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EU-CIEMBLY

EU-CIEMBLY: Creating an Inclusive European Citizens' Assembly

D2.1

Bibliographic Map

v.2

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Deliverable 2.1 is the first of three substantive deliverables associated with Work Package 2 (WP2), which seeks to establish the theoretical and methodological foundation of the EU-CIEMBL Y project. The primary objective of this deliverable is to systematically map, identify, and collate literature on deliberative democracy, citizens' assemblies, and similar deliberative innovations that engage with intersectionality and related concepts. These include issues related to the inclusion of marginalised social groups, such as research examining the experiences of specific communities (e.g., ethnic minorities, people with disabilities), the effects of structural inequalities, and the power dynamics influencing their participation and deliberation. The purpose of this systematic mapping is to provide an overview of the current state of the art in the relevant scholarship, while also laying a foundation for subsequent deliverables within WP2 and the broader project.

This deliverable is organised into five main sections. Section I introduces the broader objectives of the EU-CIEMBL Y project, clarifies the purpose of Deliverable 2.1, and explains how subsequent deliverables will build on its findings. Section II outlines the methodological process used to conduct a systematic and extensive literature search, including the criteria applied for screening, reviewing, and analysing the collected sources. Section III presents a quantitative bibliometric analysis of the literature, while Section IV complements this through constructing qualitative thematic narratives covering broad issues, existing debates, and emerging trends within the scholarship. Finally, Section V concludes with a summary of the findings, a reflection on the limitations of the mapping exercise, and an outline of the next steps for the project.

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I. Introduction

The aim of the project *EU-CIEMBLY: Creating an Inclusive European Citizens' Assembly* is to enhance the participation and inclusion of individuals and groups who are marginalised—particularly those located at the intersection of multiple forms of marginalisation (i.e., marginalised by the structure of class in addition to race, gender, and so on). The project responds to the need for forms of citizen participation and deliberation within EU political life, with a specific focus on designing and implementing a European Citizens' Assembly that addresses the issues of intersectionality, inclusiveness, good deliberation, and equality. In doing so, the project contributes to the EU's broader ambition to make citizen participation—both through existing mechanisms and innovative approaches—more accessible, inclusive, meaningful, and effective (European Parliament, 2020).

Within this context, the EU-CIEMBLY project has four particular objectives. The first objective is to conduct a theoretical analysis concerning concepts of intersectional inequality in conjunction with deliberative and participatory democracy, leading to a framework for the creation of intersectionally inclusive citizens' assemblies. The second objective is to evaluate the effectiveness of existing selected citizens' assemblies at various levels, including from an intersectional equality perspective. The third objective is to pilot three model citizens' assemblies as new methods of democratic participation in such a way as to integrate intersectional equality considerations into the design and delivery of citizens' assemblies. The fourth and final aim is to recommend a prototype model for participation through a permanent Citizens' Assembly within the EU, and which can also inform potential reforms to existing participatory democratic mechanisms at national, regional, and local levels.

The current deliverable is part of Work Package 2. Work Package 2 and its associated deliverables are structured to follow a linear and cumulative trajectory toward establishing the theoretical, methodological, and normative foundations of the EU-CIEMBLY project. Deliverable 2.1 initiates this process by identifying and systematically consolidating relevant literature on 'citizens' assemblies' and similar

deliberative innovations and intersectionality. This literature mapping serves as a foundational resource to inform the subsequent development of the project's conceptual framework. Deliverable 2.2 builds upon the insights generated in Deliverable 2.1 by undertaking a more detailed and extensive conceptual and normative elaboration. For instance, some of the issues identified and discussed in this deliverable drawing from the literature including the issues of legitimacy, sortition and recruitment is further discussed and elaborated in Deliverable 2.2.

This deliverable begins with a systematic search and mapping of literature on deliberative democracy and citizens assemblies through the lens of *intersectionality* and related terms such as “inclusion”, “diversity”, “representation”, “inequalities”, and “marginalisation” (for further detail see Section II.1.). This approach reflects the project’s commitment to exploring how intersecting forms of inequality—such as race, gender, class, disability, and migration status—shape opportunities for participation in democratic processes, particularly within citizens' assemblies. Following the search, a bibliometric analysis is also conducted. This involved the extraction and visualisation of bibliographic metadata from the selected sources—such as author networks, keyword co-occurrence, citation patterns, and publication trends. The bibliometric component serves multiple purposes: it provides a macro-level view of the intellectual structure and evolution of the field; it highlights influential scholars and foundational works; and it reveals the disciplinary and geographic contours of the research landscape. The methodology for the literature search, screening process, and bibliometric analysis is outlined in detail in the following Section.

This bibliometric analysis is complemented by a thematic narrative to identify the central themes, patterns, trends, and issues around deliberative democracy that emerge from the consolidated body of literature. This enables to make sense of the current landscape of scholarship and establish a clear understanding of the state of the art across relevant domains. The aim of this deliverable is to identify main gaps, tensions, and opportunities within the literature that will inform the project's theoretical and normative framework, to be developed further in Deliverable 2.2. The deliverable ends with limitations and the next steps for WP2 and related deliverables.

II. Methodology

II.1. Search and Screening Process

This section provides an overview of the process used to search, screen, and analyse the literature consolidated for this deliverable. The literature search was conducted using Scopus and Google Scholar databases, with the timeframe restricted to publications from 2007 to July 2025. This temporal focus was chosen to align with the project's objective of developing a novel model for an EU Citizens' Assembly informed by recent democratic innovations within the European Union, both at national and Union levels. The decision to begin the search from 2007 is grounded in the significance of that year for EU institutional reform—marking the initial elaboration of what would eventually become the Lisbon Treaty, which was granted legal effect in 2009 (see Piris, 2010; Craig, 2013). The incorporation of deliberative democratic provisions within the Treaty of Lisbon provided renewed impetus for scholarship and practice in this area. Given this framing, the focus was placed on literature that reflects developments in deliberative and participatory democracy in the post-Lisbon Treaty era trying, as far as possible, to link them to developments in intersectionality literature. As a result, earlier foundational texts—such as those by Jürgen Habermas (1992), Joseph M. Bessette (1994), and John Rawls (1999)—were not included in the core bibliography, although some are referenced for background or contextual framing. Similarly, foundational texts on intersectionality—particularly those by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991)—fell outside the formal search parameters due to their original publication date. However, where these works were reprinted or republished more recently, they appeared in the search results and were subsequently included. While the primary focus of the project is on the European Union, the search was not geographically limited; relevant sources from outside the EU were also included where they offered conceptual or empirical insights applicable to the development of inclusive democratic processes.

To ensure relevance, rigour, and manageability, several additional search parameters were applied. Only English-language sources were included, and the types of

materials considered were restricted to peer-reviewed journal articles, book books and book chapters. Forms of grey literature—including preprints, policy documents, grant records, case law, reports published by organisations and institutes, and conference proceedings—were excluded from the review. The disciplinary scope of the search was also deliberately defined. Literature was drawn from the following fields: Sociology, Political Science, Law, Public Administration, Business, Management and Accounting, and Psychology. This selection reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the project while keeping the focus on fields most relevant to democratic theory and participatory governance. In contrast, disciplines such as Medicine; Nursing; Energy; Health Professions; Biochemistry, Genetics and Molecular Biology; Mathematics; Agricultural and Biological Sciences; Computer Science; Earth and Planetary Sciences; Decision Sciences; and Environmental Science were excluded via Scopus subject area filters to maintain the thematic focus of the review. It was anticipated that while some of these disciplines engage with deliberative innovations, less literature central to the research questions was likely to arise from these areas.

An initial scoping search revealed that the term *intersectionality* does not frequently or explicitly appear in the core literature on deliberative democracy and democratic innovations. This observation required the research team to broaden the search strategy to ensure the inclusion of relevant sources that, while not necessarily using the term “intersectionality,” engage with related concerns. To this end, the literature search was expanded to incorporate a range of keywords that reflect the core values and analytical dimensions of intersectionality—specifically, *inclusion*, *diversity*, *representation*, and *equality*. These terms were selected to capture sources that addressed efforts to incorporate the voices, experiences, and interests of marginalised and underrepresented social groups within deliberative democratic processes. A list of the keyword combinations used in the search is provided in Table I-1 (see Appendix I).

The initial search yielded 5,597 sources. After eliminating duplicate entries, the number of sources was reduced to 4,328. The suitability of these keyword combinations was assessed through an initial review of the titles and journals generated by each

respective string, ensuring alignment with the scope and aims of the project. Searches were conducted using the Scopus databases and Google Scholar, targeting titles, abstracts, and keywords. A screening of titles and abstracts was then carried out using defined exclusion criteria (see Appendix I, Table I-2) to remove sources that were irrelevant, outside the project's scope, or too broad in focus. This step resulted in the final dataset being reduced to 703.

The research team acknowledges that a substantial body of valuable (grey) literature on deliberative democracy and citizens' assemblies exists beyond academic scholarship—particularly in practice-oriented reports produced by organisations and practitioners. While these sources were not formally included in the bibliometric and thematic analysis undertaken for this deliverable, selected organisational and practitioner-based materials were identified for use in later deliverables and work packages. It is also important to emphasise that the literature reviewed and analysed in this deliverable does not represent an exhaustive account of all relevant sources. Rather, the review was shaped by deliberate scoping parameters designed to maintain a manageable dataset, and the exclusion of certain texts at this stage does not preclude their inclusion in future deliverables or work packages. For instance, Jane Mansbridge's (1999) influential article, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'," or, Young's (2002) book titled *Inclusion and Democracy* were excluded from the present analysis due to the temporal delimitation (2007–2025). However, the research team recognises the continued significance of these sources and anticipates their inclusion in subsequent project outputs.

II.2. Analysis and Visualisation

Two forms of analysis—quantitative and qualitative—were undertaken to examine the literature identified through the systematic search. The quantitative analysis was conducted using *BIBLIOMETRIX* software, drawing on the bibliometric data of 637 Scopus-indexed sources from the total of 703. Sixty-six Google Scholar sources were excluded from the bibliometric analysis, though they were later incorporated into the qualitative review. This exclusion reflects the technical constraints of *BIBLIOMETRIX*, which only supports metadata from specific databases such as Scopus. Moreover,

while Google Scholar offers broader coverage, it lacks the quality control and metadata consistency required for robust bibliometric analysis, which can compromise accuracy (see Aguillo, 2012; Houshyar & Sotudeh, 2018). In addition to *BIBLIOMETRIX*, *LITMAPS* was also used as a complementary analysis for issues related to the most impactful and important literature for the project. The analysis aimed to quantify and visualise the scope, structure, and trends within the literature on deliberative democracy, as filtered through a lens of intersectionality (Derviş, 2019; Donthu et al., 2021). Bibliometric visualisation enabled the research team to map the intellectual landscape of the field, identify clusters of scholarly work, and understand the relationships between authors, keywords, disciplines, and citation patterns. This provided a macro-level overview of how intersectional concerns are—or are not—reflected in the existing scholarship on deliberative democratic innovations.

To make the dataset more manageable for in-depth qualitative analysis, a further screening process was undertaken. This stage applied the lens of intersectionality more strictly, ensuring that the selected literature either engaged explicitly with marginalised identities and social groups and their relationship to power structures/relations, or addressed specific aspects or issues related to deliberative democracy and citizens' assemblies. Literature that focused solely on "intersectionality," or that discussed deliberative democracy and citizens' assemblies only in broad terms (e.g., "problem-based" or "critical approaches" without specific contextual focus), was excluded. Similarly, works that examined public or citizen participation in overly general ways, without a targeted focus on specific issues, were removed. Of the final 216 sources included for qualitative review, 150 were drawn from Scopus and 66 from Google Scholar.

It is important to note that this review does not claim to follow a conventional "thematic analysis" in the formal sense, which typically involves a multistep process of systematic coding and data categorisation. Instead, the team adopted a more ad hoc and iterative approach. This involved close reading and reviewing of the literature, extensive note-taking, and a series of group discussions to reflect on emerging ideas and insights. Through this collaborative process, six key themes were identified and

agreed upon, with the aim that these thematic narratives (see Section IV) would inform and help shape the conceptual development in Deliverable 2.2.

