

ETORKIZUNA ERAIKIZ THINK TANK

DELIBERATION GROUP ON THE NEW POLITICAL CULTURE

RESEARCH DIARY #1

CYCLE 1 (2020-2021)

The aim of the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank research diaries is to promote the think tank's research by providing resources that will help researchers to better understand the process. They set out the chief milestones in the Think Tank's proceedings, with links to other documents generated in the process. They also explain some contents that may be of interest to researchers which are not included in the other documents. These mainly concern the work of people tasked with designing and managing the Think Tank and may assist research into the think tank's methodological bases.

Contents

Introduction	3
Methodological framework of the Think Tank: Action research for territorial development.....	3
Laying the groundwork for launch of the deliberation groups (January - May 2020)	5
Deliberation Group on New Political Culture. Cycle I	6
June - September 2020: Formation of the team and co-generation of the bases for reflection and action: shared definition of the problem, conceptual framework and spaces and challenges for experimentation	7
17.06.2020. Meeting 1. Formation of the group and definition of the framework of the challenge to be addressed	7
After the meeting: the participants' perspective on the new political culture of and identifying spaces for experimentation	8
15.07.2020. Meeting 2. Identification of the challenges of the new political culture to co-construct the deliberative agenda	9
After the meeting: definitive agenda for deliberation and identification of the potential of deliberation to transform action into experimentation processes.....	10
16.09.2020. Meeting 3. Co-definition of New Political Culture and Equality and identification of problems for experimentation.....	11
After the meeting: shared working definitions of New Political Culture and Equality and identification of problems in the projects.....	12
October 2020 – May 2021. Further exploring the dimensions of the new political culture: learning for and from action	13
14.10.2020. Meeting 4. Understanding the Complexity of the Problems of a New Political Culture.....	13
After the meeting: proposal on axes for experimentation and analysis of four levels of the problems addressed by the group	14
18.11.2020. Meeting 5. Addressing the requirements for deliberation, and agreement on axes for experimentation of the new political culture.....	15
After the meeting: ideas for strengthening deliberation, assigning facilitators to the working groups and analysing the problem of each axis.....	16
16.12.2021. Meeting 6. Working on Collective Intelligence	17
After the meeting: the group's vision on the construction of collective intelligence and definition of the table of contents and process of drafting the book on lessons learned by the group.....	18
13.01.2021. Meeting 7. How to build trust for a new political culture	18
After the meeting: Summary of reflections on trust, tasks by working groups, and launch of the dynamic between group facilitators	19
17.02.2021. Meeting 8. Working on listening in practice: changing the dynamics of the deliberative group to better incorporate experiential knowledge	20

After the meeting: systematization of the reflection on the change of dynamics and end of "homework" between meetings	21
17.03.2021. Meeting 9. Sharing the work of conceptualization to enrich the practice and enriching it from practice	21
14.04.2021. Meeting 10. Learnings from and for transformation of public administration and questionnaire to evaluate the first year	23
19.05.2021. Meeting 11. Learning about and for the participation of citizens and civil society in the public agenda and notes on possible improvements to the Think Tank	24
June 2021. Conclusion of the first cycle and establishment of the bases for the next cycle based on the evaluation (start of the second cycle)	25
Before the meeting: evaluation report of the Think Tank and views of the participants	26
16.06.2021. Meeting 12. Evaluation and presentation of proposals for improvement: laying the groundwork for the next cycle of deliberation	26
Appendix 1. "Homework" templates used between meetings.....	28

Introduction

Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank forms part of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa's Etorkizuna Eraikiz initiative. It is a space for cogenerating knowledge and its aim is to foster an awareness and understanding of the great challenges facing Gipuzkoa and to identify what processes might improve the ecosystems linked to the provincial government's policies with a view to addressing these challenges, using a philosophy of collaborative governance.

To ensure transparency and disseminate the knowledge and learning accruing from and for the Think Tank's activities, the initiative generates a considerable amount of audiovisual material and documents which will help show how the process is developed and its principal lessons, results and impact. This material is constantly being updated and is available on the Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank website. It includes: lists of participants in the Think Tank's deliberation groups; reports of the monthly meetings of the deliberation groups; presentations by experts at the deliberation groups; working documents summarising the participants' reflections and the reports from experts in the field which were used as inputs for reflection; and reports produced by the deliberation groups setting out the lessons learned.

In addition, a series of research diaries have been created, primarily to complement the reports of the meetings and the working documents of the Think Tank's deliberation groups. This material is also available on the website, and is intended to promote the Think Tank's research, offering researchers resources that may help them to better understand the process. They set out the chief milestones in the Think Tank's proceedings, with links to other documents generated in the process. They also explain some contents that may be of interest to researchers which are not included in the other documents. They mainly include the work of people working on the design and management of the Think Tank and may help in research into the methodological basis of the Think Tank.

This document is the research diary corresponding to the first deliberation cycle of the New Political Culture deliberation group, which covers the period from June 2020 to June 2021. It describes in detail the process followed during that period. It also includes an introduction explaining the work carried out during the period from January to May 2020, during which the foundations were laid for launching the four deliberation groups, including the new political culture group.

Methodological framework of the Think Tank: Action research for territorial development

As described in Research Diary #0, which sets out the bases for the design of the Think Tank, the methodological framework used is Action Research for Territorial Development¹, which is a specific approach to action research. The key features of this framework, as set out in the bases of the Think Tank's design, are described here to give a picture of the framework within which the Think Tank and the deliberation groups are operating.

¹ This approach to action research has been developed in a number of academic works. In particular, see: Karslen and Larrea, 2014. Territorial Development and Action Research. Innovation through dialogue. Farnham: Gower; and Larrea (ed.), 2020. Roots and Wings of Action Research for Territorial Development

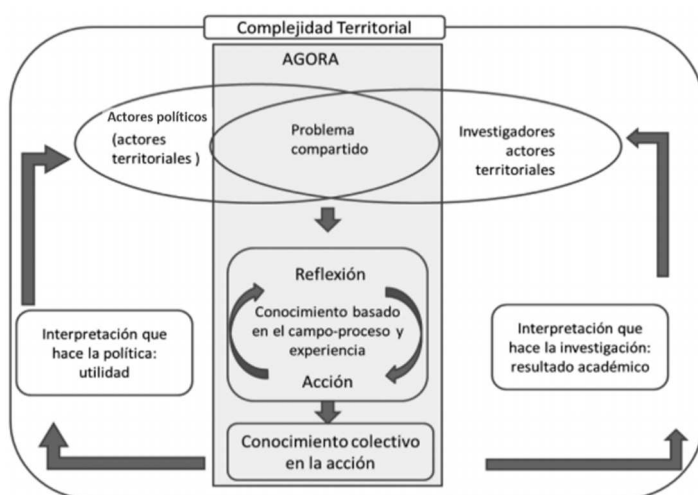
Action research for territorial development is defined as a strategy for transformation. Its primary features are as follows:

- a) The bases of ARTD are: industrial democracy as developed in Norway; the work of Paulo Freire; action research for transformation developed in the AR+ network; and contributions made to action research by policy analysis. Over the coming years this base will be expanded to meet the needs of the Think Tank
- b) It has been developed in experimental processes in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (particularly in the province of Gipuzkoa, by the provincial government). The theoretical influences described above have therefore been adapted to local characteristics
- c) It is developed through co-creation processes, in processes of dialogue between researchers and policy makers
- d) These processes are based on the work of the facilitators, who include facilitating policy makers and facilitating researchers
- e) The processes of facilitation include tasks related to complexity, conflict resolution, construction of a shared vision, learning, negotiation and ideological debate. The overall purpose is to facilitate the process of transforming the ideas into action.
- f) A number of texts and documents have been produced to show how these concepts have been implemented in specific processes

Methodology of the Think Tank processes

ARTD is based on co-creation processes. The nature of these processes is shown in Figure 1.

1. Figure. The co-generative model of action research for territorial development



Source: Karlsen and Larrea, 2014².

Based on this model, the process includes a number of steps:

- *First step.* Open the space for dialogue between political stakeholders and the researchers who will participate in the process
- *Second step.* Define the shared problem. This problem may be defined at the beginning of the process by those who have decided to undertake the process. However, it is

² Karlsen, J. and Larrea, M. (2014). Territorial Development and Action Research. Innovation through dialogue. Farnham: Gower.

important that the problem be discussed again among all those involved in the process to ensure that it is meaningful for all those involved and that there is a willingness to collaborate to solve the problem.

- *Step 3.* Highlight/capitalise on the complexity of the territory and building a shared narrative. Territorial complexity exists in a process if there are autonomous but mutually influencing (interdependent) actors in the area of the problem. In complex situations these actors may have different perspectives of the problem and possible solutions, but none has the hierarchical authority to decide what the others should do. Most territorial development processes, and consequently policy development, tend to be complex and require the participation of different stakeholders from the ecosystem.
- *Step 4.* Understand the different interpretations of the problem, develop a shared vision and encourage reflection to build sufficient consensus on what actions can be implemented at any given time.
- *Step 5.* Develop negotiation processes on the topics addressed in the decision-making reflection and decide.
- *Step 6.* Translate decisions into action. This is followed by a process of reflection on the action, to determine to what extent the action has solved the problem and to reach consensus on what problem needs to be addressed in the new scenario.

