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This project reports the results of multi-methods research designed to test whether deliberation, as a component of deliberative democracy programs, leads to increases in political knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy. In a large laboratory experiment, I find that subjects who directly engage with an expert show greater increases on measures of knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy than subjects that deliberate, and that deliberation never outperforms Q&A with an expert. Given the novel and seemingly counterintuitive nature of these results, I conduct confirmatory qualitative research on two real-world deliberative democracy programs and report both support for my experimental findings as well as an exploration of the causal mechanisms at work linking deliberative programs to increases in the measures of interest. I conclude with some policy and research recommendations.

Introduction

Social, political, and scholarly programs that incorporate deliberative democratic procedures result in a variety of benefits to participants. Deliberation is claimed to increase knowledge (Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; Barabas, 2004), single-peakedness (List et al, 2013; Farrar et al, 2010), sophistication (Gastil & Dillard, 1999; Smith, Wood, Krauter, & Knight, 2011; Mellers et al, 2015; Druckman, 2001), and efficacy (Wuthnow, 1994, Morrell, 2005; Min, 2007; Knobloch & Gastil, 2014) which leads to increased political engagement (Lane, 1959; Harder, 2008), and decreases in group polarization under certain conditions (Sunstein, 2002; Chambers, 2003). The importance of a relatively short deliberation effecting these changes cannot be overstated. Political science does not paint a rosy picture of citizen competence (Campbell et al, 1980). The seminal work by Philip Converse (1964) suggests that only a small percentage of “elites” are capable of both consistency (maintaining an opinion on an issue over time) and constraint (the ability to recognize that issues are ideologically similar), and American public opinion has been described as “Uninformed, inconsistent, [and] non-ideological” (Fiorina et al, 2011).

However, the empirical findings about deliberative programs represent an interesting puzzle. Deliberative Democracy (DD) is a broad label for a wide range of differently designed practices, many of which also have drastically different goals. Moreover, these designs are usually complex bundles of many different strategies, not all of which are deliberative in nature. The puzzling element of DD is that the aforementioned benefits do not obtain consistently across the differently designed programs. This calls into question whether deliberation is actually doing the work, or whether it is some other facet of these programs. For example, these programs almost always include experts for questioning, rich information packets, audience monitoring, sunk costs, and discussion facilitation in addition to
deliberative elements. What if mere exposure to experts explains the aforementioned increased measures?

Some scholarship has ventured into this “black box” (Kuyper, 2018) to try to better understand the causal mechanisms operating in these deliberative programs. For example, Farrar et al (2010) demonstrate that the effects of deliberation are more likely to obtain when salience around an issue is low. Grönlund, Setälä, and Herne (2010) find that measures of knowledge, readiness to engage, and trust are more likely to occur when deliberators are also tasked with forming a collective statement rather than simply making a decision on a secret ballot. But these and other (e.g. Andersen & Hansen, 2007; Christensen, Himmelroos, & Grönlund, 2017; Neblo, Esterling, Kennedy, Lazer, & Sokhey, 2010) efforts to explore the causal mechanisms of deliberative programs never question whether the deliberation itself is actually responsible for the observed measures; they assume deliberation is doing the causal work and merely look for conditions which can moderate the effectiveness of the deliberation.

To get a better look inside this black box, I first conduct a large laboratory experiment to test some potential causal mechanisms contained within deliberative democracy programs. Typical deliberative experiments will compare a deliberative conversation to an information-packet only condition, a comparison that does not adequately control for most of the facets of a deliberative project. To address this research problem, I compare deliberative conversations to both an information packet and a question and answer session in order to control for the different facets of these types of programs. I then follow-up with two real-world deliberative democracy case studies, including elite and participant interviews, participant and non-participant observation, and survey research.

**Deliberative Democracy**

In the broadest terms, deliberative democracy is the practice of people coming together to discuss an issue or a group of issues before expressing their policy preferences leading to a binding agreement. If this language sounds vague, it is with good reason. There are questions as to what constitutes the normatively best type of conversation (e.g., should everyone have equal time, should manipulative language or falsehoods be corrected?), who can participate (e.g., should political elites deliberate equally with the citizens they govern, should identities be anonymous?), how to present an issue (e.g., should participants be provided an information-packet beforehand, and who should create it?), what to do with the outcomes (e.g., should deliberators have political power; if so, should the majority opinion be enacted?), etc.

Fishkin and Luskin (2005) lay out some requirements for good political deliberation. Arguments should be informed (supported by factual claims), balanced (by contrary arguments), conscientious (respectful in speech and reception), substantive (based on the content, not the source) and comprehensive (presenting all relevant sides). Additionally, Gutmann and Thompson (2004) suggest that good DD requires that participants give reasons for their arguments, that those reasons are accessible to all participants through relatable arguments, that outcomes are binding decisions, and that decisions are always open to challenge (pp. 3-6). Joshua Cohen (1989) claims that good deliberation requires independent association, power to shape institutions, and participants with divergent aims who consider the process a legitimate decision-making institution, and take the claims of other participants seriously. Virtually every conception of DD provides a list of pre-requisites followed by a list of
outcomes. This becomes a major problem for identifying the causal mechanisms associated with deliberative democracy. What if, for example, all of the benefits of DD could be obtained by merely exposing political decision-makers to contrary arguments? It would still appear that deliberation caused the changes in knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy, but we could not know whether exposure to the contrary arguments or other facets of the deliberation that produced the effects. This issue is highly relevant from a policy perspective because good randomized citizen deliberations are both expensive and time-consuming. One deliberative program, the Citizens’ Initiative Review, can cost over $75,000\textsuperscript{1} for a single ballot measure and a single Deliberative Poll (DP) can cost hundreds of thousands of dollars (Gray, 2009). If there are other avenues to the benefits ascribed to DD, time and money may be better allocated elsewhere. Thus, a controlled trial identifying the causal mechanisms at work during deliberation should inform policy about these institutions.

Because the specific component of deliberation that leads to increases in knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy has not been clearly identified, it is possible that some of the costs are unnecessary. Deliberative Polling (DP) at Stanford’s Center for Deliberative Democracy is considered the gold standard for deliberative projects (Mansbridge, 2010). DP is an ambitious and well-functioning program with demonstrable benefits to participants. But not every deliberative endeavor is designed in this way, and for researchers, political leaders, and other advocates who may not have the resources to replicate this process, research on more isolated forms of political conversation can be invaluable. An interested party with limited funds having to decide what elements to triage in order to come in under budget might want to know how those elements operate in isolation, especially relative to each other, and if the elements function at all in isolation. This project can provide clarity for future deliberative programs.

**Conversation and Sophistication**

Claus Scharmer (2001) distinguishes between two types of conversations: “explicit knowledge” conversations, in which people either make statements or ask questions and receive answers, and “implicit knowledge” conversations, in which people deliberate and generate new information. Explicit knowledge conversations require little or no creativity and thus are unlikely to lead to greater sophistication; the entirety of the conversation consists of what is already in the interlocutors’ collective heads. Implicit knowledge conversations, on the other hand, are generative; the process of recognizing and reacting to the perspectives and values of others demands a deeper engagement that is more likely to lead to sophisticated thinking about an issue (Jaworski and Scharmer, 2000). In this analysis, the type of conversation causes the different levels of complexity in thinking about issues. Building on this theoretical framework, I compare a question and answer session (explicit knowledge) with a deliberative one (implicit knowledge). Although real-world conversations are not nearly so black and white, Scharmer’s theory suggests that these different types of commonly occurring conversations should still lead to measurable differences in sophistication gains.

Evidence from “flipped classroom” research supports the theory that deliberative conversations can produce knowledge generation, not just knowledge sharing. Congruently with Scharmer’s theory, Smith et al (2011) demonstrate that peer conversation leads participants to come up with correct answers to conceptual questions, even when none of the members in that conversation knew the answer initially. These peer conversations do a good job of isolating the deliberative component of DD. However, like

\textsuperscript{1} Based on an interview with one of the CIR program directors.
most experiments in deliberative democracy, this study uses a single group pre-test/post-test design for deliberation only, without an equally interactive control group such as a question and answer session.

Also congruently with Scharmer’s model, Gastil and Dillard (1999) claim that deliberation functions as an especially effective education tool because deliberators can see the consistency of others’ thoughts, will be corrected by those more knowledgeable when they themselves are inconsistent, will receive reinforcement when they express their opinions and have them confirmed, and will be able to make inferences based on what they hear. The limited nature of explicit conversation reduces the opportunity to express opinion and reflect on responses.

**Experimental Design**

To help identify the causal conversation mechanism responsible for individual sophistication, efficacy, and knowledge gains, this project presents evidence from a large-scale laboratory experiment conducted using the facilities and subject pool at the Harvard Decision Science Lab (HDSL). For illustration of the laboratory space, see Appendix A. For treatment assignment, see Appendix B.

Subjects were assigned to either a deliberative, Q&A, or information-packet treatment. Ultimately, 104 subjects were treated with deliberation, 103 with Q&A, and 63 with an info-packet. The ostensible purpose of the study was to determine where research subjects would like to set the Massachusetts minimum wage after treatment to one of the three conditions. Once assignment to groups was complete, the study proceeded as follows. Subjects were checked in to the lab and were read instructions from a script (See Appendix C). The information-packet only subjects followed a lab research assistant into the packet-only area and from there to the workstation that corresponded to their ID badge designation. The packet only area workstations were preset with a survey already open. The survey consisted of pre-test survey questions, then a built-in information-packet about minimum wage laws, and post-test questions. The survey itself was created on and administered through Qualtrics. The questions tested levels of political knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy regarding minimum wage law. Knowledge questions asked subjects to answer factual questions about the minimum wage. Sophistication questions measured how well subjects could recognize multiple argument frames, and how well they could recognize whether policy stances were liberal or conservative. Efficacy questions were standard questions in the political science about subjects’ perceived competence to meaningfully engage with politics, and their perception of their potential impact on political decisions. More details can be found in Appendix D. Both the deliberation subjects and the Q&A subjects moved to the discussion area and were given instructions to use their time to “try to determine what you think the Massachusetts minimum wage should be.” In both treatment groups subjects had access to a trained expert of minimum wage law, theory, and politics. I tested the expert’s skills both in a pre-pilot focus group and in two laboratory pilot sessions, and confirmed that she was sufficiently knowledgeable and consistent to successfully fulfill the role. Only one comment from the entire sample suggested that the expert did not have enough information, and even this seemed caused by how often the expert had to state that research has not yet answered a particular question, not because she herself did not have the answer to that question. Most lauded the expert’s abilities.

The goal of controlling for as many facets of the treatments as possible informed the decision to have an expert available to both the Q&A and the deliberative group. Session sizes were also controlled for, the
time allotted for each treatment was held constant, and the study took place in the exact same location for the two discussion treatment groups. Although the discussion treatment (both deliberation and Q&A) was originally designed to last 2 hours, the pilot studies demonstrated that subjects ran out of questions and things to discuss at about the 1.5 hour mark, so the treatment length was reduced. Subjects were exposed to the same level of monitoring in both treatment groups, and even the information provided by the expert was held as constant as possible: in both conditions the expert only answered factual questions and did not share their own opinions or offer unsolicited information.

The deliberative treatment was designed as a very open-ended conversation. Aside from the initial instructions (See Appendix C), deliberative subjects were largely free to try to determine where they would like to set the Massachusetts minimum wage in whatever fashion they could think of. The deliberative treatment groups were thus much more heterogeneous than the Q&A treatment groups. Some of the deliberative sessions used their time to do little more than to ask questions of the expert with little deliberation beyond that. Other deliberative sessions were much more active than the Q&A sessions, with some innovating their own learning structures such as polling the room. The Q&A sessions, on the other hand, were homogenous.

The survey was primarily designed to test increases in three things: political sophistication, political efficacy, and political knowledge. For the sophistication and efficacy questions, a difference-in-differences model compared within-subject change across treatment groups. For the knowledge questions, a post-test only analysis determined if subjects in any group were significantly closer to the correct answers after treatment.

**Dependent Variables and Analyses**

The independent variable for every model in this study used a binary treatment: deliberation as a treatment with Q&A as a control, deliberation as a treatment with info-packet as a control, and Q&A as a treatment with info-packet as a control. The dependent variables, sophistication, knowledge, and efficacy, appear below in square brackets. See Appendix D for the entire survey, including the information packet.

To measure sophistication, subjects were first asked how much they supported (on a 5-point Likert scale) eight policy positions designed to either be solidly liberal or solidly conservative. These responses were then combined using Pew’s method of creating an ideological score (Pew Research Center, 2018) [Ideology]. Ideological constraint is one form of political sophistication (Gastil and Dillard, 1999; Converse, 1964). Subjects were also asked to identify argument frames related to the minimum wage law in two ways. First, they were asked to list as many impacts as they could think of that a change in the minimum wage would have on society [Impact] (Lau and Schlesinger, 2005). In addition, I created a new measure of frame-recognition, which asked subjects to list as many minimum wage features as they could think of that politicians might highlight or ignore for political gain [Frame]. The total number of items they could list served as a proxy for frame-recognition. Impact and frame questions allowed for up to ten open-ended responses. All three of these measures, Ideology, Impact, and Frame, were analyzed separately as they represent different forms of sophistication.
To measure political efficacy I used a standard battery of well-tested efficacy questions (Niemi et al, 1991) of two types, internal political efficacy [Internal_Eff] and external political efficacy [External_Eff]. I also included a proxy for internal political efficacy used in past deliberative research (Gastil et al, 2016), which asks subjects how much more information they think they need in order to make a decision [Info_Need]. All efficacy questions used a 5-point Likert scale.