The analysis focused on identifying prevalent and significant themes, patterns, conceptual trends, and key issues across the selected literature. In particular, attention was paid to how core values—such as inclusion, diversity, equality, and deliberation, representation—are discussed, operationalised, and at times contested within deliberative democratic processes. This qualitative review enabled a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which these values are articulated and embedded (or not) within theoretical and empirical work on deliberative democracy and democratic innovations.

III. Bibliometric Analysis

III.1. Overview of the Dataset

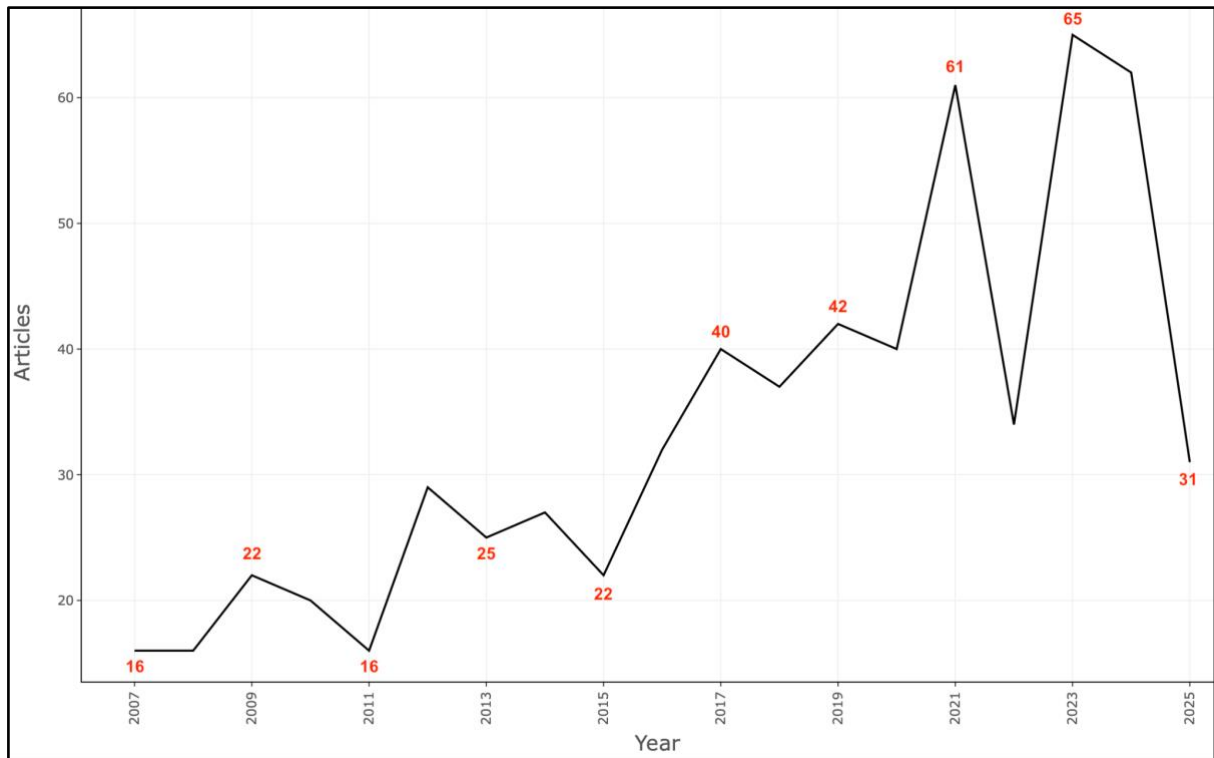
As stated before in Section II.2, the quantitative analysis was conducted using *BIBLIOMETRIX* software, which drew on the bibliometric data of 637 sources. Table 1 provides an overview of the 637 documents between 2007 and 2025, which were published in 377 different sources. The total number of authors was 968. 333 documents were single-authored and the co-author per document index—calculated as the average number of co-authors per article—was 1.93. The total number of author's keywords was 1,371. Between 2007 and 2025 there has been an increase in the number of publications, with an annual growth rate of 3.74%. There was a significant increase in the number of publications between 2020 and 2021 (from 40 to 61). However, the number dropped again in 2022 to 34, before rising to 65 in 2023 (Figure 1). The low number for 2025 (31) is attributable to the fact that the cut off date of this Deliverable is July 2025.

Table 1. Overview of the Dataset

Description	Results
MAIN INFORMATION ABOUT DATA	
Timespan	2007:2025
Sources (Journals, Books, etc.)	377
Documents	637
Annual Growth Rate %	3.74
Document Average Age	7.04
Average citations per doc	46.72
References	43,131
DOCUMENT CONTENTS	
Keywords Plus (ID)	574
Author's Keywords (DE)	1,371
AUTHORS	
Authors	968
Authors of single-authored docs	291
AUTHORS COLLABORATION	
Single-authored docs	333
Co-Authors per Doc	1.93
International co-authorships %	17.74

Source: Bibliometrix

Figure 1. Annual Scientific Production (Articles by Year)

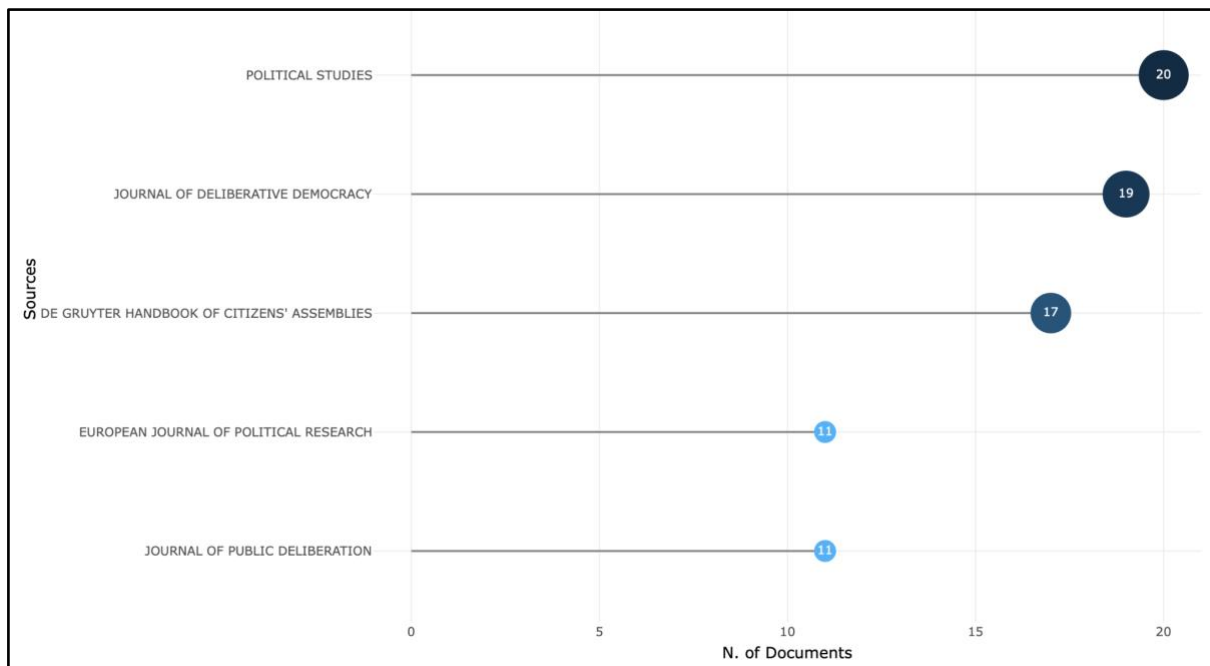


Source: Bibliometrix

III.2. Sources, Authors and Documents

The most relevant source where these documents are published is the *Political Studies Journal* (20 documents), closely followed by the *Journal of Deliberative Democracy* (19 documents). However, the publications in the *Political Studies Journal* represent only 3.14% of the total, which indicates that the sources are highly diversified (Figure 2).

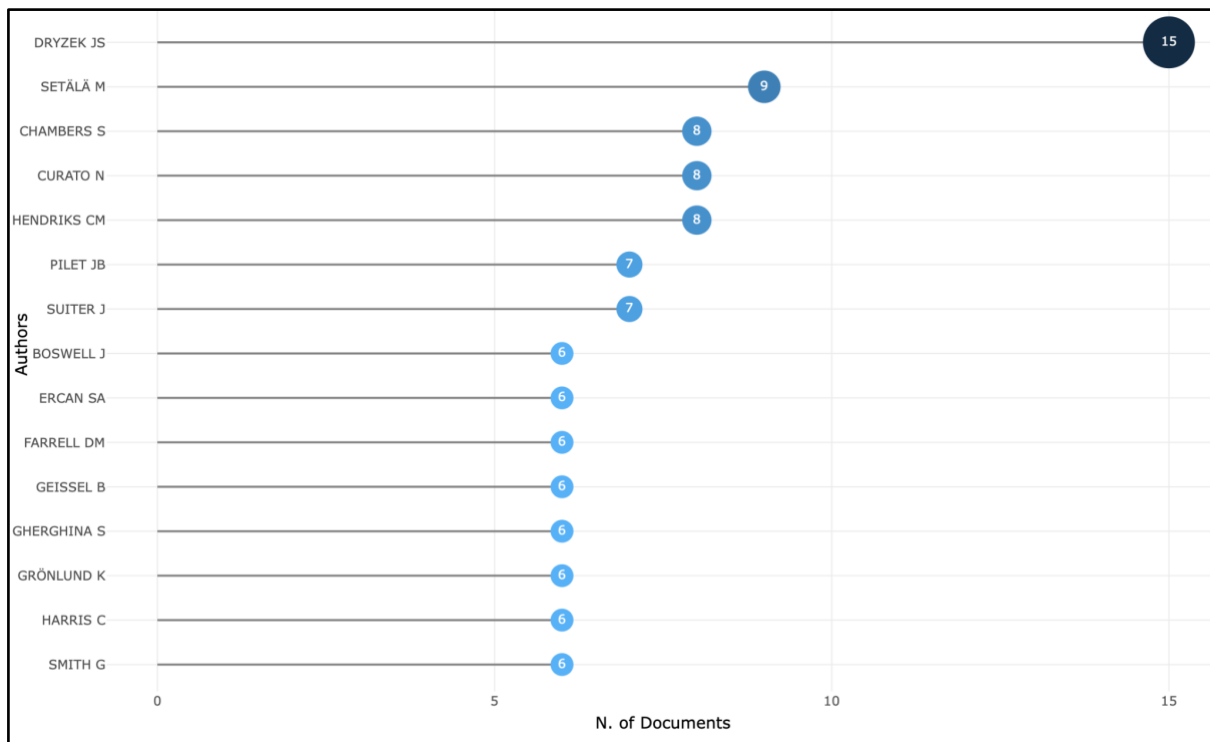
Figure 2. Most Relevant Sources by Journal



Source: Bibliometrix

With respect to the analysis based on author data, the most prominent author in terms of the number of articles included in the dataset was John Dryzek, with a total of 15 publications, followed by Maija Setälä, with 9, and Simone Chambers, Nicole Curato and Frank Hendriks with 8 (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Most Relevant Authors (Number of Articles)

