
Sheffield.

could engage in a meaningful manner. Furthermore, not only did the individual participants go through a transformation by becoming more active citizens, there is also evidence of follow-on and longer-term growth in political engagement.

This pilot project has not answered all the questions, and like most good research projects it has probably stimulated more questions than it has answered. This in itself illustrates why theoretically informed but policy-relevant research really matters. Key areas for further work include: how to recruit and retain a more representative sample of the population; how digital platforms might enable assembly-c

Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Citizens are ready, willing and able to take part in participatory and deliberative forms of democratic practice in relation to complex policy issues.
2. Citizens want stronger devolution with more public involvement. They want to feel part of 'the revolution in devolution' and not simply to have change imposed upon them.
3. Political parties, politicians and policy-makers will bene t from thinking more creatively about stimulating informed public engagement and about interacting 'with multiple audiences in multiple ways', both for the devolution debate, and in policy-making more generally.
4. Deliberative methods involve signi cant investment in terms of money, time, energy and relationship building but this should be viewed as a positive social investment that is likely to increase the e ciency of subsequent policies and decisions.
5. There was a clear and signi cant "spillover e ect" from the citizens' assemblies, with many participants increasing their levels of local political engagement and online activity.
6. Citizens' assemblies should not be seen in isolation, but instead, if carefully designed, can become the driver of a far broader public debate about an issue, challenge or event.
7. Citizens' assemblies can not only change the individual attitudes and beliefs of participants, but also promote an increasing level of deliberation, con dence and listening as the assembly progresses.
8. Delivering high-quality, high-impact social science research demands that academics have new skills in relation to knowledge-production, knowledge -translation and knowledge-brokerage that span the traditional disciplinary boundaries and that includes an awareness of political and policy-making structures.
9. The timing of citizens' assemblies is critical for potential outcomes. These assemblies were conducted within the context of twelve month ESRC funding, the swift passage of enabling legislation through Westminster and the rapid announcement by Government of proposed 'devo deals'. To have current impact the pilots needed to be completed within three months, while more time for exibility and adaptation would have assisted with emergent issues around
10. 'Designing for democracy' is crucial and more work is needed in relation to recruiting assembly members that are representative of all sections of society; the role of politicians in assembly processes; and the relationship between the output of assemblies and the traditional political processes.
11. The citizens' assemblies, combined with knowledge from other deliberative initiatives, provide a rich source of learning to feed into a future constitutional convention for the UK.

Acknowledgements

The ‘Democracy Matters’ research project was a joint venture that involved academics and practitioners working together closely from the very initial project design stages and also drew upon the expertise, energy and enthusiasm of a vast range of people. The project team would like to thank everyone who o ered their time and commitment: without them it simply would not have been possible to deliver such an impressive piece of theoretically informed but policy-relevant research.

The project began and concluded at St George’s House in Windsor Castle and the research team is indebted to the support and encouragement of St George’s House and to its commitment to bringing about positive social change.

The Principal Investigator of this project was Professor Matthew Flinders (University of She eld). The co-investigators were Professor Will Jennings (University of Southampton), Professor Graham Smith (University of Westminster), Dr Alan Renwick (University College London), and Katie Ghose (Electoral Reform Society). Professor Gerry Stoker (University of Southampton), Edward Molloy (Electoral Reform Society), Dr Brenton Prosser (University of She eld) and Dr Paolo Spada (University of Southampton) were also key members of the research team. This team would like to acknowledge the contributions of Dr John Boswell, Lucy Parry and Dr Matt Ryan to the success of this project.

The two chairs of the assemblies, Peter Henley and Len Tingle, ful lled their roles with good grace and humour over the residential weekends and the professional facilitator, Titus Alexander, played a key role in overseeing within the assembly activities. In light of the contemporary nature of this project and the rapidly changing political backdrop against which the assemblies were designed and delivered we are particularly grateful for the expert advice of Mark Sandford (House of Commons Library) and for his assistance in drafting a number of background and information papers. Mark was a constant source of information and inspiration for the project team.

The Electoral Reform Society was far more than a ‘partner’ on this project and quickly became a core element of the research team, facilitating the very best kind of co-produced knowledge. Thanks are due to Will Brett, Doug Cowan, and Josiah Mortimer from the Electoral Reform Society, who developed our website and implemented much of our communications strategy. John Denham and Izaak Wilson and the Southern Policy Centre ful lled a key role in terms of specialist knowledge, communications and the provision of witnesses; Lord David Blunkett and everyone in the Sir Bernard Crick Centre also played a major role in supporting this project. Indeed, we would like to thank all the witnesses that took the time to come and speak in person before either of the assemblies.

We are also extremely grateful to the members of the project’s Advisory Board, which included the Academic Directors of the four o cial citizens’ assemblies that have taken place to date around the world: Professor Ken Carty (British Columbia Citizens’ Assembly), Professor David Farrell (Irish Constitutional Convention), Professor Jonathan Rose (Ontario Citizens’ Assembly), and Professor Henk van der Kolk (Dutch Civic Forum). They all provided great guidance during the planning stages of the project. It was a pleasure that Jonathan was able to visit Assembly South during its rst weekend. It was also a pleasure to work with Joe Twyman from YouGov, assisted by Chris Curtis, Adam McDonnell, and Nicola Wildash. Indeed, without the support of YouGov this project would not have been possible. We

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Read this chapter if you are interested in:

- Issues around democracy and devolution in the UK
- What made the UK Citizens' Assemblies unique
- The origins, aims, processes and outcomes of these assemblies
- A quick guide to the parts of this report

1. The UK Citizens' Assembly pilots were the first of their kind in the United Kingdom. They were organised by Democracy

1.1 A Citizens' Assembly for the UK

DEMOCRATIC CHANGE

constitutional blueprints have been rejected in favour of a preference for ad hoc adaptation and 'muddling through'. Unlike many countries, the UK is not a place where wars, revolutions or crises have disrupted this political tradition or culture in the modern age. As a result, some argue that the emergence of British democratic disa ection is a result of the failure of its political system to evolve and keep pace with an increasingly dynamic and demanding population.

7. That is not to suggest that change has never occurred. For instance, the New Labour Governments of 1997–2010 introduced a raft of signi cant constitutional reforms. However, three issues tie those developments back to a pattern of democratic inertia, rather than democratic innovation. First, the reforms were enacted while attempting to retain the mainframe of a centralised and power-hoarding system. Secondly, no explicit statement of how the various reforms were intended to t together or how the inevitable unintended consequences would be dealt with was ever o ered. And nally—and most posET Er

13. In these ways, advocates of citizens' assemblies argue that they o er a promising response to democratic malaise: they provide a way of narrowing the 'democracy gap' without succumbing to the populist demand that even uninformed and unre ective public views be followed. Advocates hope that the use of citizens' assemblies alongside existing political institutions would also help legitimise decision-making and to some extent defuse antipathy towards traditional representative organs, and that they would lead to recommendations that are genuinely well grounded.

14. Given the rise in interest in citizen engagement it is important to assess whether such claims are justi ed or not and whether they hold up in the particular context of the UK. These goals are central to the purposes of this project. As outlined in further detail below, we seek also to explore how citizens' assemblies can best be structured and operated.

15. The decision to focus the citizens' assemblies on devolution was relatively straightforward. At the broadest level there has been growing evidence of public apathy and disengagement from traditional forms of political engagement. At a more speci c level, New Labour's 'constitutional revolution' unleashed a devolutionary dynamic that increasingly demands a response in relation to the future of English governance. More speci cally still (but no less importantly), there is a sense that English devolution could help deliver economic growth; help address economic disparities across the country; and respond to certain democratic challenges. The rst two of these drivers were critical in relation to the post-2015 Conservative Government's commitment to devolving powers to elected 'metro mayors' who would enjoy far-reaching powers over

19. It is into this unfolding devolution process that the ‘Democracy

need to trial new forms of political engagement. If anything the nature of the Government's approach to 'metro mayors' and 'devo deals' created concern about a new 'democratic de cit'. Just days before Assembly North was due to begin in South Yorkshire, a proposed deal was suddenly announced between the Government and the She eld City Region. The secretive process leading to this announcement sparked considerable controversy. Scope for public engagement within the process was uncertain at this time, but it was clear that local public rati cation by referendum was not part of the plans. In this context the citizens' assemblies could make an important contribution to public engagement and consultation around the proposed She eld devolution deal.

ASSEMBLY STRUCTURE

31. The Table 1.3 sets out the basic details of the two citizens' assemblies. We will explore the structure and working of the assemblies in greater detail in Chapter 2.

