

LEADERSHIP AND DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY IN THE CHANGING WORLD: COMPETING OR RECONCILABLE PARADIGMS?

Professor **Dobrinka CHANKOVA**¹
Associate professor **Valentin VASILEV**²

“People ask the difference between a leader and a boss. The leader leads, and the boss drives.”
Theodore Roosevelt

Abstract

The paper explores the changing role of leadership in a modern organisational context. The objective is to pay attention to the relationship between traditions and dynamically changed realities in contemporary management. The relatively new phenomenon - deliberative democracy practices - and their use in modern governance are under scrutiny. The central thesis of this paper is that efficient leadership and deliberative democracy are not competing, but reconcilable paradigms and could exist in a good symbiosis. Classical research methods, such as comparative analysis of theories and practices, are used in the elaboration of the paper. The systematic approach to seek a holistic vision for the improvement of leadership in a democracy is also used. A small-scale qualitative survey among the random population about the role of leadership, public deliberation and their interaction in a time of intensive social processes adds extra value to the research. The biggest challenge faced by the theory and practice is identified - to instrumentalise the leadership and deliberative practices efficiently so that the decisions taken to be considered rational, legitimate, and protecting fundamental human and other rights of all affected who will feel respected and committed to their implementation.

Keywords: leadership, deliberative democracy, survey, compatibility.

JEL Classification: K39

1. Introduction and research problem

In recent years, the changing role of leadership in a modern organisational context is gaining new dimensions. The focus of the development is on the relationship between traditions and dynamically changed realities in contemporary management. The new conditions in the governance, from the lowest to the highest level, from a specific organisation to a national scale, given the latest global events like COVID-19 pandemic, economic crisis, raising of the unemployment rate, social unrests, etc. lead to the need to develop new skills and practices on which should focus the leaders in the years to come. All these are especially important because, historically, on the Balkan peninsula in Europe, but also globally, the crucial role of the leadership has frequently been wrongly interpreted with the authoritarian ruling and dictatorships. After the collapse of the totalitarian communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and the re-start of the democratic process, the countries in the region, Bulgaria included, began to build the foundations of the constitutional governance. The forms of civic participation varied considerably depending on the establishment of the political systems. Deliberative democracy is a relatively new invention not only for the Bulgarian audience. It combines elements of both direct and representative democracy, but at the same time is a stand-alone theory that is gaining in popularity and beginning to occupy an essential place in the constitutional reality.

The central thesis of this paper is to prove that the efficient leadership and deliberative democracy are not competing, but reconcilable paradigms and could exist in a good symbiosis as in today's changing world the public deliberation is essential as much as the timely and decisive leadership actions and behaviour.

¹ Dobrinka Chankova - South-West University, Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, chankova@law.swu.bg.

² Valentin Vasilev - South-West University, Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, valyo@law.swu.bg.

2. For effective leadership in a changing world

It is widely recognised that the world is changing every day. The requirements for people are also changing, and organisations are being transformed into sustainable, rational and effective structures aimed at improving people's lives.

On the other hand, a real phenomenon is the role of leaders and leadership in managing change and adapting the organisation to it. Leadership is about behaviour first, then skills. People follow good leaders because they are trusted and respected, not so much because of the qualities they possess. Management relies more on planning, organising and communication skills. Leadership depends primarily on qualities such as integrity, honesty, courage, commitment, sincerity, passion, confidentiality, positivity, wisdom, determination, compassion, and sensitivity that target soft forms of competencies.

Leadership means, as Laszlo Bock, Google's vice president of human resources, puts it, that "Even in a time when wages are frozen, you can still make people happier and make them work better." Because when the economy is in a deep crisis, the attitudes towards people play the most important role."³

Building trust is the foundation of a successful organisation. Trust is at the core of human relationships in an organisation. Through it radically different parts "stick together"; it is a catalyst that facilitates the interaction. Trust has no substitute in the organisational behaviour of individuals. It builds bridges for personal acceptance between team members. Trust plays a crucial role in sharing values and in achieving commitment to the organisation⁴.

Leadership behaviour develops leadership style and skills. Skills, by themselves, do not make a leader - manner and action do. If you have an interest in learning and developing as a leader - look at leadership behaviour. And it is related to motivation - both the individual and the whole organisations⁵. Leadership is mostly expressed through the demonstration of behaviour directed towards others. People who strive for these things are accepted and respected as leaders by their subordinates. Moreover, crisis leadership needs rethinking and new solutions⁶.

