

The macro-impacts of citizen deliberation processes

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Summary

Deliberative 'mini-public' processes such as citizens' juries are becoming increasingly popular in Australia at local and State levels. As such, they are developing currency and impact as tools for engaging with communities on contentious political decisions. Impact, particularly in relation to political decisions, is an important aim and success criterion for such processes, yet it is not often investigated empirically.

This research project considered the political impacts of selected citizen deliberation processes. Funded by the newDemocracy Foundation (newDemocracy), the research took case studies from among newDemocracy projects. The intention was to assess the specific impacts of these selected processes, and to draw broad observations about the nature of impact and lessons for impact assessment in this context. The research focused on macro-political impacts, including direct impacts on political decision-making, and impacts on other actors who influence political decision-making. Impacts on participants were also considered, particularly as these impacts affected their role in the political system.

Objectives

The objectives of the research were to:

- Explore the range of impacts of citizen deliberation processes, drawing on relevant literature, and draft an impact typology
- Test the impact typology by considering a range of newDemocracy projects, analysing written reports and interviewing key participants
- Use the study of newDemocracy cases to examine the relationships between different types of impact (e.g. direct and indirect impacts) and between impacts and context; in particular, to consider the relationship between impact (the substantive difference a process makes) and uptake (the extent to which participants approve of the process and are likely to use such a process again)
- Make recommendations for the planning and evaluation of citizen deliberation
- Make recommendations for the ongoing development of deliberative democracy approaches, cultures and systems.

Research questions

- What is the range of impacts citizen deliberation processes may have?
- How does context affect impact?
- What are the implications for the design and evaluation of citizen deliberation?
- What types of impact are most likely to lead to uptake, and under what conditions? Are there tensions between impact and uptake?
- What are the implications for a reform agenda? For deliberative systems?

Methods

The research involved:

- A brief review of academic literature
- Development and empirical refinement of an impact typology
- Case studies, including:
 - Interviews (44) with participants, decision-makers, designers and other relevant actors
 - Desktop analysis of documents and reports, media reports and commentaries

Results

Cases

The Australian Citizens Parliament (ACP) was held in Canberra in 2009 and involved 150 randomly-selected citizens from all electorates in Australia to deliberate on how to strengthen Australia's political system. The process was essentially a research project (partially funded by an Australian Research Council grant) and a test case for the newly incorporated newDemocracy Foundation. The ACP unfortunately coincided with the 'Black Saturday' bushfires in Victoria and as a result got almost no publicity. The political impact appears to be minimal, but the process had important impacts on the research and practice communities, including giving confidence to newDemocracy and informing its ongoing approach. The ACP also had positive impacts on participants, demonstrating to them and others the capacity of ordinary people to deliberate about complex topics such as the democratic system.

The City of Melbourne People's Panel was a modified participatory budgeting exercise held in 2014 to inform a 10 year financial plan. The panel comprised 43 randomly-selected Melbournians, including residents, business-owners and students. The panel process was accompanied by a broad-reaching community engagement process, and also involved a significant internal engagement process to develop and endorse the method. Most recommendations were reflected in the 10 yr plan with only one explicitly rejected (proposed rate rises, which were constrained by State rate-capping legislation). Some recommendations mirrored existing priorities (climate change mitigation and environment, public transport, city activation), while others were apparently decisive (review property portfolio, retain CityWide services company, continue with efficiency program). Finding evidence of implementation of these commitments proved difficult.

Of several citizens' juries run in South Australia as part of the reforming democracy agenda, two were studied in detail here: Sharing the Roads (2014), and Dogs & Cats (2015). Both involved a group of about 40 randomly-selected citizens, with the dogs

and cats jury intentionally recruiting 50% pet owners. A distinctive feature of these processes was the use of Core Reference Groups, comprised of various government and non-government stakeholders, to contribute to design, oversight and information provision. Both processes had high impact, with direct influence resulting in changes in legislation. They were both regarded as an effective and efficient form of policy review.

The Dogs and Cats jury considered the issue of unwanted pets in South Australia and was explicitly asked to consider mandatory desexing of pets, a policy solution that had been a political hot potato for some time. The panel recommended the introduction of mandatory desexing, compulsory breeder registration and a centralised micro-chipping database, all of which were taken up in an amendment of the Dog and Cat Management Act. They also recommended education campaigns and a trial of a trap-neuter-release program for semi-owned cats. The latter was rejected for contravening other legislation.

The Sharing the Roads jury, which considered, in particular, how car drivers and bike riders could safely share the roads, recommended education campaigns, new infrastructure, a new drivers handbook and new questions in driving tests. In addition, the panel recommended changes to road rules, including a mandatory 1m clearance for bicycles, and allowing bikes to ride on footpaths. There was considerable media debate and controversy, particularly about the latter. Despite the controversy, this had the effect of increasing awareness of the changes and potentially reframing the ongoing debate.

Impact typology

An impact typology is presented to assist in the assessment of impacts of citizen deliberation processes. Rather than specific types of impact, these categories suggest sites where a range of impacts can be found. The nature of these impacts, examples and issues in their assessment are discussed in the report.

Impacts on political decision making

- Agenda setting, political debate

- Policy making

- Policy implementation, delivery

- Organisational learning

Impacts on societal context/mediating impacts

- Media coverage

- Public debate, engagement of public sphere

- Stakeholder positions

- Theory, research and practice

Impacts on participants

- Shifts in perspectives and thinking

- Deliberative capacity, political engagement

Discussion

There are different schools of thought on how much impact citizen deliberation processes should have. This study has suggested that the proper role of citizen deliberation is in influencing rather than making political decisions. As such, these processes have the potential to join other influential institutions such as interest groups and the media in an 'influential orbit'. There they not only influence decisions in the empowered sphere, but also influence debate in the public sphere and amongst other groups in the influential sphere. In order to do this most effectively, transparency and publicity are critical, and this includes transmitting the information, arguments and reasoning involved in citizen deliberation processes, rather than just their recommendations. In this sense, 'scaling up' is about the amplification of influence and legitimacy of these processes in all spheres, not just the multiplication of mini-public forums.

There is a danger in looking for *maximum* impact, both in design and evaluation of citizen deliberation, particularly when this is associated with looking for direct policy influence or direct uptake of recommendations. These processes have *optimal* impact when they have a range of impacts on the system as a whole, these impacts working in concert to create deliberative, democratic outcomes. Assessment of impact needs to consider this broad range of impacts, despite the difficulties of doing so.

Factors that influence impact include:

- the relevance and timeliness of the topic
- champions and participation of political decision makers
- how the topic is framed and the remit presented to the jury
- publicity including media attention and other channels for communication with the public and political spheres
- the quality of the process including its independence, and
- the quality of the recommendations

Involvement of political decision makers and stakeholders is important, but involves tensions between connection to decision making and independence. The authority of these processes is also important, but there seems to be an optimal level of authority based on decision makers committing to respond to the recommendations but not necessarily to take them up.

Uptake of citizen deliberation approaches is enhanced by champions, particularly at the top, and by a range of decision makers and stakeholders having direct experience, involvement or observation of citizen deliberation. In this study, the quality of citizen deliberation processes and their outputs (reports) were important, but the recommendations and their direct impact on policy change did not seem to have a strong influence on people's confidence in using the approach – even when it didn't go their way, people could see the value in the process.

The citizens' jury model has considerable currency in Australia and experience with its use has given practitioners and decision makers confidence in the method. Expanding the use of citizen deliberation now requires flexibility, adaptation and innovation in methods and a move beyond enthusiasm for citizens' juries. Practitioners, including newDemocracy, should consider the full range of citizen deliberation methods available and consider development of new methods to suit a range of settings.

NewDemocracy is fulfilling a valuable function in promoting and organising citizen deliberation processes, and in particular playing an independent audit role. This role creates some tensions with clients, but this tension is positive for the process, and signals a struggle for independence which potentially heightens legitimacy. While it is valuable for newDemocracy to be inflexible around independence and autonomy, they could develop more flexibility in relation to the particular method used (i.e citizens jury; see above) and about the remit and promise that decision makers make, keeping in mind the need to consider broader public debate. Other practitioners are providing more flexible design and adaptation of methods, but need to keep in mind the importance of independent audit.

Further development of impact assessment in relation to citizen deliberation would be valuable, and would augment existing evaluation approaches, which tend to focus on internal measures of the deliberative quality of these processes. Attention to impact could assist in the amplification of impacts, but only if impact is assessed in broad, contextual and reflexive ways. Narrow approaches to measuring impact could inhibit the range of impacts, particularly indirect and secondary impacts, by putting too much focus on direct and measurable impacts.

This work presents an impact typology that could be further tested and enriched by application to a wider set of cases. There are also opportunities to compare the contribution of citizen deliberation to political decision making by comparing to processes of policy making where citizen deliberation is missing.

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1. Introduction

This research project, conducted from late 2015 to early 2017, considered the political impacts of selected citizen deliberation processes. Funded by the newDemocracy Foundation (newDemocracy), the research took case studies from among newDemocracy projects. The intention was to assess the specific impacts of these selected processes, and to draw broad observations about the nature of impact and lessons for impact assessment in this context.

While much empirical research has been done on particular experiments in deliberative democracy, much of it has focussed on the deliberative quality of processes and linked this with institutional design (Chambers 2003). There has been relatively little work explicitly looking at impact. Yet one of the key criteria and a standard for judging the quality of citizen deliberation processes is impact or decisiveness (Einsiedel 2013), and this is a particular focus for organisers and practitioners. More empirical work on impact is needed, but faces considerable challenges.

Impact is a multi-faceted and contested concept, in theory and practice (Vanclay 2002). For deliberative democracy, it has been described in terms of both **consequence** (processes need to make a difference) and **decisiveness** (they need to have an impact on decision-making) (Dryzek, 2009, (Mansbridge, Bohman et al. 2012). Consequence is potentially a broader and longer-term notion than decisiveness. Impact in these terms could include, for example, agenda setting, capacity building (Bächtiger, Niemeyer et al. 2010) (Dryzek 2010), conflict resolution or informing debates (Decker and Ladikas 2004, Goodin and Dryzek 2006). However, decisiveness can refer to direct impact on a decision that is the focus of the deliberation (a 'decision moment') or to a more general influence on collective/societal decision-making (Dryzek, 2009, Mansbridge et al. 2012). Such decision-making can refer to decisions of the state or decisions taken outside of the state, and impacts are regarded as emergent rather than definite, especially when considered from a deliberative systems perspective (Mansbridge et al. 2012).

With regard to decision-making, citizen deliberation processes can be empowered (political sponsors are committed to accepting/enacting recommendations) or advisory (the recommendations provide input to the decision-making process) (Johnson and Gastil 2015). Scholars have drawn attention to obstacles to impact from deliberation, including challenges in neutralising power (Bagg 2015) and challenges for the legitimacy of citizen deliberation processes (Barisione 2012).

A related concept is *outcome*. Outcomes of citizen deliberation processes tend to be defined in terms of deliberative norms, such as rational consensus, intersubjective rationality or meta-consensus (Niemeyer and Dryzek 2007). Decisiveness may be referred to in the context of outcomes – the purpose of most citizen deliberation processes being to reach a decision (Thompson 2008) associated with a collective choice problem. Outcome can also be used to describe the conclusions and recommendations of citizen deliberation processes, which are usually in the form of a report. The *impact* of the process in such cases is reflected in the extent to which the decision or recommendations that emerge from the process (the outcome) influences political decision-making more broadly.

Untangling outcome, impact and uptake (see below) is important in the context of deliberative systems, in which citizen deliberation processes have a diversity of

potential roles interacting to create more deliberative and democratic systems (Dryzek 2010; Mansbridge, Bohman et al., 2012). While outcome is more closely connected to the design and execution of a deliberative process, impact is more strongly influenced by the external context and interactions with broader political decision making processes and other factors that influence them. To achieve systemic effects, individual processes must achieve resonance within this broader context, and deliberative democracy as a general approach must gain 'traction' or *uptake* as participants, the wider public and particularly those with political power are exposed to it, experience it, value it and begin to adopt deliberative norms more widely. Related to this uptake/traction is the issue of the political legitimacy of citizen deliberation processes and their outcomes in influencing political decisions and discourse.

An important goal of this research project was to consider this dimension of 'traction' or 'uptake' (cf 'getting a grip' (Goodin 2012)), its relationship to impact and institutional design, and implications for a reform agenda. Originally, I labelled this dimension *influence* and defined it as 'the extent to which citizen deliberation processes convince key people, particularly decision makers and political leaders, that deliberative democracy is a good idea'. I contrasted influence with *impact*, which is the substantive difference that a deliberative process makes. However, it's clear that impact and influence are used interchangeably in the literature and in practice, so a new term needs to be found to clarify this distinction. I have used the concept of '*uptake*', which seemed to resonate with interviewees during the empirical phase of the research.

'Uptake' is related to the concept of 'scaling up'. However, 'scaling up' is also now used in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways. Notably, 'scaling up' seems to be used in reference to the transmission of the results and knowledge of particular citizen deliberation processes into the wider public and empowered spheres, what might be termed 'spreading effects'¹. These effects are important for the legitimacy and impact of citizen deliberation processes. In contrast, 'scaling up' is also used to refer to something closer to 'uptake', in the sense of small, isolated experiments with mini-publics being somehow magnified or multiplied to involve more people, more issues, and higher levels of decision-making.

Distinguishing impact and uptake, a number of questions emerge. What types of impact lead to most uptake, and under what conditions? Can positive impacts lead to decreased uptake? For example, given that empowering citizen deliberation processes raises the political stakes, are there situations in which empowerment 'turns up the heat' on decision makers to such an extent that they lose appetite for deliberative democracy in general? How do these trade-offs differ in different contexts (eg where deliberative democracy is emergent vs well embedded; at local vs state vs national levels, as political stakes get higher)? Can strategies to increase uptake undermine the democratic credentials or deliberative quality of citizen deliberation processes? What are the implications for a reform agenda?

This research aimed to answer these questions and to take an empirically grounded, interpretive approach to developing clearer descriptions of impact and uptake of deliberative democracy. The draft impact typology developed in the first part of the project provided a starting point for the empirical study of selected newDemocracy cases to investigate impact and its relationship to context and how this affects uptake.

¹ Simon Niemeyer, personal communication

1.1 Definitions

- Impact – a change resulting from an intervention; but this is too general, as impact has a connotation of a strong or disruptive change. In the research, I have framed impact as the ‘difference’ that citizen deliberation processes make.
- Outcome – a straightforward result of a process. In the deliberative democracy literature, outcome is generally used to refer to internal results (e.g. meta-consensus, intersubjective rationality); here I understand recommendations emerging from citizen deliberation processes as outcomes
Impact can be seen as a function of outcome and context (impact = outcome x context).
- Decisiveness – can refer to an internal ‘decision moment’ (outcome) or more broadly to substantive influence on political decision-making (impact)
- Uptake (influence, traction) – multiplication/institutionalization of deliberative approaches; the extent to which a process leads to further adoption of deliberative democracy approaches
- Scaling up – has two dimensions/definitions – one refers to uptake (above), the other to ‘spreading effects’ – the transmission of results of mini-public deliberation processes into the public sphere

2. Methods

The research has involved:

- A review of academic literature
- Development and empirical refinement of an impact typology
- Case studies, including:
 - Interviews with participants, decision-makers, designers and other relevant actors
 - Desktop analysis of documents and reports, media reports and commentaries

2.1 Cases

Cases were chosen on the basis of a number of variables, both independent and dependent, shown in the table below. Processes representing different levels of government were sought, as political contexts and stakes are different at these different levels. Recent compared to past processes were expected to give a sense of the immediacy or time lag to impact. Different levels of empowerment, meaning the extent to which decision makers committed to considering the recommendations of the process, was considered a key factor. The policy stage refers to whether the process was an agenda-setting topic (upstream e.g. improvements to democracy) vs a topic relating to an existing political debate (downstream, e.g. what to do about unwanted pets). Finally, whether processes had a mechanism to involve stakeholders was considered relevant to impact.

The cases were all high profile cases with relatively high impact. They are important cases in themselves, each path-breaking, each a part of the history of the emergence of deliberative democracy practice in Australia. As such, they do not give a generalisable indication of what impact to expect from citizen deliberation processes. They give an idea of what is possible. They give some ideas about how context and design interact to influence impact. They have provided a rich source of evidence and insights to inform the development of the impact typology that follows.

Table 1. Research Cases showing variables used for selection

Cases	Australian Citizen's Parliament	SA Citizens Juries (cats & dogs, sharing the roads) ²	City of Melbourne People's Panel
Variables			
Level of govt	Federal	State	Local
Year held	2009	2015	2014
Empowered	-	+++	+++
Independent	++++	+	+
Policy stage	Upstream	downstream	midstream
Stakeholders	No	Yes	No

One of the areas of future research I recommend is the study of processes with less authority and less impact. There are a number of challenges associated with this:

- Lesser impacts are harder to detect
- Less empowered processes are likely to have less direct, more subtle impacts through a broader range of actors
- Those involved with lower impact projects are less inclined to talk about them

These are important challenges for this line of research.

