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PART ONE: BACKGROUND 1

1 A Nation That (Sometimes) Likes to Talk: A Brief
 History of Public Deliberation in the United States
 John Gastil, William M. Keith

The idea of public deliberation has come in and out of vogue over the past century, and its recent arrival is no guarantee that it is here to stay. A deliberative movement appeared in the early twentieth century in the United States, only to dissipate by World War II. The reemergence of deliberation in the 1990s could also come to an end, and this chapter explains what cultural, technological, and geopolitical forces bring about deliberation and cause its collapse. Understanding the interplay of these forces might help us sustain the present deliberative movement.

2 What Can We Learn from the Practice of Deliberative Democracy? 20

Mark Button, David Michael Ryfe

This chapter provides a general survey of a wide range of practical efforts to foster more citizen deliberation in American politics. Deliberative programs differ in terms of who is included in the forums, how deliberation is conducted, and how success is determined. A useful theory of deliberative democracy must engage the realities and constraints of deliberative practice, and public deliberation programs need to recognize the theoretical and cultural consequences of the practical choices they make. Deliberation may have a number of positive outcomes, but it is more important to understand deliberation as a powerful socialization experience that reminds participants what it means to be a true citizen in a democratic society.

PART TWO: DELIBERATION AND PUBLIC JUDGMENT 35

3 National Issues Forums: A Network of Communities Promoting Public Deliberation 37

Keith Melville, Taylor L. Willingham, John R. Dedrick

The National Issues Forums is a grassroots movement of diverse organizations and individuals committed to framing, moderating, and convening inclusive public discussions. Organizations across the country use nationally developed discussion guides, often adapting them to reflect the circumstances of their local community. A growing number of communities are applying the theoretical principles of the forums to name and frame their own local issues for public deliberation. The result is a growing network of communities that are using deliberation to make thoughtful decisions based on a common understanding of an issue and the costs, consequences, and benefits of their shared decision.

4 Electoral Deliberation and Public Journalism 59

Michelle Charles, Harris Sokoloff, Chris Satullo

How can a local newspaper work with the public to inform its judgment about which candidate to endorse in an election? How can mutual trust be built among the public and the press to arrive at such a conclusion? This chapter documents a major metropolitan newspaper's endeavor to engage citizens in a citywide civic journalism project. How did it happen? What were the outcomes? Charles, Sokoloff, and Satullo discuss their best practices and principles for weaving civic mapping, public deliberation, and the business of running a newspaper into a positive electoral experience for citizens.

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5 Deliberative Polling*: From Experiment to Community Resource 68

James Fishkin, Cynthia Farrar

Fishkin introduced the world to the deliberative poll in the late 1980s. Since then, he and his colleagues have overseen dozens of such polls, which invite a random sample of a large public to engage in face-to-face deliberation. Participants receive balanced background information, discuss the issues in structured and moderated small groups, and question a panel of experts who represent a range of viewpoints. Participants complete a survey both before and after they deliberate. Farrar and Fishkin explain the distinctive design and virtues of this approach to public consultation and discuss how it is being adapted to suit various contexts and to enhance the prospects for institutionalization.

6 Consensus Conferences and Planning Cells: Lay Citizen Deliberations: 80

Carolyn M. Hendriks

Planning cells and consensus conferences are two deliberative models that emerged from Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. Planning cell projects have tended to concentrate on urban planning issues, whereas consensus conferences have been applied as a participatory method of technology assessment. Although the two models share many features, there are some distinct procedural differences that influence how many citizens are involved and the intensity of their deliberations. Though subtle, these differences can affect the perceived legitimacy of the process, especially in relation to ideas on who should be involved in policy deliberations and what such involvement should entail.

7 Citizens Juries: Creating a Trustworthy Voice of the People 111 Ned Crosby, Doug Nethercut

For three decades, Citizens Juries have been used effectively to examine a wide range of public policies at local, state, and national levels. This chapter reviews the variety of methods for convening a jury that will deliver high-quality, cost-effective citizen input. The Citizens Jury** process is unique in the way it has been used to bring clear, trustworthy information to voters during election periods. Electoral reform is one promising future application.