Laying the groundwork for launch of the deliberation groups (January - May 2020)

During the period September – December 2019 the foundations of the Think Tank were established (philosophy, mission, governance, methodological framework and methodology of the Think Tank processes, strategies for creating and using types of knowledge), as described in Research diary No. 0.

Once the bases for deliberation had been established, between January and May 2020:

- Four priority areas were established to initiate the knowledge co-generation processes in the Think Tank. For this purpose, four which four deliberation groups were to be created: 1) The new political culture and collaborative governance (which should transversally enrich all other processes of knowledge co-generation) 2) The welfare system of the future 3) The work of the future 4) The green recovery
- Two groups were formed to lead the think tank's activities: a political leadership group and a coordination group. Both were comprised of policy makers and the principal investigator from the Think Tank. In addition, a technical secretariat for the project was also created within the Provincial Government.
- Based on the principles established in the previous phase, these groups defined aspects which would be common to all the Think Tank's deliberation groups and others that were specific to each one:
 - General working dynamics of the deliberation groups:
 - One-year cycles with monthly meetings. All groups would have an initial one-year cycle, with monthly two-hour meetings
 - Meetings combining group reflection dynamics with presentations by expert guests (to bring in different types of knowledge)
 - After the meetings, participants would be asked to assess the meeting, in order to encourage ongoing assessment and construction of the process.

- At the end of the first cycle of deliberation, an assessment would be made of each group, in order to evaluate whether it should continue and if so, to adapt the second cycle.
- Process documents. In order to promote research and ensure internal and external transparency of the think tank's activities, it was decided that different types of documents would be created and made available on the Think Tank's website, for which purposes a library would be created. These documents would include: (<https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/es/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/escuchar/think-tank>),
 - Reports of the monthly meetings of the deliberation groups
 - Working documents synthesizing the reflections of the participants
 - Communication-oriented documents produced by participants
 - The research diary, with evidence from the deliberation process that could be used in academic publications
 - List of participants
 - Reports and books by experts in the field that have been used as inputs for reflection
- Definition of the leaders, participants and specific objectives of the deliberation groups. For each of the deliberation groups, each Department responsible for the groups defined and established:
 - the list of people who would be invited to each of the Think Tank groups (relevant stakeholders from the ecosystem).
 - the specific aim of the group and the theme focuses to be worked on.
 - Team and work dynamics to facilitate the process, with the tasks and responsibilities of each member of the team responsible for facilitating the groups. The lead researcher of the Think Tank would be responsible for general facilitation of all groups and specific facilitation in the case of two of them (New Political Culture and The Work of the Future), while two of the groups (Green Recovery and Futures of the Welfare State) would be facilitated by facilitators who work with the departments responsible.

Deliberation Group on New Political Culture. Cycle I

One of the four deliberation groups into which the Think Tank was structured in 2020 was the group on the New Political Culture. As stated in *Working Document #0* (more details of which are given below), the purpose of this group for the first cycle is "develop a proposal for the lines on which the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa should focus its efforts in order to develop a new political culture within the framework of Etorkizuna Eraikiz". In addition, and given the link of the participants of the group with Etorkizuna Eraikiz projects or processes, "the proposal to the group includes co-generating the new knowledge in its context of application in these projects". Thus, as the head of the group explained at the meeting to launch the group, "as well as reflecting on collaborative governance, this group must act as an integrating or structuring element of Etorkizuna Eraikiz".

The group's deliberation process began with sixteen members, comprising people with experience in processes of transforming the political culture and developing collaborative governance within the ecosystem of the Provincial Government' of Gipuzkoa's policies. It includes people linked to the university and research institutes specialising in this field, as well

as senior staff of laboratories oriented towards experimentation in this area, and a wide range of staff from the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, particularly from the Office of the Deputy General and the Department of Governance. (a full list of participants can be found on the virtual library of the group on the Etorkizuna Eraikiz website <https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/es/web/etorkizunaeraikiz/biblioteca-nueva-cultura-politica>):

The team responsible for this Think Tank group is as follows. The Head of Strategy and Research is the group leader, and the group is facilitated by the researcher who is the overall facilitator of the Think Tank process, who also prepares the working documents for the process. A member of the facilitation team writes up the meeting reports (as agreed by the group at the first meeting, in the interventions, the specific names of members are replaced with codes). These are translated and posted on the website by the Technical Secretariat, which is also responsible for logistical preparation of the meetings.

The framework and working proposal for the first cycle (2020-2021) for this group, established between September 2020 and May 2021 (see previous section), is contained in *Working Document #0*. This document contains the initial diagnosis establishing the rationale for Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank, the framework for the deliberative process and the cogeneration of new knowledge, the working methodology and the theme focuses for cogenerating knowledge in the Think Tank; the objective of the group on new political culture, the structure of the first cycle of deliberation from June 2020 to May 2021 and the working dynamics with periodicity of meetings, and a preliminary list of participants. This proposal was shared and agreed upon by the participants in the group at the group's first meeting held on 17 June 2020.

There follows a description of the group process. References are given to the documents generated during the process, which contain the precise contents of the meetings, the results, and the materials used in them.

June - September 2020: Formation of the team and co-generation of the bases for reflection and action: shared definition of the problem, conceptual framework and spaces and challenges for experimentation

The deliberation group began work on 17 June 2020. At the first three meetings —and in the work carried out between meetings— the bases for the deliberation process were established, developing the group's vision of the challenge to be addressed (the need for a new political culture and challenges to build it), a shared definition of the problem (new political culture and equality) and the axes (central themes) for putting the group's reflection into action.

17.06.2020. Meeting 1. Formation of the group and definition of the framework of the challenge to be addressed

The deliberation group held its kick-off meeting on 17 June 2020, in a two-hour workshop. For the content of this meeting, see *Report #1*. At the meeting, the proposal for the group was presented, and the participants considered its objective and purpose, framed in the Etorkizuna Eraikiz initiative, the underlying ideas and rationale for both the Etorkizuna Eraikiz initiative, the Think Tank and this group, i.e. a new political culture: the crisis of liberal democracies.

Logic, objectives and functioning of the deliberative group

The teams responsible for the Think Tank and for this deliberation group presented the working proposal for the group (see *Working Document #0*). An explanation was given of:

- The Etorikizuna Eraikiz initiative and the role of the Think Tank in this initiative
- The rationale behind the need for the Think Tank and the group on new political culture
- the reason for the composition of the group, and the structure of the first cycle of deliberations (agenda for meeting and phases)
- the proposed methodology for the Think Tank, action research: what it is, how it will work and what documents will be produced in the process (a summary of the Action Research proposal can be found in Document #0 with more extensive information in "A methodological approach to transformation" which is included in *Meeting Report #1*)

After the presentation of the proposal, participants gave their views on the proposed process and some queries were resolved.

The starting point: the need for a new political culture due to the crisis of liberal democracies

The head of the group explained in greater detail "the starting point", the framework of the problem from which the need for a new political culture emerges: the crisis of liberal democracies (summarised as "political disaffection and the inability of public structures to respond to economic, social and political challenges") and the new political scenario and the new political agenda that this situation poses. These initial reflections can be found in *Working Document #1. The crisis of liberal democracies and the need for a new political culture: bases for reflection and action in Gipuzkoa Think Tank*

The group then reflected on the ideas raised. They were told that the proposal was to define the problem, taking into account the vision of all the participants, i.e. to build a plural conceptualization. For this purpose, the participants would be asked to send a written document after the meeting in which they would set out their vision of the problem posed (on the need for a new political culture).

After the meeting: the participants' perspective on the new political culture of and identifying spaces for experimentation

To follow on from the reflection begun, after the first meeting, and before the next one, participants were asked to submit a document with their perspective on the problem. For this purpose, an email was sent out asking for answers to the following three questions: a) What is your perspective on the challenges of building a new political culture? b) Where do you see, in the framework of your project/activity, the impact of the crisis of liberal democracies and the need for a new political culture? (Please specify which project you are focusing your reflection on) c) What issues would it be of interest to address in this regard and which experts could help us address these issues?

The responses were summarised and categorised in *Working Document #2. A pluralist approach to the need for a new political culture: perspectives and proposals of the working group*, which includes the spaces for experimentation identified by the participants, the impact of the crisis of democracy on them, and the different views and challenges of the new political culture identified by the participants, which would serve as a starting point for the next meeting.

In addition, the participants' proposals for experiences and experts of interest were systematized in the document "List of experiences of interest and experts that could be included in the process" (See *Report #2* (Appendix c)).

15.07.2020. Meeting 2. Identification of the challenges of the new political culture to co-construct the deliberative agenda

The second meeting of the deliberation group was held on 15 July 2020. Having established the framework of the problem and the group's view on the need for a new political culture (Documents #1 and #2), the aim of the second meeting was to identify the main challenges of the new political culture and to establish priorities in order to build the agenda for deliberation in the following months. Certain aspects of the deliberation process itself were also clarified. The content of the meeting can be found in *Report #2*.