2.2 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with:

- political decision-makers potentially influenced by DD processes, including sponsors, direct audience to the process, relevant people outside the process, and those involved in the design and running of processes
- participants including citizen panel members/jurors, steering group members, speakers/witnesses, designers, facilitators and observers
- outside actors, including journalists, stakeholders and commentators

² The South East Drainage citizens jury, held in SA in 2015, was also considered. Insufficient data was collected to report this as a separate case, but several interviewees discussed this process and their testimony contributed to the results.

Names and contact details of potential interviewees were provided by new Democracy, by key contacts associated with the cases (Desley Renton, City of Melbourne; Emily Jenke, DemocracyCo, Gail Fairlamb, Department of Premier and Cabinet, South Australia) and through publically available documents and sites. These key contacts also assisted in organising interviews. A list of interviewees (by category) is shown in Appendix B.

Interviews were semi-structured, based on an information sheet and a set of questions (see Appendix A). Written consent was gained from interviewees. Interviews were audio-taped. They were not transcribed, but notes were taken at the time, and augmented by listening to audiotapes. These notes were analysed using Dedoose qualitative research software, by applying basic coding to draw out themes.

3. Results – Societal context and Impact Typology

3.1 The societal context of citizen deliberation processes

A simplified schematic of the societal context in which citizen deliberation processes occur and have impact is shown in figure 1. This helps to understand and situate different types of impact. Dimensions of the context include the empowered sphere, in which formal political decision making takes place. This comprises, for example, parliament, government bureaucracies and other sites of empowered decision making. Citizen deliberation processes may be situated in the empowered sphere, if they are fully empowered, but more usually reside outside the empowered sphere and provide advice to this sphere.

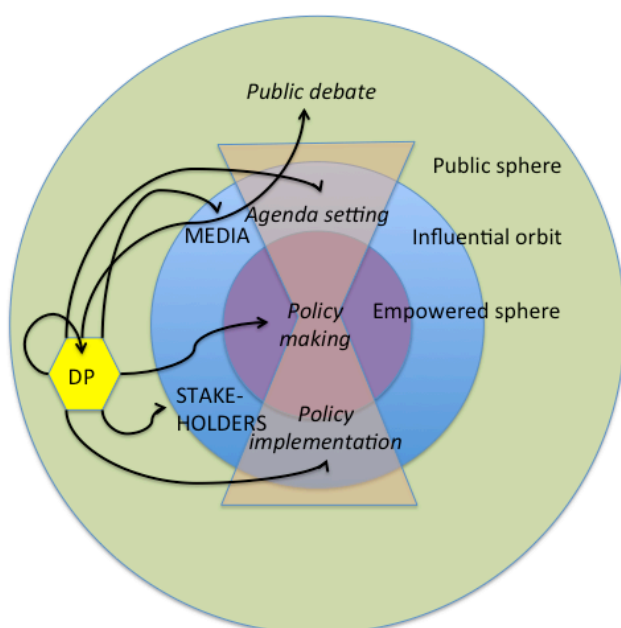


Fig. 1 A schematic of citizen deliberation processes (DP) in a wider political system.

The empowered sphere sits within the wider public sphere³, which comprises the general public but also other actors and processes that discuss and influence political decisions, including groups and organisations, the media, experts and businesses. To distinguish the special role that some of these actors and groups have in influencing politics, I have identified an ‘influential orbit’ to signal a range of actors, groups and institutions that are not strictly empowered but have disproportionate influence on the empowered sphere. Relevant to this study, I am particularly interested in stakeholders⁴, broadly defined, lobbyists, and the media. Not only does this orbit have more direct influence on the empowered sphere, it also tends to mediate and filter the influence of the broader public sphere. The influential sphere can play the role of a conduit (eg the

³ ‘Sphere’ is used here more-or-less synonymously with ‘space’ as discussed by, e.g. Dryzek, J. S. (2009). "Democratization as Deliberative Capacity Building." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(11): 1379-1402.

⁴ I continue to use ‘stakeholders’ even though I know it is a problematic term, partly because it is used so widely in government and also among practitioners. In the context of the schematic, stakeholders are effectively defined by those in the empowered space as those whose influence is recognised.

media (Parkinson 2005), or an obstacle (eg interest groups, (Hendriks 2002, Hendriks, Dryzek et al. 2007) to citizen deliberation processes having impact on political decision making.

Figure 1 also depicts different stages of political decision-making, including agenda setting, policy making and policy implementation. While policy is made within the empowered sphere, the other stages may involve people and processes in the influential orbit as well as public debate and action. Citizen deliberation processes, depicted by DP, may have a range of impacts at the different stages of political decision making, including public debate, and via the influential orbit.

One problem with this schematic is that it simplifies the spheres and their roles in decision making. In reality, the empowered sphere, the public sphere and particularly the influential orbit are not fixed, but involve different actors, organisations and relationships depending on the topic and context. Moreover, while public policy making is a legitimate focus of much discussion and research on public deliberation, a frame of *governance* rather than *government* complicates the situation. A governance perspective considers political decision making to involve a range of decisions and decision makers in public and private spheres, including business and industry actors, non-government organisations of various sorts, and ordinary people in their capacity as citizens and consumers. It recognises the importance of a range of discursive spheres (Bobbio 2010). Governance is particularly relevant to decision making that is global in scope, including in relation to global issues such as climate change (Dryzek and Stevenson 2011), but also in relation to globalised endeavours such as technological development (Hagendijk and Irwin 2006).

The schematic in Figure 1. provided a starting point for my investigation of the impacts of citizen deliberation processes. It suggested a preliminary typology of impacts, presented below.

3.2 Draft Impact Typology

Impacts on political decision making

- Opinion formation, issue orientation, agenda setting

- Policy making

- Policy implementation, delivery

- Institutional learning

Impacts on societal context/mediating impacts

- Media coverage

- Public debate, engagement of public sphere

- Stakeholder positions

Impacts on participants

- Shifts in perspectives and thinking

- Deliberative capacity, political engagement

- (Transformation, emancipation)

3.2.1 Political decision making

These impacts are related to formal political decision making by politicians and bureaucrats. Policy making is assumed to take place fully within empowered space (fig. 1). When citizens ‘make policy’ in empowered citizen deliberation processes, they are assumed to be operating within ‘empowered space’. Agenda setting and policy implementation may both take place within and outside the empowered sphere. Agendas may be set by actors in the ‘influential sphere’ or by public debate in the wider public sphere. The influential sphere generally mediates the influence of the public sphere (particularly the media, but also lobby groups and spokespeople for social movements). Policy implementation involves decisions within empowered spaces but may also involve decisions of ‘influencers’ such as service providers or lobby groups, and of citizens as end-users.

Opinion formation, issue orientation, agenda setting

A deliberative process can put an issue on the political agenda, influence the way that the issue is considered or the way in which different political positions or ideologies approach the issue (issue orientation), or affect whether the issue ‘opens up’ or ‘closes down’ as a policy issue. Citizen deliberation processes, or participatory processes more generally, can contribute to ‘democratisation of policy expertise’ (Fischer 1993), diversifying the knowledge base informing the policy issue. A deliberative process can potentially influence the opinions of politicians, bureaucrats or those who influence them at an early stage of a political debate (e.g. a citizen deliberation about nanotechnology and informed choice may have influenced whether the issue of nanotechnology labelling became a policy issue about consumer choice or purely about safety and feasibility). Further, public deliberation can have political and symbolic impacts (Einsiedel 2013) on an issue that indirectly influence policy making.

Such early impact may be difficult to measure, but evidence may include references to the process in Parliamentary committees, in government discussion papers, within government departments e.g. briefings, commissioned research, and in position papers or statements of stakeholder or other organisations (lobby groups, professional associations, research organisations and thinktanks). Interviews with decision makers will provide evidence, if they’re prepared to divulge.

Policy making

A deliberative process produces recommendations that are either:

- a) directly taken up in policy statements
Includes fully empowered processes, advisory processes or independent processes where the explicit recommendations or options are adopted as a result of the deliberative process.
- b) taken into account in the policy making process
Includes when policies are influenced or shaped by a deliberative process (including in the way they are communicated); when policies are market tested (Goodin and Dryzek 2006); when the oversight and transparency created by citizen deliberation processes affects the quality of policy making (Dryzek 2010); when decision makers declare that they have taken the results into account when making their decision (usually indicated through a formal response, see

below); and when the results are put to a further decision-making process such as a referendum or Parliamentary debate (BC voting reform).

If there is reference to the deliberative process by the decision maker in presenting their decision or in passing the decision on, this is 'the smoking gun'. Apart from this rarity, evidence can be difficult to gather even in the case of direct uptake because it may not be possible to make a direct link between the process and the policy, and politicians have a tendency to want to claim decisions for themselves, especially if they promise to be popular (Decker and Ladikas 2004).

In the indirect case, conclusive evidence once again comes from references to the deliberative process, but otherwise rests on circumstantial evidence (e.g. the timing of changes in direction or additions to policies), which can only be suggestive of impact. In the case of a formal response to the deliberative process, this can perform a ritualistic role if gained through a guarantee at the outset, and may represent limited 'taking into account', especially if the response does not include detailed explanation and justification. Once again, interviews may elicit information about such impacts, if interviewees are prepared to be candid.

Policy implementation, delivery

Citizen deliberation processes also have the potential to influence the implementation of policy and delivery of services, both through impacts on decision makers and on recipients and intermediaries. This includes legitimating policy (Goodin and Dryzek 2006), which is required for its implementation. Here, public deliberation overlaps with processes of co-production and co-design, which involve citizens, often those most directly affected, in the design of policies and services. Further down the policy pipeline, a deliberative process may raise publicity about an issue e.g. a public health issue, and may make a government program more effective because citizens are primed for behaviour change or to take up new services. Alternatively, service providers may be stimulated to provide new models of service in relation to a new policy, influenced by the results of a deliberative process.

The evidential requirements are similar to policy making, in that explicit reference to the deliberative process needs to be made for a direct link to be clear, but the timing and nature of responses to policy implementation may signal an impact from the deliberation. Methods such as interviews and surveys can also uncover connections between deliberation and policy implementation impacts.

Institutional culture and learning

Citizen deliberation processes may, after a single process or multiple processes over time, bring about shifts in institutional culture and learning within political systems, including parliaments and bureaucracies. This may include requirements or expectations for higher levels of justification, more transparency and greater accountability. In theory, this type of impact is the most important of all, for the value of deliberative democracy is in procedural improvements to decision-making, including greater legitimacy through accountability, a public interest lens for policy making, and

higher quality decisions through informed and substantive debate (Gutmann and Thompson 2002)⁵. It is also very relevant to the establishment of deliberative systems.

Higher standards of reflection, deliberation and evidence may develop within political institutions, and deliberative methods, approaches and design elements may begin to be taken up in the day-to-day work of policy making and implementation. Other forms of institutional learning might include increased receptivity to the perspectives of marginalised groups (an 'open-mindedness' in policy discussions), increased institutional reflexivity and more frequent 'double-loop' learning (Pallett and Chilvers 2013), and a shift in the take-up of citizen deliberation processes away from more instrumental and strategic uses.

While strong evidence linking the development of deliberative norms and institutional learning to exposure to citizen deliberation processes would be difficult to gather, such shifts would be indicative of this type of impact. Interviews could provide further evidence to attribute such shifts to citizen deliberation processes.

3.2.2 Impacts on societal context/mediating impacts

As well as impacts on political decision making in empowered spaces, which is generally but not always the intended focus of deliberative projects, there are potential impacts on elements of the broader societal context. These impacts may be significant in themselves, in setting agendas or in facilitating policy implementation, for example; or they may be mediating impacts that ultimately influence decision making in empowered spaces.

Three elements of the societal context identified here as important are media coverage, public debate and stakeholder positions. Stakeholders here refers to representatives of organised interests, including non-government and civil society organisations, industry and business groups, and experts. Stakeholders and media generally occupy and define the influential sphere for a given political decision making domain. The influence of public debate is generally transmitted and mediated by them.

Media coverage

Any media coverage of a deliberative process signals impact, but the quality of media reporting is significant, particularly the influence of the process on the quality of media debate about the issue. The mass media represents a key conduit for communication of public deliberation, and transmission to public, influential and empowered spheres; but the current culture of media communication creates significant obstacles to this and

⁵ In relation to policy impact, for example, there may be a tendency to measure impact by the convergence of public deliberation and policy deliberation outcomes or prescriptions: what the citizens chose was taken up. However, particularly when citizen deliberation is imperfect (in terms of inclusiveness, deliberativeness etc), which it generally is, there is no guarantee that the result will be the *best* prescription for policy. *Better* policy can be seen to emerge when the impact of the deliberative process is to increase the deliberative quality and inclusiveness of the broader policy deliberation. In summary, it is safer to make normative judgments about impact in procedural rather than substantive terms (see related argument in Chambers, S. (2003). "Deliberative democratic theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6(1): 307-326.

media coverage may be counterproductive to citizen deliberation processes achieving desired impacts (Parkinson 2005).

Evidence of media coverage is straightforward when citizen deliberation processes are mentioned, which is usually the case when they provide the source of information or perspectives. Achieving quality impact through traditional media is more challenging than finding evidence of it, and seems to be most successful when relationships are established at an early stage (e.g. Guardian GM Nation, Geraldton Advertiser).

Social media coverage also signals impact and this overlaps with public debate (next section). Similar considerations as for traditional media apply to social media discussions initiated by commentators and influencers (quality can be variable but may be positively influenced by relationships). Evidence of social media mentions is relatively straightforward these days given online tools for tracking social media conversations. The volume and diversity of this data can provide for detailed analysis of transmission via this route.

Public debate, engagement of public sphere

Citizen deliberation processes build their legitimacy when they gain attention from the wider public sphere and stimulate and inform debate there. This is important in itself, as a test of whether mini-publics are regarded as representing the wider community or at least the diversity of perspectives in it. It is also an important mediating impact in influencing political decision making in the empowered sphere. Wider public debate does not have to mirror or adopt consensus around the results of the deliberative process to have been positively impacted by it (see comment of procedural vs substantive impact above).

Evidence of informal public debate is difficult to elicit. Surveys may be of use, but are a blunt instrument in this context and are generally not able to assess whether the public debate has become more informed or in some sense more sophisticated as a result of a deliberative process. Social media provides an important channel and creates a window on public discussion of issues, although it may also not reflect all dimensions of public debate, particularly 'everyday talk'. 'Vox pop' methods, interviews and focus groups are useful and interesting in this context, though limited in their scope. Public sentiment may be gauged through its influence on traditional media coverage (generally informed by polls) but also through mass advocacy organisations, such as GetUp.

Stakeholder positions

The positions and contributions of stakeholder groups to public debates and decision making may be influenced by citizen deliberation processes, both through participation of stakeholder representatives and when these groups engage with the outputs of processes or debates stemming from them. Sometimes these impacts may be decisive when stakeholders, broadly defined, have a role in decision making about a public issue, for example in policy implementation or service delivery. More often these impacts would come through shifts in powerful stakeholders' positions in macro-political debates and in their influence of decision making in the empowered sphere. Such shifts are less likely in cases where citizen and stakeholder interests are in conflict.

Finding evidence of these impacts has similar challenges to measuring impacts on political decision-makers and relies on explicit mention of citizen deliberation processes to make clear links. Stakeholders may be more likely to mention citizen deliberation processes in order to back up their positions, but they may also draw attention to deliberation in order to critique or undermine its legitimacy (Hendricks (Hendriks 2002)). This can be regarded as an impact of sorts. Giving key stakeholders roles in citizen deliberation processes is regarded as a key way to influence and moderate their reactions to it and their role in its transmission, as it counters the threat that citizen deliberation represents to partisan interests (Hendriks, Dryzek et al. 2007) (Russell 2013).

3.2.3 Impacts on participants

Participants of citizen deliberation processes generally include citizens, but may also include 'stakeholders' and political decision makers. Roles for these different participants vary between processes, but may include deliberators, organisers, sponsors, steering group members, expert panel members or attendee observers. These different roles will lead to different impacts, both in kind and degree. For example, deliberators are likely to be influenced far more than observers. Nevertheless, observing a deliberative process is likely to have impacts that reading about a deliberation and its results will not have. Moreover, these impacts are generally the easiest to measure, certainly in the short term.

It may also be useful to include practitioners such as designers and facilitators in this category. Although these participants are generally well versed in and supportive of deliberative methods, the impacts of citizen deliberation processes on their skills as practitioners and on their attitudes to deliberation, particularly for those who engage in deliberation among a range of other practices, may influence their on-going practice and advocacy of deliberative democracy.

Shifts in perspective and thinking

For any deliberative process, one of the most reliably observed impacts is a shift in perspectives or in ways of thinking about the issue among participants, particularly deliberators. Even if deliberators emerge with the same preference or opinion about the issue as when they began, their perspective is generally more informed, more nuanced and better contextualised in relation to other perspectives and information about the issue (Niemeyer 2011). Observers, too, will tend to change their view on the issue, informed by the range of perspectives presented, new information and by watching the process of deliberation unfold.