TABLE 1.3: COMPARING ASSEMBLY DESIGN AND COMPOSITION

	Assembly North	Assembly South
Target membership	45 members of the public	30 members of the public + 15 local politicians
Actual membership	32 members of the public	23 members of the public + 6 local politicians
Area from which members drawn		

Chapter Two: Assembly Membership

Read this chapter if you are interested in:

- The recruitment process and who attended the UK Citizens' Assembly pilots.
- The challenges of recruitment and retention.
- The issue of incentivising public engagement and how this project approached this is
- The potential role of external consultants and polling companies in undertaking recruit tasks for citizens' assemblies.

33. Without its members, a citizens' assembly does not exist. But recruiting a representative sample of citizens is a complex task. In this chapter, we begin by outlining our recruitment procedures, then present the recruitment outcomes, and nally discuss lessons learned. As noted above, our aim was to recruit 90 participants, split evenly between the two assemblies. We intended that the 'pure' Assembly North would involve 45 citizens, while the 'mixed' Assembly South would include 30 citizens and 15 politicians.

2.1 Recruitment Procedures

35. Recruitment of citizen members was based on YouGov's panels in the areas of Assembly North (South Yorkshire) and Assembly South (the Solent region, comprising the Southampton, Portsmouth and Isle of Wight area). In both cases the panels comprised around 5,000 potential participants.

36. Through discussion of the nature of these panels and the practical possibilities for strati cation, we decided to stratify for gender and age (over or under 40 years), while ethnicity and political a liation would be monitored without setting thresholds. We considered but excluded other strati cation criteria because of the complexity of ful lling multiple requirements in small groups.

37. Working with YouGov, we developed a ve-step recruitment process. This was designed to ful l three objectives: to enable respondents to make informed decisions about whether they wanted to participate in an assembly; to recruit the required number and diversity of participants; and to maximise the likelihood that those recruited would in fact attend. The ve steps were as follows:

    a) Potential participants in the two panels were rst asked to complete a survey. This asked generic questions, including whether respondents knew what citizens' assemblies were, whether they would be interested in participating in one in their area, and whether they would be available on the proposed dates. It also included questions about attitudes to politics drawn from the British Election Study, allowing us to analyse the sorts of people who did or did not express interest.

    b) A second survey, sent to those who expressed interest in the rst, then asked speci c questions about willingness to be involved, including whether people could commit to both assembly weekends and were willing to be contacted by YouGov with more information. A positiveT EMC /Sp(r)11 the (t-a)88ts k

38. This plan was implemented largely as intended, although the nal recruitment outcomes fell somewhat short of our goals. After survey one, the process was on target. From the 650 people who completed the survey in the Assembly North area, 111 consented to the next stage, of whom 61 were women, 46 were aged less than 40 and six were representatives of black or ethnic minority (BME) groups. In the Assembly South area, 645 completed the survey and 113 consented, with 51 women, 44 aged less than 40 and 4 BME. After survey two, 46 people in the north and 31 in the south had provided a contact phone number. It was not possible to oversample because of booking limits on hotel rooms: we did not want to invite a participant and have to turn them away later.

39. However, subsequent email and phone contact identi ed that the requirement to attend both weekends was a barrier for some. Anecdotally, phone calls indicated that people were excited about the opportunity to be involved, but family or prior commitments prevented them from doing so. Subsequent analysis by YouGov found that some potential participants did not take the call because they do not answer callers with an unfamiliar number. This could have further reduced the response rate.

40. In response, YouGov initiated another phase of recruitment where they blocked panel members in the regions from completing any other surveys until they had completed a new survey that combined the previous two. This strategy was ultimately successful, as at the end of the phone call phase we had reached the recruitment targets, with 45 participants in the north (with gender balance, but only six people aged under 40 and only one person from a BME background) and 31 in the south (again with gender balance, but with only seven people aged under 40 and four from BME backgrounds).

41. The following days saw some attrition, which YouGov attempted to redress by drawing from the additional survey groups. On the

TABLE 2.5: RECRUITMENT ANALYSIS BY ETHNICITY

Ethnicity	Participants (YouGov)	Invited, but declined to participate (YouGov)
White British	90.9%	93.8%
Any other white background	5.5%	2.5%
White and Black Caribbean		0.4%
White and Black African		0.2%
White and Asian		0.2%
Any other mixed background		0.5%
Indian		0.2%
Pakistani		0.1%
Bangladeshi		
Any other Asian background		0.1%
Black Caribbean		0.2%
Black African		0.3%
Any other Black background		
Chinese		0.5%
Other ethnic group	1.8%	0.5%
Prefer not to say	1.8%	0.5%

48. Political interest/participation: Where our participants do di er considerably from the general population is as regards their interest in politics and level of political participation. Speci cally, on average our participants considered themselves highly attentive to politics, with a mean of 9.5 on a scale of 0 to 10, compared to 7.4 for the sample of participants in She eld and the Solent who were invited to attend but declined to participate. There is an even larger gap with the general population of GB, as measured using the British Election Study face-to-face survey, where the average is 5.1. In terms of voter turnout 94% of our participants had voted at the 2015 General Election, compared to 90% of the respondents who declined to take part and compared to the o cial turnout for the 2015 General Election which was 66.1%. Unrepresentativeness in terms of political interest is not especially surprising given the time commitment involved in the assemblies, the technical nature of the discussion, the lack of coverage in the media and the lack of monetary compensation.

TABLE 2.6: RECRUITMENT ANALYSIS BY POLITICAL INTEREST

How much attention do you generally pay to politics (0 to 10)	Participants (YouGov)	Invited, but declined to participate (YouGov)	BES face-to face survey 2015
Average	9.5	7.4	5.1
Median	9.5	8	5

Did you vote in the past elections?	Participants (YouGov) – refers to 2015	Invited, but declined to participate (YouGov) – refers to 2015
Yes	94%	90%
No	6%	10%

49. Partisanship: the nal criterion against which assembly representativeness can be assessed is the party a liation of participants. There was a slight over-representation of Labour and UKIP voters among our participants, and under-representation of Conservative voters, compared to those who were invited

TABLE 2.7: RECRUITMENT ANALYSIS BY PARTISANSHIP

Party	Participants (YouGov) – 2015 election	Invited, but declined to participate (YouGov) – 2015 election
Conservative	22%	25%
Labour	38%	30%
Liberal Democrat	11%	11%
UKIP	18%	13%
Green Party	4%	8%
Other	4%	2%
Don't know		

3.2 Phases of Assembly Business

67. We now outline the work of the two assemblies in greater detail, breaking it down into the three phases: learning, consultation, and deliberation. By way of illustration, the schedule of Assembly North is summarised in Box 3.2 (below). Assembly South's schedule di ered slightly from this, particularly in weekend 2, re ecting lessons learnt from the earlier assembly, the di erent course of the discussions and di erent preferences of assembly members (see Box 3.3 below).

Saturday (10–17.30)
Morning
Survey of members Introductions (small groups) Setting values and ground rules (small groups and plenary) Re ection on experiences of local government (small groups and plenary)

Saturday (10.30-17.00)
Morning
Survey of members Thoughts since WeekRe 50.5 0 0 8.5 o(i632 MC /Span <</MCIo 6085r)-7 (iences of 55.4312 cm 0 0 m 0 14.379 lhtr dm35)15 (p8.5 0 0 8861455

Saturday (10–17.30)
Morning
Getting to know each other (small group) Setting values and ground rules (small group and plenary) Experience of local government (small group and plenary)

Saturday (10.30-17.00)
Morning

LEARNING PHASE

68. Citizens' assemblies seek conclusions based upon informed, careful deliberation. An important step was therefore the 'learning phase', when assembly members received, discussed and questioned extensive information on local governance options.

69. The research team prepared brie ng materials ahead of the assembly meetings with the assistance of experts, researchers, policy o cers and practitioners. These were made available to the assembly members online before the rst weekend, and hard copies were provided on the rst morning. These papers summarised current local government arrangements, outlined a variety of reform options, and provided other background information (see Appendix D for full list). A number of 'plain language' introductory videos were also made and placed online. These materials were resources for members to use as they wished: it was never assumed in scheduled activities that members had read them.

70. Much of the rst weekend of each assembly was devoted (after introductory and community-building activities) to learning. Plenary sessions were used to convey core information about current local governance arrangements and a range of reform options. The exact nature of these sessions varied with the style of the discussion leader, but we mixed up approaches to maintain interest, energy and engagement, particularly when the matters being discussed were complex or when members tired towards the end of the day. These plenary sessions were interspersed with small-group discussions, allowing members to re ect on what they heard and relate it to their own perspectives.

CONSULTATION PHASE

71. The consultation phase of the citizens' assembly pilots aimed to connect the assembly members with the range of public views on devolution options. It was divided between the two assembly weekends. For the rst weekend, the research team invited a diverse array of speakers to each weekend who o ered a broad range of perspectives. They included local councillors and council o cials, experts from universities and think tanks, and campaigners. For the second weekend, we asked assembly members the kinds of people or the kinds of opinion they would like to hear more of, and we sought out appropriate speakers in response.

