BRITISH ACADEMY

How to Make Deliberative Democracy Practical: Consulting the Public Thoughtfully

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Introduction by Professor Peter Taylor-Gooby FBA

Good evening and thanks to you all for attending this lecture, which is being held to mark the beginning of the British Academy Policy Centre's project *New Paradigms in Public Policy*. The project will cover the developing social, economic and political issues which are changing society and may change the direction of public policy making between 2010 and 2040. We are delighted to welcome Jim Fishkin here tonight, to talk about his work on deliberative democracy, which opens up possibilities for a new way of decision-making in public policy making.

Lecture

I.   Opening remarks

Well thank you so much, I am really honoured and delighted to be speaking at this important institution and I see some long time friends in the audience. I want to talk about what would seem at first glance to be a very simple issue. I have got lots of slides, but I am only going to show some of them.

The simple issue is how to consult the public. It would first seem to be the case that that is the easiest thing in the world; if you want to consult the public, just ask them. But you have to face two questions, who and what. That is, who is being asked in what way? In what way do you select them or do they select themselves? What do they represent? All this is part of the same question. The second question is: what sort of opinion are you going to get from them? Are you going to get just their top-of-the-head impression of sound bites and headlines, or are you going to get what they think about an issue after they have really thought about it? I will talk about why I think that difference is important.

II.   Consulting the public

Eight Forms of Public Consultation

Public Opinion	Method Of Selection			
	Self-selection	Non-random	Random sample	"Everyone"
Raw	*SLOPS*	*Some polls*	*Most polls*	*Ref. democracy*
Refined	*Discussion groups*	*Citizens, Juries, etc.*	*Deliberative Polls*	*"Deliberation Day"*

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I was asked to put my work in the context of other kinds of consultations; you will see this in the book *When the people speak*. Suppose we just think about some different ways of selecting who is consulted, and mass opinion, as we ordinarily find it: let us call that 'raw opinion'. I am going to take a word, this may seem like a funny word but I actually took it from Madison, where Madison talked about representatives refining and enlarging the public views. It is his word for what people think after they deliberate. So: raw and refined opinion.

1.   Self-selection

The most natural thing, of course, is to simply ask people and they select themselves. One of my colleagues in this work, *Deliberative Democracy*, going back many years, is a man called Norman Bradburn at the University of Chicago who coined the term for the self-selected public consultation. He called it the SLOP: Self-selected Listener Opinion Poll. The reason he did that is that at the time radio stations would have call-ins. They would have a question and they would ask people to call in their views; hence Listener Opinion Poll.

But SLOPs are everywhere: CNN, Quick Vote. Websites love them because they consult the public – even governments and political parties. Recently, against my advice, when the Obama administration was preparing to enter office they had something called the White House Briefing Book in which they wanted the public to suggest the priorities for the incoming government. This was self-selected mobilisation. In the context of two wars, and the great recession, the single most suggested priority for the incoming administration was legalise marijuana. Then they had a priority about what to do about internet policy, and one of the top suggestions was legalise online gambling, which you can see is obviously going to be a mobilised group.

Just to be bipartisan about it, a few weeks ago the Republicans decided to do the same thing: the same defective process of self-selected, crowd sourced consultation. They had a thing called 'Americans speaking out'. They wanted the public to make suggestions about the priorities in

different areas. In one of the long time crucial Republican Party concerns, national defence, the number four issue which caused them great embarrassment – the number four suggestion which has now been taken down from the website (but I saw it there) and which caused a lot of comment - was, 'The way to ensure American defence was to invest in a lot of Dark Knights from Monty Python, who with magical powers would defend the country'. This was obviously a joke, but there were large numbers of people endorsing this as a policy.

So you see, the problem is that self-selected consultation is open to mobilisation and capture for whatever reason. A similar thing happened with the Stephen Colbert competition, the American comedian, for naming the bridge in Hungary where he got more people than live in Hungary to vote for him that the bridge should be named after him. There are lots of examples of this sort of thing.

So self-selection is a problem. If you use a scientific sample, well, you can have self-selection for discussion groups – and that is for serving public education but it does not really involve consultation.

2.   Scientific sampling and public opinion

Sampling: the great advantage of scientific sampling – well, one advantage – is that it cannot be captured by a self-selected mobilisation. The other advantage is that if done properly it is actually representative of public opinion as it is. In fact the origins of the modern public poll are interesting. I will comment on them for a moment. A great British commentator on America, Lord Bryce, when he went to America, wrote these two fascinating chapters on public opinion in which he said, 'People think America is run by Senators, Members of Congress and the President. In fact the giant before whom all tremble is public opinion'. The problem is, how do you measure it between elections, and he says, 'Once that mechanical difficulty is solved America will lead the world in government by public opinion'. But it is a mechanical difficulty.

A young man called George Gallup read that passage and was electrified by it, and came up with the idea of using scientific sampling to measure public opinion in politics. Then in the 1936 US Presidential Election he correctly predicted the election, in contrast to the results of a giant SLOP, in the Literary Digest, which had millions of people self-selecting and voting; hence the public opinion poll was born.

Now the reason I am telling you that story is, there is a very interesting speech that Gallup gave after his triumph of predicting the election. In that speech he said that, 'The public opinion poll would bring the democracy of the New England town meeting to the large scale nation state'. I read this several times and at first I was very puzzled, and I read it very carefully and then realised what was going on. He said that newspapers and radio – there was no television or the internet – would send out the competing views of leaders and experts, the public would talk it over and it would be reflected back by the public opinion poll, which he also at that point thought would be a decision-making institution – he called it originally the 'sampling referendum'. He said it would be as if the whole country is in one great room, just like a New England town meeting where people talk over the issues and then they make a decision together. It's just as if the whole country is in one great room.