Evidence for such shifts can come from surveys and questionnaires, from observations during deliberation. Evidence may also come from public statements that participants make following a deliberative process, for example, in the media, in social media discussions and in position papers of political decision makers, stakeholders and civil society groups.

Deliberative capacity, political engagement

Another commonly observed impact of citizen deliberation processes is an increase in the deliberative capacity of participants, particularly citizen deliberators. Participants gain skills in deliberation, their confidence in their capacity to be informed and to reason about complex issues grows, and they often gain optimism and enthusiasm for public deliberation, leading to greater political engagement. The latter may be true also for those playing other roles, such as steering group members and observers.

A related and important impact is appreciation for the complexity and difficulty of political decision-making. This can influence the political decisions and actions of citizens, e.g. they may 'think twice' and seek more information in voting decisions, in responding to surveys or in joining or supporting campaigns, and their attitudes to politicians may shift, with less cynicism and greater appreciation for the challenges facing them. This latter impact is particularly compelling for politicians.

Evidence for capacity building impacts can be gained through interviews, questionnaires and by observing changes in the behaviour and attitudes of participants before, during and after citizen deliberation processes. Longitudinal studies, both of attitudes and of actions such as further political engagement, are important to test whether these effects are sustained over time.

4. Results - Cases

4.1 Australian Citizens Parliament

4.1.1 Description

The Australian Citizens' Parliament (ACP) was a deliberative process on the topic of democratic reform, which was held in Canberra in 2009. It was a deliberative forum involving 1 citizen from each Australian electorate (150 in all) who met to discuss "How could Australia's political system be strengthened to serve us better?".

The project was essentially a research project. It was funded by an Australian Research Council Linkage grant (to chief investigators, John Dryzek, Janette Hartz-Karp, Lyn Carson, Luca Belgiorno-Nettis, Simon Niemeyer, Ron Lubensky and Ian Marsh) in partnership with the newly formed newDemocracy Foundation, which was incorporated in 2007.

Participants were recruited by random selection, which involved invitations to 9000 citizens selected at random. There was a 30% response rate, and of those who accepted, a stratified random selection process was used to select one from each electorate and to reflect population diversity across a range of demographic variables, including gender, age, education and indigeneity.

The process was preceded by one-day preparatory meetings, held in capital cities, and an online parliament, which included those who had responded to the invitation but not been selected. The Parliament itself involved a 4 day citizens assembly at Old Parliament House in Canberra, chaired by Lowitja O'Donoghue and Fred Chaney. Using a computer-assisted 21st Century Town Meeting format, the participants came up with and deliberated on proposals, including some from the online discussions, and voted to select the most popular proposals, which then formed the recommendations.

The main recommendations were:

- Reduce duplication between levels of Government by harmonizing laws across State boundaries,
- Empower citizens to participate in politics through education
- Accountability regarding political promises and procedure for redress
- Empower citizens to participate in politics through community engagement
- Change the electoral system to Optional Preferential Voting
- Youth engagement in politics

The final report was received by the Prime Minister's Parliamentary Secretary. The process unfortunately took place on the same weekend as the Black Saturday bushfires in Victoria. As well as affecting the mood of the parliament, this coincidence meant that there was virtually no publicity for the event.

4.1.2 Impacts

There is general agreement among those involved that the ACP had virtually no political impact. There was no formal response. Some participants thought that there may have been indirect influence on political opinions and debates, but there is no available evidence for this. Two politicians who were interviewed concurred, one suggesting that the topic was not considered important or note-worthy, the other having heard very

little about the process and questioning its legitimacy (“the only citizens’ parliament I know of meets up there” indicating new Parliament House).

The ACP has been mentioned once in the Australian parliament, according to a search of Hansard. In Feb 2015, a committee hearing on public consultation for constitutional recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples attended by Senator Bridget McKenzie and Stephen Jones, MP heard from Dr Paul Kildea (Lecturer in Law, UNSW), who mentioned the ACP. The reference was in relation to the use of citizen deliberation processes, in particular mechanisms for random selection, in the lead up to referenda (in this case a proposed referendum on constitutional recognition).

The main contributions of the ACP were insights and data for deliberative democracy research, and insights to inform deliberative practice and its development, particularly in the establishment of the newDemocracy Foundation. The process provided insights on educative effects on participants (Knobloch and Gastil 2015), models of group deliberation (Bonito, Gastil et al. 2014), deliberative capacity and connection of mini-publics to deliberative systems (Felicetti, Gastil et al. 2012), as well as on random recruitment, facilitation, and integrating online with face-to-face deliberation processes (Carson, Gastil et al. 2013).

The ACP was sponsored by Luca Belgiorno-Nettis, who had recently established the newDemocracy Foundation in association with Prof Lyn Carson (Belgiorno-Nettis formed ‘New Republic’ in 2005, which was incorporated as newDemocracy in 2007). A number of interviewees spoke of the importance of the ACP in giving Luca confidence, and in providing insights to inform the newDemocracy model. Interestingly, one of the features of that model is the importance placed on ‘pre-negotiated authority’ – establishing political partners/sponsors who provide relevant policy questions, resources, and a commitment to taking up the results. The lack of impact of the ACP clearly influenced the central placement of pre-negotiated authority in the newDemocracy model.

If the ACP was an important test case, one of the main things being tested, or demonstrated in the Australian context, was the capacity of ordinary citizens to deliberate about the complexities of democratic process and to come up with useful and reasonable recommendations. In this regard, it was considered by most a success, once again demonstrating that citizens can think well about such things under the right conditions. Whether the demonstration was noted by those making political decisions at the time was another thing, but the process provides evidence that can be put forward in making the case.

Another important impact related to this was the impact on participants. Interviews with participants demonstrate their satisfaction with the process, their engagement with the ACP, increases in their awareness and understanding of democracy and changes in their perspectives about it, and heightened capacity and political engagement as a result. Jurors interviewed saw it as a “terrific experience”, “fantastic” and felt “privileged” to be a part of it; some reported learning skills (negotiation, listening) that they took back to work, some reported their experience on social or traditional media, and others contacted local political representatives to discuss the process and its outcomes.

Others who participated, including facilitators, seem also to have been impacted, gaining insight and confidence in the deliberative process, but also gaining awareness of some of the tensions inherent in an exercise of this kind.

4.2 Melbourne

4.2.1 Description

The Melbourne People's Panel was a modified participatory budgeting exercise, held in 2014, to inform a 10 year financial plan for the City of Melbourne. It involved a citizen panel that met six times over 3 months to consider the question: **'What do you value about Melbourne and how do you believe Council should prioritise spending over the next decade?'**. There was a broad engagement process that fed into the panel process. It involved targeted workshops, discussions, pop-up events and online input including budget simulations via the interactive website, Participate Melbourne.

Melbourne had been rated as a highly liveable city. However, projections of the costs of maintaining infrastructure and services predicted a shortfall over the coming decade, particularly in the context of a growing population, sustainability initiatives and other changes and uncertainties. These predictions left Council in a difficult political position, and required a rethink of the way it does business.

An internal team comprising Financial Services, Community Engagement and the City Council was set up to develop a deliberative process to contribute to long-term financial planning. This team worked with external partners, newDemocracy Foundation and MosaicLab, to design and implement a people's panel to give input to a 10-year plan, the first of its kind. Commitment to the program amounted to \$150 000, leading to recommendations on expenditure of approximately \$4 billion.

The panel was made up of 43 randomly-selected citizens. Over 6500 invitations were sent to randomly selected addresses comprising 50% residents and 50% owners of businesses operating in the city. The sample was stratified according to demographic variables (gender, age, location, and connection with the city – residents, rate-payers, businesses and students). The sampling ensured that the panel reflected the large population of students, including international students, in Melbourne. The panel met on six Saturdays between August and November, 2014.

The panel considered a range of proposals and strategies for Council to consider to address the projected budget shortfall. Consensus was achieved using an 80% supermajority based on a "can you live with it?" test. The recommendations put forward were:

- Rate rises (CPI plus up to 2.5% pa for next 10 years)
- Funding to address climate change (protect existing assets, reduce carbon footprint, maintain liveability and provide leadership)
- Activate Melbourne through marketing and activation of spaces.
- Review property asset portfolio and sell non-core assets to release capital
- Queen Victoria Market Redevelopment
- Borrowing for growth infrastructure, special projects and major asset renewal to prevent rapidly escalating costs, within constraint of maintaining AA credit rating
- City of Melbourne should retain CityWide (a physical services company wholly owned by City of Melbourne, providing infrastructure, open space and environmental services)
- More bike lanes, bike parking on edge of city, improve footpaths
- Advocacy for a range of improvements and initiatives, including public transport, public schools, traffic reduction, support services for

vulnerable communities, planning processes, developer contributions, public open space

- Maintain community services at current levels
- Continue to implement the LEAN program for operational efficiencies
- Reduce expenditure on new capital works by 10% over the 10 year period

Council accepted the panel’s report, which informed modeling to develop the 10 year financial plan, which was released in June 2015.

4.2.2 Impacts

The City of Melbourne People’s Panel was a highly impactful process in policy terms, with most recommendations being taken up in some form in the 10 Year Financial Plan, which the City of Melbourne released in June, 2015 (see Table 2. below) and in the 2015-16 Council Plan and Budget. Some of the recommendations provided support for existing priorities (sustainability, public transport), others provided a political push to initiatives that had been subject to political debate (eg rate rises, lobbying for developer contributions), and some gave direction on issues that were genuinely unclear or undecided within Council (e.g. privatisation of CityWide, efficiency dividend).

Table 2. Recommendations from the Melbourne People’s Panels, decision maker responses and resulting changes.

Recommendations	Response	Change
Rate rises (CPI plus up to 2.5% pa for next 10 years)	No Given looming rate capping policy from the State Government and uncertainty about it, the 10 yr plan did not adopt this recommendation.	2015-16 budget - 3.6% rate increase (modest but greater than CPI (2.75%)) 2016-17 budget - 2.5% rate increase (in line with Victorian rate capping and level with CPI).
Funding to address climate change (protect existing assets, reduce carbon footprint, maintain livability and provide leadership)	Yes The existing commitment was reinforced in the 10 year plan, based on the 2009 Climate Adaptation Strategy but with limited detail of developments. The Strategy is being refreshed in 2016-17 ⁶	2015-16 budget - \$1 million for climate adaption urban landscapes + other programs (\$0.8M for solar panels, \$1.6M for energy efficient lights, \$2.5M for bike paths, \$3.9M for flood mitigation & drains) 2016-17 budget - \$2.66 million for urban landscapes and climate adaption (+ \$5M for energy efficient street lights, \$1.6M for bike works, \$1.5M for tree planting ⁷)

⁶ With community consultation through a discussion paper and online survey and workshops

⁷ Note that the 2014-15 budget (before the People’s Panel) allocated \$1.5 million to urban landscapes and climate adaptation and \$3 m to bike paths)

<p>Activate Melbourne through marketing and activation of spaces.</p>	<p>Yes The 10 year plan commits to maintaining existing standards and services</p>	<p>2015-16 budget – initiatives include K.S. Community Centre, Kensington Town Hall, Community Hub at the Dock, Melbourne Visitor Shuttle, premier events, Docklands Winter Activation program, Melbourne Convention Centre (total \$15 million)</p> <p>2016-17 budget - initiatives incl Melbourne Indigenous Arts Fest, review of Hoddle heritage, Resilient Melbourne Delivery Office, green waste trial, Eco City World Summit, Strategic Partnerships Program, Chinese New Year event, homelessness projects & services (total \$5 million)</p>
<p>Review property asset portfolio and sell non-core assets to release capital</p>	<p>Yes The 10 year plan includes a strategy to review the property asset portfolio to recycle and/or sell non-core assets</p>	<p>2015-16 Plan & Budget – initiative to review complete real estate portfolio and make recommendations on future portfolio rationalisation This review was conducted in 2016; the report is not yet publically available</p>
<p>City of Melbourne should retain CityWide (review CityWide operations)</p>	<p>Yes The 10 year Plan does not include plans to sell CityWide</p>	<p>CityWide has been retained (no mention in 2015-16 or 2016-17 budgets, apart from property lease register); no evidence of a review having been conducted</p>
<p>Queen Victoria Market Redevelopment</p>	<p>Yes The 10 yr financial plan reinforces commitment to the QVM Renewal Project (up to \$250 M), planned to commence in 2016, and commits to develop a funding and financing strategy following the Masterplan (in 2015)</p>	<p>2015-16 budget - Complete and implement funding and financing strategy for the Queen Victoria Market Renewal Project; \$80.6M invested in 15-16 (land acquisition)</p> <p>The above strategy is not publically available⁸</p>

⁸ Council commissioned 2 reviews on planning controls in 2015 and subsequently submitted an Amendment to the Melbourne Planning Scheme, which took account of some of the issues raised by the People’s Panel. No mention was made of the People’s Panel in that process, however.

<p>Borrowing for growth infrastructure, special projects and major asset renewal to prevent rapidly escalating costs, within constraint of maintaining AA credit rating</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>The 10 year Plan commits to strategic borrowing to fund infrastructure that supports growth, reduces escalating costs or generate returns; while maintaining an underlying surplus</p>	<p>2015-16 budget – established a borrowing facility of \$75M, to be drawn upon in the first half of the financial year and repayed in the second.</p> <p>2016-17 – no new borrowings; new facility of \$30M with Clean Energy Finance Corp’n (savings will offset costs); forecast borrowing of \$30M each year</p>
<p>More bike lanes, bike parking on edge of city, improve footpaths; Increase parking rates and taxes</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>The 10 year Plan includes reduction of 900 on-street parking bays over the 10 years, as part of support for sustainable transport⁹, modest increase in parking fees every 4 years.</p>	<p>2015-16 budget - \$2.5M for bicycle improvement works (part of 2012-16 Bicycle Plan)¹⁰; total \$3M on footpaths & bike paths;</p> <p>2016-17 budget - \$1.6M for bicycle improvement works; total \$7M on footpaths & bike paths; revise bicycle and motorcycle off-street parking requirements and facilities</p> <p>Funds from Long Term Parking levy allocated to bike paths, walking plan both years</p> <p>No change to parking fees in 2015-16 or 16-17</p>
<p>Advocacy for a range of improvements and initiatives, including public transport, public schools, traffic reduction, vulnerable communities, planning processes, developer contributions, public open space</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Commitment to ongoing advocacy based on existing plans and constraints; some new plans and commitments</p>	<p>New plans & commitments: Schools a key Council action for 2015-16, Melb Planning Scheme Amendment C209 (2015) – increase in contribution rates; homelessness services project 2015-16</p>
<p>Maintain community services at current levels</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>10 year Plan includes no plans to reduce funding for community services</p>	<p>2015-16 and 2016-17 budgets - Slight increases in investment and minor capital works and refurbishment for community services</p>

⁹ Compared to ~600 bays reduced over 3 years (2012-2014)

¹⁰ Only one of the panel’s suggested priority streets was selected (Elizabeth St).

Continue to implement the LEAN program for operational efficiencies (1% efficiency dividend)	Yes A 1 % efficiency dividend has been written in the 10 year Plan	A commitment to ongoing efficiency if reflected in cost balances in each budget
Reduce expenditure on new capital works by 10% over the 10 year period	Yes The 10 year Plan includes a Capital Works Program of \$1.4 billion; the response to this recommendation suggests that this is an 11% reduction in capital works ¹¹	2015-16 budget - Capital works expenditure reduced from 2014-15 (~7%), accompanied by underlying surplus 2016-17 budget – Capital works expenditure increased from 2015-16 (~20%), accompanied by underlying surplus

The rate rise recommendation is interesting, and reflects other processes of this kind in which public interest priorities trump the private interest of the citizens involved (“private interests were parked out back”). This recommendation was constrained by rate-capping legislation that came in at a State level soon afterwards. However, rates were increased in 2015-16 somewhat more than in the recent past.

The process gave weight to the City of Melbourne’s first 10 year financial plan (financial planning had previously been based on 4 year plans) and increased its democratic legitimacy. Interviewees commented that this provided a mandate and legitimacy for priorities moving forward which would last a long time.

Interviewees expressed uncertainty about whether this influence would be sustained with turnover in the council and in management, particularly in the leadership. This seems to be borne out in the annual report for 2016-17, which included little mention of the People’s Panel and its recommendations and included, for example, a significant increase in the capital works budget. This may be connected to an absence of champions for deliberative engagement in the new leadership.

The Melbourne People’s Panel has clearly been an important model for local government in Victoria. Those involved have been called upon to give presentations to other councils and the Victorian Local Governance Association took an active interest in the project and subsequently provided information sessions and training in deliberative democracy. The process was followed by a series of citizen deliberation processes elsewhere in Victoria (Darebin, Yarra, Shire of Yarra Ranges, Nilimbik Shire, Surf Coast, Bendigo).

It was also noted, however, that the Melbourne People’s Panel was seen as costly and beyond the reach of most councils. While some councils appear to have responded by designing processes tailored to their resource constraints, it was felt that some may have been put off adopting citizen deliberation processes because of the cost.