72. The exact format of these sessions varied across the assembly weekends, but in all cases speakers gave brief presentations and assembly members were able then to quiz them. Wherever time permitted, we allowed members to re ect in small group on what they had heard in the presentations before asking questions. This was intended to ensure that all members could take part equally and to allow members to consider their questions carefully.

73. These activities were two-way: members gained exposure to a range of views; and presenters could hear back members' questions and concerns. As many of the presenters were involved in the process or scrutiny of the devolution negotiations in some way, this was an avenue for informal but direct impact.

DELIBERATION PHASE

74. The deliberation phase allows assembly members to work through the information and arguments available to them, develop their own thinking, and come to conclusions. In fact, much deliberation was contained in the phases already described: members were encouraged constantly to re ect on and discuss what they heard, asking questions and developing ideas during the rst weekend and via the Facebook group between the assembly weekends. But dedicated time was also provided in the second weekend for further collective re ection.

75. The deliberation phase was structured slightly di erently in the two assemblies. In Assembly North, we broke the subject of local governance into four broad aspects – the geographical scale of any new regional body, the structure of such a body (whether, for example, there should be an elected mayor, an elected assembly, and/or other possible arrangements), the powers of such a body, and any other aspects of such a body (such as its electoral system and the rules governing its functioning) that assembly members chose to highlight. On each of these, we sought ideally to begin with small-group discussion to allow members to gather thoughts, then have a plenary session to agree a framework for considering the issue and a ballot paper for voting, then hold further small-group discussion so that members could work towards their own considered conclusions, and nally take a vote by secret ballot. In some cases this process was slightly truncated, either because time was short or because members felt they had already debated these matters su ciently. Through this process, members were able to come to recommendations as to their optimal arrangement for local and regional governance in South Yorkshire. Finally, members also discussed and voted on their position towards the existing proposals for devolution to the She eld City Region.

76. In Assembly South, deliberation and decision-making in the second weekend took a slightly di erent form. The deliberation phase began with small group discussion of 'hopes and fears' for devolution. These were fed back to the assembly via a plenary and post-its on walls that members could read and add to during the rest of the weekend. The afternoon of the rst day was then divided into three small group and plenary discussions on prioritizing objectives (or powers) for any devolved body, its geographical scope and its governing structure. Out of these discussions three ballot papers were agreed. In the morning of the second day, members voted on the three issues. Not surprisingly, the forthcoming ballots were the subject of much informal discussion over dinner and breakfast. Aware that members had a range of other concerns beyond the three votes, we facilitated an open space for the remaining period of the Assembly. Members were asked in small groups which issues they would like to discuss. These were collated and split over two sessions. Members were able to pitch their ideas and other members chose which discussion group they would like to join. Groups varied in size and were asked to generate a proposal that could then be voted on by all Assembly members to gauge the degree of support. Finally, the members were asked to vote on whether they supported the devolution deal proposed by local councils, enterprise partnerships and national parks.

3.3 Post-Assembly Activity

77. While a positive member experience of citizens' assemblies is a contribution to stronger democracy in itself, ongoing democratic activity is also an important measure of the success of the assembly pilots. Assembly members have been able to maintain their involvement since the conclusion of the second assembly weekend in a variety of ways:

    a) After the assembly meetings ended, we merged the two assemblies' Facebook groups in order to create an online community able to discuss ongoing developments in devolution policy.

    b) Many members have pursued opportunities individually to engage their local elected representatives or their local communities with the issues that the assemblies discussed and with the concerns many members shared with the current devolution proposals.

    c) We organised a further event at St George's House, Windsor Castle in January 2016. This was an opportunity for members of the two assemblies to meet each other and share experiences, for the research team to thank assembly members for all their work, for further information to be recorded on members' post-assembly experiences, and for key messages to be transmitted to external stakeholders.

BOX 3.4: Key Lessons

1. Breaking the assembly process up into a number of clear and designated phases is crucial for both the organisers and the participants.
2. However, the specific content, focus or structure of each phase may have to be altered at short notice as the organisers respond to the demands of the assembly, or they perceive a shift in atmosphere.
3. Flexibility within a clear framework is therefore a critical balance that must be achieved.
4. It is important to have role-clarity within each of these phases and to be clear about the aims and objectives of each component session.
5. Time must also be allowed between each session for small group and plenary reflection and discussion. It is easy to overload an assembly!

82. The results of the vote on these issues are shown in Figure 4.1. In summary:

a) The results reveal a clear majority preference for a regional tier of government covering Yorkshire as a whole.

b) The vote included two options for the de nition of this area: Yorkshire in its traditional boundaries; or Yorkshire and the Humber, including North and North East Lincolnshire. The majority favoured the latter.

c) Nevertheless, a sizeable minority did not support the Yorkshire-wide option. The other option that attracted signi cant support was that of a South Yorkshire body.

d) There was little support for inclusion of any parts of Derbyshire or Nottinghamshire. This represents, of course, the view of a group from South Yorkshire. The case for including neighbouring areas to the south was raised by some witnesses and discussed to some degree, but not debated in detail.

e) There was also little support for a body covering the whole of the North of England.

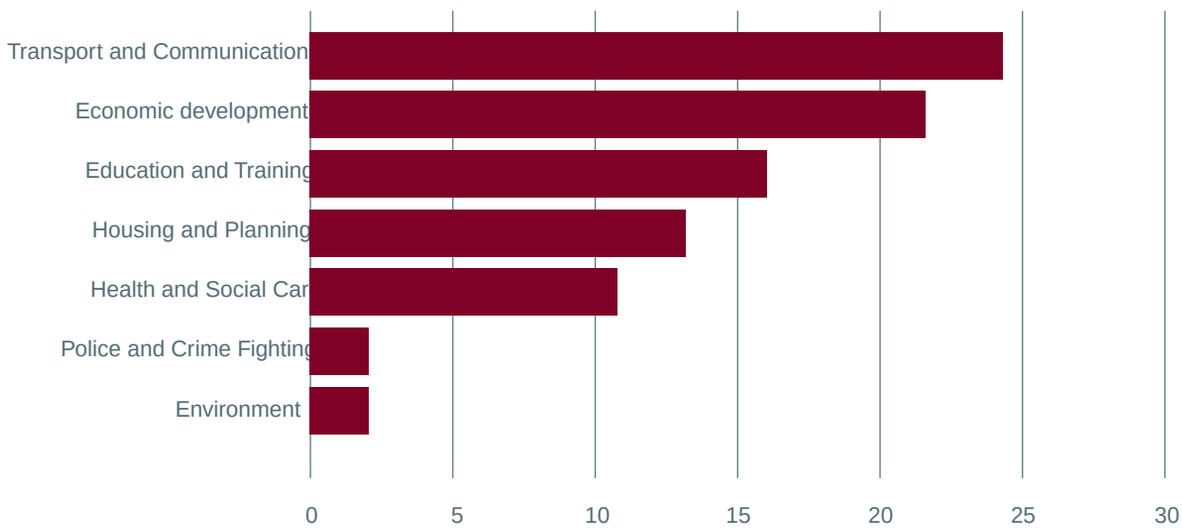
Note: Assembly members were able to vote for as many or as few options as they wished. Some options were left blank by most members. The gures are percentages of the 31 members present for the second weekend.

83. On the basis of this vote, the Assembly proceeded to devise a plan for a body covering Yorkshire and the Humber. That a signi cant minority preferred a South Yorkshire body should, however, be recognised.

89. Assembly North also considered the sorts of issues that it would particularly want an elected Yorkshire Assembly to deal with. Small-group discussions yielded a range of policy areas that at least some Assembly members thought would be particularly important, and were followed by an indicative vote which allowed members to indicate which three of these would be their highest priorities. The results are shown in Figure 4.4. They show that most members attached priority to the areas of transport and communications, economic development, and education and training.