^{*}Deliberative Polling® is a registered trademark of James S. Fishkin. Any fees from the trademark are used to support research at the Center for Deliberative Democracy.

^{**}Citizens Jury® is a registered trademark of the Jefferson Center.

8 Adapting and Combining Deliberative Designs: Juries, Polls, and Forums 120

Lyn Carson, Janette Hartz-Karp

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Since the 1970s, Australia has experimented with many deliberative designs in local, state, or national settings. Australians have also adapted or combined deliberative processes in quite novel ways. This chapter canvasses some of the interesting adaptations, including a combined citizens' jury and televote, modifications to the consensus conference and the deliberative poll, and innovative use of the 21st Century Town Meeting. The adaptations have been designed to deal with various practical challenges without losing the strengths of each method. The authors evaluate the extent to which these adaptations have increased representativeness, deepened deliberativeness, and maximized the degree of participants' influence.

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9 Bringing the Public and the Government TogetherThrough On-Line Dialogues 141

Patricia A. Bonner, Robert Carlitz, Rosemary Gunn, Laurie E. Maak, Charles A. Ratliff

Government entities are beginning to use on-line dialogue for public discussions of proposed policies. Examples from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and a California legislative committee illustrate this process. Unlike other public involvement mechanisms, on-line dialogue allows participants to access detailed information and take part at any time. Even with large groups, dialogues allow direct communication with policymakers; encourage seeing others as individuals, not adversaries; and foster a "let's talk" attitude instead of the "time's up" one often found in traditional public hearings.

10 A Town Meeting for the Twenty-First Century 154

Carolyn J. Lukensmeyer, Joe Goldman, Steven Brigham

Since 1997, America Speaks has orchestrated more than forty large-scale public forums called 21st Century Town Meetings* across the nation. This chapter describes how a 21st Century Town Meeting influences policymaking by engaging as many as five thousand people at a time in deliberation about critical policy issues. America Speaks's approach, which integrates authentic deliberation with the latest technology, has been used to address a wide array of high-profile public issues, including the redevelopment of the World Trade Center site after the September 11 attacks, the creation of the annual budget for the city of Washington, D.C., and national Social Security reform.

^{*21}st Century Town Meeting® is a registered trademark of America Speaks.

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11 Collaborative Learning and the Public's Stewardship of Its Forests 164

Antony S. Cheng, Janet D. Fiero

In the western United States, federal agencies often find themselves entangled in drawn-out conflicts with local communities and interest groups over the stewardship of local public lands. In many cases, these conflicts are artifacts of agency planning processes that favor highly technical analyses over meaningful civic engagement. In a break from traditional planning approaches, the Forest Service in western Colorado has adapted the Collaborative Learning approach to enable local citizens to deliberate about the future of public lands. This chapter focuses on how the Forest Service used place-based working groups to develop a forest plan for the three-million-acre Grand Mesa, Uncompangre, and Gunnison Forest. The landscape working groups used Collaborative Learning principles to make progress in improving stakeholder relationships, clarifying substantive issues, and enhancing capacity for multiparty deliberation.

12 Participation and Public Policies in Brazil 174

Vera Schattan P. Coelho, Barbara Pozzoni, Mariana Cifuentes Montoya Brazil leads the world in establishing local councils through legislation to enable ordinary citizens to participate in the formulation and monitoring of public policies on health, education, and social assistance. In this context, the notion of citizen participation raises two critical challenges: building institutions that allow poor and marginalized citizens to influence policies and ensuring that these institutions are accountable to their needs. Our analysis of the experiences and achievements of the Municipal Health Council of São Paulo brings attention to the need to improve the process of council member selection and devise appropriate procedures to ensure the inclusion of all participants in discussions and decision-making processes.