¹¹ At the same time as promoting it as the city’s largest ever program of infrastructure investment

An important factor influencing the success of the project was the existing strong track record in community engagement of the City of Melbourne, reflected in an Organisation of the Year Core Values award from the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) Australasia in 2014. A dedicated Community Engagement unit had been building capacity for engagement across the organisation for some years, supported by the CEO, Kathy Alexander, a champion of deliberative approaches. This had created a culture of engagement, which smoothed the way for this project, giving confidence to decision makers and the community.

The Chief Financial Officer admitted nervousness about opening up Council's financial situation publically, but was clearly influenced by previous dealings with the Community Engagement team and their reputation and track record. Interestingly, his motivation was not only a desire to resolve the financial challenges facing the City of Melbourne, but also awareness that the organisation had been looking for a 'big' topic with which to try out a large-scale deliberative approach.

In terms of impact on participants, once again members of the People's Panel interviewed generally expressed satisfaction with the process ("Amazing, very engaging", "good process, a discovery", "went well, could have been longer", "interesting, informative"). Some panellists reported heightened understanding of the difficulties of political decision making. There were cases of increased political and civic participation following the process, e.g. joining a Council committee, contributing to planning consultations. Participants also reported that their involvement had changed their experience of living in the city ("it looks different", "I appreciate living in the city more", "I know the city better").

Interestingly, panel members expressed a lack of awareness about the impacts of the project. Though they were aware that the 10 year financial plan had been released, they were vague about the details, and hadn't kept up with how their recommendations had been taken up. Some felt that the organisers hadn't followed up sufficiently. One suggested that a review of the Council's response should be held, involving panel members. The interviews suggested that organisers were overly positive about the attitudes and enthusiasm of panel members, seeing them as advocates for Council, when in fact, those interviewed were generally rather cynical about Council taking up their recommendations.

My review of implementation of the recommendations tends to support the panel's uncertainty, if not necessarily their cynicism. Although Council gave a detailed response and clearly considered the panel report in preparing the 10 year financial plan, it is difficult to discern specific action on the recommendations and follow through in terms of implementation. As discussed in the next section, it is also difficult to distinguish the influence of the panel process from plans and priorities Council and the City of Melbourne already had (environment, public transport, city activation, disadvantaged minorities).

4.3 South Australia

4.3.1 Description

The South Australian government has conducted a series of citizens' juries as part of a larger democratic reform agenda spearheaded by Premier, Jay Weatherill. These have included juries on:

2013	Safe & vibrant nightlife
2014	Sharing the roads (bikes and cars)
2015	South-East Drainage Infrastructure
2015	Dog & Cat Management
2016	Nuclear

This research considered the Sharing the Roads and Dog and Cat citizens' juries in detail. Both processes involved citizens' juries of about 40 people, stratified according to age, gender and housing status (as a proxy for socioeconomic diversity). They were notable in substantially involving stakeholders, both having Core Reference Groups (CRGs) with a range of stakeholders and experts who not only contributed expert witnesses and information, but also gave input to the design of the processes. Both processes were facilitated by Emily Jenke (latterly of DemocracyCo), who also played a major role in the design. Random recruitment was conducted by newDemocracy.

Sharing the Roads was a citizens' jury of 37 South Australian residents who met to consider the charge: "Motorists and Cyclists will always be using our roads. What things could we trial to ensure they share the roads safely?". The process was set up by the Department of the Premier and Cabinet, and was thus a cross-portfolio process, involving stakeholders from the SA Departments of Planning, Transport & Infrastructure and Education & Child Development. The Core Reference Group also had representatives from the Local Government Authority, SA police, the Royal Automobile Association, the Motor Accident Commission and Bike SA. Input to the jury included formal submissions (about 40), online and social media discussions. The jury deliberated during five meetings between September 25 and October 25, 2014.

The jury handed over its report in November 2014, with recommendations including:

- A Library of Ideas
- Mandatory metre for overtaking bikes
- Cycling education in schools, Road rules education & assessment
- Cycling on footpaths
- Improve cycling infrastructure, including:
 - Cycle lanes
 - Greenways
 - Bike storage
 - Safer intersections
- Improved lane marking trials, Speed and Traffic Flow trials
- Collaborative safe roads campaign, Annual 'safe cycling' award

A response came from the Premier in January 2015, with support to implement or investigate all of the recommendations.

The **Dogs and Cats** citizens' jury was set up by the Dog and Cat Management Board, an agency within the Environment portfolio. The jury, consisting of about 50% pet owners, considered the question: "Last year in South Australia over 10,000 unwanted dogs and cats were put down. The State Government recently announced some reforms to dog and cat laws. What further measures can we introduce or trial to reduce the number of unwanted pets?". The jury was specifically asked to reach a verdict on mandatory desexing of pets.

The process once again involved a Core Reference Group, comprising representatives from the Dog and Cat Management Board, the Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources, the RSPCA, Animal Welfare League and Australian Veterinary Association. They contributed to design and information provision. The jury met over four times in June and July, 2015, and handed down its report in August of that year. Submissions and online discussion informed the jury, as did witnesses chosen by the CRG and by the jury. The main recommendations in the jury report were:

- Education to prevent abandonment
- A system to encourage landlords to rent to pet owners (pet bonds)
- A system of breeder registration and quality control
- Compulsory desexing
- A trial of a trap, neuter and release program for semi owned cats.
- A centralised microchipping system and database

The government's response included support for the implementation and investigation of all recommendations except one. The trap, neuter and release trial recommendation was not supported because it potentially breached legislation, including the Natural Resources Management Act 2004, the Animal Welfare Act and bylaws in a number of council areas. The government subsequently amended the Dog & Cat Management Act to implement the recommendations.

4.3.2 Impacts

The **Sharing the Roads** citizens' jury was a high impact project in terms of policy uptake, with most recommendations leading to new legislation or policy (see Table 3 below). This once again included initiatives that had been on the political agenda for some time (e.g. 1m rule, education campaigns) and some new initiatives (bikes on footpaths). It also appears to have had a significant, if mixed, effect on the public debate about cyclists on roads.

Table 3. Recommendations from the SA Sharing the Roads citizens' jury, decision maker responses and resulting changes.

Recommendations	Response	Change
A Library of Ideas	?	?
Mandatory metre for overtaking bikes	Support Draft new legislation	New cycling laws (came into operation Oct 2015)
Cycling education in schools	Support Development and pilot programs with partners	Pilot program developed and tested in 2015

Road rules education & assessment	Support Merge drivers and cycling handbooks, at least to cycling questions on learner theory test Reminders during vehicle and licence renewal processes	Driver's handbook now includes road rules for cyclists; test not includes bike questions DPTI road rules quiz, promotion on registration website
Cycling on footpaths	Support Draft new legislation	New cycling laws (came into operation Oct 2015)
Improve cycling infrastructure, including:	Support	Planning undertaken, cycle paths included in maintenance contracts, statement re cycling routes now in planning policy
Cycle lanes, Greenways	\$250 k for Greenways and Bicycle Boulevard program, grants for local councils, commitment to maintenance & support	2015 budget - \$6.5M over 4 years for bike boulevards and greenways
Bike storage	Installations underway	Bike cage installations waiting on major interchange upgrades (none current)
Bike racks on buses	Being investigated	Bike racks under review
Safer intersections	Installations of 'bike boxes' underway	Councils can apply for funding
Improved lane marking trials	Support Field trials under the Road Safety Trial Infrastructure Fund	Trial being evaluated
Speed and Traffic Flow trials	Trials and support for councils	Working with councils; Included in Adelaide CC Smart Move strategy
Collaborative safe roads campaign	Support Work with stakeholders to deliver public awareness campaign	Campaign launched April 2016?
Annual 'safe cycling' award	2 new awards added to Local Govt Awards	Awards launched in April?

The process led to significant media coverage and public debate, partly because of controversy about some of the policy changes, including the 1m rule, but especially the

bikes on footpaths rule. Probably in response to this debate, there were political moves to overturn the changes, including local councils in South Australia moving bans on bicycles on footpaths, a private members bill to overturn the change, and threats from other politicians to oppose the change (Senator Nick Xenophon).

For some, this controversy suggested failure of the process, but this is a simplistic view. The public debate significantly raised the profile of the issue for an extended period. This presumably led to an increase in awareness and understanding of the policy changes and of the issue in the wider community. This was reflected in observations (both systematic and informal) that motorists were obeying the 1 m rule in the months after the changes. Apart from a positive sign that deliberation within the jury had influenced debate in the wider community, this potentially also saved the government significant money in education about the changes.

In addition, a number of interviewees were of the view that the process had helped to shift the framing of the debate, including as it was reported in the media, from a focus on the hazards of bikes on roads to a broader conversation about road use. It was hoped that this would underpin broader culture change and future initiatives.

The **Dogs & Cats** citizens' jury also led to significant policy change (see Table 4. below). Some considered that it raised awareness of the issue in the wider community, but there was considerably less media attention. This was attributed to the issue being less controversial.

Table 4. Recommendations from the SA Dogs & Cats citizens' jury, decision maker responses and resulting changes.

Recommendations	Response	Change
Education to preventing abandonment	Support DCMB will work with stakeholders (RSPCA, AWL, AVA ¹²) on an education campaign and to develop an online test for new pet owners	Education program links on websites but no sign of an online test
A system to encourage landlords to rent to pet owners (pet bonds)	Government will investigate	Still investigating...
A system of breeder registration and licensing Regulation of pet store sales	Support for breeder registration but not licensing (costly) Government will investigate, proposed amendments to the DCM Act	Amendments to the Dog & Cat Management Act, passed July 2016 – breeder registration requirement Information requirements for sellers

¹² RSPCA - Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, AWL – Animal Welfare League, AVA – Australian Veterinary Association

Mandatory desexing	Support Govt will amend the Dog & Cat Management Amendment Bill to include mand. desexing	Amendments to the Dog & Cat Management Act, passed July 2016 – mandatory desexing (by 6 months)
A trial of a trap, neuter and release program for semi owned cats.	Not supported Breaches existing legislation	
A centralised microchipping system and database	Support, govt to investigate funding models	Amendments to the Dog & Cat Management Act, passed July 2016 – microchipping of all dogs and cats

The Dogs & Cats jury gave a clear example of a deliberative process providing political mandate for an existing policy proposal. The issue of unwanted pets had been important for some time, generating significant environmental and economic problems. Mandatory desexing was well established as a policy solution. However, public sensitivity around pets had created inertia of political action. A number of interviews pointed to the value of the citizens' jury in giving politicians courage to move forward with this change of policy.

The only recommendation not taken up from the Cats & Dogs jury report was the recommendation to trial a 'trap-neuter-release' program for semi-owned cats. This was rejected on the basis of contravening existing legislation. From the perspective of one interviewee, however, this rejection was a political decision from within the bureaucracy.

Citizen deliberation processes are often considered resource intensive (e.g. City of Melbourne People's Panel above). However, a significant number of interviewees (8) remarking on Sharing the Roads and Cats & Dogs juries commented on the efficiency of the processes in policy terms. They compared the citizens' juries with traditional bureaucratic approaches, normally involving the conduct of a review. The juries compared favourably in comparison to the cost of staff and the time required for such reviews. In addition to the contribution of jurors, in part giving their time voluntarily, the ability of these processes to bring relevant stakeholders and witnesses to the table, including to inject opposing views into the debate, seemed to increase the efficiency of policy problem solving.

Both citizens' juries were interesting in terms of stakeholder impacts. A range of stakeholders active around the issues were involved through the Core Reference Groups, contributing to design, information provision and oversight. This included not only external interest groups but also relevant local and state government agencies. Additional stakeholders were involved as witnesses, some of these chosen by the CRG and some by the jury. The CRG model was designed to bring 'backers and blockers' into the design phase, to have them play a role in providing information and witnesses and 'groundtruthing' the juries' deliberations, and to give them 'carriage' of the

recommendations. They appear to have had a significant influence on the processes and were themselves impacted, in interesting ways.

Interviewees openly indicated that some stakeholders as witnesses had influenced recommendations, particularly in terms of implementation, providing a 'line of sight'. When questioned, most interviewees indicated that some witnesses had been persuasive or had sway, but that they had, to a large extent, not 'hammered' their case or pushed their 'barrow', rather had presented their organisational perspective. It was also pointed out that the juries had pushed back and that it wasn't critical to control for 'balance', for example in relation to witnesses, because the jury 'gets it', suggesting that they are able to make a critical assessment of different interests and perspectives.

A couple of CRG members admitted to being interested and committed to the deliberative process and its underlying values. Interestingly, they reported some ambivalence about how this had influenced their involvement in the process. It appears that they had pushed their organisational position less hard because of a commitment to the process, and expressed some regret about this and about their role in the process not being made sufficiently clear to them at the outset.

The buy-in and involvement of stakeholders was suggested to be important in increasing the political impact of the processes and their recommendations, and in assisting in implementing the changes. It was felt that they 'added value' to the recommendations and 'built momentum', and worked collaboratively towards implementation, with some directly involved eg education campaigns. The process also influenced their own activities eg communication activities and campaigns. Some also reported that the process improved relationships between stakeholder groups. However, there were also stories of tensions between stakeholders and their interests.

There is evidence that involvement in the process changed the way that some stakeholders interacted with government about the policy changes that resulted from the CJs. In several cases, stakeholders disagreed with a particular recommendation, but agreed to work constructively with it, as a result of the process. This included being constructively critical and arguing about some details, but going to the Minister with this, rather than to the media. Others suggested that having 'lost the debate with community', these stakeholders were now finding ways to work with the new policies, not 'throwing stones'.

In terms of impacts on participants, citizen jurors interviewed were very positive about the processes, describing not only satisfaction, but also stronger sentiments ('it affected me', 'there were Aha moments', 'epiphanies'). A number suggested that 'you had to experience it to understand it'.

Interviewees pointed to shifts in understanding (35-fold – quite stunning) and in thinking and position. Even those who indicated no or minor change in attitude or position referred to the group 'working through' the issue ('everyone moves position slightly'). This was accompanied by shifts in meta-process, with views becoming more 'reasonable and moderate', 'informed', increased 'ownership of decision', with participants prepared to 'step back from positions', 'balance own and public interest'. There was also mention of group dynamics, e.g. the group 'bonded around purpose'.

5. Types of impact

5.1 Impacts on political decision making

5.1.1 Agenda setting, political debate

The processes studied here represent a spectrum, from an open (upstream) topic not really on the agenda politically (ACP), to a fairly open (midstream) question about the future contributing to a financial plan (Melbourne), to ones designed with specific policy 'asks' (downstream) – questions and debates that political actors wanted resolution on (SA).

At one end of this spectrum, the ACP raised the prospects of improving democracy. Although this is not a new issue and might be expected to be something of concern to politicians, interviews with two politicians suggested that the topic of the ACP did not necessarily register as an important issue, or not one that politicians could learn from random citizens about. Therefore, while the open topic and process created opportunities to inject different perspectives and new ideas into federal political debate, there is no evidence that it shifted opinions, changed orientation, or put anything new on the agenda. This was no doubt partially attributable to the lack of publicity; and we will never know what the impact might have been if the timing had been different. Some participants guessed that there may have been indirect impacts on political debate. However, the negative reception that followed Julia Gillard's announcement of a citizens' panel to discuss climate change, which came about a year after the ACP (Carson 2013) suggests minimal influence.

At the other end of the spectrum, the SA citizens' juries generally dealt with issues that had been debated politically. There is evidence that they lead to shifts in the framing of these debates, and how different actors oriented themselves, and did bring things onto the broader agenda (bikes on footpaths, 1 m rule, mandatory desexing). However, some of these impacts were clearly designed into the processes by government sponsors, in association with particular stakeholders. In this sense, it was not the deliberation of the citizens that gave rise to new thinking or new agendas, but the citizen deliberation processes helped to bring these shifts to the wider political and public debate.

For example, mandatory desexing was a policy solution that had been considered for some time and was strongly supported by the Dog and Cat Management Board. It was part of the remit of the citizens' jury. It had proved difficult to 'get through' politically, partly because of the community's emotional reaction to cat and dog issues. It had been omitted from a draft bill tabled prior to the jury process. The citizens' jury helped to 'get it through' by allowing a group of (emotional) citizens, including pet owners, to be informed and deliberate about it. Jurors reported that over the course of the process, "the answer became patently obvious", the jury ultimately supporting mandatory desexing with close to 100% agreement.

In Melbourne, rate rises and lobbying to increase developer contributions had both been debated in Council for many years. It was suggested that the People's Panel was 'braver' than Council, partly because of an absence of vested interests.

Similarly, it appears that there was political appetite for introducing the 1m rule in SA, backed up by strong advocacy from some stakeholders. However, the bikes on footpaths rule, though not a brand new idea, appears to have emerged from the jury process, and thus can be said to have brought something genuinely new onto the agenda. It should be

noted that this solution caused considerable controversy and some stakeholders felt that it had not been adequately developed as a policy solution.

The Melbourne People's Panel gave a range of diverse recommendations, some of which had clearly been on the agenda (rate rises, lobbying for more developer contributions), some of which led to unexpected choices from the jury (council to retain CityWide), and some which were genuinely new (review property portfolio). The People's Panel process also seemed to have an influence on the political relationship between the Council and the executive, providing an opportunity for the executive to put things on the table, including the use of deliberative methods and long-term planning, and to gain popular support for these and thereby to have legitimate influence on Council.

