using the United States Census results, each state in the union having at least one representative in the House of Representatives. Each of the 50 states has two senators; the 100 senators each serve a six-year term (Encyclopedia Britannica 2012).

5.1 Democratic deficit of the U.S. Congress

According to the Weatherhear Center for International Affairs (2012) in the US many people take the decision not to be involved in politics in any way. They do not attend elections, are not part of any political parties and do not have trust in political leaders. This is a clear sign of democratic deficit in the US.

Associate Press (2008) revealed that from 1974 to 2009 the approval of the Congress by the US citizens varied from 20% to 50%. In 2008 the voter turnout ranked 62% and this is since 1968 the highest.

According to a study on democratic deficit in the US by Lax and Phillips (2011, 163) the US state governments do take into account voter's say. The study revealed that about half the time states do translate the majority opinion into policy. According to the analysis this is true when majorities are large and when salience grows (Lax and Phillips 2011, 164).

The analysis by Lax and Phillips (2011) carries a significant message for the federalist system of the US. They reveal that state governments which consider people's say are closer to the people and are able to format better public policy which is closer to the

citizens of the state than the national government.

The Founding Fathers writing in the Federalist Papers believed it was "essential to liberty that the government in general should have a common interest with the people," and felt that a bond between the people and the representatives was particularly essential (Hamilton or Madison 1788/2009).

An additional factor which confounds insights of Congress is that the "issues facing Congress are becoming more technical and complex," according to one source. They need expertise in areas such as science, engineering, and economics. Congress often cedes authority to experts at the executive branch, although this can improve the executive branch's power over the details of public policy (Smith, Roberts, Vander Wielen 2006, 12).

Political scientists have noted how a prolonged period marked by narrow majorities in both chambers of Congress has affected partisanship (Smith, Roberts and Vander Wielen 2006, 17). There is speculation that the alternating control of Congress between Democrats and Republicans will lead to greater flexibility in policies, more pragmatic choices, greater civility within the institution, and possibly greater public support (ibid.).

According to Smith, Roberts and Vander Wielen (2006, 18) senators and representatives receive many letters, calls, petitions, e-mails or even videos from the citizens who express their view or opinion via that kind of communication channels.

Congressmen have the tendency to impress citizens rather than ignore them. That is why their offices make responses and help the citizens. This unofficial work takes a lot of time and decreases the time needed for the preparation of bills (Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report 35 1977/1855, 48–49). Services provision aids Members of the Congress to achieve the best possible result at the elections. Some reports state that some Members even compete in who helps citizens the most (Page 2006; Preer 2010; Malloy 2010). It can make a difference in close races¹. According to Lawrence Dodd

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¹ For example, Erika Hodell-Cotti talked about how her congressperson, Frank Wolf, sent her letters when her children got awards; the congressperson helped her brothers win admission to the West Point

the electorate elects those who have a strong local base and are interested in helping their local district rather than those who wouldn't have enough experience (Smith, Roberts, Vander Wielen 2006, 13).

According to than even Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report 35 (1977/1855, 48–49) notes that Congressmen appear at events in their home district regularly, and still have their office in their home district.

Every two years there are elections. That is why congressmen seek recognition in their home districs (Smith, Roberts, Vander Wielen 2006, 57). During this time Congressmen avoid any risk and focus especially on work in their election states (Zeziler 2004, XIV, XV).

5.2 U.S. Congress and the usage of the e-participation channels

Social media is the new media channel which represents the whole new arena for electronic democracy. It is a new development which combines structured and closed communication with open communication on social media (Bolognini 2001, 21–22).

The benefit is that the entry point of social media is within the citizens' environment, where they already are virtually present. Those who are in favour of eGovernment defend the position that if the government uses social media it behaves like the citizens it serves². Moreover the government has the possibility to pursue citizens to monitor satisfaction with the received services. With the help of the new media channels such as RSS feeds, blogs and Twitter governments can inform citizens on their actions.

Hillary Clinton in her speech in 2010 when addressing internet freedom exposed the importance of "freedom to connect" and added it to the right of free speech, right to religion, right to expression and right to assemble peacefully. Availability to connect to internet has now become an important element of democracy which is regarded as an

² Examples of state usage can be found at The Official Commonwealth of Virginia Homepage, where citizens can find Google tools and open social forums.

Military Academy (Gardner 2008). Much of what citizens want is merely help with navigating government bureaucracies (Hamilton 2004).

² In the state of Rhode Island, for instance, Treasurer Frank T. Caprio is offering daily tweets of the state's cash flow.

instrument used to foster human rights (Clinton 2010).

Being a massive digital network with universal access and open standards, internet is not expensive and has access to different media and libertarian free speech but lacks centralized control. Nevertheless, it has several attributes which regard it a democratic medium. An important uniqueness of internet is that it enables unmediated many-to-many communication – which differs from one to one media – like telephones or letters and broadcast media like radio, newspapers and TV (Novak and Hoffmann 1998, 1).

In 2000 elections, the US presidential candidates used their websites to encourage their voters and friends of the voters to vote. Nowadays involvement of politicians via social media is common and by that the ICT gives citizens the possibility to become more included (Foot 2012, 4).

5.3 U.S. Congress and the use of social media channels

According to a survey made by the Congress Foundation in 2011, US Congressmen and their teams started using social media much faster than the other technology as are emails, fax machines etc.

The afore-mentioned study by the Congress Foundation was implemented from October 12th to December 13th in 2010. The staff of the Congress took part in the survey through email communication. Alltogether 260 responses were gathered, namely 72% from the House of Representatives and 28% from the US Senate (Congress Foundation 2011, 13).

According to the survey the Congressmen stated their motivation to use the new media channels was to understand views and opinions provided by citizens. The survey revealed that two-thirds of the US Congress staff view the new media channels as an important tool to comprehend citizens' views. Nevertheless, the US Congress staff inter-act with citizens on other occasions such as holding meetings, receiving citizens' letters and sending newsletters.

On the other hand the staff in the Congress stated that they use social media in order to inform citizens on Senators' and Representatives' activities and opinions. They stated that the new media was a valuable channel to convey their messages to constituents, although they still prefer communication through websites and newsletters (Congress Foundation 2011, 2–3). However, referring to the survey the new media channels enable Congress staffers to reach those citizens who were not reachable before.

Some offices in Congress still have not started to use the new media channels. Those staffers who have been using the social media for a longer time see more benefits than those who have just begun to use them. Those who did use the channels before are of the opinion that social media brings advantages and are worth using. On the other hand, those who had adopted the new media before, have a feeling that the new channels allow them to have a better insight into citizens' views. Congressmens' teams have assessed that the internet and email have caused Members of Congress to be more responsible and reactive in view of citizens.

In comparing the democratic with republican staffers, the democratic ones feel they spend too little time for social media communications, while the republicans feel that they spend enough time in managing social media profiles of the Congressmen (Congress Foundation 2011, 12).

6 CASE STUDY OF THE PADGETS PROJECT AS AN INTERACTIVE POLICY-MAKING TOOL

The low election turnouts especially at the European elections show that people are not interested in and do not trust the politics anymore. On the other side the internet has become more and more popular among citizens but it has especially become integrated in young generations' lives. We can call this younger generation born from 1988 onwards – the eGeneration. This development reflects the internet has become an important media which has a potential to include citizens into decision-making processes. This initiated a need to create a tool which would analyze citizens' inputs, opinions and views which are proposed by decision makers.

6.1 Policy in the Web 2.0

Web 2.0 was first used by people for their private interest and it was only later that companies recognized the potential of the new media channels for advertisement and promotion. More and more politicians use their profiles for informing the public on their engagement. Also governments have been on one side using social media for public relations however there has already been evidence of governments using the new media for e-participation purposes and management of knowledge (Constantinides 2010).

6.2 Social media and the policy-making process

Today we speak about the generation which has grown up together with the internet. This generation may be called *the digital natives* and indicates that beliefs, values, position, principles and attitudes are shaped via the internet. The digital generation shows different behaviour patterns and sees the variety and prospect of internet as something customary (Arvidsson and Karlender 2009, 2).

In a survey by PricewaterhouseCoopers (PWC) young generationsp' opinions are investigated. The PWC's survey included in-depth interviews, workshops and a survey. An internet poll was done with people aged 14 to 25 through Facebook and Mimers Boom site. The survey revealed how the so-called eGeneration sees and perceives some

of the issues on communication and societal involvement (ibid.).

The survey showed that the eGeneration does not expect decision makers to communicate and chat at forums and social media channels. According to the survey the young generations value their private sphere. They want to have control over whether the information is thrustworthy and tend to have their exclusive network (Arvidsson and Karlander 2009, 4).

Accenture (2009, 14) thinks that the Web 2.0 technology finds resonance among governments nowadays because it supports wider development in public service. Here we can talk about a new relationship with government which would mean real engagement of citizens in their own governance.

According to Arvidsson and Karlander (2009, 6) research shows that younger people have not been interested in traditional democratic institutions. This can be seen by less and less citizens taking part in political parties and low turnouts in elections. The majority of eGeneration citizens still believe that journalists and politicians have the biggest impact while they see bloggers as having less influence in decision-making. However the majority of eGeneration still manifest their opinion online.

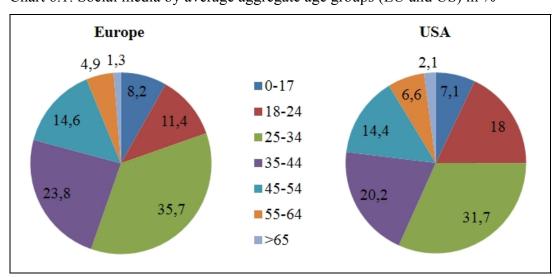


Chart 6.1: Social media by average aggregate age groups (EU and US) in %

Source: Padgets Consortium (2009).

The study of ICT titled The Internet and Civic Engagement (Smith, Schlozman, Verba,

Brady 2009, 1) has as a tool for policy-making concentrated on services available online to citizens – the so-called eGovernment.

The study is based on the findings of a daily tracking survey on the Americans' use of the internet. The results are based on the data from telephone interviews conducted by the Princeton Survey Research Associates International between August 12th and August 31st, 2008 among a sample of 2,251 adults, aged 18 and older. The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest male currently at home. If no male was available, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest female at home. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender. Of the residential numbers in the sample, 80 percent were contacted by an interviewer and 31 percent agreed to participate in the survey. Eighty-eight percent were found eligible for the interview. Furthermore, 88 percent of eligible respondents completed the interview. Therefore, the final response rate was 22 percent (Smith, Schlozman, Verba, Brady 2009, 62–63).

The development of new forms of communication on the internet – like blogs and social networking sites expand the opportunities for civic engagement. These rapidly developing modes of internet-based expression and communication are very much work in progress.

What is most unambiguous here is that posting material about political or social issues on the Web and using social networking sites politically are shapes of online engagement that are dominated by the young adults (those 18 and 24), who are less likely to take part in online political activities than other age groups but are also more likely to do so than those aged 65 and over. This pattern is largely a function of the high rates of internet users by young adults. For example, if we look only at the internet users aged 18 to 24 years, it is them who are of all age groups actually least likely to take part in online political acts as emailing a public official or making an online political donation (Smith, Schlozman, Verba, Brady 2009, 18).

Civic involvement on social network sites and blogs exhibits a much different pattern. If

one looks at the population as a whole or only at those who are online, these models of online civic engagement decline steadily with age – with the youngest adults much more likely than with their elders to make political use of social networking sites and 55% of those who post comments or visual material about politics on the Web. The youngest members of this group – under the age of 25 – constitute just 10 % of the survey respondents but make up 40 % of those who make political use of social networking sites and 29 % of those who post comments or visual material about politics online (Smith, Schlozman, Verba, Brady 2009, 22).

According to the survey neither political involvement on social networking sites nor posting material about political or social issues on the Web are strongly associated with socio-economic factors. For the scale of online political activity the lowest and highest income groups was 27 %. For political use of social networking sites the difference is 3 % and for posting political content online the difference is 5 % (Smith, Schloznam, Verba and Brady 2009, 19).

Studies by groups such as Accenture (2009, 8) suggest that Web 2.0 technologies are finding resonance among governments today because they are supportive of a broader evolution in public service: a new relationship with government that is about genuine engagement of people in their own governance.

The use of ICT as a tool for policy-making has largely concentrated on making services available online to citizens through eGovernment activities. The development of new shapes of communication on the internet – like blogs and social networking sites – does expand opportunities for civic engagement.

Posting material about political or social issues on the Web and using social networking sites have the potential to engage younger adults since the use of these media is greatest amongst this younger age group. This is also the group that has proven to be least likely to engage in traditional political activities. Among internet users just 18 % of 18-24 year olds engage in two or more acts of the traditional political participation but 33 % make political use of social networking sites while 34 % post political material on the Web (Smith, Schloznan, Verba and Brady 2009, 19).

These two online activities are not strongly associated with socio-economic factors. Income and education seem to have little correlation with participation in online and traditional political activity. There is no evidence that web-based political participation fundamentally alters the traditionally higher level of political engagement by better-educated and wealthier individuals (Smith, Schloznan, Verba and Brady 2009, 35).

Older adults have embraced social media, making social marketing as a viable tool for reaching more than just teens and young adults, and today increasing numbers of politicians and political institutions throughout the world are using a variety of social networking technologies. Nevertheless, most of these individuals and organisations have only made limited use of the real capability of social networking. Most have only used the platforms as another method of publishing or broadcasting their views or information, while a relativiely small number of them enter into a two-way dialogue transparent to the wider audience. Studies of the internet and social media use suggest that education and age are the two most important factors influencing take-up. Among people with basic education (up to secondary school) only 49 % used the internet while most (93 %) of those with a higher (university) education used the internet. A converse pattern can be seen with social media usage (Smith, Schloznan, Verba and Brady 2009, 41–42).

6.3 The purpose of the Padgets application

A policy may be defined as a plan of engagement which concludes with an outcome. This means that individuals, companies, organisations come across policies every day. However policies that affect our daily lives are often not given into consideration to citizens. People are informed about decisions via different media. Decision makers often do not present their ideas in the process of forming certain policy. This means that peoples' views and opinions cannot be articulated and heard by the decision makers, so they cannot be included into the procedure of policy-making (Padgets Consortium 2012, 18). We have to keep in mind that there were no tools which could be used to allow decision makers to consult the citizens, thus we cannot claim that politicians did not listen to citizens' voice (ibid.). However the technology that could enable that already exists, it just needs some modification. This is also the reason for the European Commission work program for eGovernment and Policy Modelling which was in place

in 2009 and 2010 (European Commission 2009). The citizens' participation could be upgraded by the already existing ICT tools which are already massively used in everydays' lives. The goal of the public participation has shifted from democratising and legitimating decision-making models towards stipulating stakeholders' participation and upgrading the proffessionality of policy analysis. Individuals and organisations affected by policies under discussion would therefore be able to provide their input and take part in shaping political agenda (Padgets Consortium 2012, 20).

ICT has supported public participation and e-participation has become a scientific discipline with the purpose to connect stakeholders with the electorate with the aim to upgrade the quality and result of decision-making proceedings (ibid.).

A leap from eGovernment to eGovernance has been done in order to make the government work to assemble, take decisions and assess upon citizens' input. This turn into a more participative mode which should aim to all stakeholders in a democratic participatory decision-making proceeding (Padgets Consortium 2012, 21). The already existing tools for e-participation provide only marginal support to policy-making. This is why new e-participation tools should be established to enable a wider participation objective in decision-making processes. However functions such as visualising, voting, social networking and stating opinions and views already exist, but are not correlated with each other and are friendly only to technical experts. This is why the Web 2.0, social media, mashup applications, sms-es should be upgraded with a new and more interactive technology with the function to analyse feedback.

The problem is that the already existing tools are used in a sporadic, not user-friendly, for mainstreaming to big and diversified groups with low maintenance and sustainability of such platforms. However there are lots of the so-called underlying content-policy documents, group knowledge and citizens' opinions where a new tool could help achieve a systematically assisted eGovernance with decision support tools (ibid.).

The Padgets project is a platform which enables decision makers to consult with citizens on relevant issues via social media, namely Facebook, Twitter and Blogger. Citizens on the other hand receive information and can put forward their proposals via comments,

likes, voicing opinions, because their input is then analysed by the platform through the opinion mining tool which measures the percentage of positive and negative comments and the number of likes. Supposing that citizens know they are submitting their opinions via the Padgets system, they become consequently more motivated for expressing their views and through that taking part in policy-making.

A Padget is made up of these elements:

- A policy message it may be a draft for a certain policy, a non-finished document, an almost finished policy or a not yet implemented EU directive
- The Padgets Context represents the total of the underlying group knowledge,
 in the shape of content from social media, forums, blogs, wikis, social networks
- The Padget's Decision Model a range of decision guidelines that determine how the content and user activities that are related to it affect specific policy indicators which the decision maker is interested in
- The Padget's Interface allows users to interact with the policy gadget. It gives users the possibility to access the policy documents, voice opinions, vote on an issue, upload content, tag other relevant peoples' opinions, etc.

The figure shows the characteristics of the Padget concept:



Figure 6.1: Quality of the Padgets concept

Source: Padgets Consortium (2012a, 19).

A potential script for the Padgets usage may be the following:

- A decision maker would like to gather citizens' opinions to take decisions about a future policy or to assess if an already implemented policy affiliates with the citizens.
- The decision maker designs a Padget through the platform. In this phase the policy maker uses the graphical interface to put together the policy, context and decision model of the Padget, the security requirements in terms of access restrictions to content as well as a suitable interface for interacting with citizens.
- The message is then published via the platform and becomes available to the public for use. A variety of choices for deploying the Padget through the platform according to the Padget's objective and targeted audience are set. For example:
 - o deployed to a social network in the shape of a specific policy application,
 - o as an embedded petition, poll or social tagging application in the sidebar of a popular blog, forum or wiki, even in the platform's own registry.

