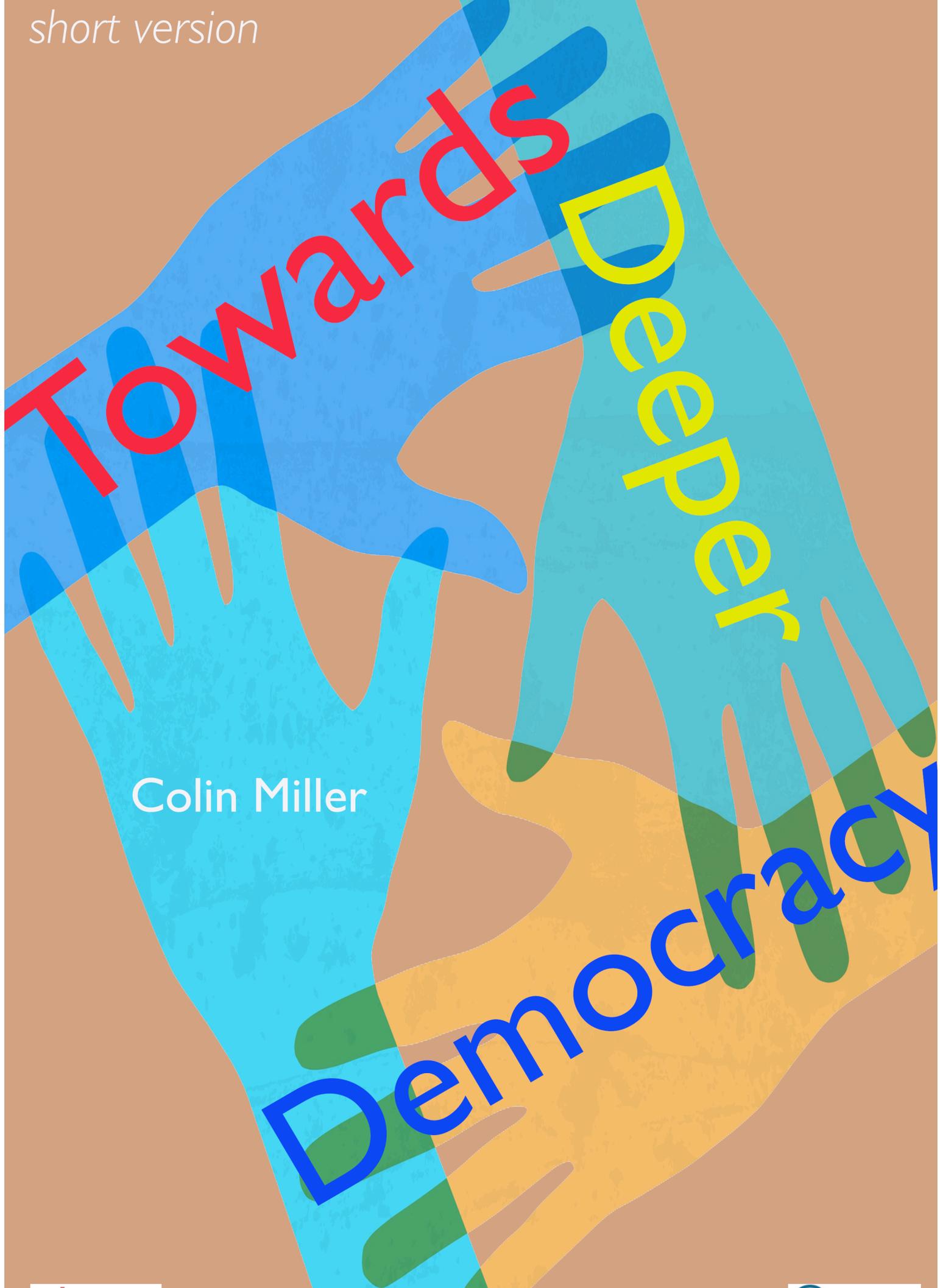


short version



# Towards Deeper Democracy

Colin Miller

# Towards a Deeper Democracy: an Inquiry (short version)

---

## Preface

This is a short version of my pamphlet '*Towards a Deeper Democracy*'. The original is in two sections the first outlining my arguments, the second a response by Gabriel Chanan<sup>1</sup>. The short version of Gabriel's chapter is planned to be published separately<sup>2</sup>.