Agenda setting for citizen deliberation processes creates important tensions. The more prescribed and constrained processes give clarity to designers and participants about 'what's on the table'. They are more conducive to gaining pre-negotiated authority, and in turn seem more likely to have demonstrable political impact. However, they curtail citizens' exploration of the bigger picture around these issues (Lafont 2015), and potentially reduce the democratic legitimacy of the processes by instrumentalising them to get particular policy solutions through. They also invite more intense lobbying by stakeholders about these policy solutions, which may influence deliberative quality.

Beyond agenda-setting, there is an important impact of citizen deliberation processes in shifting political debate more generally. This can include bringing the topic into wider political discussion, or focused discussion, for example in Parliament or Cabinet. Sometimes this role is mediated by media reporting of the process, which stimulates political debate. One interviewee spoke of the process leading to a further deliberation process in parliament. For some of the processes (eg Dogs & Cats) parliamentary debate involved explicit reference ('by all') to the deliberative process. Citizen deliberation processes can also feed into discussion and policy activity within bureaucracies.

For some deliberative democracy scholars, this stimulation of the deliberative quality of political debate and decision-making is the most legitimate role for mini-public processes and the best measure of success (Lafont 2015) (Chambers 2009). It may not lead directly to new or changed policy; but it can underpin future debate and decision-making.

Citizen deliberation processes may cause shifts in the framing of debates or policy responses. For example, the Melbourne People's Panel brought new 'views and considerations' to financial planning within the City of Melbourne. The Sharing the Roads process seemed to shift the framing of the debate about bicycles, in both the public and political debate, which may affect policy approaches to this issue in future.

5.1.2 Policy making

Analysis of these processes and their impacts on policy highlights the complexity of policy and policy-making. For many, policy means legislation; but policy takes many forms and some are subtle and difficult to track. Examples of policy change that resulted from these citizen deliberation processes include:

- New legislation – Road rules, SA
- Revised legislation – Dog & Cat Management Act
- New government policy documents – City of Melbourne 10 yr plan

- Funding, initiatives - Greenways and Bicycle Boulevard program, SA; 'safe cycling' awards; dog & cat education campaign
- Commitment to advocacy – lobbying for developer contributions, school and social services, Melb
- New/changed agency policy – new handbook and road rule quizzes, SA
- Continuation of existing policy or priority - retain CityWide, efficiency dividend, Queen Victoria Market Redevelopment – Melb; bike infrastructure, SA

Legislation that was introduced as a result of the citizen deliberation processes described here were the new road rules in South Australia and the revised Dog & Cat Management Act, SA. Other policy documents included the City of Melbourne 10 year plan. Other policy impacts included new programs and initiatives, new policy or procedures with government departments, and public commitments to advocacy (Melbourne City Council doesn't control legislation on developer contributions and schools but must lobby state government).

Citizen deliberation processes can also lead to support for existing policies or endorsement of a policy direction or 'path' (e.g sustainability initiatives, climate change advocacy, city events, efficiency dividend – Melb). Interviews suggested that some of these initiatives are likely to have gone ahead anyway, while others (e.g. 1% efficiency dividend) were influenced by the People's Panel. Such impacts are a challenge for evaluation because they don't appear to create anything new, but may have an impact in leading to the continuation of policies that might otherwise have been disassembled or changed, or in stimulating future investment in a priority area.

Similarly, citizen deliberation may head off a planned change of policy, leaving the policy intact and little evidence of impact. The example here is the decision of the City of Melbourne to retain CityWide. The idea of selling the service company off had been on the agenda, but came off following the panel's suggestion that CityWide was worth keeping.

Interviews revealed different mechanisms for policy change, which reflect further impacts on political debate. In the case of mandatory desexing, the citizens' jury gave the government 'courage', enabling a difficult decision, and also 'cover' to push the legislative change through. It was suggested that the government could 'fall back' on the CJ, presumably if the change proved unpopular or was politically contested. It was also suggested that having the citizens jury process, particularly with the involvement of diverse stakeholders, 'short-circuited' the debate and 'neutered' reactions to the change, because those who were positioned to oppose the change had been involved in the process. Similarly, it was clear that the City of Melbourne gained political currency from the People's Panel for ideas and priorities that were already on the table.

The question of the efficiency of citizen deliberation processes for policy review was an interesting one. It was only raised in South Australian interviews, but by numerous interviewees (8 out of 19). The citizens juries were regarded as more efficient, in both cost and time, compared with a typical process of policy review within a government department. In contrast, the Melbourne process was seen as resource-intensive and expensive. This may be attributable to a higher relative level of resourcing in the case of the Melbourne process, which also involved a substantial process of engagement with the wider community, but could also be related to the greater complexity, stakes and therefore cost of policy review at a state level.

5.1.3 Policy implementation, delivery

The research identified numerous ways in which citizen deliberation processes can affect the implementation of policy and delivery of policy solutions. This can involve multiple actors, including stakeholders, government agencies and citizens. A number of interviewees commented on the importance of implementation and of monitoring the outcomes of policy solutions in the long term.

A deliberative process, particularly if it attracts media attention, can simply increase awareness of, and therefore compliance with, changed legislation. This seemed to be the case with the 1m and footpaths rules in SA. Although there had not yet been a culture change (habits began to slip several months later), compliance with the new rules was high immediately following the change and interviewees attributed this, at least in part, to the citizens' jury process and media reporting associated with it. General awareness of the issue can also be raised, and this may be further stimulated by other policy changes resulting from the process, such as education campaigns.

Awareness can be accompanied by increased support for legislative/policy changes as a result of citizen deliberation processes, and this appears to be the case in relation to revisions to the Dogs & Cats Management Act. Citizen deliberation processes may influence policy developments in non-government organisations involved in implementation and this may be affected by citizen deliberation processes. An elderly care organisation in SA changed their policy on pet ownership, with an interviewee suggesting that the citizens' jury may have influenced this change.

These processes may also influence how policy is implemented by bureaucracies, with examples of greater commitment and resourcing of departmental initiatives following citizen deliberation processes (eg Sharing the Roads), but also example of where a deliberative process reinforced a message that had been coming from the bureaucracy to the government (Melbourne). Deliberative mini-publics can help, not only in providing political capital or momentum, but also in providing contextual knowledge of community members that is relevant to implementation (eg from pet owners or bike riders).

5.1.4 Organisational learning

The Melbourne and SA cases demonstrated a high degree of organisational learning from their citizen deliberation processes. In the case of Melbourne, this was on top of a strong track record in community engagement; in South Australia, this was associated with a larger democratic reform agenda (Better Together). In both cases, the larger agendas were influenced by narratives of public value (SA) and of boldness in hearing diverse voices (Melb), but also by deliberative values, particularly coming from champions in leadership. In contrast, the only relevant organisations to learn from the Australian Citizens' Parliament were the research and practice communities.

In all cases, the citizen deliberation processes studied helped to profile deliberative mini-publics as a new way of doing community engagement. While public deliberation is seen as complementary to other engagement approaches, it clearly takes a central place in the engagement toolkits of both SA and City of Melbourne governments. In both cases, there is evidence of adaptation and innovation of deliberative methods (adaptation of the Participatory Budgeting model in Melbourne, the use of Core

Reference Groups in SA). There were also indications of organisers embracing deliberative values ('we lived the values in the team') including in their collaborations with stakeholders (CRG discussions were regarded as 'a mini-deliberative process').

In SA, there were reports of wider changes in the public service associated with the reform agenda, including changes to public service thinking. Government portfolios appear to be coming along with the change, to varying extents. Citizens' Juries are still considered 'edgy', but important as demonstration projects and to build capacity. In Melbourne, the People's Panel process was preceded by an extensive internal engagement process to bring other parts of Council and the bureaucracy along.

In both Victoria and South Australia, there has been considerable investment in training, within the City of Melbourne and the Victorian Local Governance Association, and through the SA Better Together program. Despite some evidence of culture change, turnover is still regarded as a significant problem for sustained change.

5.2 Impacts on societal context/mediating impacts

5.2.1 Media coverage

Media coverage has an important role in the success of citizen deliberation processes. Media coverage facilitates the *transmission* of the results of deliberation to the wider public sphere, and in drawing attention to the issue, may encourage political decision makers to take the issue and the deliberative process more seriously. Media coverage may also be important in raising awareness about the use of citizen deliberation processes and thereby facilitate uptake of the approach. The lack of media attention on the ACP because of the Black Saturday fires was probably a decisive factor in its lack of broader impact.

In practice, media responses to citizen deliberation processes have been mixed. The first citizens' jury in SA was 'panned' by the local newspaper, The Advertiser, and newspaper reports in Melbourne were also initially sceptical about the People's Panel. Media may feel threatened by this type of process, because it challenges their traditional gatekeeping role in bringing the voice of the people to government. Consistent with this, early media interviews with jurors 'belittled' them and didn't reflect their positive experience and empowerment through the process.

In both Melbourne and SA, however, media responses became more positive over time with more experience of citizen deliberation processes. This 'change of tone' coincided with a shift from a media focus on the issue to reporting of the process, and was associated with organiser strategies to build media connections (see below). The Adelaide Advertiser ultimately defended the CJ process. In Melbourne, an Age reporter took a particular interest in the process and reported on it several times. A researcher involved peripherally in the People's Panel process also wrote several articles for the local newspaper, supporting the process and reporting on the outcomes. One interesting comment from a journalist was that CJs provide a 'story source' that is well structured and easy to report on. Reporting the debate as it played out in the deliberative process also took the focus away from political debate and the 'lightning rod' of changes to legislation.

The Sharing the Roads CJ, in particular, got a lot of media attention, much of it positive. There were a number of factors contributing to this. One was that the issue was

something that affected everyone (everyone uses the roads). The state editorial director of The Advertiser was a keen cyclist and supported coverage of the process. The Department of Premier and Cabinet, who sponsored and organised the process, explicitly established a relationship with the local newspaper. This extended to inviting a journalist from the paper to join the Core Reference Group. The journalist declined, but maintained a relationship with DPC and with the process and reported on it throughout, including frontpage stories, commentary, editorials and opinion pieces. The City of Melbourne was also proactive, investing in a media campaign connected to the wider engagement process. In both jurisdictions, available and accessible information on websites also seemed to be a factor in positive media coverage.

There was some sense of a tension between enough and too much media attention. The Dogs & Cats process got much less attention, partly because it was less controversial. The topic was explicitly framed (20 000 pets killed a year in SA) to get more attention. On the other hand, the framing of the Melbourne process was also influenced by concern about media attention, with a focus on 'the budget hole' feeling too risky for some councillors. The nuclear CJ in SA, planned and conducted during this research project, was a very high profile project, which created 'space and air' and elevated the issue and the process, but also created extra work, headaches and risks for organisers.

In the context of media reporting, jurors are important spokespeople for the process and the issue, and a number of jurors reported speaking to the media, including talkback radio, and contributing to social media discussions, both during and after the processes. In one case, jurors leaked information about the recommendations before the final report was completed. There seemed to be a strong community response to articles about the SA CJs, with hundreds of comments in response to each story.

Media reporting was particularly important following the citizen deliberation processes. For Sharing the Roads, the media 'came into their own' in publicising the changes and raising awareness and debate, particularly about the mandatory 1m and riding on footpaths. Interestingly, the tone did not necessarily remain positive or constructive, with some describing the media reporting as 'feral'. Despite this, it was acknowledged that the media played a significant role in raising awareness and in stimulating debate, and that the sometimes acrimonious debate that followed was a sign of success – 'democracy in action'. This kind of media attention was also considered important in influencing MPs and cabinet debates.

5.2.2 Public debate, engagement of public sphere

Impacts of citizen deliberation processes in the public sphere include increased awareness of the issue, heightened awareness and/or acceptance of changes in policy, stimulation of debate, and social changes such as changes in behaviour or relationships in society. Raised awareness of the nature of citizen deliberation processes and of deliberative democracy theory and practice are also impacts relevant to uptake.

There was agreement amongst interviewees that the SA CJs raised awareness about the issues (unwanted pets, sharing the roads) and potentially changed attitudes about them, in the community and in the political sphere. There was reference to the processes 'starting a conversation'. Certainly in the case of Sharing the Roads, and probably also for Dogs and Cats, the CJs also raised awareness of the policy changes that resulted. This seemed to promote behaviour change in compliance with the new rules.

The stimulation of public debate is an important impact, linking with the democratic legitimacy of citizen deliberation processes. In these cases, not only was debate stimulated, but the framing of the issues potentially shifted the frames of the debate leading to “a slightly different discussion”. Particularly for the road use issue, the shift from a conversation about bikes and safety to a conversation about sharing the roads had the potential to reorient the debate, shift perspectives of different actors, and break down some of the ‘siloing’ that had categorised the debate to date. It also made the issue relevant to everyone (road users), rather than just cyclists. This has the potential to change not only the way people think and behave, but also to shift relationships, in this case between drivers and riders.

For Melbourne, there is less evidence of impacts on public debate, ‘though this should not be taken as a sign of less impact. This is likely associated with the breadth of the topic. Impacts on debate about specific issues (rates, management of assets, sustainability) would be hard to trace, and these are issues that are more-or-less in the public consciousness. The focus of the process was on shifting to a longer term view, for council and the community. Whether this shift happened for the wider community is very difficult to determine. In addition, for the Melbourne process, it is difficult to distinguish the influence of the People’s Panel from that of the wider community engagement program on public debate.

For the SA CJs, interviewees felt that the processes had increased acceptance of the policy changes that resulted; that the legislation was more supported. Also, the process gave the policy changes more traction, presumably helping with their implementation. Whether this acceptance was linked to acceptance of the recommendations, reasons and evidence that the juries presented, or because people in the wider community were comfortable to entrust these issues to the deliberations of the juries, is unclear. It may have been influenced by the jurors acting as ‘ambassadors for the changes’ and engaging in public debate after the processes. Jurors mentioned speaking ‘on behalf of’ the wider community. Whether this was accepted by the wider community is untested. However, the vigorous debate about footpaths that ensued after the new road rules were introduced suggests that this cannot be taken for granted.

More generally, citizen deliberation processes may change attitudes to politics and increase political engagement more broadly. SA interviewees reported these processes making people less cynical and reducing aggressive debate and anti-government sentiment. In Melbourne, the 10 yr financial plan engagement seemed to lead to higher citizen engagement generally, which was on an upward trajectory. Once again, it’s hard to distinguish the effects of the People’s Panel from the wider community engagement program. It seems that a culture of engagement in Melbourne has led to raised expectations for engagement within the community.

Finally, awareness and attitudes to deliberative democracy are also impacted by citizen deliberation processes. In SA, the CJs seem to have raised the profile and status of deliberation and democratic engagement more generally. Talkback radio indicates that people know about CJs, even if some are disparaging about them. In Melbourne too, the People’s Panel probably contributed to the ongoing trajectory of higher awareness and appreciation for citizen engagement and public deliberation in local politics. Of course, this awareness is important for the legitimacy and ultimately the uptake of deliberative democracy approaches.

5.2.3 Stakeholder positions

The way that citizen deliberation processes impact on organised groups who have a stake in the issue is relevant to their success and to their impact. As with the media, stakeholder groups can function as a filter between public debate and political decisions. Their involvement in citizen deliberation processes, including in rejecting or criticising them, can influence other impacts, including on political decision making and on public debate.

In this case, stakeholders were not explicitly involved in the Melbourne People's Panel or in the ACP. This was partly because the topics of these processes were broad and potentially impacted on numerous stakeholder groups. Some stakeholders observed the process, but observers were kept very much at arms length.

For the SA juries, there were a number of defined stakeholder organisations with an interest in each topic, who had already been involved in debate and political discussions. These groups were brought into the processes through the Core Reference Groups. This model created opportunities for stakeholders to influence the processes and their impacts, and for the processes to have impact on them.

It was clear that some stakeholders used the process strategically to lobby for their interests (Hendriks 2006), and some used rhetoric and their access to influence the jury during their deliberations. Stakeholders and their interests in the topic also seemed to influence the framing of topics, potentially influencing both political decisions and public debate. However, others exhibited commitment to the process and to its democratic potential and moderated their strategic behaviour.

The process also influenced the subsequent actions of stakeholders in the debates about policy changes, with stakeholders from both juries indicating that they would support the recommendations, even when they were contrary to their desired outcomes. This acquiescence as a result of involvement in a citizen deliberation processes has not been noted elsewhere. It challenges the notion that involvement of stakeholders or partisans is always problematic for these processes and that their interests necessarily trump their commitment to deliberative values. It should be noted that 'stakeholders' take many different forms, both in terms of the groups and interests they represent and their relationship to policy issues being deliberated about. Whether they are included in deliberative designs or not, they play a key role in the wider deliberative system.

5.2.4 Theory, research and practice

There is certainly evidence of impacts of the ACP on deliberative democracy research, with over a dozen articles and a book written based on the process, which have together generated over 100 citations – modest but significant. Interviewees certainly pointed to the value of the process in providing empirical data and theoretical insights.