He was right in way, and he was wrong. The problem was that the room was so big that nobody was really paying attention. As I will tell you, I take seriously Anthony Downs' views about rational ignorance, and about the notion that if you have got one vote in millions, you have such a small part of the decision process that you may not be effectively motivated to pay a lot of attention

to an issue; most of us have other things to do. Similarly, the millions of people in America: we are in effect in one great room but the room was too big for them to pay attention.

3.   Deliberative polling

However, the deliberative poll that I have been working on, the research programme I am going to describe to you, also puts the whole country in one room, but it is a room of human scale. It is a room where we use scientific sampling to design the selection of people, and we create good conditions for them to think about the issue. So we put a miniature version of the country in one room under good conditions for thinking about the issue; and that is the difference.

We start with a poll that Gallup used, although he did not use random sampling at the beginning, he used quota sampling, but forget that – that is supposedly why he got the 1948 Presidential Election wrong; but he had the idea of scientific sampling. However, we use good sampling and we create a microcosm. Now I thought I had invented this, but in fact a little more study led me to realise that this was actually an institution that was lost in the dust of history. The ancient Athenians used deliberative microcosms chosen by lot to make important public decisions. I will show, as I end this, a picture of the machine they used to do their random sampling called the Kleroterion, which you can see in the Museum of the Forum in Athens. My wife Shelley and I have visited that.

We did a deliberative poll in Athens, which the Financial Times wrote up as, 'Athenian Democracy Returns After 2,400 Years', so we will get back to that. Just to point out – scientific samples for raw opinion, scientific samples for what I think of as deliberative opinion – you could have everybody vote, but with so many people who do not pay much attention, that is essentially plebiscitarian referendum democracy. Bruce Ackerman and I have a scheme which is in a book called *Deliberation Day*, about how you could get everybody deliberating, but it is very expensive and the main merit of *Deliberation Day*, or one of the merits of *Deliberation Day*, is that it makes deliberative polling look cheap, in the sense of inexpensive – not in the sense of tawdry, but in the sense of inexpensive.

III.   Issues with Public Opinion Polls

So let me briefly describe the problems motivating this and then I will show you more specifically what we do.

1.   Rational ignorance

The first problem I have already mentioned is rational ignorance, which also has the consequence that the public is not well informed about most complicated policy issues most of the time.

2.   Phantom opinions

A second problem with the public opinion as you see it reported in polls is phantom opinions, or the fact that people never like to admit they do not know. And if they do not know they will sometimes merely randomly choose a response. This was demonstrated most dramatically by George Bishop's study of the Public Affairs Act 1975, which the public offered views about, but it was fictional; there was no Public Affairs Act 1975. Then the Washington Post decided 20 years later decided to celebrate the un-anniversary of the non-existence of Public Affairs Act 1975 by asking people what they thought of the repeal; and half the sample was told that President Clinton wanted to repeal it, and half that the Republicans in Congress wanted to repeal it, and they got

entirely different results about the Public Affairs Act – but of course it did not exist in the first place.

3.   Selectivity of sources

Now of course, on some issues the public does have well worked out views; however, they may be well worked out in the sense of being firm, but they are not necessarily well worked out in the sense of being informed, or particularly well worked out in the sense of people having engaged the different views of the issues. This is why I have a third limitation which I call 'selectivity of sources' which is: even if people do talk about politics or public policy, or if they consult the internet about it, they tend to talk to people like themselves. After all, if you know somebody with whom you strongly disagree, it is a lot easier to talk about the weather that some salient issue of current affairs.

Cass Sunstein has argued, in *Republic.com* and elsewhere, that this sort of problem is made worse by the internet. There is some controversy about it, but there is some pretty good experimental evidence that people will tend to go to the sources, and they will tend to learn most from the sources that they agree with most. This means that the shared public sphere that we may have had – imperfect as it is, with television broadcasting and print newspapers – if it was a 'daily we', may have moved to the 'daily me' where each person in his own view, as Nicholas Negroponte pointed out.

My question is: what would people think under good conditions? What would they think if they had good information and if they were effectively motivated to use it? What if they discussed the issues with people from different points of view and if they got their questions answered? And if all of this can be done in a transparent and balanced way?

IV.   How Deliberative Polling Excels

1.   Provision of Balanced Information

What we do first is try to gather balanced information. We usually have some sort of advisory group on the issue that represents the competing points of view. Sometimes they have a draft or briefing document – what any ordinary citizen ought to know about this issue and arguments for and against the different options. Sometimes these drafts go through many phases; we did a project in Australia on the republic which was one of the most contentious. It went through 19 complete drafts before the two sides – the official 'yes' committee and the official 'no' committee on the referendum – were able, finally to agree. We have had other issues that would seem to be of greater moment, but whether Australia was going to become a republic: there were fighting words on either side.

2.   Scientific Sample

We finally get the briefing document and then we do a scientific sample. The important thing about the scientific sample is that we do the survey before we recruit. This way, we have the attitudes and demographics – not just the demographics, but the attitudes of the people where we can compare the participants and the non-participants and usually there are very few statistically significant differences. Even those that turn out to be significant are usually small. We get very good representative samples; they are demonstrably so. So I think it is sort of like, in the end we aspire to what John Stuart Mill in *Representative Government* called a 'Congress of Opinions', which would

have a fair sample of all the views in the society discussing the issues, where anybody who were to see it – and with television or internet technology you could see it – could see the arguments made on your position as well or better than you could make them and answered from other perspectives as well or better than those who could answer it; and you can have confidence that any decisions made are not by a mere act of will but on the basis of the better argument. A very Habermassian passage in Mill's *Representative Government*; but that is one of the reasons why it is so important to have a microcosm of the view points and positions that people are starting with.