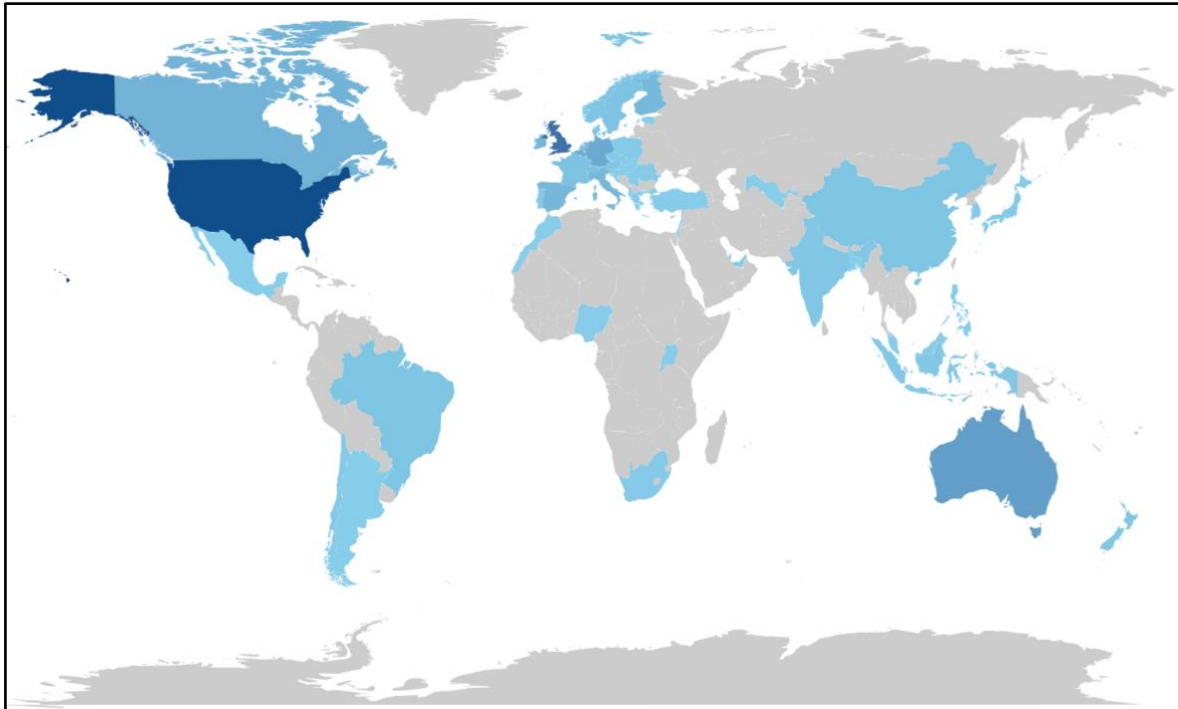


Source: Bibliometrix

Knowledge production was distributed across a diverse range of countries. Among these, the United States (with a frequency of 221) and the United Kingdom (154) notably stand out, followed by Australia (77)¹. Knowledge production in this field is distributed across a diverse range of countries. Among these, the United States (221 publications) and the United Kingdom (154) stand out most prominently, followed by Australia (77). Notably, all three of these countries lie outside the European Union. This highlights the importance of paying closer attention to innovative democratic fora that exist and are emerging both within and beyond EU Member States, ensuring that insights from non-EU contexts are incorporated into the broader mapping of deliberative practices in the later deliverables of the project.

¹ Note that the “country scientific production” analysis from Bibliometrix measures the number of authors’ appearances by country affiliations. “This means that if in an article there are three authors working respectively in the USA, SPAIN and ITALY then the counter of appearances for each of these three countries will be increased by 1. In other words each article is attributed to the countries of all its co-authors and will therefore be counted as many times as there are authors” (Bibliometrix, 2025).

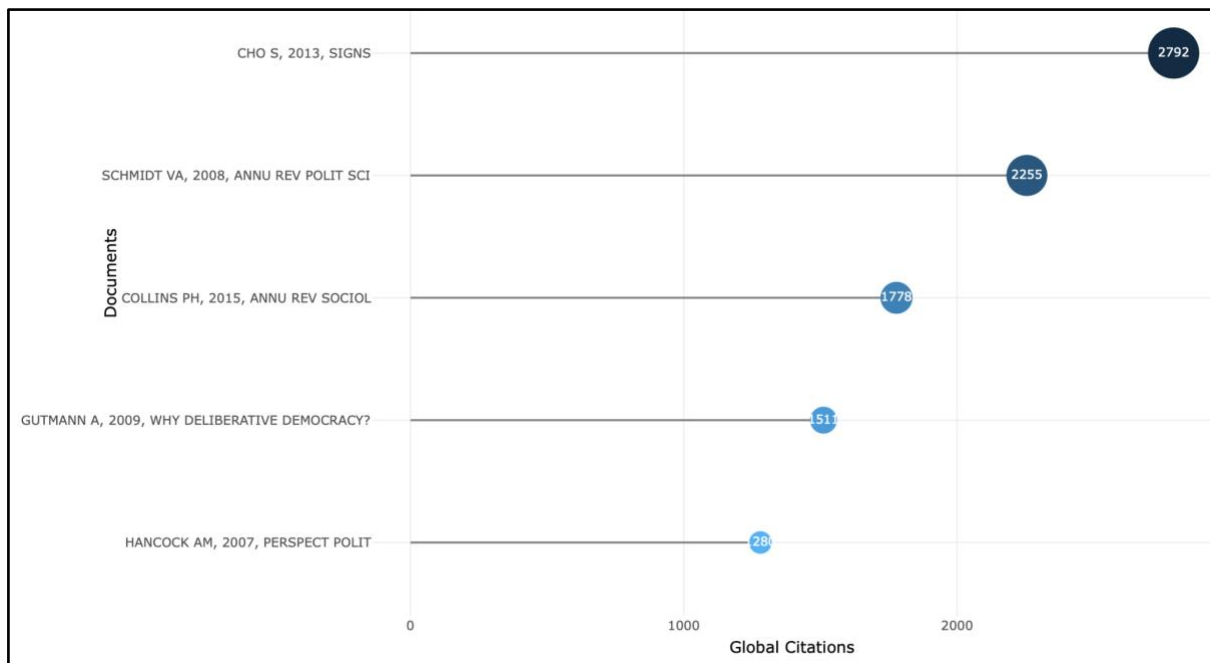
Figure 4. Country Scientific (Knowledge) Production



Source: Bibliometrix (Note. Different shades of blue indicate the number of publications in the country of each author. The more publications by authors from that country, the darker the colour is. Grey indicates there are no publications by authors from these countries).

By analysing the most cited documents, it is possible to trace the documents with the highest impact. Of the total of 637 documents, the most cited one was “Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis” by Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Crenshaw and Leslie McCall, with 2,792 citations.

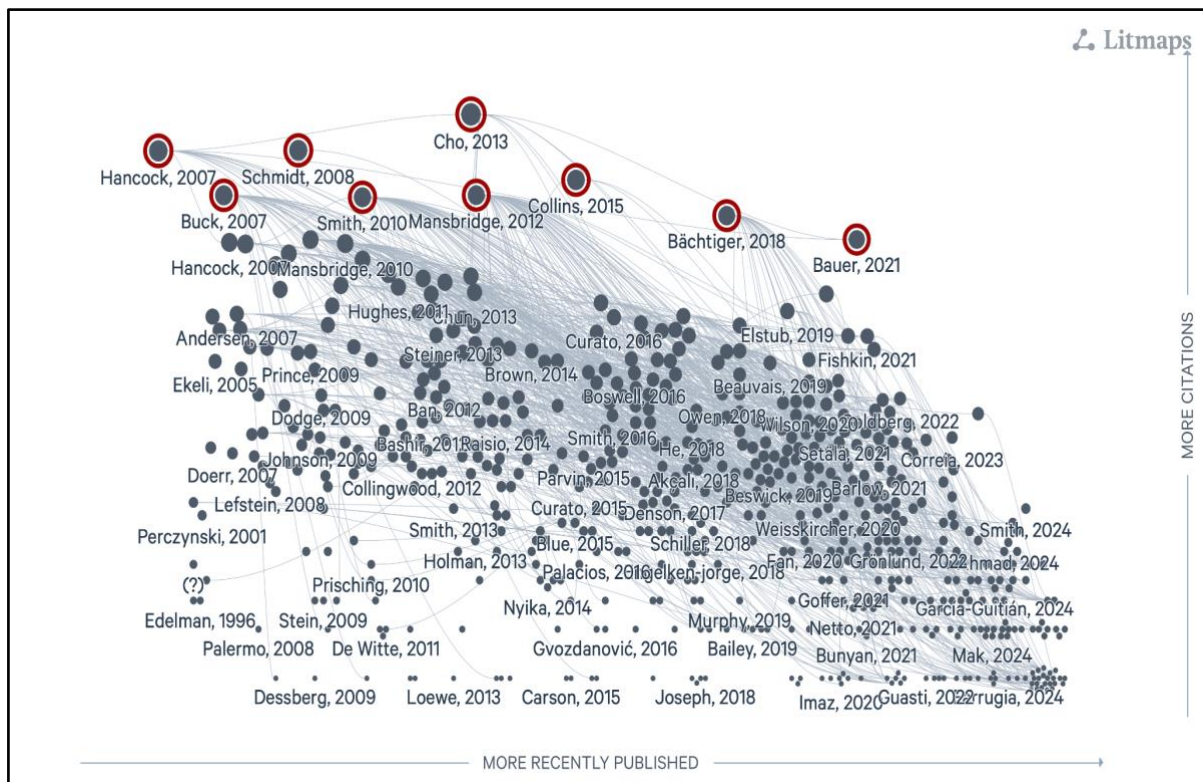
Figure 5. Most Global Cited Documents



Source: Bibliometrix

This establishes this paper as the highest-impact document among those in the dataset, along with others such as “Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse” (Schmidt, 2008), with 2,255 citations and “Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas” (Collins, 2015), with 1,778. The most cited papers were a combination of literature on intersectionality, perhaps due to their wide interdisciplinary appeal, but also included a couple of sources considered “classics” in deliberative democracy.

Figure 6. High-Impact Work

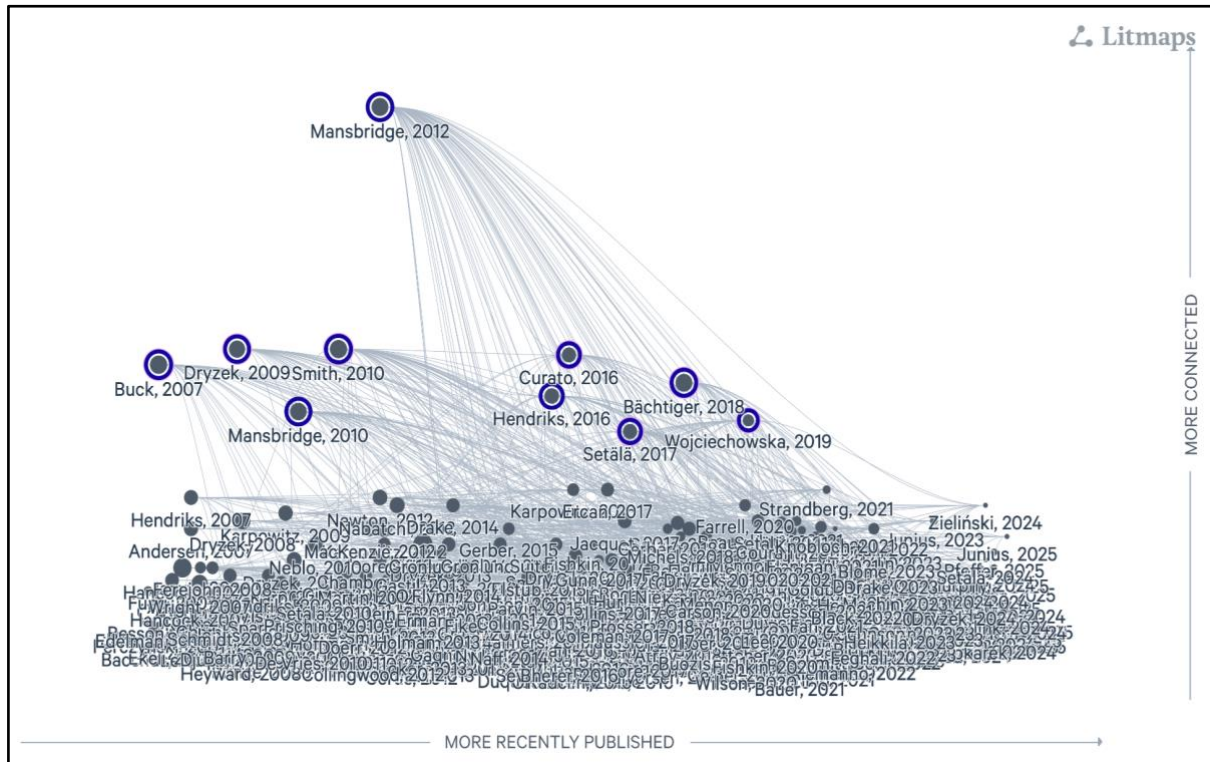


Source: Litmaps (Note. The image should be read from bottom to top, with the dots at the top representing the highest-impact documents based on their number of citations.)