90. There was also discussion that some but not all powers should be devolved in each of the policy areas. An example is the area

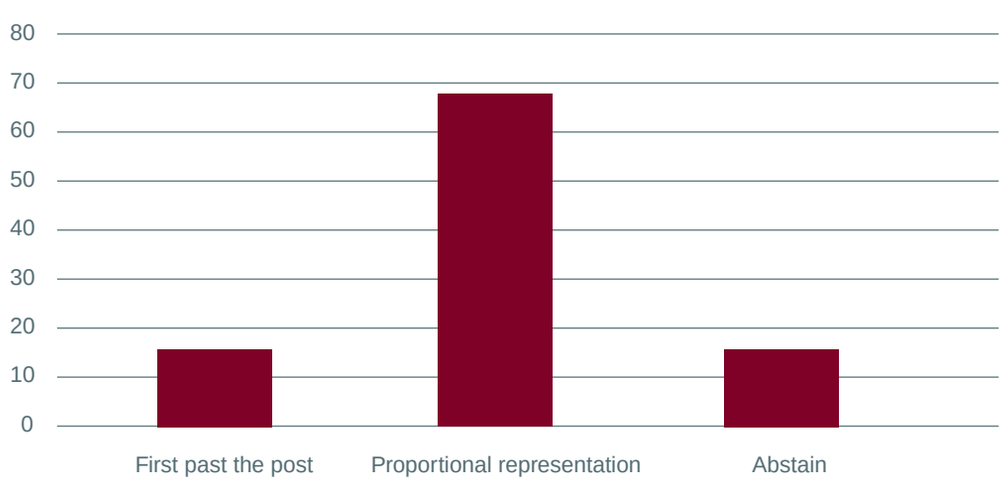
FIGURE 4.4: VOTING ON POLICY PRIORITIES



Note: Assembly members were able to vote for up to three priority areas. The numbers shown are raw vote numbers for each of the options.

91. Many further aspects of local democracy and governance were discussed and voted on during the Assembly's meetings on the nal day. One question was the core issue of the electoral system for the Yorkshire Assembly. As Figure 4.5 shows, members voted overwhelmingly for the principle of proportional representation rather than a rst past the post system such as is used for elections to the House of Commons.

FIGURE 4.5: VOTING ON THE SCALE OF A REGIONAL TIER



Note: Numbers are percentages of the 31 members present during the second weekend.

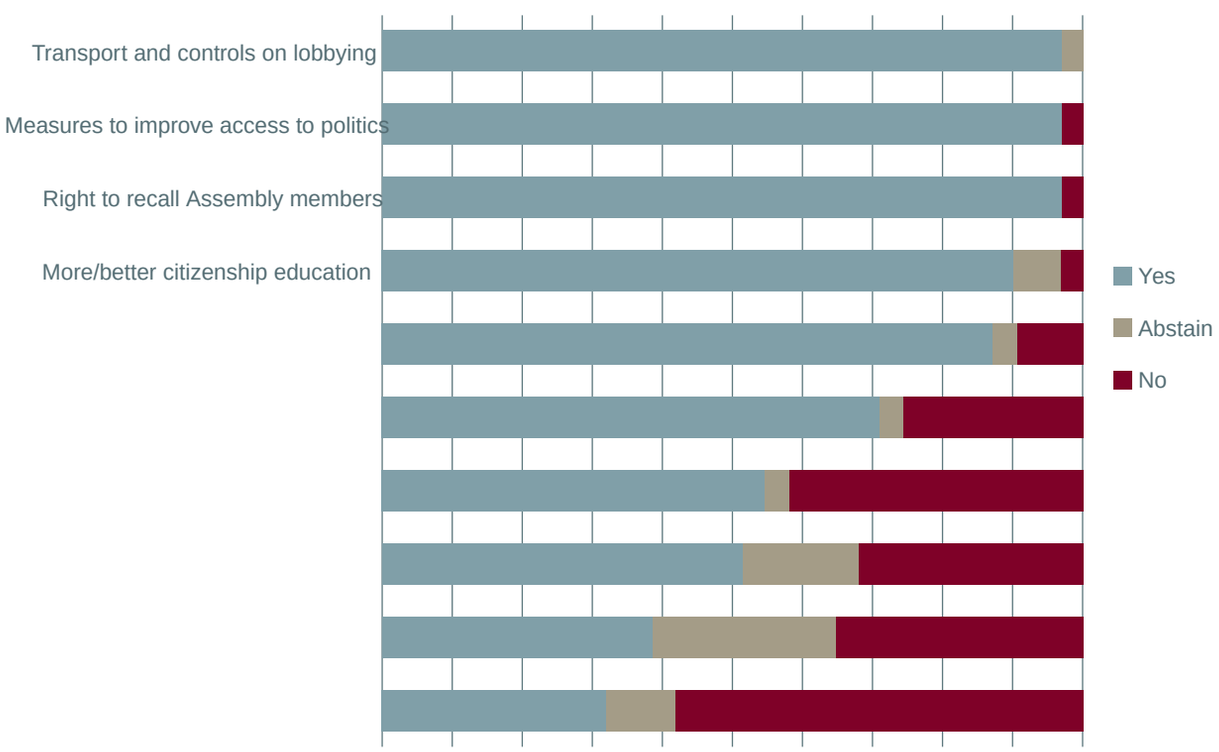
92. A series of Yes/No votes were then held on a range of further issues (see Figure 4.6 below):

a) Five proposals were backed by overwhelming majorities of Assembly members: proposals to ensure transparency and to control lobbying in local and regional government; to improve public access to politics, particularly among younger citizens, through measures such as electronic voting and improved online information; to allow citizens to recall members of the Yorkshire Assembly ahead of scheduled elections; to improve citizenship education in schools; and to hold referendums on important local issues.

b) Another three proposals were supported by smaller majorities: to ensure direct public participation in decision-making at every stage of the policy process; to include randomly selected members of the public among the members of the Yorkshire Assembly; and to introduce an electoral system for the Yorkshire Assembly that would encourage the election of independents rather than just party representatives.

c) Two further proposals did not receive majority backing. A proposal to abolish party whipping was supported by more members than opposed it (12 votes to 11). But a signi cant number of members (eight) abstained, perhaps re ecting the fact that there had been limited time to discuss the idea. A proposal for a written constitution was also rejected, though, again the topic was not discussed in depth.

93. Assembly North discussions revealed important nuances in relation to some of these points. Notably, in relation to random selection of citizens into the Yorkshire Assembly, members acknowledged that this would need to be done carefully. There was general agreement that citizens selected in this way would need to be paid in some way. One idea was that people could indicate when registering to vote whether they would be available for such o ce to participate on an assembly. Another was that such participation might be limited to serving on particular committees rather than being long-term members of the whole assembly.



94. Cutting across a number of these points, it was emphasized that random selection, referendums, hyper-localism and other mechanisms allowing citizens to engage more would work only accompanied by measures such as improved citizenship education and improved use of the internet to engage groups such as young people. Votes were also held on three possible structures for local government below the level of the Yorkshire Assembly. There was considerable interest among members in strengthening the powers of local communities below the level of the four current local authorities in South Yorkshire. Three options were discussed:

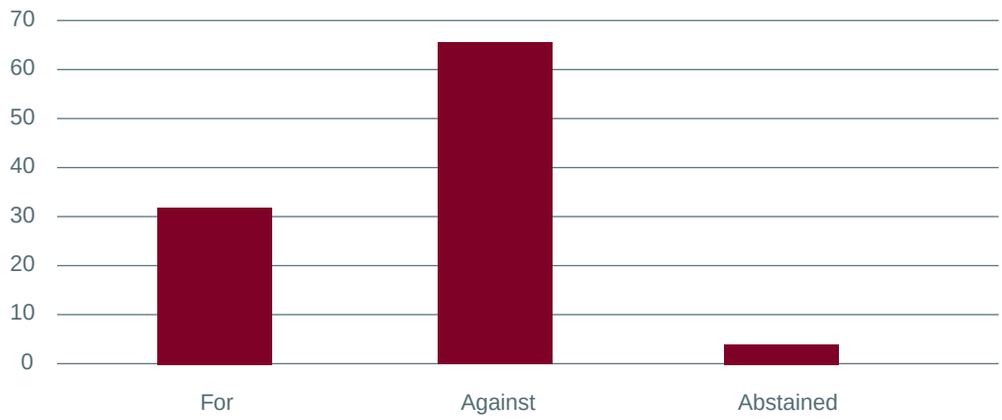
a) that a one-tier structure of local government should be retained, based on the four existing local authorities;

b) that a two-tier structure should be established, including both the current local councils and a lower tier of parish, town, or community councils;

c) that the existing local authorities should be abolished and a one-tier structure of local government introduced at the level of parishes, towns, or communities; the existing councils' powers would then be transferred either down to this tier or up to the Yorkshire Assembly.

Figure 4.7 shows the voting on these options. None received majority support. In order to reach a clear view, more discussion time would have been needed, followed by a ballot using the alternative vote. Such time was not, however, available.

FIGURE 4.9:
VOTING ON
THE CURRENT
DEVOLUTION DEAL



Note: Numbers are percentages of the 31 members present during the second weekend.