Dialogues about the process: the role of experts and the importance of linking reflection and practice

At the meeting, two aspects related to the working dynamics and the deliberation process were clarified:

- *The role of experts.* The importance of experts to assist in the reflection was stressed and it was noted that it was therefore important to identify experts for each challenge; it was also reported that two people from the group would act as a bridge between the knowledge of external experts and the needs of the process.

- *Importance of linking reflection to action.* The researcher stressed the fact that the challenges identified in the exercise conducted by the participants prior to the meeting were not linked to practice, and that it was important to link them to action. The participants would be asked to perform this identification exercise again, linked to their practice.

Prioritization of challenges to co-construct the deliberative agenda

The group's reflection at the meeting focused on the challenges for the new political culture. The aim was to jointly identify the main challenges, prioritize them and build the agenda of deliberation for the meetings in this cycle of deliberation (to spring 2021). For this purpose, the starting point and the challenges identified by participants in the pre-meeting exercise were presented, and a group dynamic was then carried out to select and prioritize the challenges.

- *Starting point: challenges identified by participants.* The facilitator/researcher presented the contents set out in *Working Document #2*, which offers a compilation of the views of the participants on the new political culture. Specifically, it includes the spaces chosen for experimentation with the concepts and frameworks addressed in the Think Tank and the impact of the crisis of liberal democracies on them; and its approach to the concept of new political culture and the challenges identified.

- *Group dynamics to prioritize the challenges and co-construct the deliberation itinerary.* The group then carried out a dynamic whose ultimate aim was to prepare a planning proposal to include an itinerary for the next seven sessions and the experts who could provide support in this process. The participants divided into subgroups to perform an exercise to select the main challenges that the group should work on in the following sessions (from the 46 challenges identified by the participants and set out in *Document #2*). First individually, and then by consensus in the sub-groups, they were asked to come up with a proposal for 7 challenges, 2 possible reports and 2 possible events. The process ended with an exercise to list the proposals presented by all participants in order of priority.

After the meeting: definitive agenda for deliberation and identification of the potential of deliberation to transform action into experimentation processes

Based on the contributions at the meeting of 15 July, the team responsible for the group drew up the proposed agenda (see "Agenda between September 2020 and April 2021" (Appendix D, *Report #2*)), which was emailed to participants. The agenda for the consensus deliberation was as follows:

2. Figure. Deliberation agenda of the new political culture group

DAY	CHALLENGE
	(The agenda consists of challenges. These challenges have been transferred from a general plane to the context of the projects we are occupied with. These challenges will be shown to the experts and they themselves will propose what <i>theme/theory/concept/tool</i> we should work on at each meeting).
16/09/2020	Development by the group of its own definitions for two concepts that demonstrate the results of the process ¹ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New political culture - Equality
14/10/2020	Understanding the complexity and developing a systemic approach to the projects/initiatives we are going to work on ²
18/11/2020	Promoting individual responsibility (values) in our projects/initiatives
16/12/2020	Promoting individual responsibility (values) in our projects/initiatives ³
January 2021	Generating spaces of trust and strengthening communication in our projects/initiatives ⁴
February 2021	Developing effective systems for listening to society in our projects/initiatives ⁵
March 2021	Transforming the public administration within the framework of our projects/initiatives by promoting the link between political and technical personnel ⁶
April 2021	Collation of the results of the process
May 2021	Decisions on the future of the process

In addition, in order to address the transformative potential of the work of the deliberative group, and to begin to establish the links between deliberation and action, an exercise was carried out to specify the participants' areas of experimentation and the link between these and the themes chosen for deliberation. For this purpose, participants were asked (by email) to fill out templates in which they should 1) "describe the project you will use for the experimentation (we agreed that each member of the group would use the learnings to experiment on some project); 2) "start working on the links between the agenda defined for deliberation and your experimentation project", for which they were asked to score the different challenges of political culture previously identified, according to their potential importance for their experimentation project. (Template contained in Appendix 1 of this document)

The participants' answers can be found in *Working Document #3. Spaces and challenges for experimenting with the new political culture*, which describes in detail each of the projects identified by the participants as spaces for experimenting with the lessons learned from the deliberation, and a prioritization of the themes for deliberation based on the perceived

importance for the projects. This document was emailed to participants prior to the next meeting.

16.09.2020. Meeting 3. Co-definition of New Political Culture and Equality and identification of problems for experimentation

The third meeting of the group was held on 16 September 2020. For the content of the meeting, see Report #3. At the meeting, aspects related to the dynamics of the group were discussed. At the same time, the group's reflections focused on the concepts of new political culture and equality, since the objective was to define the two concepts, which are central to the group's activity and objective.

Dialogues on the deliberative process: objective, agenda, meeting dynamics and "homework"

During the meeting, clarification was given on aspects of the deliberation process itself and the working dynamics:

- Participants were reminded that the aim of the group is not only to reflect, but also to bring about a change in their projects, i.e. to introduce collaborative governance and the beginning of a new political culture.
- A number of areas of improvement identified by the participants in the evaluation of the previous session were noted.
- Participants were reminded of the work agenda that the group had defined with the work developed so far (see the previous section of this document)
- Clarification was offered on the dynamic between the meetings and the "homework" or exercises carried out between meetings, stating that the meetings served to establish a common view, and in the exercises between meetings, participants could link the issues addressed to their projects.

Definition of new political culture and equality

The aim of the meeting, following the agenda set by the group on the basis of the challenges identified, was to establish a shared definition of what "new political culture" and "equality" mean for the group. For this purpose, in addition to the group's learning to date on the subject, a conceptual framework was presented by an expert (a member of the group). A group dynamic was then conducted in order to come up with a definition of the two concepts, based on this framework and the work carried out by the group thus far — i.e. the proposal of the need for a new political culture established by the group leaders (*Document #1*), the vision of the participants (*Document #2*), and the experiences of each one (*Document #3*).

- *Conceptual reflections to establish the framework.* An expert (a member of the group) gave a presentation, setting out different currents of thought on the crisis of democracy (there is no consensus on the diagnosis); shared reflections on complexity, uncertainty, heterogeneity and horizontality, and their implications; different ways of governing in this situation; and the importance of generating cognitive intelligence and anticipation, i.e. of thinking ahead.
- *Experimental spaces and their challenges.* The facilitator/researcher presented the contents of *Document #3*, which sets out the links between the experimentation spaces chosen by the participants and the challenges that the group will address in its deliberation process, as one of the inputs for the subsequent group reflection dynamics.
- *Group dynamics for a definition (for action) of a New political Culture and Equality.* The group divided into subgroups to prepare a definition of the two concepts (one of the subgroups worked on the concept of Equality, and the other two on the concept of New Political Culture).

The goal was to reach a definition that was not theoretical but rather one that would help the understanding of the group and the transformation of the action. For this purpose, the group took as its inputs the framework presented by the expert and the lessons learned by the group to date (set out in the first three working documents). The subgroups had to reach a consensus: 1) Working definition of new political culture and equality to be addressed from September 2020 to April 2021; 2) Criteria we will use to demonstrate that we are developing a new political culture / impacting equality; 3) Links between the new political culture and equality

The results of the dynamics were then used as input for *Working Document #3*, which also served as the basis for the next exercise to be carried out by the participants. As mentioned at the meeting, this exercise would consist of defining a specific problem to be addressed in each project, which would be linked to the definitions that had been addressed.

After the meeting: shared working definitions of New Political Culture and Equality and identification of problems in the projects

The team responsible for the group analysed and systematised the results of the group work carried out at the meeting on 16 September and drew up definitions based on them. These were proposed in a document submitted by email to the participants for feedback, and after discussion, *Working Document #4. Working definitions of the new political culture and equality* was drawn up. In addition to the definitions, this document includes an explanation of what they mean in the research and action process and how they will be addressed through a critical reading and learning. The definitions are shown in the box below:

Working Definitions of New Political Culture and Equality (excerpt from *Document #4*)

NEW POLITICAL CULTURE

The **new political culture** is a **new phase** that drives us from representation to participation and subsequently to collaboration **in the development of democracy**, based on independent individuals and a living civil society.

The **system** corresponding to the new political culture is collaborative governance and it has three axes: ethical values as a system of cohesion, effective systems of interaction and community knowledge. This system is developed **on three planes**: the subjective, the personal and the social.

The **goal** of the new political culture is to transform the relationship between the main administrations and agents, in order to tackle a new agenda. For this purpose, there are four **lines of work**: (1) Changing the way of understanding the problems, taking on board the complexity from a systemic perspective; (2) Organising areas of collaboration; (3) Responding to uncertainty with prototyping and co-creation; and (4) Transforming and opening the administration up from within in order to understand society's problems and come up with responses, adapting the role of technical staff for this purpose.

EQUALITY

Equality is a **process** of looking for the same rights and opportunities for individuals and of compensating for inequalities. At the same time, it is also the **result** of this process. In other words, on the one hand, in terms of initial **rights** and **options** and also of **results**, it indicates equality. At the same time, and in order to achieve this, it requires guaranteeing equal conditions in the process.

When it comes to analysing equality, we will use structural and perception **indicators**. In other words, as well as the indicators we can use to measure equality objectively, it will also be important to know what subjective view people have of equality. At the same time, we will strive for equality **in four axes**: language, gender, the economy and welfare.