Moreover, by contrasting publication dates with the connectivity of the map, it is possible to identify the most topically relevant works (Figure 7). These include “A Systemic Approach to Deliberative Democracy” (Mansbridge et al., 2012), “Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation” (Smith, 2010), and “Democratization as Deliberative Capacity Building” (Dryzek, 2009). Mansbridge et al. (2012) emphasise the deliberative system as a whole, highlighting how institutions, mini-publics, civil society, and the media interact to shape democratic legitimacy. Smith (2010) focuses on the institutional design of democratic innovations, critically assessing them against criteria such as inclusiveness, effectiveness, and transparency, while also bridging theoretical debates with practical applications. Dryzek (2009), in turn, conceptualises democratisation as a process of building deliberative capacity, ensuring that discussions are not only inclusive but also authentic and consequential. Taken together, these works provide the intellectual

foundation for several ongoing and unresolved issues in deliberative democratic theory and practice, which continue to shape contemporary debates in the field.

Figure 7. Papers Most Relevant to our Topic



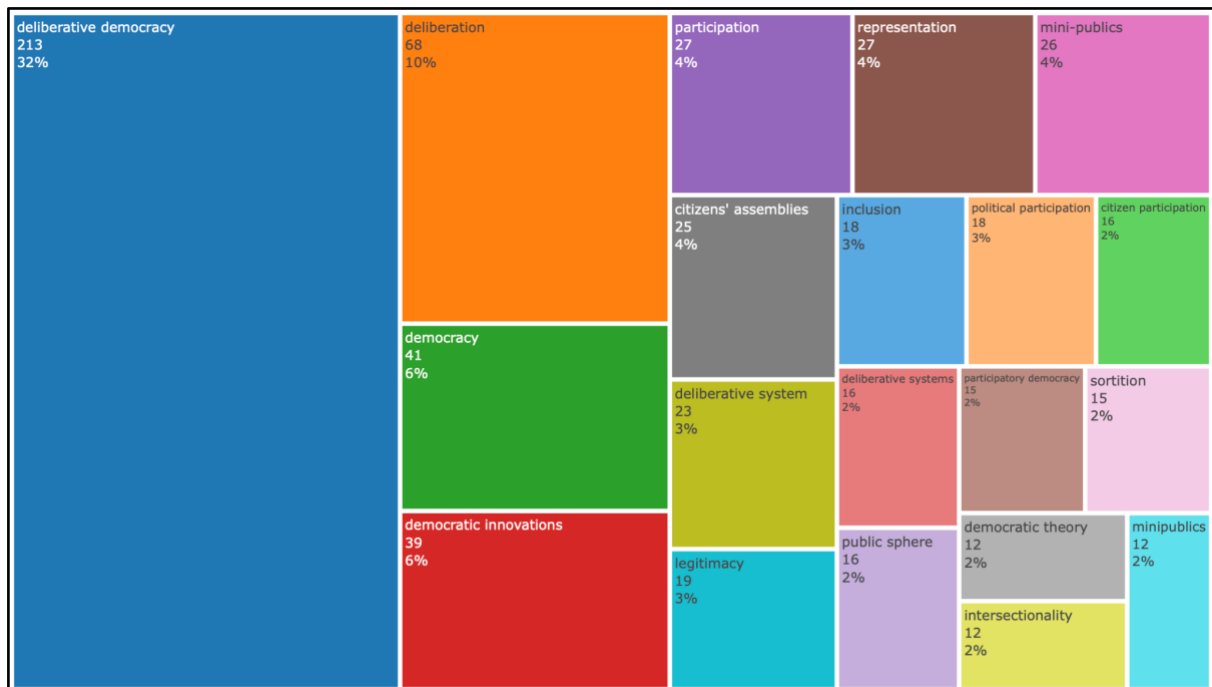
Source: Litmaps

III.3. Conceptual Structure Analysis

The conceptual structure analysis sought to map the themes and concepts of the document set based on the co-occurrence of keywords. The analysis of the most frequently used words by the authors was conducted based on the keywords provided in each document. As seen in Figure 8, the five most frequently used words were “deliberative democracy” ($n=213$, 32%), “deliberation” ($n=68$, 10%), “democracy” ($n=41$, 6%), “democratic innovations” ($n=39$, 6%) and “participation” ($n=27$, 4%). At the bottom of the top ten list is “inclusion,” with 18 mentions, while “intersectionality” appears in eighteenth place, with only 12 occurrences. This indicates that the concept and issues of “deliberation”, “participation”, and “inclusion” are more frequent than the explicit mention and application of “intersectionality” within the scholarship of deliberative democracy. Thus, by explicitly applying an intersectionality framework to

deliberative processes, particularly in citizens' assemblies, the EU-CIEMBLY project builds on existing scholarship to address ongoing conceptual and practical gaps in the European context.

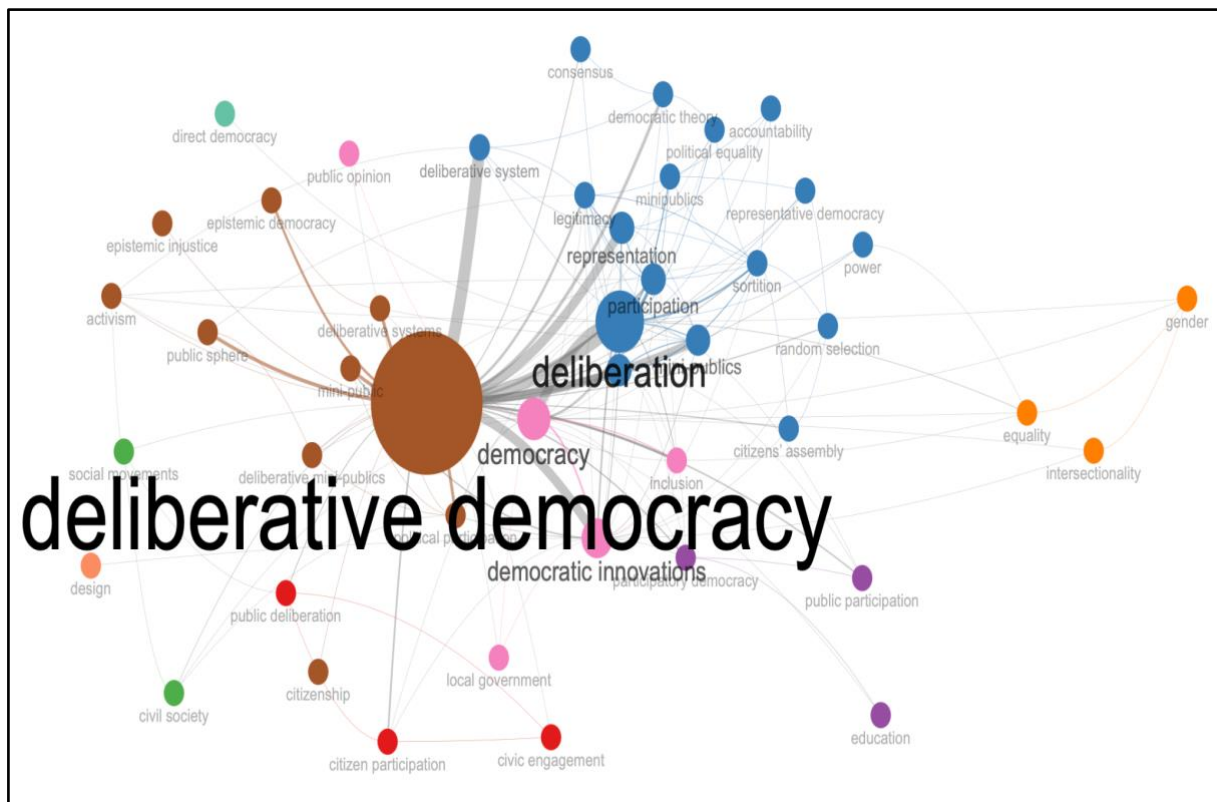
Figure 8. Tree Map



Source: Bibliometrix

Besides the frequency of the keywords used by the authors, the co-occurrence network illustrates the thematic structure of the field through the relationships among keywords (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Co-Occurrence Network



Source: Bibliometrix

Overall, the image reflects a diverse and multi-dimensional research landscape, with "deliberative democracy" functioning as a central anchor connecting several interrelated but distinct research areas. Different colours identify different clusters of topics. For example, the orange cluster encompasses themes such as intersectionality, gender, and equality, which appear to occupy a peripheral position. In contrast, the brown cluster, associated with the theme of deliberative democracy, occupies a central position, as does the blue cluster, which encompasses themes including deliberation, participation, and citizens' assemblies. The pink cluster reveals that the term "inclusion" emerges in association with concepts such as democracy, democratic innovations, local government and public opinion, indicating that these concepts are frequently used together and consequently suggesting that the debates around these themes incorporate the need for inclusion. Moreover, although pertaining to different clusters, the combination of the inclusion and intersectionality reinforce the

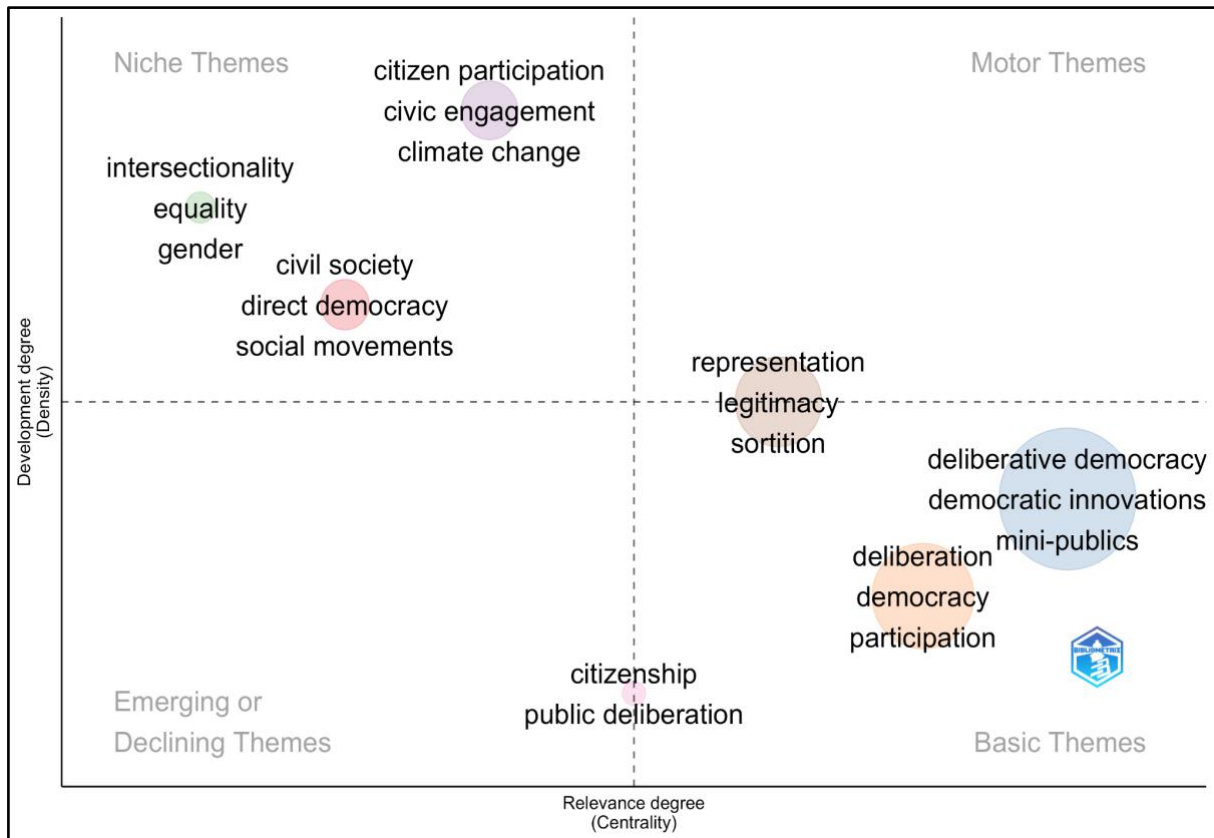
need to include such considerations in deliberative democracy. This matter, which is the focus of the project, will be discussed in more detail in Deliverable 2.2.