3.   Moderation

One of the things that happen in what I call a deliberative poll is that the participants discuss the issues in small groups with trained moderators. They clarify the key questions that they want to direct at competing experts and/or policymakers in plenary sessions. So the questions that are asked are the fruit of an hour and a half, two hours, of discussion. Let us say we have 300 or 400, or sometimes even close to 500 people – sometimes we have less, but always enough so that we can statically evaluate the differences. We divide these people into small groups of 12 or 15. Each group comes up with its questions. Those questions are asked by a member of the group to the competing panellist. They answer from different points of view, and once the public realises that the experts disagree, then that frees the people to think for themselves about the issues.

In that process, we have representative samples where we can afford them, we have control groups, we have some projects that are fully controlled experiments and then we get a picture of informed public opinion at the end which usually is quite different from initial top-of-the-head opinion on the issue.

V.   Criteria for Success

So here are some criteria for success in these projects. Is the sample representative? Which means attitudinally and demographically represented. Is there opinion change? Now in some ways this is not a criterion for success; even if the opinion does not change at the end of the day, if you start with a top-of-the-head opinion for which you have never thought about the other side of the argument, and if at the end of the day you come out the same way, it's a different kind of opinion: it has been tested against the other side. I will say that about 75% of all the questions that we have asked in deliberative polls around the world have statically significant net change. So three quarters of the opinions are different.

Is there information gain? We have information questions, so we can demonstrate that the people have become more informed. We then actually have a model that generally works; it shows that it is the people who become more informed that change their views. So that it is not just an arbitrary thing that people have changed. The people who change their opinions are the ones who end up knowing more about the issues at the end.

VI.   Distortions of Public Opinion/Deliberative Polling

1.   Polarisation

There are certain distortions that we are looking to avoid. Cass Sunstein, the same guy who is now in the Obama administration who wrote the *Republic.com*, has argued in some other books and articles that discussion leads to polarisation or people going to extremes. However his work comes

from juries. Our work, we have demonstrated – and I will show you if we have time – has results across a number of projects. We, in the deliberative poll, and he has admitted this, do not get the pattern of what he calls polarisation. His idea is that if you have an issue for which there is a midpoint; let us say it is left right, but it could be any dimensions or issue. If you start out to the right of the midpoint, and people discuss it, they will move further to the right. If they start out to the left of the midpoint they will move further to the left. Why? His argument is that there will be an imbalance in the argument pool, there will be more people making arguments on that side, and also there is a social comparisons effect. Basically there is social pressure that you see in a jury to get a consensus.

2.   Social Pressures

Well, we have more elements of balance and we also collect the opinions confidentiality in questionnaires so we do not have that social pressure. It is like a secret ballot. The whole project is really like the argument that John Stuart Mill had with his father; that is John Stuart Mill was an advocate of public voting, and James Mill was an advocate of the secret ballot. Both had a point. The point about public voting was that people would feel they had real opinions rather than arbitrary ones if they talked about them. The point of the secret ballot was to protect people from social coercion, particularly from inequality; that was James Mill's argument. We have shared discussion but moderated in a way that people never have to say what they definitely think about the issue; they can keep that to themselves and they offer that in confidential secret ballots, in effect, questionnaires at the end. So we have the best of both worlds rather that the worst. In any case we do not get polarisation.

3.   Domination by the Privileged

By the way, given the prominence of citizen juries here in the United Kingdom, it is worth pointing out that citizen juries, consensus conferences and other such mechanisms have the merits and the problems that juries have. Juries are not bad, but they have some important imperfections. The other main problem with juries is domination by the more privileged or advantaged, domination by the more educated, domination by the males, domination by the rich, and I will show you that the deliberative poll is not dominated by any of those groups, partly because of the way that it is moderated and for some other reasons that we will get to.

So you want to avoid these distortions. Does it have an impact on policy? Does it make better citizens? Do they participate more? Mill's hypothesis about shared discussion was that it would create sensitivity to the broader public interest. He said it would be like schools of public spirit. He noted that De Tocqueville, when he came to America, said that in America there were institutions where people would discuss public problems together like the town meeting, and the jury, and they would lead people to think of the broader public interest rather than their narrow self interest. Do we find that? In fact we do.

VII. Case Studies

1.   China – Town Infrastructure Deliberations

Now we have done these projects that I am talking about in 16 countries and in many of these of these countries multiple times. Also we have done them Europe-wide twice, with all 27 countries. So I will discuss some of these more notable projects as I go forward. Strangely the one project, the

one set of projects which lived up to all of those criteria I mentioned perfectly was, very surprisingly, in China, where it is being used at the local level for local decision making. There is an article in the *British Journal of Political Science*, in the April issue, which lays out these very same criteria and shows that they were all realised in this first Chinese case and they have been in several others. And we have in fact had, as *The Economist* noted briefly in an article a few weeks ago, a conference in the Central Party School itself in Beijing, which is the nerve centre of Chinese governance, to discuss quite widely and openly how far could this go in the Chinese context.