The goal of many possibilities of having such multiple choices is to be able for the policy maker to make each policy gadget available to the largest audience possible.

Following that, the Padget interacts with the public. This means that users can access it, see its policy message, access the related content and according to the Padget's interface interact with it – i.e. relate further knowledge, voice opinions, add material and even create relations to other existing similar Padgets. This is a privacy preserving manner which is in accordance with the privacy preferences of the user and the privacy policy specified for the Padget.

At the last stage the Padget helps the policy maker to decide and form a better understanding of the public's opinion about the policy at stake based on the data collected through its interaction with the citizens. For this the system dynamics methodology is used in order to use as input the data from the interaction of the Padget with the public and simulate how specific policy has affected the indicators' change.

The Padgets decision model then receives an input from citizens, which might be in the form of alternative scenarios or actions in accordance with the already known data on a

certain policy - studies, statistical data, background information and data acquired from citizens (opinion polls, survey results etc.), referring to the adoption rate of the planned policy actions among citizens and other stakeholders.

The Padgets decision model should introduce decision makers with the possibility to generate the best possible decision. The Padgets can be used not only for policy-making purposes, but also in other interdisciplinary fields. It should make decision-taking much more inclusive and effective.

This is how the Padgets platform could make any policy or content become reusable. Decision makers are able to set up a Padget platform to communicate their policies to citizens at popular locations on the web. Citizens are able to use these applications as they use the Web 2.0 gadgets in their everyday life and this enables decision makers to interact back about their process of decision-making. This way citizens help decision makers in achieving decisions which symbolise citizens' views and opinions (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 16).

We could describe a Padgets as a resource established by a decision maker who instantiates it inside a social network. The Padget provides interactivity among people, acting on their own or representing their interest groups, and tracks the content and affiliated consumer actions (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 17).

A policy maker sees the Padgets as a platform where a campaign can easily be set up. The padget allows focus on a policy message and the sharing of it through the policy maker's social media (Facebook, Twitter, Blogger). In addition, the platform enables the policy maker to track and analyse citizens' reactions and feedbacks to the sent messages (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 17–18).

To focus on a citizen a padget is a message which emerges on his/her social media (Facebook, Twitter, Blogger). The citizen knows this is a message through Padgets and that it is relevant for the policy makers. This is why the citizen is motivated to share his/her input by writing a comment, sharing the status, voting in a poll, liking a status, endorsing a message or disapproving a message – with not having to use an extra tool. Users can come across a padget also through mobile phones, especially the Android and

iPhones (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 17).

Four main components compose a padget (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 18–19):

- A message, which is a policy in any of its stages and is for example a draft legal document under formulation, a law in its final stage, an EU directive under implementation, a draft policy guideline, a campaign video or a political article.
 The message is shown in different ways in order to address different groups of citizens a short statement, a description or more detailed or more analytical. It an also be broadcasted in different ways as text, video or multimedia.
- A set of interaction services that allows users to interact with the policy gadget (find it, access its content, comment its content, share it etc.). These interfaces may be provided by either the underlying social media platforms in which the Padget Campaigns are launched or by the padget itself when it takes the form of a micro application (i.e. in case of the iGoogle gadget).
- The Padgets analytics which analyses text and data in a form of graphs. Opinion mining tool is installed for each language of the pilots. This service produces an analytical report which is presented to the policy initiator.

6.3.1 The pilots' role

The piloting activities are aimed at experimenting with the Policy Gadget concept and the Padgets platform in real life scenarios.

Pilot experimentations have been carried out in Piedmont Region (Italy), in Slovenia and Greece. Each piloting action has been constructed around a specific topic of primary interest for local citizens and local decision makers. Specific pilot settings have been created to spur a full-fledged engagement between decision makers at the helm of participatory initiatives and heterogeneous groups of actors³ representing the citizenry (Padgets Consortium 2013, 12).

By contextualizing Padgets concept in real policy scenario, pilots represent a privileged

³ The plethora of stakeholders potentially involved in PADGETS campaigns could be categorized taking into account their belonging to the three main classes of macroeconomic actors: citizens, organizational actors who belong to social arrangements which pursue collective goals and have a boundary separating them from their environment (e.g. corporations, charities, non-profit groups, cooperatives, political parties, trade unions), civil servants (i.e. members of governmental institutions, operating at different administrative levels).

opportunity to verify the value proposition of the novel participatory approach. In fact, it is envisaged that the use of Padgets expands the governments' institutional boundaries by allowing the establishment of bi-directional communication flows between decision makers and citizens. In other words, the use of Policy Gadgets is expected to allow for a better communication between the government and citizens and a better informed policy decision process by providing a clear and dynamic vision of the different stakeholders' opinions, concerns and priorities (ibid.).

6.3.2 Actors involved

MEPs Social Media Communities

MEP	Facebook likes	Twitter followers							
Tanja Fajon	6287	4498							
Mojca Kleva	3559	1806							
Zofija Mazej Kukovič	1307	1279							
Romana Jordan	6032	1285							

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 73).

Tanja Fajon, PhD Romana Jordan Cizelj, MSc Mojca Kleva and Zofija Mazej Kukovič are Members of the European Parliament. Tanja Fajon and Mojca Kleva are members of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament. Tanja Fajon is a Member of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs and a Member of the Special Committee on Organized Crime, Corruption and Money Laundering (CRIM) (European Parliament 2013a).

Romana Jordan and Zofija Mazej Kukovič are members of the Group of the European People's Party. Romana Jordan is in addition a Member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy and of the Delegation for relations with the United States. She is a substitute member of the ENVI Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety and the D-TR Delegation as well (European Parliament 2013b).

Mojca Kleva is a Member of the Committee on Regional Development and Member of the Delegation to the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly. She is also deputy in the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality and the Delegation to the EU-Shapeer Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Joint Parliamentary Committee (European Parliament 2013c).

Zofija Mazej Kukovič is a Member of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety and Member of the Delegation for relations with India (European Parliament 2013d).

6.3.3 Campaign timing

The timeline of activities pre-shaped within the Slovenian pilot are presented below

	2012	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	1	12
WP1	Interview with decision makers													
WP 2	Pilot programming													
WP3	Community building													
WP4	Selection of multimedia contents													
WP5	Detailed planning of the campaign													
WP6	Governmental approval													
M1	Completion of planning activities													
WP7	Translation activities													
WP8	Set up the platform in loco													
WP9	HR training in loco													
WP10	Campaign execution													
M2	Completion of the operative phase													
WP11	Internal reporting for decision makers													
WP12	Result analysis with decision makers												Т	
WP 13	Synthesis of lessons learned													
WP14	Monitoring and controlling													
M3	Completion of pilot activities													
	2013						7	1		2	3	4	5	6
M1	Completion of planning activities								\dagger		\top	_		
WP7	Translation activities										T			
WP8	Set up the platform in loco													
WP9	HR training in loco													
WP10	Campaign expectations											T		
M2	Completion of the operative phase													
									+		_	4		

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 75–76).

Internal reporting for decision makers

Result analysis with decision makers

Synthesis of lessons learned

Monitoring and controlling

Completion of pilot activities

WP11

WP12

WP 13

WP14

M3

7 INTERACTIVE POLICY-MAKING WITH THE USE OF THE PADGETS APPLICATION

One of the Padgets pilots was conducted in Slovenia. The relevant Administrative level was national and regional. The responsible organization to conduct this pilot was the Centre for eGovernance Development (Padgets Consortium 2013, 74).

Other Involved Organizations for this pilot include:

- European Parliament
- Institute for Electronic Participation Forum European Debates
- Centre for eGovernance Development (CeGD)

Involved decision makers were the Slovenian Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), namely: Ms Tanja Fajon (S&D/SD), Ms Romana Jordan (ELS/SDS), Ms Mojca Kleva (S&D, SD) and Ms Zofija Mazej Kukovic (ELS/SDS).

The target Citizen Group are Slovenian citizens, organizations, representatives of civil initiatives, media and interested public, citizens of candidate and potential candidate countries (ibid.).

7.1 Expected results – Metrics

The policy maker does not wish to engage in long discussions, the interest is only in getting the citizens' "first response" to raised questions. Citizens' feedbacks are collected and related to MEP's Padgets Campaign. This can be very useful for the decision makers who will have to vote, discuss and give proposals about the issue at the Committee and at the Plenary Sessions of the European parliament. Through the Padgets Campaign wider public can become increasingly involved in the policy making process and become policy initiators (Padgets Consortium 2013, 65).

Through the Padgets decision model the policy maker is provided with the Campaign independent social indicators, i.e. with information on the trends on individuals' awareness, interest, opinions, suggestions, etc (Padgets Consortium 2013, 65).

of individuals reached by the padget

- # of individuals that viewed the padget
- # of like / dislike
- # of interactions (comments)
- Data relating to traffic in the Padgets-related 'pages' (e.g. # of downloads of the document attached, # of unique visitors, origins, platforms, etc)
- Non-processed qualitative information (e.g. text)
- Generic 'buzz' measurements
- Time dimension of the above
- Possibly: gender, age grouping, # of connections

Through Padgets analytics MEP gets reports which help his/her in further debates at the Committee. After the interaction with citizens, the policy maker obtains campaign metrics in terms of the four indicators of the DSS outputs (Padgets Consortium 2013,65).

7.1.1 Campaigns Business Requirements

Functional description of the Pilot

Pilot on thematic Immigration Issues (migrant workers)

- 1. The MEP wants to discuss and gather opinions regarding immigration policy with Slovenian citizens, non-governmental organizations, representatives of civil initiatives and the interested public. It is in the MEP's interest that the issue is discussed also in the media since this way the message can reach a wider audience. MEP uses the Padgets web editor to pose a question: "Immigration in the European Union: a problem or a solution?" by setting up a corresponding Padget Campaign. Additionally, the MEP attaches to her padget the Immigration Rights Draft Resolution.
- 2. Subsequently, the MEP elaborates his/her policy statement, outlining prominent points and attaching several types of supporting material.
- 3. The MEP puts together his/her message on the Padgets Front End and chooses through which Social Media Channels the MEP wants her message to be streamed.
- 4. The Padgets web editor on the backend breaks down her message into differently composed elements and creates different snapshots that are suitable for the selected channels i.e. a short description of a 140-character length for twitter, a longer

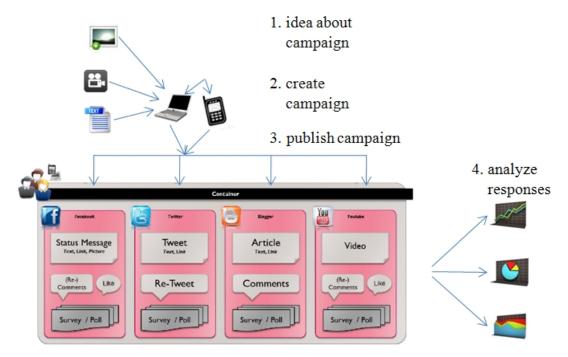
description for a Facebook status update along with a link to the Immigration Rights Draft Resolution, etc. Each snapshot is published to the corresponding "fit for purpose" platform (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 62–64).

Description of the use case (Immigration debate)

Peter is one of numerous citizens interested in the intense debate that has recently called on the Slovenian public.

- 1. Peter, as a Padgets end user, comes across a notification from the MEP (Padget Initiator). Now he has a chance to state his opinion regarding the statement and furthermore express his liking of the Immigration Rights draft resolution. Through social interaction, Peter expresses his level of acceptance regarding the Immigration Rights Draft Resolution and writes his comments on the Draft Resolution through the Padgets Front End. Another Padgets end user, a Slovenian civil initiative organization (NGO), comes across the immigration debate, occurring on Twitter and adds its opinion and proposal to the Slovenian MEP.
- 2. Another Slovenian NGO, the Institute for e-participation (INePA), acting as a Padgets end user, comes across the debate through Blogger. It initiates a Citizens forum on European debates and facilitates the discussion about immigration on their forum.
- Fruitful discussion takes place and Padgets citizens appreciably grow: journalists
 become interested in the opinions of individuals and the NGOs publish the MEPs
 proposals which reach the wider public.
- 4. The audience is motivated to discuss the issue inasmuch the topic is part of their daily lives. Some use Facebook channels, Twitter, Blogger, and even YouTube for video messages.
- 5. Slovenian citizens even become more interested in the European issues: this fact assumes a paramount importance since current interest for the EU issues in Slovenia is extremely low (the turnout on European elections in 2009 did not exceed 20%) (Padgets Consortium 2012a, 77–80).

Figure 7.1: Description of the use case scenario



Source: Padgets Consortium (2013).

7.1.2 Presentation of the Padgets application

1. Login-Page

Figure 7.2: Padgets login page



Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 3).

At the beginning there is general information about Padgets. The login button gives the possibility to sign in Facebook, Twitter and Google.

2. Facebook Account

Figure 7.3: Padgets login with Facebook account

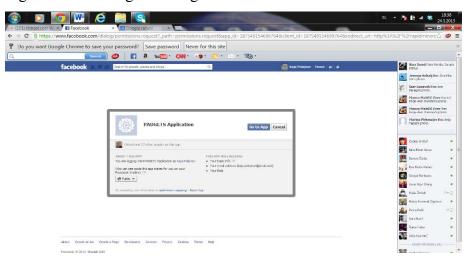


Source: Padgets dashboard (2012b, 4).

After clicking on one of the three logos, google in our example, the user will be informed that the Padget wants to access information such as the Padgets email address and contacts. Thus, it is possible to integrate an additional user to the platform later on.

3. First-Dialogue in Padgets

Figure 7.4: First login in Padgets



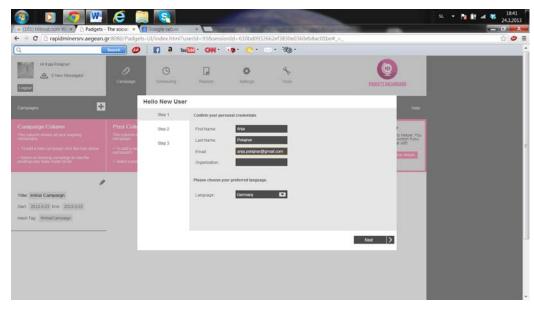
Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 5).

Figure 7.5: First login in Padgets with Facebook



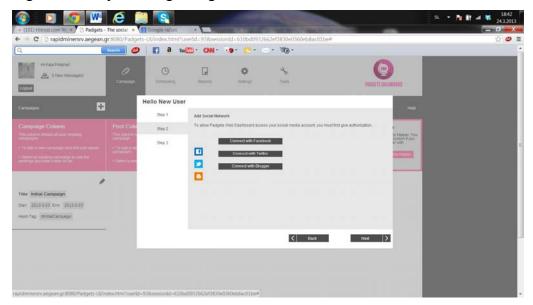
Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 5).

Figure 7.6: New user in Facebook



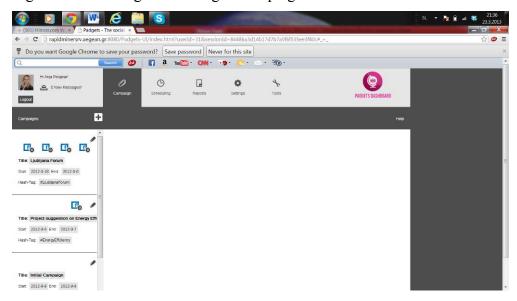
Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 6).

Figure 7.7: Steps in Padgets login



Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 6).

Figure 7.8: Creating a new Padgets campaign



Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 7).

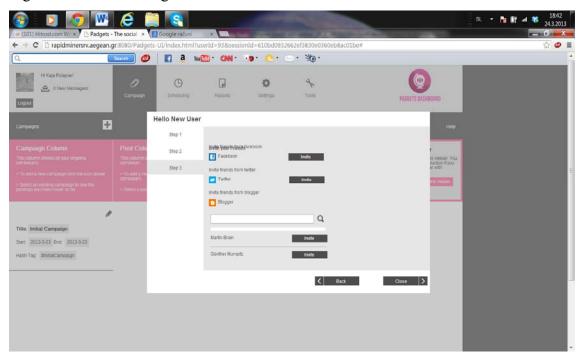
Once the user is logged into the account, he/she is redirected to the first dialogue of the Padgets platform. First name, last name and the organization are retrieved from the platform which the user is logged in. The organization data should also be completed. In the second step, the user connects to a social network. By clicking one of the provided networks the user can connect to personal Facebook, Twitter or Blogger account.

Once the user is logged in, the general information about the Padgets Application appears. To confirm it, the user must accept the application. In the next step, the Padgets application requires a permission to post in the social network. Once the permission is granted, the user will get back to the Padgets platform. The confirmation tick beside the social network indicates the user that a connection has been made to the social media account. Then a connection will be established to the Twitter network. Here also the application requires the permission to access the Twitter account data. After its confirmation, the tick appears also beside the twitter network.

Once the connections to the social networks have been established, the user will be able to invite friends and acquaintances to join. If the user wishes to invite friends from his/her social network like Facebook, this is done via the Invite button. There the name of a friend can be given and the invited friend receives the invitation message.

4. Settings





Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 8).

Within the settings, the user can edit his account information, access social networks and Team Management and even invite friends.

4.1 Settings - Account Information

Whithin the account information general information can be adjusted.