*'Towards a Deeper Democracy'* was originally inspired by the shock of pro-Leave victory in the 2016 EU referendum. I wanted to ask a basic question - why did so many people seem to buy into the 'take back control' slogan of the Brexiteers?

For a variety of reasons I was unable to start work on the paper until the summer of 2017, an extraordinary year when we witnessed the horror of the Grenfell Tower disaster, the shock of the terror attacks in Manchester and London and the surprise result of the snap general election.

This paper is deeply influenced by my experience as a community development practitioner, and now researcher/writer. The communities I've worked with were often marginalised -- the same communities where the pro-leave arguments seemed to resonate the most.

Community development is about many things but is always concerned with power. The role of the CD worker is to help communities find and exercise their power and to assist residents to make their communities better places to live. Central to the values of CD is the belief that those in power (particularly local government and public services) need to involve communities in the plans and decisions that will affect them.

Like many involved in CD, I am motivated by a deep commitment to the creation of 'a good society,' one founded on social justice, equality and sustainability, and a more open and inclusive democratic system.

This desire is of course shared by many, and is the reason why so many, particularly young people, are so excited by the Corbyn leadership of the Labour Party, someone who appears to be a truly radical leader committed to social change.

The Labour Party has experienced an unprecedented growth in membership. Alongside this there has been a similar growth in other movements, for example Momentum grew from nowhere to a mass membership organisation in less than two years. Compass, to which I belong, played a prominent role in the development of the Progressive Alliance during the last election, and has also seen a big increase in membership.

It is clear that many people involved, at all levels and perspectives, in progressive politics agree that our democratic system is failing and needs to be radically reformed. The question is how, and in what form? This paper argues that a successful transformation must begin with neighbourhoods and communities.

In 2018 Compass launches a major new project called 'The Common Platform'. By bringing together individuals, communities, academics, politicians and others Compass aims to encourage a profound shift in progressive political thinking. The Common Platform project will focus on three big questions:

1. what is a 'good society' and a 'good life'?
2. how should a new economy support such a society and life?

The Common Platform project offers a unique opportunity to develop a vision and practical ideas on how we can transform our political and democratic systems.

I hope that *'Towards a Deeper Democracy'* helps inform those discussions.

*Colin Miller*  
May 2018

## Why we need change

This year we celebrate the centenary of the women gaining the right to vote. in the UK. Many suffragists also fought for other progressive causes, but believed that democratic reform was central to achieving a more equal and just society. This paper follows that tradition, where the creation of a more democratic society remains central to the continuing struggle for a good society.

Our democratic and political systems needs to be deepened because of:

- high levels of political discontent and alienation from our existing system
- despite the radical devolution of power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, England remains a highly centralised nation
- austerity has deepened inequalities in health, community safety, access to housing and education. We need to develop a more inclusive response at a local as well as national level to address these issues
- The 'third industrial revolution' will have a profound social, economic and organisational impact, but also offers exciting opportunities.

**But most importantly the creation of a good society can only be achieved through the creation of a deeper and richer democracy.**

### Political Dissatisfaction

Dissatisfaction with our existing democratic and political systems is growing. In 2014 just 34% believed that their involvement in politics would achieve change, by 2016 the figure was just 29%. More than 70% of people feel the system needs to be improved<sup>3</sup>.

This is why the pro-Brexit slogan 'take back control' resonated with so many pro-leave voters. Simply they do not feel they have any control. In the 2015 general election about 60% of pro-leave voters did not vote. The overwhelming majority (70%) said they felt they had no political influence. It is a view shared by many Remainers with only 33% believing they have any political influence<sup>4</sup>.

There is also a marked regional and class divide on voter turnout in the UK. The national turnout for the 2017 general election was 68.7%; with Winchester, a very well of area, at 79.8% being the highest. The lowest percentage was Wolverhampton South East, a poor area, at 51.9%.