A key point is the perception of human resource development with a focus on the importance of so-called "soft skills" in today's leaders. In recent years, some leading research centres have focused on them and laid the foundations for a broad debate in academia and practicing managers in this direction. Among the specific highlights in the development of the ideas for leadership that can be indicated are the following:

- **To plan carefully** (together with the people involved to build trust) how the organisation will achieve its goals. Goals and priorities may need to be redefined or new ones set.

- **Building teams of engaged people.** Caring for people and ensuring good communication and interaction is also related to the right selection and assistance to those wishing to develop through training and learning.

- **Communication is essential.** Hearing, counselling, involvement and explanations of why and what needs to be done.

- Some leaders **lead by personal example** and are very "visual"; others are more distant and leave their employees to do the work themselves. Whatever the case, the sample is essential - the way a leader works and behaves will be the standard that can be expected from his employees.

Taking the time to listen and understand people and get to know their work is another critical point of leadership. To ask and understand what people are doing and thinking and what improvements can be made, according to them, is of utmost importance⁷.

³Laszlo Bock, *Новые правила [The new rules]*. Bard Publishing House: Sofia, 2015, p. 23.

⁴Valentin Vasilev & Snejana Dimitrova. *Organizational trust and organizational culture in the public administration*. „Публични политики.bg” [Public policies.bg]; 2017; Vol. 8, № 1; p.6.

⁵ Ivan Efremovski & Valentin Vasilev. *Organizational culture and motivation in public administration – a relation of the future in the public management*; „KNOWLEDGE: International journal”; Vol.4.; Skopje; Institute of knowledge management, 2014. pp. 102-106

⁶Ben Aylor, Bitan Datta, Megan DeFauw, Marc Gilbert, Claudio Knizek & Michael McAdoo, *Designing Resilience into Global Supply Chains*, <https://www.bcg.com/publications/2020/resilience-in-global-supply-chains>; last accessed on 22.08.2020.

⁷ See <https://www.skillsyouneed.com/leadership-skills.html>; last accessed on 22.08.2020.

Focusing on the positive by expressing things in terms of what should be done, not what should not be done. If the focus is on the negative, people are likely to turn to it.

The leader **must inspire by assuring his people that they can achieve great things** - when there are space and time, everyone can do more than he hoped.

Continually striving to learn something from the people around - they can provide precious information about the leader and say 90% of what needs to know to achieve the goals of the organisation.

As Doris and John Naismith point out, "... we will experience systemic, integrated, and destructive changes in politics, economics, and technology, and the situation will worsen because there is no common paradigm from which to derive a universally valid worldview."⁸ It is necessary to embrace change, but not because of the change itself.

Mentoring is a cornerstone of leadership skills in the coming years. The term "mentoring" entered the scientific and practical space on a serious scale in the 80s and 90s of the last century. Currently, "mentoring" can be defined as "an attitude and process in which one person offers help, guidance, advice and support in the training, introduction to the work process and development of another person." Mentoring is a training tool in organisations whose primary goal is the development of young talents and future leaders. It has a long history and is probably one of the first known forms of training and transmission of socio-cultural experience⁹. It is especially useful to combine it with additional methods for self-assessment and self-development of leaders such as coaching, time management, self-mastering and others.

Conflict and stress management in the organisation is definitely a powerful tool of the modern leader. In recent years, established practices in the field of innovative solutions in the direction of reducing and preventing stress at work, work-life balance, participatory conflict resolution and others have been established¹⁰. Investing in training and attitude to these processes is key to effective leadership.

Emotional intelligence emphasises the ability to empathise and love and the ability to discover the strengths of different people. An emotionally intelligent organisation knows the potential of its people and strives to develop it. In this way, every employee feels valued and wants to grow with the organisation in which he works. The basic idea of emotional intelligence involves understanding, controlling and managing personal emotions as well as other people's emotions. In addition to ourselves, as emotionally intelligent people, we need to be able to understand the motivations of others, as well as their goals and feelings¹¹.

Crisis management in a more general context can be related to the effective management of changes in the organisation. Here come to the fore the balanced communication skills, teamwork and knowledge of the process of building a system for prevention and work in crises.

3. Theoretical and constitutional considerations about deliberative democracy

In the theory and practice, the definition of deliberative democracy allows different interpretations, both in terms of its meaning and in its practical application. It is also known in public law by the names of discussion democracy and discursive democracy. As mentioned, deliberative democracy is relatively new and unfamiliar to much of the Bulgarian audience. It combines elements of both direct and representative democracy, but at the same time is a stand-alone theory that is gaining in popularity and beginning to occupy an essential place in the constitutional reality.