4.2 Settings - Social Networks

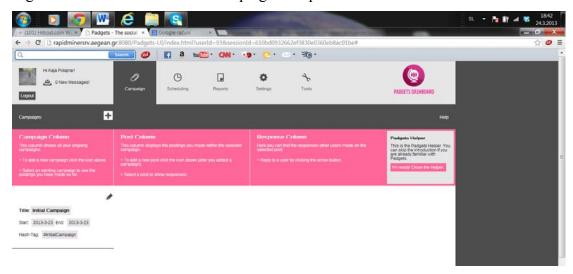
The user can add social networks within the Social Settings, if it has not already been done.

Settings - Invite Friends

The Invite Friends setting offers users the ability to rivet the attention of friends on the Padgets platform.

4.3 Settings - Team Management

Figure 7.10: Creation of a new campaign – step 1

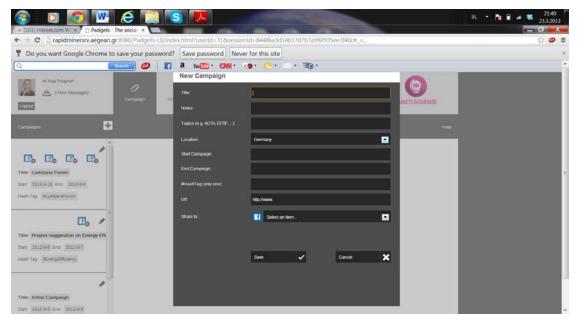


Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 10).

The management team makes it possible for the assignment of a particular campaign consultant.

5. Create a new Campaign

Figure 7.11: Creation of a new campaign – step 2

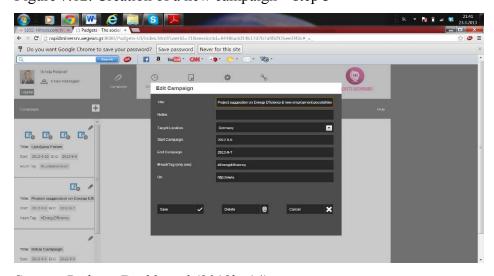


Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 14).

A new campaign can be created by clicking on the + button in the Campaign section. In this step, information such as Title, Notes, Campaign, Start, Hashtag, etc. should be included. The appropriate platform of posting can be chosen by means of 'Share to'.

6. Create a new Message

Figure 7.12: Creation of a new campaign – step 3

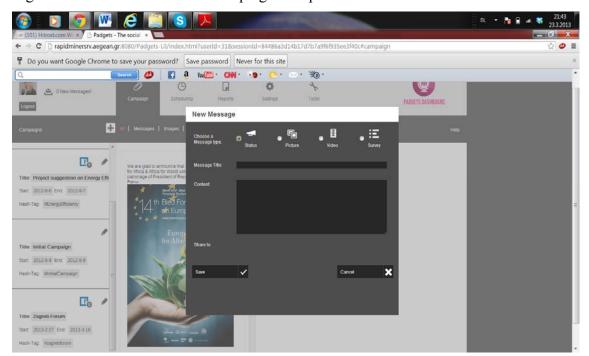


Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 14).

A status or a survey can be created by clicking on the + button in Messages. The status only requires a title and its related content. By means of 'Share to' the user can select the appropriate platform.

7. Padgets Dashboard with Campaign and Message

Figure 7.13: Creation of a new campaign – step 4



Source: Padgets Dashboard (2012b, 14).

After a campaign and a message are created, they are graphically displayed in the dashboard. The actual campaign and message are highlighted.

8. Post on Twitter

The message created through the Padgets system simultaneously appears in twitter.

9. Post on Facebook

The message published through the Padgets system simultaneously appears in Facebook.

8 RESULTS OF THE INTERACTIVE POLICY-MAKING WITH THE USE OF THE PADGETS APPLICATION

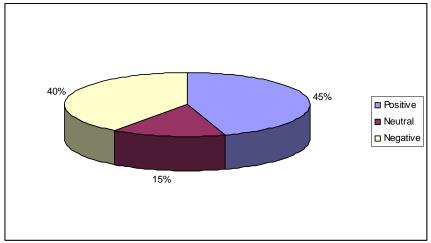
The Centre for eGovernance Development, a pilot partner from Slovenia, invited all the eight (8) Members of the European Parliament from Slovenia to cooperate in the project. Half of them and all female members responded and took positive and active participation in the Padgets project (Polajnar et al 2013, 41).

8.1 Pilot C1. The pilot by Tanja Fajon and her team on media freedom (#media)

Ms Tanja Fajon deployed a Padgets campaign about media freedom in Slovenia and the European Union in time of the Media freedom Index release in November 2012. Ms Tanja Fajon wanted to collect opinions and ideas of Slovenian and EU citizens on the issue of media freedom. The goal of the campaign #media was to ask people on their opinion about media freedom, the initiative to raise VAT for the printed media and about their opinion on the document the Draft report on the Charter EU for freedom of the media in the EU (2011/2246(INI)) which was published 8 October 2012 and reported by Renate Weber (Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and home affairs 2012).

Ms Tanja Fajon uploaded the draft report on Setting standards for media freedom in the EU (2011/2246(INI)) in the scope of the LIBE Committee with the purpose to ascertain people's opinions on this document. She also uploaded a survey and a video. The result was that people need concrete projects with clear goals and activities on how to reach the wished state of media. Intent, activities and results of these projects should be public and measurable to show whether they bring about more of free and plural media. They believe these are the major and challenging projects which need a lot of support to reestablish good media trends (Padgets Consortium 2013, 42).

Chart 8.1: Proportion of positive and negative statements in pilot C1



Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 143).

8.2 Pilot C2. The pilot by Tanja Fajon – about corruption (#crim)

Another pilot by Tanja Fajon and her team on #crim was about corruption on the national level and the European Union level. The goal of the campaign was to identify examples of corruption through citizens' inputs, find solutions and propose actions to re-shape organisations.

Ms Tanja Fajon opened a debate about corruption and the misuse of EU funds as well as the impact of decision-taking in the EU. The MeP wanted to know how people perceive corruption. She wanted to gather people's opinions on how to avoid corruption and to know what individuals can do in their daily lives to avoid corruption. In times of economic crisis corruption is starting to endanger the democratic system of the European Union. She received 21 useful comments on the topic and many more likes to her video. Citizens think that the problem is broader – from political to general culture and to the culture of ownership and to tax policies. The cause of corruption is in too high taxes and in criminal practices elsewhere (Polajnar et al. 2013, 43).

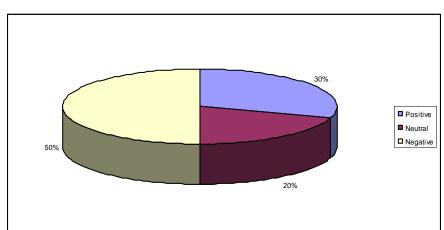


Chart 8.2: Proportion of positive, negative and neutral statements in pilot C2

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 144).

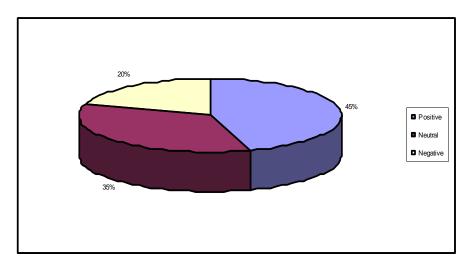
8.3 Pilot C3 The pilot by Mojca Kleva on cooperative institutions (#zadruge)

Ms Mojca Kleva and her team prepared a pilot on cooperative citizens since the United Nations General Assembly has declared 2012 as the International Year of Cooperatives, highlighting the contribution of cooperatives to socio-economic development, particularly as regards their impact on poverty reduction, employment generation and social integration.

By raising awareness about cooperatives, the Year will help to encourage support and development of cooperative enterprises by individuals and their communities. The goal of the campaign #cooperatives was to ascertain people's opinion on whether cooperatives could be a solution to exit the financial crisis.

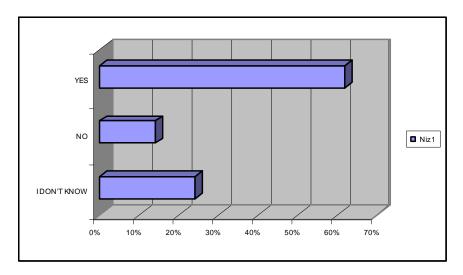
Ms Mojca Kleva started with a campaign about cooperative institutions. The goal was to gather information on people's opinion on cooperative societies and whether these are a possible solution to end the current economic crisis. She published Facebook statuses, twitter messages, a video and 4 surveys. The response shows the majority of people believe that cooperative institutions could represent an exit from the economic crisis (18/29). The success of cooperatives in times of crisis is in the opinion of the majority due to the co-ownership of workers (12/25) and the different mode of operation (10/25). In addition, the majority thinks that the EU should invest into establishment of cooperatives (20/25) (Polajnar et al. 2013, 43).

Chart 8.3: Proportion of positive and negative statements in pilot C3



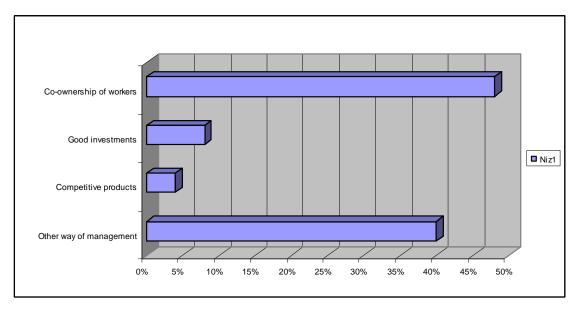
Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 145).

Chart 8.4: Answers to the question - Do you think that cooperatives can alleviate the effects of the financial crisis?



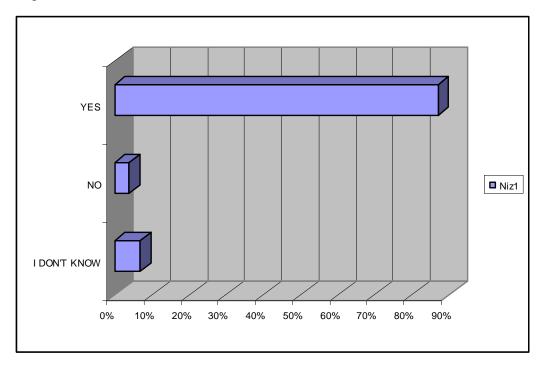
Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 146).

Chart 8.5: Answer to the question - Why are cooperatives in times of financial crisis successful?



Source: Padgets consortim (2013, 147).

Chart 8.6: Answer to the question - Should the EU invest in the establishment of cooperatives?



Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 147).

8.4 Pilot C4. The pilot by Mojca Kleva on tax fraud (#taxfraud)

Tax fraud and tax evasion are a common problem within and across different countries both in the European Union and globally. A single country can not solve the problem on its own; the EU Commission and the Member States need to work closely together and collaborate on an international level to combat the problem at home and abroad (Polajnar et al. 2013, 43).

Ms Mojca Kleva started the campaign on tax frauds. The goal was to share information to as many people as possible and to collect people's opinions in order to publish a unified European strategy on the prevention of tax evasion in the European Union. Ms Kleva published Facebook statuses, Twitter messages, uploaded a survey, a video and pictures (ibid.).

She received 14 comments and 84 answers to the survey. The majority of people (30 out of 84) think that the reasons for tax frauds lie in too mild sanctions for the offenders. However there are 24 people who think that the reason is actually that certain taxes are too high in certain European states. On the other hand 15 people think that the European approach towards this issue is not coordinated well. Only 9 people think that the reason is the inflexibility of the European market (ibid.).

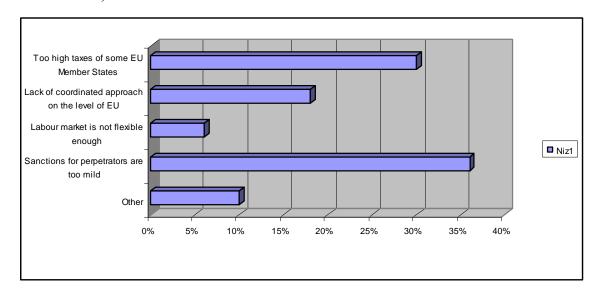
25%

Positive
Neutral
Negative

Chart 8.7: Proportion of positive, negative and neutral statements in pilot C4

Source: Polajnar et al. (2013).

Chart 8.8: Answers to results of the survey - What is in your opinion the main reason for tax frauds, evasions and havens inside the EU?



Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 149).

8.5 Pilot C3. Mojca Kleva - #zadruge

Ms Mojca Kleva started with a campaign on cooperative institutions. The goal was to gather information on people's opinion on cooperative societies and if these can be a possible solution to end the economic crisis. She published Facebook statuses, twitter messages, a video and 4 surveys. Findings show that the majority of people think cooperative institutions could represent an exit from the economic crisis (18/29). Success of cooperatives in times of crisis in the opinion of the majority arises from the co-ownership of workers (12/25) and the different mode of operation (10/25). The majority think that the EU should invest in the establishment of cooperatives (20/25).

20%

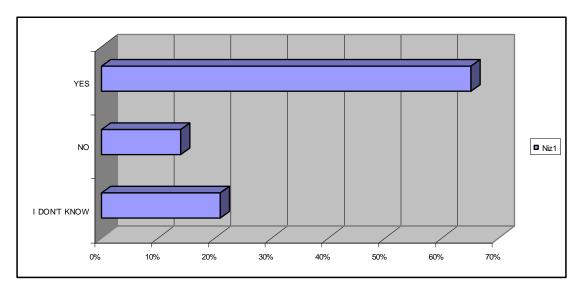
45%

Positive
Neutral
Negative

Chart 8.9: Proportion of positive and negative statements in pilot C3

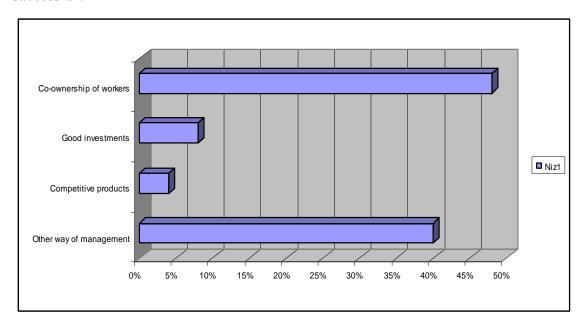
Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 145).

Chart 8.10: Answer to the question - Do you think that cooperatives can alleviate the effects of the financial crisis?



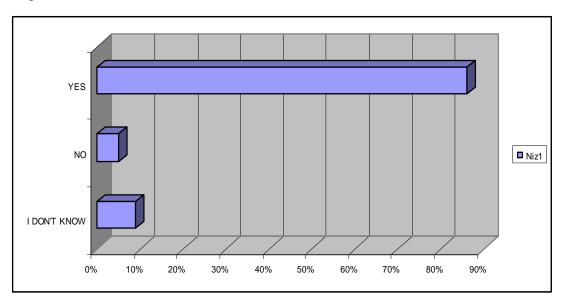
Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 146).

Chart 8.11: Answer to the question - Why are cooperatives in times of financial crisis successful?



Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 146).

Chart 8.12: Answer to the question - Should the EU invest in the establishment of cooperatives?



Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 147).

8.6 Pilot C5. Romana Jordan implemented a pilot about the European year of citizens (#citizenshipEU)

Ms Romana Jordan and her team implemented a pilot campaign about the European year of citizens, with the hashtag #citizenshipEU, since the year 2013 is the year of European citizenship. The objective was to find out how many people know about European citizenship and how they perceive the advantages and disadvantages of being citizens of the EU (Polajnar et al. 2013, 44).

The European Year of Citizens 2013 is dedicated to the rights that come with the EU citizenship. Over this year, a dialogue between all levels of government, civil citizens and business is to be encouraged at events and conferences around Europe to discuss those EU rights and build a vision of what the EU should be in 2020 (Europa.eu 2013).

The aim of this program is to bring Europe closer to its citizens and to enable them to participate fully in the European construction. Through this program, citizens have the opportunity to be involved in transnational exchanges and cooperation activities, contributing to developing a sense of belonging to common European ideals and encouraging the process of European integration (Polajnar et al. 2013, 45).

Ms Romana Jordan started with a campaign on the European citizenship where she wanted to bring the EU themes closer to Slovenian citizens. In her campaign she raised European themes with contests about citizens' knowledge on the European Union. The result was that people got to know more about European issues. The year 2013 is the year of European citizens. Citizenship of the European Union was established with the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 and enables citizens twenty years of work and study in the EU, the right to vote and be voted in the European Parliament, access to address the European ombudsman, or send a petition to the European Commission. She posed four questions:

- What is most important that the European Union brought to you?
- How do you wish the rights of the EU citizens to be developed in the future?
- Do you know what the CE label means?
- Do you check the CE label on the products you buy?

The majority of respondents said that the most important gain of being a member of European Union is the free movement of goods and services. Many emphasized also the single currency – EURO and the possibility to study around EU – the ERASMUS exchange program. However some respondents emphasized the problem of too much bureaucracy and indifference towards taykoon acquisitions (Polajnar et al. 2013, 45).

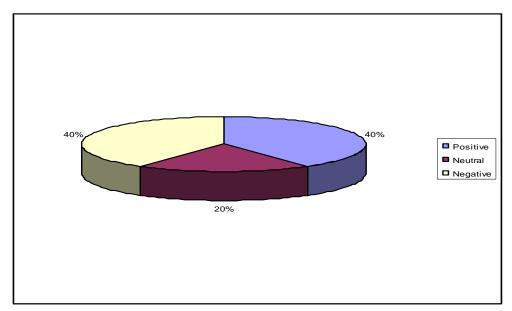


Chart 8.13: Proportion of positive, negative and neutral statements in pilot C6

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 150).