At the same time, as anticipated at the September meeting, in order to continue establishing links between reflection and action, participants were asked (by e-mail) to perform an exercise to define a problem to be addressed in their projects—which will serve as experimentation in the Think Tank framework—which they had already described in detail (in *Document #3*). For this purpose, they were asked to answer the following questions: (1) Describe, in a few lines, a problem in your project that you would like to try to solve in the framework of this process; (2) To ensure that the problem described is adequate, also try to answer the following questions: a) What links does this problem have with the new political culture and with equality? B) Who should you work with to solve this problem? Have these people agreed to participate in this attempt? (yes/no) c) What are your expectations of the results you can achieve with this work from October 2020 to May 2021? These results would be systemised and used as input for deliberation at the next meeting and would also form the basis for the work to be carried out in the action.

October 2020 – May 2021. Further exploring the dimensions of the new political culture: learning for and from action

Beginning in October 2020 and having established a common framework and agenda and a shared definition of a new political culture and equality, as well as spaces for experimentation, the group began to explore the different dimensions and challenges they had identified as being relevant for fostering a new political culture. This process of exploration would take place both through the reflection carried out at the meetings and the individual exercises carried out between them, and through the action in the projects identified by participants identified as spaces for experimentation, which were to play a key role in the process.

14.10.2020. Meeting 4. Understanding the Complexity of the Problems of a New Political Culture

The fourth meeting of the group was held on October 14, 2020. The contents are described in *Report #4*. The group's reflection focused on understanding the complexity and working from a systemic perspective, with the participation of an external expert who established a framework for analysing complexity that the group would later use to reflect and work on their problems. Certain aspects of the work dynamics were also discussed at the meeting.

Dialogues about the process: changes in the dynamics, proposal on options for participant commitment, new member, and reflections on how to achieve the objectives

At the meeting, several aspects related to the process and the dynamics of the group's work were discussed:

- It was proposed to introduce *minor changes in the dynamics*, based on some of the participants' concerns that had emerged in the evaluation of the previous meeting. Specifically, these related to time (and changes to allow more time for the dynamics) and about the gathering of contributions in the group dynamics (from then on, individual written contributions would also be compiled as well as the group contributions).
- A new member joined the group
- The team in charge made a differentiated *proposal for work* involving *different types of commitments by the participants*. Because not all participants had performed the requested exercises between meetings, the group team made a proposal involving different levels of commitment and time spent per month, with exercises adapted to each participant's

availability: 1) 30m (make an individual reflection); 2) 1.5h (make an individual reflection and share it with your team); 3) 4h (to address the issue in greater depth, for those who are working on a problem they already had on their agendas)

- *Reflections on the conditions for achieving the group's objective.* The group leader shared reflections on the group's objective (to perform a shared learning experience), and important elements for achieving this goal (real commitment to transformation; in-depth conversation for conceptual consensus and theoretical reflection; and creation of conditions for transformation.

Understanding complexity and working on the systemic perspective

Following the deliberation agenda, the meeting focused on understanding complexity and working with the systemic perspective. For this purpose, a guest expert offered frameworks to help understand and work on the two concepts. This was followed by a dynamic (first individual, then in groups) to analyse the problems that the group is addressing, taking into account their complexity, from a systemic perspective.

- *Expert presentation: understanding the complexity and systemic vision.* A guest expert (Angela Hanson from OPSI) gave a presentation setting out a framework for analysing problems. She first provided some context by giving feedback on some of the conclusions of a meeting they had held the previous day within the framework of the collaboration between the Provincial Government and the Etorkizuna Eraikiz initiative and the work that OPSI is carrying out on anticipatory governance, explaining what anticipatory governance is, the different roles of the participants, and the conclusions of the meeting. She then presented Causal Layered Analysis, a framework for analysing problems, which would later be used for the group dynamic. This framework seeks to take into account different levels of a situation or problem: litany (official description of the problem), systemic causes (social causes of the problem), overview/discourse (deep assumptions), and myth and metaphor (the unconscious dimension of the problem). She also gave examples of problem analysis based on this framework.

- *Dynamic: analysis of different levels of the problems of the Think Tank experimentation spaces and the relationship between projects.* The participants performed an individual reflection (which they then shared in the plenary group) to analyse the problems of their experimentation projects, and in particular, to identify two levels within the framework of Causal Layered Analysis presented by the expert: litany and systemic causes. In addition, in order to work on the systemic perspective, participants identified the connections they saw with other projects/problems.

The results (compiled in Report #4) served as a basis for further work on problem analysis after the meeting.

After the meeting: proposal on axes for experimentation and analysis of four levels of the problems addressed by the group

After the meeting, based on the reflections shared on the participants' commitments within the group to unite deliberation with experimentation, and with the aim of developing feasible spaces for co-creation, the facilitator/researcher drew up a work proposal whereby the projects identified by the participants as spaces for experimentation would be grouped into a series of axes: a) Processes of transformation of the administration b) Involvement of citizens and organised society c) Critical construction of the Think Tank 's theoretical bases d) Management of knowledge for transformation. The facilitator/researcher discussed this idea with the

different participants in various dialogues and drew up a proposal that she then submitted to the participants by email for comment. It was up to the members of each axis to decide the dynamics of each axis (e.g. not doing anything specific, coordinating, identifying projects, etc.). It was stated that one of the groups would include a person from the facilitation team to support the work of the group. In subsequent dialogues, a member of each group was designated as a facilitator. This subject would be discussed at the next meeting on 18 November 2021 and was reflected in Document #5. *Themes for experimentation with the new political culture in action.*

At the same time, in order to follow up on the reflection begun at the meeting of 14 October 2020, participants were asked to complete the problem analysis exercise using the four-level framework proposed at the meeting. Whereas in the meeting each member had analysed the problem of their experimentation project on two levels (litany and systemic causes), they were now asked to complete the analysis by including the other two levels (overview/discourse and myth/metaphor). A template was sent out for the exercise, which also required participants to complete the two levels already discussed, if they deemed fit. The template can be found in Appendix 1.

18.11.2020. Meeting 5. Addressing the requirements for deliberation, and agreement on axes for experimentation of the new political culture

The fifth meeting of the group (and all subsequent meetings in this cycle) was staged online due to the pandemic. It was held on 18 November 2020 (content compiled in Report #5). Following the deliberation agenda, the group addressed the next challenge identified, that of promoting people's responsibility. This would be the first of two meetings dedicated to this challenge from different dimensions. Specifically, this meeting focused on the attitudinal and procedural requirements for deliberation, from a theoretical reflection, and reflection oriented towards application of these requirements in the group's experimentation axes and projects. Some aspects related to the deliberation process were also discussed: the experimentation axes (discussed and agreed before the meeting, as described in the previous section) and the inclusion of new members.

Dialogues about the process: new members and definition of the axes for experimentation on the new political culture

The following aspects related to the deliberation process and group dynamics were discussed at the meeting:

- It was reported that two new members had joined the discussion group, one from the University and the other from the Provincial Government.
- A presentation was made of the proposal (already agreed upon prior to the meeting) to structure four axes of experimentation. Four different working groups would be formed, which in some sessions would work together, although not on a permanent basis. This proposal can be found in *Document #5. Axes for experimentation with the new political culture in action*, which describes the basis for the configuration of the four axes (praxis and research), presents the four axes and the different types of knowledge they bring to the process of knowledge co-generation for a new political culture, the different types of commitment of the participants and the appointment of facilitators for the groups for the four axes. The four axes are shown in the illustration below:

3. Figure. Themes for cogenerating knowledge on new political culture in action



Source: Working Document #5

Understanding and working on the attitudinal and procedural requirements for deliberation

The group's deliberation focused on the requirements for deliberation. For this purpose, an external guest established the framework that the group would later use to work on aspects related to deliberation and how to address them in their experimentation projects.

- *Expert presentation: Attitudinal and procedural requirements for deliberation.* An external guest (Manuel Villoria) gave a presentation in which he shared the theoretical origins and conceptual basis of deliberation, how deliberation differs from other concepts, reasons for encouraging deliberation, how to deliberate, the importance of teams for deliberation, problems of deliberation and how to solve them, characteristics of deliberation teams, and skills to be used in meetings.

- *Dynamics for applying the lessons learned about deliberation in experimentation projects.* The group was divided into four subgroups, corresponding to the four axes of experimentation previously agreed upon. In these subgroups, and then in the plenary session, participants worked to link the reflections and the framework shared by the speaker with their projects, answering the following questions: 1) What ideas, concepts or proposals in today's presentation do you think are most significant when it comes to responding to the problem your group is going to be addressing?; 2) How can the ideas, concepts or proposals you have highlighted be put into practice in your team's process?

The results of the reflections were later compiled in *Working Document #6*.

After the meeting: ideas for strengthening deliberation, assigning facilitators to the working groups and analysing the problem of each axis

The facilitator/researcher prepared and submitted to participants for comment a summary of the results of the reflections made at the meeting, which would later form part of *Working Document #6. Attitudinal and procedural requirements of deliberation*, which includes both the concepts and frameworks raised by the expert with regard to deliberation and the reflections made by the working groups.