For the sophistication and efficacy measures, I used linear regression analysis to determine the difference in differences between pre- and post-test dependent variable measures across binary treatment groups. The models comparing deliberation to Q&A were clustered at the session level for robustness. A positive result means that the treatment outperformed the control.

To measure knowledge, subjects were asked to recall the highest planned hourly minimum wage of any of the United States [Highest_Planned]. Subjects whose answers were closer to the correct number were considered to have better knowledge than those whose answers were further.

For the knowledge measures I used linear regression analysis to determine the difference in means of the post-test dependent variable measures across binary treatment groups. In order to measure whether a treatment group was significantly closer to the correct answer, I regressed the binary treatment variable on the absolute value of the difference between subjects’ responses and the correct value. If the resulting coefficient is positive, it means that the treatment groups’ responses were further from the correct answer. A negative coefficient means that the treatment outperformed the control.

**Hypotheses**

This study was pre-registered in Evidence on Governance and Politics (egap) on May 8, 2018 (#20180508AA) prior to any data collection, and all hypotheses were recorded therein.

Past research demonstrates that some as yet identified component(s) of large deliberative projects, such as Deliberative Polling (DP) and the Citizens’ Initiative Review (CIR), lead to increases in political knowledge, political sophistication, and internal political efficacy. But most deliberative programs incorporate some form of information impartation. Accordingly it is unclear what causal mechanism produces these increases. Some deliberative projects (such as DP and CIR) are highly structured, with rigidly scheduled times for deliberation, questions and answers, and reviewing materials, while others are more open-ended (such as the scholarship on flipped classrooms and the National Issues Forum studied by Gastil and Dillard). Much of the evidence that deliberation produces knowledge increases derive from the structured types of deliberative programs, while evidence of sophistication gains tends to derive from the more open-ended types. I thus hypothesized that my Q&A treatment would produce greater knowledge gains and my deliberation treatment would produce greater sophistication gains. I hypothesized that both would show greater knowledge and sophistication gains over an information-packet only control group due to theoretical and evidentiary priors. I also hypothesized that deliberative subjects would show greater increases in political efficacy based on Morrell (2005). I did not have prior

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*I originally planned to ask three separate knowledge questions about minimum wage law. Unfortunately, state multiple state minimum wage laws changed during the course of my experiment such that two of the three questions became useless. Only the highest planned state minimum wage ($15/hour) remained the same throughout the experiment.*
expectations for the effects of a Q&A treatment due to a dearth of research on this type of conversation, so aside from the hypothesized increases in knowledge, I had no reason to think that Q&A would increase sophistication or efficacy. This led to the following three hypotheses:

H1: Q&A participants will have greater knowledge gains than deliberative participants, but both will increase relative to participants who only read an information-packet.

H2: Deliberative participants will have greater sophistication gains than Q&A participants, and only the deliberative group will show any increase relative to the information-packet.

H3: Deliberative participants will have greater gains in internal and external political efficacy than Q&A participants, and only the deliberative group will show any increase relative to the information-packet.

Experimental Results

Results from the difference-in-differences and difference in means analyses generally support Hypothesis 1, but the relationships are the opposite of expected for Hypothesis 2 and 3 (See Table 1). Q&A sessions were significantly better than the deliberative sessions at increasing at least one measure of sophistication [Frame]. Subjects in the Q&A sessions also increased their levels of external efficacy [External_Eff] significantly more than those in the deliberation sessions. Q&A subjects also felt a greater reduction in the need for more information than deliberative participants [Info_Need]. For the knowledge question [Highest_Planned], Q&A subjects were also significantly closer to the correct answer than were the deliberative subjects. Thus, Q&A outperformed deliberation any time a significant relationship obtains.

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Table 1: Regression results comparing deliberation to Q&A. Errors are clustered at the session level for robustness. Betas for the sophistication and efficacy results are the standardized difference in differences for deliberation relative to Q&A. A positive Beta means that deliberation outperformed Q&A. Beta for the knowledge results is the difference in the distance from the correct answer between treatments. A positive Beta means deliberation was less effective. † indicates p < .1, * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01.
Comparisons between the conversation treatments (both deliberation and Q&A) and the information-packet control also support Hypothesis 1, but again produce results in the opposite direction from Hypothesis 2 and 3 (See Tables 2 and 3). Table 2 shows that the deliberation groups outperformed the information-packet groups on at least one measure of political sophistication [Ideology].

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Table 2: Regression results comparing deliberation to info-packet. Betas for the sophistication and efficacy results are the standardized difference in differences for deliberation relative to the info-packet. A positive Beta means that deliberation outperformed the info-packet. Beta for the knowledge results is the difference in the distance from the correct answer between treatments. A positive Beta means deliberation was less effective. † indicates p < .1, * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01.

As should be expected from Table 1, the Q&A treatment performs better relative to the information-packet control than the deliberative treatment. The Q&A treatment significantly outperformed the information-packet control on two political sophistication measures (Ideology and Frame) and the knowledge measure (Highest_Planned). Again, the Q&A treatment is not outperformed on any measure.
Confirmatory Study

The above results are novel and seemingly counterintuitive given strong scholarly support for a correlation between deliberative programs and increases in political knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy. By testing two main components of deliberative programs against each other, I provide evidence suggesting that the deliberation is unlikely to be the causal mechanism linking deliberative programs to these increases, and instead is more likely to come from the engagement with experts, which almost all of these programs include. However, one key weakness of laboratory experiments is external validity: what happens inside a lab isn’t necessary what would happen in the real world. Thus, I conduct two case-studies of two real-world deliberative programs to attempt to confirm my experimental results.

I selected Participatory Budgeting (PB) and the Citizens’ Initiative Review (CIR) as exemplars of this practice for the following reasons. First, both are highly focused on policy issues. PB is a city/borough-level program designed to allocate a portion of a locality’s annual budget to the control of its citizens. Citizens develop policies on their own or collectively, citizen volunteers deliberate with each other to refine the policies such that they meet the locality’s strictures, and then citizens vote directly (using a ranked voting system) on which policies they would like implemented. The CIR is a state-level program where citizen deliberators consider a ballot initiative. The purpose of each iteration of the CIR is to generate an information packet for voters that is framed to represent the values of the typical voter (as opposed to typical ballot summaries, which are often framed by advocates or elites). These reviews complement, but do not replace, typical ballot summaries.

Second, they are both highly deliberative. I closely observed two CIRs and served as a budget delegate for a city’s PB program for two years and have collectively observed them for approximately 120 hours (split almost evenly between the two); during both I observed that deliberation drove much of the

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Table 3: Regression results comparing Q&A to info-packet. Betas for the sophistication and efficacy results are the standardized difference in differences for Q&A relative to the info-packet. A positive Beta means that Q&A outperformed the info-packet. Beta for the knowledge results is the difference in the distance from the correct answer between treatments. A positive Beta means Q&A was less effective. † indicates p < .1, * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01.
process (though in different ways, and to different ends). Moreover, I interviewed several key founding members of each program: one of the original founders of the CIR, and both the founder of the Participatory Budgeting Project (the primary organization responsible for bringing PB to the United States) as well as the political leaders that brought PB to the city where I served as a delegate, all of whom attested to the importance of deliberation to the process. In the CIR, participants deliberated about how to proceed with the process itself, about which questions to ask experts, about the features of the initiative under consideration, and for sequential check-ins. In PB, deliberation often happens during the idea-generation phase (when policies are originally designed), during the budget delegate meetings (this is where most of the deliberation was envisioned by the founders), and even occasionally during the voting process as delegates would bring voting information to community centers and answer voter questions.

Third, these programs led to clear and clearly powerful binding agreements. CIRs are designed to be mailed to every voter in a state, bringing a measure of ideological power (Lukes, 2005) back into the hands of the citizen reviewers. The empowerment in PB is even more pronounced; citizens get to design, promote, shape, and choose projects that their locality will fund and implement. Moreover, these empowering outputs of PB and the CIR obtain as a direct result of deliberation, making this a relatively easy test of deliberation’s ability to lead to knowledge and efficacy increases.

Fourth, engagement with experts is a large component of both of these programs.

Within the CIR and PB I reached out to every participant I was allowed access to. For the CIR, that meant every participant that had previously indicated to Healthy Democracy (the parent organization of the CIR) that they would be willing to participate in follow-up research. This ended up only being 15 participants for the two most recent CIRs (both taking place in the second half of 2018). For PB, I limited my interviews to participants in my own city. Two factors informed this choice. First, having also participated in this city and in the same period, I had a much better sense of context. I could more easily understand what interviewees described about the process and I could better verify their claims with my own participant-observation. This did mean that a few (3) interviewees recognized me from my own participation, but my sense is that they only considered me a professional acquaintance and their responses closely matched those from participants who had never met me. The second reason for limiting my interviews to local PB participants was that in-person interviews are generally preferable to telephone or other computer-based interviews (Mosley, 2013, p. 7-8). I ended up reaching out to a total of 64 PB participants. The disparity between the two programs is largely due to the lower overall rates of participation in a CIR as compared to PB. CIRs host an average of about 20 participants whereas the PB program I participated in hosted roughly triple that amount, though those are broken up into 5 different committees, so the deliberative bodies are actually smaller in PB. The total response rate for both programs was almost exactly 1/3, and as such I ended up with 5 interviewees from the CIR, and 21 interviewees from PB, for a total of 26 interviews. No new themes emerged after about the 15th interview of PB participants (despite continual attempts to explore new causal mechanisms), and as such I am confident that I was able to reach saturation (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Unfortunately that is not the case for the CIR participants, and as such I will only use those 5 interviews to triangulate (Small, 2011) with my observational research and with PB interviewee responses.

**Qualitative Methods**
The purpose of this study is twofold. One, I wanted to re-test my experimental findings. As mentioned, one of the main shortcomings of experimental research is poor external validity (Lucas, 2003). One strategy to get around this problem is to triangulate using a different methodological approach. Focused interviews of real-world participants in deliberative programs are especially appropriate to this task for three reasons. First, deliberation in a laboratory may not accurately represent a real-world program. Research subjects know that the context they are in is primarily one focused on research, and not some other outcome. This can lead to demand effects where subjects try to guess the purpose of the research and provide biased measures as a result, or simply might not take the experiment seriously as they would in a real-world version of the context being measured (Orne, 1962). In a real-world context, participants in deliberative programs never have reason to suspect the ostensible purpose of the program is research-related in the first place. Second, the type of people who generally sign-up for research subject pools are not necessarily the same type of people who sign up to volunteer in real-world deliberative programs. If the former respond differently to a deliberative treatment than the latter because they are different types of people, the results of a deliberative laboratory experiment might not a mean anything outside of a laboratory setting, even if the laboratory setting perfectly mimics the real-world program in every other way. Third, interviews are a particularly apt research method to complement quantitative research. The thickness of interview data can enhance the validity of quantitative findings because they are better able to provide “information about context, process or mechanism, and that contributes to distinctive leverage in causal inference” (Brady & Collier, 2004: pp. 227-228). This makes interviews useful to either triangulate and confirm the results of a quantitative study, or to suggest that a previous causal relationship is spurious (Martin, 2013: pp. 121-122).

Two, I also wanted to explore other potential causal mechanisms contained within deliberative programs that might lead to increases in political sophistication, knowledge, and efficacy. Interviews are a particularly useful method for exploring new causal mechanisms (Hochschild, 1981: pp. 24-25; Lynch, 2013: 35-36). Because interviews are sequential; promising responses early on in the interview process can be used to generate new questions for later interviewees. Interviewee responses can also be used to confirm each other as a form of cross-case validation (Gallagher, 2013: 194). For example, if two interviewees make roughly similar claims, I can reword the second interviewee’s claim in the language of the first to verify they are actually making the same claim. Conversely, if two interviewees make contrasting claims, I can follow up with the latter interviewee by saying “it’s interesting that you say that. I’ve heard some people say the same thing as you, and others have said the complete opposite. Why do you think people are coming to different conclusions about this topic?” This can allow the interviewer to further dig into a specific causal process. For example, one of the more promising leads I followed up on was the idea that some people came in to volunteer with Participatory Budgeting because they had a specific policy they wanted to work on and to get passed, and that they occasionally acted strategically in order to get said policies passed. One interviewee seemed to think that this was a major problem, and called into question the value of the program as a whole. However, I started asking other participants about this problem, and many participants recognized that some people did come in with a specific proposal or agenda in mind, but after engaging with the process for the first few weeks, they came to respect the process above their own agenda and treated all the proposals fairly. This was true for both participants who said that they came in to PB because they had a specific proposal they were interested in and for those who had no priors. But that is not all they revealed. Many also suggested that having a proposal they cared about was not problematic because it gave volunteers the motivation to work harder, which also made them more invested in the process.
Interviews took place between February and April of 2019. I interviewed PB participants for the 2017 and 2018 cycles, both programs ending in December. I interviewed CIR participants (via telephone) in an August, 2018 Oregon CIR and a September, 2018 California CIR. The average interview length was 44:30 minutes with a minimum of 23:42 minutes and a maximum of 61:02 minutes. Interviews were semi-structured and generally following an interview schedule (See Appendices E and F), but allowed interviewees ample opportunity to redirect the conversation when they were motivated to do so. I conducted several rounds of cognitive testing (Collins, 2003) on the interview schedules and one practice interview with a personal acquaintance who had also volunteered as a PB budget delegate before any data was collected. Cognitive testing is usually only indicated for survey questions which are more rigid and which if misunderstood cannot be corrected as easily as interview questions, however, I find the process useful for testing constructs. For example, my original schedule asked about “political knowledge” as it related to “confidence,” but several cognitive testing respondents felt the term was too vague and jargony, and as such I just started asking about confidence directly, which was much more germane to the interviewees’ experiences.