### The Need for an Inclusive Response

The simple fact is that *'voices that aren't heard are usually the most disadvantaged and its not that they've chosen not to use their democratic muscle, they don't actually have any, and they have no expectation of being asked to participate'*<sup>5</sup>

The sense of lacking power and influence, of not being listened to and being excluded from the decision making process is rooted in the everyday lived experience of many thousands of British citizens.

In 2017 we witnessed a series of events that provided horrific evidence graphically demonstrating the profound consequences of communities being denied power and influence.

The loss of 20,000 police officers may well have been a contributing factor behind the successful terror attacks in Manchester and London. Along with local people, senior police officers and opposition politicians have argued that the police no longer have the resources to work in partnership with communities.

The residents of Grenfell Tower were well organised through their tenants association but dismissed as ‘the usual suspects’. Their concerns about fire safety in the block were ignored by their local authority and tenants’ management organisation (TMO). Twelve months later the survivors continue to feel excluded.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Need for Devolved Power**

Constitutional change in the UK has been piecemeal and contradictory. Despite the fact that England has 80% of the total population of the UK the radical devolution of powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland has not been replicated in England.

Even with recent regional reforms there continues to be little territorial dispersal of political power between the population and the Westminster/Whitehall core. Democratic control over the new regional authorities is limited. Meanwhile local government through budget cuts and privatisation continues to be defenestrated of the powers it once had<sup>7</sup>.

### **Future Challenges**

Some economists believe we have entered a third industrial revolution<sup>8</sup>, a revolution based on highly decentralised methods of production. These changes are likely to have a radical impact on the way society, the economy and businesses are organised<sup>9</sup>.

Progressives need to understand what is taking place because this revolution will have a profound, negative (people losing their jobs for example) and positive impact. Including a radical devolution of economic, social and political power.

## **Democratic Change and Progressive Politics**

The struggle for democracy is written into the DNA of progressive politics but there has always been a tension between centralised and decentralised forms of decision-making within progressive political organisations and in the broader conception of the role of the state.

The conception of the role of the state as an agency of planning, command and control dominated much of Labour Party thinking during to post-war period. However with the emergence of the ‘New Left’, there was a renewed interest in decentralised forms of social democracy and socialism. At the same time historians such as EP Thompson and Christopher Hill began to explore the radical democratic current that has always been an important element in British radical politics.

This radical vision became a central motif in the thought and practice of the ‘counter culture’ during the 1960’s and 70’s.

Alongside the renewed interest in workers’ cooperatives and other forms of communal living and working, radicals developed interest in helping empower marginalised communities, a strategy that was deeply influenced by the ideas of Alinski, Freire and Gramsci and which played a key role in the foundation of modern community development.

This period also witnessed the development of new political formations, usefully characterised by Wainright as the ‘participative left’<sup>10</sup> Political parties such as the Greens and numerous social and campaigning groups were founded on the principles of devolved democracy and participation. Participative left ideas continue to have a growing influence, through popular protest groups such as the Occupy movements and the development of new forms of political party such as Podemos in Spain<sup>11</sup> and The Danish Alternative.

Ideas and forms of organisation and process are also beginning to influence the Labour Party particularly through the influence of Momentum. It will be interesting to see if the party is capable of moving from its traditional centralised, 'election machine' structure to a more participative type of social movement advocated by some leading members of the party including Jeremy Corbyn<sup>12</sup>.

### **Proposals for Change**

In recent years the campaign to reform our democratic system has been dominated by calls for the introduction of proportional representation (PR). Whilst PR would help tackle the electoral inconsistencies of our existing system it does not address the issue of people being excluded from power. One Labour MP argues that PR is something of a chimera, arguing that what is really needed is a democracy '*that actively involves people in the decision-making process*'<sup>13</sup>.

The need to develop a more inclusive form of democracy has long been advocated by the Greens and other progressives, and is gaining ground within the Labour Party. A number of Labour MP's such as Steve Reed and John Trickett argue that future proposals to change our local and national political systems must include proposals on the creation of participative forms of democracy.

In 2014 Ed Miliband made an important speech committing the party to a more 'people powered' control of public services<sup>14</sup>. The following year Compass published a collection of essays by a wide range of politicians and others from across the progressive political spectrum exploring the need for a new, more open and participative political system<sup>15</sup>.