On the other hand, in conversations with the groups and some of the members, facilitators were officially assigned to three of the groups from the four axes of experimentation, in order to facilitate the work to be developed by these groups.

Finally, to continue linking reflection and action, the participants were sent "homework" to do before the next meeting. The homework included exercises to be done individually and in groups, within the axes of experimentation, and were oriented towards: 1) Defining each person's role within the experimentation axis group; 2) View of the concept of praxis (question for the working group on methodological reflection, but open to any member wishing to answer it); 3) Exercise to be carried out in each group: conduct an analysis of the shared challenge to be addressed by each of the challenges, using the Causal Layered Analysis framework developed at the meeting of 14 October. Once the exercises had been received, the facilitator/researcher systematized the results on roles (Question 1) in a document ("The role of participants in the process"), which she shared by mail with all participants. The facilitator/researcher also addressed the content of the other questions with each of the groups separately, directly or through their facilitators.

16.12.2021. Meeting 6. Working on Collective Intelligence

The sixth meeting of the group was held on 16 December 2020. The reflection focused on collective intelligence, following the participants' wish to include the previously addressed dimensions of complexity and systemic vision in the reflection on deliberation and in their projects. In addition, the table of contents of a book that would set out the lessons learned by the group was presented and a dialogue was held around the organization of the groups in the group dynamics. For details of the meeting, see Report #6.

Dialogues on process and results

Two aspects of the working process and dynamics were discussed:

- The team in charge presented a proposal for a table of contents of the book that would set out the lessons learned by the group at the end of the deliberation cycle. This table of contents is included here and was to be checked and completed by the four working groups after the meeting.

- The team in charge also told participants they had had a debate on whether to keep the four groups corresponding to the four axes of experimentation in the group dynamics of the meetings (to consolidate the groups) or whether to mix them (to work on the systemic nature of the deliberation). They said that they had decided to keep them as they were at that meeting, but to mix them up at subsequent meetings.

CONTENTS

Presentation
Introduction
Chapter 1 Theoretical foundations of the new political culture
Chapter 2 Methodological bases for working on the new political culture
Chapter 3 Transformation of the public administration in the framework of the new political culture
3.1. Introduction
3.2. Defining the challenge
3.3. The experimentation process
3.4. Complexity and development of the systemic approach
3.5. Others
3.x. Results
3.y. Studies
Chapter 4 Organised society and citizen involvement in building a new political culture (Previous structure adapted to multiple cases)
Chapter 5 Knowledge management for transformation and the role of the university in the new political culture (Previous structure adapted to multiple cases)
Chapter 6 The new political culture in Etorkizuna Eraikiz Think Tank. Track record, results and future challenges

Working on collective intelligence

The group's reflection focused on the concept of collective intelligence. An external guest (Josep Lluís Martí) gave an introduction to the topic, sharing reflections and frameworks for understanding the concept. Afterwards, a group dynamic was conducted to analyse how the deliberation group on the new political culture could contribute to the development of collective intelligence in the Think Tank itself and in Etorkizuna Eraikiz.

- *Expert presentation: collective intelligence.* An external guest (Josep Lluís Martí) gave a presentation, sharing his reflections on deliberative democracy, the systemic perspective in deliberative processes, the importance of the non-institutional public sphere, and the mechanisms of interdependence between institutional and non-institutional deliberation. He also discussed collective intelligence — what it is and why it is important for decision-making and democracy, the conditions for it to emerge, its sources (aggregation, deliberation and collaboration and collective learning), and some examples.

- *Group dynamics to reflect on how to contribute to the development of collective intelligence.* With the framework provided by the speaker, the group divided into subgroups corresponding to the four axes of experimentation and reflected on how to contribute to the construction of collective intelligence within Etorkizuna Eraikiz. Specifically, (first individually, then in subgroups) they addressed on following questions: 1) What can you do so that the group working on your axis (those of you in attendance) can work on the collective intelligence between you?; 2) What can you do from January on to ensure that what you have worked on in your axis contributes to the collective intelligence of the entire deliberation team? The results can be found in *Working Document #7*.

After the meeting: the group's vision on the construction of collective intelligence and definition of the table of contents and process of drafting the book on lessons learned by the group

After the meeting, the facilitator/researcher prepared Working Document #7. *Collective intelligence as an objective of deliberation in the think tank*, which gives a summary of the main ideas of the framework established by the guest speaker and the group's reflections on how to build collective intelligence in the working groups and in the Think Tank group.

As anticipated at the meeting, the participants were also sent the table of contents of the book to a) check and complete it, and b) to decide on the process of writing the chapter corresponding to each one. To do this, each of the four groups was asked to fill in a template (included in Appendix 1) asking them: 1) how each person would like to participate in writing the chapter (to be completed individually), 2) to describe the experimental process that the chapter would involve; 3) to give a proposed table of contents for the chapter; 4) to describe the procedures for documenting the chapter; 4) who should be responsible for writing and editing the chapter. Each group filled out the template using dynamics established by themselves and shared it with the researcher.

13.01.2021. Meeting 7. How to build trust for a new political culture

The seventh meeting of the group was held on 13 January 2021 (the contents of the meeting can be found at *Report #7*). The meeting focused on the following theme: building trust. To work on this dimension of the new political culture, an external guest first shared a series of reflections on institutional trust. Afterwards, the group conducted a group dynamic to reflect on how trust affects group activity, how to improve the process from that perspective, and how to

develop trust between working groups. In addition, several aspects related to the working dynamics and the process were discussed, in particular, the book and the working groups.

Dialogues about the process: group dynamics and book index

The following aspects related to the working process and dynamics were discussed:

- Doubts about the working dynamics. The team in charge said there were some concerns about understanding and configuration in the group dynamics of the previous session, and that in order to avoid this type of confusion, participants could ask the facilitating researcher to clarify any doubts on the spot.
- Configuration of the groups in the work dynamics. It was explained that a balance would be sought between strengthening the work of the subgroups and the mix between members, in order to seek co-creation between the different members.
- Participants were reminded that the deadline for the exercise to define the table of contents of the book and its writing process had been extended (this exercise to be carried out by the working groups)

How to build trust in the new political culture

The group's deliberation focused on trust, a dimension highlighted as being a priority in building a new political culture. An external guest first shared her views on the topic, and the group then conducted a reflection to link these reflections with action.

- *An external expert view on trust.* An external guest (María José Canel) shared her vision on the topic of trust, in a presentation in the form of an interview. She shared her vision of what trust is and its role in institutions; distrust of institutions; the problem of measuring trust; the causes of trust (leadership, management results, processes); considerations on the management of trust, and the importance of knowing the causes of mistrust in order to work on it, and the management of communication and expectations in order to work on institutional trust. She also gave examples and her vision on trust and collaborative governance in the framework of Etorkizuna Eraikiz.
- *Dynamics of reflection to incorporate and work on trust.* The group, divided into subgroups (first individually), carried out a group dynamic to consider the speaker's reflections in their own action. Specifically, they answered the following questions: (1) How does what has been said about trust affect the activity of our work team? (this can be from a theoretical or practical point of view); 2) What can we do from this perspective to improve our process?; 3) Taking into account the efforts and challenges of the different working groups, how can we develop trust and cooperation between the groups? The group then shared their reflections on the second question in the plenary group. The results of the dynamics would later be included in *Working Document #8*.

After the meeting: Summary of reflections on trust, tasks by working groups, and launch of the dynamic between group facilitators

Working Document #8 was prepared, with a summary of the group's reflections on trust.

At the same time, the new tasks to be carried out by each group were managed by the facilitator/researcher separately with each of the groups, adapting them to the work to be carried out by each one in order to respond to the challenge defined within that group. In addition, in order to facilitate the work to be developed in the groups, the facilitator/researcher created a dynamic of meetings between the facilitators of the four working groups, to share

doubts and explanations about the exercises and the tasks to be carried out within the working groups.

Finally, during this period the participants sent the researcher the exercise on the proposal for the contents and writing process of the book (the deadline for which had been extended).

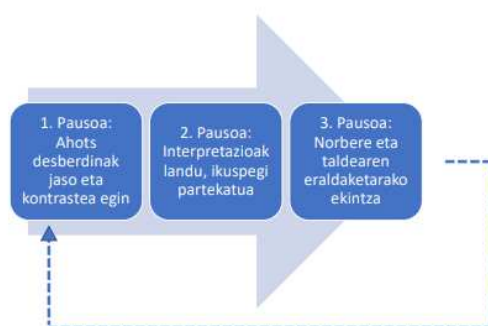
17.02.2021. Meeting 8. Working on listening in practice: changing the dynamics of the deliberative group to better incorporate experiential knowledge

The eighth meeting of the group was held on 17 February 2021, and the contents can be found in *Report #8*. The meeting focused on the next scheduled discussion topic "developing effective systems in our projects to listen to society", but was adapted to meet the needs of the group. In the evaluations of the previous session, as well as in subsequent conversations among some members, some doubts about the process were raised. For this reason, it was decided to conduct an exercise of listening and reflection on the process that the group was conducting and to learn from it, in addition to agreeing on the path to be followed by the group.