⁸ Doris Naismith & John Naismith. *Овладеяване на мегатенденциите* [Mastering megatrends]; BARD Publishing House, Sofia; 2018, pp. 36-37.

⁹ Tsvetelina Belovska. *Възможности за приложение на менторството в публичната администрация* [Opportunities for application of mentoring in public administration]; New Bulgarian University/NBU; Yearbook of the Department of Administration and Management, electronic edition, Volume I, 2016.

¹⁰ Lawrence Robinson, Melinda Smith & Robert Segal. *Stress Management. Help Guide*; <https://www.helpguide.org/articles/stress/stress-management.html>, last accessed on 11.10.2020.

¹¹ Valentin Vasilev & Tsvetelina Belevska. *Эмоциональный интеллект в публичном управлении: вызовы и возможности*, журнал "Право и образование" [*Emotional Intelligence in Public Administration: Challenges and Opportunities*, "Law and Education" Journal], Russia; 2017; no. 11; pp. 78-83.

Deliberative democracy, by its very nature, is defined as a process of public reflection on the grounds and dignities of public policy in the process of its formation¹². The participants in this process give serious consideration to the information that is relevant to them, present their arguments and look for ways to impose their thesis and convince each other of it, thus making it possible to build acceptable public policy. Advisory democracy provides opportunities for citizens and civil society representatives to participate in various consultative forms and forums for active, structured dialogue in the decision-making process¹³. It has also been defined as a model of governance focusing on the comprehensive, systematic, communicative and rational involvement of citizens in public discourse, both on constitutional consensus and constitutional conflict, concerning general and specific issues, policies and social life together.¹⁴

It is already accepted on a normative, doctrinal and political level that decisions can be considered legitimate if all interested parties make them through a process of rational discussion. According to this concept, the discussion does not consist of direct law-making by citizens, but in an ongoing process of public will formation through a decentralised communication network¹⁵. Citizens should present their arguments on issues of public concern that the majority can reasonably accept, and inclusion requires democratic procedures to be accessible, transparent and open to all citizens. It should be noted that the right to information and freedom of expression plays an essential role in creating an adequate deliberative environment for the exercise of all political rights, in particular direct, participatory and representative democracy in general. Their institutional anchoring and the envisaged legal protection are a guarantee for the full implementation of the civic participation mechanism in political decision-making. And lately, they have been used quite frequently, despite the recognised deficiencies of direct democracy which only aggregates the preferences through voting.¹⁶

The main emphasis of this democratic governance model is on the engagement and empowerment of active citizenship, political autonomy and self-government of society by free and equal citizens. Citizens are directly involved in the decision-making process, and public authorities are responsible for their implementation. The extent to which citizens can directly influence the decision-making process depends on their participation¹⁷. In the course of civil debates, in addition to taking into account the will of the people, ideas are born and developed that can help clarify conflicting political issues, if any. In Bulgaria, for example, is shared the notion that deliberative democracy is a mechanism through which citizens express their views on specific governance issues through their participation in various deliberation panels that precede the actual decision-making by the competent institutions; it is a tool that guarantees the active involvement of citizens in the political process.¹⁸

It is essential to differentiate between different types of democracy to make clear the

¹² Jean-Michel Bessette, *The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy & American National Government*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 46-48; Simone Chambers, *Deliberative Democratic Theory*, "Annual Review of Political Science", 2003, Vol. 6, pp. 307-326. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.121901.085538>, last accessed on 24.10.2020; John S Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*, 2000, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹³ Clodah Harris, Gemma M Carney & David Farrel. *Rule by the people? Alternative perspectives on citizen participation in democratic policymaking*, "Administration", 2013, Vol. 60 Issue 3, pp. 201-209; https://www.ipa.ie/_fileupload/Documents/PDF/publications/RulebythePeople.pdf, last accessed on 24.10.2020.

¹⁴ Martin Belov, *Гражданското участие в политическия процес. Конституционноправни основи [Civic participation in the political process. Constitutional legal bases]*, Sofia: Sibi, 2010, p. 139.

¹⁵ Jurgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996; James S Fishkin, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy*, 1995, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

¹⁶ Vincent Jacque, Christoph Niessen & Min Reuchamps, *Sortition, its advocates and its critics: An empirical analysis of citizens' and MPs support for random selection as a democratic reform proposal*, "International Political Science Review", 2020, Vol. Online first, pp. 1-22, available on <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/235052>, last accessed on 17.10.2020.