The different themes can also be analysed from a strategic perspective using the function “thematic map” (Figure 10). The map was constructed from the 50 most frequent keywords, considering only those that appeared at least five times per thousand documents. This analysis identifies seven clusters, highlighting specific thematic areas of research: civil society (**red**), deliberative democracy (**blue**), intersectionality (**green**), citizen participation (**purple**), deliberation (**orange**), representation (**brown**), and citizenship (**pink**).² The map is divided into four quadrants based on centrality and density. The centrality “measures the degree of interaction of a network with other networks”, showing “the importance of a theme in the development of the entire research field analysed”. While the density “measures the internal strength of the network” and can be understood “as a measure of the theme’s development” (Cobo *et al.*, 2011, p. 150). Thus, we identify deliberative democracy, representation and deliberation as basic themes, which means that these clusters “are strongly connected to other clusters, but the density of their internal links is relatively low” (Callon *et al.*, 1991, p. 166).³ Some niche themes, such as citizen participation, civil society and intersectionality, are peripheral clusters and “the strength of their internal links leads us to suppose that they correspond to research problems whose study has already been well-developed”. Furthermore, “they appear as specializations that interact weakly with the other sub-networks of the field under study” (Callon *et al.*, 1991, p. 166). This indicates that the cluster related to intersectionality, although well-developed internally, has limited interaction with the more central one of deliberative democracy. Thus emphasising once again the importance of bringing intersectional issues into the field of deliberative democracy.

² It should be noted that the clusters may not coincide exactly with those from the co-occurrence network analysis, as the thematic analysis evaluates topics based on their density and centrality, which can lead to variations.

³ As Callon *et al.* (1991) remark, the aggregates in this quadrant, “although strategical to the file under consideration, might in reality be the object of investments in other, connected, files. They correspond in this case to points of transfer between separate but linked networks. They can also signal the appearance within a given network of research problems that are becoming central, but which are not yet the object of significant investments: they are becoming mature, and their importance for the field is already indicated by their degree of centrality” (p. 166).

Figure 10. Thematic Map



Source: Bibliometrix

The following table shows the keywords that compose each cluster, along with their number of occurrences, as well as examples of articles belonging to that cluster.

Table 2. Thematic Clusters – Occurrences, Keywords and Examples

Occurrences	Words	Cluster Label	Three example documents and authors ⁴
9	Civil Society	Civil Society	<p>He, B., Deliberative citizenship and deliberative governance: a case study of one deliberative experimental in China</p> <p>Mahendran, K., From Polarized We/They Public Opinion on European Integration Towards Social Representations of Public Dialogue</p> <p>Bieling, H.J., European governance: On the relationship of democratic and non-democratic deliberation in the European multilevel system</p>
9	Direct Democracy		
8	Social Movements		
7	European Union		
7	Public Opinion		
212	Deliberative Democracy	Deliberative Democracy	<p>Dryzek, J.S., Democratization as deliberative capacity building</p> <p>Wright, S. & Street, J., Democracy, deliberation and design: The case of online discussion forums</p> <p>Curato, N. & Böker, M., Linking mini-publics to the deliberative system: A research agenda</p>
39	Democratic Innovations		
26	Mini-Publics		
25	Citizens' Assemblies		
23	Deliberative System		

⁴ Note. The documents have been selected based on the highest probability of belonging to the cluster according to Biblometrix (n.d).

18	Political Participation		
16	Deliberative Systems		
16	Public Sphere		
15	Participatory Democracy		
11	Mini-Public		
9	Epistemic Democracy		
9	Public Participation		
8	Citizens' Assembly		
8	Deliberative Mini-Publics		
7	Local Government		
7	Random Selection		
6	Epistemic Injustice		

12	Intersectionality	Intersectionality	Bauer, G.R., Churchill, S.M., Mahendran, M., Walwyn, C., Lizotte, D. & Villa-Rueda, A.A., Intersectionality in quantitative research: A systematic review of its emergence and applications of theory and methods
6	Equality		LaBarbera, M.C., Espinosa-Fajardo, J. & Caravantes, P., Implementing Intersectionality in Public Policies: Key Factors in the Madrid City Council, Spain
6	Gender		Celis, K. & Childs, S., Feminist Democratic Representation
16	Citizen Participation	Citizen Participation	Michels, A., Innovations in democratic governance: how does citizen participation contribute to a better democracy?
8	Civic Engagement		Beswick, D. & Elstub, S., Between Diversity, Representation and 'Best Evidence': Rethinking Select Committee Evidence-Gathering Practices
7	Climate Change		Menon, S. & Hartz-Karp, J., Applying mixed methods action research to explore how public participation in an Indian City could better resolve urban sustainability problems
7	Education		
6	Public Engagement		
6	Sustainability		
68	Deliberation	Deliberation	Fournier, P., Kork, H., Carty, R., Blais, A. & Rose, J., When Citizens Decide:

41	Democracy		Lessons from Citizen Assemblies on Electoral Reform
27	Participation		
18	Inclusion		
8	Power		
6	Design		
5	Activism		
27	Representation	Representation	<p>Dryzek, J.S., Foundations and frontiers of deliberative democracy</p> <p>Setälä, M., Connecting Deliberative Mini-Publics to Representative Decision Making</p> <p>Fishkin, J.S., Random assemblies for lawmaking? Prospects and limits</p>
19	Legitimacy		
15	Sortition		
12	Democratic Theory		
12	Mini-publics		
8	Political Equality		

8	Representative Democracy		
7	Consensus		
6	Accountability		
10	Citizenship	Citizenship	Ackerman, B., Reviving democratic citizenship?
10	Public Deliberation		Kapai, P., The Doctrine of Substantive Equality and the Democratisation of Diversity Gürs Ö Zlü, F., Agonistic Democracy and Political Practice: Ways of Being Adversarial

Source: Authors' own elaboration based on data obtained from Bibliometrix

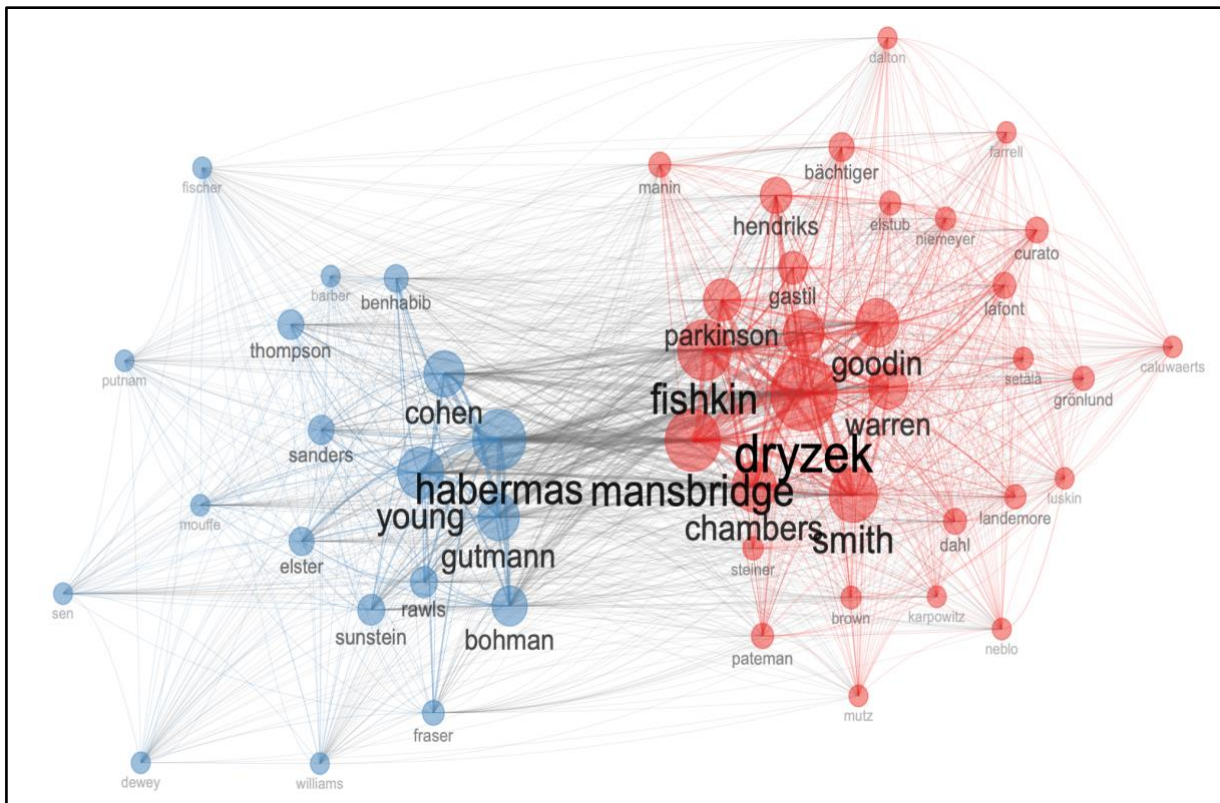
III.4. Intellectual and Social Structure Analysis

The co-citation network analysis maps the intellectual structure of the field by visualising how frequently authors are cited together in the literature. A core assumption of co-citation analysis is that when two items are frequently cited together, it indicates a strong likelihood that their content is related (Zupic & Čater, 2014). Within this analytical approach, clusters of co-cited references can be interpreted as forming the intellectual foundations of different subfields (Cobo et al., 2011).

Figure 11 shows the co-citation network taking 50 authors as the unit of analysis. In this case, red and blue colours represent different intellectual clusters. Each node represents the authors, and the size reflects the frequency with which an author is co-cited. If an author appears with a big node, it indicates that they are a central figure within the field. The red cluster is centred around Dryzek, Mansbridge, Smith and

Fishkin, while the blue cluster has Habermas, Young and Cohen as the central figures. The edges indicate co-citation links between authors, with darker lines indicating more frequent citations. Although there are links between the two clusters, the overall structure reveals an intellectual division.

Figure 11. Author Co-Citation Network



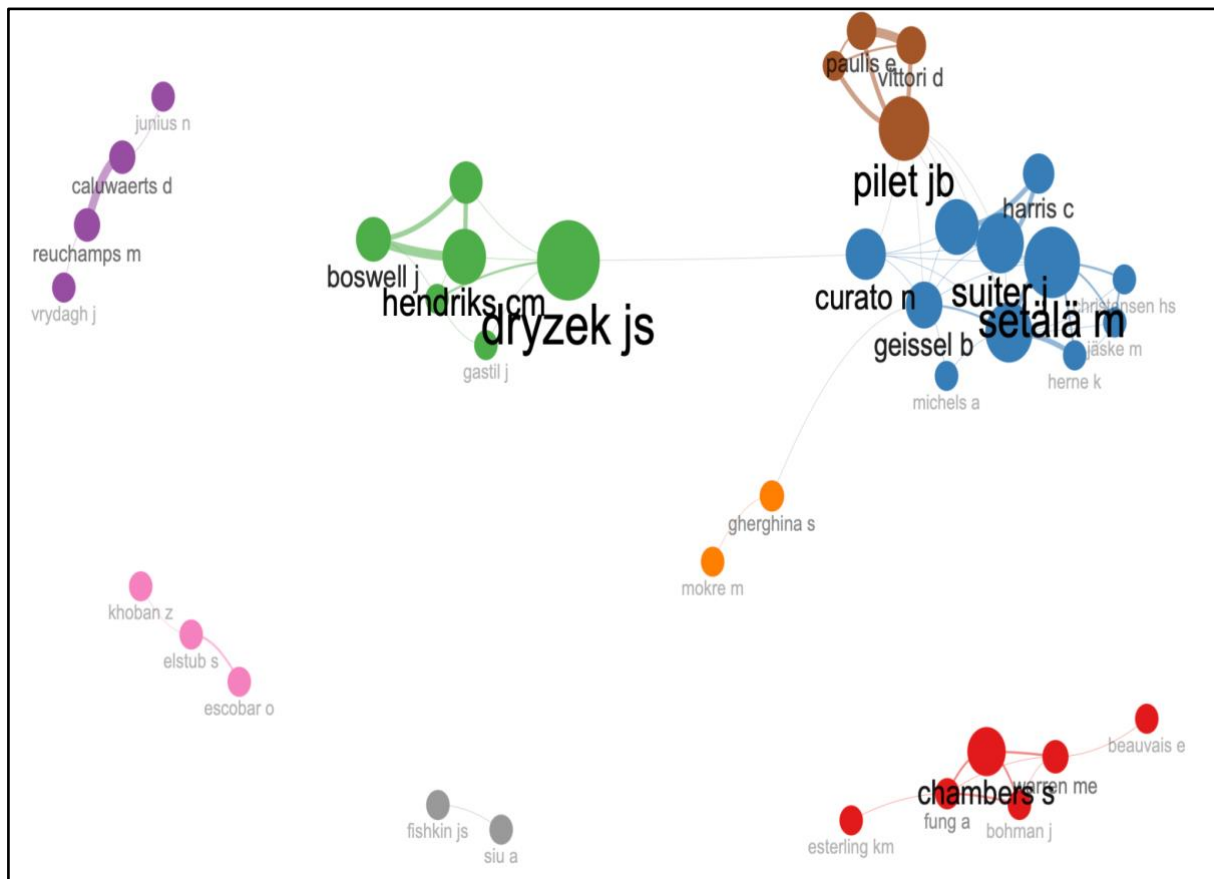
Source: Bibliometrix

Based on the database, various collaboration networks can also be identified (Figure 12). These collaboration networks show the relationships between authors, institutions (such as universities or departments) in a specific research field (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2022).