I also conducted non-participant observation of two iterations of the CIR, and participant observation of two iterations of PB as a budget delegate. These observations were conducted before the interviews took place. They guided the interview schedule formation, and also served as another form of triangulation; if interviewees’ responses comported with my own experiences, I had more reason to consider them valid, and when they did not, I was motivated to dig deeper so as to better understand their distinct experiences. Participant observation is also considered useful in its own right as a method of studying how social structures function in people’s daily lives (Kubic, 2009: p. 28). For example, as an observer of PB, I witnessed great but mostly unsuccessful efforts to make the program beneficial for underserved parts of the community, and this also informed my interview schedule.

Finally, I conducted a small survey at a California CIR in 2016. The sample was too small to conduct convincing quantitative analyses, but answers to some of the open-ended survey questions were revealing and can supplement the findings from the few CIR interviews I was able to conduct (See Appendix G for the survey questions).

Once interviews were collected and transcribed, I organized responses into recurrent themes. This allowed me to both test my hypothesis regarding expert Q&A and knowledge/sophistication gains, and also provided insights which informed new hypotheses. In order to avoid priming interviewees, I never asked directly about their engagement with city officials, though I did ask follow-up questions whenever they brought it up. I hypothesized that when interviewees were asked what they learned about local politics that they would organically bring up their engagement with city officials. This is also a difficult test for expert engagement as the topic would have to be broached unprompted; if most or even many of the interviewees brought up such engagements on their own, this would serve as a strong validation of my experimental results. Here I am using general notions of engagement with city officials to proxy for the kind of expert Q&A tested in my experiment. I also specifically asked about the deliberative component of the program. Because public deliberation is generally recognized as a pro-social activity, and because potential acquiescence bias would likely lead participants to claiming deliberation was responsible for change even if it actually was not, this study set up a relatively easy test for subjects to report that deliberation lead to increases in political sophistication, knowledge, and efficacy, the alternative hypothesis of this study and the expected hypothesis in DD scholarship.
But beyond hypothesis testing, I also wanted to explore other potential causal mechanisms within deliberative programs that could lead to increases in political sophistication, knowledge, or efficacy. To that end, I asked questions about how interviewees innovated during participation in their program (and what enabled said innovation), what they learned during the process (and how they learned it), and whether and how participation in their respective programs led to further political engagement as a direct result of their participation. I also wanted to explore whether it was the deliberative program as a whole, or specifically the deliberative element of the program, that was leading to these increases. I developed a codebook (See Appendix H) with codes for each of these questions, descriptions of the codes, example quotes for support of the code, example quotes for non-support of the code, and validation measures. Based on an initial assessment, I coded for four new causal mechanisms that interviewees suggested would lead to greater efficacy/engagement gains: how impactful the deliberative program was, how broadly those impacts were distributed, whether fellow participants had a personal agenda, and the nature of the facilitation of the discussions.

**Qualitative Results**

This section will present the results of observational, survey, and interview research on the CIR and PB. This section will be broken up into three main subsections. In the first subsection, I will report the results of the confirmatory hypothesis testing regarding deliberation’s likeliness to increase measures of political sophistication. In the second, I report deliberation’s likeliness to increase political knowledge, and in the third, its likeliness to increase political efficacy and engagement. In the latter two of these subsections, I also present evidence for alternative causal mechanisms linking deliberative programs to increases in the aforementioned measures, and suggest new hypothesis to test.

Each section will present summary statistics in graphical form. These are not meant to serve as inferential comparisons, merely to give a sense of how many interviewees associated with each viewpoint represented. These graphs take two forms. The first six graphs represent the hypothesis testing component of this study. They ask the following 6 questions (commensurate with the codebook in Appendix H):

1. Did sophistication increase as a result of the program?
2. Did sophistication increase as a result of deliberation?
3. Did knowledge increase as a result of the program?
4. Did knowledge increase as a result of deliberation?
5. Did efficacy/engagement increase as a result of the program?
6. Did efficacy/engagement increase as a result of deliberation?

Each of these graphs provide a count of how many interviewee’s gave an affirmative answer (Y), how many gave a negative answer (N), how many had nothing to say (N/A), and how many gave mixed answers (Mixed). Not every question had every answer type.

The remaining four graphs correspond to new potential causal mechanisms associated with deliberative programs. The four mechanisms follow:

1. The level of impact determines engagement and efficacy.
2. The breadth of impact determines engagement and efficacy.
3. Participants with a personal agenda determines engagement and efficacy.
4. The quality of group facilitation determines engagement and efficacy

For each of these graphs, three counts are reported. First, the total number of interviewees claiming this causal mechanism is responsible for efficacy/engagement increases. Second, the total number of people that described how this mechanism could *increase* efficacy and engagement. And third, the total number of people that described how this mechanism could *decrease* efficacy and engagement. Because some interviewees explicated ways that a mechanism could both increase and decrease engagement and efficacy, the total doesn’t always equal the sum of the other two counts.

1: Sophistication

I find some evidence that deliberative programs *and* deliberation itself lead to sophisticated thinking about political issues. This finding is commensurate with some deliberative scholarship (e.g. Gastil & Dillard, 1999; Smith, Wood, Krauter, & Knight, 2011; Mellers et al, 2015), but there are two caveats. The first is that only nine of the 26 total participants were able to link sophistication to the program at all (See Figure 1), and only eight linked it directly to deliberation (See Figure 2). For the section, I proxy “sophistication” with whether participants reported coming up with innovative or creative ideas to complete the assigned tasks of their deliberative program that they would not have otherwise, and especially that would not have been developed without their deliberations. This would include examples such as PB delegates finding innovative ways to craft proposals to fit within the mandates of the city’s capital budget when the initial submission did not originally, and CIR participants recalling memorable instances of particularly creative language use on the review as could, for example, bridge partisan gridlock around an issue. This is only a proxy for what political science means when it discusses “sophistication,” but it is nevertheless an important consideration when assessing citizens as policymakers and addresses similar issues that sophistication researchers are interested in.

![Figure 1: Number of interviewees linking deliberative program to increases in sophistication](image)
Though this is a minority of respondents, this is still some evidence that interviewees are seeing the value of deliberation regarding sophistication. However, for the other potential causal mechanisms, I used a cutoff of at least half of the interviewees bringing up a mechanism unprompted for me to consider generating a new hypothesis. Answers about sophistication were prompted, and as deliberation is considered pro-social, I would have expected greater numbers of respondents to attribute sophistication gains to it.

The other caveat here is the nature of the sophistication gains. Typically, when political scientists are considering sophistication, they are thinking in terms of individual gains, such as the ability to recognize policies in ideological space (Converse, 1964; Campbell, 1980) and to recognize multiple argument frames (Druckman, 2001; Lau & Schlesinger, 2005). The link between these types of gains and deliberation is that deliberation is a generative form of conversation (Scharmer, 2001); participants have to think harder about the values of others, which highlights different argument frames and belief systems. But this is not commensurate with what interviewees reported.

Instead, interviewees reported three features that facilitated sophisticated thinking. The first, and closest in conception to Scharmer, was the openness of the process itself. While only three interviewees brought up this mechanism, it is one inherent to deliberation that something like a focused question and answer session cannot mimic. Another way to think about this is that in order for a program volunteer to be creative, they have to have room for creativity. One PB interviewee explained, “There was a lot of room for amending proposals. The descriptions we were given were brief. We paid attention [to the descriptions] and never totally changed [them], but we did try to be expansive with them.” They then went on to describe how fellow deliberators developed a plan to make a needle drop-off program more feasible within a capital budget by partnering with local organizations. Another said “There was a great amount of leeway to change projects if you needed to. We changed the bike repair stations to make them more practical for the city.”

But the majority of interviewees (five out of eight) that linked deliberation directly to sophistication referred instead to the value of diversity of experience and perspective. One PB delegate stated:
Non-city officials are better than city officials for PB. They bring in perspective, think outside the box, bring experiences from their jobs, their hobbies, and that affects how much they contribute. It's like crowdsourcing. Delegates designed the mobile stage when the city was having a hard time finding a permanent location.

Others mentioned expertise, knowledge to persuade, and specific examples of participants who had worked on similar projects in the past (e.g. planting trees, working in libraries) as useful for designing good policies. Openness and a diversity of opinions is indeed a theorized strength of deliberation. James Fishkin asserts that during deliberation “a collective process occurs in which the group has a reasonable chance to form its collective, considered judgments – to give its public voice, if you will, to the topic in question. Arguments on rival positions get an extended hearing, and each side has a chance to answer the other. The same information is available to all” (Fishkin, 1995: pp. 34). But according to Scharmer, this is not generative because the knowledge already existed; it was merely shared. The key difference is in Fishkin’s conceptualization of deliberation as a collective sophisticated body, and Scharmer’s more individual conception. Thus, if one’s objective is to use a body of volunteers to collectively innovate (as is the objective of something like PB), deliberation seems at least somewhat useful. But one should also be careful not to exaggerate the benefits of their deliberative program as they do not seem to make individuals into more sophisticated thinkers. This also comports with my experimental results.

But even there, not all interviewees agreed. One PB delegate found occasional use for deliberation when selecting a process to best approach a task, but stated, “Usually it wasn’t necessary.” Another worried that “People would argue for a project, back and forth; it was a waste of time, except for the experts.” Another was even blunter. When asked whether PB led to creative thinking, they responded “Not from talking to each other.” That being said, only two interviewees specifically discounted deliberation as a pathway toward sophisticated thinking.

One last interesting result is that none of the five CIR participants had anything to add about sophisticated thinking, whether from the program generally or the deliberation specifically. A sample of five interviewees is much too small to infer relationships with any reliability, but it does hint at another hypothesis worth testing; the differences between the objectives of deliberative programs might make them more or less amenable to sophistication or knowledge gains. The CIR is not designed for participants to be creative, just for them to learn and restate; PB does leverage delegate creativity. But again, a larger and more systematic approach would be required to test these differences.

2: Knowledge

Deliberative participants were much more likely to ascribe gains in knowledge to their participation in the program (See Figure 3). 19 out of 26 interviewees described at least some form of knowledge gain from participation in a deliberative program, and only 5 specifically stated that they did not learn anything from the process. However, not one interviewee was willing to claim that they learned something specifically from deliberating with their peers (See Figure 4). As with sophistication, the majority (22/26) had almost nothing to say about the relationship between deliberation itself and knowledge. Three specifically said that they did not learn anything from the process, and only one even gave a partial admission that deliberation was connected to knowledge gains, stating “Learning was 65-35, 65% from [city] officials [35% from deliberation], what [city officials] had to say about policies. It was fascinating, complex. I saw myself in that role in the future.” Even here, when pressed the interviewee is unable to give examples of the kind of learning that happened in the deliberative sessions, and
immediately goes back to talking about what they learned from the city officials. Given the pro-social nature of deliberation and the threat of acquiescence bias, not to mention plentiful extant scholarly research linking deliberation to knowledge gains, these results are extremely surprising.

**Figure 3**: Number of interviewees linking deliberative program to increases in knowledge

**Figure 4**: Number of interviewees linking deliberation to increases in knowledge

But if participants aren’t learning anything from the deliberative aspect of their participation, what are they learning from? By far, the most common response (12/20 who said they learned something, including the one “Mixed” answer) was that both PB delegates and CIR participants learned from city officials and experts. A PB delegate said, “I really liked that the engineer came in; we got to talk to experts. The consultations were really effective. Tweak, consulting, tweak, consulting. This was one of the most effective parts of the program.”
One feature of PB is something called “speed-consulting,” where delegates get to meet representatives (often heads) of the various city departments, such as Public Works, Community Development, Human Services, etc. Delegates spend two four-hour sessions engaging with city officials to help refine their assigned projects. 11 of the 12 PB interviewees who reported that knowledge gains from PB were associated with city officials referenced these two relatively short engagements. (This process was not available for CIR participants, two of which also claimed learning was associated with the program generally). One delegate said, “We learned a lot about the city, mostly from city resources, not from talking to each other. For example, they gave us maps that created a sense of community...learned about city governance...Speed consulting was great, very knowledgeable leaders.” These findings also corroborate my experimental results; most participant learning happened through expert engagement, not through group deliberation.

The next most common form of learning came from individual research. Four PB delegates specifically referenced learning through their own research. Interviewees claimed that they learned “how to gather information,” and that they could “figure it out” if they faced a new problem in their city. They described visiting sites, taking pictures, getting feedback from city officials and other relevant organizations (e.g. talking to electricians about electric vehicle charging-stations).

Others described more generalized learning. One PB delegate said, “I learned ‘where there’s a will, there’s a way.’” Another stated, “I learned that politics is an actionable thing that doesn’t require official affiliation.” A CIR participant said, “[I learned] the cycle to actually get something on the ballot. The wording had to be correct, it was grueling. Is it accurate? That whole process there I found enlightening.” However, these miscellaneous knowledge claims were not attached to any kind of process, and so are not useful for generating hypotheses about causal mechanisms linking deliberation to knowledge gains. A PB delegate best sums up this section:

I learned what kind of projects were simple and which were complicated. I learned from researching sites, during site visits. From requesting records from the government, how the information is out there but not centralized. I learned some from the facilitator, not much from other delegates [emphasis added]. The part I remember most is talking to city officials [emphasis added].