But in this very local case, and we are very interested in using this as a tool of democratisation, there is a very simple problem; this local town had 30 infrastructure projects and they could only afford to build 10 of the infrastructure projects. They were very different kinds of projects; some big highways, some small highways, some parks, some sewage treatment plants, a fancy town square, an environmental plan – and they could afford 10 of those 30 projects. The local party leader who came up to me when I presented this at conference in Huhhot in China, said he wanted to actually do this, and I said, 'Well you can do this, if you do this strictly, properly and if you implement the results', and he said okay. They did it perfectly; that is they had a perfect sample, almost everybody who was asked to take the survey took it, almost everybody that took the survey showed up. The only problem was that some husbands substituted themselves for the wives because the husbands said they knew more than the wife, so we sent the husbands home. So the basic imperfection in the sample is the 30 husbands that we got rid of. But otherwise we had an almost perfect sample. It is a social scientist's dream to get a sample like that.

Just as we were about to do it, the local party leader told me, 'Well, I know which are the best projects'. 'And I said, 'Oh my goodness', and he said, 'Do not worry, I will do whatever the people want, but I know what are the best projects.' By the way, his motivation had been, he said, 'In other towns the local party leader would just choose and people would assume he was getting paid off, and he wanted transparency, he wanted everybody to know he was an honest man and that he would do the projects that the people really wanted. So he told me the projects that he wanted, and he was absolutely wrong. That is, he thought the people would want the image projects, the projects that would show how prosperous the town was – because this is in part of China that is booming. What they really wanted was clean water. They did not want the fancy town square; they wanted a comprehensive environmental plan, they wanted sewage treatment plants, they wanted a people's park for recreation. Well, they got all of those. Read the *British Journal of Political Science*, a rather good journal I think.

The point is that, as you will see in that article, and as described in the book too, the Chinese people became more public spirited. The information drove the opinion changes and there were no distortions from inequality, even though 11% of the sample were illiterate. The uneducated people learn just like everybody else, they picked up the information from the discussions; it was a perfect example of deliberative democracy. Now, it became quite famous in China and my Chinese collaborator was given a year in America as a reward, and he did not even speak a word of English when I met him – the local party leader. As I say now, they are thinking, 'Well, you know, how far can this go, because it really is a way of making public policy a governance tool, making public policy conform to the views of the public.'

| Table 1: Policy Changes	Before Mean	After Mean	
Treatment of sewage, earlier stage	8.916	9.658	*
Urban and countryside environmental projects (city plan)	8.642	9.239	*
Wenchang Main Ave	8.261	9.23	*
Danyan environmental project (sewage disposal)	7.531	9.145	*
Muyu environmental project (sewage disposal)	7.301	8.866	*
Citizen park (first stage)	6.693	7.44	*
Urban environmental constructions	7.551	7.313	
Danyan hill park	7.612	7.231	
Muyu hill park	7.11	7.04	
Auxiliary environmental construction for Muyu industrial zone; Lianshu industrial zone; Shuichang industrial zone	6.667	6.895	
Bridge	7.423	6.531	*
Demonstrative street	6.746	6.491	
Xicheng Road (first stage)	6.259	6.296	
Shuangchen Road (first gate)	6.972	6.073	*
Zeguo main Ave (second stage)	5.827	5.972	
Guojialing hill side reconstruction	5.604	5.953	

2.   Texas – Energy Policy Deliberations

Now these are some projects in Texas which I also put here because they also have strong policy impact. That is, we did eight deliberative polls in Texas about energy choices. What was so interesting about these deliberative polls is, the Texas legislator beginning in 1996 had a requirement that the regulated electric utilities consult the public about how they were going to provide electricity in their territories. They did not want to do public opinion polling, because they knew that the public did not know a lot about the competing choices. In fact, before George Bishop had the Public Affairs Act 1975, Philip Converse discovered non-attitudes or phantom opinions with a question about the government's role in electric power, on a panel study. The public cared so little about it that from 1956-1960, answering the same question, their views varied randomly. This showed him that there was no real opinion there, and they were just answering because they did not want to admit they did not know.

So the companies were smart enough to know that, so they could not just do polling; if they did focus groups they were too small to be representative; if they had open meetings they said they would just get the lobbyists and the organised groups. So we were doing a national deliberative poll with Jim Lehrer and the News Hour in 1996, and they saw it on television and they approached me. At first I did not want to deal with public utility companies, then I realised how important it was. So we said, if the advisory group represented all the stakeholders, the consumer groups, the advocates of alternative energy, the big customers, everybody who had to agree or comment on this in a regulatory proceeding, so that they would pass on the balance and accuracy of the briefing materials, and the agenda of experts, and if the commissioners who made the final decision participated…

The important thing to realise: the percentage willing to pay more on their monthly bill for electricity went – averaged over eight projects – from 52% to 84%, and this was implemented by the public utility commission. To make a long story short Texas has gone from being last in wind power as it was in 1996 to being first in wind power in 2007, surpassing California as a direct result of this energy project.

