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Center for Deliberative Democracy  
Deliberative Polling ®

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■ Public consultation:  
Two basic questions

- Who is consulted?
  - (How are they selected?)
- What kind of opinion is solicited?

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■ Eight Forms of Public Consultation

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

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■ Public Opinion:  
Three Problems

- Rational Ignorance
- Phantom Opinions
- Selectivity of Sources

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■ Key components:

- Balanced information
- Small group deliberation
- Expert Q & As

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■ Key components:

- Random sampling/  
representative samples
- Control groups who do not  
deliberate

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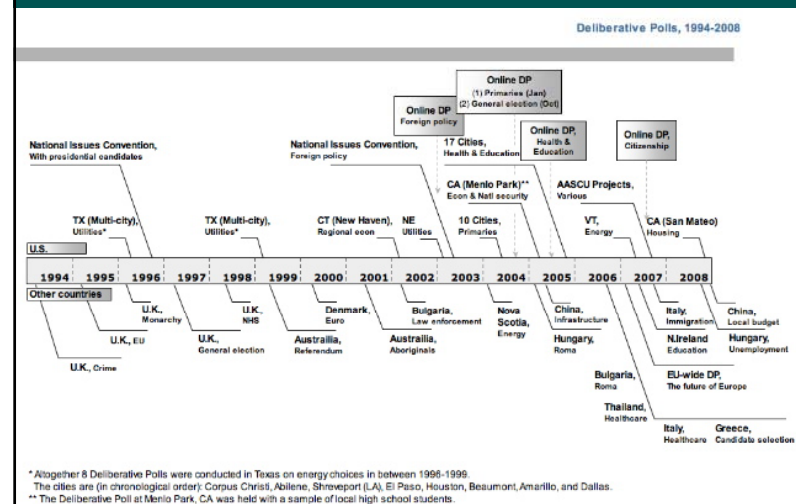
## ■ The Result?

→ Informed Opinion



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## Deliberative Polling® Timeline



## Deliberative Polling® in China



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## Deliberative Polling® in China

- Zeguo Township, Wenling City
- 2005; 2006 – Infrastructure Projects
- 2008; 2009 – Township Budget
- DP directly impacts government policy
- Agreement to conduct annual DP for the next 10 years

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## About Zeguo Township

- Population: 120,000 residents & 150,000 migrants
- 63.12 square kilometers
- Jurisdiction over 97 villages
- Main industries: shoe, water pump, air compressor, and building materials
- Wenling City is well-known for inaugurating deliberative meetings; between '96 – '00 close to 1,200 deliberative meetings were conducted at the village level

## 2008 Deliberative Poll in Zeguo Township

- ▶ 197 people were randomly selected
- ▶ 175 participants attended the event
- ▶ 167 participants (completed pre and post questionnaires)
- ▶ DP Topic: 2008 Financial Budget for Zeguo Township
  - The entire budget was given to the participants, this is unprecedented for this Township
  - 48-page document, close to 250M RMB budget
- ▶ Over 60 deputies from the Township People's Congress attended the DP event

## Results: Representativeness

	Participants	Non-Participants
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	61.9	62.1
Female	38.1	37.9
<b>Average Age</b>	47.9	48.0
<b>Education</b>		
No Schooling	3.0	0.0
Primary School	32.5	29.2
Secondary School	47.0	58.3
High School	16.0	12.5
College	0.6	0.0
Professional Training	0.6	0.0
University	0.6	0.0
Other	0.0	0.0

## Results: Knowledge Gains

Knowledge Questions	T1 (%)	T2 (%)	Change (%)
Q8: From 2007 to 2008, by what percentage did Zeguo Township's revenue increase?	16.5	20.3	+3.9
Q9: In the proposed 2008 budget for , roughly six percent is devoted to which of following item?	26.7	41.3	+14.7
Q10: There are four priorities in the proposed 2008 budget for , which of the following are NOT one of the priorities?	18.8	31.8	+12.9
Q11: Which of the following is NOT one of 's budgeting principles?	14.4	21.6	+7.2

## Results: Opinion Changes

Question	T1	T2	Change
National Defense Affairs	9.037	8.165	-0.872***
Environment Protection and Construction	7.692	8.508	+0.817***
Infrastructure Input	6.934	7.575	+0.642**
Environment and Health Integration	7.888	8.345	+0.457**
Social Welfare	7.556	8.056	+0.500**
Social Security and Employment	8.328	8.786	+0.458**
Medical Care and Health	8.870	9.176	+0.305*