BOX 4.1: Summary of Assembly North's Decisions

1. The majority of the members of Assembly North advocated a directly elected assembly for Yorkshire with substantial powers, including some tax-raising and law-making powers.
2. Members also supported a range of measures designed to enhance public participation in local and regional decision-making.
3. The majority of members did not support the proposed devolution deal in its current form4429 Tm[Fo)-34 (r)]TJETAski33. v

106. The favoured governing structure is a directly elected assembly ('An assembly made up of representatives elected by the public – the assembly then selects its leader'). This arrangement is not on the Government's agenda currently. The second choice is the Government's preference that it is requiring in most devolution

108. The following propositions were generated by Assembly members through the Open Space discussions. All received assent from the Assembly and are presented in order of popularity. Many are contrary to current Government policy. [Figures for 'agree'/'disagree' are in brackets – 'neither agree nor disagree' and 'don't know' are not included]:

a) There needs to be greater capacity for collaboration and e ective partnerships between public agencies (24/0);

b) Local government needs to support and resource the use of all possible channels to motivate public participation (23/1);

c) In public consultations, it is important to take care to be clear about the meaning of terms and purposes that are to be discussed (22/0);

d) Central government should set a minimum level of standards for service delivery, leaving room for local autonomy (22/1);

e) If there is an elected mayor, there should be a system of recall (21/2);

f) High levels of public participation promote good quality decision-making in local government (20/1);

g) There needs to be greater equality and consistency in the devolution of powers (20/1);

h) Local councils should be elected under some form of proportional representation (18/4);

i) If there is an elected mayor, they should take on the responsibilities of the Police and Crime Commissioner (17/3);

j) Costs should not exceed the costs of running services under existing arrangements (17/6);

k) We need a system of local government where more independents stand for local o ce, reducing the power of political parties (16/5);

l) If there is an elected mayor, they should be elected by transferable vote (14/3);

m) The focus of devolution on organisations means that we are not starting from the perspective of people and their di erent needs and wishes (10/0);

n) Any new body that is created should be able to challenge austerity, including the capacity to raise local business rates (10/2);

o) If there is a new devolved authority, Hampshire County Council should be abolished (10/5).

110. The rst and most important lesson is that the participants in Assembly South were willing and able to deal with highly complex contemporary governance issues. By their own assessment, all members agreed that that they had 'learned a lot' during the process, while many went out of their way to write strongly complimentary statements in the nal survey at the end of the nal day. The Democracy Matters team was deeply impressed by the extent of members' commitment and the quality of their engagement during the weekends.

111. Second, one of the rationales for including councillors as members of Assembly South was to understand how their participation a ects the deliberations of a citizens' assembly. In the survey of participants at the end of each weekend, we asked members

Chapter Six: Assessing the Assemblies

Read this part if you are interested in:

- Understanding the detailed findings from the data
- The quality of deliberation and evidence of change as the assemblies progressed
- Insights regarding domination, respect, listening and truthfulness
- Exploring the role of facilitators and support staff and how knowledge and understanding of the issues increased.
- The link between the organisation and facilitation of the assembly, on the one hand, and the quality of deliberation and outputs, on the other.

115. We turn now to the first of our core research objectives as set out in Chapter 1: an analysis of what the UK citizens' assembly pilots tell us about how well citizens' assemblies may work, particularly in the UK. We consider the evidence for the first four key research questions: on the representativeness of citizens' assemblies, the quality of the discussions, the effects of participation on assembly members, and the effect of assemblies on wider discourse around the issues that the assemblies consider.

116. As we also noted in Chapter 1, the evidence that we draw on is multifaceted. Some draws on the surveys of assembly members that we conducted at the start and end of each weekend. Other elements are based on our own reflections and the qualitative feedback we have received from assembly members and others who have engaged with the assemblies. We use all such sources, as appropriate, through the course of this chapter. In future publications, we plan to draw also on analysis of the transcripts of assembly discussions. That analysis is not, however, available at present.

6.1 Representativeness of Assembly Members

117. The first key criterion for a citizens' assembly is that its membership should be representative of the wider population. Advocates of citizens' assemblies argue that they can achieve a higher degree of representativeness than other types of political forum. Representatives within elected institutions such as parliaments and councils are very unusual people: most are members of political parties, at a time when party members in the UK ma(e)14.1 (pt)b/MCIx l01/ el08.5 74.95480 wideor. 9epteptio hant,e of repr, we plan te a

120. We have presented detailed evidence of the socio-demographic characteristics of the citizens selected for the assemblies in Chapter 2. We did not achieve the degree of representativeness that we would have hoped for in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and political interest but in relation to political a liation representation was fairly diverse. The challenge of representative recruitment is therefore a core research nding of this project in the sense that even a ve-stage process involving a specialist polling rm and members of the research team struggled to ensure a full complement of assembly members. Targeted recruitment of speci c representatives for 'hard to reach' sections of society is therefore likely to be necessary for a more representative sample. Over-recruitment could also be used in order to o set the risk of 'no shows' but this involves its own risks in the sense that an assembly might actually end up with too many members if everyone

6.2 Quality of Discussions

124. Our second criterion for assessing the assemblies relates to the quality of the discussions within Assembly North and Assembly South. As we noted in Chapter 1, advocates of citizens' assemblies argue two things. First, they contend that ordinary members of the public, if given proper time and support, can engage e ectively even with very complex policy choices: they build up knowledge and understanding to make choices that are coherent and that can reasonably be expected to advance their goals. Second, they argue that citizens' assemblies are in some ways better than traditional elected assemblies in debating issues. Traditional parliaments and councils tend to be riven by party divides: members often adhere to their party line and dismiss the views of their opponents, no matter what the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments might be. Citizens' assembly members, by contrast, are not bound by party a liations and are not seeking re-election or promotion. They can therefore participate in more honest, open-ended discussion.

125. Critics, meanwhile, worry that some issues do require expert judgement. Changes to any one part of the constitutional architecture are likely to have knock-on e ects on other parts. Such e ects may appear abstruse to the lay critic but nevertheless be fundamental. To evaluate these arguments, we begin by looking at evidence on 'deliberativeness': the degree to which assembly members did in fact discuss freely and equally with each other, listening to and respecting each other's arguments and feeling free to express their own views. Then we turn to the degree of knowledge and understanding manifested by the members, both in their discussions and in their nal decisions.

[7] British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform, Making Every Vote Count: The Case for Electoral Reform in British Columbia: Final Report, December 2004, p. 12.

127. As we know from the demographic analysis of participants the assembly was predominantly white and composed of older participants. Both assemblies detected this problem (around 50% of participants disagree that those mostly a ected by the

133. More than 80% of participants in both assemblies agree that participants were speaking what was truly on their mind. This is the only indicator in which the South has a slight better performance in the rst weekend than the North (86% against 84%). The North shows a positive change between the two weekends (from 84% to 93%), while the South shows some deterioration (from 86% to 81%).

134. More than 90% of participants in both assemblies in both weekends agree that they understood almost everything that their group members had to say. More than 80% of participants in both weekends agree that they had enough information to participate e ectively.

135. The feedback about facilitators shows that consistently facilitators were perceived as doing a good job in ensuring that everybody a chance to speak (around 90%). Again a similar pattern emerges: the rst weekend in the South underperforms with 88% participants perceiving that the facilitator did a good job compared to100% in the North. Once again Assembly South improved signi cantly in the second weekend, moving to 95%, while again Assembly North showed a slight decline to 93%.

136. As to the neutrality of facilitators, participants o er a more (l 0 8.5 77 bo2.9 (y T EMC /eut decline t)6 (o 93%.)]TJ ET EMC 8n)]TJ E14112dBDC . I</Mh>>BD /Span <</MCID 3363 >>BDC BT

144. Finally in relation to the quality of discussion, we consider the impact of how the assemblies were organised. Our own observations and our discussions with the assembly members suggest three key points:

a) Mixing discussion formats and activities was, as expected, important and e ective. Some members felt uncomfortable speaking up before the whole assembly: indeed, a few chose never to do so (as was entirely within their rights). Giving them the space to speak within small groups was therefore important. Small-group discussions also allowed a depth that was harder to achieve during plenaries. In addition, switching between session types was often valuable in lifting energy levels. For example, in the nal part of the rst day of Assembly North, a highly interactive presentation style was introduced in order to re-energise the room after a di cult earlier session.

b) Good facilitation of the small-group discussions was indispensable. One of the most consistent themes in the feedback we received (both formally and informally) from assembly members was that the table facilitators did an excellent job. There were some di cult moments, particularly in the early stages of the assemblies, as members acquainted themselves with the assembly setting and the appropriate ways of expressing themselves within that context. It was essential that facilitators could handle such moments deftly, helping all members to recalibrate both their modes of listening and speaking.

c) Treating assembly members well also mattered. This was important in itself: they gave a huge amount of time and e ort to this project and they deserved our respect and consideration in return. In addition, we expected good treatment to a ect members' participation. Evidence on this is necessarily impressionistic. Nevertheless, [illegible] in th. (, t<FEI

146. The overall ndings of the data on the quality of deliberation are striking. The evidence and data suggests that in a relatively short pilot study the research team was able to provide a broadly representative range of viewpoints and perspectives and on some occasions the assembly members actually demanded more information on speci c points that they felt had not been covered in enough detail. Levels of respect and trust within and between assembly members was consistently high and levels of listening also appear to have been consistently impressive. Put slightly di erently, it appears that the time invested in allowing

the assemblies to decide upon their own rules, principles and working procedures was time well spent that paid dividends throughout the process in terms of ensuring mutual respect and inclusive discussions. The data also underlines that the quality of deliberation can to some extent be engineered through e ective institutional design, trained facilitators and the provision of lots of accessible background information. But there is also something more subtle at play in the sense that what became clear from the rst morning of each assembly was that, in e ect, what each assembly was trying to build was a high degree of social capital amongst members and with the research team. That is, high-trust, low-cost relationships that form a bond or common glue amongst everyone involved and through this allow issues to be raised and problems to be acknowledged and resolved.