30 June 2010

| Average of 8 Utility Deliberative Polls	Time 1	Time 2
Percentage willing to pay extra for increased wind and solar power	52%	84%
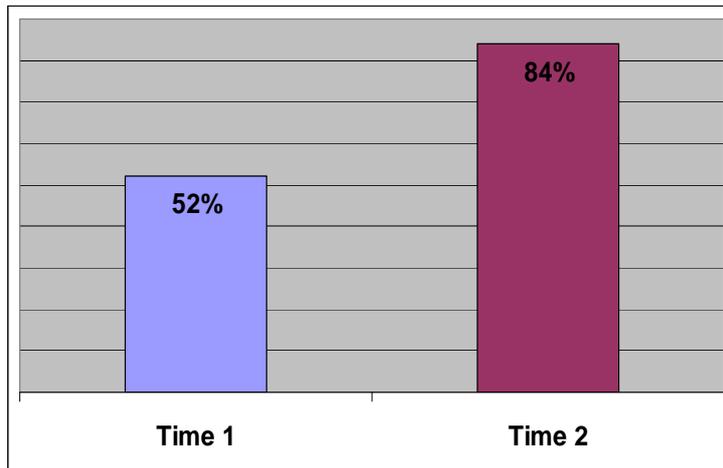
Average of 8 Utility Deliberative Polls	Time 1	Time 2
Percentage willing to pay more to reduce the need for electricity (demand side management)	43%	73%

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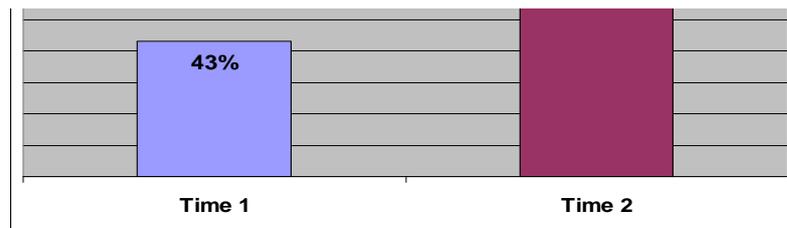
3.   Northern Ireland

This is Northern Ireland. One of the amazing things about our deliberative poll in Northern Ireland, which the BBC broadcast, was Protestants and Catholics – the level of mutual respect, the level at which people were willing to say Protestants or Catholics were trustworthy or open to reason went up 16 points. This discussion together made a big difference. They also came up with very interesting criteria for how they could share schooling. They also became more informed.
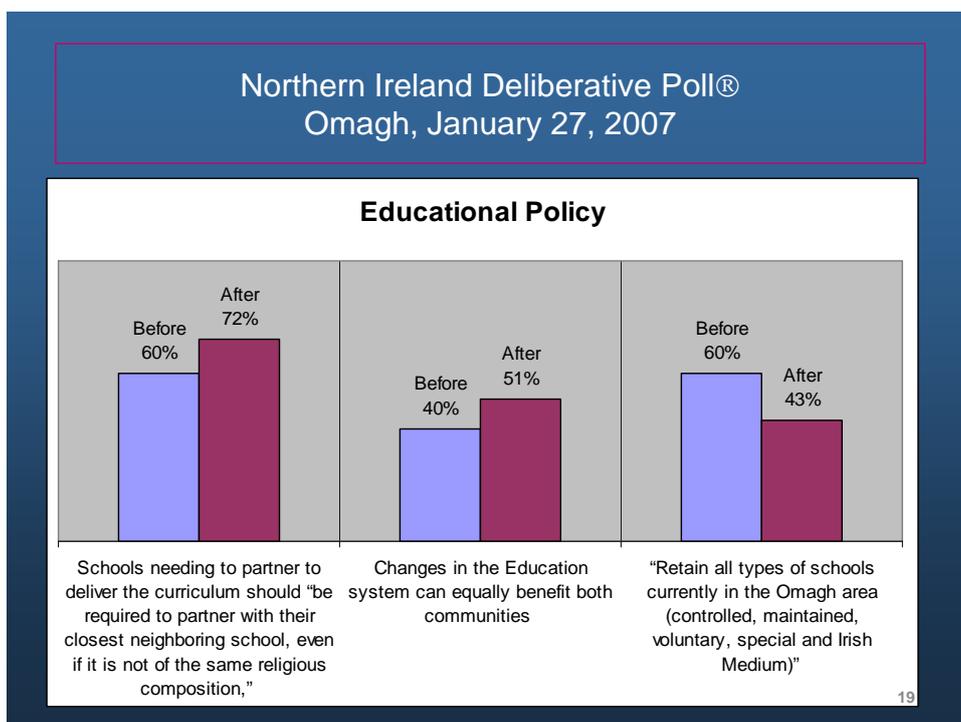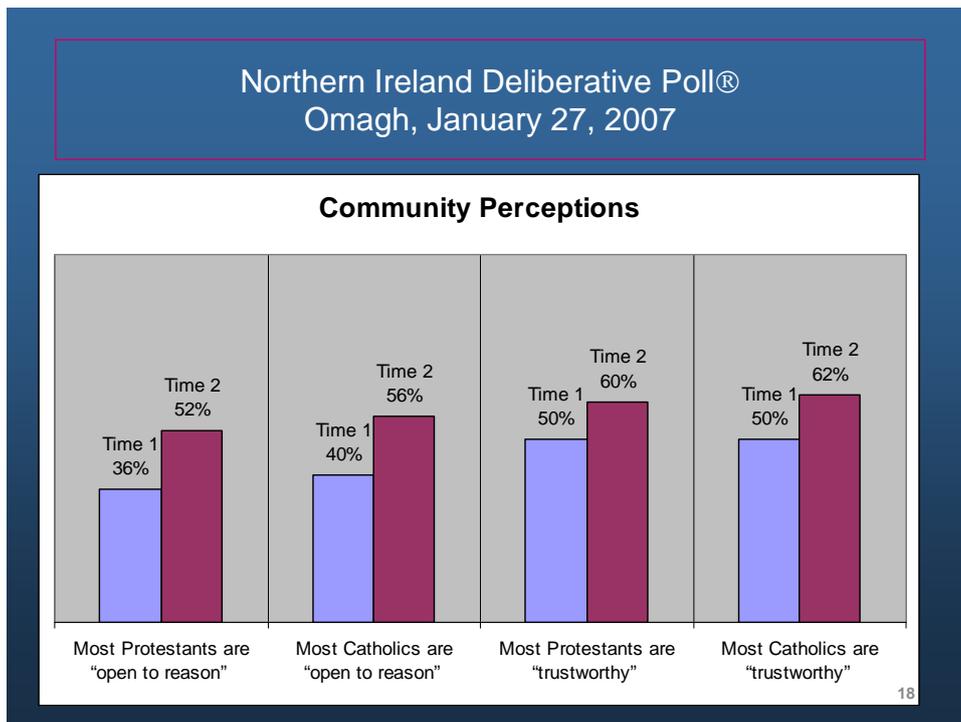
Northern Ireland Deliberative Poll®
Omagh, January 27, 2007