8.7 Pilot C6. Zofija Mazej Kukovic implemented a pilot about the publishment of the Push Europe tender (#runEurope)

Ms Zofija Mazej Kukovič and her team implemented a pilot on the publishment of the tender Push Europe with the hashtag #runEurope. The project is about food and new work places. Within the scope of her work in the European Parliament, Zofija Mazej Kukovič runs a local project for the younger generation titled Požen' Evropo (translated into "Push Europe"). Her goal is for the young generation to gain more knowledge on the European Union and take an active part in discussions and projects that could open up opportunities for employment and development. In the framework of the initiative Požen' Evropo (Push Europe) in Slovenia round tables together with the MeP Zofija Mazej Kukovič were organised with various themes for discussion, such as unemployment of the youth, entrepreneurship, freedom of speech, protection of

intellectual property, culture of communication and intergenerational cooperation (Mazej Kukovic 2013).

By deploying the PADGETS campaign the goal of the MEP was to find possibilities for employing young people and informing as many people as possible about the Push Europe tender. Ms Zofija Mazej Kukovič's campaign Požen' Evropo (Push Europe) has been started with the purpose to bring Europe closer to young people in Slovenia and together search for solutions to high unemployment rates of young people and the development of their career. Within the scope of the PADGETS platform she published statuses, uploaded pictures and published tenders and contests (Polajnar et al. 2013, 45).

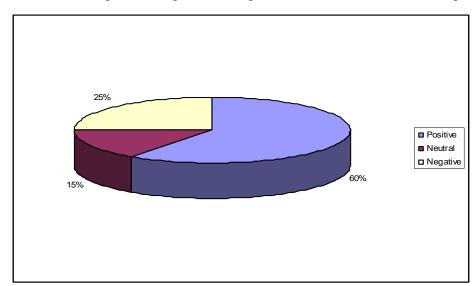


Chart 8.14: Proportion of positive, negative and neutral statements in pilot C5

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013, 151).

8.8 The Padgets methodology and the evaluation Framework

Padgets includes two stakeholders groups (Alvertis, Bompa, Loukis 2012, 12):

- policy initiators who run the platform, initiate a campaign, publish a message
 and run the simulation process by using the web
- citizens who interact with these messages through their social media account

These two stakeholders groups do not have the same experience of usage nor do they have the same motivation and goals. The evaluation includes for each pilot both the

quantitative and qualitative evaluations by the two main stakeholders groups.

Policy initiators have a different level and points of interaction from citizens. Generally they have a better understanding of the tool because they were advised by the Consortium partners and they showed high interest in using it. In particular they use the Padgets platform to create a new campaign, manage it, create messages and then post it in social media. Through the same platform they then run a sentiment analysis and the decision support component, and can see the user's feedback and evaluation (Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis 2012, 12).

Citizens have a different level of interaction; they experience Padgets as messages (content) that arrive to them on their existing profiles and accounts they own in Social Media. Because of that their usage experience does not change. For them it is more comfortable to participate and interact with the message in the way they are already used to. They do not understand that another tool is used to post the message, except for some platforms like Facebook where a small signature of the application appears at the bottom of each message. But even in that case, it is not easily understandable by users (Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis 2013, 13).

Quantitative approach includes structured questionnaires as well as analytics extracted from Padgets and Social Media. The qualitative approach includes in-depth interviews with the stakeholders groups – decision makers and citizens who communicated via Padgets with decision makers (Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis 2013, 13).

As a result, the tools for the collection of the users' feelings were:

- Questionnaires shape the structured information that must be collected during the evaluation phase.
- Structured Questionnaires: closed questions (ranking the answers using a specified scale).
- Questionnaires for in-depth interviews: open questions (leaving the user to express their opinion).
- Analytics from social media
- Analytics from the platform

In a nutshell the Padgets evaluation tools and the actions to be taken are presented in the below table.

Figure 8.1: Table – Padgets evaluation tools

	Policy initiators	Actions	Cit	izens	Actions
Quantitative	Structured	Send emails	Structure	ed	Links on
	questionnaires		question	naires	Android & on
					Facebook page
Qualitative	In-depth	Skype or in	Short int	erviews	In person with
	interviews	person			special groups
		interview			of citizens
					(e.g. students)
Actual	Relative	Backend stats	App	SM	App stats
usage	Platform		metrics	metrics	
	metrics				

Source: Alverstis, Bompa and Loukis (2013, 13).

For each stakeholders group and each medium they use (web dashboard, application, social media account) questionnaires are built and focus points for in-depth interviews formed (Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis 2013, 13).

8.8.1 Policy Initiators

One type of a questionnaire addressed to Policy Initiators includes closed questions, which consist of a number of statements, and the respondents are asked to state to what extent they agree with each statement, on a 1 to 5 scale (1= totally disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = totally agree). The questionnaire was sent to them by email. Additionally, in-depth interviews focus on open questions and were performed via Skype or in person (Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis 2013, 14).

The questionnaire for Policy Initiators (1-5 scale answers) included the following questions:

Figure 8.2: Table – The Questionnaire for Policy Initiators

	The greatest was in general easy to use. It was easy to learn how to
	-The system was in general easy to useIt was easy to learn how to
Г	use the system.
Ease of use	-The system had good error handling and recovery capabilities.
	-The system had good error prevention capabilities through warning
	messages.
	-It was easy to create a campaign, add various types of content to it
	(e.g. text, video, images) and post them to various social media.
	-It was easy to monitor continuously the interactions of citizens with
	the above content (e.g. comments, likes, dislikes, etc.).
	-It was easy to process citizens' interactions with the above content
Ease of use in	(e.g. comments, likes, dislikes, etc.) and calculate various
particular	metrics/analytics.
	-It was easy to analyze the textual comments of the citizens using
	various text mining techniques, and extract their sentiment (positive or
	negative) and the main terms/topics mentioned.
	-It was easy to run the simulations and calculate future forecasts of
	policy awareness, interest and adoption.
	-The metrics/analytics calculated by the system were quite useful.
	-The results of the analysis of the textual comments of the citizens
Usefulness	through text mining techniques were quite useful.
	-The forecasts calculated by the simulations were quite useful.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	-time saving.
	-cost saving.
	-reaching wider audiences (=more citizens).
	-reaching specific targeted groups of citizens I am interested in
	-reaching citizens' groups not usually participating in political life.
	-drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' awareness about the
	topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.
system was quite	-drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' interest in the
helpful for my	topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.
campaign in terms	-drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' acceptance of the
of	policy dealt with in this campaign.
	-collecting high quality feedback/knowledge from the citizens on the
	particular topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.
	-identifying the particular problems/issues that exist concerning the
	topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.
	-identifying possible solutions to these problems/issues.
	-identifying advantages/disadvantages of these possible solutions.
	-My general impression from the whole Padgets platform and concept
General attitude	is positive.
Use	-I visited the system often in order to get informed on citizens'
	1 visited the system often in order to get informed on citizens

	interaction with and feedback on the content I had posted to various		
	social media.		
	-I often replied to comments posted by citizens.		
Future intentions	-I would like to use the platform in my future campaigns.		
ruture intentions	-I would recommend the platform to other decision makers.		
	- is a better way of discussing with citizens the various public policy		
	related topics when compared to other existing 'physical' (i.e. through		
	'physical' meetings) or 'electronic' ways of discussing with citizens		
	the same public policy related topics.		
	-is compatible with the policy formulation processes of public		
Future prospects	agencies.		
for the whole	-its practical application by public agencies decision makers does not		
Padgets platform	require much effort.		
and concept	-can be initially applied in small scale pilot applications by public		
	agencies in order to assess its capabilities, advantages and		
	disadvantages, before proceeding to a larger scale application.		
	-is an innovation highly visible to other public agencies, decision		
	makers and the citizens in general, which can create positive		
	impressions and comments.		

Source: Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis (2013, 14–16).

The open questions for in-depth interviews are the following:

Fugure 8.3: The open questions for in-depth interviews

Ease of use	General impressions of the ease of use of the system in more depth?
	Which part/aspects of it were difficult to use, and which were easy to use?
Ease of use	Which capabilities/functionalities are not complete and need to be increased
	and strengthened?
	Discuss more in-depth and detail the 12 benefits dimensions— what were the
I I a of a la o a a	particular contributions/benefits of the Padgets platform in each of these
Usefulness	dimensions – what is the potential contribution of the Padgets platform in
	each of these dimensions?
Future	Which are the main motivations/drivers in favour of and also the main
	barriers to the larger scale application of the Padgets platform and concept
intentions	in the policy formulation processes of the public agencies?
Future	Discuss more in-depth and detail the 5 aspects of the Padgets platform and
prospects	concept – what happens with each of them and why?

Source: Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis (2012, 17).

The analytics that can be extracted from the system concerning the Policy Initiators were planned but not realised due to the shortage of time.

Figure 8.4: Table – Actual usage

	Daily return rate (%)
A stud was a	Weekly return rate (%)
Actual usage	Monthly return rate (%)
	Average time on the application/website (sec)

Source: Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis (2012, 17).

8.8.2 Citizens

The questionnaires for Citizens interacting through their Social Media accounts include closed questions, which consist of a number of statements, where respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree with each statement, on a 1 to 5 scale (1= totally disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = totally agree). For citizens, interacting through Social Media the questionnaires were posted to Padgets or each pilot's Facebook page. Additionally, in-depth interviews should follow open questions and should take place in person with special groups of citizens (e.g. students) – however also this action has not yet been performed (Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis 2012, 17).

The analytics of Citizens on Social Media evaluate citizens' interactions with the Padgets context in terms of three key factors: Awareness, Interest and Acceptance. The figure below describes how awareness, interest and acceptance were evaluated by means of the Social Media analytics.

The questionnaire for citizens interacting through their social media accounts (1-5 scale answers) includes the following questions:

Figure 8.5: Questionnaire for citizens interacting through their social media accounts

	-communicating with government agencies and participating in the formulation of public policies by them
Usefulness of the	-getting informed on important public policies under formulation by government agencies
whole concept and method	-getting informed on other citizens' opinions and suggestions on such public policies under formulation
	-expressing my opinions and suggestions on such public policies under formulation

	-influencing the formulation of public policies by government agencies	
	-My general impression from the whole concept and method is positive	
General attitude	-It is a better way of participating in the formulation of public policies than the usual discussion forums operated by many government agencies in their own websites	
Future intentions	-I would like to use again this new channel of communicating with government agencies and participating in the formulation of public policies by them	
1 deare mentions	-I would recommend to other citizens this channel of communicating with government agencies and participating in the formulation of public policies by them	

Source: Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis (2012, 18).

8.9 Evaluation criteria by Macintosh and White

For the analysis of the project also the criteria by Macintosh and White (2003, 5–8) were used. They propose three sets of criteria for analysing e-consultations based on political, technological and communicational aspects respectively. Political criteria refer to the goals of web consultations, access i.e. the possibility of electronic consultation with decision makers and accessibilty to electronic consultation, and the level of decision-making i.e. the sooner or later inclusion of the public. Response i.e. the response of decision makers with those who cooperated in the consultation, time frame i.e. the time frame of conslultation and for feedback, as well as sources and methods i.e. financial, human and technical for effective e-consultation, are taken into account. Technological criteria consist of user-friendliness and adequate design of the web forum for the implementation of e-consultation, including stability of the application, possibility of shortcuts, help to users, quick solution of errors, quick cancellation of changes, the internal administration and quick function of the application. Communication criteria include an in-depth analysis i.e. the number of publishments on certain topics, average and whole number of words on a certain topic, in-depth comments and number of levels of answers, and the scope of discussion i.e. the frequency of searching for addxitional information and argumentation with proofs. Key

indicators of the political, technological and communicational criteria are seen in the following table.

Figure 8.6: Table – Evaluation criteria by Macintosh and White

	Variable	Indicator
1.	Implementation of Padgets in the	1.a Satisfaction of participants in the
	scope of the plan	Padgets consultation
		1.b Evaluation of appropriate sources of
		consultation implementation
		1.c Observance of best practices
		recommendations when implementing
		consultation
2.	Goals of consultation and clear expectations from the role of citizens	2.a. Participants understood the purpose
	expectations from the role of citizens	of consultation
		2.b Assessment of adequacy of
		contributions in consultations
3.	Inclusion of the target public in the consultation process	3.a Assessment of promotion of the
	consultation process	Padgets project
		3.b Identification of democraphic and
		geopraphic characteristics of those who
		cooperated in the consultation
4.	Relevance of the uploaded documentation and information	4.a Assessment of the accessibility of
	accumentation and macrimuses	documents and information of those who
		cooperated
5.	User-friendliness and technical design of the application	5.a User-friendliness of the application
'	acong in or the approximon	5.b Possibility of shortcuts usage
		5.c Assistance to the user
		5.d Stability of the application
6.	Adequacy of constributions	6.a Assessment of the inputs' compliance
		with the topic of the consultation
		6.b Classification of inputs regarding
		transmission of information, posing a
		question or expression of position on an

Indicator
issue
6.c Assessment of in-depth discussions
reffering to other inputs in the
consultation
7.a Assessment of how often decision
makers answered questions during the
consultation
7.b Assessment of the behaviour of
decision makers on inputs of those who
cooperated in the consultation
8.a Possibility to change politics in
accordance with the level of the decision-
making process, where consultation took
place
8.b Assessment of the scope of the policy-
making implementation

Source: Summarized and supplemented after Macintosch and White (2003) and Delakorda (2010).

From table 4.4 it is clear that indicators 1.a, 1.b, 1.c, 2.a, 2.b, 3.a, 3.b., 7.a, 7.b and 8.b refer to the political aspects of the evaluation, while indicators 4.a, 4.b, 5.a, 5.b, 5.c and 5.d refer to technical and indicators 6.a, 6.b, 6.c, 6.d to communication aspects of the evaluation.

8.9.1 Results of the analysis

Padgets pilot project's e-democratic characteristics can be assessed on the basis of taking an active part in the Padgets project, an analytical report on the Padgets project, functional outline of the Padgets application and direct user experience.

Figure 8.7: Table– Results of the analysis by the criteria of e-democratic effects

Criteria	Indicator	Fulfillment
1. Political	1.a Satisfaction with the consultation	Yes
	implementation	
	1.b Appropriation of sources for the	Yes
	consultation implementation	Vas
	1.c Compliance with the recommendation of good practices in implementing the	Yes
	campaign	
	2.a Participants understood the goal of the	?
	consultation	•
	2.b Appropriate inputs for participants in	?
	consultation	Dortly
	3.a Enough promotion of the Padget project	Partly
	3.b Identification of demographic and	No
	geographic characteristics of those who	110
	cooperated in consultation	
	7.a Decision makers answer the questions	Partly
	of participants	
	7.b Reply of decision makers refers to the	Partly
	inputs of those who cooperated in	
	consultation	D 41
	8.a Possibilities for a change of policy	Partly
	regarding the level of the decision-making process, where consultation took place	
	8.b Incorporation of citizens' inputs in the	No data
	new policy implementation	110 data
2. Technical	4.a Accessibility of basic documents and	Partly
	information of those who cooperated in the	J. J. J.
	consultation	
	5.a User-friendliness	Yes
	5.b Possibility of short cuts usage	No
	5.c Possibility of help for users	Yes
2.0	5.d Stability of application	Partly
3. Communicational	6.a Accessibility of inputs referring to	Yes
	question raising and having a position on	
	issues 6.b In-depth contributions which refer to	Partly
	other contributions of consultation	1 arriy
	onici contitutions of consultation	

Source: Summarized and supplemented after Macintosch, A. and A. Whyte (2003).

The analysis shows the Padgets project partly fulfils the criteria of e-democratic effects on the methodology of Macintosch and Whyte (2003). According to the political criteria only criteria on undertsanding consultation by those who cooperated (we got the data with the questionnaires), response of decision makers on contributions and possibilities for change of politics regarding the level of the decision-making process. Two political

criteria were also fulfilled – the adequacy of sources for the consultation implementation which included a multilingual web forum and multimedia support, and the replies of decision makers to inputs of those who cooperated in the debate where the application did enable the answering of decision makers to the interested public, however where no such interaction took place among them.

The technical criteria were almost entirely fulfilled. Here participants had access to basic documents and information in the consultation process and consequently the inputs of participants were better articulated. The Padgets application however was not always steady but it is important to consider here that this was a project in its pilot phase.

The communication criteria were only partly fulfilled just as the criteria of the in-depth inputs. This brings us to the conclusion that the tool of web polls does not enable interactivity and confrontation of opinions among participants.

8.10 Overall lessons learnt

Figure 8.8: Table – Statistics of Slovenian pilots

	Country	MP's/Politicians	Theme	Pan-European	Padgets
				Aspects	front-end
Pilot C1	Slovenia	Tanja Fajon	Media Freedom	Yes	Partially
Pilot C2	Slovenia	Tanja Fajon	Corruption	Yes	Partially
Pilot C3	Slovenia	Mojca Kleva	Cooperatives	Yes	Totally
Pilot C4	Slovenia	Mojca Kleva	Tax Evasions	Yes	Totally
Pilot C5	Slovenia	Zofija Mazej	Tender Push	Yes	Partially
		Kukovič	Europe		
Pilot C6	Slovenia	Romana Jordan	Citizen of Europe	Yes	Partially

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013).

Figure 8.9: Table – Statistics of Slovenian pilots (2/2)

	Number of citizens	Reactions	Polls
	reached via Social Media		
Pilot C1	12 000	104 likes, 12 comments, 1 survey, 1	30 answers
		video, 5 shares	
Pilot C2	12 000	250 likes, 21 comments, 2 videos, 2	
		tweets	
Pilot C3	5352	24 likes, 15 coments, 3 surveys, 1	147 answers
		video, 3 surveys, 2 shares, 2 tweets	
Pilot C4	5352	12 likes, 14 comments, 1 survey, 6	84 answers
		shares, 9 tweets	
Pilot C5	10055	229 likes, 10 comments, 8 shares, 20	

		tweets	
Pilot C6	10 930	88 likes, 167 comments,88 likes, 1	
		video, 3 shares	
TOTAL	55689	707 likes, 239 comments, 5 surveys, 5	261 answers
		videos, 24 shares, 33 tweets	

Source: Padgets Consortium (2013).