The other processes generated less academic attention and seem to have had less impact on research¹³, although involvement of a researcher from a different research

¹³ The Melbourne People's Panel was included in a meta-review of participatory budgeting in Australian local government (Christensen, H. E. and B. Grant (2016). "Participatory budgeting in Australian local government: An initial assessment and critical issues." *Australasian Journal of Public Administration* 75(4): 457-475.

field in the Melbourne process stimulated his interest in the field as a result of observing the process. There remain considerable obstacles to researchers becoming involved in citizen deliberation processes, notable among them the very different timeframes involved in initiating and conducting citizen deliberation processes vs gaining research funds to study them.

There seem to have been strong impacts of all processes in the practice domain, with practitioners involved in the design and facilitation of these processes learning, sharing knowledge and building the practice, drawing on their successes and insights. As noted, one of the impacts of the ACP was the development of the newDemocracy model. In its link with the ACP and with the academic deliberative democracy community through key practitioner-scholars such as Lyn Carson and Janette Hartz-Karp, newDemocracy is positioned to connect citizen deliberation processes to academic research. This connection clearly exists and there is evidence of sharing and impact at an international level (for example, through Participedia), particularly in the case of the ACP (the ACP may have influenced the Brussels G1000 process and the British Columbia assemblies). However, the weakness of research-practice connections for the other processes suggests missed opportunities in both directions. My own work in bridging this gap reveals the considerable obstacles to establishing robust research-practice connections, obstacles associated with timeframes, culture and priorities.

The importance of theory and research for impact and uptake are interesting questions. At one level, it appears that political decision makers, stakeholders and publics are influenced more by what they see and hear of citizen deliberation in practice, than by a sense of these processes being theoretically informed or underpinned by academic research. Learning from what works is a feature of the practice, but I don't see an appetite for empirical rigour, even in the practice community. This may be partly because there has been relatively little empirical research associated with the proliferation of citizen deliberation processes in eastern Australia (Janette Hartz-Karp has conducted more research on processes in Western Australia).

One problem is that most deliberative democracy researchers and commentators (myself included) are also advocates for deliberative democracy. While most adopt critical approaches to their research in general, their independence is in question because of this advocacy. As deliberative democracy becomes a more mainstream concern within political science, this may give rise to more researchers who can scrutinise citizen deliberation processes from the outside, in ways that are both rigorous and independent. This may increase the influence of research and theory and give more confidence to political decision makers.

5.3 Impacts on participants

5.3.1 Shifts in perspectives and thinking

Impacts on participants were largely as documented elsewhere (). Interviewees pointed to shifts in understanding ('35-fold – quite stunning') and in thinking and position. Even those who indicated no or minor change in their attitude or position referred to the group 'working through' the issue ('everyone moves position slightly'). These shifts were accompanied by shifts in relation to the quality of thinking and debate, with views becoming more 'reasonable and moderate', 'informed', increased 'ownership of

decision', and participants prepared to 'step back from positions', 'balance own and public interest'. There was also mention of group dynamics, e.g. the group 'bonded around purpose'.

As well as gaining a better understanding and appreciation of the issue, in the Melbourne case, this also impacted on people's experience of living in the city, to the extent that they reported knowing the city better, and that it 'looks different'. Presumably this was also the case for pet owners and road users in South Australia, who gained new awareness of issues and contexts of pet ownership and road use through their participation in the citizen juries.

5.3.2 Deliberative capacity, political engagement

Another unsurprising but important impact is that participants from all the projects reported a better appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of government decision-making and the trade-offs involved as a result of their participation in the deliberative process. Participants from the ACP also reported greater awareness of democracy.

In terms of political engagement, some participants were moved to continue the discussion in the public sphere, through personal discussions, but also by contributing to social and traditional media (radio, TV interview). A number of participants became more involved in local politics (community committees, joining a party), and several ACP participants got in contact with local or federal politicians to discuss the process and its outcomes. One participant reported influencing her daughter's choice of university degree through her interest in the ACP.

Comments from both jurors and organisers/decision makers pointed to an 'alumnus network' of jurors, who could play the ongoing role of advocates, potentially of the process, for the issue ('ambassadors for the changes') and of the government. It's worth noting that a number of citizen participants indicated that they had not become more politically active or engaged as a result of the process, most of them reflecting that they were already engaged and had already been active prior to the process. This may reflect a selection bias and there was some agreement among participants that those who agreed to participate in the processes were 'civic-minded' citizens.

5.4 Uptake

Many interviewees expressed strong support for the process. This ranged from existing champions ('never seen it fail, money well spent'), to those new to this type of process ('can see the value now', 'greater level of confidence in deliberative democracy'). There were also comments about support from outside ('surge in popularity', 'raised profile'). Various factors influenced this enthusiasm, including the quality of the process and the facilitation, the diverse views and backgrounds of participants, the commitment of the citizen participants, and the quality of the outputs (reports) particularly their 'reasonableness' (see below).

Interestingly, the recommendations and their direct impact on policy change did not seem to have a strong influence on people's enthusiasm and confidence in using the approach – even when it didn't go their way, people could see the value in the process. Of course, it's possible that people self-censored in relation to this. However, the

question was not asked directly, and I didn't get an impression of people being influenced by the result more than the process.

Some interviewees were considering possibilities for scaling up and for wider culture shifts. Others had given thought to potential areas of application, including planning, refugees, child protection, big projects and wicked problems. There is a question of whether adoption of this approach has contributed to electoral success. In most cases, this is difficult to say given the many factors that contribute to winning elections. One example where use of citizen deliberation seems to have contributed to electoral success was Canada Bay, where a deliberative process was run in 2012, shortly before local government elections that saw a swing towards the sitting candidate. Political turnover is certainly an issue for the institutionalisation of deliberative methods.

In both South Australia and Melbourne citizen deliberation is a key part of broader approaches, to democracy reform in SA and to inclusive community engagement in Melbourne. In both cases, these broader approaches appear to have built considerable political capital and momentum. Key champions have been important in both movements – Jay Weatherill, the Premier in SA and Kathy Alexander, the former CEO of City of Melbourne. Though it is difficult to compare these two jurisdictions, my impression is that having a political champion in Jay Weatherill had a broader and more systemic influence on uptake of citizen deliberation approaches, in enrolling advocates and sponsors from across government, and bringing investment and building capacity as political priorities. Kathy Alexander clearly made a key contribution to building capacity and making the case for citizen deliberation, but had less agency in needing to serve Council. Champions existed within Council (e.g. Councillor Stephen Mayne), which helped the process but didn't drive the agenda to the same extent. Once again, turnover, particularly of politicians, seems to be an important factor in the sustainability of uptake.

The processes studied here raised interest from other quarters, including other local councils (Melbourne) and national and international networks. The ACP had a strong influence on newDemocracy's approach going forward and their preferred model, particularly the emphasis on pre-negotiated authority. The other processes have influenced the field and the community of practitioners and researchers by providing insights and adding incrementally to understanding and confidence.

5.5 NewDemocracy's role

The role of the newDemocracy Foundation in these citizen deliberation processes was commented on by many interviewees, and views were mixed. Jurors tended to be very positive about newDemocracy, organisers had more mixed experiences and facilitators were, on balance, positive. The role that most acknowledged as important and appropriate for the Foundation is in providing independent audit. This includes recruitment, first contact and advocating for jurors, and organising witnesses and information in line with jury requests. This role is seen as very useful for independence and quality control.

There were tensions associated with newDemocracy's role. Some organisers felt that newDemocracy claimed too much ownership of processes, seeing themselves as partners rather than contractors, and were sometimes a bit 'bullish' in pushing particular aspects, e.g. pushing for processes to be at arms-length from government but

also empowered. Organisers felt newDemocracy didn't always understand the political context and the need to 'bring (internal) people along' and to negotiate about the remit and promise. Jurors reported being aware of this tension, and reflected the lack of clarity about whose process it was; some believing that it was newDemocracy's process (Melbourne). Facilitators confirmed that newDemocracy were firm and that there were points of tension, but, in general, found newDemocracy reasonable and good to work with.

NewDemocracy was also regarded by some as inflexible in relation to the citizens' jury model they tend to use, with other designers seen as more adaptable and innovative. NewDemocracy have not embraced the idea of a stakeholder advisory group, for example. Some sensed a tendency to push the CJ model to fit. Having said that, one interviewee commented that conditions that suit CJs are rare, but that newDemocracy finds them. NewDemocracy is particularly focused on finding situations where they can gain pre-negotiated authority from government clients, involving a strong promise to consider and adopt the recommendations from these processes, particularly where political scope for action has been curtailed by controversy.

6. Factors influencing impact

The project considered factors that influenced the impact that the citizen deliberation processes had, both internal (to do with the process) and external (to do with the context).

6.1 Topic relevance and timing

The policy relevance of the topics was obviously a key factor, strongly influenced by timing. In some cases, such as in the case of mandatory desexing in SA, and rate rises and developer contributions in Melbourne, lengthy and intractable political debates had led to a policy vacuum which citizen deliberation processes helped to fill. In other cases, a number of factors aligned to create a window for influence. For example, various issues and government priorities (public transport, public health, a disjointed cycling system, motorist frustration) came together to make Sharing the Roads a timely topic, and this was heightened by the timing of the Tour Downunder and the development of SA as a cycling hub. Previously, the coincidence of alcohol fuelled violence incidents and vibrant city policy agendas created a window for the Safe and Vibrant nightlife processes in both Adelaide and Sydney.

Such windows are often associated with existing government agendas (sometimes multiple) and election commitments. The connection with process agendas (reforming democracy, inclusive engagement) is also important, as noted elsewhere. Organising these events under a set of agendas or larger process agenda such as the Better Together agenda in SA still requires 'ownership' of topics, by ministers and agencies, who become willing partners. As pointed out above, this ownership creates tensions between buy-in and policy impact, on the one hand, and instrumental co-option of the process on the other.

The Melbourne case is interesting. There, a gradual rise in expectations and commitments of Council, a looming budget hole, and events and responses associated with climate change created the kind of administrative and political challenge that many governments might ignore, hoping a future government will have to face the fallout.

Melbourne was proactive in establishing a long-term financial plan and in involving citizens at the outset, driven significantly by the administration. Many seem to agree that this was a powerful strategy to share the problem with the community, and to create a mandate for change to respond to this looming problem.

In contrast, while publicity was a major factor in the lack of impact of the ACP (see below), the lack of political resonance of the topic seemed also to be a significant factor. Current politicians see strengthening democracy as either not a pressing problem, or not one that needs citizen input. This reflects a certain circularity about the ACP, which was essentially a democratic innovation used to consider the merits of democratic innovation, but which was clearly also intended to showcase the innovation. This gave rise to tensions within the process (Carson 2013), and may have been regarded as a political stunt by some politicians rather than something of genuine political relevance.

In the case of the Southeast Drainage process, the topic was already under political focus, perhaps too much so ('at fever pitch' according to one interviewee). The essential problem seems to have been that the topic pitted the interests of one part of the community (landholders in the southeast) against those of the rest of the state. From my reading of the case, whether the process had involved a panel of landholders (which is essentially what happened), or a more mixed panel (landholders plus other locals plus other citizens from around the state, for example), the vested interests of the landholders would still have compromised the citizen deliberation. In other words, a citizen panel was fundamentally the wrong tool for this topic, as several interviewees commented.

The impact of citizen deliberation processes is also affected by the relevance of topics to the wider community, as this is a driver of publicity and more broadly of public debate. The Dogs & Cats jury received much less attention than Sharing the Roads, partly because it was less controversial, but partly also because sharing the roads is something that affects everyone in the community. The Dogs and Cats process had significant policy impact, because policy makers were in the room, and looking for help with a particular problem, but the wider impact was less. If it had suited politicians and agencies to ignore the jury's recommendations, that would presumably have been more politically feasible given the lower level of publicity and public debate.

6.2 Political participants and champions

The presence of champions, such as Premier Jay Weatherill in SA, and Kathy Alexander and Clr Stephen Mayne in Melbourne, is predictably a key impact factor. Many commented on the mandate the Premier had created, which gave ministers and agencies 'instructions and permission' to engage. In Melbourne, an internal engagement process was a significant part of the process, to 'bring everyone along'. It may be that less internal engagement was required in SA, given the mandate from the top, but there were reports of resistance to the agenda in some parts of government and the bureaucracy.

Beyond champions, there is clear benefit in involving decision makers, including stakeholders more broadly, in citizen deliberation processes. For impact, this involvement increases their skin in the game around the issue and policy changes that may result, as well as assisting with the communication and implementation of those changes. In terms of uptake, there is evidence of considerable transformation in the views of those exposed to citizen deliberation, views about the capacity of citizens to

consider political questions, and about the usefulness and value of citizen deliberation generally. At the same time, there was recognition that the devolution of power involved was uncomfortable for some.

6.3 Publicity & transmission

Publicity is another key impact factor, highlighting the important role of the media, but also the importance of communications, including media liaison, as a key element of organising these processes. Media coverage was linked to pressure on political decision makers to take processes seriously, to wider awareness of the issues and changes, and to connecting the deliberative process with public debate. The lack of publicity for the ACP was linked to the absence of these things. Even negative media coverage was seen in a positive light, when the negativity related to the issue rather than dismissal of the process.

Social media is now also an element of citizen deliberation processes, whether planned or not. In all of these processes, there were planned uses of social media and online forums. Some of this wider engagement played a key role in providing input to the deliberation (ACP, Melbourne) as well as reporting on it. As well as helping in transmission, there were problems with these connections. Some jurors were affected by 'nastiness' that came from outside the process via social media, and there was an instance of jurors releasing information about recommendations before the report was released. There have been cases where social media facilitated communication between jurors and external groups. This can increase publicity to the detriment of solidarity within the citizen group and deliberative quality of the process.

6.4 Framing & remit

The framing of deliberative processes is important for the process of deliberation, but also for impact, not only in how the frame connects with political decisions (specifically through the remit), but also in the way that it resonates in the wider society. The framing of the Sharing the Roads CJ was an interesting example. Interviewees described the topic as seeking to 'de-silo' road user types, recognising that virtually everyone uses roads, that most cyclists also drive, and that most people are pedestrians some of the time. This frame seemed to raise the profile and probably the impact of the process, at the same time as leading to a more constructive conversation and potentially a wider shift in consciousness about the issue.

The 'crafting' of the remit (the question or charge that is put before the citizen group) was clearly a significant factor influencing impact and often takes significant negotiation between designers and 'sponsors'. Once again, narrow framing can curtail broader concerns of citizens and lead to more instrumental use of these processes, with potentially less democratic legitimacy. Yet too broad a frame can reduce policy impact when the deliberation doesn't answer policy questions. Some processes use a combination of broad and narrow elements. For example, the City of Melbourne process included a broad consideration of values about the city, as well as asking about Council priorities. Asking what Council should prioritise meant the panel engaged with trade-offs and compromises, rather than just providing a wish list. Both SA juries asked for a range of options, both suggesting to 'trial' these. This language reduced the pressure on politicians to implement the measures, beyond trials, but as such probably increased the likelihood that these trials would be implemented.

The Dogs & Cats deliberation process specifically asked the jury to come to a verdict on mandatory desexing. Some felt that this was important, as this was a live policy question and a remaining contentious issue in proposed reforms. One interviewee felt that this narrow framing curtailed the consideration of other options, or more nuanced recommendations (eg mandatory desexing of cats but not dogs, for example). In contrast, the Southeast Drainage process asked a broad question about paying for infrastructure without mention of a levy, which was the nub of the issue for the government. Thus, the question of a levy was not dealt with, which may have contributed to the low impact of the process. These are classic examples of the tension between legitimacy and relevance described above.

6.5 Authority & independence

The promise, i.e. what decision makers commit to do in response to the citizen deliberation process, is also a critical factor in impact, but not necessarily in the way that some assume. NewDemocracy seeks 'pre-negotiated authority' and facilitators also look for a strong promise of influence, which seems to mean acceptance of recommendations. Informally, decision makers may address juries with verbal assurances that 'we will implement what you suggest'. In formal terms, the strongest promise in any of these cases was for decision makers to accept the report, take seriously the recommendations, and provide a considered response. As I have argued, political decision makers' responses are influenced by a range of factors, including the reaction of stakeholders and the wider community to the citizen deliberation process. Where stronger promises are made, such as adopting 'all or nothing', for example, in the case of the Darebin citizens jury in Victoria, the decision makers may 'get burnt' if there are problematic recommendations in the mix. Arguably more important than a promise to adopt is ongoing transparency and accountability in following up, through responses and updates about policy change and implementation - continuing to 'close the loop'. The South Australian government has been particularly thorough at this 'post-process' communication.

Independence was another key factor mentioned, and is discussed above in relation to newDemocracy's role. Once again, there are tensions between independence and keeping processes at arms length from government on the one hand, and having connections and resonance with decision makers, policy settings and stakeholders on the other. Independence seems to be particularly important in relation to recruitment of citizens, selection of witnesses and information, facilitation and report writing. All of these are areas that newDemocracy is 'bullish' about. Designers describe tensions with sponsors who seek to control and steer the processes, sometimes out of simple risk aversion. Conversely, observers are impressed when decision makers stand back and let these processes run without influence.