## Results: Opinion Changes

Question	T1	T2	Change
Health Supervision	8.694	8.685	-0.008
Education	9.507	9.551	+0.043
Continuing Education	7.769	7.829	+0.060
Industry, Business, and Financial Affairs	6.620	6.420	-0.200
Water Treatment Construction	8.452	8.468	+0.016
Compensation for Land Expropriation and Relocation	7.642	7.560	-0.083



## Results: Value Questions

Question	T1	T2	Change
You and your family's daily life convenience	7.974	8.596	+0.623***
Making sure nobody goes hungry or lacks medical care	8.992	9.025	+0.003
Being able to retire comfortably	7.083	7.226	+0.143
Promoting economic growth	6.809	7.348	+0.539*
Protecting the environment	9.466	9.271	-0.195
Image of the city	8.548	8.452	-0.096
Maintaining the current character of our communities	8.142	8.453	+0.311

## Results: Evaluation of the Process

Question	Percentage
Views on the entire day of deliberation	73.5 – Valuable (62.8 – Extremely Valuable)
Views on small group discussion	70.5 – Valuable (63.8 – Extremely Valuable)
Views on large group sessions	75.7 – Valuable (67.0 – Extremely Valuable)
Group members participate equally in discussions	74.1 – Very Equal 2.4 – Very Unequal
Group members with different views from you have their own rational reasons	87.1 - Agree

## Results: Implementation of Opinion Changes

- Participants wanted to increase subsidies for **village infrastructure constructions**
- Thus, the People's Congress reallocated 400,000 RMB from the "every village has projects" program – this program's budget was cut from 1.6M to 1.2M RMB
- Infrastructure Index:
  - T1: 0.783; T2: 0.820
  - Change: +0.037
  - P-value: 0.006

## Results: Implementation of Opinion Changes

- ▶ The environment has been a top priority for citizens of Zeguo since 2005 and remains a high priority
- ▶ Thus, the People's Congress increased by budget for environment protection by 8.89% - 500,000 RMB was allocated to construct small-sized farm irrigation and water conservation; the monies were reallocated from the construction of the civic square
- Environment Index
  - T1: 0.797
  - T2: 0.830
  - Change: +0.034
  - P-value: 0.016

## Results: Implementation of Opinion Changes

- Participants wanted to increase pensions for rural seniors
- Thus, the People's Congress increased the budget from 20,000 RMB to 100,000 RMB – the monies were reallocated from the construction of the civic square in the central district
- Social Security & Employment
  - T1: 0.779
  - T2: 0.788
  - Change: +0.009
  - P-value: 0.601

## Results: 2005 DP – Public Spiritedness

- Participants became more public-spirited after deliberations
- Coded projects questions – only benefiting small number of villages as “1”; benefiting large number of villages as “5”
- The correlation for 30 projects for “shared-benefit” and change in project priorities: 0.655

## Press on Deliberative Polling® in China

- 2008 DP
  - Two articles in the Central Party School's *Study Times*
  - One article in the National Legal Newspaper, *Legal Daily*
- 2005 DP
  - The New York Times, Time Asia, Study Times, Prospect
- Papers and articles available at <http://cdd.stanford.edu>

## Future Deliberative Polling® projects in China

- Continuing work in Zeguo Township; include in their annual budget process
- Deliberative Polling® training, seminars and conferences



## Deliberative Polling® in Europe: European-wide



## Tomorrow's Europe EU-wide Deliberative Poll:

### On Retirement

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

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## EU-wide Deliberative Poll: On EU Enlargement

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>On whether, "Additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU"?</li> </ul>	in general	decreased from 67% to 60%; -7%
	for Turkey	decreased from 55% to 45%; -10%
	for Ukraine	decreased from 69% to 55%; -14%

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## EU-wide Deliberative Poll

- No Sig. Change* On Admitting Muslim Countries

"adding a Muslim country to the EU would make the EU too diverse"	43% (before) 41% (after)
"adding a Muslim country to the EU would improve the EU's relations with the Muslim world"	49% (before) 47% (after)

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## EU-wide Deliberative Poll:

### On EU Enlargement, Overall

- On whether, the EU was “adding too many countries too fast”?
  - increased from 46% (before) and 53% (after); +7%
- On whether, “adding more countries to the EU would make it more difficult for the EU to make decisions”?
  - increased from 52% (before) to 62% (after); +10%

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## EU-wide Deliberative Poll:

### New vs. Old Members States

	New Member States	Old Member States
On admitting Ukraine	Support fell from 76% (before) to 49% (after); -27%	Support fell from 64% (before) to 57% (after); -7%
On admitting Turkey	Support fell from 58% (before) to 42% (after); -16%	Support fell from 53% (before) to 46% (after); -7%
On admitting a Muslim country	Support fell from 52% (before) to 33% (after); -19%	Support rose from 38% (before) to 45% (after); +7%

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## EU-wide Deliberative Poll: Knowledge Gains

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

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

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## EU-wide Deliberative Poll: Mutual Respect & Understanding

- “People who disagree with me completely often have good reason for their views.”
  - Increased from 52% (before) to 59% (after)
- After deliberations, 88% of participants agreed that they “learned a lot about people very different from me—about what they and their lives are like”
  - Out of the 88% above, 60% indicated “strongly agree”

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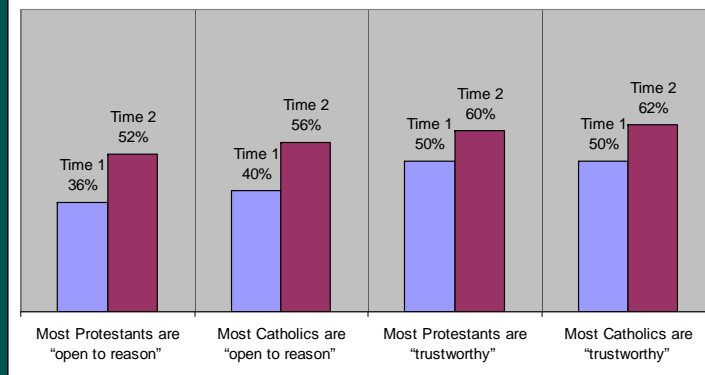


## Deliberative Polling® in Europe: Northern Ireland

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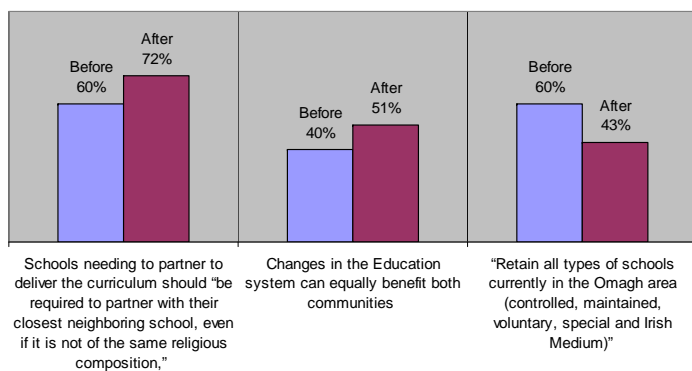
### Northern Ireland Deliberative Poll® Omagh, January 27, 2007

#### Community Perceptions



Northern Ireland Deliberative Poll®  
Omagh, January 27, 2007

**Educational Policy**



Northern Ireland Deliberative Poll®  
Omagh, January 27, 2007

All Participants – Change in Knowledge

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

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## Deliberative Polling® in Europe: Greece

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## Candidate Selection



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## Candidate Selection Results

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

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

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## Deliberating Polling® in Australia

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### Australian National Deliberative Poll on Republic Referendum

<b>Vote Intention (yes)</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Time 3</b>
Participants	56%	73%	73%
Nonparticipants	51%		52%
Control			48%

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### Deliberating Polling® in the United States

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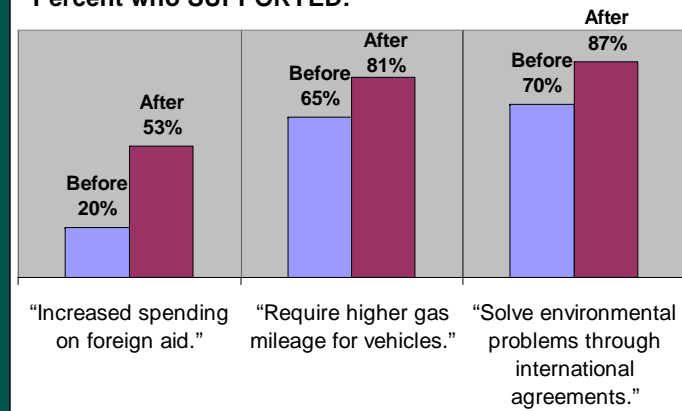
## PBS “By the People”