All in all, the Padgets project has strengthened and revitalized the policy online communities and integrated a dispersed public of Social Media into one platform. The project has also empowered users by enabling an advanced dissemination of their opinions.

The Padgets project has a good base since in Slovenia people are not motivated enough to discuss European issues. For example the Forum on European debates which was run by the Institute for e-participation was not visited enough. The Padgets idea is that the debate placed in Social Media (Facebook, Twitter) where people already are present has really been innovative.

The platform is very useful for accessing citizens' comments, problems and proposals and can be very useful also for decision makers. On the other hand, users should have clear evidence of how this platform is being used by the decision makers. Debates through on-line forums are still attracting users but the main trend nowadays is Social Media. All in all, decision makers with their teams are of the opinion that the project is very innovative and user-friendly. At the moment this is a pilot project but in the future in my opinion this kind of communication is going to become something usual. This project is paving the way for the more engaged citizen and stronger participatory democracy in decision-making.

Taking stock of the slew of the gathered qualitative and quantitative evidence derived from the pilots run in Slovenia, some comments arise at the end of the project, paving the way for the future Padgets-based endeavours and supporting the participatory action in public decision-making.

All pilot actions conducted hitherto have pushed the final users to take a closer look at the political and social life both at the local and international levels respectively. The citizenry, embracing this new participatory wave have experienced the perception of being actually involved in decision-making by having been given the opportunity to provide their personal vision and consequently provoke reactions at a higher level in the political system. This generally held view is coupled with a more specific interest exhibited by the various stakeholders for the topics under the spotlight from time to time: although not all the citizens were already accustomed to interacting with the Government via a full-fledged bi-directional engagement, particular attention has been devoted to urgent and arising social issues, such as employment, taxation, corruption, etc.

Moving to the other side of the policy scenario, during its pilot activities the Padgets proved to be a "privileged" channel for hearing citizens' voice directly where citizens choose to express their opinion. Going beyond the novelty effect, the synthesis given by the Padgets system ("what") and the pilot organizational planning ("how") has been recognized – in light of the evaluations provided by the decision makers – as an effective way to gather, evaluate and decide upon the citizens's input, taking advantage of a broader reach and faster pace of diffusion of the policy message given by the "viral" contagious phenomena peculiar to the Social Media realm. To say it in a nutshell, by putting into action a centralized management of Social Media platforms, governments make a step towards citizens rather than expecting the citizenry to move their content production activity onto the "official" spaces created ad-hoc in the past for e-participation (Padgets Consortium 2013).

Contextualizing pilot results in the blueprint of the whole Padgets experimentation, fieldwork activities conducted by the Consortium allowed to corraborate some benefits associated with the entire Padgets system:

- 1. Relaxation of current constraints in terms of size, frequency and quality of participation. All the different stakeholders are free to participate in any policy process they are interested in, at the time they prefer, with the amount of effort invested in participation they are willing to spend, and above all using the tools they are already accustomed to. From the opposite perspective, decision makers can continuously access reports, pertaining to stakeholders' opinion, being allowed to modify quickly and adapt the policy issues under discussion.
- 2. Integrated management of multiple Social Media channels. The presence of a Web dashboard dedicated to the policy maker decreases the complexity and heterogeneity that comes naturally while managing different Social Media

- platforms, each of which exhibits peculiarities in terms of aims, interfaces, functionalities, target audience, content types and degree of content sharing.
- 3. Creation of an "open" decision support system. Opening up the decision support process means integrating it with the activities carried out over Social Media platforms. This allows establishing a direct link between the decision process and the external world as well as reasoning on fresh and relevant information.
- 4. Better exploitation of data, stemming from the interaction with the public on Social Media. In this respect, decision support tools embodied in the Padgets suite have provided a number of promising functionalities that generate precious knowledge to be used for informing in the decision-making process (Padgets Consortium 2013).

Our research question i.e. according to different theories under which conditions can decision-making processes of the European Union become more inclusive with the use of technology can be answered with the following clarifications.

In general, a definition of the policy context and of the actors to be involved from both the institutional and the societal side should be given and the policy messages and questions well-framed. Another very important condition is a well-built social media community under close quantitative and qualitative observation. The audience is accustomed to interacting with governmental accounts in the social media realm in an active way i.e. the migration from 1.0-like to 2.0-like communication style requires a gradual transition to getting familiar with the full-fledged engagement. An additional important condition is also smart orchestration of the campaign (trade-off between the rigid story-telling defined ex-ante and the dynamic conduction driven by the emergence of opinion tendencies. Also the propensity of decision makers to interact in a bi-directional way with the citizenry, where decision makers are often scared of losing control over the process and frequently believe that CONs will overcome PROs, is of enormous importance.

Besides these conditions other complementary factors may facilitate the frictionless communication of societal relevance to the topic, in other words, if the topic hits home with the audience, the campaign will gain a foothold, and in addition compel media contents that lure citizens and spur their involvement in the participatory endeavor.

9 CONCLUSION

Policies, disciplines and actors are often isolated which causes a gap between citizens and governance. To this end FP7 project Padgets has been financed by the European Commission. Padgets is a research project, utilising social media and widgets to reach citizens, discuss policy-making through different media and devices, and in the end process interactions through on-line simulation tools to support decisions. In my case I was in a lucky situation of being an observer in the position of a project manager in the Padgets pilot project in Slovenia.

The question of under which conditions according to different theories can decision-making processes of the European Union become more inclusive with the use of technology which is researched in the thesis is answered in the following clarifications.

In general the definition of the policy context and of the actors to be involved from both the institutional and the societal side should be provided and should include well-framed policy messages and questions as well. As has been presented, an important condition is a well-bulit social media community under the quantitative and qualitative lens inspection. The audience is accustomed to an active interaction with the governmental accounts in the social media realm where the migration from 1.0-like to 2.0-like communication style requires a gradual transition to get familiar with the full-fledged engagement. Another important condition is a smart orchestration of the campaign i.e. a trade-off between the rigid story-telling defined ex-ante and the dynamic conduction driven emerging opinion tendencies. Also the propensity of decision makers to interact in a bi-directional way with the citizenry is of enormous importance.

Besides the afore-stated conditions, other complementary factors may facilitate the frictionless communication as for example the societal relevance of the topic or in other words, if the topic hits home with the audience, the campaign will gain a foothold, and the compelling media contents that lure citizens and spur their involvement in the participatory endeavor.

According to the intergovernmental theory based on the realist theory, an e-participation model as is the Padgets might only be a smokescreen for viewing politicians as the ones

who do consider citizens' needs and opinions, nevertheless in the end they do actions according to their own private interest. They show interest because they want people to believe they do take into account people's opinions and suggestions, however these actions are usually performed in line with their private interest to get elected again. According to the theory, e-participation processes and Padgets could be a motivation for minimizing risks and maximizing benefits in consulting civil citizens. In this case the use of the e-participation tools, also the Padget tool, would not lower the democratic deficit.

In accordance with the supranational theory e-participation could be a legitimate category in the new liberally focused international politics. Initiatives for e-participation should arise from civil citizens and public opinion in the form of a "bottom up" approach. According to the basic element of the liberal theory, it is in cooperation and subordination of the general will of for example non-governmental organisations. States enter into supranational organizations in order to avoid the risk. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should join platforms of transnational organizations in order to gain power and acquire impact on the World's agenda. Consistent with the supranational theory e-participation should be used as the promotor of democratic government which is according to liberalists the only way to global peace.

Regarding the constructivist theory e-participation arises from participatory ideas of democracy. This means a participatory idea involves elements of direct and representative democracy. This leads to the conclusion that citizens should have an active role in decision-making processes and in opinion formation. This concept stresses democratic participation in a "liberal sense" which is based upon a representative system. The main problem arising in this context is reflected in citizens' participation options which are mainly restricted to "voting" actions (Zittel 2001, 433–470).

Looking at the empirical part the main problem remains in motivating people to use the platform. As all EU citizens are directly or indirectly linked to European issues, the Padgets platform should exercise wider public usage. The Padgets platform is useful to accessing citizens' comments, problems, proposals which should all be used by the decision makers. On the other hand, users should have a clear insight into how the Padgets tool is used by the decision makers as well as how and when the latter use their

comments and proposals.

The research question on whether the Padgets application improves communication between the Members of Parliament and civil citizens and whether it with that lowers the democratic deficit of the European Union, is answered with an analysis of the Digital agenda 2020 and financing of information and communications technology project of the EU.

The base for the use of new technologies when including public into decision-making processes is by the decision-making process from the side of the European institutions very technocratically understood. Politics of information citizens in the EU in the field of the e-governance politics sees the solution for the democratic deficit of the European governance in the process of intensive informatisation based on the establishment of broadband information infrastructure, inter-operability, interactive public services, publicly available internet points, alleviation of the digital divide, widening of access to publicly available information, cheaper administration, providing openness of the e-governance services and transparency in decision-making of the European institutions (European Commission 2013).

European elections record low turnout, the low inclusion into party politics and the differences in expectations which arise from socio-economic divisions are widely present. Conceptually the European Union does understand the elimination of the digital divide by the representative model which describes the EU as extensive scope disaffection with the existing democratic procedures. For the public administration governance with many and conflict democratic »expressions of will« the situation is complicated and acquires innovative usage of ICT and an adjustment of methods and processes (European Commission Directorate General for Communications Networks, Content and Technology 2013).

According to Hague and Loader (2001) the democratic and legitimisation deficit cannot be eliminated only with the informatisation of the European citizens, but should also include its communicatization which has to be based on the models of deliberative, participative and associative democracy of the general interactive inclusion of citizens in public and political dicussions and the decision-making process. The European

information policy is based on the neoliberal concept of European liberative policies (Follesdal and Hix 2006, 6) which is grounded on the imperative of providing global economic growth gained with intensive development and investment in research in the field of the ICT sector. Here democracy and democratic qualities are put aside. Therefore, it can be concluded that the European Commission understands e-participation as a technical and not as a socio-political challenge. This can be confirmed by the technological excellence of the e-participation financing measures which tries to lower the democratic deficit by introducing new and always better information-communication technologies.

The establishment of participative democracy in the first phase of the policy-making procedure is faced with many obstacles which arise from the technocratic understanding of political democracy.

Our second research question on whether the Padgets application contributes towards lowering democratic deficit can be answered negatively since it is institutionally integrated into the technocratic structure of the European Commission if we consider the intergovernmental model of European governance.

The review of the online consultations confirms that the effect of the Padgets application to lowering the democratic deficit is not clear. The application measures the number of positive and negative comments, the number of likes and results of the polls, but we do not have the information on the actual usage of data by the MePs. However in our interviews and the questionnaire the MePs reported they found the idea very useful, but the technical side did not work properly all the time. In accordance with this it can be concluded that from the viewpoint of its accessibility and the transparency of its procedures, actors involved and results, Padgets has a clear democratic effect however the same cannot be confirmed from the viewpoint of political relations which bring towards the final version of the document in public discussion.

The second research question can be answered by the review of the technical indicators of the Padgets project which shows that the project does not contribute towards democratic decision-making because it does not arise from the deliberative principles of

the inclusion of European citizens into the electronic consultation process in accordance with the intergovernmental model of European governance.

According to Fishkin (1995, 178–181) deliberative democracy assumes that democracy does not mean only counting of votes, likes, positive and negative statements but also their transformation as a result of free consultation. This concept stresses the importance of the public opinion formation as a result of a quality discussion where different viewpoints and arguments confront. Deliberative democracy means that before taking a decision of public importance much information that have been forwarded through an interactive discussion has to be taken into account. This means that the result of consultation does not mean only an exchange of viewpoints, but also concrete agreement (compromise) based on the assumption that a group of people which confront their ideas and interests come towards a certain consensus which is built on common knowledge (Fishkin 1995, 178–181 in Perczynski 2001, 73).

On the other hand, the analysis of the Padgets project showed that the Web 2.0 debates could establish those political relationships which strengthen the legitimacy of public opinion on European public elites.

An important question is raised here about the politics of internet – how to lower democratic limitations of the web debates on the European Commission. With an increased role of the European Union and its direct impact on the quality of people's lives, expectations and their interest to participate in the parliament's decisions increase as well. This brings us to think about how to answer citizens' expectations and how to design communication processes which would enable a better democratic influence in taking European decisions. Democratic politics is not based only on national states but is extended to a European level. It is possible to find the answer to this dilemma in two levels – technological and institutional-democratic (Delakorda 2009, 161).

At the institutional-democratic level the key element of the European Union is that it needs to develop its own mechanisms of democratic decision-making and legitimisation which will arise from different definitions of democracy (representative on the level of the European Parliament and participatory-deliberative on the level of the European Commission) regarding specific characteristics of the European Union. However, only a

representative model of democracy on the EU level is not sufficient to strengthen its democratic legitimacy (Newman 1996, 185).

The European Union party identified this problem when it included the principle of participative democracy into the Treaty of Lisbon, amending the Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community (2007) which opens possibilities for the usage of web technologies with the aim to include citizens into decision-making. After the rejection of the Treaty for establishing a Constitution for Europe, the European Commission began to include in its communication policies elements of deliberative democracy.

European Commission decided to support the development of the ICT technology by financing a number of the ICT Framework Program VII programmes which develops interactive e-participation tools. However, at the same time the Commission is confronted with the development and implementation deficit in e-participation.

To answer the question on what the expectations of the Slovene Members of the European Parliament and what the expectations of Slovenian citizens are, the results show that the Padgets platform itself is user-friendly as the user on the other side feels more comfortable to access the platform from personal Facebook profile. On-line forums are still attracting users but the main trend nowadays are social media which the Padgets project is based on. On the other hand, to motivate citizens to use the platform a direct feedback from decision makers to a specific campaign debate would be of immense importance. Nevertheless, consultation reports should be submitted to decision makers and then demonstrated in how they were used in decision-making. This would motivate citizens to be even more active, because they would know exactly how and when their comment or proposal would be used.

On the contrary, according to Chadwick (2006, 202) there are serious doubts that e-government could democratize the public sector. Padgets is actually run by decision makers themselves. Citizens only respond to their messages. Thus one of the critics focuses on the increased potential for governments to control what they communicate to the public. E-government offers political elites a new electronic face which is controlled by the government itself. Executive websites provide new paths for government self-

publicity which allows them to avoid news media. The internet thus offers political elites opportunities to intensify ways by which they sustain positions of power.

The answer to the question on whether the Padgets application could be used in the United States of America is according to the Social Media usage trends survey positive.

The results of the Padgets project show that the project is innovative and user-friendly, especially because it is based on social media. According to the Internet World Usage Statistics there are 2,405,518,376 internet users in the world and 937,407,180 Facebook users (Internet World Stats 2012). In the European Union Facebook is being used by 192,746,920 people out of 503,824,373 EU citizens (Internet World Stats 2012). Because of the fact that Facebook in the US is used by 166,029,240 people out of 313,847,465 citizens we suppose Padgets would be useful also for the US audience (Internet World Stats 2012).

To conclude, at the moment this kind of projects massively financed by the European Commission are all mainly pilot projects but in the future in my opinion they are going to become something usual. Such projects are on one hand paving the way to a more engaged citizenship and stronger participatory democracy in decision-making. On the other hand, these projects should become bottom up oriented and should engage citizens in the setting of policy initatives.

10 DALJŠI POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU

Razvoj družbenih medijev in orodij Spleta 2.0 povzroča socialno-kulturne spremembe. Politična telesa, ki želijo vzpostaviti stik z državljani, morajo zato slediti najnovejšim trendom razvoja. Socialne in informacijske mreže ponujajo potencial za soproduciranje in soustvarjanje političnih odločitev (Escher, Margettes, Petricek in Cox 2006).

Poleg tega je socialni razvoj omogočil nove organizacijske oblike, saj se preko interneta lahko posamezniki organizirajo brez organizacij (Shirky 2008). Kvazi organizacije, kot so skupine na Facebooku, blogi, debatne skupine in soustvarjene dobrine (kot Wikipedia) je težko označiti glede na konvencionalno organizacijsko teorijo. Rezultat tega je, da so vladni uradniki in politiki pogosto zbegani, saj se morajo odzvati na neformalen organiziracijski razvoj. Projekt Padgets je nastal kot odgovor na prazen prostor, ki je nastal okoli te tematike in omogoča vladnim akterjem, da z orodji informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije (IKT) analizirajo nestrukturiran vnos družbe in preko tega napovedujejo možen vpliv politik v luči nastajajočega glasu ljudstva (vox populi).

Glavni cilj magistrske naloge je, da z uporabo metodološkega aparata politične znanosti glede na različne teorije opiše, razišče, problematizira in ponudi predloge za zmanjšanje demokratičnega primanjkljaja z uporabo kanalov novih medijev na primeru aplikacije Padgets.

Avtorica magistrskega dela aktivno sodelujem pri raziskovalnem projektu Padgets, ki ga financira 7. okvirni program Evropske komisije za upravljanje in modeliranje politik s pomočjo informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologij. Cilj projekta je bil razviti prototip orodja, ki bi dovolil politikom, da grafično kreirajo spletne aplikacije, ki so bile nameščene v okolje Splet 2.0. S tem razlogom projekt predstavi koncept *policy gadgetov* (Padget), podobnim pristopu gadget aplikacij in spletu 2.0, ki predstavljajo mikro spletne aplikacije in prepletajo policy sporočila s temeljnim skupinskim znanjem v družbenih medijih (v obliki vsebine in aktivnosti uporabnikov) in interakcije s končnimi uporabniki na popularnih lokacijah spleta 2.0 (kot so družbena omrežja, blogi, forumi, novice itd) z namenom pridobiti in prenesti prispevek teh tehnologij odločevalcem.