Witnesses and information provision are key design elements of citizen deliberation processes, but have received less attention, particularly from deliberative democracy scholars, than some other aspects. Selection of witnesses is clearly important to practitioners, and there is often considerable negotiation with sponsors, particularly about the first set of witnesses, who may have significant influence in framing the problem. In the SA CJs, selection of witnesses was an important role for the Core Reference Groups; their mix of interests and perspectives ensuring a balanced selection. Good practice sees the jury selecting witnesses as the process progresses.

What is less discussed in practice is the quality of witness presentations and their use of rhetoric during presentations. Many interviewees referred to highly persuasive speakers ('stunning speaker, compelling, charisma'). Jurors and observers were aware of the sway these speakers had, but most felt that jurors had the capacity to see through this and balance it as part of the process – they 'get it'. If experts push, jurors push back. In some cases, too strong a pitch will have a negative influence (eg some Melbourne councillors were 'too political'). Some jurors showed remarkable awareness of 'agendas, biases and meta-narratives'. Facilitators certainly seem to work hard to resource jurors in this way. Despite this, rhetoric seemed to play a significant role in the nuclear CJ, perhaps because of the heat in the topic (Russell 2017). Beyond resourcing juries, there could be more attention given to regulating speakers and their presentations, e.g. through monitoring, instruction and coaching. This may be worth considering to moderate rhetoric and also to improve the quality and efficiency of presentations.

Independent recruitment is important to the legitimacy of a mini-public. It was clearly significant for jurors and observers to see both "people like me" and a diversity of people, in terms of background and views. Some people were astounded or even shocked by the breadth of opinions, and yet this lent legitimacy to the process as well as helping people to better understand the range of opinion on an issue. Good design and facilitation meant that diverse strong views were accepted and respected and were seen as important for the deliberation. A few commented that a particular type of person tends to sign up – community-minded, open-minded, for example - but most were impressed with the diversity ('very random'). There were comments that 'you always get good people' and that 'everyone had the public interest at heart', but also a sense that these processes bring this commitment out in participants. In contrast, the Southeast Drainage project involved a narrower and less balanced demographic, predominantly landholders.

6.6 Design, quality of process & recommendations

The quality of the process and its outputs is another obvious factor influencing impact. As well as reflecting the commitment of jurors (above), this strongly reflects design decisions and the quality of facilitation. Much of the design work can be invisible, even to participants, especially if done well, but in these processes it was reflected in the very positive comments of jurors ('inspired, uplifted, I loved it, very exciting, terrific experience, whole experience fantastic, couldn't fault the process, never yawned') and of participants and observers ('tremendously successful, amazing, stunning, really, really good, excellent, remarkably good, time well spent, fantastic, stunningly fabulous, hugely successful, extraordinary, quality was exceptional, wonderful'). For the Dogs & Cats CJ, it was also reflected in an IAP2 Core Values award in 2016. Participants and outsiders particularly commented on the quality of facilitation and on its importance, for impact and for the process in general. Some also recognised the significant challenges, including in 'bringing the process in for landing' within the allotted time, i.e. bringing the group to a consensus position.

Many comments referred to the deliberative quality of the process, 'though not in so many words. It was noted that people worked together, bonded by purpose, self-regulated, were thoughtful and not adversarial, were prepared to step back from their positions, shared knowledge, shifted in their opinions, were engaged and creative, asked good questions, found convergence, and owned outcomes.

Time constraints, reflecting resource constraints, are a feature of this type of process. While a few people recognised the benefit of a short defined duration for the process, many participants commented on not having enough time. While facilitators work hard to accommodate this constraint, there are a number of problems that can arise. Time pressure opens up the possibility of the debate being steered/shepherded. It can also result in recommendations that are inadequately developed or ratified by the group (some felt that more work was needed on the bikes on footpaths proposal, for example), some worthwhile recommendations can be lost if they are complex and require more time to develop, some proposals are over-simplified, and other options can be 'snuck in' (some expressed discontent about some of the Melbourne recommendations). Time constraints, particularly in the context of a large group, are accommodated by techniques that can lead to similar issues, like the computer-assisted prioritisation process in the ACP, which can lead to premature closure of deliberation.

Another aspect of the process affected by time constraints is reporting. While some deliberative processes involve facilitators, government organisers or external consultants writing reports, it has become the gold standard of citizen deliberation processes to have the citizens themselves write the report. This maintains the independence and integrity of the process, described in terms of the 'sanctity of the report'. In practice, this is one of the most difficult facilitation tasks, and is captured in the idea of bringing the process 'in to land'. In the case of the cycling CJ, the report was written by a sub-committee who put a draft to the larger group, who then ratified it.

The quality of recommendations is equally or more important than the process, as these are the public expression of the deliberation. Many commented on the quality of the recommendations, particularly their common sense, credibility and reasonableness. In fact, what emerged across these processes was that recommendations from citizen deliberation processes tend to be reasonable but boring. This partly reflects pleasant surprise that a random bunch of people can be reasonable and don't come up with something crazy (not 'out of the box random ideas', 'no surprises', 'sensible, realistic', not 'out there'). However, it also seems to reflect the fact that consensus in a diverse group will often be moderate, reasonable and to some extent 'washed out' and rarely result in genuinely new insights. Despite this, some recommendations were described as politically bold or brave, and one interviewee noted that there was a common sense thread but not an ideological basis for the different recommendations, which was the value of having a panel without vested interests.

Another issue that arose in relation to design was the currency of the 'citizens' jury' as a favourite model of citizen deliberation, particularly in SA. The extensive use of this model, or 'brand', seems to have raised the profile of deliberative democracy generally. However, some bemoaned the overuse of CJs, seeing it as just another tool, not the be-all and end-all, which was sometimes forced to fit. In particular, the adoption of the CJ model from the outset for the Southeast Drainage process was criticised as the wrong mechanism for this issue. Some called for more innovation and flexibility. NewDemocracy is regarded as fairly 'purist' in its approach, but some designers seem to be responding, with 'blended' and 'hybrid' approaches (including Core Reference Groups, for example). Interestingly, there were comments that even though the citizens' jury model is being used as the 'tool for everything', its use in this country is not consistent and there is not a clear guideline for how to run a CJ.

7. Discussion

7.1 How much impact should citizen deliberation processes have?

Many of those involved in citizen deliberation processes see high impact and a high level of empowerment as a key measure of the quality of the process. Facilitators and jurors, in particular, see uptake of the recommendations as a key sign that the process has been taken seriously. Yet taking citizen deliberation processes seriously, impact, and uptake of recommendations are different things. If political decision makers use a deliberative process instrumentally to achieve an existing goal, they may take up the recommendations without taking the actual deliberation seriously or being influenced in their thinking by the process. Similarly, a deliberative process may substantially shift the terms of a political debate even if the recommendations are not taken up. This begs the question, how much and what sort of impact *should* citizen deliberation processes have?

There appear to be two schools of thought on this. One is what I call the “CJs rule” model, which sees citizen deliberation as having high authority and legitimacy, more than elected politicians (by virtue of being more representative of the wider community and more deliberative) and more than wider public debate (by virtue of being more informed and deliberative) (Johnson and Gastil 2015). Citizen deliberation is therefore regarded as able to provide the best recommendation for any given topic. This model sees a successful process as having a high level of impact, ideally involving political decision-makers taking up all or most of the recommendations.

There is a nuanced version of this model, which sees citizen deliberation as fulfilling a particular role in the political landscape. This role is to give political decision makers scope to act on controversial or ‘stuck’ issues for which existing policy options have not had traction. Success in this context is when citizen deliberation either produces a new solution that all parties can accept, or provides political cover for a solution that, despite being workable and effective, has remained controversial.

The second school of thought imagines citizen deliberation in the context of larger *deliberative systems* (Dryzek 2010, Mansbridge, Bohman et al. 2012). In this context, citizen deliberation processes may play various roles, in transmitting perspectives and values from the public to the empowered sphere, in making the empowered sphere more accountable to the public sphere, and in increasing the transparency and deliberative quality of political decision making. All of these contributions depend on the quality of citizen deliberation processes, but also on their democratic legitimacy and influence within the system at large. In this model, success is judged by the extent to which a deliberative process increases the deliberative quality of the system as a whole. Citizen deliberation should be decisive, but decisiveness has a broad definition, extending to a range of impacts that ultimately influence collective political decisions.

In particular, these models have implications for the relationship between citizen deliberation and mass public debate. The first can tend to turn its back on the mass public, seeing citizen deliberation as its proxy (Chambers 2009). In the second model, the connection between citizen deliberation and mass public debate is critical. The legitimacy of mini-publics is seen as contingent and contextual. Legitimacy is not achieved in theory but in practice – the public give legitimacy to the process through their response. If the process is more informed and deliberative than the wider debate, then to gain authority there must also be efforts to raise the bar on public debate. A

measure of success in this model is increasing the deliberative quality of public debate. In this case, the reasons, arguments and journeys involved in reaching recommendations are as important, or more so, than recommendations themselves.

The more nuanced role for citizen deliberation in providing political scope for action on controversial issues may have high legitimacy for issues where politics lags behind public debate (eg climate change action, marriage equality), if it gives politicians the courage to make hard decisions that have public support, or if it provides a public case for a policy which resonates with the wider community. However, using citizen deliberation to 'push through' unpopular decisions is likely to backfire if disconnected from public debate, as well as compromising the legitimacy of the process if it is used instrumentally to achieve particular outcomes.

I agree with other scholars that the legitimacy problem points to the necessity of integrating & connecting citizen deliberation processes with mass public debate (Chambers 2009). Citizen deliberation processes can contribute to making public debate more deliberative – by opening it up, providing new ideas and arguments, and raising the standards of public discourse. This includes lifting the bar on political and media debate. However, this role is in tension with a role in substituting for public opinion and participation and having a decisive role in political decision-making, which tends to close down debate, provide answers rather than suggestions, and turn its back on the wider public. In this context, optimal impact may not be maximum impact (particularly if maximum impact = 'recommendations taken up'). Citizen deliberation processes need to be looked at as one element in a vibrant democratic system. (Smith and Wales 2000, Chambers 2009, Mansbridge, Bohman et al. 2012)

7.2 Impact and context

To understand how citizen deliberation processes fit in this larger system, we return to the societal context schematic (fig. 1), which included an influential orbit that mediates between the public and empowered spheres. Like all simple models of complex systems, the schematic is inadequate and fails to capture the complexity and dynamism in the system. However, the influential orbit, which incorporates stakeholders, some experts and the media, brings useful attention to groups that mediate and filter transmission between the public and empowered spheres. How these groups relate to citizen deliberation processes and affect their impacts is interesting and relevant. So, how do citizen deliberation processes fit into this schematic?

If citizen deliberation processes are fully empowered to make political decisions, then they reside in the empowered sphere. In practice, this is extremely rare, with the recent Geelong electoral reform jury perhaps being an example. In practice, most juries, even those that have pre-negotiated authority, are not empowered to make decisions. These then have an advisory role. Rather than envisaging these processes as residing in the public sphere, with influence reaching the empowered sphere, it is clear that impactful processes can have a direct line of influence to that sphere. It is therefore useful to consider them as residing in the influential orbit (fig. 2). Processes with minimal political impact can be located in the public sphere where they may, at best, influence public debate.

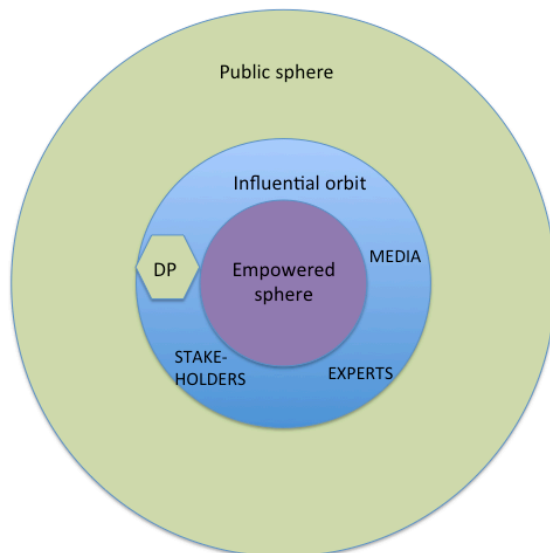


Figure 2. Most citizen deliberation processes reside in the influential orbit.

The value of this model is that it encourages consideration of the relationships citizen deliberation processes have with the empowered sphere, the public sphere and other players in the influential orbit. As well as needing legitimacy in the public sphere, these processes need to have legitimacy in the empowered sphere as well. They need access to decision makers, transparency, resonance with political debate and relevance for policy. The remit and promise are important. At the same time, citizen deliberation needs to be connected to public debate, reflecting the range of public views and feeding information and arguments back to inform public discourse. Influence of both spheres can be mediated by the influential orbit, so the relationships of citizen deliberation processes with these other influential players are also crucial. Thus, in this model, the conception of relevant impacts is much broader than notions that focus on policy change.

Having been a biochemist, I like to think of citizen deliberation processes in this model as a kind of signal transduction complex sitting in a membrane (the influential orbit – controls interactions between the spheres) that separates the cytoplasm (the public sphere – where most activity of the cell/society takes place) and the nucleus (the empowered sphere - the control centre). This deliberative complex can transport signals (recommendations, reasons, arguments, information) in either direction across the membrane. It can also influence other complexes within the membrane (the media, stakeholders) and can affect their transport mechanisms through direct interaction with them or by shifting the concentrations of signals on either side of the membrane.

Importantly, in taking a position within the influential orbit, citizen deliberation processes jostle for influence with other influencers, and the power relationships between them are therefore critical to the impacts of these processes, on political decision making and on the system generally. In the case of stakeholders, which may include interest groups and various kinds of experts, and the media, this study has demonstrated the strong influence that direct involvement or exposure to citizen deliberation processes can have. But we can also envisage more indirect influence.

In the context of high levels of interest group influence (or ‘capture’) on politics, particularly at higher levels of government or for high stakes issues, this jostling can be aggressive and can give rise to the kind of strategic behaviour noted by Hendriks

(Hendriks 2006). However, these same conditions may provide incentives for politicians to embrace citizen deliberation as a strategy for breaking the hold that powerful interest groups have. Citizen deliberation processes may provide new arguments, 'ordinary punter' perspectives and middle ground to debates dominated by polarised views and interests. They may also highlight the unrepresentative and undeliberative character of debates, highlighting the importance of deliberative quality in the system generally.

Similarly, news media may be threatened by citizen deliberation processes and may respond by challenging the arguments they bring and the role they play in political debate. However, citizen deliberation may stimulate an increase in the deliberative quality of media reporting, by providing a new source and new narratives, or by shining a light on the partisan and undeliberative nature of media reporting. Something similar may also happen in social media debate.

This study tends to complicate the distinctions between micro- and macro-impacts of citizen deliberation (Goodin and Dryzek 2006). Micro-impacts on individual citizen deliberators are seen to reflect on the deliberative quality of processes and on the citizenship of participants, where macro-impacts describe the influence on political decision making more broadly. Yet it is clear that there are micro-impacts on decision makers, stakeholders and journalists who are involved in and exposed to citizen deliberation processes, which influence macro-impacts. And citizen participants also affect macro-impacts when they contribute to public debate and media discussions.

7.3 Uptake and scaling up

My exploration of uptake and tensions between impact and uptake were limited in this study, largely because the cases all involved contexts where people had already been 'won-over' to using deliberative democracy methods i.e. uptake was already high. Citizen deliberation was central to larger agendas (democratic reform in SA, inclusive community engagement in Melbourne) and was relatively well embedded in these cases. In the case of the ACP, those involved were already champions of the approach, and those outside who might have been influenced were largely deaf to the process. Other cases in which these methods were emerging and untested, yet had some influence on a range of actors, would tell us more.

What is apparent is that these citizen deliberation processes were attractive to many of those involved, including observers. Confidence in this type of approach generally seemed to increase with exposure to it, without apparent links to the level of impact. Though the processes seemed to be used instrumentally by a number of actors, even those who didn't get the results they wanted didn't seem to lose confidence in the method.

A question I considered was whether 'turning up the heat' on decision makers to empower citizen deliberation put them off the approach. This proved difficult to answer because the cases were not fully empowered, but based on the responses to recommendations, and comments about other cases, the level of commitment and promise is probably important for uptake. One council was described as having been 'burnt' commissioning a citizen deliberation process with a promise to take up 'all or nothing' of the recommendations. Having a promise to merely 'seriously consider' the recommendations may seem to some as hedging bets. However, promising to take

recommendations up is problematic when decision-makers have to take subsequent responsibility for those recommendations.

Another important factor in the link between impact and uptake is the broader reaction to citizen deliberation and its legitimacy in the eyes of the wider community, and of stakeholders and the media. Full empowerment of citizen deliberation puts decision makers in a position of deference to the citizens' jury/panel without being able to consider and respond to the views and reactions of the wider community. This not only puts decision makers in a potentially difficult position politically, it also runs the risks of making the citizen deliberation process unpopular amongst the wider community and reducing its legitimacy. This supports the idea that seeking to maximise impacts, in the sense of direct influence on policy, may have detrimental effects on uptake.