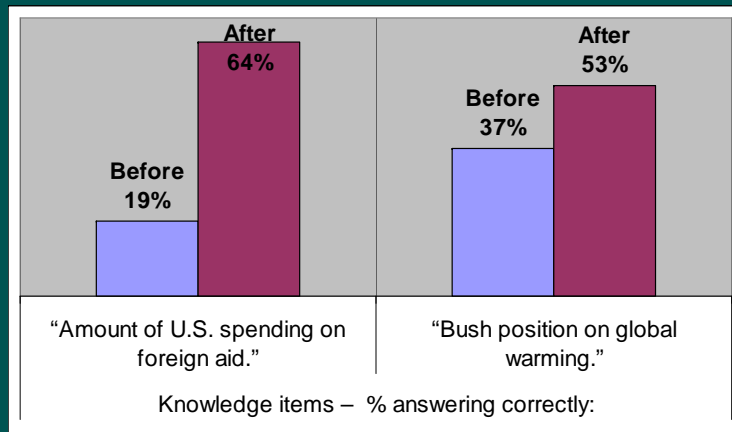
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## “By the people” Philadelphia

### Percent who SUPPORTED:



### "By the people" Philadelphia



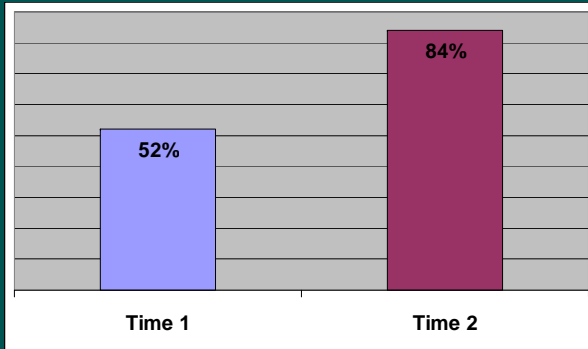
### Utilities in Texas



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## Utilities: Preference Changes

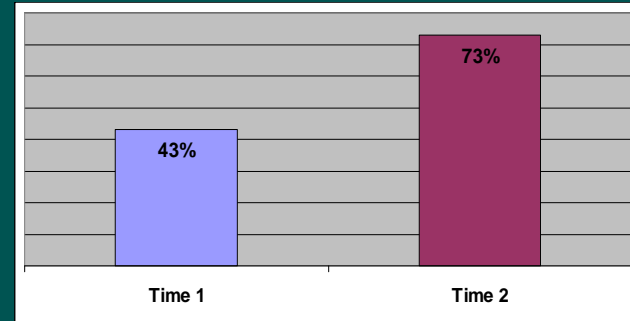
Average of 8 Utility Deliberative Polls	Time 1	Time 2
Percentage willing to pay extra for increased wind and solar power	52%	84%



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## Utilities Preference Changes

Average of 8 Utility Deliberative Polls	Time 1	Time 2
Percentage willing to pay more to reduce the need for electricity (demand side management)	43%	73%



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*By the People*  
Deliberative Polling®  
Online

Conducted by with  
YouGovAmerica/Polimetrix

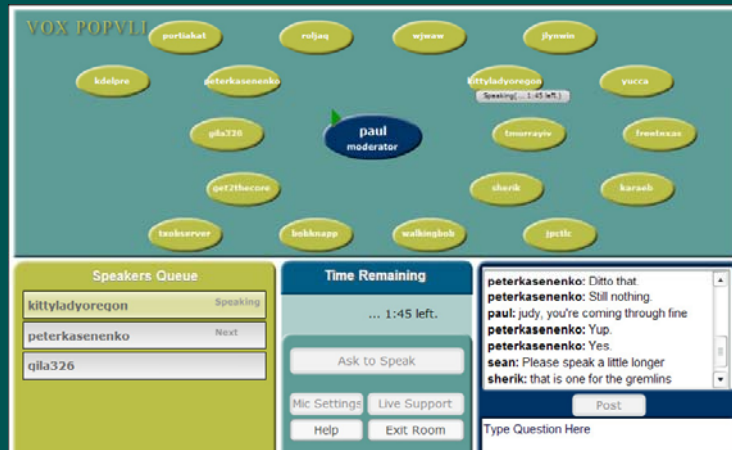
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*By the People*  
An Online Deliberative Poll

- A nationally representative sample of 1,300 people randomly assigned to treatment or control groups
- Treatment Group: 301 deliberators completed *four* 1-hour long sessions
- Control Group: 1,034 people
- Topics: Participation, Exercising Choice, Becoming Informed, & Public Service

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Weekly group meetings on each topic were conducted online using the “Vox Populi” audio discussion software.