6.3 E ects on Assembly Members

147. Our third area of analysis concerns the e ects of participation in the assembly on members: particularly e ects on their attitudes towards and engagement with politics. Advocates of citizens' assemblies often argue that participation in such gatherings is likely to enhance members' attitudes towards and engagement with politics. Citizens are exposed to the di cult realities of political decision-making and may therefore appreciate better the challenges that politicians face, becoming less cynical or 'anti-political' in consequence. Members may also gain a sense that they have a legitimate voice and an ability to express themselves, which may strengthen their willingness to participate in politics.

148. On the other hand, critics are concerned that citizens' assemblies eir willingness to po, EMC /haOurwan a3 (ess thn 8.5 sitics)1mp 3558 >>BD

160. This was clearly a pilot project that was designed to o er an initial assessment of whether the public could play a positive role in complex constitutional policy-making through citizens' assemblies. The scale of this research and the tight timescales it operated within prevent any sweeping generalisations or grand claims but such caveats should not mask some really important

Chapter Seven: Delivering the Assemblies

Read this part if you are interested in:

- Designing a successful citizens' assembly.
- Want to estimate the likely costs of running an assembly.
- Why the quality of support to assembly members needs to be of such a high standard
- Whether to pay people to serve on a citizens assembly.
- How many support sta you will need and the skills they will require.
-

entire budget (partly because it included nancial incentives for participants), which would clearly have rendered the whole project unsustainable. We chose to treat this as an opportunity to assess the degree to which a lower-cost recruitment process could deliver the desired outcomes. If citizens' assemblies are to become part of

174. The research team was conscious of a key insight from the Canadian, Dutch and Irish citizens' assemblies, which all highlighted the importance of positive member experiences for deliberation and retention. In particular, it was aware of how minor logistic problems could distract from deliberation, while good food and fun can contribute to higher retention.

175. These insights guided the team in its criteria for choosing the location and venues for the assembly weekends. These criteria included:

    a) centrality within the respective region;

    b) proximity to public transport;

    c) ease of access, disability access and family provision;

    d) size and amenity of meeting rooms, accommodation and facilities;

    e) exibility in room and seating con guration.

176. While price was a factor in the nal decisions, it was secondary to an emphasis on the quality of member experience. The assembly phases required venues that could cater for up to sixty people for plenary and small group discussions (i.e. 45 assembly members plus project team, facilitators, observers and guests). To achieve this, three di erent hotels were used over the four weekends (two in Southampton and one in She eld). However, the con guration of the main room was essentially the same in each and aimed for maximum exibility. Six circular tables with seats for up to seven participants and two research support sta were arranged in the middle of the room. A table for session presenters was set to one side at the front, although panel sessions involved a number of seats placed centrally. Also, at the front was a large screen and xed microphone, while a mobile microphone was also available. Near the rear of the room was a table for research team members, while observers and VIPs sat in chairs at the back of the room (beyond the distance for easily hearing individual table conversations). The research team did not choose to use 'break out' rooms although they were available. Again learning from the experience of past assemblies, the team sought to keep the participants in the main room as much possible to encourage relationship building and deliberation. Wherever possible, food and beverages were also provided in the main room, although this often required people to return from an adjacent room. Regular breaks were factored into the programme.

177.v, the ugh ta)n [ET aCIDsw, the ugh tb)nd/Span 0 8kis o38npi e l 3962 >/Sp

189. An important decision of the research team was to recruit volunteers from graduate students at the participating universities. This decision was based on a number of factors (beyond just cost saving), including the exposure it provided students to leading-edge research in practice and the symbolic statement it made about youth democratic engagement. The students were trained (see section 6.1) and had opportunities to undertake the roles of small-group facilitator, group note-taker or logistical support. Electoral Reform Society sta also ful lled some of these roles.

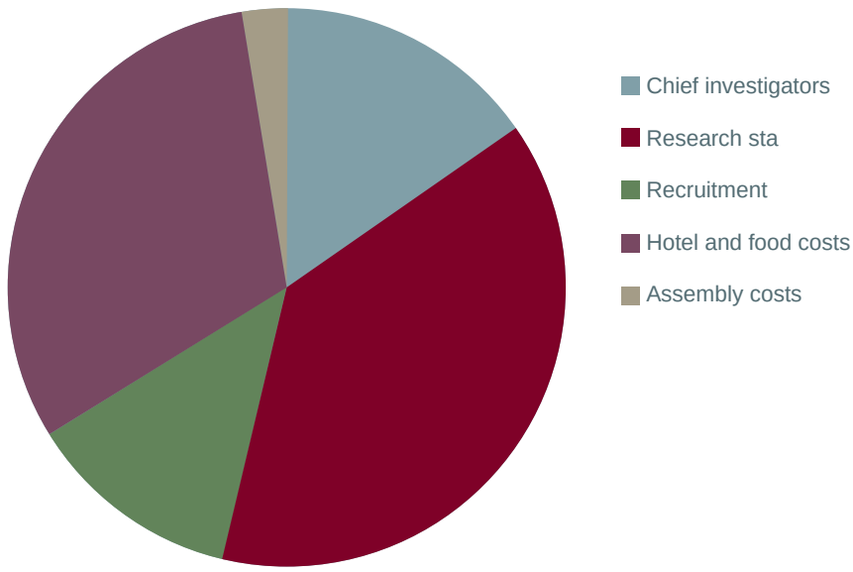
190. The recruitment of student facilitators reinforced a key design feature of the assemblies, which was an emphasis on facilitators serving the discussion in their groups and not acting as pseudo-experts. The research team provided support to the small group facilitators through its own expertise in areas of governance and devolution, as well as by the employment of a main facilitator to oversee training and group work.

191. Student volunteers also supported our research by ensuring that all small-group discussions were recorded and by taking notes using a protocol that focused on patte (9).4 i m 0 0 8.5 77.5276 406.6515 Tm [(sa)6 (ving), including the exposur)11 (e it pr)11 (o)4.9 (vided/05

weekend can be made (i.e., £64,000 total). This gure distributes shared costs (such as participant recruitment, promotion and equipment), but does not include other researcher-related costs (such as per-diem sta costs, travel and the appointment of three dedicated sta).

197. The Chart 7.1 indicates the proportion of funding spent on di erent key items (but excluding overheads and indirect costs):

FIGURE 7.1
ASSEMBLY FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS



Note: Assembly costs is the heading for the miscellaneous costs which include facilitator costs, recorders and microphones, promotion (banners & travel reimburse, certi cates and stationery and additional training costs (rooms and food)

198. It should be noted, in conclusion, that these costs were, in some respects, markedly di erent from those that could be expected for an o cial citizens' assembly:

a) On the one hand, parts of our budget were devoted to research on the assemblies rather than the assemblies themselves: this is, after all, a research project, and it is essential that we can analyse clear evidence and communicate ndings to a range of audiences. An o cial assembly might not conduct such detailed research – though we would strongly urge that a research component be built in to enable lessons to be drawn.

b) On the other hand, much of the work done for these assemblies – by members of the core research team, the student volunteers, the guest speakers, and our external

Chapter Eight: A Focus on Impact

Read this part if you are interested in:

- How to deliver 'engaged scholarship'
- Why impact matters in terms of nourishing the research ecosystem.
- The 'politics of impact' and how this needs to be acknowledged and managed.
- Innovative bridging mechanisms that can manage relationships with potential research

205. In this context, the project has achieved a signi cantly high level of engagement and impact comprised of various elements. These include cross-party and senior level endorsements such as the Chair of Parliament's principal constitutional committee, the Public Administration & Constitutional A airs Committee; referencing of the assemblies in the Communities and Local

208. Lord Purvis of Tweed introduced the Constitutional Convention Bill into the House of Lords on 1st June, 2015 as a Private Members' Bill. This was complemented by the introduction of the Constitutional Convention Bill (No. 2) in the House of Commons by Graham Allen MP on 22nd July, 2015. The introduction of these Bills calling for a citizen-led constitutional convention has meant that there has been several debates in both Houses of Parliament concerning the remit, form and composition of a future constitutional convention. This has added to the wider political relevance of the Democracy Matters project as the very questions of the recruitment of participants, the structure of the proceedings, and the nature of citizen-led deliberation being debated in Parliament are those which this project addresses. Although it is unlikely that either of these Bills will make the passage to Royal Assent, it is clear from the fact of their introduction and from the various questions wn8 677.7690d28

'drop outs'. The atmosphere in tone and style of both assemblies was therefore one in which the agenda was dynamic and demanding. On occasions members did suggest that they were being over-loaded with information or were simply getting too tired but overall delivering a high-energy experience seemed to motivate assembly members in a positive way.