Naloga se osredotoča na možnosti zmanjševanja demokratičnega primanjkljaja z uporabo aplikacije v Evropski uniji. Poleg tega naloga preuči tudi stanje uporabe družbenih medijev in orodij eParticipacije v Združenih državah Amerike.

V empiričnem delu naloge smo analizirali aplikacijo Padgets, ki so jo pilotno uporabili Evropski poslanci iz Slovenije, slovenske nevladne organizacije in državljani Slovenije. Evropski poslanci so se preko šestih različnih kampanj posvetovali z državljani o različnih tematikah. Analiza je pokazala motiviranost evropskih poslancev iz Slovenije ter na drugi strani motiviranost državljanov Slovenije in slovenskih nevladnih organizacij za uporabo orodja. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da je projekt Padgets v prvi vrsti pilotni projekt, kjer smo preučevali prve reakcije s strani uporabnikov na obeh straneh – na strani političnih odločevalcev in na strani državljanov. Če bi želeli dolgoročno analizirati vpliv uporabe orodja Padgets na zmanjševanje demokratičnega primanjkljaja, bi morali izvesti longitudinalno študijo.

Različne teorije mednarodnih odnosov prikažejo rezultate projekta Padgets v različni luči.

V raziskavi uporabimo tri teoretične pristope – medvladni pristop, ki temelji na realizmu, nadvladni pristop, ki temelji na liberalizmu, in konstruktivizem. V literaturi o evropskem vladanju sta v ospredju dva glavna modela oziroma pristopa. To sta medvladni in nadvladni pristop, ki razlagata oblikovanje, razvoj in delovanje evropskih institucij.

S strani politične participacije v postopkih odločanja na nivoju Evropske unije medvladni pristop predlaga načelo predstavniške demokracije, medtem ko nadvladni sistem zagovarja načelo neposredne demokracije. Predstavniška demokracija je značilna za konfederalne sisteme s pomembno vlogo nacionalnih držav, medtem ko je neposredna demokracija značilna za federalne sisteme z nadnacionalno močjo (Andersen and Eliasen 1996, 41).

Konstruktivistična teorija se od ostalih teorij razlikuje glede na dejstvo, da je socialni svet lahko viden preko subjektivnih in kolektivnih struktur in procesov, ki se jim pripisuje pomen (Wendt 1995, 855).

E-participacijo in projekt Padgets opredelimo glede na različne karakteristike vsake teorije, kot so pogled na človeško naravo, motive, komunikacijo.

Koncept demokratičnega primanjkljaja izvira iz argumenta, da Evropska unija in njena telesa trpijo zaradi pomanjkanja demokracije in se zdijo nedosegljivi navadnemu državljanu, ker je njihova metoda delovanja tako komplicirana (Europa.eu 2013).

Vprašanje demokratičnega primanjkljaja nastane tudi zaradi pomanjkanja direktne komunikacije in dialoga med državljani in institucijami (Habermas in Krašovec 2000, 71). Razlog za to bi lahko iskali v jeziku, kulturnih, institucionalnih in političnih preprekah znotraj EU (European Commission 2001). Na ravni evropskih institucij so prepreke obstoječega demokratčnega sistema prikazani kot pomanjkanje politične kulture neposrednega komuniciranja in konzultacij evopske javnosti z institucijami. To bi bil lahko vzrok visoke stopnje javnega nezaupanja v institucije Evropske unije (European Commission 2012a).

Demokratična legitimnost institucionalnega sistema je skušala biti izboljšana z večanjem moči Evropskega parlamenta v zvezi z nadzorom nad Komisijo in širjenjem obsega procedure soodločanja.

Lizbonska pogodba je povečala moč Evropskega parlamenta pri zakonodajnem in proračunskem področju in omogoča izvrševanje bolj učinkovitega političnega nadzora nad Evropsko komisijo preko procedure imenovanja predsednika Komisije. Po drugi strani povečuje participacijo državljanov v demokratičnem življenju Unije s tem, da ustvarjajo državljansko pravico iniciative in prepoznavanjem pomembnosti dialoga med evropskimi institucijami in civilno družbo (Official Journal of the European Union 2007).

Poskus zmanjševanja demokratičnega primanjkljaja je formaliziran v Konsolidirani verziji Pogodbe o Evropski uniji in Pogodbi o delovanju Evropske unije (2010), kjer v 10. in 11. členu definira načela reprezentativne in participativne demokracije (Official Journal of the European Union 2010). Dva člena sta namenjena pravicam evropskih državljanov in njihvi možnosti o direktnem vplivanju na odločanje v Evropski uniji. Člen 15 v Pogodbi EU je posvečen pravici dobrega vladanja in zagotavljanju

participacije civilne družbe. Člen 27 je posvečen pravici do peticije (Official Journal of the European Union 2010).

Po Robertu Dahlu (1998) morajo politični voditelji ustvarjati take mednarodne institucije na mednarodnem nivoju, da bi omogočale državljanom participirati v ustvarjanju in sprejemanju odločitev, ki bi imele možnost vplivati na končne odločitve in učinkovit nadzor nad politiko. Temelj za to bi moral biti, da so državljani informirani in zainteresirani za dogodke in konvencije na mednarodnem nivoju (Dahl 1998).

Od leta 1979 je bil Evropski parlament neposredno izvoljen s strani državljanov Evropske unije. Člani Evropskega parlamenta so izvoljeni za dobo 5 let. Trenutni parlament je bil izvoljen v juniju 2009, ima 766 poslancev iz 28 držav članic Evropske unije. Pogodba določa število članov na državo glede na proporcionalni sistem števila prebivalcev s tem, da nobena država ne sme imeti manj kot 6 predstavnikov, niti več kot 96 (Europa.eu 2013).

Rezultati Eurobarometra spomladi 2012 (European Commission 2012a) kažejo, da se je zaupanje v Evropsko unijo zmanjšalo od jeseni 2011 in je zdaj najnižje nasploh (31 %, -3 odstotne točke).

Vzrokov za nizko zaupanje v Evropsko unijo je veliko. Eden od vzrokov je lahko strah, kako se spopasti z resno ekonomsko situacijo v državah članicah EU. Hkrati ostajajo problematična vprašanja demokratičnega in legitimizacijskega primanjkljaja.

V nadaljevanju se lotimo pregleda razvoja eParticipacije v Združenih državah Amerike. Zvezna vlada ZDA je bila ena prvih, ki je povezala nove tehnologije s širokim programom administrativnih reform pod nadzorom *National Performance Review*, ki se je začel leta 1993. V letu 2000 je zvezna vlada zagnala portal *Firstgov*. V programu eUpravljanja v ZDA je dominirala izvršna veja oblasti (Chadwick 2006, 180).

V letu 1997 je Clintonova administracija ustanovila *Access America* z namenom prevetritve odnosa med vlado in državljani (Chadwick 2006, 181). E-upravljanje je postalo del načrtov že v letu 1980, saj se je morala vlada prilagoditi informacijski dobi. Internet je pripomogel k ustvarjanju javne birokracije, ki je usmerjena k državljanom (ibid.).

Težko je postaviti definicijo eUpravljanja, ker se stalno razvija in ker se pomen razlikuje glede na normativno perspektivo (Chadwick 2006, 179). Glede na Gartnerja (v Seifert 2003, 2) je eUpravljanje optimizacija storitev, participacije in upravljanja preko transformacije notranjih in zunanjih odnosov preko tehnologije, interneta in novih medijev.

Pomemben vidik eUpravljanja je njegov potencial, da omogoča interakcijo med državljani in vladnim aparatom. To bi preoblikovalo odnos med javno birokracijo in tistimi, ki jim služi. Državljani ostajajo državljani in niso samo potrošniki. To je odvisno od stopnje interaktivnosti vladnih spletnih strani (Hacker 1996 in Chadwick 2006, 197). Glavne prednosti eUpravljanja morajo biti zmanjšanje stroškov, koordinacija, učinkovitost in demokractizacija (Chadwick 2006, 201). Povečevanje participacije in vpliva državljanov na politike se zdi več kot zmanjševanje stroškov in izboljševanje učinkovitosti znotraj agencij in vladnih uradov (Chadwick in May 2003; Musso et al 2000).

Kljub temu je veliko dvomov, da bi eUpravljanje lahko demokratiziralo javni sektor. Eden izmed kritikov se usmerja k povečanemu potencialu, da bi vlade nadzorovale, kako komunicirajo z javnostjo. E-upravljanje ponuja političnim elitam novo elektronsko podobo, ki je nadzorovana s strani same vlade. Spletne strani zagotavljajo nove poti za samoobjavljanje, kar jim omogoča, da se izognejo medijskim novicam. Internet tako političnim elitam omogoča intenziviranje poti, v katerih ohranjajo pozicijo moči (Chadwick 2006, 202).

Odprti vir ne vzpostavlja samo varčevanja, ampak opolnomoči tehnologijo javnega sektorja, da spremeni in prilagodi sisteme in preko spletnih diskusij vpliva na poglede državljanov o tem, kako bi morali ti sistemi delovati (Chadwick 2006. 200).

Funkciji predstavništva in posvetovanja (*deliberation*), ki naj bi ohranjali zakonodajna telesa, sta odvzeti s strani javne birokracije. Če bi vladne službe nadaljevale z ustanavljanjem njihovih lastnih spletnih forumov, bi postala zakonodajna veja marginalizirana (Chadwick 2006, 203).

Po Trechselu (et al. 2002) je eParticipacija uporaba IKT za omogočanje in opolnomočenje participacije državljanov in demokratičnega procesa sprejemanja

odločitev. E-participacija lahko zavzame različne tehnike (Trechsel et al. 2002):

- 1. za povečanje transparentnosti političnega procesa;
- 2. za izboljševanje neposrednega vključevanja in participacijo državljanov;
- 3. za izboljševanje kvalitete oblikovanja mnenj z odpiranjem novih prostorov informacij in posvetovanja.

V kontekstu zmanjševanja demokratičnega primanjkljaja Evropske unije in njenih institucij v smislu opolnomočenja neposredne in interaktivne vključitve državljanov je bila sprejeta Bela knjiga o Evropski ustavi (European Commission 2001). Glavna načela Bele knjige so načela dobrega upravljanja, ki so odprtost, participacija, učinkovitost, odgovornost in koherentnost.

Kongres ZDA je začel uporabljati socialne medije veliko hitreje kot ostale tehnologije, kot so e-mail, spletne strani in fakse. Integracija družbenih medijev v delovanje kongresa vnaša pospeševanje procesov in spodbujanje inovacij (Congress Foundation 2011).

Na temelju študij o uporabi družbenih medijev v ZDA in glede na rezultate projekta Padgets smo sklepali, pod katerimi pogoji bi lahko bil Padgets uporabljen v ZDA za komunikacijo med kongresom ZDA in civilno družbo.

Po Chadwicku in Mayu (2006) so spletne strani v ZDA in Kanadi bolj interaktivne kot spletne strani v zahodni Evropi. Trenutno pa Evropska unija investira več v razvoj projektov, ki razvijajo eParticipacijo. Eden izmed projektov je tudi projekt Padgets, ki je tudi glavna tema naše raziskave.

Glede na opis projekta Padgets je cilj projekta poskrbeti za široko participacijo državljanov v demokratičnem procesu. Na eni strani omogoča sodelovanje državljanov v procesu odločanja, na drugi strani pa povečuje občutek odgovornosti vodilnih do volilnega telesa. Cilj projekta Padgets je oživiti predstavniško demokracijo, ker se ukvarja z izzivi, kako vključiti vsebino v odločitve državljanov in kako vključiti vsebino v formalne zakonodajne postopke, kako izboljšati njihovo kvaliteto in s tem zvečati kvaliteto in legitimnost.

Za nalogo smo preučili vlogo aplikacije Padgets s pomočjo slovenskih evropskih poslancev, slovenskih nevladnih organizacij in državljanov. Evropski poslanci so preko Padgetsa vzpostavili različne kampanje in zbirali informacije o različnih tematikah. Raziskava preučuje uporabo in motive slovenskih državljanov in slovenskih nevladnih organizacij.

Platforma Padgets predstavlja most med vladnimi institucionalnimi okviri, ki jim omogoča dvosmerno komunikacijo med politiki in družbo.

Bistvo te aplikacije je, da zmanjšuje razdaljo med politiki in družbo. Uporaba družbenih Padgetov omogoča boljše informiranje v procesu sprejemanja političnih odločitev z zagotavljanjem jasne in dinamične vizije mnenj in prioritet različnih deležnikov. S tem ko političnim odločevalcem ponudimo priviligiran kanal za poslušanje glasu družbe tam, kjer si družba želi izraziti mnenje, Padget omogoča inovativno pot zbiranja, evalviranja in odločanja.

Padgets omogoča spremljanje in komentiranje kampanj, ter informiranje o delu politikov prek komentarjev in odgovorov. Na tak način lahko državljani neposredno vplivajo na proces sprejemanja odločitev in na odločitve same.

Če državljani konstruktivno sodelujejo tako, da dobijo evropski poslanci veliko uporabnih odgovorov, lahko delo poslancev postane bližje željam državljanov in njihovim potrebam biti bliže zahtevam družbe.

V raziskavi smo skušali odgovoriti na naslednja raziskovalna vprašanja:

- 1. Pod katerimi pogoji, glede na različne teorije, lahko proces sprejemanja odločitev v Evropski uniji postane bolj vključujoč z uporabo novih tehnologij?
- 2. Ali lahko aplikacija Padgets izboljša komunikacijo med evropskimi poslanci in civilno družbo in ali lahko s tem zmanjša demokratični primanjkljaj Evropske unije?
- 3. Kakšna pričakovanja imajo evropski poslanci in kakšna so pričakovanja civilne družbe?
- 4. Ali bi lahko bila aplikacija Padgets uporabna v ZDA glede na različne raziskave o družbenih medijih?

Za predstavitev odgovorov na raziskovalna vprašanja smo uporabili dva temeljna pristopa – teoretičnega in praktičnega. Odgovori na raziskovalna vprašanja temeljijo na metodološkem pristopu pojasnjevanja in razumevanja. Z metodološkim pristopom pojasnjevanja smo projekt Padgets razložili skozi kategorije politične moči, odločanja in političnega diskurza. Prek metodološkega pristopa pojasnjevanja in razumevanja je projekt Padgets analiziran skozi kategorije politične moči, odločevalskega procesa in političnega diskurza. Metodološki pristop razumevanja je bil uporabljen v kontekstu analize in kvalitativnih opisov Evropskega političnega okvira (demokratični primanjkljaj EU, informatizacija Evropskega vladanja in process sprejemanja odločitev). Slednji temelji na interpretativni logiki znanstvenega raziskovanja na predpostavki kombiniranega učinka različnih nivojev in elementov analize:

- analiza in interpretacija primarnih virov (politični dokumenti, bele knjige s poudarkom na funkcionalni interpretaciji);
- analiza in interpretacija sekundarnih virov (literatura, raziskava, teorije demokracije, teorije demokratičnega primanjkljaja);
- opisna metoda (opis aplikacije Padgets);
- kvalitativna in kvantitativna študija primera analiza komunikacije (odločevalski proces), proces z določenimi spremenljivkami, kot so število sporočil s strani 4 sodelujočih evropskih poslank, število interakcij z državljani in nevladnimi organizacijami, polstrukturirani intervjuji s 4 sodelujočimi evropskimi poslankami iz Slovenije, ter predstavniki slovenskih nevladnih organizacij, ki so sodelovali pri projektu Padgets.

V empiričnem delu smo s študijo primera predstavili, kako in pod katerimi pogoji je aplikacija Padgets uporabljena s strani političnih odločevalcev. V našem primeru smo preučili pričakovanja s pomočjo polstrukturiranega intervjuja preko osebnega stika (oz. preko Skypa). Preučili pa smo tudi pričakovanja in motive predstavnikov slovenskih nevladnih organizacj in državljanov, ki so uporabili aplikacijo.

Z opisno metodo smo opisali dejstva in procese orodja Padgets. V našem primeru smo merili število interakcij, število všečkov, število pozitivnih in negativnih komentarjev o posamezni Padgets kampanji s strani evropskih poslancev iz Slovenije. S pomočjo intervjujev smo pridobili informacije o motivih za uporabo in izkušnjah z aplikacijo.

Politike, discipline in akterji so izolirani med sabo zaradi vrzeli med družbo in upravljanjem. V ta namen je bil izveden projekt Padgets, ki je bil financiran s strani Evropske komisije. Padgets je raziskovalni projekt, ki uporablja družbene medije za doseganje državljanov. Preko tega orodja poteka razprava o oblikovanju politik preko različnih medijev in orodij, ki nato procesira informacije preko spletnih orodij za podporo odločitvam.

Na naše raziskovalno vprašanje, pod katermimi pogoji glede na različne teorije lahko proces sprejemanja odločitev v Evropski uniji postane bolj vključujoč z uporabo tehnologije, lahko odgovorimo z naslednjimi pojasnili.

Splošna definicija policy konteksta in institucionalnih ter družbenih akterjev mora biti jasna. Prav tako morajo biti jasno definirana policy sporočila in vprašanja. Pomemben pogoj za uspešno izvedeno spletno komuniciranje je tudi kvalitetno izgrajena socialna mreža v kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih okvirjih. Pomemben vidik pa je dvosmerno interaktivno komuniciranje z državljani. Poleg vseh pogojev je eden izmed najpomembnejših tudi družbena relevantnost tematike, ki neposredno zadeva državljane.