The 2017 Labour election manifesto included many ideas originally formulated during the Miliband leadership. Commitments included:

- abolishing the House of Lords and creating an elected second chamber
- extending 'democracy, locally, regionally and nationally'
- devolving power to local communities so they have more power to shape things such as their city centres
- organising a constitutional convention that will 'invite recommendations on extending democracy'<sup>16</sup>

## **The Importance Of Communities And Neighbourhoods**

### **Community action is political action**

Lazy politicians and journalists sometimes accuse non-voters of being 'apathetic'. This view is profoundly mistaken for two reasons:

- an over narrow view of what constitutes political involvement
- 'non-engagement' can in itself be a political choice.

The accusation of apathy implies that those who do not vote are uninterested in trying to improve the world around them. This is patronising nonsense. Whilst many are not 'politically engaged' in the conventional sense, many are engaged in activities aimed at making their communities better places to live.

The National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) estimate that there are more than 165,000 voluntary sector groups, in the UK. Over 60% (about 99,000) are small groups based in neighbourhoods and run by residents.

Something like 14.2 million people are engaged in voluntary activity. Roughly 50% are involved in sport and exercise groups, 34% in faith groups, 33% in children's education and schools. About 2.6 million people (19%) are involved with local community groups, **but only 6% (858,000) are engaged in political activity.**<sup>17</sup>

Despite this impressive level of activity there are many neighbourhoods with few community groups. The simple truth is that high *'levels of lack of engagement are indicative of wider social inequality, where politics is seen as an elite activity'*<sup>18</sup>

## **Deeper Democracy In Practice**

The high levels of residents' engagement with their community organisations is a key reason why neighbourhoods are the ideal foundation upon which a deeper democracy should be built. Of course on its own this is not enough. Alongside the creation of local participative and deliberative structures, there also needs to be radical and systemic changes in the way local government functions.

Many examples of initiatives and experiments already exist. Some have been around for many years that indicate what might be possible.

## **Neighbourhood And Community Based Participation And Deliberation<sup>19</sup>**

### **DueEast Neighbourhood Council, Brighton**

Founded in 2012, DueEast Neighbourhood Council is a resident-led umbrella organisation representing several housing estates in east Brighton. Priorities are agreed through a community action plan and delivered via themed resident and service provider sub-groups such as community safety and health and wellbeing. DueEast also organises an annual participative budgeting exercise that decides on bids made by local groups.

A community development practitioner supports the resident representatives..

[www.dueeast.org.uk](http://www.dueeast.org.uk)

### **Townstal Community Partnership<sup>20</sup>**

Townstal is a social housing estate of 4,000 people lying on the outskirts of Dartmouth. The area suffers from extensive disadvantage in terms of health, income, education and children in need and is isolated from the town.

The Townstal Community Partnership (TCP) is a resident-led, multi-agency group that aims to give residents a direct voice to public agencies and the local authority. TCP emphasises the importance of residents and services working together, where residents set local priorities and the partnership co-productively implements them.<sup>21</sup>

Like DueEast, TCP relies on the continuing support of community development practitioners.

These are just two of many successful neighbourhood partnerships, Many of them were set up during the last Labour government (see below), however because of the deep cuts in local government budgets their numbers are rapidly shrinking, for example Bristol Council recently announced that:

*'Because of significant financial pressures, we can't continue with the same level of support we've been giving to the Neighbourhood Partnerships and their Neighbourhood Forums. We need to reduce the Neighbourhood Partnership budget by about half in 2017, and remove it altogether by 31 March 2019',*

This will affect 14 neighbourhood partnerships.

## **Towns and cities**

There are a growing number of towns and cities that are committed to the development of long term strategies aimed at supporting participation and neighbourhood empowerment.

### **Frome Council Somerset and Flatpack Democracy**

All 17-town councillors are independents who call themselves the 'Independents from Frome' (IfF). The group argues that party politics effectively prevents resident empowerment because political parties are more concerned with point scoring than open listening, dialogue and collaboration<sup>22</sup>.

IfF has been influenced by the new forms of organising developed by Podemos and the Danish Alternative Party<sup>23</sup>.