All Participants – Change in Knowledge

Issue	% correct Time 1	% correct Time 2	Knowledge Gain
What percentage of majority-Protestant or majority-Catholic schools in Northern Ireland have at least 10% of the other religion in their enrolment?	.24	.35	.107
By approximately what percentage has the number of children entering Omagh schools increased or decreased over the past five years?	.19	.47	.281
The new entitlement framework requires that… Every school provides all 14-year-olds with a choice of at least 24 subjects	.21	.74	.537
The new entitlement framework requires that… One-third of all the subjects offered must be applied	.29	.62	.331

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Northern Ireland Deliberative Poll®
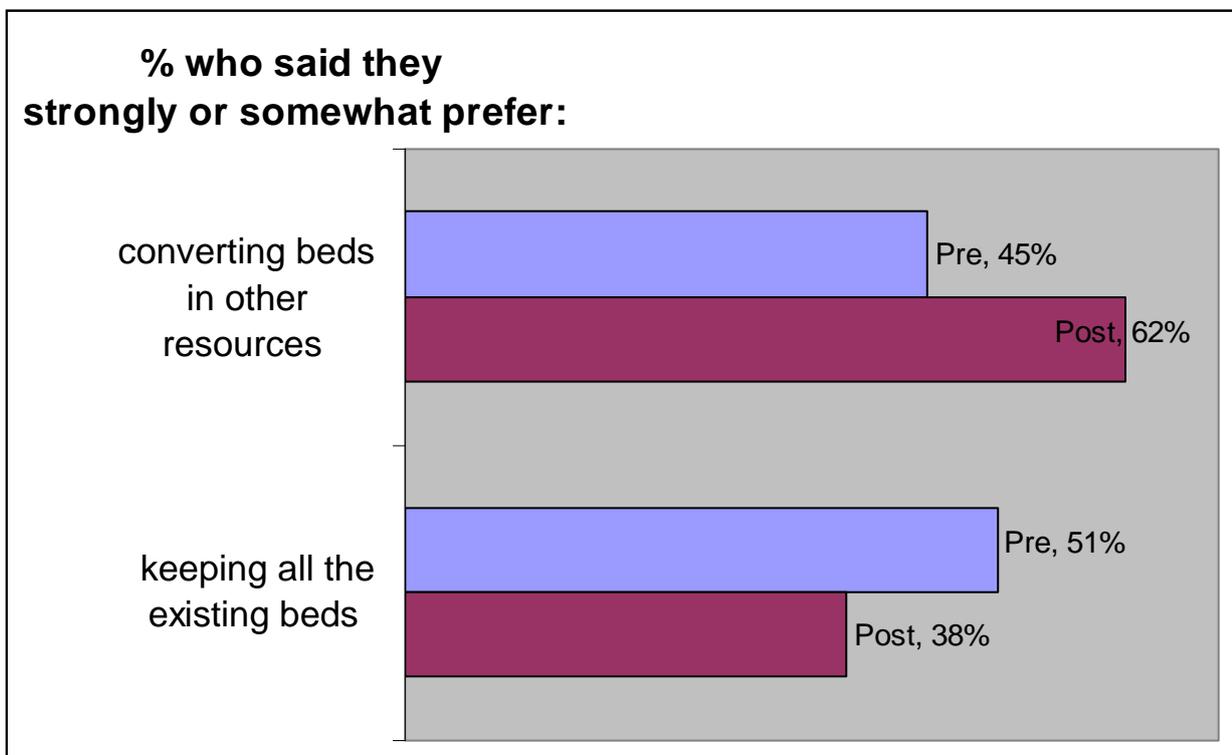### Omagh, January 27, 2007

All Participants – Change in Knowledge (cont.)

Issue	% correct Time 1	% correct Time 2	Knowledge Gain
Regarding pupils in Northern Ireland - about three-quarters (3/4) of grammar school pupils attend university	.28	.43	.149
Regarding current school funding – schools receive more funding for older pupils	.21	.79	.570
Regarding employing authority in the schools – the official employer for all teachers in voluntary grammar schools is the school's Board of Governors	.08	.09	.008
Knowledge index (mean correct answers for all items)	.22	.50	.283

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4.   Rome – Budgetary Deliberations

This is an interesting application; this is a problem in Rome for the Regione Lazio, the state within which Rome is the capital. This was a budget crisis that they had. They had too many hospital beds and health care costs were the basis for their budget crisis. They did not want to touch the hospital beds because people in Rome were so proud that they had more hospital beds than anybody else. They did not realise or think about how irrational that was. This particular result, where they moved from 45 to 62% to convert the hospital beds to other resources, provided the Accessori, he told me, with the basis to be able to deal with the budget crisis and to cut back the number of hospital beds; he said it gave him cover to do the right thing.