Glede na medvladni pristop, ki temelji na realistični teoriji, bi model eParticipacije, kot je Padgets, lahko predstavljal samo »dimno zaveso« v smislu, da so politiki videni kot tisti, ki se zanimajo za potrebe in mnenja državljanov, ampak na koncu skrbijo le za lastne privatne interese. Interes za dialog pokažejo, saj želijo, da bi ljudje mislili, da želijo prisluhniti njihovemu mnenju in predlogom, vendar izključno zaradi svojega interesa, da bi bili ponovno izvoljeni.

Glede na teorijo procesov eParticipacije bi Padgets lahko bil motivacija za zmanjšanje tveganj in povečanje koristi med posvetovanjem s civilno družbo, vendar se v tem primeru demokratični primanjkljaj ne more zmanjšati z uporabo orodij eParticipacije.

V skladu z nadnacionalnim pristopom je eParticipacija lahko legitimna kategorija v novi liberalno usmerjeni mednarodni politiki. Iniciative za eParticipacijo morajo izvirati iz civilne družbe in javnega mnenja v obliki pristopa »od spodaj navzgor« glede na temeljni element liberalne teorije, ki je v sodelovanju in podrejenosti splošne volje. Na

primer, nevladne organizacije naj se združijo v platforme in transnacionalne organizacije z namenom, da pridobijo moč in vpliv na svetovnem dnevnem redu. Glede na nadnacionalno teorijo bi morala biti eParticipacija uporabljena kot promotor demokratičnega upravljanja, ki predstavlja glede na liberalistično teorijo edino pot do svetovnega miru.

Glede na konstruktivistično teorijo eParticipacija izvira iz participativnih idej demokracije. To pomeni, da participativna ideja vključuje elemente neposredne in predstavniške demokracije. To vodi k temu, da bi morali imeti državljani aktivno vlogo v procesu sprejemanja odločitev in v oblikovanju mnenj. Ta koncept poudarja demokratično participacijo v liberalnem smislu, ki temelji na predstavniškem sistemu. Glavni problem izvira iz konteksta in se kaže v možnosti participacije državljanov, ki je v večini omejena na aktivnosti volitev (Zittel 2001, 433–470).

Če pogledamo empirični del naloge, je glavni problem še vedno motivacija ljudi za uporabo platforme. Kot vsi EU državljani, ki so direktno in indirektno povezani z evropskimi zadevami, bi morala imeti Padgets platforma široko uporabo. Padgets platforma je uporabna pri doseganju komentarjev, problemov in predlogov, ki bi morali biti uporabni s strani odločevalcev. Na eni strani bi moralo biti uporabnikom jasno, kako se uporablja orodje Padgets s strani odločevalcev ter kako in kdaj slednji uporabljajo komentarje in predloge.

Da bi odgovorili na raziskovalno vprašanje, če aplikacija Padgets izboljšuje komunikacijo med evropskimi poslanci in civilno družbo in če se s tem zmanjša demokratični primanjkljaj Evropske unije, lahko odgovorimo z upoštevanjem Digitalne agende 2020 in financiranjem IKT projektov s strani EU.

Temelj uporabe novih tehnologij, ko se vključuje javnost v procese sprejemanja odločitev, je s procesi sprejemanja odločitev s strani evropskih institucij razumljen zelo tehnokratsko. Politika informacijske družbe v EU in na področju politike eUpravljanja vidi rešitev za demokratičen primanjkljaj v evropskem vladanju in v procesih intenzivne informatizacije, ki temeljijo na ustanovitvi širokopasovne informacijske infrastrukture, interoperabilnosti, interaktivnih javnih storitvah, javnih internetnih točkah, zmanjšanju digitalnega razkoraka, širjenjem dostopa do javno dostopnih informacij, cenejši

administraciji, omogočanju odprtosti storitev eUpravljanja in transparentnosti odločevalskih evropskih institucij (Evropska komisija 2013).

Evropske volitve beležijo nizko volilno udeležbo in vključevanje v strankarsko politiko. Razlike med pričakovanji, ki izvirajo iz socialno ekonomskih razlik, so velike. Konceptualno Evropska unija razume izključitev digitalnega razkoraka s strani predstavniškega modela, ki opiše EU kot nezadovoljstvo širšega spektra z obstoječimi demokratičnimi postopki. Za javno administracijo, za katero je značilno veliko konfliktnih demokratičnih zahtev, je zelo komplicirano in zahteva inovativno uporabo IKT in prilagajanje metod in procesov (European Commission Directorate General for Communications Networks, Content and Technology 2013).

Po Hagueju in Loaderju (2001) demokratični in legitimizacijski primanjkljaj ne more biti zmanjšan samo z informatizacijo evropske družbe, ampak z njeno komunitizacijo, ki mora temeljiti na modelih deliberativne, participativne in asociativne demokracije, splošne vključitve državljanov v javne in politične diskusije ter procese sprejemanja odločitev.

Evropska informacijska družba temelji na neoliberalnem konceptu evropske liberalne politike (Follesdal in Hix 2006, 6), ki temelji na imperativu zagotavljanja globalne ekonomske rasti, pridobljene z intenzivnim razvojem in investiranjem v raziskave na področju IKT sektorja. Tukaj so demokracija in demokratične kvalitete potisnjene na stranski tir. Tako lahko zaključimo, da Evropska komisija razume eParticipacijo kot tehnični izziv in ne kot socialno-politični izziv. To lahko potrdimo, saj Evropska komisija financira vedno več projektov, katerih cilj je zmanjšanje demokratičnega primanjkljaja.

Ustanovitev participativne demokracije je v prvi fazi proces oblikovanja politik, ki se srečuje s preprekami, izhajajočimi iz tehnokratskega razumevanja politične demokracije.

Odgovor na naše naslednje raziskovalno vprašanje, če aplikacija Padgets prispeva k zmanjševanju demokratičnega primanjkljaja, je negativen, ker je projekt institucionalno vgrajen v tehnokratsko strukturo Evropske komisije.

Pregled spletnih posvetovanj potrjuje, da učinek aplikacije Padgets na zmanjšanje demokratičnega primanjkljaja ni jasen. Aplikacija meri število pozitivnih in negativnih komentarjev, število všečkov in rezultatov anket, medtem ko točnih rezultatov s strani evropskih poslancev nimamo. V intervjujih in vprašalnikih evropski poslanci poročajo, da se jim zdi ideja zelo uporabna, a da tehnično aplikacija ni vedno delovala primerno. Glede na to bi lahko zaključili, da ima Padgets jasen demokratični učinek z vidika dostopnosti in transparentnosti procedur, vključenih akterjev in rezultatov, ampak ne z vidika političnih odnosov, ker končne odločitve in končnih dokumentov ne delijo z javnostjo.

Na drugo vprašanje bi lahko odgovorili s pregledom tehničnih indikatorjev projekta Padgets, ki kaže, da projekt ne prispeva k demokratičnemu odločanju, ker ne izvira iz deliberativnih načel vključevanja evropskih državljanov v elektronske posvetovalne procese glede na medvladni model evropskega vladanja.

Po navedbah Fishkina (1995, 178–181) deliberativna demokracija predvideva, da demokracija ne pomeni zgolj štetja glasov, všečkov, pozitivnih in negativnih izjav, ampak tudi njihovo transformacijo, ki je rezultat prostih posvetovanj. Ta koncept poudarja pomembnost formiranja javnega mnenja, ki je rezultat kvalitetnih diskusij, kjer se lahko spopadajo in usklajujejo različna mnenja in argumenti. Deliberativna demokracija pomeni, da mora pred sprejetjem odločitve, ki je pomembna za javnost, potekati interaktivna razprava. Deliberativna demokracija pomeni, da morajo biti pred sprejetjem odločitve javnega pomena informacije posredovane in upoštevane preko interaktivnih razprav. To pomeni, da rezultat posvetovanj ne pomeni zgolj izmenjave pogledov, ampak tudi konkretne kompromise, ki temeljijo na predpostavki, da skupina ljudi, ki sooči svoje ideje in interese, sprejme konsenz, ki je izgrajen na skupnem znanju (Fishkin 1995, 178–181; Perczynski 2001, 73).

Po drugi strani je analiza projekta Padets pokazala, da debate Spleta 2.0 lahko ustvarijo tiste politične odnose, ki opolnomočijo legitimnost javnega mnenja evropskih javnih elit.

Pomembno vprašanje je vzpostavljeno pri politiki interneta – kako zmanjšati demokratične omejitve spletnih debat Evropskega parlamenta. S povečano vlogo

Evropske unije in njenega neposrednega vpliva na kakovost življenja ljudi se večajo tudi pričakovanja in interesi za sodelovanje pri sprejemanju parlamentarnih odločitev. To nas vodi k razmišljanju o tem, kako odgovoriti na pričakovanja državljanov in kako oblikovati komunikacijske procese, ki bi omogočili boljši demokratični vpliv na sprejemanje evropskih odločitev. Demokratična politika ni osnovana le na nacionalnih državah, ampak je razširjena tudi na evropski nivo. Pri tem je mogoče najti odgovor na dilemo na dveh stopnjah – tehnološki in institucionalni (Delakorda 2009, 161).

Na institucionalno-demokratični stopnji je glavni element Evropske unije, kako razviti svoje lastne mehanizme za demokratično odločanje in legitimizacijo, ki izvira iz različnih definicij demokracije (predstavniška na stopnji Evropskega parlamenta in participativno-deliberativna na stopnji Evropske komisije) glede na različne karakteristike Evropske unije. Samo predstavniški model demokracije na EU nivoju ne bo povečal svoje demokratične legitimitete (Newman 1996, 185).

Evropska unija delno identificira ta problem, ko vključi načelo participativne demokracije v Lizbonsko pogodbo, ki spreminja pogodbo o Evropski uniji in Pogodbo o ustanovitvi Evropske skupnosti (2007). Načelo participativne demokracije odpira možnost za uporabo spletnih tehnologij tako, da vključi državljane v procese odločanja. Po zavrnitvi Pogodbe o Evropski ustavi je Evropska komisija pričela z vključevanjem načel deliberativne demokracije v svoje komunikacijske politike. Evropska komisija se je odločila podpreti razvoj IKT tehnologije s financiranjem velikega števila projektov 7. okvirnega programa, ki razvija interaktivna orodja eParticipacije. Kljub temu je Komisija soočena z razvojem in implementacijo primanjkljaja eParticipacije.

Odgovor na vprašanje, kakšna so pričakovanja evropskih poslancev iz Slovenije in na drugi strani pričakovanja državljanov Slovenije, podajo rezultati anket, ki kažejo, da je Padgets platforma prijazna uporabnikom in se uporabnik na drugi strani počuti domače, saj lahko diskutira neposredno prek svojega Facebook profila. Spletni forumi so še vedno atraktivni za uporabnike, ampak glavni današnji trend so družbeni mediji, na katerih temelji projekt Padgets. Za motivacijo državljanov bi bila zelo pomembna neposredna in hitra povratna informacija s strani politikov. Javnosti bi morala biti predstavljena poročila o rezultatu določene debate in poročila o uporabi njihovih predlogov. To bi motiviralo državljane, da bi bili še bolj aktivni, saj bi tako vedeli, kako

in kdaj je njihov komentar ali predlog uporabljen.

Glede na navedbe Chadwicka (2006, 202) lahko govorimo o resnih dvomih, da bi lahko eParticipacija in eUprava demokratizirali javni sektor. Padgets je v resnici moderiran in upravljan s strani političnih odločevalcev. Državljani se samo odzivajo na njihova sporočila. Eden izmed kritikov se osredotoča na povečan potencial vlade za nadzor nad tem, kaj sporočajo javnosti. eUpravljanje ponuja političnim elitam novo elektronsko podobo, ki je nadzorovana s strani vlade same. Spletne strani zagotavljajo nove poti za samopromocijo, kar jim omogoča, da se izognejo medijem. Internet tako ponuja političnim elitam možnost, da še povečajo kanale, preko katerih ohranjajo svojo pozicijo moči.

Odgovor na vprašanje, če bi bila glede na trend uporabe družbenih medijev aplikacija Padgets lahko uporabljena tudi v ZDA, je pozitiven.

Rezultati projekta Padgets kažejo, da je projekt inovativen in uporabnikom prijazen, še posebej, ker temelji na uporabi družbenih medijev. Glede na statistiko uporabe svetovnega spleta je bilo v letu 2012 2.405.518.376 internetnih uporabnikov in 937.407.180 uporabnikov Facebooka (Internet World Stats 2012). V Evropski uniji je 192.746.920 ljudi in 503.824.373 EU državljanov uporabnikov Facebooka (Internet World Stats 2012). Glede na dejstvo, da od skupno 313.847.465 prebivalcev ZDA 166.029.240 ljudi uporablja Facebook, bi lahko predvidevali, da je Padgets uporaben tudi za ameriško javnost (Internet World Stats 2012).

Trenutno so IKT projekti masovno financirani s strani Evropske komisije. Vsi projekti so večinoma pilotni, ampak verjetno bodo v prihodnosti postali nekaj vsakdanjega. Taki projekti tlakujejo pot za bolj vključujoče državljanstvo in močnejšo participativno demokracijo. Kakorkoli, vsi projekti bi morali uporabljati pristop od spodaj navzgor in bolj upoštevati glasove državljanov v določanju policy iniciativ.

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Annex A: Piloting Campaigns

Results of the evaluation of citizens interacting in the Slovenian pilot through Social Media

The results show that the majority of respondents totally agree or agree with the specified new communication channels.

Table A.1: Detailed results of the evaluation by citizens (Slovenian pilots)

	Totally	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally
	agree				disagree
The whole concept and method provide	es an effect	ive and use	ful way for	·	
communicating with government	22%	48%	11%	15%	4%
agencies and participating in the					
formulation of public policies by					
them					
getting informed on important public	46%	35%	8%	11%	
policies under formulation by					
government agencies					
getting informed on other citizens'	28%	40%	24%	8%	
opinions and suggestions on such					
public policies under formulation					
expressing my opinions and	31%	52%	14%	3%	
suggestions on such public policies					
under formulation					
influencing the formulation of public	15%	34%	33%	18%	
policies by government agencies					
Answer the following questions conc	erning the	General At	ttitude tow	ards this ne	ew way of
communication					
My general impression from the	25%	50%	18%	7%	
whole concept and method is					
positive					

	Totally	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally
	agree				disagree
It is a better way of participating in	28%	46%	18%	7%	
the formulation of public policies					
than the usual discussion forums					
operated by many government					
agencies in their own websites					
Answer the following questions cond	cerning the	Future Int	entions ab	out this ne	w way of
communication					
I would like to use again this new	14%	46%	32%	7%	
channel of communicating with					
government agencies and					
participating in the formulation of					
public policies by them					
I would recommend to other citizens	25%	50%	14%	11%	
this channel of communicating with					
government agencies and					
participating in the formulation of					
public policies by them					
TOTAL	26,6 %	45%	19%	10%	0,4%

Source: Polajnar et al. (2013).

Karmen Špiljak – Assistant to Ms Mojca Kleva, MeP

Ease of use

General impressions of the ease of use of the system in more depth.

Regarding the ease of use Ms Špiljak claims the PADGETS platform is very easy to use when publishing statuses and messages. However she would recommend character counting and a possibility to publish longer tweets.

The main motivation to use the PADGETS platform is in her opinion the possibility of simultaneous publishing and gathered statistics.

Ms Špiljak agrees that the system was generally easy to use. She agrees that it was also easy to learn how to use the system. She totally agrees that it was easy to monitor continuously interactions of citizens with the content (comments, likes, dislikes). In her

opinion it was easy to process citizens' interactions with the content (comments, likes, dislikes) and calculate various metrics/analyses.

Ms Špiljak agrees the system was easy to use to analyze the textual comments of the citizens using various text mining techniques, and extract their sentiment (positive or negative) and the main terms/topics mentioned. In her opinion the system was quite helpful for her campaign in terms of reaching wider audiences (more citizens).

Usefulness

What are the benefits that PADGETS brings to the policy process?

Ms Špiljak agrees that the system was quite helpful for the campaign in terms of drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' awareness on the topic/policy dealt with in this campaign. She agrees that the system was helpful for her campaign in terms of drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' interest in the topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.

She says the system was quite helpful in terms of drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' acceptance of the policy dealt with in this campaign.

The system was also helpful in terms of identifying the particular problems/issues that exist concerning the topic/policy dealt with in this campaign. It was also quite helpful for the campaign in terms of identifying possible solutions to these problems/issues. Ms Špiljak visits to the system were often in order to get informed on the citizens' interaction with and feedback on the content that was posted to various Social Media.

Ms Kleva, Slovenian MeP also often replied to comments posted by citizens. In her opinion the PADGETS application can initially be applied in small scale pilot applications by public agencies in order to assess its capabilities, advantages and disadvantages before proceeding to a larger scale application.

Future prospects

What future scenarios are expected in the Padgets usage?

For the future she would recommend an improved usability and user generated content.

Jernej Amon Prodnik, supervisor of communications science studies at Faculty of Social Sciences

Ease of use

General impressions of the ease of use of the system in more detail.

"From the information I've been able to gather the tool was easy to use and the public it is aimed at (especially the younger generation) should not have major problems with it. I believe the tool is useful and can be incorporated in the newest Social Media which increases its accessibility and overall reach."

Future intentions

Which are the main motivations/drivers in favour of and also the main obstacles to the larger scale application of the Padgets platform and the concept in the policy formulation processes of the public agencies?