220. This ows into a point that has already been made in earlier sections – the focus on fun. Making democracy fun might seem slightly naïve but there is also a basic point that people are more willing to engage in any project or discussion if they feel safe and feel that they will enjoy themselves. And in both assemblies the participants did enjoy themselves. This is clear from the data and the feedback. It is also re ected in the impressive retention rates between the two weekends and in the incredibly high number of participants who said they wanted to stay in touch with the project, who took the time and e ort to attend the event at Windsor Castle and who continue to c

and so will the o ces of the regional mayors that will take o ce from 2017 onwards. Elections also cost a signi cant amount of money to administrate and when placed in this wider context the cost-bene t analysis associated with citizens' assemblies might from the results of this project be seen as very attractive.

226. The Democracy Matters project was initially conceived within an environment in which the chances of a national citizens' assembly or convention on the constitution looked possible. This created an urgent need to test exactly how this might be delivered should politicians and policy-makers decide on this course of action in the wake of the 2015 General Election. The wind was, to some extent, taken out of this debate by the election of a Conservative Government with a working majority at the election. The Conservative Party's rejection of the need for a constitutional assembly or convention clearly reduced the chances of Assembly North or Assembly South being formally established or supported by the Government. In this sense the Democracy Matters was just another academic project and could not claim any special position or relationship with the Government's policy-making process. We could obviously – and have – fed the research ndings into the policy-making process through both formal and informal channels but there was always a sense of a missing link between the project and the formal political architecture. We were an orphan project that was desperate to be if not adoy g,(.)351.1418g16waaLuceu7yc/Span <<4.9

Appendices

A – Assembly and Project Team

Assembly North
Academic Director: Alan Renwick
Chair: Len Tingle
Lead Facilitator: Titus Alexander

Group Facilitators:
Toby Abbs, Ruth Beresford, Rhianna Camsell, Doug Cowan, Lauren Craik, Alice Day, Joshua Forstenzer, David Hall, Sacha Healey, Rebecca Holloway,

B – Weekend Schedules

C - Selection Phase

C 1 INITIAL SELECTION EMAIL

“Dear $InvitationName,

We would like to invite you to take a new survey!

If you cannot view or click on the button above, please copy and paste this link into your browser:

$SurveyLink

Thank you for being an active member of YouGov!”

Emily Young

YouGov

C 2 RECRUITMENT AND SURVEY QUESTIONS

The main objective of the quantitative research was to explore the e ect of the Citizens’ Assembly on the evolution of participants’ self-reported attitudes. The main instrument of the quantitative research is a multi-wave survey that tracks the evolution of participants’ attitudes overtime and compares them with attitudes of non-participants and the attitudes of the more general public. To maximize comparability we employed numerous questions drawn from the British Election Study panel (BES) and the newly developed Participedia quality of deliberation survey. Table C21 describes each of the four waves dividing them in 8 modules. Each module is then explored in detail.

MODULE 2B: ENTRY QUESTIONS SECOND WEEKEND[13]

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
BRITISH COLUMBIA CA	RATING	How would you rate the following aspects of the process? (1) The overall process so far (2) The rst weekend (3) The online discussion on Facebook (4) The brie ng material on the website
CUSTOM	WEB	During the past three weeks did you use the Facebook page for the assembly? (1) Yes, I read some posts (2) Yes, I liked some comments (3) Yes, I wrote some comments (4) Yes, I messaged privately some of the participants (5) No, I did not use the Facebook page (6) Don't know
CUSTOM	WEB	During the past three weeks did you share anything about the assembly on social media (e.g.; Facebook, Twitter, email) with: (1) Family members (2) Friends (3) Colleagues (4) Other members of the assembly [if yes please list their names] (5) Others [please specify]
CUSTOM	ENGAGEMENT	In the past three weeks did you talk in person about the assembly with: (1) Family members (2) Friends (3) Colleagues (4) Other members of the assembly [if yes please list their names] (5) Others [please specify]
CUSTOM	ENGAGEMENT	In the past three weeks did you have any contact with other members of the assembly?
CUSTOM	ENGAGEMENT	If yes which ones?
		How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
CUSTOM	ENGAGEMENT	My opinion on the topics covered by the assembly has changed in the three weeks period since the rst weekend
CUSTOM	ENGAGEMENT	I have paid more attention to news about devolution during the past three weeks
CUSTOM	ENGAGEMENT	I have paid more attention to news about local politics in the past three weeks
CUSTOM	SHOCK	In your opinion what was the most important political event of the past three weeks?
CUSTOM	LEARNING	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I have learned something new about devolution during the past three weeks since the rst assembly weekend
CUSTOM	LEARNING	Where did you learn it from? (1) Newspaper/TV/radio (2) Social Media (3) One of the other participants of the assembly (4) The Facebook page of the assembly (5) Brie ng papers on the website (5) Personal study (6) Conversation with family, friends, and/or other people (6) Conversation with a politician, please list the name
CUSTOM	CONTACT	Has anyone contacted you to ask questions about the assembly in the past three weeks? (1) No (2) Yes - someone from the media (3) Yes -a friend or a family member (4) Yes - a politician (5) Yes - other, please specify

MODULE 3: CORE

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
BES	TRUST	How much trust do you have in Members of Parliament in general?
BES	TRUST	How much trust do you have in your local council?
BES	TRUST	How much trust do you have in the MP in your local constituency?
BES	SATISFACTION	On the whole, how satis ed or dissatis ed are you with the way that democracy works in the UK?
BES	ANTIPOLITICS	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Politicians don't care what people like me think.

[13] Note the actual layout of the survey is di erent, this table is simpli ed to save space

MODULE 4: TYPE OF PARTICIPANT & KNOWLEDGE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY BES

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
BES	DEFICIT	How necessary do you think it is for the UK Government to eliminate the de cit over the next 3 years - that is close the gap between what the government spends and what it raises in taxes?
BES	ENVIRONMENT	Some believe that protecting the environment should have priority even if that reduces economic growth. Others believe that economic growth should have priority even if that hinders protecting the environment. What is your opinion?
BES	EQUALITY	Some people feel that government should make much greater e orts to make people's incomes equal. Other people feel that government should be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
BES	TERRORISM	Some people feel that, in order to ght terrorism, we have to accept infringements on privacy and civil liberties. Others feel that privacy and civil liberties are to be protected at all cost. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
BES	PARTY	We have a number of parties in Britain, each of which would like to get your vote.
BES	LEFT/RIGHT	In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?
BES	KNOWLEDGE	What is the party of your MP?
BES	KNOWLEDGE	What is the name of your MP?
BES	KNOWLEDGE	Please match the following people to their jobs.
CUSTOM	KNOWLEDGE	Di erent services are delivered by di erent levels of government. Can you match these services to the relevant level of government?
BES	ACTIVE IN POLITICS	

MODULE 5: VOICE, EFFICACY AND TRUST BES

MODULE 6: DEVOLUTION

MODULE 6: DEVOLUTION (continued)

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
		How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	Our political system would be improved if more powers were in the hands of local rather than national politicians.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	There should be no new level of government created covering larger areas than existing local councils.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	Variation in standards in public services across the country is acceptable.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	If a new level of government covering larger areas than existing local councils is created, then existing councils should be abolished.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	We need even smaller local government areas rather than larger ones.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	Local people should have more of a say in decisions that a ect them, for example through referendums or neighbourhood meetings.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	Central government should make the nal decision about where new spending on roads, hospitals and housing developments takes place.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	Central government should decide national standards for public services and require local councils to meet those standards everywhere.
CUSTOM	DEVOLUTION	Rather than rely on central government funds, a new level of government covering larger areas than existing local councils should be able to raise taxes or borrow money to invest locally, on issues like roads and public transport schemes, new housing, ood protection, and business development.