One CIR survey respondent also corroborated that they primarily learned from the research process, and did not mention the deliberative element of the CIR.

3: Efficacy/Engagement

Deliberative participants were also somewhat more likely to ascribe increased engagement and efficacy to their participation in the program (See Figure 5), but much like increases of knowledge, not a single participant in either program reported increasing their engagement or their confidence (a proxy for efficacy) as a direct result of deliberating (See Figure 6). However, unlike the results for sophistication and knowledge (diverse perspectives and official engagement, respectively), no single hypothesis stands out to best explain how engagement with deliberative programs can lead to increased efficacy and engagement. The one thing that can be said with confidence is that deliberation itself is not perceived as responsible for efficacy and engagement increases.
Analyzing interviewee responses has led to four potential causal mechanisms which can both elicit more engagement from potential volunteers or dissuade them. These mechanisms follow:

**Impact:** When a program is perceived to have a high level of impact on their community, people will be more likely to think their participation will make a difference (efficacy), which will result in them becoming more engaged. When they perceive the impact as being low, they will be less likely. Importantly, having a greater impact is always better.

**Breadth of impact:** For some, merely having a large impact is not enough. Participants in deliberative programs tend to worry that the impacts of a program are not evenly distributed, especially toward underserved communities. This is especially important for programs like PB, which are designed to extend direct democratic power to their constituents. Having an unbalanced impact subverts one of the
primary principles of deliberative democracy; that every voice matters (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004: pp. 133-137). As with impact, greater breadth of impact is always thought to be better.

**Personal agenda:** This mechanism is somewhat different than the others in that its effects are not generally agreed upon. Some deliberators worry that participants with a personal agenda will subvert the process; they will place their agenda before their honest engagement with the process, and the program becomes vulnerable to politics as usual. Other deliberators feel that anything that can increase motivation to volunteer should be considered a good thing; people with an agenda will work harder, research more, and generally exert more effort into making their work as useful as it can be. Respondents provide good evidence for both sides of this mechanism.

**Facilitation:** This mechanism is also somewhat different than the others in that ideal facilitation is more about balance than about one or several techniques over others. Deliberators were demotivated to engage when the deliberative discussions were too rigidly structured, and when they were too unstructured. In the former condition, a best-case scenario is that deliberators become like cogs in a machine; they woodenly move from task to task without any say in the process, and thus without any buy-in. In a worst-case scenario, the tasks themselves are detrimental to completing the goals of the project, and the rigidity of the process means that deliberators cannot amend them, which, as discussed previously, is one area in which deliberation might be particularly useful. In the latter condition – not enough structure – deliberators will spend too much time deliberating about the process itself. They have to build the process from the ground up. In a best-case scenario, some deliberators take leadership roles and eventually move the process along. In a worse-case scenario, the process becomes more central to the program than the actual goals, and deliberators get frustrated with the lack of progress.

I arbitrarily chose “half the sample” (13 interviewees) as the cutoff for highlighting a theme for consideration as a causal mechanism responsible for linking a deliberative program to efficacy/engagement. As long as an interviewee mentioned the theme, it did not matter whether they viewed the theme as likely to increase or to decrease efficacy and engagement and in fact, some actually explained how a theme could both increase and decrease efficacy and engagement. Once a theme was highlighted I assessed the face validity of the theme based on the causal arguments made by interviewees and whether they comported with my own observations, and on passing those assessments, I recommended each theme for future hypothesis testing.

**Impact**

16 out of the 26 interviewees mentioned impact as an important factor in their decision to continue to engage in programs like the CIR and PB; 13 said that being part of a highly impactful program would encourage them to get/stay involved, and 9 said that low impact discouraged them from participating (See figure 7).
The relationship between engagement and the impact of a program is relatively straightforward, and is an excellent proxy for external efficacy. External efficacy is a measure of how much of an effect one feels their political behavior will have on society. One PB delegate echoed this logic almost verbatim, “My goal was to support programs with a valuable impact.” Another stated, “This is a great way to get involved in the community. It lets you do something tangible, it impacts people in your own community...it gives you a little control over the purse strings.” And still another said, “Having a big budget is a big draw...people turn out because it feels like you're helping the democratic process.” Another delegate stated, “The biggest impact is folks getting their voices heard. I probably wouldn't be as engaged [without that impact].”

Others also expressed how a lack of impact dissuaded them from future engagement. When asked why they did not plan to get engaged with the next PB cycle, one delegate said:

It doesn't feel like putting my energy would be impactful. Skill sets don't cater to this type of work, it will happen without me, other places need me...It was a system within which working was too limited. I like to apply myself to data analysis, environmental impact...[PB is] too limited.

Another said “PB doesn't have as much power as it seems, that left a sour taste in my mouth,” and still another said that a lack of impact was a “downer.” Another delegate who decided not to participate again in the following cycle said, “There are more effective ways to improve the city than PB.”

In my first cycle as a PB delegate, I worked hard on a project to install night lights and canine drinking fountains in several of my city's dog parks (as a dog parent, I actually had a minor vested interest in this proposal). Though this project was not ultimately selected by the voters, I did feel as though I accomplished something meaningful by even getting this proposal on the ballot. It is not surprising that some people would think that $100,000-range projects are a pittance for a relatively wealthy city, but for young professionals (and graduate students like myself), these types of projects are not easily obtained outside of the charitable contributions of wealthy patrons or independent government action. In my second cycle I had the opposite reaction. I originally worked on a proposal to increase trash, recycling, composting, and cigarette butt disposal containers. The city was already planning to upgrade...
the trash and recycling containers, and so the main value added for me (in other words, the real impact), was in the composting and the cigarette butt disposal bins. But near the end of the process, the city officials unilaterally decided that the composting and cigarette disposal bins would be more trouble than they were worth, and cut them out of the project. From my perspective, this transformed the project from one with substantial value-added to one that was a waste of PB funds (as the city was already going to make the trash and recycling upgrades eventually). Other interviewees shared this concern. One delegate said, “One frustrating thing about the process was that we spent a lot of time [on some projects] but the city just shut them down.” Another was much blunter, “PB doesn’t have real power. The amount of funds are a tiny fraction of the budget. It’s miniscule. The funds are also siloed, they aren’t part of the actual budget. And the city has complete veto power [emphasis added].”

CIR survey respondents also mentioned the impact of the program unprompted. “I felt this kind of process gives the people a voice and greater impact on issues that affect them. Recently, the complete 180° turn we’ve seen in politics has left me feeling uneasy, but this process makes me hopeful.” Another stated “I came to a better understand that regular citizens could impact democracy if they become informed.”

Breadth

15 out of 26 interviewees mentioned breadth as an important factor in their decision to continue to engage in programs like the CIR and PB; 8 said that being part of a program with broad impacts would encourage them to get/stay involved, and 8 said that low breadth of impact discouraged them from participating (See figure 8).

![Breadth](image_url)

*Figure 8: Number of interviewees linking breadth to increases in efficacy/engagement*

The breadth of a program’s impact is less intuitively related to willingness to engage with it. The concern with breadth is likely the result of the type of people that select into volunteering in local government in the first place. But at least for real-world deliberative programs (as opposed to laboratory deliberation for research purposes), this is exactly the population deliberative programmers are likely to engage with normally, and so knowing what drives this admittedly self-selected population toward engagement is highly relevant. Another potential hypothesis this section suggests is that the more distant the program
is from a community, the less likely participants will be driven to conceive of the program as needing to serve every member of that community. PB delegates were heavily concerned with this issue, CIR participants were not at all.

When interviewees discussed breadth, they almost exclusively referred to underserved communities. One PB delegate, who had previously mentioned that they worked with and were mostly concerned about the homeless, said, “PB addressed broad needs. They did a good job of trying to get ideas from everyone. Anyone can vote...nobody there would make it a hostile, threatening environment. The initial ideas do show a concern for underserved community members, like homelessness." Two delegates mentioned that they joined their specific committee so that they could work with more diverse people.

PB has three main phases for volunteers. Outreach at the beginning for idea collection, budget delegates to winnow and refine the proposals collected in the initial outreach phase, and then a second outreach phase to get out the vote. Once delegate said that they would not serve as a delegate again because they were not able to engage with as much of the community, but they did say that they would continue in their role on the outreach committee. “I liked outreach more. I talked to more people, worked with residents. It was more interactive.” They later went on to explain that this is where engagement is needed the most. This sentiment was shared by others, who were concerned that a lack of breadth was failing to serve the community. A specific concern is with the nature of PB. Because the process is limited to capital projects, PB cannot fund anything that requires recurring expenses, such as a shelter for the homeless. According to one delegate, “Citizens wanted different things [than what PB could provide], but they didn't understand the limitations. PB doesn't mesh with these needs, such as homelessness.” The same delegate went on to say, “There was also no follow-through in connecting with minorities. The effort wasn't sustained.” Another echoed this sentiment, “PB needs to address larger aspects that residents discuss as being problems, such as housing.” Another rhetorically asked, “Who has electric cars? Only rich people. PB is not well-equipped to address social justice."

Agenda

20 out of 26 interviewees mentioned a personal agenda as an important factor in their decision to continue to engage in programs like the CIR and PB; 12 said that participants with a personal agenda was a problem for the process, and 12 said that a personal agenda was beneficial to the process (See figure 9).
During the exploratory phase of this project, I encountered an anecdote where a PB project in a wealthy locality completely collapsed because the PTA there was extremely effective at solving the collective action problem and each year controlled which ballot proposals would win. This led to others disengaging from the process, which meant no volunteers for outreach and to serve as delegates, which meant the process became impossible. The other side of that coin is that having a personal agenda is often what motivates people to get engaged in these kinds of programs to begin with. This is not limited to PB. One of the greatest (and only) complaints about the CIR was an imbalance in perspective. One CIR participant complained “The information presented to us was biased: the experts gave more pro than con arguments.” This concern was almost perfectly echoed by another CIR participant, “Viewpoints weren’t equally represented, [the experts were] biased - the yes side had more information than the no side.” PB delegates had similar concerns. One stated, “One group member submitted an idea, then they kept pushing for that idea. It wasn’t even a capital project…I lost some confidence…This is also one reason I didn’t join the streetsmarts committee. Cyclists are very active, they push their projects.” Another delegate confirmed the concern with cyclists stating, “I was originally interested in joining the streetsmarts committee. Then I learned that it was…dominated by the passionate cyclists.” In my own observational research notes, I wrote of PB:

One concern with the PB process is that people quickly developed vested interests in some of the projects they were working on. This appeared to lead to some motivated reasoning when it came to which projects should be rated as having a greater impact or benefit to the city. This also seemed to lead to some projects receiving much more attention from the delegates, and others being more easily dismissed. I also found myself acting this way. However, none of these decisions are made without deliberation, where even the staunchest of advocates for a project were still required to give reasons for these decisions, which were subject to scrutiny and rebuttal. This did lead to some friction and mildly heated arguments, but they were all resolved amicably.

Others also expressed this understanding; having an agenda was a potential threat, but overall everyone took the process seriously. One said, “Many people had other agendas…Some were explicit about it.
They did things that would be useful for their reasons, but it didn't detract from the system.” Another observed, “People came in excited about a project, but it wasn't contentious at all.” Tellingly, another delegate said, “I discovered that a lot of people [joined PB] pursuing their own individual ideas; that's what got a lot of people to volunteer in the first place...That didn't jade me, I kind of expected that.”

Clearly there is some threat to the process from people intending to wrest power from these programs to serve their own purposes, but those threats seem only to apply when they come from groups. The PTA and cyclist examples are telling. In my first cycle I also had to limit my efforts to certain parts of the city because housing associations were known to be too powerful and would not allow dog-park activities near their homes. But with one exception, no interviewees seemed concerned when individuals had a specific agenda, or a specific project they wanted to progress.

Facilitation

15 out of 26 interviewees mentioned facilitation as an important factor in their decision to continue to engage in programs like the CIR and PB; 7 explained how facilitation motivated their likelihood to engage with the process, and 10 explained how facilitation could dissuade engagement when done poorly (See figure 10).

Facilitation seems to matter primarily as a function of impact. People who praised their facilitators did so because they allowed the process to function without interruption, and those who were turned off by their facilitator found them to be obstructionists rather than de facto facilitators. I was (un)fortunate that for both my observations of the CIR and my participation in PB, every facilitator did just that: facilitated the process. Facilitators for the CIR were highly experienced professionals and not a single participant in the process had anything but praise for them. PB facilitators were more of a mixed bag. One PB delegate was so convinced of the importance of facilitation that they were moved to engage directly because of it. “The facilitator made a big difference. I am planning to sign up to be a facilitator for next year because of how important it is.” When facilitation worked, it seemed to be a combination of subtle guidance combined with mostly hands-off encouragement. Specifically, some delegates pointed to the freedom to develop the procedures to meet the program’s goals as being particularly
valuable. “[The facilitator] used a blend of teaching us how to think about guiding our decisions about what’s best for the community, but also directly about what was best for the community...We were guided and given the freedom to facilitate ourselves." Another stated, “It was unstructured, but we decided the structure early on. It was facilitated, self-imposed structure, and we all agreed to it.” During my engagement with the CIR, one of the facilitators echoed the importance of giving participants room to design the process:

We had a very intentional and prescriptive process for small group deliberation originally that had to do with the small groups being self-facilitated which I really liked because we were basically taking people through a demonstration, what that would look like, guidelines for people about how to self-facilitate, and they learned how to do that in small groups, which I thought was really valuable.

The facilitator went on to explain that this process was also important for participant buy-in, or in other words, investment in the process.