The council has implemented a wide range of changes aimed at finding ways of involving residents in planning and decision-making processes. These include:

- changing the way council meetings are run, such as organising meetings 'in the round' and changing the rules allowing members of the public to speak.
- organising regular deliberative public meetings with a commitment that whenever possible the decisions of the meetings will be implemented by the council.
- agreeing spending priorities through a participative budgeting process.

[www.frometowncouncil.gov.uk](http://www.frometowncouncil.gov.uk)

### **Seattle - USA**

Seattle City Council initiated a community involvement and engagement strategy in 1988. A key commitment was that the community rather than the council would set local priorities

Over the last 29 years the City Council has developed an evolving strategy aimed at encouraging neighbourhood based working partnerships between residents and the council.

The strategy has several core elements:

- *Little City Halls*: locally based one-stop neighbourhood offices where residents can access council departments and liaison workers who support neighbourhood groups to access the council and vice versa.
- *Neighborhood Matching Fund*: A grant programme that supports neighbourhood improvements, community organising or planning projects initiated by residents.
- *Neighborhood Planning Programme*: in the late 1990's communities were provided with resources so they could employ independent planners to help develop 'holistic' neighbourhood plans. Residents defined the scope of the work and what they felt was economically and socially important and the plans were incorporated into the City's development plan
- *You Voice, Your Choice*: **through a participatory budgeting process residents decide how** a portion of the council's budget (\$2m) should be spent on small-scale improvements.
- *Engage Seattle*: an outreach programme to involve residents
- *People's Academy for Community Engagement*: provides leadership development and skills building for 'emerging community leaders'. The Academy develops skills in community building and organising, inclusive engagement and accessing government.

[www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/](http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/)

## Nationwide initiatives

### Cooperative Councils

Established in 2012, the cooperative council movement aims to create more open and inclusive local council structures to enable residents and services to work together. The vision is to develop '*a new role for local authorities that replaces traditional models of top down governance...a new approach built on the co-operative movement: collective action, co-operation, empowerment and enterprise*'.

There are 20+ councils that belong to the network including Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Rochdale, Sandwell and the London Boroughs of Lambeth, Croydon and Greenwich<sup>24</sup>.

Network members share the same values but pursue their own strategies although there are similarities of approach:

- encouraging 'community asset management' such as housing cooperatives
- supporting community based social enterprises where profits are reinvested in the community
- bringing services together at a local level and encouraging greater community control
- community based participative budgeting.

Potentially the cooperative council model could play an important role in informing a future Labour government's local government strategy, however the party will need to undertake a detailed review to identify what works and does not work and why.

[www.councils.coop](http://www.councils.coop)

The examples of neighbourhood and town/city wide initiatives described here are relatively successful because of the relationship (formal and 'cultural') that has been patiently developed between residents, elected politicians and council/public sector officers within formal and informal partnership structures. It is important to point out that none of these initiatives have a formal 'constitutional' or legal right to exist, but are dependant on the good will of the local authority.

In the UK, with the possible exception of Frome and at least the broad intentions of the Cooperative Council movement, the relationship between the local authority and the neighbourhood partnerships tends to be informal and depends on the relationship between individual members and supporters. Any power possessed by these local initiatives is highly mediated and dependent upon the goodwill of the local authority.

### **National debates and policies**

Whilst relatively scarce, there are examples of participatory approaches in relation to regional or national issues.

#### **GM Nation?**

In 2013 in response to public concern about GM technology, the Agriculture and Environment Biotechnology Commission (AEBC) organised, *'an unprecedented experiment in public participation...an attempt to generate widespread interest and considered discussion about complex matters of science and policy amongst relatively large numbers of the lay public'*<sup>25</sup>

The conversation was organised through deliberative local and regional meetings and workshops, closed focus groups and online debate.

#### **A Conversation About Mental Health - USA**

In 2013 President Obama launched a 'national conversation' on mental health. The exercise was aimed at helping develop a mental health strategy as part of the 'Affordable Care Act' (Obamacare). The process included widespread use of deliberative processes at local 'town hall' meetings across the USA.<sup>26</sup>

### **Constitutional change**

A number of countries and regions, including Scotland (1989-95), Iceland (2010-2012), British Columbia (2005-2007), and Ireland (2012-2014), have employed participative and deliberative processes to consider changes in their national or regional constitutions<sup>27</sup>.