MODULE 7: QUALITY OF DELIBERATION PARTICIPEDIA

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
		How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
PARTICIPEDIA	AFFECTEDNESS	Those people whose lives are most impacted by the issues we discussed were well-represented in this assembly
PARTICIPEDIA	DIVERSITY	The assembly was diverse enough to consider all perspectives
PARTICIPEDIA	INCLUSION	I had ample opportunity in the small group discussions to express my views.
PARTICIPEDIA/ EUROPOLIS	RESPECT	My fellow participants respected what I had to say, even when they didn't agree with me.
PARTICIPEDIA/ EUROPOLIS	TRUTH	Overall, I feel that people expressed what was truly on their mind.
PARTICIPEDIA/ EUROPOLIS	REASONING	Many people expressed strong views without o ering reasons.
PARTICIPEDIA/ EUROPOLIS	INCLUSION	We heard a broad range of diverse opinions.

MODULE 7: QUALITY OF DELIBERATION PARTICIPANTS (REDUCED)

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
CUSTOM	LEARNING	Please rate the following activities in terms of what was most useful for LEARNING (1) Plenary lectures by sta (2) Plenary talks by visitors (3) Plenary discussions by the whole assembly (4) Small group breakout session on tables (5) Informal conversations with sta (6) Informal conversations with other members
IRISH CA (ADAPTED)	DOMINATION	How much do you agree with the following statements? One or more people in my small group tended to dominate the discussion so that others found it di cult to contribute.
CUSTOM	DOMINATION	Participant lists a name
CUSTOM	INFLUENCE	How much do you agree with the following statements? One or more people in my small group were particularly in uential in helping me to think through the issues we were discussing.
CUSTOM	INFLUENCE	Participant lists a name

MODULE 8A: EXIT FEEDBACK FIRST WEEKEND

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
BRITISH COLUMBIA CA	RATING	How would you rate the following aspects of the rst weekend? (1) The overall process so far (2) Plenary presentations (3) Plenary discussions (4) Small group discussions (5) Informal conversation (6) Food (7) Your room (8) Meeting space
CUSTOM	FEEDBACK	Please tell us what we can do better

MODULE 8B: EXIT FEEDBACK SECOND WEEKEND

ORIGIN	TOPIC	QUESTION
CUSTOM	LEGITIMACY	I agree with the assembly nal recommendations
CUSTOM	FAIRNES	The way in which the nal recommendations of the assembly were made was fair.
CUSTOM	IMPACT	The recommendations that we made are likely to be adopted by those in power.
CUSTOM	FEEDBACK	he rome of othe68 (ecttionsY)5d bFCK

D 4 PARTICIPANT RESEARCH REQUESTS

Between the two weekends of Assembly North, the research team pursued information at the request of assembly members. The following chart lists these questions and the responses available for the second weekend.

What do you need?

What are your questions?

3. What powers did the South Yorkshire County Council have? Why was it abolished?
A: The short version - SYCC had powers over Police, Fire, Transport, Economic Development and Strategic Planning. The o cial reason for abolition was that it was wasteful and an unnecessary tier. Some suggest that the reason was political antagonism on the part of Margaret Thatcher to political authorities that were all Labour controlled that challenged her policies. Following the abolition di erent areas of the country put in new arrangements to manage some strategic powers. These di er across the country. The introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners altered this in respect of policing powers. A: The long version - SYCC had power over public transport, highways, waste disposal, police, re, strategic (land-use) planning and economic development, and various ancillary functions like support for the arts, trading standards & consumer protection, museums and galleries. It was abolished in 1986, alongside the other ve metropolitan counties (Greater Manchester, Merseyside, West Midlands, West Yorkshire, Tyne & Wear) by the then Conservative Government. This Government believed that there was no need for a strategic level of government in the major cities. The then district councils in areas covered by metropolitan counties [i.e. She eld, Rotherham etc.] carried out more functions than district councils elsewhere in England, meaning that the direct responsibilities of metropolitan counties were meagre. This led them to search for a 'strategic role', planning and grant-giving, but this was thin in practice. They were also accused of being overspenders during the tight years of the early 1980s. The major, unadmitted element was political hostility: the met counties and Greater London were Labour-dominated under the Thatcher Conservative governments, and many policy and nancial clashes predated the decision to abolish.
4. What if North Yorkshire steams ahead, will Westminster seek to redress the balance?
A: This is unlikely in the near future as current Government policy emphasises regional variation and competition between regions.
5. What is the impact of English Votes for English Laws on the devolution deal? The more power any regional assembly held, the less in uence it w have within Westminster? Would that create di culties when legislation was passed in Westminster that a ected that region?
A: So far, the limits of power between EVEL and regional devolution have been largely overlooked. When I asked the She eld Council team, they responded "Really good question". Some suggest that there will be complexity for Westminster as more powers are devolved to city and other regions, but there is inconsistency in regional in uence and arrangements. Others suggest that there may be con ict should regional authorities become strident in their demands and if Westminster tries to pull back control. We don't know. Andy Mycock pointed to imbalances amongst MPs in di erent parts of England being similar to the 'West Lothian Question'. Andy's "Manchester Withington Question" proposes a situation where the local MP could not vote on services for the constituency of Manchester Withington (which had been devolved to Greater Manchester), but they could vote on them for the rest of England. Such scenarios could

FUNDING
1. How much income does the city region currently raise in taxes, how much does it receive from other sources and how much additional revenue w have under the deal?
A: Currently the city region raises no taxes of it's own. It receives grant income from the four constituent councils (She eld, Barnsley, Doncaster & Rotherham) for the paasenger transport responsibilities and some from HMG directed through the Local Enterprise Partnership. There is also a small component from retained business rates in the regions Enterprise Zone. Additional income under the deal is uncertain. Government money given to She eld City Region (eg. for transport or housing) will be given in one budget rather than coming from di erent Government departments. There will also be greater control over the money She eld City Region gets from the European Union.
2. How will the money be distributed (ie. proportionate to the size of the councils in population, area or what)?
A: It will be up to the combined authority how to distribute the funding it receives within its area.
3. How much of this additional revenue will be new money (total and per head) for new projects?
A: The only new money without strings attached being the £30M per year for the next 30 years. Of this only 40% is available for revenue expenditure. This will be a general pot not divided by each council.
4. Is £900m over 30 years across 9 authorities about £3m per year per authority?
A: Not automatically. Funding will go to the mayor and cabinet, who will decide on allocation. They may choose this or another approach. It's possible, but not yet clear, that funding will be movable between years.
5. What transparency will there be about allocation of funding and what guarantees will there be that new money is redirected away from service ar to savings/cuts?
A: In the deal and the CA constitution all spending decisions must be made and agreed by the CA meetings/ Mayor. The meetings are public and have space for questions from the public. All are minuted and reports brought to the meeting are normally available online with the agends. It is also intended that, at some point, the meetings will be webcast (available to watch online like youtube). Any use of monies

When we look at the engagement level of each citizen's post, i.e. the sum of like, comment and share, in the North we see that the average was 9.5, while the median was 9. Sta 's post had an average engagement of 6.1 and median of 4. In the South instead citizens' posts average engagement was 8.13, while the median was 7. Politicians' posts had an average engagement of 8.6, and a median engagement of 11. Posts made by sta had an average engagement of 5.7 and median of 4.5.

ENGAGEMENT GENERATED BY POSTS LIKE+SHARE+COMMENT

MEDIA HITS LOG FOR DEMOCRACY MATTERS GID 6051 >>BDaZEN7HG6 (GID 6051 > 542.0612 3EMBk (G13.77rt2m)15 (C)-3 51 >>BD

Date	Outlet	Format	Author	web address
09/11/2015	Share Radio	Event round-up	ESRC	https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=31&ved=0CBsQFjAAOB5qFQoTCNjuv8znlMkCFco-FAodChINdw&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.shareradio.co.uk%2Flooking-forward%2FPDFBase&usg=AFQjCNGaWRC-CXuwEtcAr8sjpS6F1fCWGA&bvm=bv.107467506,d.d24&cad=rja
10/11/2015	She eld Telegraph	Feature coverage	Matthew Flinders	http://www.she eldtelegraph.co.uk/news/local/she eld-assembly-calls-for-county-wide-devolution-model-1-7562520#axzz3r5LRUnaC
10/11/2015	She eld Star	Feature coverage	Matthew Flinders	http://www.thestar.co.uk/news/she eld-assembly-calls-for-county-wide-devolution-model-1-7562520
10/11/2015	Yorkshire Post	Feature coverage	Katie Oldfield	http://www.pressreader.com/uk/yorkshire-post/20151110/281655368958235/TextView
10/11/2015				

Date	Outlet	Format	Author	web address
25/11/2015	March the Fury	Blog	Josiah Mortimer	

Name	Party / Organisation	Constituency	Role
Dominic Grieve MP	Conservative	Beacons eld	

IMPACT EVENTS SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRACY MATTERS' CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY PROJECT