In terms of scaling up, we see that the two dimensions I identified originally are strongly linked. 'Spreading effects', defined as the transmission of the results and knowledge of particular citizen deliberation processes into the wider public and empowered spheres, are critical to the legitimacy of citizen deliberation processes, which has a strong influence on uptake and institutionalisation. In fact, it is the general sense of citizen deliberation being an appropriate and legitimate way for public voices to inform political decision making that makes this approach an institution i.e. an accepted practice involving shared values, expectations and norms.

7.4 Implications for design and a reform agenda

If citizen deliberation processes are to have optimal impact, then, their connection with mass public debate is critical, before, after and during these processes. This means that where possible they should be connected and integrated with wider public engagement processes and that transparency and publicity of the process and its results should be a critical aspect of design and management. This may be helped when citizen deliberation processes are part of larger reform agendas and begin to be institutionalised. It also requires that reporting of citizen engagement include reasons, arguments and evidence, not just recommendations.

The promise that is gained from decision-makers should be explicitly about commitment to consider and deliberate, including presenting back responses and reasons, rather than about taking up recommendations. Involving decision makers is important, in developing a clear remit, in considering legitimate design and process, and in ensuring relevance and resonance. It seems to be valuable to think about taking them 'on the journey'. The same is true of key stakeholders, including those who will be involved in implementation of changes that arise from these processes. However, the independence of citizen deliberation needs to be protected and maintained, with bodies or actors positioned to play this role and with the capacity to hold the tension that inevitably results.

Involving stakeholders in design and governance is one potentially effective strategy in managing tensions between interest group advocacy and citizen deliberation. Stakeholders can obstruct citizen deliberation through their participation or non-participation (Hendriks 2002, Hendriks 2006) but can also have a range of positive effects, in bringing important information, ground-truthing deliberation, publicising processes, and implementing policy changes that result. As steering members and witnesses, partisans can have strong influence through framing and the use of rhetoric.

Strategies to manage this include building the resources of citizen deliberators to ‘see through’ rhetoric and framing, and regulating witnesses and their testimonies. Facilitators seem to be doing a good job of the former, but I think there is quite a bit of scope to work on the witness and information provision aspects of citizen deliberation, both to improve the quality and efficiency of witness testimonies, and to improve the deliberative quality of this part of the process, which may have knock-on effects on the role of stakeholders in political debates.

The connection between citizen deliberation and other forms of democratic input or innovation is also important, in thinking about impacts on both political decision making and public debate. For example, citizen deliberation may complement more policy-oriented processes like co-design and crowd-sourcing, which tend to enrol particular groups from the public sphere in crafting policy solutions around particular needs or opportunities. Citizen deliberation can bring more representative, overarching consideration of the larger policy context. Finding ways to integrate online citizen input with citizen deliberation may improve the deliberative quality and usefulness of online input, which vastly increases the reach of engagement. Similarly, direct democracy measures such as referenda may be appropriate on issues requiring community consensus, but the quality of this consensus might be improved by connecting referenda with citizen deliberation. Unfortunately, there is a tendency for competition between these democratic tools, stimulated by political fashion and advocacy. This and the resulting push for one-size-fits-all solutions are counterproductive (Geissel 2012).

Over-enthusiasm for a particular democratic innovation, such as a citizens’ jury, is problematic in various ways. This favourite method may be seen as a panacea, something to be applied to a range of problems Smith (Smith and Wales 2000). As one interviewee commented, “It’s easier to promote a technique than good process or governance”. The favourite method may be proposed and used in situations where it is not the appropriate tool. This may contribute to a more general phenomenon of tool-focused planning (the planning process will start with a tool, rather than with a consideration of purpose and context), which is all too common in engagement practice. This appears to have been the case for the SA South East Drainage process, which arguably required a different method. Unable to meet high expectations, the favourite method may go out of fashion as quickly as it came in.

As well as the problem of trying to stretch a method to fit, over-enthusiasm may also result in over-looking other perfectly serviceable tools and thereby failing to expand the toolkit available in that particular jurisdiction. This may also be associated with a lack of innovation generally in the development and use of deliberative engagement methods. Given the complexity of political decision making, design flexibility and innovation are important in establishing and embedding citizen deliberation, particularly in the context of deliberative systems. In this context, the newDemocracy model is working well but seems to reflect a narrow approach, both to methods and contexts, and this may have ramifications for the contribution that citizen deliberation processes can make in this country.

In particular, there have been few examples of the use of citizen deliberation in political decision making at the national level in Australia. This is an important frontier. Questions of political legitimacy are more challenging and potentially more critical at this level. The stakes are higher and the influential orbit thicker and less porous. Any use of citizen deliberation processes to inform national policy making will be innovative

by virtue of its novelty and will need to combine excellent design with lessons from experience at other levels of government and a thorough understanding of the complexity of federal decision making and its contexts.

7.5 NewDemocracy's role

It seems to me that newDemocracy's inflexibility in relation to the independence of the process, and the tension between newDemocracy and its clients that this creates, are positives for these processes. They signal to jurors and others outside the process a struggle for independence, which is likely to improve democratic legitimacy. Some organisers did indicate that they had been put off working with newDemocracy by their experiences. This has potential implications for uptake. Facilitators have had a role to play in mediating between newDemocracy and clients, potentially alleviating some tension, while reinforcing the importance of newDemocracy's independent audit role.

As citizen deliberation processes become more commonplace, the practitioner community needs to give thought to the independent audit role, given the limits to newDemocracy's capacity. There are clearly tensions between this role and the commercial interests of practitioners who run citizen deliberation processes (Hendriks and Carson 2008); tensions which newDemocracy, as a research foundation with multiple sources of income, is largely able to overcome.

Organisations such as DemocracyCo and MosaicLab, who have worked in partnership with newDemocracy, have also been running (generally smaller) citizen deliberation processes alone. They have strong reputations for integrity. Yet independence will continue to be a key issue for them. Mechanisms to provide independent audit might include standards, evaluation tools (e.g. MosaicLab is working with researchers to develop such a tool), independent auditors, or governance arrangements (e.g. DemocracyCo has established an independent Board). Another mechanism is involvement of stakeholders with a range of interests and perspectives to provide oversight, a model used by DemocracyCo in the cases studied here¹⁴. As above, this can also be an important way to increase impact, but needs to pay attention to the influence stakeholders have on the deliberation. Developing and formalising independent audit mechanisms may be the task of the newly formed Deliberators without Borders, a practitioner-researcher network.

NewDemocracy seems to fill a particular niche in the deliberative democracy landscape, in providing a model with high legitimacy and finding situations where this model will work well. They thus showcase and promote the value of citizen deliberation processes at a high level. This is helped by their bipartisan support base. While I think the newDemocracy model is valuable, it could be a problem if it encourages a narrow view in the minds of government decision makers about the potential roles of citizen deliberation processes, and if there is no innovation or experimentation elsewhere in the system. In this context, others working in the space, who provide alternative models

¹⁴ And incidentally a mechanism used by the Science & Technology Engagement Pathways project I managed in the Commonwealth Department of Innovation (Russell, A. W. (2013). "Improving legitimacy in nanotechnology policy development through stakeholder and community engagement: Forging new pathways." *Review of Policy Research* 30(566-587).

and approaches, are increasingly important and newDemocracy should perhaps consider their position in this larger ecosystem.

NewDemocracy presents itself as a research organisation. While there is clearly considerable learning that goes on within the organisation, and research informs newDemocracy work, particularly through the Research Director, this study appears to provide the first systematic, independent research on the newDemocracy projects studied here. Other evaluations have been conducted, but generally with a practice focus. There are clearly obstacles to connecting and integrating the research and practice communities (mentioned above), but newDemocracy could consider ways in which to overcome these obstacles. NewDemocracy adopts an action research model, which seems very appropriate to its role and activities. However, it's not clear how this model works, who is involved, and what lessons have emerged. It would be good for this model to be more transparent and accessible. It was also suggested by one of the interviewees that newDemocracy should be providing training, as there exists a gap in skilling up practitioners for this work.

7.6 Assessing impact, evaluating citizen deliberation

This report has hopefully demonstrated the value of systematic study of the impacts of citizen deliberation processes and the importance of considering a broad range of impacts involving a range of actors and sites. The impact typology is presented as a tool for such study. In contrast to other tools that inform citizen participation design and evaluation, such as the IAP2 spectrum, the typology turns attention to the complex, contextual nature of political decision making. Impact is not only achieved through formal and intentional processes signalled in the decision maker's promise. Impact is also achieved when a process jostles for influence with other factors, voices and interests, and when it has resonance in political and public debates. The impact typology is aimed at understanding these wider, ripple effects of citizen deliberation processes.

It is hoped that broad impact assessment, using the impact typology, can help to inform choices, design and practice. It can reveal and provide insights about a range of impacts and help to justify and advocate for the use of citizen deliberation, giving indications of where it can be most effective. It can also give suggestions about how impact can be amplified to increase the success of citizen deliberation processes.

This research also considered meta-questions about impact and impact assessment in this context and some of its problems. There is a danger of regarding impacts uncritically as neutral and essential and able to be objectively measured. But impacts are not simply changes resulting from an intervention. The term connotes a significant change, which I have conceptualised here as 'the difference' that something makes, suggesting a major, significant and important change. Thus impacts have a strong normative dimension. Interestingly, the valency of this normative dimension varies depending on the field. Environmental and Social Impact Assessment tend to emphasise negative effects, whereas Research Impact Assessment and assessment of the impacts of citizen deliberation processes tend to focus on positive impacts. Where EIA and SIA deal with the side effects of development projects, RIA and citizen deliberation impact assessment (CDIA? CIA!?) reflect normative goals people assign to these processes - what people think these processes should be for.

In this context, citizen deliberation impact assessment can contribute to an understanding of what is possible using these processes, but should continue to engage with the question of what is desirable. It needs to be part of the conversation about the proper role of citizen deliberation in society. Care should be taken in seeking to formalise and operationalize CDIA, as this exercise can obscure underpinning normative commitments. In particular, there are dangers in impact assessment having too strong an influence on design and practice.

The first warning here is that what can be measured is not always what is important (what can be counted is not always what counts). As we have seen, there is a range of impacts of these processes, including indirect and secondary impacts. Many of these are difficult to trace and there are no doubt others that are untraceable, yet they may be very significant. In addition, as several interviewees noted, impacts lead to further changes involving many actors and interact with many other factors, leading to long-term outcomes which are often impossible to predict. For example, how changes in pet legislation in SA will influence the problem of feral animals in natural ecosystems will not be known for many years, if ever. Given this uncertainty and complexity, too much focus on measureable impact could be very detrimental, particularly if it assumes a narrow notion of impact and success.

With this caveat in place, I believe there is plenty of room for more consideration of impact in the evaluation and study of citizen deliberation processes. Much evaluation and research to date has focused on what is going on in the room – on the quality and process of deliberation and on participants’ experiences. To augment this important work, we need to follow the impacts out of the room and into the different spheres and orbits to understand the full potential and implications of these processes in democracies. Particularly given the systemic turn in deliberative democracy, more empirical work on impacts will provide important insights and detail to our understanding of deliberative systems.

In terms of practice, attention to impact may be important not only in the evaluation of citizen deliberation processes, but also in their design and management. Envisaging and developing impact pathways i.e. engaging at an early stage with those potentially influenced, may amplify impact, increase uptake and potentially also extend deliberation. Once again, care should be taken. There needs to be awareness of the performative dimensions of assessing impact i.e. the ways in which assessment of impact creates impact, and reflexivity in the way such assessment is conducted and analysed.

7.7 Future work

As discussed, the cases studied here were high profile, high impact cases, and the Melbourne and SA cases both involved high levels of authority, strong champions and culture, and embeddedness in government. It would be valuable to consider other cases using this typology. This should include cases with less of an authorizing environment, and cases with different levels of involvement of decision makers and different types of decisions. For example, the NSW citizens jury on energy generation - a decision making body with no prior exposure to citizen deliberation; the VicHealth jury on obesity, which discussed decisions made by a range of actors including consumers; the Noosa

community jury – a long-term citizen deliberation process; and the SA Nuclear CJ, which focused on a high stakes, contested topic about which wider public opinion is critical.

It would also be interesting to consider the connection between citizen deliberation processes, public debate and political impacts by comparing processes of legislative change and implementation with and without citizen deliberation. This would be possible by comparing alcohol reform in Qld (no citizen deliberation) with Sydney and Adelaide (citizens' juries) and introduction of the mandatory metre for bicycle clearance in Qld (no citizen deliberation) with SA (citizens jury). This could include analysis of media, social media and political debate. It would also be valuable to survey members of the general public in these different states to assess their awareness of citizen deliberation processes, their views on citizen deliberation and of specific processes, and how these may have affected their attitudes to legislative changes.

The issue of efficiency could also be considered by comparing a process of policy review involving citizen deliberation with one conducted internally. As well as comparing the cost and time involved, the comparison could also consider affects on the debate surrounding the policy change, both in parliament and in the wider community, and on implementation of the change.

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Outputs

Wendy Russell (2016) Citizens juries: how do they fit into democracy? The Mandarin, 12 Oct 2016

9. Appendices

Appendix A Interview Questions and information sheet

Appendix B Interview list (anonymous)

Appendix A Interview Questions and information sheet

The Impacts of Deliberative Democracy Processes

A research project supported by the newDemocracy Foundation to consider the impacts of selected newDemocracy projects since 2009

Principal researcher:

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Background

This research project is looking at citizen deliberation processes like citizens' juries in Australia and what impacts they have, particularly on political decision-making. It will try to understand how internal factors (e.g. design elements) and external factors (e.g. the policy cycle, media attention) affect impact. The research is focusing on processes organised by the newDemocracy Foundation (newDemocracy). The research is funded by newDemocracy, who are interested in the impacts their work has had, and how an understanding of these might inform their future work. As such, I have been invited to be critical and look at negative impacts and lack of impact, as well as the good news.

I'm also interested in bigger questions about the role of deliberative democracy in Australia, and how we can design processes to have more positive impacts. There are also interesting methodological issues about assessing impact: How does the way we think about impact affect how we measure it, and also how we have impact?

Information for participants

Thanks for agreeing to be part of this research. You can, of course, pull out at any time (I won't be offended!). I'll make audio files of interviews and keep these in a safe place (on an offline memory device) and I won't be making transcripts (life's too short!). If I use your comments in my report, I'll make them anonymous. However, I will describe what type of person you are (e.g. politician, facilitator, citizen participant), and people might be able to identify you by this and what you say. If you're concerned about this, talk to me during the interview. I can run a draft copy of the report past you if you like.

Please indicate your consent by ticking the appropriate box/es and signing below:

- I understand the nature of this research and agree to be interviewed and have my comments used in the research and reporting
- I would like to see a draft report before finalisation
- I would like a copy of the final report/publication

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Interview Questions

What is Deliberative Democracy, from your perspective?

What are some deliberative democracy processes that you are aware of?

Can you tell me about your involvement in this deliberative process? What was the process? What was your role? What was the outcome?

Why did you get involved?

How did the process go? What were some of the positive aspects? Were there obstacles or disappointments?

What impacts do you think the process had? (What difference has it made?)

What are some of the factors that affected the impact of the process (internal and external factors)?

What impacts might it have had if it had been more successful?

How has your experience with this process affected your view of deliberative democracy?

Appendix B Interview list (anonymous)

Case	Role	Gender
General	Designer/facilitator	Female
General	Observer/commentator/researcher	Female
General	Observer/commentator/researcher	Male
General	Observer/commentator/researcher	Male
General	Organiser	Male
Australian Citizens Parliament (ACP)	Decision maker	Male
ACP	Decision maker	Male
ACP	Juror	Female
ACP	Juror	Female
ACP	Juror	Male
ACP	Juror	Male
Melbourne	Decision maker	Male
Melbourne	Decision maker	Female
Melbourne	Designer/facilitator	Male
Melbourne	Designer/facilitator	Female
Melbourne	Juror	Female
Melbourne	Juror	Male
Melbourne	Juror	Male
Melbourne	Juror	Male
Melbourne	Juror	Male
Melbourne	Observer/commentator/researcher	Female
Melbourne	Observer/commentator/researcher	Male
Melbourne	Observer/commentator/researcher	Female
Melbourne	Organiser	Female
Melbourne	Organiser	Female
SA general	Decision maker	Male
SA general	Designer/facilitator	Female
SA general	Designer/facilitator	Female
SA general	Observer/commentator/researcher	Male
SA general	Organiser	Male

SA general	Organiser	Female
SA general	Organiser	Male
SA cats & dogs	Decision maker	Male
SA cats & dogs	Juror	Male
SA cats & dogs	Juror	<i>Female</i>
SA cats & dogs	Juror	Male
SA cats & dogs	Juror	Male
SA cats & dogs	Steering group/witness	Male
SA cats & dogs	Steering group/witness	Male
SA sharing the roads	Designer/facilitator	Female
SA sharing the roads	Steering group/witness	Male
SA sharing the roads	Juror	Female
SA sharing the roads	Juror	Female
SA sharing the roads	Juror	Female