Analysing the collaboration network using the authors' unit of analysis, eight different networks with some lead researchers can be identified. For instance, the one represented by Dryzek and composed of Hendriks, Boswell, Niemeyer, Gastil and Ercan (in green); or the one represented by Elstub, Escobar and Khoban (in pink).

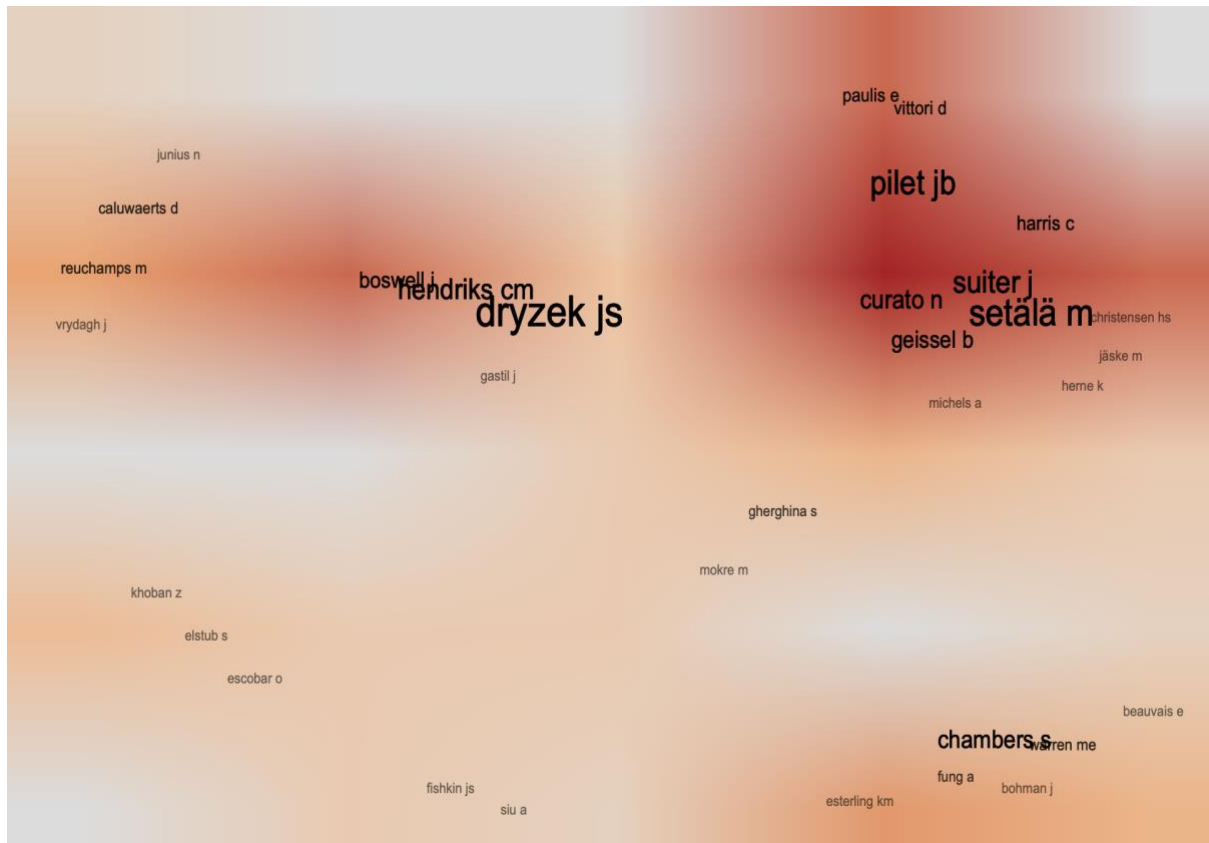
Despite the existence of different networks, there appears to be little connection among them, with few connections only among four of the eight (Figure 13). Therefore, apart from the case discussed above, this may indicate isolated research or differences in epistemological positions or approaches within the subject area and the need for a closer collaboration between researchers and specific research areas.

Figure 12. Authors Collaboration Network



Source: Bibliometrix

Figure 13. Density of Collaboration of the Networks



Source: Bibliometrix

The bibliometric analysis offers a macro-level, quantitative overview of the most relevant literature and authors for the project. It can be complemented by a thematic analysis for an in-depth understanding of the field. The following section therefore turns to this task by discussing six broad and critical themes, identified and agreed upon by the research team through review and reflection (see Section II.2).

IV. Thematic Narrative

This section outlines six broad themes identified through a series of group discussions, readings, and note-taking as mentioned earlier in Section II.2. These themes are considered the most relevant for project purposes and will be embedded in future deliverables of WP2. It is important to note that these themes are not entirely discrete;

rather, they frequently overlap and intersect. A total of 216 sources were reviewed for this analysis; a selection of these are cited within the theme descriptions, with the complete list provided in Appendix II.

IV.1. Deliberative Democracy as Complex, Systemic, and Interlocking Processes

A major shift in the field of deliberative democracy has occurred from viewing deliberation as confined to discrete forums, such as the use of stand-alone mini-publics, toward a systems perspective (Elstub & McLaverty, 2014; Krüger, 2023; Mansbridge et al., 2012;). Where a one-off citizens' assembly may provide some interesting insights into the policy topic at hand, it risks seeming tokenistic, and ultimately relies on power structures, i.e., elites choosing to use the recommendations from an assembly (see IV.6 below; Setälä, 2017). This can feel like surface-level engagement and research shows that it may even be counterproductive when it comes to controversial issues (Ravazzi & Pomatto, 2020).

In contrast, a systems-level approach seeks to build deliberative opportunities into the democratic system—and all of society—through ensuring that different parts of the system are responsive to the public (Krüger, 2023; Orchard-Webb *et al.*, 2016; Stoiciu & Gherghina, 2021). This has become all the more important as representative democracy has been increasingly criticised on the basis of inclusion and its lack of ability to respond to the needs of everyday people (Curtin, 2017). One-off initiatives at best can lead to small-scale, incremental change, and do not necessarily build trust in democracy or institutions, create inclusion, or transform power structures in any way (García-Espín & Lancha-Hernández, 2025). The systems approach conceives of deliberative democracy as a distributed, networked process across institutions, civil society, media, informal spaces, businesses, and in online or technology-mediated spaces (Krüger, 2023; Spada & Paulson, 2023; Wouters, De Fraine & Simons, 2019). The idea is that a more sustained networked approach can increase trust and citizens' views of legitimacy (this theme is closely linked to IV.6 below).

IV.2. Inclusion and Power: Intersectionality in Essence

As noted earlier (Section II.1), *intersectionality*—coined by Crenshaw (1989) to describe how multiple forms of marginalisation intersect to create unique and often intensified experiences of disadvantage—is not widely or explicitly used in the core literature on deliberative democracy, citizens’ assemblies, or other forms of mini-publics. However, a significant body of scholarship engages with thematically adjacent concerns, particularly regarding the inclusion and exclusion of marginalised voices. Over the past two decades, deliberative democratic theorists have increasingly turned their attention to questions such as: who is invited to participate, whose voices are amplified or silenced, and what structural and procedural conditions shape the inclusion or exclusion of marginalised individuals and communities within deliberative spaces. These inquiries have focused on understanding the ways in which systemic inequalities—such as those based on race, gender, class, and other social hierarchies—impact both access to and the quality of participation in deliberative processes. Scholars such as Asenbaum (2016)

Bächtiger and Schwaiger (2022), Curato et al. (2019), Drake (2021), Karpowitz et al. (2012), Karpowitz and Raphael (2014), Lupien (2018), Mansbridge et al. (2012), Siim (2011), and Wojciechowska (2019) have contributed to a growing recognition that deliberative fora are not immune to broader societal inequalities.

Recent scholarship has also sought to engage more explicitly with critical theoretical traditions to interrogate the structural dimensions of inequality within deliberative democracy. Feminist frameworks, for example, have been employed to examine how gendered power relations, care responsibilities, and embodied experiences shape both the capacity and the opportunity to participate meaningfully in deliberative processes (Akhila & John, 2024; Martínez-Palacios, 2017; Zieliński & Ufel, 2024). In parallel, critical race studies—most notably the contributions of Drake (2021; 2023)—have drawn attention to the ways in which race and racism are not incidental but structurally embedded within the institutional and procedural design of deliberative systems. Together, these critical perspectives challenge the liberal–universalist assumptions that often underpin deliberative democracy theory, foregrounding the

necessity of confronting intersecting systems of oppression if democratic participation is to be genuinely inclusive.

Furthermore, increasing attention has been directed towards efforts to ensure the inclusion of voices from specific underrepresented and structurally marginalised groups—such as women, women of colour, migrants, children and persons with disabilities—within deliberative democratic spaces (Afsahi, 2020; Clifford, 2012; Deane et al., 2025; Harris et al., 2020; Lupien, 2018; Mallon et al. 2025; Nishiyama 2023; Raz & Almog, 2023; Stienstra & Nguyen, 2020; Stoiciu & Gherghina, 2021). While these studies may not always frame their analyses in terms of intersectionality, their shared concern with the dynamics of exclusion and the incorporation of marginalised voices underscores the relevance of intersectional thinking to deliberative democratic theory and practice. These studies stress the critical importance of addressing power imbalances and structural inequalities in order to ensure the meaningful inclusion of diverse and marginalised perspectives in deliberative processes. While the literature on deliberative democracy increasingly recognises these challenges, the systematic integration of intersectionality into the theoretical frameworks and institutional design of democratic participation remains limited (Lupien, 2018). Building on this, Deliverable 2.2 will further engage with the core literature on intersectionality theory to define the projects' definition and operationalisation of the concept.

IV.3. Epistemic Turn and Throughput Legitimacy in Deliberative Democracy

Over the past two decades, scholars have paid increasing attention to the role of knowledge, expertise, and epistemic justice in democratic deliberation (Bohman, 2007; Brasi & Warman, 2023; Cerovac & Barunčić, 2024; Herzog & Lepenies, 2022; Martí, 2017; Min, 2016; Moore, 2016; Schmidt, 2024). Building on the foundational principles of deliberative democracy—particularly the view that democracy entails citizens collectively reasoning about issues of common concern—this “epistemic turn” shifts the analytical focus toward how different forms of knowledge and expertise shape deliberative processes (Bohman, 2007). Central to this shift is an interrogation of what counts as legitimate knowledge, accompanied by a growing recognition that

deliberative spaces should engage with multiple epistemologies. These include not only formal expert knowledge but also lived experiences and Indigenous and other non-Western ways of knowing, each of which contributes to a more inclusive and contextually grounded democratic practice.