#### **House of Lords Reform**

One proposal for the reform of the House of Lords is that it be replaced by a very big 'citizens jury' where the members are randomly chosen from the electoral register.<sup>28</sup>

A more extensive overview of these and other examples can be found [here](#)

## The Last Labour Government: Communities, Partnerships And Some Empowerment

When a new leader takes control of a political party, or a party gains power, there is a tendency, especially when the previous administration is deeply discredited for particular actions (such as the Iraq War), to dismiss pretty much everything else that the previous administration sought to do. This is certainly true of the Blair government.

However as well as many negative lessons there are also many positive ones to be learned.

A largely ignored but important feature of the last Labour government was its long-term programme to support communities in greatest need. The strategy was influenced by radical experiments of the Greater London Council and others. Whilst these policies constantly evolved during the thirteen years the party was in power throughout there were a number of consistent themes<sup>29</sup>:

- encouraging partnership working between public services, the voluntary sector and community groups at a local and town/city wide level
- a requirement that residents should be involved and consulted over the development of local initiatives
- involving residents and other key stakeholders in the creation of neighbourhood plans.

The Labour strategy included two ambitious flagship programmes, the New Deal for Communities (NDC) and the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF).

NDC was a £2bn programme aimed at transforming 39 of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England. Each area received an average of £50m over 10 years

The aim of the NDC was to 'close the gap' between the 39 poorest areas and the rest of the country by focussing on six objectives that included crime, housing health and the community where the 'community would be at the heart of the initiative' and there was an expectation that public services would develop a close working partnership.<sup>30</sup>

The Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF) was then launched in 2000 and focussed on the 88 most deprived local authority areas that had not benefitted from the NDC.

Whilst NDC governance arrangements between the community and services generally worked this was not always the case and relationships could sometimes lead to a complete breakdown between the community representatives and others.<sup>31</sup>

The programmes brought together a complex set of relationships between many different types of organisation and individuals. Expectations and ideas on how the money was to be prioritised required constant negotiation and there were disagreements between the key stakeholders - residents, the local authority, the relevant government department and the local NDC management committee -- on where accountability should lie.

The successful NDCs and NRF projects were able to clarify these questions of accountability and recognised the importance of providing professional community development support to the community representatives to help them participate.

### **Strategic Structures**

The Blair government also created Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs). The aim was to bring public, voluntary and community organisations together at a strategic (council wide) level to agree local plans, share and allocate resources and develop collaborative projects.

Like the NDCs, tensions sometimes developed over questions of power, with smaller organisations such as community groups complaining that they were being crowded out by bigger and better resourced organisations.

### **Public Services and Participation**

A third strand of government policy was to encourage public services, such as the police, to develop more effective ways of working with communities. The police and others often lacked experience in working in this way but many police officers were committed to developing the necessary skills. Over time many of these arrangements became highly effective and had a profound impact on community safety and health and wellbeing issues in many communities<sup>32</sup>.

The government's long commitment to working in communities and partnerships culminated in two important White Papers, the 2006 *'Strong and Prosperous Communities: the local government white paper'*<sup>33</sup> and the 2008 White Paper *'Communities in Control: real people, real power'*.<sup>34</sup>

A key commitment in the Communities white papers was *'to pass power into the hands of local communities. We want to generate vibrant local democracy in every part of the country, and to give real control over local decisions and services to a wider pool of active citizens'*

Both papers incorporated many lessons learned from previous strategies and had the potential of taking the work of the government to the next step. Unfortunately publication of the second paper coincided with the 2008 financial crisis.

It could be argued that the Labour government did not significantly deepen local democracy, but it was responsible for some important structural reforms and helped change the organisational and professional cultures of local government professionals and organisations.

On taking power in 2010 the Tory-led coalition immediately began to dismantle the work of the Labour government, replacing a long list of strategies with the risible 'Big Society'. At the same time the government slashed local government spending, resulting in the shutting down of a swathe of community development and related activities along with youth services and support for community organisations. The government also withdrew funding from many of the national organisations, such as the Community Development Foundation and Community Matters (who represented community groups) that had provided expertise, acted as a collective voice and provided training and advice for many activists and professionals involved in communities.