¹⁷ Didier Caluwaerts § Min Reuchamps. *Does Inter-group Deliberation Foster Inter-Group Appreciation? Evidence from Two Experiments in Belgium*, "Politics", 2014, Vol. 34 Issue 2, pp. 101-115 doi: 10.1111/1467-9256.12043; Didier Caluwaerts & Juan E. Ugarriza, *Favorable Conditions to Epistemic Validity in Deliberative Experiments: A Methodological Assessment*, "Journal of Public Deliberation" 2012, Vol. 8 Issue 1, pp. 1-20, <https://delibdemjournal.org/articles/abstract/10.16997/jdd.128/> last accessed on 24.10.2020

¹⁸ Galina Pisarska, *Актуални въпроси на делиберативната демокрация в Република България [Current Issues of Deliberative Democracy in the Republic of Bulgaria]*, "Право, Политика, Администрация" ["Law, Politics, Administration"] Journal, 2020, vol.7, issue 1 p. 53-63.

characteristics of deliberative democracy. The main difference between participatory democracy and democracy through discussion is the extent to which citizens are directly involved in political decision-making. In the first case, the citizens are empowered to make decisions that directly affect their status. In the second case, the focus is on the process of public debate, argumentation and discussion, which must precede decision-making. Although this procedural discursive aspect can be combined with the forms of participatory democracy and direct democracy, in the deliberative model, the focus is not on direct decision-making but on the process of discussion itself.¹⁹

Embracing these generally valid postulates about deliberative democracy nature and potential, and trying to keep pace with the latest developments of theory and practice, the following primary forms of civic participation have been legally established and practised, more or less, during the last decades:

- Referendums (national and local)
- Citizens' Initiatives (European, national and local)
- General Assembly of the Population (Local)
- Public consultation on regulations and strategic documents
- Public advisory councils involving citizens or representatives of civic organisations
- Public forums, deliberation panels
- Citizens' proposals, opinions and signals
- Protests, rallies, demonstrations
- Citizens' petitions.

Again, although there are differences in nuances and emphasis, both the content of the concept of direct democracy and participatory democracy share a common semantic core - the need to actively engage citizens in various forms of political decision-making. Diversity of civic participation procedures can justify the distinction between the most intense forms of direct participation in the final binding decisions, including nationwide voting - in direct democracy - and states that offer the opportunity to participate in a full consultation process - participatory democracy and deliberative democracy. It can be argued that these forms function in symbiosis, and there is no "Chinese wall" between them²⁰.

4. Some results from a recent survey

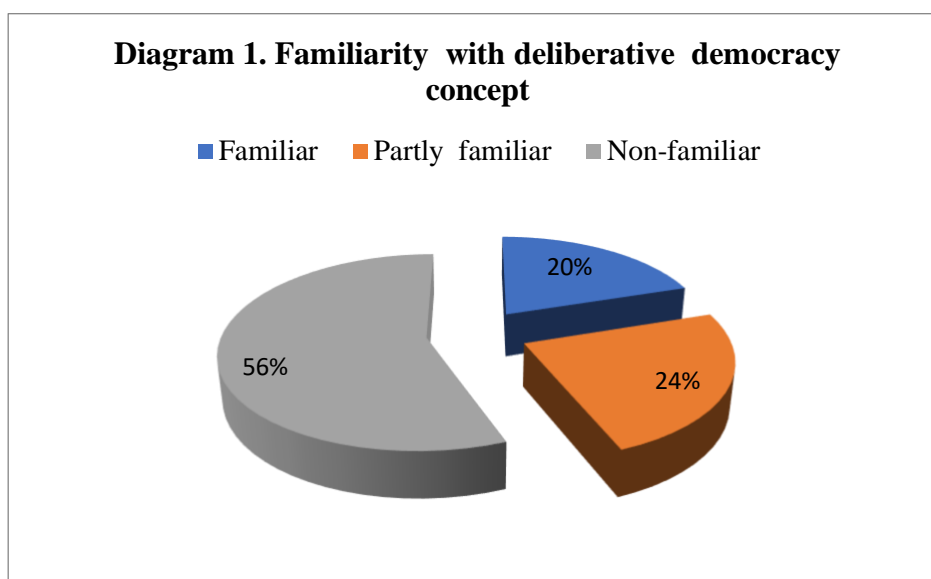
Traditional research methods, such as comparative analysis of theories and practices, are used in the elaboration of the paper. The systematic approach to seek a holistic vision for the improvement of leadership in a democracy is also used. A small-scale qualitative *survey* among the random population ***about the role of leadership, public deliberation and their interaction*** in a time of intensive social processes adds extra value to the research. The survey was launched in Bulgaria by academics in September-October 2020. The respondents, among them the law, public administration and sociology students and university faculty members, representatives of NGOs, public institutions, etc. filled out a questionnaire. Although the results could not be considered representative, they are quite indicative.