You will see on our website a tremendous amount of press in Italian from the time. It was very well received in the Italian press and they invoked it. It taught me something: that the deliberative poll as a public consultation mechanism is very useful where all the choices are difficult or bad, because then it helps legitimate one of the bad choices because you can say, 'These are the choices that people would accept for these reasons'. It then becomes a route to responsible advocacy because these are arguments that have been tested against the best arguments on the other side. Then you can say, people have heard all the competing arguments; this is how and why – because we have a lot of explanatory variables, we can explain how and why the people move to where they do, which the assumptions are that they retained, and which the assumptions are that they reject. Which are the policy results that they will not accept under any circumstances? And which are the policy results that they will find acceptable if they are offered good reasons? The whole process is transparent, balanced, the material is on the website and most of them have television broadcasts.

**% who said they
strongly or somewhat prefer:**

converting beds
in other
resources   Pre, 45%
               Post, 62%

keeping all the
existing beds   Pre, 51%
                Post, 38%
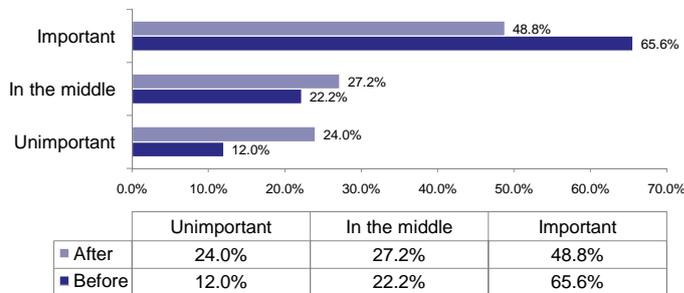
5.   Brazil – Budgetary Deliberations

I will skip though this – this is Brazil where there is a self-selected method of consultation called the Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, and we did deliberative polling in Porto Alegre in order to deal with the difficult issue of reforming the civil service.

Career reform results

- The percentage thinking "years in service" was important in awarding pay increases went from 65.6% before deliberation to 48.8% afterward (p<.01).

	Unimportant	In the middle	Important
■ After	24.0%	27.2%	48.8%
■ Before	12.0%	22.2%	65.6%
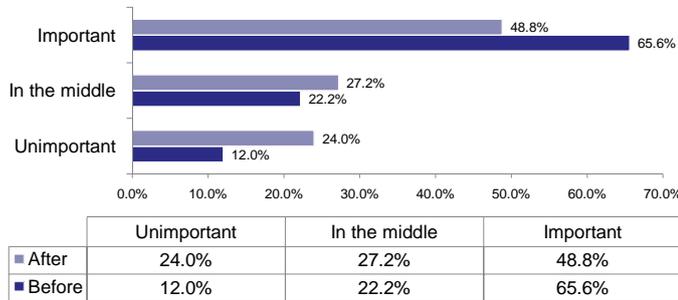
Years in service important in awarding pay increases (p<.01)

	Unimportant	In the middle	Important
■ After	24.0%	27.2%	48.8%
■ Before	12.0%	22.2%	65.6%

Requiring more years in service for promotion (p<.01)

	Effective	Neither effective nor ineffective	Ineffective
■ After	35.1%	27.4%	37.5%
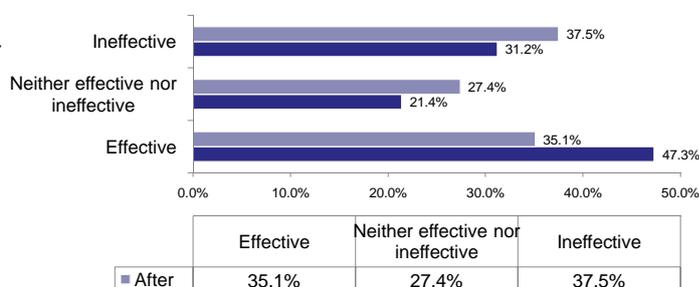
6.   United Kingdom – Power 2010

This was something called Power 2010 which we did here in the UK. Look how moderate it is. Unfortunately my PowerPoint transferring has blotted out some of the results, but you can see them all on the website. Who would have ever thought that a group of British people deliberating would decide that strengthening Select Committees was the number one reform? I mean there was a series of very thoughtful, moderate, targeted results, and the real plebiscitary populist results fell, and the moderate results went up, and the people became more informed.

Reform rankings

Ranking after Deliberation	Ranking Before Deliberation	Reform	T3 Mean	T2 Mean	T3-T2 (sig.)
1	3	8g. Strengthening select committees	0.81	0.75	0.06 (***)
3	5	8c. Increasing the number of issues decided by free votes	0.73	0.71	0.02 (ns)
4	9	9j. Establishing a duty of public consultation on controversial matters	0.72	0.69	0.03 (+)
5	11	3h. Scrapping the plans for a National Identity card	0.75	0.69	0.06 (*)
6	14	5j. Scheduling Election Day on a weekend	0.69	0.65	0.03 (ns)
8	6	4e. Reducing the governments use of statutory instruments to bypass parliamentary scrutiny	0.66	0.71	-0.04 (+)
10	2	3g. Expanding the scope of the Freedom of Information Act	0.64	0.77	-0.13 (ns)

Several reforms were split into sub-components for the Deliberative Polling questionnaire. These items are grouped by the central reform in the final ranking, which results in the assignment of the same rank to several reforms.