## **The Role Of Community Practice**

A central premise of this pamphlet is that the creation of a deeper democracy must begin at a neighbourhood level. A second premise is that community development is key to the success of such a strategy. Community development is concerned with helping strengthen *'civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives ... supporting active democratic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities'*.<sup>35</sup>

Given the way CD has been systematically dismembered, those still involved in the CD world must feel there is little room for optimism. But there are grounds for hope. As we have seen, many may not realise that many of the core values of community development are shared by those who are part of the participative left.

I can think of no stronger argument of the need for those engaged in community development to begin a conversation with the participative left. We share many of the same views and dreams and have much to learn from each other.

## **Conclusion**

Deepening democracy 'from the bottom up' will not be easy, but a future progressive government can learn and build upon work that has already taken place; from existing initiatives, from the experience of participative left organisations, from community development and from the last Labour government, the cooperative council movement and the GLC.

Whilst I have tended to emphasise the importance of rooting a deeper democracy within neighbourhoods, it will fail without a parallel process of change in government, particularly at a more strategic level in towns and cities.

The case studies above give an indication of how this might be achieved. Frome and the co-operative councils have begun to address structural issues in an attempt to develop more participative planning and decision-making systems.

Finally the creation of a deeper democracy faces a key question of how to square the circle between representative democratic systems and participative approaches. A future government will need to sort out these tricky constitutional issues.

It is an issue that might be addressed through neighbourhood partnerships which are given formal horizontal and vertical powers to plan and make decisions locally and to be involved in the planning and decision making process at a strategic level.

## References and Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Gabriel Chanan: writer and researcher specialising in citizen involvement in public affairs,
- <sup>2</sup> Copies of Gabriel's response paper to this one and the long version of this paper will in due course be downloadable from [www.deeperdemocracy.org.uk](http://www.deeperdemocracy.org.uk)
- <sup>3</sup> (Ruth Fox 2017)
- <sup>1</sup> Reports can be downloaded from <https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/research/audit-of-political-engagement>
- <sup>5</sup> ERSS (2013)
- <sup>6</sup> <https://justice4grenfell.org>
- <sup>2</sup> (Blick n.d.)
- <sup>8</sup> (Mason 2015) and (Rifkin 2014).
- <sup>9</sup> The 'internet of things' renewable energy and the collaborative commons
- <sup>10</sup> (Wainright 2003)
- <sup>11</sup> (Errejon 2016).
- <sup>12</sup> <https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/jeremy-corbyn-is-about-to-transform-the-labour-party-again>
- <sup>13</sup> Conversation, Peter Kyle, Labour MP for Hove and Portslade 30 May 2017
- <sup>14</sup> Ed Miliband, 2014 Hugo Young Memorial Lecture <https://labourlist.org/2014/02/ed-milibands-hugo-young-lecture-full-text/>
- <sup>15</sup> (Compass 2015) The book brought together a diverse group of, including MP's, people involved in local government and public services, academics, political commentators and others (including the authors of this paper). Labour MPs included Jon Cruddas, John Healey, Liz Kendall, Lisa Nandy, Chi Onwurah, Steve Reed, Kier Starmer, Jon Tricket, and Hilary Wainright
- <sup>16</sup> It is worth noting that many of these ideas had already formed an important part of the 2015 Labour manifesto when Ed Miliband led the party.
- <sup>17</sup> National Council Voluntary Organisations, 'UK Society Civil Almanac' (web, NCVO). <https://data.ncvo.org.uk>
- <sup>18</sup> (Electoral Reform Society Scotland 2013).
- <sup>19</sup> More details of these case studies can be found here <http://deeperdemocracy.org.uk/deeper-democracy-action/>
- <sup>20</sup> (Griffiths 2013)
- <sup>21</sup> "<http://educationnext.org/nobel-prize-winner-elinor-ostrom-and-her-theory-of-co-production/>"
- <sup>22</sup> More details can be found in (MacFaden 2014)
- <sup>23</sup> Peter MacFadyen, 'The Truth about Independence', "[www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnfAhmEE\\_E8&t=1181s](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnfAhmEE_E8&t=1181s)"
- <sup>24</sup> <http://www.councils.coop/about-us/our-members/> (Department of Communities & Local Government 2008)
- <sup>25</sup> (Smith 2005).
- <sup>26</sup> Tom Campbell, Raquel Goodrich, et al, 'Promoting Inclusion, Equity and Deliberation in a National Dialogue on Mental Health', *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 12 (2016). <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1446&context=jpd>
- <sup>27</sup> (Miller 2015)
- <sup>28</sup> Diarmid Wier, 'Random Selection for the Lords', in *Future Economics* < [www.futureeconomics.org](http://www.futureeconomics.org) > [accessed 2 August 2017]
- <sup>29</sup> See early chapter of Chanan and Miller 2013 for a historical overview of government community strategies.
- <sup>30</sup> Elaine Batty: et al, 'The New Deal for Communities Experience: A final assessment' (Evaluation, HMG, Communities & Local Government, 2010).
- <sup>31</sup> Batty et al 2010
- <sup>32</sup> (Fisher 2016)
- <sup>33</sup> (White Paper, HMG, DCLG, 2006).
- <sup>34</sup> (Department of Communities & Local Government 2008)