The facilitator/researcher first explained the rationale for the approach of this meeting and how it was to be developed. Afterwards, the group leader shared her interpretation of the process, and the facilitator/researcher shared the discussion about the ideas underlying the different visions and a proposal for changing the dynamics based on these ideas. Finally, the dialogue was opened up so that each member could share his or her vision, and the group could make a decision on the direction of the group for the remainder of the first cycle of deliberation.

- *Starting point of the session and steps.* It was explained that the evaluations from the last session revealed a certain "disengagement" and different views on the process. The aim was therefore to perform a listening exercise on the process, following three steps: 1) Compiling and comparing different voices, 2) Working on these interpretations and developing a shared vision; 3) actions for individual and group change. The figure below was used to illustrate the listening process to be carried out with this topic. The views and comments of the participants had been collected in the evaluations, and in different conversations held afterwards, and revealed differences with regard to the process.

4. Figure. Steps in the listening exercise



Source: Working Document #9.

- *The vision of the group manager.* The group leader shared his vision (theoretical and practical) and his experience of the process (including emotions). He shared 1) his initial idea in starting the Think Tank, 2) his feelings during the process, and 3) the learnings and positive points.

- *Debate on the underlying ideas in conflict.* The researcher shared the debate held in the Think Tank steering group on the reasons that might lie behind the different visions that had

emerged about the process and the vision of the person in charge. In particular, the debate had focused on the possible difference of views on knowledge creation and relevant types of knowledge in cogeneration processes and their integration into this process, and the hierarchy of knowledge underlying these ideas (the debate is compiled, described and explained in *Report #9* and *Document #9*). The conclusion of the discussion was that the experiential knowledge of members had been neglected in favour of theoretical expertise.

- *Work proposal.* It was therefore proposed to place experiential knowledge at the core of the process, and to change the work dynamics to better incorporate this knowledge, and thus better link theoretical and practical knowledge. The proposal was to focus the following meetings on the work performed by the group members in order to share the work of each of the working groups, what they had learned and the knowledge generated. This would change the agenda, so that each of the following sessions would address the work of each of the groups.

- *Dynamics of group reflection.* The group then shared its own vision of the process, for which purpose some questions were posed that might aid reflection. Although it was designed for each person to write and then share, in the end their reflections and interpretations of the process and of the problems raised by the steering team were shared in the full group.

The group decided to accept the proposal and to work on experiential knowledge in the next sessions with the working groups and to dispense with the external experts during this period. It was also decided to devote more time to sharing knowledge of the process.

After the meeting: systematization of the reflection on the change of dynamics and end of "homework" between meetings

The facilitator researcher drafted *Working Document #9* summarising the reflections at the meeting, with the underlying debates, and the contributions of the group to this reflection.

She also informed the group that henceforth they would no longer be asked to do any more exercises between meetings, as the working groups should focus on addressing their challenges (and the subsequent drafting of the book chapters).

17.03.2021. Meeting 9. Sharing the work of conceptualization to enrich the practice and enriching it from practice

At the ninth meeting, held on 17 March 2021 (detailed in *Report #9*), work began with the new dynamics agreed in the previous meeting to find a new way of relating expert knowledge and experiential knowledge, placing the work developed by the four working groups at the centre of the process, and acting as "internal experts". This meeting was facilitated by the group dedicated to the conceptualization of the new political culture, which shared its work, with two objectives: on the one hand, to support the conceptualizations of the other, action-oriented groups; and on the other, to enable the work of these groups to enrich the work of conceptualization. In addition, certain aspects related to the process were shared at the meeting.

Dialogues about the process: new members and end of exercises between common meetings

With regard to the process, participants were informed that two new members had joined the group. They were also reminded that there would no longer be any "homework" or exercises to do between meetings, since these were being managed within each group, with the focus on addressing the challenge to be addressed by each of them.

Sharing and enriching the conceptualization work

The meeting was led by members of the conceptualization group. The aim of the meeting was to understand the need to reinforce the new political culture (bearing in mind Etorkizuna Eraikiz's rationale and the common objectives shared by each working group), and to gather the group's contributions. For this purpose, they first contextualized the topic, and then presented two exercises, finally sharing the main narratives on collaborative governance, which will also form part of the conceptual chapter to be written up by the deliberation group.

- *Context and framework: the need for a new political culture from Etorkizuna Eraikiz and the deliberation group.* The conceptualization group gave a summary of the framework explaining the existence of the Think Tank and the group, recalling what had already been worked on in the first meetings and set out in the documents generated in the process. They gave a summary of *Working Document #1*, in which the idea behind the need for a new political culture, Etorkizuna Eraikiz, the Think Tank, and this group was raised, and set out a series of issues that emerge in this new scenario, which are the reasons behind the creation of the Think Tank. They also reminded participants that they (the participants) had given input on their view of the need for a new political culture, as reflected in *Document #2*, which they also reviewed.

- *Exercise to understand visions on new political culture and extend the vision of collaborative governance.* The conceptualization group proposed an exercise aimed at understanding and clarifying the different points of view on the new political culture. For this purpose, they were asked to answer (first individually, then in subgroups and finally in the plenary group) to the following questions: 1) Define the new political culture by naming three of its characteristics. Give your reasons. 2) Identify the differences between collaborative governance and other types of collective work. 3) Why is collaborative governance a suitable choice when we say we want a new political culture?

- *Exercise to enrich the new political culture.* The second exercise was aimed at getting the group to reflect on the contribution of the work of their groups to a new political culture (how, what and why it contributes). To do this, the groups reflected on the following question: In what way, how and why do I contribute from my work group to the new political culture? They were also asked what the working groups expected from the theorization group.

The group's contributions were later written up in *Working Document #10*.

- *Presentation on different narratives of governance.* To conclude the meeting, one of the members of the group shared part of the basis of what will be the conceptual chapter of the book to be drafted by the group. He explained that there was no conceptual consensus on this topic and presented the three narratives that can be found in the conceptions of collaborative governance: neoliberal, institutional and interpretative. Etorkizuna Eraikiz's approached could be framed in the latter category.

The results of the reflection were later set out in *Working Document #10. Conceptualization of the new political culture*, which includes the contextualization, and the group's contributions made at the March meeting on the themes addressed: characteristics of the new political culture, collaborative governance and other forms of cooperation, reasons for collaborative governance, and relationships between the working groups involved in the process.

14.04.2021. Meeting 10. Learnings from and for transformation of public administration and questionnaire to evaluate the first year

The tenth meeting, held on 14 April 2021, focused on sharing and reflecting on the work performed by the group working on the challenge of transforming public administration, sharing their experience and learning as well as the key concepts of their work. The group also completed a questionnaire to evaluate the process carried out during the first year (the results of which would be shared in subsequent meetings) and other issues related to the deliberation process were discussed.

Dialogues about the process: evaluation of first year, new chapter in the book, new member in the group

Three aspects related to the deliberation process were discussed:

- *Review and assessment of the process.* Before the end of the meeting (which would address the topic to be described in the next section) the participants completed a questionnaire designed to evaluate the activity of the Think Tank in its first year. For this purpose, the team responsible first briefly reviewed the work carried out since June 2020.
- Participants were informed that *a new chapter* would be added to the book, dedicated to emotional management. This, it was explained, was born out of a tension that arose after the previous meeting between some members and the importance of emotional management in this type of process.
- They were also informed that a new member was joining the facilitation team

Learning from and for transformation of public administration: exploring complexity and facilitation

The working group on the transformation of public administration led a reflection on the central theme of the meeting, with facilitation from the group's facilitator. They shared concepts and lessons learned from the experience, centring on two concepts that are key to their work, complexity and facilitation and presented the specific project they are working on within the framework of the Think Tank and the change that is being promoted through it. They then facilitated a group reflection to consider the nature of the problem of building a new political culture and how to foster it.

- *Reflections and experiences with regard to facilitation.* Two members of the group shared their experience of the concept and practice of "facilitation": what facilitation is, and the lessons learned in facilitating processes, such as the importance of recognizing complexity and working on trust and the involvement of all actors, making the process explicit and visible, humility, and dialogue.
- *Working hypothesis: complexity requires facilitation,* and the new political culture therefore requires facilitation. The group facilitator presented the working hypothesis, situations of complexity require facilitation, and presented a brief framework distinguishing between different types of problem (simple, complicated and complex) and the different types of solutions that these different types of problems require ('do as I say', expert knowledge and facilitation).
- *The context for putting the new political culture into practice: Aurrerabide, and the role of the facilitator.* Two other members of the group then presented the initiative that is being experimented on within the framework of the Think Tank, to implement advanced management in the Provincial Government. Implementation of the initiative has not been as successful as

previously expected. They explained how the Think Tank's reflections are helping in the programme, and the role that the facilitator will have in this initiative.

- *Group dynamics to reflect on the type of problem and the type of solution required for the construction of a new political culture.* Finally, the deliberative group conducted a group dynamic, in subgroups, to reflect on the type of problem and the type of solution that the deliberative group was addressing, the promotion of a new political culture. Specifically, they proposed to answer the following questions: 1) What kind of situation is the construction of a new political culture? (simple, complicated, complex); 2) What kind of solution should we define? ('Do as I say', expert knowledge, facilitation); 3) Describe the solution. Afterwards, the conclusions of the groups were shared, and the spokespersons of each group were asked to summarize the conclusion in a single sentence.