However, there was also a danger of too little structure. Some described it as an annoyance, such as “The meetings were too unstructured. There were so many awkward pauses. Nobody wanted to take leadership.” Others agonized that the whole process was broken. “My friend's committee was too process oriented. They couldn't agree on the process, too much process for processes! They couldn't find any way to break [the proposals] down.” Others worried that these processes were too time-consuming and disallowed “freedom to work on the proposals.” A common theme for interviewees concerned with facilitation was the rigidity. Facilitators that essentially stuck to a script denied even the potential for deliberative groups to shine. People did not have time to engage with each other, to get to know each other, and had trouble buying into the process. One participant who served for multiple years and who had experienced variation in facilitator quality had an especially pertinent insight, stating that the first cycle was fixed and rigid, and highly micromanaged. The second year started off a little slower, but they designed their own process which ultimately ended up being more efficient than the first cycle. Another delegate who experienced similar variation stated:

The second year the facilitator was very rigid. It was a waste of time, we would talk about the highlights of the week, whenever we deliberated we had to discuss every single project with the rest of the group, it took a lot of time.

One last theme that came up in the context of facilitation is the potential for proactive deliberators to take control. When facilitators were described only as being hands-off, but when a delegate assumed control, the process was still likely to function well. This was especially true in situations where veteran delegates (from past cycles) were present and familiar with the process. But this did not always occur.

Discussion

Scholars, activists, and policymakers exert substantial effort studying and implementing deliberative programs. This specifically tests deliberation as a form of conversation as the causal mechanism responsible for participant increases in political sophistication, knowledge, and efficacy/engagement, and concludes that the deliberative component of these programs does less than previously claimed, though with some caveats.
Policy Recommendations

There are two sets of policy recommendations that derive from this research, the first concerning a program’s goals, and the second concerning a program’s design. If deliberative programs are implemented specifically and solely to increase political sophistication, knowledge, and/or efficacy/engagement, organizations might consider designing a different type of program where there is less focus on deliberation and more on engagement with experts. However, if the goal is to output better policy, there is some value in bringing citizens together to leverage their collective experience to make better group decisions. My research is mostly agnostic toward other concerns, such as whether a program might increase interpersonal trust, a stronger sense of community, governmental legitimacy, etc.

I have three recommendations for the design of deliberative programs. First, deliberative facilitation should not be too restrictive, nor too permissive. Both participants and program staff agreed that having a hand in designing the process was useful for buy-in, and helped to engage the participants. At the same time, facilitators should be prepared to step in with some recommendations should the participants fail to make headway. Second, deliberative programs would do well to caution against invested actors subverting their process for their own objectives, but also to find a balance that lets their participants strive to meet their own goals. Successful committees welcomed individuals to work on and argue for their preferred ideas, but also generally subjected them to the same scrutiny as other proposals. Finally, participants had the most buy-in when the program was perceived to be impactful, both in terms of depth and breadth. Programmers should highlight their programs’ impacts to participants if they want them to be engaged, and to increase the programs’ impacts if possible.

Methodological Contribution

As a brief methodological aside, my experience in conducting both participant and non-participant observational research revealed a trade-off I have not encountered in scholarly work that practitioners ought to be aware of. Ethnographers base much of their work on the idea that reality is socially constructed (Wedeen, 2002), and that building rapport is essential to helping those being observed to feel at ease and thus to act naturally (Fenno, 1978: pp. 263-274), and participating in the same activities as those being observed can both better illustrate the social reality being constructed and can demonstrate to those being observed that they can trust you. But the trade-off is that if the activity is intense, it can actually detract from one’s ability to observe in the first place. This was particularly true of PB, where budget delegates were presented with a demanding workload almost every week. I certainly became intimately familiar with the process, but I was less able to observe how others interacted with the process. Observing the CIR was the exact opposite. I was able to gain a fairly holistic view of the ways the participants were engaged, but my depth of understanding regarding their experiences was much more limited; I saw what they did, but I didn’t feel what they felt. This leads to two suggestions. If one’s research objective is to study a process, participant observation seems more appropriate, but if it is to study a population, less engagement might be indicated (but a researcher’s judgment should ultimately decide). Also, if the process is extremely involved, it might interfere with one’s ability to observe at all, which would defeat the purpose.
References


Appendix B: Session Assignment

This study consisted of three treatment groups: a deliberative conversation group, a question and answer (Q&A) conversation group, and an information-packet only control group. I recruited 15 subjects for each conversation treatment session. Due to concerns about subject drop-off after recruitment, for the conversation treatment groups I randomized at the session level instead of the individual level. I clustered errors at the session level to account for this choice.

Preliminary power calculations based on similar studies suggested that I would need approximately 100 subjects per treatment to obtain significant results. Maximum participation would have reached 105 participants in the deliberative and Q&A treatments, and 126 in the packet-only control group. I over-recruited for the control-group based on expected drop-off, but experienced more drop-off than expected. Each session averaged 18.5 participants per session, with a maximum of 24 and a minimum of 14. Accordingly, I ended up with 104 subjects in the deliberative treatment group, 103 in the Q&A group, and 63 in the control group, leaving the study somewhat underpowered. Because of the randomization procedures, I was not able to collect more control-group subjects at a later date. For more details about assignment to treatment groups, see Appendix C.

Assignment to the control group occurred as follows. There were 14 total experimental sessions. In pairs, those were randomized into 7 deliberative and 7 Q&A sessions. For each of those sessions, a list was generated with 24 unique alphanumeric designators. The order of these designators was pre-randomized, and the designators themselves corresponded to the workstation numbers in the lab as well as to ID badges that I made for participants (see below) 15 of those designators corresponded to workstations in the discussion area, and 9 of them corresponded to workstations in the packet only area. The designators correspond with the gray-colored workstations in Appendix A. When subjects initially showed up to the lab, they were told by the lab staff to remain in a waiting-room area until the study began. I waited until 5 minutes after the designated show-up time to maximize turnout, then proceeded to hand out ID badges to participants. If 24 subjects showed up, then I handed all the badges out counter-clockwise in the waiting-room area. Because the designator order was pre-randomized, I didn’t worry about what time people showed up and where they were positioned in the room. If less than 24 subjects showed up, I would cross out designators from the pre-randomized list equal to the number of missing subjects. In such instances, I would cross out designators associated with the packet only area before crossing out any of the discussion area designators. It is important to note that this crossing out occurred after a count of subjects was made and before any badges were allocated, and once the count was made, no further subjects were allowed to participate if they showed up late. This scheme allowed me to randomly assign participants into either one of the discussion treatment groups or into the information-packet only control group while still maximizing the number of subjects going to the two discussion groups. Thus, while I did have to cluster errors when comparing the deliberation treatment to the Q&A, I did not need to do so when comparing the deliberative treatment to the information-packet group, nor when comparing the Q&A group to the information-packet group. Because I had to cluster errors when comparing the deliberation treatment group to the Q&A group, it made the most statistical sense to maximize these sessions anyway as there was a greater chance they would be underpowered.
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Appendix C: Script

DELIBERATION SCRIPT

Setup:
Waiting room area:
- Consent Forms
- Randomization Spreadsheet
- Participant ID Badges

Lab area:
- Computers (with Instrument Open)
- Note Pads
- Pens
- Payment Forms
- Debriefing Forms

Moderator:
- Payment

Sessions will be pre-randomized as either Deliberative or Q&A sessions. The session will begin with the MODERATOR in the waiting-room area and the EXPERT outside the lab area. Subjects will show up and take a seat in the waiting-room area. Attendance will be cut off 10-minutes after the start time. Once attendance is cut off, those who showed up will be randomized into either a conversation group or an info-packet group using the Randomization Spreadsheet. Once randomized, the MODERATOR will give subjects a Consent Form linked to their treatment group, and a Participant ID Badge. The LAB RESEARCH ASSISTANT will lead the info-packet group to their lab stations to begin the survey immediately. The MODERATOR will then lead the subjects to the lab. The EXPERT will come in to the lab area after subjects answer the pre-test survey and read the information-packet, which is contained within the survey instrument. Once in the lab area subjects will fill in seats based on their Participant ID Badge. Note Pads and Pens will be placed at each Computer station for the conversation group only. Debriefing Forms and Payment Forms will be kept separately in a box near the exit and will be handed out to the conversation group participants as they leave. Once the conversation group members sign the Payment Forms, the Moderator will give them Payment. Info-packet group participants will return to the waiting room area to sign Payment Forms receive Payment from one of the lab research assistants.

(Start in waiting-room area)

[Moderator] (Randomizes participants using the Randomization Spreadsheet) Thank you all for participating in this study. For this study please do not speak to each other and please silence your cell phones and don’t use them for the rest of the study. I’ll give you a moment to do that while I hand out some forms (Hands out Consent Forms and Participant ID Badges). I just handed out the Consent Forms and Participant ID Badges. If your Participant ID Badge starts with a B or a C, you will participate in the longer study, which pays $50 for about 3 hours. If your ID Badge starts with an A, you will participate in the shorter study, which pays $20 for about 30 minutes. Please take a moment to read and sign the Consent Form and then hand it back to me. (Collects Consent Forms and waits for everyone to finish). Your ID Badge number matches the number on one of the computer stations in the computer lab. If
your ID Badge starts with an A, please head to the A room now and answer the survey questions on your computer terminal. Once you finish your survey you will collect your payment from [Peter/Sarah] (LAB RA). (Waits for the info-packet group to leave, then addresses the conversation group) The rest of you please follow me to the Discussion Area for some more instructions. (Leads subjects to the Discussion Area between lab-rooms B and C)

[Moderator] This is the Discussion Area. This is where each station is labeled (Moderator points to the label on the closest station), and these labels match your ID badge. Most of the content of this study will focus on the minimum wage. This study has three parts. First, you will go to your assigned station and begin the survey that’s open there. Within the survey there’s also an information packet. You’ll want to read that packet carefully, because the second part of the study will be a group discussion. You can use the note pad at your station to write down your thoughts, examples, and questions you might have about the minimum wage. You might want to consider how the minimum wage affects society, the pros and cons of changing the minimum wage, and the values that might make people support or oppose a change. The discussion session will last one and a half hours, which is a pretty long time, so as you’re reading through the information packet, use the note pad at your station to write down whatever thoughts, questions, concerns, opinions, or examples you might have. Once you come to the part of the survey that tells you to stop, leave the survey open and come back here to the discussion area. The goal of the discussion is to try to determine what you think the Massachusetts minimum wage should be. You’ll have the opportunity to discuss this with each other, to ask questions, and to share your experiences. Once the discussion is over, in the final part of the study you will answer the same survey questions again along with a few more. You may now go to your station and begin your survey. (Moderator paces the lab looking for questions, and waits until all participants return)

[Moderator] (Informs those waiting to continue to come up with questions on their note pads until everyone returns) For the next part of the study you will discuss the minimum wage law with each other. This is your opportunity to learn what others think about the minimum wage and share your own thoughts. If you want to speak, please raise your hand and I will bring the microphone to you. Please allow whoever is holding the microphone to finish speaking and if you want to respond I’ll bring the microphone to you next, so that only one person is speaking at a time (Expert enters the lab area). If there are any questions you had about the information packet or any other questions about research on the minimum wage, Segan has studied the minimum wage in great detail and will be available to answer your questions. Segan is only here to provide factual information and will not give any opinions or judgments; those are yours to make. You will have about one and a half hours to do this. You may continue to write notes and questions during this time. We will begin now, please raise your hand when you are ready and I will call on you. (Moderator takes questions, handles the mic, makes sure participants are following the rules, reminds them to stay on track when questions go off topic, and calls on people to participate. Expert answers questions.)

[Moderator] Okay, time is up (Expert leaves). Please hand me your Notepads and Pens (Collects Notepads and Pens). For the last part of the study, you will move back to the computer with your ID number. In order to proceed with the survey you will need to enter the number 360 into the open field, then on the next screen you will need to enter your Participant ID number again. Once you are finished please bring all your materials to me and I will give you your Debriefing Form and Payment. Please go
to your station, enter the number 360, and finish your survey. (Moderator moves toward the exit door and prepares the Debriefing Forms and Payment, and hands them out to participants after they sign the Payment Forms and turn in their Participant ID Badges.)

**Q&A SCRIPT**

Setup:

Waiting room area:
- Consent Forms
- Randomization Spreadsheet
- Participant ID Badges

Lab area:
- Computers (with Instrument Open)
- Note Pads
- Pens
- Payment Forms
- Debriefing Forms

Moderator:
- Payment

Sessions will be pre-randomized as either Deliberative or Q&A sessions. The session will begin with the MODERATOR in the waiting-room area and the EXPERT outside the lab area. Subjects will show up and take a seat in the waiting-room area. Attendance will be cut off 10-minutes after the start time. Once attendance is cut off, those who showed up will be randomized into either a conversation group or an info-packet group using the Randomization Spreadsheet. Once randomized, the MODERATOR will give subjects a Consent Form linked to their treatment group, and a Participant ID Badge. The LAB RESEARCH ASSISTANT will lead the info-packet group to their lab stations to begin the survey immediately. The MODERATOR will then lead the subjects to the lab. The EXPERT will come in to the lab area after subjects answer the pre-test survey and read the information-packet, which is contained within the survey instrument. Once in the lab area subjects will fill in seats based on their Participant ID Badge. Note Pads and Pens will be placed at each Computer station for the conversation group only. Debriefing Forms and Payment Forms will be kept separately in a box near the exit and will be handed out to the conversation group participants as they leave. Once the conversation group members sign the Payment Forms, the Moderator will give them Payment. Info-packet group participants will return to the waiting room area to sign Payment Forms receive Payment from one of the lab research assistants.