13 Deliberative City Planning on the Philadelphia Waterfront 185

Harris Sokoloff, Harris M. Steinberg, Steven N. Pyser

Beginning in January 2003, more than eight hundred residents of Philadelphia participated in three months of robust public dialogue about the future of the city's waterfront at Penn's Landing. They participated in a series of facilitated public meetings, including expert presentations and deliberative forums, to discuss and share their thoughts about the redevelopment of the waterfront and the city's future. This chapter presents a model process for engaging the public on issues of urban design and empowering residents to inform their elected officials on issues that affect the quality of their built environment. This powerful civic engagement model meshes public values and professional expertise.

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PART FOUR: COMMUNITIES AND DELIBERATIVE CULTURE 197

14 Study Circles: Local Deliberation as the Cornerstone of Deliberative Democracy 199

Patrick L. Scully, Martha L. McCoy

Since its establishment in 1989, the Study Circles Resource Center has helped make face-to-face deliberation a regular part of public life. In the United States, study circles have played a leading role in connecting deliberation to individual, community, institutional, and policy change. This chapter details the process by which study circles are conducted and provides illustrations of their many varieties.

15 e-thePeople.org: Large-Scale, Ongoing Deliberation 213

G. Michael Weiksner

The mission of e-thePeople is to improve civic participation through the use of the Internet. The e-thePeople Web site provides a free on-line forum for public discussion and political action. A distinctive characteristic of the forum is the degree to which the participants themselves govern the forum, creating and enforcing the rules, deciding on the topics of discussion, and framing those discussions; it's an attempt at a citizen-driven town hall. This chapter describes the methods and successes of e-thePeople, and it examines the special challenges and opportunities of on-line deliberation.

16 Learning Democracy Centers: Where the Public Works 228

Carole J. Schwinn, John T. Kesler, David R. Schwinn

While academics, politicians, and pundits wrangle over the relative power of federal, state, and local governments, a growing number of civic organizations are putting power back into the hands of ordinary citizens. The authors of this chapter refer to these organizations as *learning democracy centers*. These associations and initiatives are trusted, neutral, institutionalized conveners that have the capacity to engage diverse members of their community in solving their most pressing social, economic, and environmental problems. The chapter examines the methods by which these associations organize, deliberate, and promote citizen action.

17 Disagreement and Consensus: The Importance of Dynamic Updating in Public Deliberation 237

Christopher F. Karpowitz, Jane Mansbridge

This chapter examines some specific methods of public deliberation that were deployed to facilitate town planning in Princeton, New Jersey, using this case to discuss the dynamics of deliberation more broadly. Karpowitz and Mansbridge raise a point that pertains to all methods of deliberation—the importance of an open-minded, ongoing discovery of each party's values and interests—and discuss what can be done to ensure that this *dynamic updating* takes place.

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18 Growing Governance Deliberatively: Lessons and Inspiration from Hampton, Virginia 254

William R. Potapchuk, Cindy Carlson, Joan Kennedy

Dialogue and deliberation have permeated civic life in Hampton, Virginia. Working together, the government and civic organizations of Hampton have creatively and painstakingly expanded the community's capacity for effective citizen engagement on every kind of public issue. In this chapter, the authors explain how this change occurred by discussing the importance of Hampton's governmental structure, the city government's general efficiency, and its model for developing a collaborative community. They also provide three illustrations of how collaborative initiatives in Hampton have taken root, then conclude with some reflections on how cases such as these can strengthen the connections between the theory and practice of building deliberative, collaborative communities.

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19 Future Directions for Public Deliberation 271

Peter Levine, Archon Fung, John Gastil

This final chapter begins by briefly reviewing the most consistent and encouraging findings across the many different cases reviewed in this volume. Levine, Fung, and Gastil then identify difficulties that confront those practicing deliberation. Persistent challenges include balancing unity and disagreement, ensuring effective organization and facilitation, conducting deliberation on larger scales, and influencing decision makers. As deliberation becomes more influential, practitioners should also take care to preserve the integrity of the deliberative process. After identifying important research questions for the future, the chapter concludes by discussing contexts that require a period of exploratory dialogue before beginning more solution-oriented deliberation. The authors suggest that some controversial issues may require what they call *cultural accommodation*. If deliberation can successfully reach across cultural divides, it may even become an appropriate mode for addressing international issues such as trade and terrorism.

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