The results of the reflections were later written up in *Working Document #11. Transformation of public administration - Lessons learned from the Aurrerabide programme*. The document describes the framework (types of problems and solutions) and the working hypothesis (that building the new political culture requires facilitation) and the group's contributions to the problem of building a new political culture and what kind of solutions it requires.

19.05.2021. Meeting 11. Learning about and for the participation of citizens and civil society in the public agenda and notes on possible improvements to the Think Tank

The eleventh meeting was held on 19 May 2021 (for detailed content, see *Report #11*). The reflection focused on citizen participation in the public agenda and was based on and facilitated by the group working on this axis, based on the experience of two concrete projects: Badalab, the laboratory for linguistic innovation, and Arantzazu Lab, the laboratory for social innovation. The working group presented the work developed and the lessons learned, and then facilitated a group reflection focusing on how this axis relates to the work developed in the other axes, and how to learn from practice and integrate those learnings into the Think Tank. The head of the group also advanced some possible aspects for improvement to the Think Tank, which would be addressed specifically at the next meeting (the last in this cycle).

Dialogues on the deliberative process: possible improvements for the next cycle

The head of the focus group reminded participants that the evaluation had been carried out at the previous meeting and that this issue would be discussed at the next meeting. In addition, the Think Tank promoter group would also make an overall evaluation of the process. He said that although the general feedback was positive, he would propose some improvements, which might include dissemination, logistics and organization; application of the methodology, and strengthening the Think Tank as a political subject.

Learning about and for citizen and civil society participation in the public agenda

The members of the axis working on this topic within the Think Tank led reflection on the inclusion of civil society in the public agenda, first sharing the work developed and the lessons learned from the Think Tank for their projects and the lessons learned from their projects for the Think Tank; and then facilitating a group dynamic for the discussion group to reflect on the relationship between this axis and their projects and the lessons learned from practice.

- *Presentation of the axis: citizen participation.* The members of the group began by presenting the work axis, the participation and involvement of citizens and civil society, which is developed in two existing experiments, and which essentially seeks to enable and strengthen

relations between politics and the general public (addressing the political disaffection that lies at the heart of the Think Tank's initial diagnosis)

- *Context and conceptualisation: complexity and experimentation.* The members also shared the framework in which these experiences take place which form the basis of the working axis and the complexity and need for experimentation deriving from it.

- *Experiences and learning.* Those responsible for the two experiences in this work axis, Badalab and Arantzazu Lab, then explained what these initiatives are, what specific axis they have focused on for the work of the Think Tank (construction of governance in Badalab, citizen participation in Arantzazu Lab). They went on to explain the added value of the Think Tank, setting out the lessons learned from the deliberation that have been useful for the projects — including lessons learned on trust or collaborative governance— and the lessons from practice that might be useful for the Think Tank, such as the importance of resources.

- *Group dynamics to reflect on the relationship between axes and lessons learned from practice.* The working group then facilitated a group dynamic to reflect on how the work of the citizen participation axis affects the other groups, and how to learn from practice and integrate this knowledge into the Think Tank. Specifically, two exercises were carried out, the first in subgroups and the second one in the plenary group, to answer the following questions: 1) How does our central theme interrogate the other ones?; 2) how do we learn by doing and how can we integrate that into the Think Tank? In addition, a series of questions was proposed to aid reflection on the second of these questions (included in the presentation in Appendix A of *Report #11*).

The results of the dynamics were later written up in *Working Document #12. Work on citizen participation - lessons learned from Badalab projects and citizen assemblies*. The document includes an introduction that contextualises this document in the process, describes the two experiences at the heart of this axis of experimentation (Badalab and Arantzazulab) and their lessons, and the results of the group dynamics, dividing the contributions into four sections: 1) Interaction between participants; 2) The group's ability to learn from conceptualization and practice; 3) The Provincial Government's policy ecosystem to influence the new political culture; 4) Expectations about the results and vision for the future.

June 2021. Conclusion of the first cycle and establishment of the bases for the next cycle based on the evaluation (start of the second cycle)

The meeting held in June marked both the end of the first cycle of deliberations and the beginning of the second cycle and acted as a bridge between the two. At the meeting of April 2021, the team had made an evaluation of the process, completing a questionnaire. The results of the evaluation were first shared with the group by e-mail in a document containing the results. Their impressions of the evaluation report were also recorded in writing. These results, together with the evaluations of the other deliberation groups, had also been addressed in the two groups coordinating the Think Tank, the coordination group (political leadership) and the promoter group (more operational leadership). Based on this, the team responsible for the Think Tank made proposals for improvement in the second cycle, which concern both the general activities of the Think Tank and the dynamics of the four deliberation groups. These were shared

with the group at the June meeting in order to establish the bases for the next cycle of group deliberation.

Before the meeting: evaluation report of the Think Tank and views of the participants

The team responsible for the Think Tank shared with the participants (by email) a report containing the results of the Think Tank evaluation carried out by this deliberation group (more details of which will be given in the next Research Diary). They also asked them to submit their impressions after reading the report, by filling in a template with the following question: "Having seen how the group rated the year's work, what are your reflections for the future? It is not necessary to address all the sections, the idea is to cover the main ideas". The answer received can be found in the report of the next meeting, *Report #12*.

16.06.2021. Meeting 12. Evaluation and presentation of proposals for improvement: laying the groundwork for the next cycle of deliberation

The last meeting of the first cycle, which also serves as the start of the second cycle (to 2023) was held on June 16, 2021 (described in Report #12). The meeting had three objectives: to share the evaluation; to organize for writing of the book to be produced as a result of the group's learning on a new political culture in the first cycle of deliberation; and to establish the phases for the next cycle of deliberation (2021-2023).

Participants were also informed that a new person would be in charge of this group in the second cycle: the new head of the group would be the Deputy (Provincial Minister) for Governance of the Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa.

At the meeting, the group leader first shared his interpretation of the evaluation and the proposals for improvement for the next cycle. The results of the evaluation and the proposals for improvement were then shared. For this purpose, the facilitator/researcher first presented certain elements of the process about which there are different views among the participants. There was then a group reflection (in plenary) on the process, the proposals, and some elements for designing the next cycle.

- *Interpretation of the evaluation and proposals for improvement in the new phase by the leadership of the Think Tank.* The head of the group stressed that the overall assessment of the Think Tank had been positive and that it had fulfilled its objectives. He highlighted the creation of a space for collaborative governance, the trust generated, the lessons learned and the commitment of the participants and the Provincial Government. He also presented the proposals for improvement for the next cycle, which will affect all groups and the Think Tank's activity in general: (1) Changes in governance: a single coordination group in the Think Tank (the two groups that had been in place until then, one more political and the other more operational, would cease to exist), and the person leading the deliberation group would now be the Deputy for Governance. (2) The Think Tank as a centre for generating knowledge, thought and strategy, centralising the work carried out in this field in Etorikizuna Eraikiz; (3) The Think Tank as the centre of Etorikizuna Eraikiz's knowledge dissemination work, with one person from the team taking responsibility for this area; (4) Homogenisation of the methodology of all the deliberation groups.

- *Differences in opinion on elements related to the process.* The facilitator researcher then presented some divergent opinions among the participants that emerged in the evaluation regarding certain central elements of the process: (1) on the 'what' of the process, differences

as to whether to work on new themes and concepts or to further explore those already addressed; (2) on the 'how', differences on whether to place the focus more on reflection or on action; (3) on the subgroups created to work on different axes of the new political culture, which in some participants' opinion had led to fragmentation, while for others, it had been enriching. He also raised the issue of the projects chosen for experimentation, and whether several projects should be chosen or whether it is better to develop fewer.

- *Group reflection on the process and the pillars for the next cycle.* After the presentation of the proposals and the interpretations of the evaluation, and the questions that arose from the different visions of the participants in the evaluation, a group reflection was conducted in the plenary group. As a guide for reflection, the following questions were posed: Given the evaluation and the bases for the new phase, how can this think tank impact the council's policy ecosystem? How will we work on co-generating knowledge? What should the role of experts be? What can the role of each one of us be? The participants in the group provided input and discussed various topics, such as the subgroups, the results of the Think Tank and how to measure them, and issues related to the link and balance between action and reflection.

The contributions and reflections of the group were later written up in *Working Document #13. Deliberation group on the new political culture: a one-year journey and criteria for the future*, which also includes the contributions made by the participants after reading the evaluation report, and the bases for the new phase proposed by the team responsible for the Think Tank. It is also stated in the document that for the new phase, the subgroups do not have to be kept in stable form and that the book to be written can be the first step for the clear conceptualization required by some participants.

This meeting brought the first cycle to an end (and began the second cycle). The process will resume in September, with an earlier meeting in July to draft the book.

Appendix 1. "Homework" templates used between meetings



WORK GROUP ON NEW POLITICAL CULTURE

HOMEWORK

(To be submitted before 03/09/2020)

This exercise consists of two parts.