## On Participation

“importance” of voting	Support increased from 90% to 96% (+6%)
“importance” of “increasing political participation”	Support increased from 88% to 93% (+5%)
“allowing Election Day registration”	Support increased from 47% to 54% (+7%)
“allowing felons to vote” after serving their sentences	Support increased from 52% to 62% (+10%)
“felons have paid their debt” after serving their sentences	Support increased from 57% to 76% (+19%)

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## Knowledge Gains

- Eight Knowledge Questions
  - Knowledge Index Increased from 44% to 55% (+11%)
- Selected Knowledge Questions

Who must register with selective service in the US?	% Correct Increased from 60% to 81%, +21%
Country that has “compulsory voting”?	% Correct Increased from 13% to 29%, +16%
Frequency of congressional redistricting?	% Correct Increased from 39% to 53%, +14%

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## By the People The Process

The whole event was “valuable”	87%
Read more than half of the briefing materials by the end	89%
Briefing Materials were “mostly balanced”	81%
“...moderator provided the opportunity for everyone to participate...”	95% Agreed
“...members of my group participated relatively equally...”	64% Agreed
“...moderator sometimes tried to influence the group with this or her own views”	88% Disagreed
“...moderator tried to make sure that opposing arguments were considered”	64% Agreed
The important aspects of the issues were covered in the group discussions	87% Agreed
I learned a lot about people very different from me—about what they and their lives are like	76% Agreed

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## Deliberation and its Critics

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## Deliberation and its Critics

- Participation Inequality
- Social Influence
- Polarization

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### Social Influence— Across 15 Deliberative Polls

Dataset	Proportion of small groups moving towards: T1 Male	Proportion of small groups moving towards: T1 Higher Educated	Proportion of small groups moving towards: T1 Higher Income	Proportion of small groups moving towards: T1 White
Australia	0.4	1	0.6	-
British Crime	0.4	0.6	-	0.2
British Europe	0.75	0.5	-	0.25
British General Election	0.5	1	0.75	0.25
British Health	0.538	0.538	0.462	0.615
British Monarchy	0.25	0.5	-	0
Bulgaria I	0.692	0.692	0.692	0.385
China	0.4	0.5	-	-
Greece	0.167	0.333	0.167	-
New Haven	0.333	1	0.667	0.333
NIC I	0.286	0.571	0.429	0.571
NIC II	0.667	0.556	0.667	0.667
Utilities, Cpl	0.375	0.5	0.25	0.375
Utilities, Swepeco	0.25	0.375	0.75	0.625
Utilities, Wtu	0.375	0.375	0.5	0.5
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.426</b>	<b>0.603</b>	<b>0.539</b>	<b>0.398</b>

Source: Robert C. Luskin, James S. Fishkin, Kyu Hahn, and Alice Siu, "Downsides of Deliberation? Polarization, Consensus, and Social Influence in Small Group Discussion," Center for Deliberative Democracy, Stanford University <http://odd.stanford.edu>

### Polarization – Across 15 Deliberative Polls

Poll	No. of Small Groups	No. of Indices	Proportion of small group means moving away from midpoint	Proportion with decreasing variance
Australia	24	5	0.525	0.617
British Crime	20	5	0.460	0.530
British Europe	16	4	0.563	0.328
British General Election	15	4	0.383	0.650
British Health	15	13	0.518	0.564
British Monarchy	15	4	0.567	0.567
Bulgaria I	17	13	0.394	0.511
China	16	10	0.475	0.706
Greece	15	6	0.333	0.233
New Haven	16	3	0.479	0.542
NIC I	26	7	0.582	0.637
NIC II	24	9	0.713	0.694
Utilities: Cpl	16	8	0.594	0.625
Utilities: Swepeco	14	8	0.518	0.598
Utilities: Wtu	14	8	0.429	0.634
<b>Average</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>0.502</b>	<b>0.562</b>

Source: Robert C. Luskin, James S. Fishkin, Kyu Hahn, and Alice Siu, "Downsides of Deliberation? Polarization, Consensus, and Social Influence in Small Group Discussion," Center for Deliberative Democracy, Stanford University <http://odd.stanford.edu>

## Qualitative Analyses with Deliberative Polling®

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## Qualitative

- Argument Quality
  - Justified vs. Unjustified
- Balance of Arguments
  - Liberal vs. Conservative

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