On the first question **are you familiar with the concept of deliberative democracy (DD)**, 20% of the participants give a positive answer, 56% - a negative, and 24% say that they know it partly. This leads to the preliminary conclusion that DD is not popular enough even among the pretty specialised audience, which requires immediate actions. However, the respondents rightly associate the efficient DD practices with public debates-18%, civil initiatives-48%, e-portals for public consultation-28%, consultative councils- 22% (here and later more than one answer is given). One

¹⁹ Atanas Slavov, *Гражданско участие в конституционната демокрация. Публичноправни перспективи [Civic participation in constitutional democracy. Public Legal Perspectives]*, Sofia: Ciela, 2017, p. 129.

²⁰ John Gastil, Chiara Bacci & Michael Dollinger. *Is Deliberation Neutral? Patterns of Attitude Change during "The Deliberative Polls"*, "Journal of Public Deliberation" 2010, Vol. 6 Issue 1, pp. 1–33; Ian O'Flynn. *Deliberative Democracy and Divided Societies*, 2006, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; David M. Ryfe, *Does Deliberative Democracy Work?* "Annual Review of Political Science" Vol.8 Issue1, pp. 49–71. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.032904.154633>, last accessed on 24.10.2020.

participant underlines the critical role of the media; two are highly critical about the efficiency of any deliberative practices in the country.



The personal participation of the interviewed in deliberative formats so far is relatively low- only 26 % have taken part in such activities, the rest 74 % have no experience. Much more encouraging are the answers to the question about their **willingness to participate** - 90% are positive, only 6% are negative, and 4 % have no opinion.

The open question about **the respondents' understanding of leadership and the qualities of the leader** was more comfortable for them, and they give detailed answers fully corresponding with the general theory postulates. Sometimes they even go further making a contribution to the doctrine. Here a brief summary will be presented.

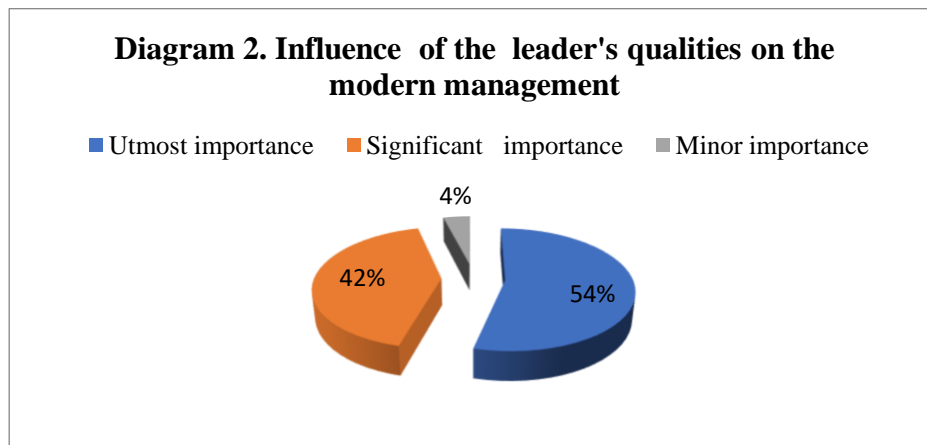
It is repeatedly underlined that leadership is a proved capability to govern and lead people to achieve common aims in mutual interest. At the same time, it is deeply stressed that it should be done through proper communication, discussion and collective resolving of the existing problems with all affected.

The good leader is a far-seeing visionary, with personal skills to unite people/groups/collectives. The leader's model of behaviour should be an excellent example of the rests. He/she is an intelligent person, charismatic, possessing high standard ethical and professional qualities which are equally important towards his/her organisational skills for efficient time- and change- management and decision-making. A leader is a respected person on the base of his moral, expertise, sense of responsibility and skills to work with people in a democratic way. As crucial evidence for successful leadership is considered the personal satisfaction of everybody involved because he/she is stimulated for development and his/her opinion and rights are closely observed. The importance of the leader's strategic thinking, mentoring skills, efficient management of crises and emotional intelligence are also underlined. The respondents find essential the ability for early identification of potential risks and proper response to them, as well as the conflict resolution skills. A good leader is a positive person, enterprising, accountable. Many times, it is emphasised that the leader should create a sense of belonging to the group/collective and should work for its wellbeing.