Part 1: description of the project you are going to use for the experimentation

We agreed that each participant in the working group will use the knowledge acquired in it to experiment in one of their projects. On 15 July, a list of projects was presented, as set out in the first homework exercise. Please feel free to continue working on the project listed there or choose another one if you consider it more suitable. The initiatives on that list were, at times, very broad. If you see fit, on this occasion define an initiative, axis or section that is more suited to you.

Name of the project:
Brief description of the project:

Part 2: start working on the links between the agenda³ defined for deliberation and your experimentation project

Taking into account the description you gave in the previous section, assign a score to each of the following challenges, depending on the importance it might have in your project: 6 points for the one you consider most important, 5 for the next most important... and 1 for the one you consider least important.

The group develops its own definitions for two concepts that reflect the results of the process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New political culture - Equality 	
Understanding complexity and developing a systemic approach to the projects/initiatives we are going to work on	
Promoting individual responsibility (values) in our projects/initiatives	
Creating areas of trust and reinforcing communication in our projects/initiatives	
Developing effective systems for listening to society in our projects/initiatives	
Transforming public administration within the framework of our projects/initiatives by strengthening the ties between political and technical personnel	

³ This agenda is provisional, until members of the group make contributions, but we will work with it for the time being.

New Political Culture

Homework for September-October

(23 September 2020)

Until September 2020, each member of the group selected and described the project they will use for experimentation. Between September and October the goal will be to focus on a problem within this project. For this purpose, please answer the following questions.

Describe, in a few lines, a problem in your project that you would like to try to solve in this process

--

To ensure the appropriateness of the problem described in the table above, please also try to answer the following questions:

How does this issue relate to the new political culture and equality?

--

Who will you have to work with to solve this problem?	Do these people agree to participate in this attempt? (yes / no)

What are your expectations of the results you can achieve as a result of this work between October 2020 and May 2021?

New Political Culture

Homework for October-November

(22 October 2020)

In the session of 14 October 2020 each member of the group, using the *Causal Layered Analysis* proposed by Angela Hanson, carried out a *study of the problem* of the project, which will be used for the experimentation at two levels: litany and systemic causes.

The homework between October and November will consist of completing this study, further exploring the next two levels proposed in this methodology: overview/discourse and myth and metaphor.

A summary of the exercise carried out as part of this session is enclosed with this homework sheet. In it you will see each participant's contribution to the first two levels. The following is the explanation Angela gave about each of the levels (see the session report and Angela's presentation in ppt).

<p>Litany: Official problem description. A reality that is externalized without contrary attitudes. These are internalized articulations of the problem, which are manifested through data or facts. They can be recurring headlines.</p>
<p>Systemic causes: Social causes of the problems, gathered in diverse, formal and more concrete articulations. They include economics, culture, politics, history, etc.</p>
<p>Overview/discourse: The purpose us to distinguish the convictions and ground rules behind the problem which we have accepted as fact. It is important to understand the problem from multiple perspectives. What does this show us about our ways of viewing gender, nature, authority?</p>
<p>Myth and Metaphor: These are profound stories and dimensions of the problem that go beyond the conscious. Symbols. Here an internal transformation is necessary. Solutions come from new narratives.</p>

The following steps are proposed for the homework:

- (1) Read what was written during the session about the first two levels. If you want to add to them, write them in the two boxes provided. Otherwise, leave them blank.
- (2) In the box provided, write *the overview/discourse* of the problem you have chosen to work on within the project.
- (3) In the table provided, write *the myths and metaphors* about the problem you have chosen to work on within the project.

LITANY (complementing the issues set out in the session)

SYSTEMIC CAUSES (complementing the issues set out in the session)

OVERVIEW/DISOURSE

MYTH / METAPHOR

New Political Culture

Homework for November-December

(25 November 2020)

Individual reflection (to be completed by all group members)

Manuel Villoria mentioned the importance of clearly defining **the role of each person**. In the two enclosed documents, you will see how each working group has defined its role. Within the framework defined by your group, what is your special role in the group?

Individual reflection (to be answered by members of the knowledge-for-transformation group and by any other participants if they wish)

What is your view on the boundary/break between theory and practice or, if you prefer, what is your view of the concept of "praxis"?

Teamwork (this task is only to be completed by those who have given a 1.5–4 hour commitment). For each axis, a process will be carried out, organized as follows:

- The group for the critical construction of the conceptual basis of the Think Tank, which will be facilitated by **Andoni Eizagirre**
- The group for the **Public Administration**, which will be facilitated by **Ainhoa Arrona**
- The group for the development of the involvement of citizens and organised society, which will act without facilitators
- The group for **knowledge management** for transformation, which will be facilitated by **Miren Larrea**

Presentation of the exercise:

Between October and November, individual reflections were carried out using the *causal layered analysis* proposed by Angela Hanson. Some participants have done the work, but others have not, and it was impossible to gain an overall picture of the entire group.

Between November and December this framework will be used, but this time not to analyse each participant's project, **but with respect to each axis**. In other words, we will develop **four causal analyses** on the following challenges:

- The Think Tank's challenge to develop a basic critical conceptualization
- The challenge of the Think Tank to transform public administration
- The challenge of the Think Tank to contribute to involvement by citizens and organised society
- The challenge of the Think Tank to manage knowledge for transformation

Remember that the four levels of analysis are as follows:

Litany: Official problem description. A reality that is externalized without contrary attitudes. These are internalized articulations of the problem, which are manifested through data or facts. They can be recurring headlines.
Systemic causes: Social causes of the problems, gathered in diverse, formal and more concrete articulations. They include economics, culture, politics, history, etc.
Overview/discourse: The purpose us to distinguish the convictions and ground rules behind the problem which we have accepted as fact. It is important to understand the problem from multiple perspectives. What does this show us about our ways of viewing gender, nature, authority?
Myth and Metaphor: These are profound stories and dimensions of the problem that go beyond the conscious. Symbols. Here an internal transformation is necessary. Solutions come from new narratives.

Challenge on which the group is working:
LITANY

Challenge on which the group is working:
SYSTEMIC CAUSES

Challenge on which the group is working:
OVERVIEW/DISCOURSE

Challenge on which the group is working:
MYTH / METAPHOR

New Political Culture

Homework for December-January

(18 December 2020)

Individual reflection (to be completed by all group members)

How would you like to be involved in the process of drafting the book?
<input type="checkbox"/> I don't have time to write, I will share my reflections in the sessions <input type="checkbox"/> I will make a written contribution to the chapter for our working group if the content of the chapter is edited by someone else <input type="checkbox"/> I am willing to make a written contribution to our working group's chapter and to edit the group's contributions

Teamwork (this task is only to be completed by those who have given a 1.5–4 hour commitment). For each axis, a process will be carried out, organized as follows:

- e) The group for the critical construction of the conceptual basis of the Think Tank, which will be facilitated by **Andoni Eizagirre**
- f) The group for the **Public Administration**, which will be facilitated by **Ainhua Arrona**
- g) The group for the development of the involvement of citizens and organised society, which will act without facilitators
- h) The group for **knowledge management** for transformation, which will be facilitated by **Miren Larrea**

Presentation of the exercise:

At the session of 16 December 2020, the following table of contents was proposed for the book to be written on the deliberative process:

CONTENTS

Presentation

Introduction

Chapter 1 Theoretical foundations of the new political culture

Chapter 2 Methodological bases for the development of a new political culture

Chapter 3 Transformation of the public administration in the framework of the new political culture

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Definition of the challenge

3.3. Experimentation process

3.4. Complexity and approach of the systemic approach

3.5. OTHERS

3.x. Results

3.y. Lessons

Chapter 4 Involvement of organized society and citizens in construction of the new political culture

(Previous structure adapted to multiple cases)

Chapter 5 Managing knowledge for transformation and the role of the university in the new political culture

(Previous structure adapted to multiple cases)

Chapter 6 New political culture in Etorikizuna Eraikiz Think Tank. Track record, results and future challenges

The group working on the theorisation axis will write Chapter 1, the group working on transformation of the public administration will write Chapter 3, the group working on the involvement of citizens and organised society will write Chapter 4 and the group working on knowledge management for transformation will write Chapter 5.

For each group, the following reflection is proposed:

- Each chapter will include **one or several experimental essays** for transformation (the theoretical chapter will include not only the theory, but also a critical interpretation of the theorization of this working group). With this in mind, what experimentation is this working group going to develop from January to May 2021?
- The first chapter will share a theorization and the second a methodology of the process, but it is likely that for the other chapters **a conceptual and methodological section will be needed to explain properly this specific process of experimentation**. What sections should the chapter therefore have in order to adequately explain the experimentation process?
- As in the past, homework will continue to be collected and reports and working documents will be prepared with the work carried out in the workshops. In addition, **how will the process be documented so that in May you will be in a position to write the chapter? Who will be in charge of this documentation work?**
- Once the documentation has been compiled, **who will write the chapter?** If this task is to be divided up, who will do the editing work to stitch the different sections together properly?

Please write your answers in the following table.

PROCESS OF WRITING THE BOOK
Brief description of the experimentation process that will be included in the chapter
Proposed table of contents for the chapter (may be modified at a later stage)
Documentary procedures
Persons responsible for writing and editing