(Start in waiting-room area)

[Moderator] (Randomizes participants using the Randomization Spreadsheet) Thank you all for participating in this study. For this study please do not speak to each other and please silence your cell phones and don’t use them for the rest of the study. I’ll give you a moment to do that while I hand out some forms (Hands out Consent Forms and Participant ID Badges). I just handed out the Consent Forms and Participant ID Badges. If your Participant ID Badge starts with a B or a C, you will participate in the longer study, which pays $50 for about 3 hours. If your ID Badge starts with an A, you will participate in the shorter study, which pays $20 for about 30 minutes. Please take a moment to read and sign the
Collects Consent Forms and waits for everyone to finish. Your ID Badge number matches the number on one of the computer stations in the computer lab. If your ID Badge starts with an A, please head to the A room now and answer the survey questions on your computer terminal. Once you finish your survey you will collect your payment from [Peter/Sarah] (LAB RA). (Waits for the info-packet group to leave, then addresses the conversation group) The rest of you please follow me to the Discussion Area for some more instructions. (Leads subjects to the Discussion Area between lab-rooms B and C)

This is the Discussion Area. This is where each station is labeled (Moderator points to the label on the closest station), and these labels match your ID badge. Most of the content of this study will focus on the minimum wage. This study has three parts. First, you will go to your assigned station and begin the survey that’s open there. Within the survey there’s also an information packet. You’ll want to read that packet carefully, because in the second part of the study you will have the opportunity to ask questions of an expert on minimum wage law and theory. You might want to consider how the minimum wage affects society, the pros and cons of changing the minimum wage, and the values that might make people support or oppose a change. The question and answer session will last one and a half hours, which is a pretty long time, so as you’re reading through the information packet, use the note pad at your station to write down whatever questions you might have. Once you finish reading the information packet, the survey will tell you to stop. Leave the survey open and come back here to the discussion area. The goal of the question and answer session is to try to determine what you think the Massachusetts minimum wage should be. Once the session is over, in the final part of the study you will answer the same survey questions again along with a few more. You may now go to your station and begin your survey. (Moderator paces the lab looking for questions, and waits until all participants return)

(Moderator) (Informs those waiting to continue to come up with questions on their note pads until everyone returns) For the next part of the study you will ask any minimum wage questions you have to an expert (Expert enters the lab area). This is Segan, and she has been trained as an expert on minimum wage law and theory. If you have a question for Segan, please raise your hand and I will bring the microphone to you. Once you’ve asked your question, please allow Segan to complete her answer without interrupting; you can ask a follow-up question once she’s done by raising your hand again. Segan is only here to provide factual information and will not give any opinions or judgments; those are yours to make. For this session you should only ask questions. Please do not make arguments or share your opinions; save those for the survey. You are allowed to listen to each other’s questions, and to ask Segan follow-up questions, but you are not allowed to answer questions yourself or to share your thoughts, opinions, or recommendations with others. You will have about one and a half hours to do this. You may continue to write notes and questions during this time. We will begin now, please raise your hand when you are ready and I will call on you. (Hand the floor over to the Expert. Moderator makes sure participants are following the rules, reminds them to stay on track when questions go off topic, and calls on people to participate. Expert answers questions.)

(Moderator) Okay, time is up (Expert leaves). Please hand me your Notepads and Pens. For the last part of the study, you will move back to the computer with your ID number. In order to proceed with the survey you will need to enter the number 360 into the open field, then on the next screen you will
need to enter your Participant ID number again. Once you are finished please bring all your materials to me and I will give you your Debriefing Form and Payment. Please go to your station, enter the number 360, and finish your survey. (Moderator moves toward the exit door and prepares the Debriefing Forms and Payment, and hands them out to participants after they sign the Payment Forms and turn in their Participant ID Badges.)
Appendix D: Survey Instrument

Section 1

Please refer to your ID badge and enter your participant ID number below.

ID number

Click NEXT to continue.

Instructions:

Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

Please only use the computer for the survey.

Please do not talk or use your cell phones or other mobile communications devices while taking this survey.

Section 1A

Section 1, Part 1: Minimum Wage Knowledge Questions

For these questions, please answer in American dollars and cents using a decimal point. Please do not use any symbols such as a dollar-sign.

What do you think the Massachusetts per-hour minimum wage should be?

$______________________

Do you have a strong preference about what you think the Massachusetts per-hour minimum wage should be?

☐ No Preference
What is the current Massachusetts per-hour minimum wage?

$ 

What is the current US federal per-hour minimum wage?

$ 

What is the amount of the highest minimum wage of any state?

$ 

What is the amount of the highest planned minimum wage of any state that is already signed into law?

$ 

If you had to take a guess, what do you think the 75th percentile household income is in the United States? In other words, what is the household income amount that is higher than 75% of all other households?

$ 

If you had to take a guess, what do you think a 52-inch high-definition Samsung TV costs?

$ 

Section 1B
Section 1, Part 2: Minimum Wage Consideration Questions

For questions about considerations, please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Wages should be based on individual merit:

- [ ] Strongly Disagree
- [ ] Somewhat Disagree
- [ ] Neither Agree nor Disagree
- [ ] Somewhat Agree
- [ ] Strongly Agree

The US government should help determine and enforce a living wage:

- [ ] Strongly Disagree
- [ ] Somewhat Disagree
- [ ] Neither Agree nor Disagree
- [ ] Somewhat Agree
- [ ] Strongly Agree

Individuals are responsible for bargaining for their wages:

- [ ] Strongly Disagree
- [ ] Somewhat Disagree
- [ ] Neither Agree nor Disagree
- [ ] Somewhat Agree
- [ ] Strongly Agree

The best way to raise wages is to lower taxes and decrease government regulations:
Wages should be determined by the labor market:

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

The minimum wage should be increased:

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

Wages should be based on individual needs:

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

Workers should collectively bargain with companies for their minimum wage:
Section 1C

Section 1, Part 3: Consequences

For the next questions you will list as many answers as you can think of (up to ten). Please only write one answer per box. Please read the directions carefully and answer to the best of your ability.

Please list up to 10 ways that an increase in the minimum wage would impact society. Please list as many as you can.

What are some features of the minimum wage debate that politicians could highlight or ignore for political gain? Please list as many examples as you can (up to 10).
Section 2

Section 2: Attitudes about Politics

For the following questions, please select the answer that best fits you.

How much more information do you need to make a good decision about where to set the Massachusetts state minimum wage?

- A great deal more
- A lot more
- A moderate amount more
- A little more
- I already have enough

How much do you trust others in this study to consider your interests in addition to their own when deciding on the Massachusetts state minimum wage?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
Do you think it's more important to compromise or stick to your beliefs?

☐ Much more important to stick to your beliefs
☐ A little more important to stick to your beliefs
☐ An even mix of both
☐ A little more important to compromise
☐ Much more important to compromise

Generally speaking, do you think most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

☐ You can trust most people
☐ I'm not sure
☐ You can't be too careful

How often do you trust the US government to do what is right?

☐ Never
☐ Only some of the time
☐ Most of the time
☐ Just about always

Section 3

Section 3: Personal Assessment

For the following questions, please select the answer that best describes your position.
"I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics."
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing the US."
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"People like me don't have much say about what the US government does."
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people."
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree
"I think that I am better informed about US politics and government than most people."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what the US government does."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

Midway Break

**INFORMATION PACKET**

For the next phase of the study you will be reading an information packet about minimum wage law and theory. This packet will provide you with information you might find useful to help you decide what you think the Massachusetts minimum wage should be. Scroll down to read the packet. Once you finish reading the information packet, please continue on with the survey.
Minimum Wage
Information Packet

What is minimum wage?
A minimum wage is the lowest dollar amount employers must pay workers for each hour of work they complete.

Minimum wage across the U.S.
- U.S. Federal Minimum Wage: $7.25/Hour
- Massachusetts State Minimum Wage: $11.00/Hour
- Highest State Minimum Wage (WA): $11.50/Hour
- Lowest State Minimum Wage (Several): No Minimum
- Highest Proposed Minimum Wage: $15.00/Hour

*All jobs covered under the Fair Labor Standards Act are required to pay the Federal Minimum Wage even if the state minimum is lower.

Minimum Wage by U.S. State as of July 1, 2018

Source: United States Department of Labor, state & local web sites

- Washington D.C.
- California $10.00
- Massachusetts $11.00
- Oregon $9.00
- Washington, DC $12.00
- New Jersey $10.50
- New York $11.00
- Connecticut $10.20
- New Mexico $7.50
- Tennessee none
- South Dakota $7.25
- North Dakota $7.25
- South Carolina none
- North Carolina $7.25
- Nevada $8.35
- Utah $7.00
- Wyoming $7.00
- Mississippi none
- Alabama none
- Louisiana none
- Minnesota none
- Wisconsin none
- Maine none
- Montana none
- Idaho none
- Arizona none
- Nebraska none
- Kansas none
- Missouri none
- Iowa none
- Michigan none
- Ohio none
- Illinois none
- Arkansas none
- Kentucky none
- Virginia none
- Tennessee none
- New Mexico none

$10.00
$9.00
$8.25
$7.25
$6.75
$5.00
$4.25
$3.00
$2.00
$1.00
$0.00

Federal rate
above federal rate
below federal rate
or no minimum wage
above $10.00

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Minimum wage for tipped professions and for small businesses is less.

Some local minimum wage rates:
- San Francisco, CA $15.00
- Berkeley, CA $15.00
- Los Angeles, CA $13.00
- Washington, DC $12.00
- Oakland, CA $12.00
- San Jose, CA $12.00
- Portland, OR $13.00
- Somerville, MA $12.00
- Portland, ME $10.00

$10.00
$9.80
$10.50
$11.00
$11.50
$12.00
$12.25
$12.50
$12.75
$13.00
$13.25
$13.50
$13.75
$14.00
$14.25
$14.50
$14.75
$15.00

Fact: The federal minimum wage has not been changed since July, 2009.

Minimum wage for tipped professions and for small businesses is less.
Who Are Minimum Wage Employees?

Who works most minimum wage jobs?
- retail workers
- cashiers
- office clerks
- registered nurses
- customer service representatives
- food preparation and service workers

Women are slightly more likely to work at minimum wage jobs than men.

Minimum Wage by Education

- Less than High School: 45%
- High School Only: 21.30%
- At least Some College: 33.7%

Percentage at the minimum wage by Age

Did you know?
When unemployment is high employers have more flexibility to lower wages because there is more competition for jobs.

Massachusetts is close to full employment, and that helps keep wages high.
Massachusetts Fact Sheet

The Massachusetts unemployment rate is 3.5%, lower than the national rate of 3.9%

A raise in the MA minimum wage to $15 per hour is projected to affect 30% of the state’s workforce

As of 2017, small businesses employed nearly 47% of the Massachusetts workforce

Approximately 18% of MA employees work part-time; twice as many women work part-time as men
Minimum Wage and Poverty

**Poverty Statistics**
The U.S. poverty line (yearly):
- $12,060 for an individual
- $16,240 for a family of two

MA minimum wage earnings:
- $22,880 (yearly)

Percentage of MA residents below the poverty line:
- 10.4% (3.9% are employed)

---

**Percentage below the Poverty Line by Age and Sex**

- **18-64 Men**: 8%
- **18-64 Women**: 10%
- **18 and Under**: 12%

---

**Percentage below the Poverty Line by Race**

- African American: 25%
- Asian American: 15%
- Latino: 30%
- Native American: 20%
- White: 10%

---

**Research on Poverty**
A 10% hike in minimum wage can reduce poverty by 2.4%

However, those who are unemployed or who work fewer hours make up a large portion of the poor and are often unaffected by raises in the minimum wage, possibly explaining the small 2.4% reduction.
Minimum Wage and Unemployment

**Employment Research**

1992 study showed that an 80¢ increase in the minimum wage did not decrease employment in the restaurant industry.

A 2007 study showed that overall a minimum wage increase would lead to some job loss, but this working paper was never published.

Even more convincing research in 2010 supported the finding that increasing the minimum wage doesn’t reduce restaurant jobs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do employers adjust?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase Prices:</td>
<td>Strong research support for this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut low-skilled jobs:</td>
<td>Research supports this overall, but not in restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Hours:</td>
<td>Some research support for this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Turnover:</td>
<td>Some research support for this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compress Wages:</td>
<td>Some research support for this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase Efficiency:</td>
<td>Some research support for this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Profits:</td>
<td>Some research support for this in the U.K., not the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Benefits:</td>
<td>Research is mixed on this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go out of Business:</td>
<td>Research shows this for low rated restaurants only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# The Three Minimum Wage Camps

## No Change/Reduce

**Supported By:**
- Business People
- Economists

**Arguments:**
- Small businesses could be harmed
- Some jobs are designed to be temporary
- Fear of increased prices
- Poverty should be addressed by welfare

## Half of the Median Full-Time Wage

**Supported By:**
- Researchers
- Think Tanks

**Arguments:**
- This is a common level around the world
- (MA is already at this level)
- $15 would be too dramatic an increase
- This helps link wages to prices more generally

## Fight for 15

**Supported By:**
- Activists
- Politicians
- Worker Groups

**Arguments:**
- Wages aren’t keeping up with productivity
- Costs of living are increasing, especially in cities
- Can be done incrementally so businesses can adjust
- Can best counteract inequality and poverty
Ultimately this is a Complex Issue

Minimum wage policies aren’t limited to those supported by the three camps listed above.

Use this information packet to help you decide where you would like MA’s minimum wage.