There are also some emotional associations of the leader with wisdom, confidence, fairness, strength, inspiration. The very fact of being chosen as a leader is a sign for human evolution, according to one respondent.

Asked explicitly about **the influence of the leader's qualities on the modern management**, 54% of the participants say that they are of utmost importance, 42 % find them significant, and only 4% think they are of little meaning. It is reconfirmed that the leader with his great influence on the people could serve as a "roadmap" or could lead them to confusion; hence the excellent leader should manage the ongoing processes efficiently and avoid entropy and chaos. The lack of trustworthy, wise

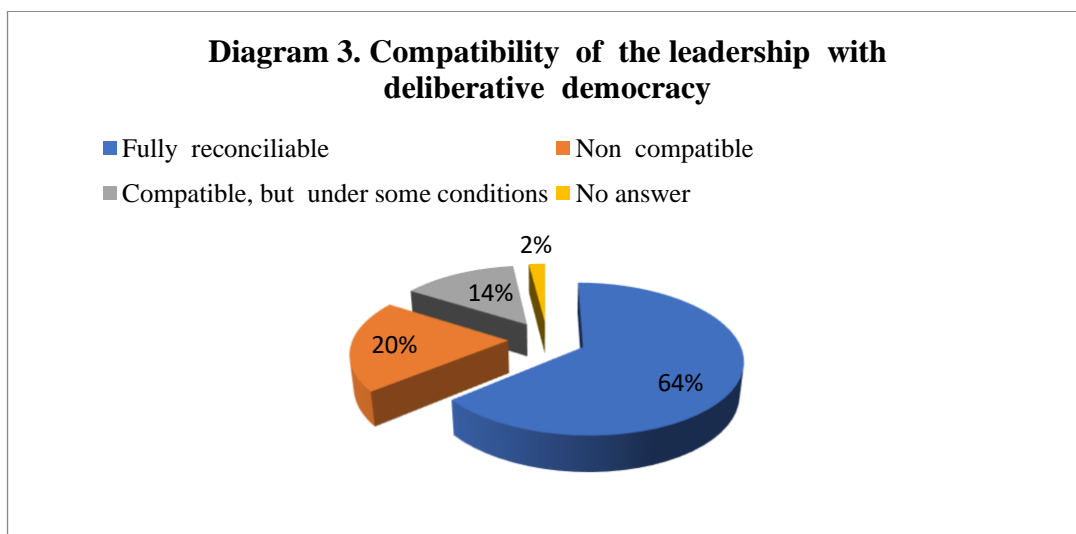
leader inevitably open possibilities for an institutional and political crisis. Moreover, as a result, the social contract is frequently violated, and democracy yields to authoritarianism.



In continuation, a separate question was posed **whether the respondents associate the modern leader with the authoritarian ruling**. The fact that 78% answer negatively is very encouraging. The participants insist that contemporary governance should be democratic, and the leader should consult all involved. The authoritarianism is connected to the past time or to weak, underdeveloped states and societies. Democratic rule presupposes deliberation and accountability. While the decision-making in a difficult situation should be done timely and sometimes by the sole authority, as a rule, global management should be done through discussion and shared responsibility. The leader is not a dictator; he counts the opinions and the interests of the group/collective, community; he is an immanent part of the democracy.

However, it is sad to mention that 16 % do associate the contemporary governance with non-democratic practices, most of them, regrettably, taking today's Bulgaria as an example. Two percent agree partly, and 4% leave the question without comment.

To verify the answers given a question about **the compatibility of the leadership with DD** was posed. According to 64% of the participants, they are fully reconcilable, 20% give a negative answer, 14 % are predominantly positive, but under some conditions, and one respondent has no opinion. It is explicitly noted that strong leadership is necessary in crisis situations, even when there are deliberations, they are organised by the leader, but in any case, the others should be taken into account.



A central role for the questionnaire had the request to the audience to **describe freely and openly the relation leadership-DD**. The prevailing opinion expressed again was that they are parts

from the whole; they are interconnected and in reciprocity. The leader should be a mediator and a moderator of the deliberative discussion. According to a few participants, DD should have priority in the mentioned relation. However, there are sole opinions that the peaceful co-existence between them is hardly believable, and sometimes they are not compatible.