Within this context, the concept of *epistemic justice* (Brasi & Warman, 2023; Cerovac & Barunčić, 2024; Herzog & Lepenies, 2022; Schmidt, 2024) has gained prominence, referring to the equitable distribution of opportunities for individuals and groups to contribute their knowledge and expertise. The epistemic turn highlights the importance of creating space for marginalised voices—often excluded from knowledge production by dominant norms of expression and recognition—within deliberative processes. It draws attention to the epistemic inequalities that prevent certain individuals or communities from being acknowledged as legitimate knowers. In response, scholars and practitioners have called for the inclusion of diverse modes of expression, including creative and non-traditional practices, to make deliberative spaces more inclusive and representative of varied epistemologies (Drake, 2021).

Deliberative democracy has long grappled with the tension between expert knowledge, often positioned as objective and authoritative, and lay knowledge, grounded in personal or community experience (Cerovac & Barunčić, 2024; Moore, 2016). The epistemic turn challenges this binary, arguing that both forms of knowledge are valuable and complementary. While experts may provide critical information for decision-making, lay participants' lived experiences can offer equally vital insights, particularly in highlighting perspectives and realities that formal expertise may overlook.

Debates on epistemic diversity, justice, and inclusion intersect closely with the concept of *throughput legitimacy* (Schmidt, 2024). Throughput legitimacy evaluates the procedural integrity of decision-making—emphasising transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, and fairness—while the epistemic turn asks whether deliberation produces and evaluates knowledge well, including how it integrates expert testimony with lay, experiential, Indigenous knowledge and creative practices. The former specifies the procedural conditions under which the latter can be realised: without

transparent reasoning, accountable facilitation, and inclusive design, epistemic quality is unlikely to emerge and is easily contested. Conversely, epistemic criteria also discipline throughput: a process cannot credibly claim procedural legitimacy if it systematically discounts certain knowers, tolerates testimonial injustice, or restricts the evidentiary base to technocratic expertise (Moore, 2016; Biale & Liveriero, 2017). Together, these perspectives highlight not only *who* deliberates and *what* outcomes are produced, but also *how* deliberation unfolds and *whose* knowledge counts in shaping those outcomes. The concepts of legitimacy—encompassing input, throughput, and output—will be examined in greater depth in Deliverable 2.2, which will outline how considerations of procedural legitimacy inform the design choices for the EU-CIEMBLY pilots.

IV.4. Decolonising Deliberative Democracy

In recent years, deliberative democracy scholarship has shown growing engagement with non-Western traditions, decolonial perspectives, and deliberative practices emerging from the Global South. These literature challenge the Eurocentric assumptions embedded in early deliberative theory, which privileged procedural forms and communicative norms rooted in Western liberal political thought (Banerjee, 2022; Carlan, 2021; Mendonça & Asenbaum, 2025; Min, 2009; Tokarek & Ufel, 2024). Decolonial and Southern critiques interrogate whose voices, epistemologies, and governance traditions are centred in deliberative spaces, and whose are marginalised or excluded. This has led to increasing recognition of the value of deliberative forums and principles grounded in non-Western contexts. These forums include Indigenous governance systems and village assemblies from places in postcolonial political settings like India, where decision-making is often embedded in relational, collective, affective and place-based practices (Carlan, 2021).

These perspectives also challenge the dominance of rationalist ideals—such as linear argumentation and consensus-seeking—by foregrounding relational, affective, and narrative forms of communication as equally legitimate modes of political expression. Storytelling, ceremony, visual and performative arts, and other culturally embedded practices are thus understood not as peripheral to deliberation but as central to its

legitimacy and inclusiveness. Furthermore, some decolonial approaches extend the scope of deliberation beyond human participants, recognising the agency and interests of non-human beings—land, rivers, animals, and ecosystems—particularly within Indigenous ontologies that conceive of governance as encompassing the more-than-human world. In doing so, they unsettle anthropocentric and state-centred understandings of democratic deliberation, expanding its conceptual and ethical boundaries (Ekeli, 2017).

IV.5. Normative Challenges and Unresolved Tensions

Over time, a set of challenges have emerged in the literature, many of which have implications for inclusion and intersectionality. Some of these are broader questions about the nature of the democratic system (e.g. see IV.1) and inequity in deliberation and society, others present more technical challenges for citizens' assemblies. Some of these challenges relate to sampling, technology, reproducing inequity in the assembly and in the patterns of deliberation, and “the activist challenge”.

A key technical challenge is how one samples the ‘citizens’ who attend the citizens’ assembly (Vrydagh, 2023). Conventionally participants are recruited using a sortition method. Sortition in citizens’ assemblies refers to the random selection of participants from the general population. Citizens are randomly selected, often using a two-stage process (invitations and stratification) to achieve a representative sample of the population (Pilet et al., 2023). In simple sortition, minority social groups are represented at the rate they appear in the population, but this can sometimes mean they are not represented at all (Owen & Smith, 2018). Sortition poses a challenge for intersectionality and inclusion: if there is no one from a specific group (or intersections of social groups) in the room, then there is probably no inclusion (Khoban, 2021; Vrydagh, 2023). The question arises: should citizens’ assemblies move away from this model on the basis of the need to include more marginalised voices, and those who come from different intersectional, marginalised positions? (Vrydagh, 2023) Counter to this, the statistical randomness of sortition, which (seemingly) gives everyone an equal chance of being selected is viewed across the political spectrum as a strength of many citizens’ assembly models (Owen & Smith, 2018; Pilet *et al.*, 2023). Changing

away from sortition may reduce legitimacy in the eyes of both elites and the public. This is an unresolved tension that many authors have written about (Michels & Binnema, 2018; Pow, van Dijk & Marien, 2020; Steel *et al.*, 2020; Vrydagh, 2023) and that is central to the EU-CIEMBLY project. Prejudice, inequality and power dynamics are deeply ingrained, resistant to change, and are well documented in the communication patterns between individuals. This raises a critical question, can deliberation truly be inclusive in structurally unequal societies, or will it inevitably reproduce inequities? (Lupien, 2018). For instance, the public sphere has systematically excluded women, and many other marginalised groups prompting concerns about how the designers of democratic innovations ensure that citizens' assemblies avoid replicating these dynamics (Doer, 2007; Setälä, 2014). At the same time, the rising economic inequality in many established democracies further complicates prospects for inclusion of socioeconomically marginalised groups (Lee, McQuarrie & Walker, 2015). How can a mini-public hope to exist and not replicate the power imbalances, unfairness, and inequity of the broader society? Although the literature has explored some practical steps towards inclusion for different groups, these tensions remain central to the EU-CIEMBLY project (García-Espín, 2024; García-Espín & Lancha-Hernández, 2025).

These power imbalances manifest within deliberation influencing the number of words spoken, who speaks, how often, who voices their concerns, and who even wants to participate in a citizens' assembly (Harris *et al.*, 2020; Karpowitz, Mendelberg, & Shaker, 2012). An unresolved issue is how best to ensure citizens' assemblies can hear from those from marginalised social positions, whether it be through purposeful design or other interventions (Bächtiger & Schwaiger, 2022). Yet, it is unclear how far interventions in deliberation between citizens can go before they exclude those from more dominant social positions, create polarisation, are rejected by the members of an assembly, or lose legitimacy among the broader public and elites (see IV.6 below). The field is also coming to terms with technology and the implications that Artificial Intelligence ('AI'), use of videoconferencing, political participation apps and other technology has for deliberation, and also in relation to inequality (Alnemr, Choucair & Curato, 2020; Kennedy *et al.*, 2021; Lima, 2025; Widyatama & Mahbob, 2024).

Another tension within democratic innovations is described as the “activist challenge” (Drake, 2021). While there is increasing discussion about the transformative and activist potential of deliberative democratic forums (Drake, 2021; Felicetti & Holdo, 2024; Spada & Allegretti, 2021), many scholars argue that citizens’ assemblies often struggle to accommodate more radical or dissenting perspectives. This difficulty arises from several factors: the emphasis on consensus, the framing of topics or issues in ways that exclude alternative viewpoints, and the inability to incorporate or legitimise protest positions (Drake, 2021; Olson, 2011). It may be that citizens’ assemblies are not able to account for disruptive protests in their current form (Smith, 2016). In relation to inclusion and intersectionality, challenges remain with how to include those who oppose the final recommendations in some way or include different minority voices or opinions in the final outputs. These also relate to the limits of consensus—the general goal of assemblies is to come to a set of outputs that everyone is sufficiently agreeable to, and where views outside of the mainstream can be silenced by this majority view. Some literature discusses the issues with consensus and voting for citizens’ assemblies, including how these mechanisms can suppress a plurality and diversity of views (Follesdal, 2010). Others discuss the trade-off between inclusion and discussing differences versus the potential for polarisation, or the ability of democratic innovations to remedy affective polarisation (Khoban, 2022; Lee *et al.*, 2022; Setälä & O’Flynn, 2024; Stasavage, 2007). Some of these unresolved issues and tensions including the use of sortition and representative sampling in Citizens’ Assembly, are further discussed in Deliverables 2.1 and 2.2.

IV.6. Output Legitimacy, Policy Impact and Political Will

A further, more existential tension for citizens’ assemblies is their ability to create any real lasting change or policy impact. This appears to be a foundational concern in the literature. At the end of a successful citizens’ assembly process there needs to be some type of output, whether “abstract or concrete” (Vrydagh, 2023, p. 10). This often will include policy recommendations for the area under examination. Given the way that democratic systems operate, these outputs are then handed back to the public service and politicians who then need to progress the outcomes. In short, the ultimate ability of citizens’ assemblies to change anything rests on the political will for change.

The literature discusses a number of issues around output legitimacy, the political and policy impact of citizens' assemblies, and their relationship to the political establishment.

Many EU democracies have faced challenges to their legitimacy in the past decade (Vrydagh, 2023). Research highlights the potential of citizens' assemblies to connect with those marginalised by these traditional voting and political systems, and those who distrust the current systems (Abels, 2014; Goldberg & Bächtiger, 2023; Pilet *et al.*, 2023; Rojon & Pilet, 2021; Talukder & Pilet, 2021; Walsh & Elkink, 2021). However, these studies also highlight the limits of the ability of citizens' assemblies to do so, including the need for outputs to align with public views, input and output legitimacy, and differences in opinion based on the social characteristics of those surveyed (Caluwaerts & Reuchamps, 2016; Pilet *et al.*, 2023; Rasmussen & Nørgaard, 2018; Rojon & Pilet, 2021). Literature has also discussed the potential for citizens' assemblies to enhance the public accountability of democracy (Lee, 2024; McIntyre-Mills, 2009; Vandamme, 2023).

Ultimately, as also discussed in Section IV.2, political elites and professionals (including politicians, the public service, academics, and civil society organisations) exert a high level of control over the creation of citizens' assemblies at all levels, excluding many marginalised groups (García-Espín & Lancha-Hernández, 2025; Johnson, 2009). Work also shows that for elites and citizens alike, agreement with the eventual findings of a citizens' assembly and whether the recommendations were taken up by the government affects their views of its legitimacy and approval for them as a construct (Niessen, 2019; Van Dijk & Lefevere, 2023). Studies have shown that accountability to the citizenry increases public views of legitimacy, but not accountability to politicians (Brummel & de Blok, 2024). Some assemblies have opted to include politicians in the deliberation, which can create collaboration, and greater buy-in from decision-makers (Agger, 2021; Grönlund *et al.*, 2022; Strandberg *et al.*, 2021). There have also been calls to institutionalise citizens' assemblies and make them a formal part of decision-making (Setälä, 2017). Ultimately, however, if an assembly adopts features that are based on inclusion and intersectionality, will this be accepted by elites and by those across the political spectrum, who may reject the

concept of intersectionality or even citizens' assemblies? (Ramis-Moyano *et al.*, 2025). An unresolved tension is how to create an assembly that accounts for intersectionality and inclusion that is not dismissed mostly by centrist and right-leaning elites as biased. Ultimately, given that the literature argues that the outcomes of assemblies are tied to the political will and support from the public, there is a need to ensure they have a wide support base. The issue of output legitimacy is further discussed in Deliverable 2.2.

V. Conclusion, Limitations and Next Steps

This is the first of three substantive deliverables for WP2, which aims to establish the theoretical and methodological foundations of the EU-CIEMBLY project. The objective of this deliverable is to conduct a systematic search to identify and consolidate relevant literature on deliberative democracy and citizens' assemblies, with particular attention to scholarship that engages with issues closely related to intersectionality—such as inclusion, representation, and the participation of marginalised groups.