Note that a change in the minimum wage has multiple and complex effects beyond just worker pay.

Make sure you’ve looked through this information carefully before progressing to the next part of the study.
References

Are you finished reading the information packet? You will not be able to return to it beyond this point.

☐ Yes I am ready to move on
☐ No I would like to go back and read more

Section 1A Repeat

Instructions:

Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

Please only use the computer for the survey.

Please do not talk or use your cell phones or other mobile communications devices while taking this survey.

Section 1, Part 1: Minimum Wage Knowledge Questions

For these questions, please answer in American dollars and cents using a decimal point. Please do not use any symbols such as a dollar-sign.

What do you think the Massachusetts per-hour minimum wage should be?

$ __________

Do you have a strong preference about what you think the Massachusetts per-hour minimum wage should be?

☐ No Preference
☐ Moderate Preference
☐ Strong Preference
What is the amount of the highest planned minimum wage of any state that is already signed into law?

$

If you had to take a guess, what do you think a 52-inch high-definition Samsung TV costs?

$

What is the current US federal per-hour minimum wage?

$

If you had to take a guess, what do you think the 75th percentile household income is in the United States? In other words, what is the household income amount that is higher than 75% of all other households?

$

What is the amount of the highest minimum wage of any state?

$

What is the current Massachusetts per-hour minimum wage?

$

Section 1B Repeat

Section 1, Part 2: Minimum Wage Consideration Questions
For questions about considerations, please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Workers should collectively bargain with companies for their minimum wage:
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

Wages should be determined by the labor market:
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

The minimum wage should be increased:
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

Individuals are responsible for bargaining for their wages:
- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
Somewhat Agree
Strongly Agree

The US government should help determine and enforce a living wage:
Strongly Disagree
Somewhat Disagree
Neither Agree nor Disagree
Somewhat Agree
Strongly Agree

Wages should be based on individual merit:
Strongly Disagree
Somewhat Disagree
Neither Agree nor Disagree
Somewhat Agree
Strongly Agree

The best way to raise wages is to lower taxes and decrease government regulations:
Strongly Disagree
Somewhat Disagree
Neither Agree nor Disagree
Somewhat Agree
Strongly Agree

Wages should be based on individual needs:
Strongly Disagree
Somewhat Disagree
Section 1C Repeat

Section 1, Part 3: Consequences

For the next questions you will list as many answers as you can think of (up to ten). Please only write one answer per box. Please read the directions carefully and answer to the best of your ability.

Please list up to 10 ways that an increase in the minimum wage would impact society. Please list as many as you can.

What are some features of the minimum wage debate that politicians could highlight or ignore for political gain? Please list as many examples as you can (up to 10).
Section 2: Attitudes about Politics

For the following questions, please select the answer that best fits you.

How much do you trust others in this study to consider your interests in addition to their own when deciding on the Massachusetts state minimum wage?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- None at all

How often do you trust the US government to do what is right?

- Never
- Only some of the time
- Most of the time
- Just about always
How much **more information** do you need to make a good decision about where to set the Massachusetts state minimum wage?

- A great deal more
- A lot more
- A moderate amount more
- A little more
- I already have enough

Generally speaking, do you think most people can be **trusted** or you can't be too **careful** in dealing with people?

- You can trust most people
- I'm not sure
- You can't be too careful

Do you think it's more important to compromise or stick to your beliefs?

- Much more important to stick to your beliefs
- A little more important to stick to your beliefs
- An even mix of both
- A little more important to compromise
- Much more important to compromise

**Section 3 repeat**

**Section 3: Personal Assessment**

For the following questions, please select the answer that best describes your position.
"I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing the US."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"I think that I am better informed about US politics and government than most people."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what the US government does."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
"People like me don't have much say about what the US government does."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

"I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics."

- Strongly Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Strongly Agree

Demographics

Section 5: Demographics

For the following questions, please select the answer that best describes you.

What is your year of birth?

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
○ Less than high school degree
○ High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)
○ Some college but no degree
○ Associate degree in college (2-year)
○ Bachelor’s degree in college (4-year)
○ Master’s degree
○ Doctoral degree
○ Professional degree (JD, MD)

Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino or none of these?
○ Yes
○ None of these

Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:

☐ White
☐ Black or African American
☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
☐ Asian
☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
☐ Other

What is your sex?
○ Male
○ Female

How many years have you lived in the United States?
Please indicate the answer that includes your entire yearly household income before taxes.

- Less than $10,000
- $10,000 to $19,999
- $20,000 to $29,999
- $30,000 to $39,999
- $40,000 to $49,999
- $50,000 to $59,999
- $60,000 to $69,999
- $70,000 to $79,999
- $80,000 to $89,999
- $90,000 to $99,999
- $100,000 to $149,999
- $150,000 or more

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- [ ] Other
- [ ] No preference

**End Block**

**Section 6: Final Remarks**

For the following questions, please provide your insights.

In your own words, what do you think was the purpose of this study?
Do you have any other comments?

Thank you!
You have come to the end of this survey. Please collect all your belongings and return to the waiting room and receive a debriefing form and payment from the lab staff.

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Appendix E: Participatory Budgeting Interview Schedule

Hello, and thank you for (taking my call and) agreeing to let me interview you.

Before I get started, I wanted to make sure you had a chance to read through the consent form.

So I’ll tell you a little about my research and I’ll let that guide my questions, and depending on your answers I might ask some follow-up questions. And if any of my questions don’t make sense, please let me know and I’ll be happy to ask them in a different way. Does that sound good?

Great! So I’m primarily interested in how community programs can affect people in three different ways. First, I want to know what people can learn from these programs. Second, I want to know how participation in these types of programs can lead to other types of participation in community and local government programs. And third, I’m interested in how these programs affect your perception of your community.

**General Questions:**
To get started, can you tell me how you got involved in PB in the first place?
   - Was there a specific project or topic you wanted to work on?

So first, just in general, what was your impression of Participatory Budgeting? What’s the most important thing you learned as a result of participating in Participatory Budgeting?

What about the program do you think worked best?
What about the program do you think worked worst?

What was your general impression of the other participants in PB?
   - Did any of them stand out, and if so, what made them stand out?
   - Were any of your conversations with the other participants particularly memorable?
   - Did you learn anything from these conversations?

Can you think of others who participated in the program that might have had a different impression than you?
   - If so, how do you think they felt about the program?
   - Why do you think they might have felt that way?

(PB) When you were part of the Participatory Budgeting program, which committee and subcommittee you were on?
   - Why did you select this committee?

**Changes in thinking:**
Now I’m going to ask some questions about the ways that you think about politics today.
Participatory Budgeting deals with local-level policies, so I’m mostly interested in your thoughts about local politics.

**Generally speaking**, how do you feel about local government today?
Can you say more about why?

How have your experiences in Participatory Budgeting shaped the way you feel about local government?
Could you give an example?
How did you think about local government before your participation?

Now I want to ask about your thinking about two features of government: decision-making and policies.
How did your participation in Participatory Budgeting change the way you think about local government decision-making?
How did your participation in Participatory Budgeting change the way you think about the policies your local government ultimately adopts?

Are there any other features of government you can think of that that Participatory Budgeting changed your thinking on?

Thank you so much for these answers! Now I want to ask about you.
Since participating in Participatory Budgeting, would you say you feel more or less confident when trying to understand political issues?

I’m now going to talk about two different ideas that scholars have about confidence, and I want you to tell me how well these describe you.
Some researchers argue that when people learn about how government programs work, they will be more likely to understand complex issues and will feel more confident when participating in politics. Others say that the more understanding you have, the more you will realize how complex issues really are and that you will feel less confident in your participation. When you think about what you learned by participating in PB, would you say that either of these perspectives apply to you, both of them, or neither?
Please explain.

Can you think of any specific examples of a time when you heard about a policy discussed in the news and it made you think back to your participation in Participatory Budgeting?
If yes, what did you think about?
How did your experience shape how you thought about the policy?

Are there any other instances you can think of when you changed your political thinking as a result of your experience in Participatory Budgeting?
Please take as much time as you need to answer.

**Changes in behavior:**
Finally, I want to ask you about your political engagement.
When you participated in PB, you were exposed to a lot of information about the topic before you made any decisions. How well did that process work for you?

Can you say more?

How did PB influence the way you look up information on government policies?

Can you give some examples?

I’m also interested in the kinds of innovation budget delegates bring to the program. What parts of the process did delegates have room to innovate and when was innovation more difficult?

What part of the process, if any, helped your ability to innovate?

Can you think of any especially creative ideas that delegates came up with?

Can you describe how they came up with these ideas?

In Participatory Budgeting you also talked to other participants before you made any decisions. Has this since encouraged you to talk to others when trying to understand political issues?

[If so] Who do you generally talk to? And how do you talk to them for example Facebook...?

[If not] Do you think PB make you less likely to talk to others, and why?

How has your participation in PB encouraged you to get engaged in other types of political behavior, such as voting, rallying, canvassing, or even discussing politics on the internet?

Can you tell me more about that?

[If not] did PB make you less involved, and why?

Since participating in PB, what other events have you participated in where people were discussing politics, like a town hall meeting?

Do you think you were you motivated to go to that event because of PB? [If so], How so?

How did your PB experience influence your behavior in later events?

We’re almost finished, just a couple more general questions: Can you think of any other ways you changed because of your experience in PB? [Pause]. Many political scientists are interested in the effects of these programs, so if you can think of any way at all that your experience in PB has changed your thoughts or behaviors, I would love to hear about it.

Thank you so much for talking with me! If you have any other thoughts on PB, any feedback about the interview questions, or if you have any questions for me, please let me know.

[Pause, allow time for final thoughts]

Thank you so much, I really appreciate your time!
Appendix F: Citizens’ Initiative Review Interview Schedule

Hello. Thank you for taking my call and agreeing to let me interview you.

Before I get started, I wanted to make sure you had a chance to read through the consent form.

So I’m finishing up a PhD program at Harvard. I study programs where citizens talk to each other before making political decisions. Because of your participation in the Citizen’s Initiative Review, I’m interested in two general topics. First, I’d like to find out whether your thinking about politics has changed because of your participation in the CIR. Second, I’d like to find out whether your political behavior changed because of your participation in the CIR. To find out, I’ll ask some basic questions and then follow-up when necessary. If any of these questions aren’t clear, please let me know and I’ll be happy to ask them in a different way. Sound good?

General Questions:
So first, just in general, what’s was your impression of the Citizen’s Initiative Review? What’s the most important thing you learned as a result of participating in the Citizen’s Initiative Review?

What about the program do you think worked best?
What about the program do you think worked worst?

What was your general impression of the other participants in CIR?
   Did any of them stand out, and if so, what made them stand out?
   Were any of your conversations with the other participants particularly memorable?
      Did you learn anything from these conversations?

Can you think of others who participated in the program that might have had a different impression than you?
   If so, how do you think they felt about the program?
   Why do you think they might have felt that way?

Changes in thinking:
Now I’m going to ask some questions about the ways that you think about politics today.

(CIR) The CIR deals with state-level policies, so I’m mostly interested in your thoughts about state politics.

Generally speaking, how do you feel about state government today?
   Can you say more about why?

How did your experiences in the Citizen’s Initiative Review shape the way you think about state government?
   Could you give an example?
How did you think about state government before your participation?

Now I want to ask about your thinking about two features of government: decision-making and policies. How did your participation in the Citizen’s Initiative Review change the way you think about local government decision-making?
   How so?
How did your participation in the Citizen’s Initiative Review change the way you think about the policies your town ultimately adopts?
   How so?

What other features of government can you think of that that the Citizen’s Initiative Review changed your thinking on?

Thank you so much for these answers! Now I want to ask about you. The first thing I want to ask about is confidence.

I’m now going to talk about two different ideas that scholars have about political knowledge, and I want you to tell me how well these describe you. Some researchers argue that when people learn about politics they will be more likely to understand complex issues and will feel more confident when participating in politics. Others say that the more understanding you have, the more you will realize how complex issues really are and that you will feel less confident in your participation. When you think about what you learned by participating in the CIR, would you say that either of these perspectives apply to you?
   Please explain.

Can you think of any specific examples of a time when you heard about a policy discussed in the news and it made you think back to your participation in the Citizen’s Initiative Review?
   If yes, what did you think about?
   Do you think your experience shaped how you thought about the policy?
      In what way?

Are there any other instances you can think of when you changed your political thinking as a result of your participation in the Citizen’s Initiative Review?
   Please take as much time as you need to answer.

Changes in behavior:
Finally, I want to ask you about your political behavior.

When you participated in the Citizen’s Initiative Review, you were exposed to a lot of information about the topic before you made any decisions. How well did that process work for you?

How did the CIR influence the way you now look up information on government policies?
   Can you give some examples?
I’m also interested in the kinds of innovation participants bring to the program. What parts of the process did participants have room to innovate and when was innovation more difficult?
   What part of the process, if any, helped your ability to innovate?
   Can you think of any especially creative ideas that participants came up with?
   Can you describe how they came up with these ideas?

In the CIR you also talked to other participants before you made any decisions. Has this since encouraged you to talk to others when trying to understand political issues?
   [If so] Who do you generally talk to? And how do you talk to them for example Facebook...?
   [If not] Do you think the CIR make you less likely to talk to others, and why?

How has your participation in the CIR encouraged you to get engaged in other types of political behavior, such as voting, rallying, canvassing, or even discussing politics on the internet?
   [If so] Can you tell me more about that?
   [If not] did the CIR make you less involved, and why?