"I feel the main motivation when it comes to the implementation should be including the wider public into the policy-making process by taking opinions of the public more seriously. This also brings a major problem with it, namely, whether the political experts and decision makers really want an increased political participation, as it might happen it is simply an empty phrase."

Usefulness

What are the benefits that Padgets brings to the policy process?

"Increasing political awareness of citizens, strengthening democracy which seems to be faltering in recent years, and widening access to the public sphere for the citizens that have problems having their voices heard.

Motivations

What are the reasons that foster the Padgets usage in large-scale applications? What are the hurdles that decision makers have to deal with?

"Usage should be based on an increasing awareness that there is an urgent political need of including and gathering opinions of the citizens that will help to surmount what some authors call the legitimacy crisis of the existing system. The key hurdles would be analyzing these opinions and implementing them in the actually existing policies, as experience from such projects tells us that the decision makers often do not find this possible or viable."

Future prospects

What future scenarios are expected in the Padgets usage?

"It is hard to tell, it depends on the wider social context and tendencies that will prevail in how the political process will be carried out in the future. Hopefully it is taken seriously."

Simon Delakorda, director INePA

Ease of use

General impressions of the ease of use of the system in more detail.

The system dashboard is easy to use and intuitive. The main issues are login and privacy. Also, additional information about reports metrics (what is being measured and visualized) would be beneficial.

Future intentions

Which are the main motivations/drivers in favour of and also the main obstacles to a larger scale application of the Padgets platform and the concept in the policy formulation processes of the public agencies?

The main motivation/driver is the Padgets potential to initiate a strategically planned campaign via social media in order to access public sentiment on policy message backed by an advanced analytic. With having a certain degree of quality, the results can be useful for decision makers, activists, journalists and experts.

The Padgets strongest point is at the same time its main weakness.

The main barrier in the Padgets platform is the on-line privacy issue. The internet user can login via his/her personal social media account on Facebook, Twitter or Blogger. Two problems arise from this: (1) the privacy issue and (2) the digital inequality (universality) issue. The privacy issue is related to allowing control of the Padgets over

Facebook user behaviour, e.g. agreement that the Padgets can post on the user's behalf, manage user's pages, access friend lists, or access the user's App insights. This can lead to forced data-mining of the Facebook user behaviour. As a result, the Facebook user has to establish a high degree of trust in the Padgets platform in order to use it with ease. Digital inequality is another issue as many internet users do not use Facebook and Twitter social networks or use these for private, non-political purposes only.

On the other hand, on-line social media has very limited capacities for a meaningful public deliberation due to the slacktivism and clicktivism effect. Also, social media users are not representative of the general population and there is already an information overload present.

Last but not least, the Padgets platform is facing the same issues, deriving from the representative model of democratic participation in a digital environment (apathy, distrust, low impact, complexity etc.), as any other EU funded e-participation project.

Usefulness

What are the benefits that the Padgets brings to the policy process?

Padgets brings benefits to stakeholders active in the supply side of the policy process, seeking feedback from target groups. Besides benefitting from the easy-to-use channelling of issues and topics through social media (e.g. agenda set up), advanced content data mining and analytics are offered in order to access results of the policy process.

Motivations

What are the reasons that foster the Padgets usage in large-scale applications? What are the hurdles that decision makers have to deal with?

The main reasons for the Padgets usage in large-scale applications of decision makers are to identify and analyze the social media users' positions and sentiments around policy topics decision makers are working on (a sort of opinion polling). However, political and societal pre-conditions need to be met for that purpose, such as a critical mass of active citizens motivated to use the Padgets and to recognize its direct benefits from its results. On the other hand, the main hurdles decision makers have to deal with are to invest a considerable amount of human resources in order to conceptualize a

meaningful campaign, promote it, provide regular feedbacks to participants, analyze results, have political capacities to implement them during the policy process and provide evidence of that to the Padgets users.

Future prospects

What future scenarios are expected in the Padgets usage?

We recommend building a sustainable social media user community around the Padgets platform, considering the serious gaming concept, embedding Padgets on the decision makers' websites, and also developing more user-friendly visualization tools as part of the Sentiment Analysis, but first and foremost, enabling universal access to the Padgets platform also for non-social media and non-Google Internet users.

Annex B: Questionnaire for the evaluation of the Platform for decision makers

Table B.1

1) Answer the following questions concerning the EASE OF USE of the PADGETS web dashboard

	1 [Totally disagree]	2 [Disagree]	3 [Neutral]	4 [Agree]	5 [Totally agree]
The system was in general easy to use.				100%	
It was easy to learn how to use the system.				50%	50%
The system had good error handling and recovery capabilities.			75%	25%	
The system had good error prevention capabilities through warning messages.		50%	50%		

2) In particular

	1 [Totally disagree]	2 [Disagree]	3 [Neutral]	4 [Agree]	5 [Totally agree]
It was easy to create a campaign, add various types of content to it (e.g. text, video, images) and post them to various Social Media.			50%	50%	
It was easy to monitor continuously the interactions of citizens with the above content (e.g. comments, likes, dislikes, etc.).				50%	50%
It was easy to process citizens' interactions with the above content (e.g. comments, likes, dislikes, etc.) and calculate various metrics/analytics.			50%	25%	25%
It was easy to analyze the textual comments of the citizens using various text mining techniques, and extract their sentiment (positive or negative) and the main terms/topics mentioned.			50%	25%	25%
It was easy to run the simulations and calculate future forecasts of policy awareness, interest and adoption.		50%	5'%		

3) Answer the following questions concerning the USEFULNESS of PADGETS

	1 [Totally disagree]	2 [Disagree]	3 [Neutral]	4 [Agree]	5 [Totally agree]
The metrics/analytics calculated by the system were quite useful.			25%	25%	50%
The results of the analysis of the textual comments of the citizens through text mining techniques were quite useful.			25%	50%	25%
The forecasts calculated by the simulations were quite useful.			100%		

4) The system was quite helpful for my campaign in terms of...

	1 [Totally disagree]	2 [Disagree]	3 [Neutral]	4 [Agree]	5 [Totally agree]
time saving.		25%	50%	25%	
cost saving.			25%	25%	50%
reaching wider audiences (=more citizens).				25%	75%
reaching specific targeted groups of citizens I am interested in.				50%	50%
reaching citizens' groups not usually participating in political life.		25%	25%	25%	25%
drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' awareness about the topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.				50%	50%
drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' interest in the topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.			75%	25%	
drawing conclusions about the degree of citizens' acceptance of the policy dealt with in this campaign.			50%	25%	25%
collecting high quality feedback/knowledge from the citizens on the particular topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.			25%	50%	25%
identifying the particular problems/issues that exist concerning the topic/policy dealt with in this campaign.			50%	25%	25%
identifying possible solutions to these problems/issues.		25%	25%	25%	25%
identifying advantages/disadvantages of these possible solutions.		25%	25%	25%	25%

5) Answer the following questions concerning the GENERAL ATTITUDE towards PADGETS

	1	2	3	4	5
	[Totally	[Disagree]	[Neutral]	[Agree]	[Totally
	disagree]				agree]
My general impression from the whole PADGETS platform and concept is positive.				75%	25%

6) Answer the following questions concerning the USE of the PADGETS web dashboard

	1	2	3	4	5
	[Totally	[Disagree]	[Neutral]	[Agree]	[Totally
	disagree]				agree]
I visited the system often in order to get informed on the citizens' interaction with and feedback on the content I had posted to various Social Media.			25%	50%	25%
I often replied to comments posted by citizens.			75%	25%	

7) Answer the following questions concerning the FUTURE INTENTIONS about PADGETS

	1	2	3	4	5
	[Totally	[Disagree]	[Neutral]	[Agree]	[Totally
	disagree]				agree]
I would like to use PADGETS in my future				50%	50%
campaigns.					
I would recommend PADGETS to other decision				50%	50%
makers.					

8) Answer the following questions concerning the FUTURE PROSPECTS of PADGETS

The whole PADGETS platform and concept ...

	1 [Totally disagree]	2 [Disagree]	3 [Neutral]	4 [Agree]	5 [Totally agree]
is a better way of sharing with citizens various public policy related topics than the other existing 'physical' (i.e. through 'physical' meetings) or 'electronic' ways of sharing with citizens public policy related topics.			25%	50%	25%
is compatible with the policy formulation processes of public agencies.			25%	50%	25%
its practical application by public agencies decision makers does not require much effort.			25%	25%	50%
it can be initially applied in small scale pilot applications by public agencies in order to assess its capabilities, advantages and disadvantages, before proceeding to a larger scale application.				50%	50%
is an innovation highly visible to other public agencies, decision makers and the citizens in general, which can create positive impressions and comments.			25%	50%	25%

Source: Alvertis, Bompa and Loukis (2013).

Campaign media elements

The following figures present an overview of the campaign messages published in the MEPs' Social Media accounts and a screenshot of their interaction with the PADGETS platform.

Annex C: SCREEN SHOTS ON CAMPAIGNS

Invitation to participate in the PADGETS project by Tanja Fajon (in English and Slovenian)

Figure C.1: Invitation by Tanja Fajon (Slovenian pilot)



Source: Tanja Fajon's Facebook site (2013).

Invitation to cooperate on the European project of Padgets through Tanja Fajon's web page

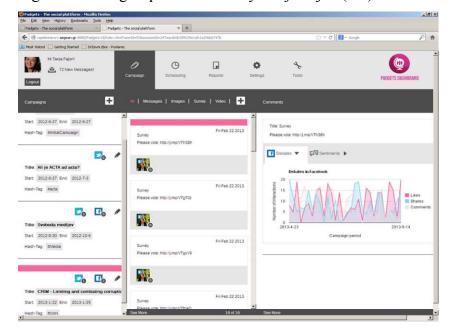
Figure C.2: Invitation through Tanja Fajon's web page (Slovenian pilot)



Source: Tanja Fajon's website - http://www.tanja-fajon.si/?lang=&option=blog_view&blog_id=16&page=Blog (8 October 2913).

Padgets platform by Tanja Fajon

Figure C.3: Padgets platform seen by Tanja Fajon (1/3)



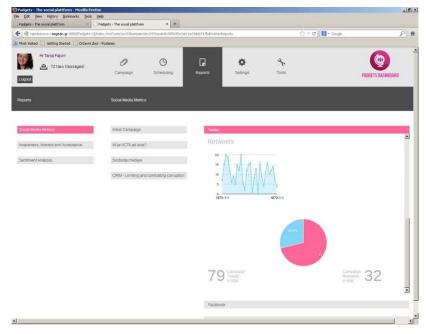
Source: Tanja Fajon's Padgets platform

| Padysts - The rockel platform | House Coloreds | Sols | Spin | Padysts - The social platform | Padysts - The social platform

Figure C.4: PADGETS platform seen by Tanja Fajon (2/3)

Source: Tanja Fajon's Padgets platform

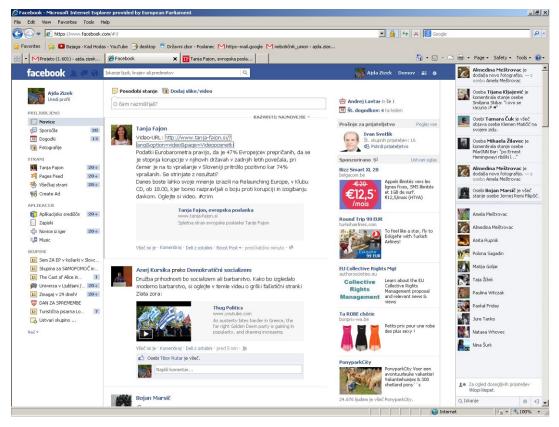
Figure C.5: PADGETS platform seen by Tanja Fajon (3/3)



Source: Tanja Fajon's Padgets platform

Publishment of #crim by Tanja Fajon posted on Facebook

Figure C.6: Tanja Fajon's announcement on Facebook



Source: Facebook by Tanja Fajon (2013).

Figure C.7: Messages on the #media campaign on Twitter



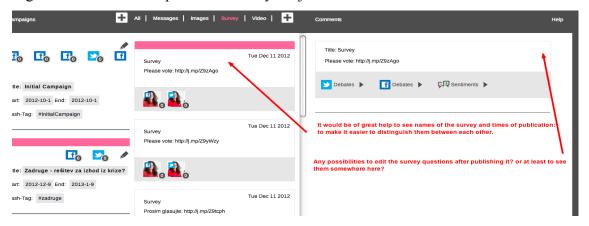
Source: Twitter by Tanja Fajon (2013).

Figure C.8: Message on the #media campaign on Facebook



Source: Facebook page by Tanja Fajon (2013).

Figure C.9: PADGETS platform seen by Mojca Kleva



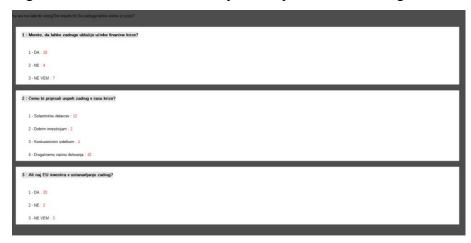
Source: Mojca Kleva's Padgets platform profile

Figure C.10: #taxfraud announcement on Facebook



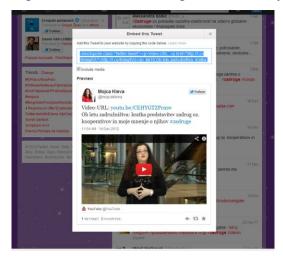
Source: Mojca Kleva's Facebook profile (2013).

Figure C.11: Results of the Survey on cooperatives - #zadruge on Facebook



Source: Facebook profile by Mojca Kleva (2013).

Figure C.12: Video message on Twitter by Mojca Kleva #zadruge



Source: Twitter profile by Mojca Kleva (2013).

Figure C.13: #pozenevropo announcement on Facebook (1/2)



Source: Facebook Page Požen' Evropo (2013).

Figure C.14: #pozenevropo announcement on Facebook (2/2)



Source: Facebook page Požen' Evropo (2013).

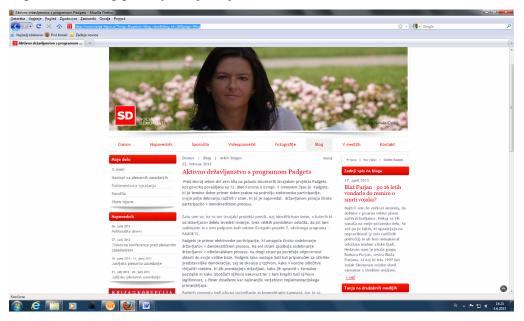
Figure C.15: #državljanEU announcement on Facebook



Source: Facebook page Požen' Evropo (2013).

Annex D: DISSEMINATION ACTIVITIES

Blog post by Tanja Fajon – Active citizenship with the PADGETS⁴ project Figure D.1: Blog post by Tanja Fajon



Source: Website of Tanja Fajon (2013).

Figure D.2: Press conference - Ms Romana Jordan (ELS/SDS), Ms Tanja Fajon (S&D/SD), Mr Blaz Golob (director CeGD)



Source: CeGD website (2013a).

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⁴ http://www.tanja-fajon.si/?lang=&option=blog_view&blog_id=16&page=Blog

TV article about PADGETS on the Slovenian national TV

Information on the launch of the project was published on the Slovenian National TV⁵. The TV article was published on 29 June 2012.

Figure D.3: TV article about PADGETS on the Slovenian national TV



Source: RTV Slo (2013).

⁵ http://ava.rtvslo.si/predvajaj/slovenija-in-evropa/ava2.140027238/

CeGD's Newsletters

CeGD publishes Newsletter every half year and disseminates it to its 2400 recipients. In every edition an article on PADGETS is published.

Figure D.4: CeGD Newsletter (Autumn-Winter Issue 2012)



Source: Centre for eGovernance Development (2013b).

Figure D.5: CeGD Newsletter (Summer issue 2011)



Source: Centre for eGovernance Development (2013c).

CeGD's website and Facebook page

CeGD website was visited by 7000 unique visitors per year and has 308 fans on Facebook.

Figure D.6: CeGD's website



Source: Centre for eGovernance Development (2013d).

Figure D.7: CeGD's Facebook page



Source: Centre for eGovernance development (2013e).

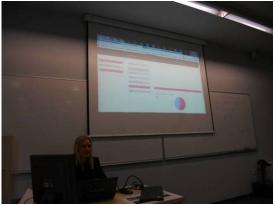
Figure D.8: InePA's website



Source: Institute for E-participation (2013).

Figure D.9: Event at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana





Source: Archive by INePa - Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana (29 March 2013).

The Centre for eGovernance Development (CeGD) was invited to present practical cases of ICT projects to students of the internet practicum module at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Anja Polajnar from CeGD presented the

Padgets project and the Padgets application to students of communication sciences and assistant Jernej Prodnik. The students were also presented with the practical use of the Padgets platform. There were around 50 students who expressed great interest in new technology that enables them communication with decision makers via Social Media platforms. Students and the supervisor also expressed that Padgets was easy to use and that they would use it in the future for direct communication with decision makers.

Figure D.10: Public Discussion – Power and the Internet, 23 November 2013 Ms Tanja Fajon, MeP and Mr Simon Delakroda, InePA





Source: Private archive by InePA. 2012.

From Left to Right: Mr Simon Delakorda, Director INePA, Ms Tanja Fajon, Member of European Parliament, Mr Filip Dobranić, Moderator, Ms Nataša Pirc Musar, Commissioner for Access to Public Information, Mr Blaz Golob, Director CeGD and

Mr Nikolaj Jeffs, University of Primorska.

Figure D.11: Slovenian web newspaper Časnik



Source: Časnik (2012).