The respondents have been requested to answer some more general questions but in connection with the paper or related to the specific turbulent situation in Bulgaria nowadays.

Asked **about what should be changed so that the citizen rights and civil society interests are better respected** the participants give the following answers: legislation-52%, public politics-30%, implementation of laws - 44%. Two emphasise on the accountability of the public institutions and state's authorities, including members of the Parliament.

Rather interesting are the responses to the next questions: firstly, **does the latest initiative for the adoption of a new Constitution meet your approval**. The majority- 68% gives a negative answer, grounding on the thesis that the operative Constitution envisages enough instruments; the problem is in their proper implementation. A big part - 32 % answer positively, but many of them do not agree with the accepted model- without any public deliberations.

To the last question **is it necessary in a potential new Constitution to be given more weight to the civic society actors in the decision-making process**, a vast majority- 82 % answer with "yes", a tiny minority - 8% say "no" and 10 % could not decide. Some respondents stress that nowadays, the role of the Executive and the Parliament is hypertrophied, civil society is frequently neglected, which makes possible many lobbyist acts to be adopted. When the vast community is entitled to participate in the legislative process actively, and its voice is counted, it will be more engaging to observe the rule of law. In any case, the civil sector is a proved corrective of sole authority decisions.

From the survey results it is evident that at present days of numerous changes it is particularly important to combine the competence, expertise and bold decisiveness with democratic discussion involving the broadest range of public. This is of crucial significance to the effectiveness of organisations of all sizes in the long run and for the democracy itself. At the same time, it is beyond any doubt that the legislative and institutional environment plays a crucial role in creating and accomplishing opportunities for the direct involvement of citizens and their organisations in public debate and decision-making processes in all spheres of public life. The survey results support the thesis that in the coming years of utmost importance for the operation and development of organisations and society as a whole will be the mentioned leader's skills and the democratic deliberative practices. At the same time, it could not be claimed that deliberative democracy is a panacea, and perhaps not all existing problems could be resolved through its methods. There is a risk of misuse too – if the deliberative practices are in the hands of populists and demagogues. They could simulate a dialogue between state's authorities, public institutions and civil society. Communication could be manipulative and selective. It could be implemented through false persons and controlled by the authorities, or lobbies, or political parties. The excessive discussion could be at the expense of the constitutionality, efficiency and justice of the real politics. All these should be prevented, and the challenges should be faced adequately. Hence, the essential role of efficient small- and large-scale leaders. The actions of civil society organisations and informal groups are visible in achieving changes in the regulatory framework and public policies.²¹ Although partial, the results leading to a change in plans and influencing management decisions at different levels are a positive signal for the development of civil society in Bulgaria and worldwide.

²¹ Min Reuchamps. *Belgium's experiment in permanent forms of deliberative democracy*. In: "ConstitutionNet", p. 1-9, 2020. available at <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/225773>, last accessed on 17.10.2020; Thierry Bornand, Benjamin Biard, Pierre Baudewyns & Min Reuchamps, *Satisfaits de la démocratie ? Une analyse du soutien démocratique à partir de la comparaison de deux méthodes de classification des citoyens*, "Canadian Journal of Political Science", Sep 2017, Vol. 50 Issue 3, p. 795-822, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/canadian-journal-of-political-science-revue-canadienne-de-science-politique/article/satisfaits-de-la-democratie-une-analyse-du-soutien-democratique-a-partir-de-la-comparaison-de-deux-methodes-de-classification-des-citoyens/F0208D5419467BBACB84B7F5F1794F65>, last accessed on 24.10.2020.

5. Conclusions

The authors' considerations and the results from the survey lead to the conclusion that both leadership and democratic deliberative practices are of vital importance for the good governance in the changing world. They are mutually interdependent and could and should be successfully combined. That is the biggest challenge - to instrumentalise the leadership and deliberative practices efficiently so that the decisions taken to be considered rational, legitimate, and protecting fundamental human and other rights of all affected who will feel respected and committed to their implementation.