***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05; +p<.10

Knowledge Gain

Question	Before	After	Change (sig.)
Longest time allowed between general elections	60.6%	94.5%	+33.9% (<.001)***
UK members of EU parliament elected or appointed	72.4%	81.9%	+9.4% (.005)**
Percentage of hereditary peers in House of Lords	24.4%	48.8%	+24.4% (<.001)***
MPs elected	6.3%	11.8%	+5.5% (.002)**

7.   European Union – Pension Provision Deliberations

This is the European-wide project that I referred to. This is the parliament of the European Union where we took TNS Sofres in the Euro barometer. We brought a sample of all of Europe together, and this was proof of concept of the European-wide public sphere. This was in 27 countries – I mean they were drawn from 27 countries. They were, as you see on our website, very representative, as described in the book. The book actually has a DVD that a brilliant British documentary maker named Bill Cran did; that shows you the process.

We had all 22 languages available, however the Irish decided they wanted to speak English, so we did the project in 21 languages. But they had the option of Gaelic. Imagine small groups where you have Estonian, Portuguese, Italian and German, or whatever combination you have. We had all the interpreters so that could work. And they really deliberated: look at this result – one of the issues was the pension system, and they wanted to keep the pay-as-you-go pension systems; they knew that there was a problem that they might go bankrupt. They wanted to raise the retirement age. Now for the people in this room raising the retirement age is not a sacrifice, I think, not a big sacrifice. But for most working people it is a big sacrifice.

A hallmark of deliberation is whether you are willing to give up something up you value in order to get something else you value. They wanted the security of the government run pension systems but rather than privatising in some way they became more informed, with more mutual respect. This is an overview of the polarisation; notice that in terms of whether there was movement away from the midpoint or movement towards the midpoint, exactly half of them moved away from the midpoint, so there is no pattern of polarisation at all in these 15 projects – sorry – that was the EU one.

We look at the initial positions of the more advantaged and there is very little pattern by which the participants move in the direction of the more advantaged.

Tomorrow's Europe
EU-wide Deliberative Poll:

On Retirement

1. Support for "raising the retirement age" increased	from 26% (before) to 40% (after); +14%
2. Support for "making it attractive to work longer before retiring" increased	from 57% (before) to 70% (after); +13%
3. Participants realized "keeping the retirement rules the way they are will bankrupt the retirement system" increased	from 50% (before) to 59% (after); +9%

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EU-wide Deliberative Poll:
On EU Enlargement

- On whether, "Additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU"?

in general	decreased from 67% to 60%; -7%
for Turkey	decreased from 55% to 45%; -10%
for Ukraine	decreased from 69% to 55%; -14%

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EU-wide Deliberative Poll:
Knowledge Gains

- 9 Knowledge Questions, Average Gain of +16% (from 39% to 55%)
  - gains ranged from +10% to +23%

Election of EU Parliament Members	54% (before), 77% (after); +23%
EU Budgeting	51% (before), 74% (after); +23%
EU's Foreign Aid Budget	22% (before), 44% (after); +22%

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EU-wide Deliberative Poll:
Mutual Respect & Understanding

- "People who disagree with me completely often have good reason for their views."
  - Increased from 52% (before) to 59% (after)

- After deliberations, 88% of participants agreed that they "learned a lot about people very different from me—about what they and their lives are like"
  - Out of the 88% above, 60% indicated "strongly agree"

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8.   Greece – Selecting Political Candidates

Now this is the Greek project that I mentioned. That is Papandreou who is now Prime Minister, and this was of very interesting use which we hope to repeat. This was using the deliberative poll as an alternative to the mass primary. In most European countries, the party or even the party leader selects the candidates. So this was a deliberative poll of his party, PASOK, which is one of the two major parties – it was in opposition at that point and he was the party leader. These are the candidates for Mayor of a big part of Athens called Maroussi, the big suburban part of Athens

where they did the Olympics. There was a sample and the least well known candidate actually won. Before we did the deliberative poll he called us up in the middle of the night and he said, instead of it being a recommending process, why do you not make it the official decision process. So we scrambled and after people filled out our final questionnaire they moved into a polling booth and cast a ballot, and then there was a run off.

This process actually officially selected the candidate, which is why I said this was the first time in 2,400 years a decision in Athens had been made by a microcosm chosen by lot.

Greek Deliberative Poll for Candidate Selection Preliminary Results   June 2006

The percentages the candidates received in Round I and Round II:

	Round I %	Round II %
Alexandris, Panagiotis	41.6	57.5
Bregiannis, Alekos	20.8	42.5
Karanasiou, Mary	12.8	
Diakoliou, Mary	12	
Vlahos, Haralambos	9.6	
Veloudos, Yiannis	3.2	

And that is the Kleroterion. You have to look it up on the web to get all of things that do not exist now, but it is sort of like a big bingo machine for the random selection of participants – they took random selection seriously. Random selection was a way of ensuring that all points of view were in the room, that all the different tribes were represented and that nothing was being fixed. So this kind of method, which as I said was lost in the dust of history, can serve politics and public policy, maybe in democratisation in China, maybe in Brazil, maybe in the United Kingdom, maybe in something like energy policy in Texas, maybe even throughout the entire European Union.

You do not need a bigger sample for a bigger country, which is why we could represent the entire European Union with this process. We have done it on lots of issues. Let me open it up to questions now. Thank you.

[Followed by Q & A session]