Since participating in the CIR, what other events participated in any other events where people were discussing politics, like a town hall meeting?
   Do you think you were you motivated to go to that event because of the CIR?
   Did anything you learned at the CIR influence your behavior in later events?

We’re almost finished, just a couple more general questions: Can you think of any other ways you changed because of your experience in the CIR? [Pause]. Many political scientists are interested in the effects of these programs, so if you can think of any way at all that your experience in the CIR has changed your thoughts or behaviors, I would love to hear about it.

Thank you so much for talking with me! If you have any other thoughts on the CIR, any feedback about the interview questions, or if you have any questions for me, please let me know.

[Pause, allow time for final thoughts]

Thank you so much, I really appreciate your time!
Appendix G: CIR Survey Questions

California CIR – Drug Pricing Limits Ballot - Day 3 Evaluation

Participant ID _____

For each of the following questions, please circle the answer that best reflects your views.

Was EQUAL TIME given to both pro and con sides today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those in SUPPORT received more time</th>
<th>Both sides had EQUAL time</th>
<th>Those OPPOSED received more time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Extremely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How important a role did YOU play in today’s panel discussions?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Moderately</th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Would you say you had sufficient OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitely No</th>
<th>Probably No</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>Probably Yes</th>
<th>Definitely Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

When experts or other CIR participants expressed views different from your own today, how often did you CONSIDER CAREFULLY what they had to say?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

How often did you feel that other participants treated you with RESPECT today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

How often did you have TROUBLE UNDERSTANDING or following the discussion today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How often today did you feel PRESSURE TO AGREE with something that you weren’t sure about?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How often did one or a few of the same participants SET THE AGENDA rather a broader group effort?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How often did you feel that other participants WITHELD INFORMATION in order to get their way?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

Use the scale below to indicate how often you SPOKE UP TODAY compared to the other citizen panelists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUCH LESS than others</th>
<th>A LITTLE LESS than others</th>
<th>ABOUT AS OFTEN as others</th>
<th>A LITTLE MORE than others</th>
<th>MUCH MORE than others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes people do a kind of quiet deliberation just inside their heads. Today, how often did you find yourself THINKING ABOUT THE BALLOT MEASURE without saying anything?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

How MUCH MORE INFORMATION do you need to make a good decision on whether to support or oppose this ballot measure?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I need A LOT MORE</th>
<th>I need A LITTLE MORE</th>
<th>I already have ENOUGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(survey continues on other side)
How MUCH MORE INFORMATION do you need to make a good decision on whether to support or oppose this ballot measure?

I need A LOT MORE  I need A LITTLE MORE  I already have ENOUGH

At this point, how much would you TRUST your fellow panelists to consider your interests in addition to their own?

Not at all  Weakly  Moderately  Strongly  Very Strongly

The following questions ask how you think about POLITICAL ISSUES more generally.

Once you've made up your mind, do you find it useful or pointless to listen to other people's arguments?

Almost always pointless  Sometimes pointless  Sometimes useful  Almost always useful

Do you think it is more important to compromise or stick to your beliefs?

Much more important to stick to your beliefs  A little more important to stick to your beliefs  An even mix of both  A little more important to compromise  Much more important to compromise

Generally speaking, do you think most people can be TRusted or you can’t be too CAREFUL in dealing with people?

Most people can be trusted  I’m not sure  You can’t be too careful

How often do you trust the government to do what is right?

Never  Only some of the time  Most of the time  Just about always

For the next questions, circle the answer that reflects how the CIR was conducted over all three days.

Looking back over the past three days, how would you rate your OVERALL SATISFACTION with the CIR process?

Very Dissatisfied  Dissatisfied  Neutral  Satisfied  Very Satisfied

Please rate the performance of the CIR process on each of the following criteria.

EXAMINATION AND SUMMARIZATION of important information about the measure.

Very Poor  Poor  Adequate  Good  Excellent

Consideration of the VALUES AND DEEPER CONCERNS motivating those IN FAVOR of the measure.

Very Poor  Poor  Adequate  Good  Excellent

Consideration of the VALUES AND DEEPER CONCERNS motivating those OPPOSING the measure.

Very Poor  Poor  Adequate  Good  Excellent

Weighing the most important ARGUMENTS AND EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF the measure.

Very Poor  Poor  Adequate  Good  Excellent

Weighing the most important ARGUMENTS AND EVIDENCE OPPOSING the measure.

Very Poor  Poor  Adequate  Good  Excellent

(survey continues on next page)
Please indicate how accurately each of the following statements describes how YOU feel.

“I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>nor Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>nor Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“People like me don’t have much say about what the government does.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>nor Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>nor Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>nor Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what government does.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>nor Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you noted any concerns about the CIR process in your responses, please explain them in the space provided. You may also use this space to write additional comments about the CIR process that you want the staff to hear.

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

(survey continues on other side)
For the following questions, please think about the ALL THREE DAYS you have spent at the CIR.

How DIVERSE WAS THE RANGE OF OPINIONS you heard in the CIR discussions this week?

- NOT AT ALL diverse
- A little diverse
- Somewhat diverse
- VERY diverse

How much did the CIR process help you SYMPATHIZE WITH THE CHALLENGES of other people?

- Not at all
- A little
- Somewhat
- Quite a bit
- A great deal

How much did the CIR process help you UNDERSTAND THE PERSPECTIVES of other people?

- Not at all
- A little
- Somewhat
- Quite a bit
- A great deal

How often did you have an OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS in the small group discussions?

- NOT nearly enough
- ALMOST enough
- JUST enough
- MORE than enough

How comfortable did you feel EXPRESSING WHAT WAS TRULY ON YOUR MIND during this week’s CIR?

- VERY uncomfortable
- A LITTLE uncomfortable
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- A LITTLE comfortable
- VERY comfortable

Regardless of whether or not fellow CIR participants agreed with you, how often did they RESPECT what you had to say this week?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- Always

Overall, how important a role did YOU play in this week’s CIR discussions?

- Not at all important
- A little important
- Moderately important
- Very important
- Extremely important

How much did you learn from participating in the CIR process this week?

- Nothing
- A little
- Some things
- A great deal

Did you change your opinion on this issue as a result of the discussion, or are your views mostly the same?

- My views are entirely the same as before
- My views are mostly the same as before
- My views changed somewhat
- My views changed completely

At previous CIRs, some panelists have had conversations with each other about the ballot measure during breaks and outside the meeting room. How much influence did those informal talks have on your views during the CIR?

I DID NOT PARTICIPATE in such discussions

- NOT INFLUENCED
- A LITTLE INFLUENCED
- A GREAT DEAL INFLUENCED

Did you participate in any outside conversations, which of the following were you doing in those conversations?

Please CHECK ALL that apply.

- Exchanging new information
- Clarifying information I had already learned
- Exchanging opinions with others
- Getting to know others on a personal level
- Trying to get others to see my point of view
- Agreeing with panelists who shared my views
- Developing or writing KEY FINDINGS and ARGUMENTS
- Professional networking with others

(survey continues on next page)
During break time or after hours, some panelists have conducted their own research on the ballot measure. Please circle the answer that best represents the amount of outside research that you conducted.

I DID NOT conduct outside research  I conducted a LITTLE outside research  I conducted A LOT of outside research

If you DID conduct outside research, how much influence did that research have on your views about the measure?

I conducted outside research but was NOT INFLUENCED  I conducted outside research and was influenced A LITTLE  I conducted outside research and was influenced A GREAT DEAL

For the following questions, we wish to remind you that the information you provide in these surveys is strictly confidential. Any personally identifying information is removed once data are recorded. You will not be identified personally with any of the responses given.

Before you participated in the CIR, what was your position on this measure?

Strongly
Somewhat
Not sure/
Somewhat
Strongly
Opposed
Opposed
Undecided
Supported
Supported

At the end of the CIR process, what is your position on the ballot measure?

Strongly
Somewhat
Not sure/
Somewhat
Strongly
Oppose
Oppose
Undecided
Support
Support

How confident are you on your position on the measure?

NOT AT ALL Confident
SOMEWWHAT Confident
VERY Confident

Regarding your choice to support or oppose the measure, ON WHICH DAY DID YOU DECIDE how you would vote?

First day
Second Day
Third Day

Which of the following best describes HOW YOU MADE YOUR FINAL JUDGEMENT on the measure this week?

My vote represented MY OWN views
My vote represented EQUALLY myself AND the people of our state
My vote represented the PEOPLE of our state

If an uninformed voter reads the CIR statement, how do you think they would choose to vote on the measure?

Definitely
Probably
Not sure/
Probably
Definitely
AGAINST
AGAINST
Undecided
IN FAVOR
IN FAVOR

How much CONFIDENCE DO YOU THINK EXPERT PANELISTS HAD in your panel’s ability to produce a strong and reliable Citizens’ Statement?

NO
VERY LITTLE
SOME
A LOT
COMPLETE
Confidence
Confidence

(survey continues on other side)
What was your motivation to attend the CIR? (Please check all that apply)

- I was interested in the topic.
- I was looking for a chance to get involved in the political process.
- I like to volunteer in my local community.
- I was motivated by the payment incentive.

Some people leave processes like this feeling the same as when they came. Others leave feeling differently about government, themselves, and other citizens. How about you? Do you think that this process has changed you?

- YES, I changed
- NO, I didn’t change

-- If YES, please describe how you might have changed.
-- If NO, why do you think this process didn’t change you?

CIR processes will be held in the future for upcoming initiatives. What part of the CIR process would you recommend that the project staff change?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Negative Example</th>
<th>Validation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Involved because of PB</td>
<td>Subjects are able to explain how some feature of PB motivated or enabled them to be become more active in city governance or community volunteering</td>
<td>&quot;I advocated for my family to vote in the next PB cycle, I even helped them vote, and encouraged others to get involved in PB, and to submit new ideas.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I already attended city council meetings before PB. I deliberated before at IBM.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, explains why deliberation didn't have an effect, matches observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved because of deliberation</td>
<td>Subjects are able to explain how the deliberative aspect of PB motivated or enabled them to be become more active in city governance or community volunteering</td>
<td>No examples</td>
<td>&quot;After talking to people in the Citizen's Review, I realized that a lot of issues weren't worth arguing about. I became less obstreporous. Also, I realized there were valid opinions on both sides, and that made me less likely to argue with people as well.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge from PB</td>
<td>Subjects are able to explain how participation in PB made them more knowledgeable about local government.</td>
<td>&quot;There was some learning from PB. Just being inside, seeing the power centers, things like that. Also, the issues were simple and accessible, easy to learn, so I did feel more confident.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I already attended city council meetings before PB. I deliberated before at IBM. I didn't really learn anything.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, explains why deliberation didn't have an effect, matches observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge from Deliberation</td>
<td>Subjects are able to explain how the deliberative aspect of PB made them more knowledgeable about local government.</td>
<td>No examples</td>
<td>[Did you learn anything from the other delegates?] &quot;Not from talking to each other.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations</td>
</tr>
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</table>
### Code: Innovation Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Negative Example</th>
<th>Validation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>Subjects discuss when the program leaves room for innovation and whether the process facilitates innovation</td>
<td>&quot;Non-city officials are better than city officials for PB. They bring in a different perspective, think outside the box, bring experiences from their jobs, and that affects how much they contribute. It's like crowdsourcing. Delegates designed the mobile stage when the city was having a hard time finding a permanent location.&quot;</td>
<td>[One respondent suggested &quot;homeless kits&quot; as an example of innovation from deliberation. Another respondent claimed credit for that idea and showed it was submitted before the cycle even began.]</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Code: Impact mechanism for increasing involvement

| Impact | Subjects describe how the IMPACT of the program motivated their willingness to get involved. | "I originally got involved because I wanted to learn about the city and improve the community." | "We didn't get a final say. Bike lanes turned out to be too expensive so the city dumped it." | Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations |

### Code: Breadth mechanism for increasing involvement

<p>| Breadth | Subjects describe how the BREADTH of the program motivated their willingness to get involved. | &quot;My sense of community was stronger after interacting. It was good to see other highly motivated, well-educated, enthusiastic community members that cared. People work on what's closer to their heart... Also PB reached out to the community, they have a strong online presence, and they prepare documents in multiple languages.&quot; | &quot;Self-selected people were all the same. Community engagement was negative.&quot; | Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agenda mechanism for increasing involvement</td>
<td>Subjects describe how INDIVIDUAL AGENDAS motivated their willingness to get involved.</td>
<td>&quot;Folks with an agenda were still very engaged in the process. This was one of the better public groups. People came in excited about a project, but it wasn't contentious at all.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Experienced people take a position and make sure it gets attention. This seemed like a very effective approach to getting what they wanted. I was surprised at the projects that actually got selected...These people aggregated and accepted information to advance their cause.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitation mechanism for increasing involvement</td>
<td>Subjects describe how the FACILITATION of the program motivated their willingness to get involved.</td>
<td>&quot;The third cycle worked well. [The facilitator] used a blend of teaching is how to think about guiding our decisions about what's best for the community, but also directly about what was best for the community. In a way we were guided and given the freedom to facilitate ourselves.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The facilitator wasn't particularly helpful. [They] blocked freedom - they were just moving through the agenda. There wasn't enough time to discuss and flesh the ideas out.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc mechanism for increasing involvement</td>
<td>Subjects describe how MISCELLANEOUS features of the program motivated their willingness to get involved.</td>
<td>&quot;[PB had] decent people running the show. Definitely increased my trust in the city.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Wasn't long enough, we lacked time for discussion in small groups. It felt rushed.&quot;</td>
<td>Gives examples, Validated across cases, Able to identify a causal mechanism, matches observations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>