Bibliography

1. Atanas Slavov, *Гражданско участие в конституционната демокрация. Публичноправни перспективи* [Civic participation in constitutional democracy. Public Legal Perspectives], Sofia: Ciela, 2017.
2. Ben Aylor, Bitan Datta, Megan DeFauw, Marc Gilbert, Claudio Knizek & Michael McAdoo, *Designing Resilience into Global Supply Chains*, <https://www.bcg.com/publications/2020/resilience-in-global-supply-chains>; last accessed on 22.08.2020.
3. Clodah Harris, Gemma M Carney & David Farrel. *Rule by the people? Alternative perspectives on citizen participation in democratic policymaking*, "Administration", 2013, Vol. 60 Issue 3.
4. David M. Ryfe, *Does Deliberative Democracy Work?* "Annual Review of Political Science" Vol. 8 Issue 1.
5. Didier Caluwaerts & Min Reuchamps. *Does Inter-group Deliberation Foster Inter-Group Appreciation? Evidence from Two Experiments in Belgium*, "Politics", 2014, Vol. 34 Issue 2, pp. 101–115 doi: 10.1111/1467-9256.12043;
6. Didier Caluwaerts & Juan E. Ugarriza, *Favorable Conditions to Epistemic Validity in Deliberative Experiments: A Methodological Assessment*, "Journal of Public Deliberation" 2012, Vol. 8 Issue 1.
7. Doris Naismith & John Naismith. *Овладеяване на мегатенденциите* [Mastering megatrends]; BARD Publishing House, Sofia, 2018.
8. Galina Pisarska, *Актуални въпроси на делиберативната демокрация в Република България* [Current Issues of Deliberative Democracy in the Republic of Bulgaria], "Право, Политика, Администрация" ["Law, Politics, Administration"] Journal, 2020, vol.7, issue 1.
9. Ian O'Flynn, *Deliberative Democracy and Divided Societies*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.
10. Ivan Efremovski & Valentin Vasilev. *Organizational culture and motivation in public administration – a relation of the future in the public management*; „KNOWLEDGE: International journal”, Vol.4, Skopje; Institute of knowledge management, 2014.
11. James S Fishkin, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy*, 1995, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
12. Jean-Michel Bessette, *The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy & American National Government*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994.
13. John Gastil, Chiara Bacci & Michael Dollinger. *Is Deliberation Neutral? Patterns of Attitude Change during "The Deliberative Polls"*, "Journal of Public Deliberation" 2010, Vol. 6 Issue 1.
14. John S Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
15. Jurgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.
16. Laszlo Bock, *Новите правила* [The new rules]. Bard Publishing House: Sofia, 2015.
17. Lawrence Robinson, Melinda Smith & Robert Segal, *Stress Management. Help Guide*; <https://www.helpguide.org/articles/stress/stress-management.html>, last accessed on 11.10.2020.
18. Martin Belov, *Гражданското участие в политическия процес. Конституционноправни основи* [Civic participation in the political process. Constitutional legal bases], Sofia: Sibi, 2010.
19. Min Reuchamps, *Belgium's experiment in permanent forms of deliberative democracy*, in "ConstitutionNet", p. 1-9, 2020 available at <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/225773>, last accessed on 17.10.2020.
20. Simone Chambers, *Deliberative Democratic Theory*, "Annual Review of Political Science", 2003, Vol. 6.
21. Thierry Bornand, Benjamin Biard, Pierre Baudewyns & Min Reuchamps, *Satisfaits de la démocratie ? Une analyse du soutien démocratique à partir de la comparaison de deux méthodes de classification des citoyens*, "Canadian Journal of Political Science", Sep 2017, Vol. 50, Issue 3.
22. Tsvetelina Belovska. *Възможности за приложение на менторството в публичната администрация* [Opportunities for application of mentoring in public administration]; New Bulgarian University/NBU; Yearbook of the Department of Administration and Management, electronic edition, Volume I, 2016.
23. Valentin Vasilev & Snejana Dimitrova. *Organizational trust and organizational culture in the public administration*. „Публични политики.bg” [„Public policies.bg”]; 2017; Vol. 8, № 1.

24. Valentin Vasilev & Tsvetelina Belevska, *Эмоциональный интеллект в публичном управлении: вызовы и возможности*, журнал "Право и образование" [*Emotional Intelligence in Public Administration: Challenges and Opportunities*, "Law and Education" Journal], Russia; 2017; no. 11.
25. Vincent Jacque, Christoph Niessen & Min Reuchamps, *Sortition, its advocates and its critics: An empirical analysis of citizens' and MPs support for random selection as a democratic reform proposal*, "International Political Science Review", 2020, Vol. Online first, pp. 1-22, available on <http://hdl.handle.net/2078.1/235052>, last accessed on 17.10.2020.