---

<sup>35</sup> Scottish Community Development Centre, 'Developing Community Influence', in *SCDC* < HYPERLINK "www.scdc.org.uk/what-is-community-development" www.scdc.org.uk/what-is-community-development > [accessed 27 July 2017]

## Bibliography

Elain Batty: etal, 'The New Deal for Communities Experience: A final assessment' (Evaluation, HMG, Communities & Local Government, 2010).

Joel Blackwell Ruth Fox, 'Audit of Political Engagement 14' (Annual Report, Hansard Society, 2017).

Andrew Blick, 'Unlock Democracy: Devolution in England a New Approach', in *The Federal Trust for Education & Research* < www.fedtrust.co.uk > [accessed 14 December 2014]

Tom Campbell, Raquel Goodrich, etal, 'Promoting Inclusion, Equity and Deliberation in a National Dialogue on Mental Health', *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 12 (2016).

Gabriel Chanan and Colin Miller, *Rethinking Community Practice: Developing Transformative Neighbourhoods* (Bristol : Policy Press, 2013).

Compass, *Finding Our Voice: Making the 21st Century State*, ed. by Gabriel Chanan & Neal Lawson (London: Compass, 2015).

Department of Communities and Local Government , 'Strong and Prosperous Communities: the Local Government White Paper' (White Paper, HMG, DCLG, 2006).

Department of Communities & Local Government, 'Communities in Control: Real People, Real Power' (White Paper, HMG, CLG, 2008)

Electoral Reform Society Scotland, 'Democracy Max: An Inquiry into the Future of Scottish Democracy' (Enquiry, Electoral Reform Society, 2013).

Inigo Errejon, *Podemos: in the Name of the People* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2016).

Brian Fisher, 'Community Development in Health: A Literature Review' (Literature Review, Health Empowerment Leverage Project, 2016).

Steve Griffiths, 'A Can-Do Community Partnership: Townstal key residents and services talk about Townstal Community Partnership' (Case Study, Health Empowerment Leverage Project, 2013).

Peter MacFaden, *Flatpack Democracy: a DIY Guide to Creating Independant Politics* ([n.p]: Eco-logic Books, 2014).

Paul Mason, *Postcapitalism: A Guide to Our Future* (London: Allen Lane, 2015).

Colin Miller, 'The Question of EVEL: a Review of Literature and Opinion' (Briefing, Compass, 2015).

National Council Voluntary Organisations, 'UK Society Civil Almanac' (web, NCVO).  
<https://data.ncvo.org.uk>

---

Jeremy Rifkin, *The Zero Marginal Cost Society: The Internet of Things* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Graham Smith, 'Beyond the Ballot: 57 Democratic Innovations from Around the World, ' (Review, Power inquiry/Joseph Rowntree Trust, 2005).

Hilary Wainright, *Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy* (London: Verso, 2003).

Diarmid Wier, 'Random Selection for the Lords', in *Future Economics* < [www.futureeconomics.org](http://www.futureeconomics.org) > [accessed 2 August 2017]