Following a systematic search, screening, and review process (see Section II), we conducted a macro-level quantitative analysis and visualisation—namely a bibliometric analysis—of 637 sources to examine author networks, keyword co-occurrence, citation patterns, and publication trends (see Section III). This bibliometric analysis was then complemented by a qualitative synthesis of six broad themes (see Section IV), developed through a series of group discussions, readings, and note-taking from 216 selected sources. These themes capture key issues as well as recent and emerging trends in the scholarship, and they will serve as a foundation for deeper exploration in subsequent deliverables, including the concept of intersectionality, and the three interconnected dimensions of procedural (i.e., input, throughput and output) legitimacy in deliberative democracy.

The deliverable then discussed six thematic narratives, constructed on the basis of the literature. Section IV.1 described the move towards a deliberative system in the literature, where the field has evolved from viewing deliberation as confined to discrete forums toward a systems-level approach integrating deliberative opportunities

throughout society. Section IV.2 highlighted that while intersectionality is not explicitly referenced in the literature, there is nonetheless a substantial body of work engaging with adjacent issues such as inclusion and the representation of marginalised social groups. Much of this scholarship has concentrated on the persistent challenges of securing meaningful inclusion within deliberative democracy, particularly in contexts marked by structural inequalities and deeply divided societies. Section IV.3 examined the epistemic turn in deliberative democracy scholarship, which emphasises the recognition of multiple knowledge systems and forms of expertise, underscoring their potential to both broaden inclusivity and enrich the quality of deliberation. Section IV.4 outlined the growing body of research calling for the decolonisation and de-Westernisation of deliberative spaces, stressing the need to recognise alternative deliberative forums—such as Indigenous governance systems and village assemblies—from the Global South. Section IV.5 on normative challenges and unresolved tensions described the obstacles to achieving inclusion and intersectionality in assemblies, including how traditional sortition may underrepresent marginalised groups, how deliberation patterns risk reproducing power imbalances, and how consensus-seeking approaches may silence minority perspectives. In IV.6 on output legitimacy and political impact, the deliverable discussed how the ability for citizens' assemblies to create change depends entirely on political will from elites who control their creation and may reject inclusive, intersectional approaches.

V.1. Limitations

As outlined in the methodology section (Section II), the search strategies and methodological choices employed for this deliverable inevitably introduced certain limitations. Acknowledging these constraints is important, as they help frame the interpretation of the findings and clarify the boundaries of the current mapping exercise. The decision to begin the search from 2007, as explained in Section II.1, means that earlier sources — including some foundational works — were not captured in this analysis. Similarly, restricting the search to English-language publications, excluding “grey literature,” and applying other search parameters may have resulted in the omission of relevant materials at this stage of the EU-CIEMBL Y project.

However, as noted in Section II.1, these exclusions do not preclude the inclusion of such works in future stages of the project. It is anticipated that subsequent deliverables within Work Package 2, along with Work Package 3 — which focuses on the design and implementation of citizens’ assemblies — will incorporate a broader range of sources. This will include seminal texts, grey literature, works from earlier time periods, publications in other languages, and research from additional academic disciplines, thereby helping to address the current limitations of the bibliographic map.

The bibliometric analysis had some methodological limitations. Firstly, the bibliometric analysis was completed using only the 637 documents that are included in Scopus because this software tool only supports the metadata of sources that are available in certain databases. This means some of the sources were not included in the quantitative analyses, although they may feature in the thematic narratives. Although the dataset was large enough to perform the analyses with Bibliometrix, the dataset itself has limitations. For instance, not all the papers or books have keywords. Thus, in the “missing data” report provided by Bibliometrix, 29.36% of keywords were unavailable. Regardless, all analyses involving words have been carried out using keywords as the unit of analysis because the results are still more accurate than when using titles or abstracts as the unit of analysis.

The search strategies used in the deliverable were systematic in nature, rather than comprehensive. Instead of tracing key authors or journals, the search was confined to keyword-based retrieval. Consequently, researchers did not conduct forward or backward citation searches for key works included here. As noted in Section I, the work within WP2 takes a linear and cumulative approach, with future work taking a more holistic and extensive direction to gradually incorporate a broader range of relevant literature into the EU-CIEMBLY corpus.

V.2. Next Steps

This deliverable constitutes a starting point for the remainder of Work Package 2, rather than representing an end in itself. The systematic search, identification and consolidation of the relevant literature serves as a point of reference for the sources

to be used in the construction of the normative or conceptual aspects of the project in later deliverables (i.e. Deliverable 2.2 and 2.3).

It also provides a narrative of the key themes emerging from the body of literature identified in Deliverable 2.1. While still an initial step, this work provides a valuable foundation for Work Package 2 and the EU-CIEMBLY project as a whole, setting the stage for the further development of central theoretical concepts such as intersectionality, inclusion, and citizens' assemblies. While still an initial step, this work represents a valuable foundation for Work Package 2 and the EU-CIEMBLY project as a whole, setting the stage for further development of the key theoretical concepts such as intersectionality, inclusion, and Citizens Assemblies. In addition, the issues briefly outlined in Section IV — including the normative challenges of deliberative democracy, such as participant recruitment, sortition, procedural legitimacy, and the risk of reproducing existing power asymmetries — will be further examined and expanded upon in Deliverables 2.2 and 2.3. These subsequent analyses will clarify how such challenges shape the design choices for the EU-CIEMBLY pilots.

Building on the literature identified in Deliverable 2.1, Deliverable 2.2 will set out the project's principles, objectives, and limitations by situating the EU-CIEMBLY project within the existing scholarship on the inclusion of marginalised social groups in citizens' assemblies. It will also develop working definitions of the key theoretical and normative concepts—such as intersectionality, citizens' assemblies, inclusion, and equality—that will be used consistently across the project. In addition, Deliverable 2.2, building on the presented bibliographic foundation, will propose an interim conceptual framework for the project, with the understanding that this framework will be refined as the project progresses through subsequent stages. It is also noteworthy that Deliverable 2.2. might take avenues that go beyond the key insights and reflections from D.2.1 if they are deemed necessary or relevant for the purposes of achieving the objectives of the EU-CIEMBLY project.

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⁵ Note: The reference list includes sources used for contextual discussion but not included in the bibliometric or narrative analyses. References for the thematic narrative section of the deliverable are provided separately in **Appendix II**.

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Appendix I Keywords Combinations

Table I-1: Keyword Search Combination String

Key Search Terms	Deliberative Democracy	Citizens Assembl*	Minipublics	Democratic Innovations
Intersectionality				
Power Relation*	"Power Relation*" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Power Relation*" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Power Relation*" AND "Minipublics"	"Power Relation*" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Marginalis*	"Marginalis*" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Marginalis*" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Marginalis*" AND "Minipublics"	"Marginalis*" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Minorit*	"Minorit*" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Minorit*" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Minorit*" AND "Minipublics"	"Minorit*" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Vulnerable	"Vulnerable" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Vulnerable" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Vulnerable" AND "Minipublics"	"Vulnerable" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Hard to Reach	"Hard to Reach" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Hard to Reach" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Hard to Reach" AND "Minipublics"	"Hard to Reach" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Diversity	"Diversity" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Diversity" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Diversity" AND "Minipublics"	"Diversity" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Inclusi*	"Inclusi*" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Inclusi*" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Inclusi*" AND "Minipublics"	"Inclusi*" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Intersect*	"Intersect*" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Intersect*" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Intersect*" AND "Minipublics"	"Intersect*" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Exclusi*	"Exclusi*" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Exclusi*" AND "Citizens Assembl*"	"Exclusi*" AND "Minipublics"	"Exclusi*" AND "Democratic Innovations"

	Democracy"	Assembl**"		Innovations"
Equal*	"Equal**" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Equal**" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Equal**" AND "Minipublics"	"Equal**" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Equity OR Justice	"Equity OR Justice" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Equity OR Justice" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Equity OR Justice" AND "Minipublics"	"Equity OR Justice" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Inequality	"Inequality" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Inequality" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Inequality" AND "Minipublics"	"Inequality" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Identit*	"Identit**" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Identit**" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Identit**" AND "Minipublics"	"Identit**" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Represent*	"Represent**" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Represent**" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Represent**" AND "Minipublics"	"Represent**" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Token*	"Token**" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Token**" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Token**" AND "Minipublics"	"Token**" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Groups AND Citizens' Assemblies (or deliberative democracy)				
Ethnic Minorities OR Race OR Ethnic Origin OR People of Colour/Color	"Ethnic Minorities OR Race OR Ethnic Origin OR People of Colour/Color" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Ethnic Minorities OR Race OR Ethnic Origin OR People of Colour/Color" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	Ethnic Minorities OR Race OR Ethnic Origin OR People of Colour/Color" AND "Minipublics"	"Ethnic Minorities OR Race OR Ethnic Origin OR People of Colour/Color" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Migrants OR Immigrant	"Migrants OR Immigrant" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Migrants OR Immigrant" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Migrants OR Immigrant" AND "Minipublics"	"Migrants OR Immigrant" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Social Class OR Economic	"Social Class OR Economic	"Social Class OR Economic	"Social Class OR Economic	"Social Class OR Economic

Marginalisation OR Low Education	Marginalisation OR Low Education" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	Marginalisation OR Low Education" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	Marginalisation OR Low Education" AND "Minipublics"	Marginalisation OR Low Education" AND "Democratic Innovations"
LGBTQ+ OR Rainbow, Transgender	"LGBTQ+ OR Rainbow, Transgender" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"LGBTQ+ OR Rainbow, Transgender" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"LGBTQ+ OR Rainbow, Transgender" AND "Minipublics"	"LGBTQ+ OR Rainbow, Transgender" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Gender OR Caregiving	"Gender OR Caregiving" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Gender OR Caregiving" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Gender OR Caregiving" AND "Minipublics"	"Gender OR Caregiving" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Language OR Linguistic Minority	"Language OR Linguistic Minority" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Language OR Linguistic Minority" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Language OR Linguistic Minority" AND "Minipublics"	"Language OR Linguistic Minority" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Women of Colour	"Women of Colour" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Women of Colour" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Women of Colour" AND "Minipublics"	"Women of Colour" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Religion OR Religious Minorities OR Muslims	"Religion OR Religious Minorities OR Muslims" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Religion OR Religious Minorities OR Muslims" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Religion OR Religious Minorities OR Muslims" AND "Minipublics"	"Religion OR Religious Minorities OR Muslims" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Global South	"Global South" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Global South" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Global South" AND "Minipublics"	"Global South" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Design Choices				
Trade-Offs OR Design Trade-Offs OR	"Trade-Offs OR Design Trade-Offs OR	"Trade-Offs OR Design Trade-Offs OR	"Trade-Offs OR Design Trade-Offs OR	"Trade-Offs OR Design Trade-Offs OR

Legitimate Trade-Offs	Legitimate Trade-Offs" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	Legitimate Trade-Offs" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	Legitimate Trade-Offs" AND "Minipublics"	Legitimate Trade-Offs" AND "Democratic Innovations"
Oversampling	"Oversampling" AND "Deliberative Democracy"	"Oversampling" AND "Citizens Assembl**"	"Oversampling" AND "Minipublics"	"Oversampling" AND "Democratic Innovations"

Table I-2: Exclusion Criteria Used for Screening the Title and Abstracts

Exclusion Criteria
Political theory
Representational and electoral democracy
Constitutional reform
Referendum
Public consultation
Community engagement
Multi-stakeholder initiatives
Crowdsourcing
Participatory democracy
Participatory governance
Participatory budgeting
Jury deliberation/citizens jury
Deliberative polls
Citizens participation and engagement in non-specific form with broad focus
Specific policy debate
Populism and populist democracy
Mis and disinformation and deliberative democracy

Democratic deficit
Trust in democracy
Transnational, global and local governance
Non-specific forms of deliberation and deliberative system
Parliamentary, electoral and representative democracy
Digital democracy
Any other sources that is deemed too broad for our purpose/project

Appendix II Sources Considered for Thematic Narratives

The six thematic narratives in this deliverable emerged from the review of the following 216 sources:

Scopus: 150 Sources

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