

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR WALES -CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

FULL REPORT

JULY 2019



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1. ABOUT THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

The National Assembly for Wales citizens' assembly took place from Friday 19 July to Sunday 21 July 2019. It looked at the question:

How can people in Wales shape their future through the work of the National Assembly for Wales?

This section provides an introduction to the citizens' assembly, who took part and how it worked.

Background to the citizens' assembly

In 2019, the National Assembly for Wales celebrated its 20th Anniversary. The National Assembly Commission initiated a citizens' assembly as part of these celebrations. The Commission is a group of five Assembly Members from different political parties. It is responsible for ensuring the provision of property, staff and services needed for the National Assembly for Wales to do its work.

The Commission contracted two organisations to deliver the citizens' assembly on its behalf. The Sortition Foundation led on participant recruitment. The Involve Foundation ('Involve') led on all other aspects of the project and was the overall project lead.

These organisations and the National Assembly Commission identified an Expert Lead to advise on the subject matter covered by the citizens' assembly: **Professor Graham Smith**, Professor of Politics and Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster.¹ Professor Smith then collaborated with the citizens' assembly's expert speakers to curate the citizens' assembly's content (please see pages 4 and 6 for a list of speakers).

An internal steering group at the National Assembly Commission oversaw this process, including the choice of speakers.

The National Assembly for Wales hopes to use the results of the citizens' assembly to inform its work.

Who took part: the participants

We recruited participants using a process called a civic lottery. We randomly selected ten thousand households in Wales from the postcode database. We then sent a letter to these addresses asking if any adults over sixteen years old would like to take part in the citizens' assembly. Adults who did want to take part and who were free on the relevant dates responded online or by phone. In total, 331 people said that they would like to take part.

We then used stratified random sampling to select sixty participants who together reflected the population of Wales in terms of:

- Age;
- Gender;
- Ethnicity;
- Educational qualification (highest level of qualification held);
- Place of residence (which region of Wales they live in);
- Whether or not they voted in 2016 National Assembly for Wales election; and
- Welsh language skills.

People not able to take part were employees of the National Assembly for Wales, Members of the National Assembly for Wales, Members of the UK Parliament, Local Authority Councillors, paid employees of any political party, and employees of politicians. We also ensured that we selected no more than one adult from each household.

Of the sixty participants originally selected in this way, seven had to pull out before the citizens' assembly weekend for various personal reasons.

¹ We originally identified two Expert Leads, but one had to withdraw from the project for family reasons.



We replaced these participants with other respondents to our original letters. We took great care to ensure that newly selected participants were as close a match as possible to those who had had to withdraw. This was essential to ensuring that the participant group as a whole continued to reflect the population of Wales.

The one area where we struggled to do this was educational qualification. There was not a sufficient number of people in the original pool of respondents with no educational qualification to replace those who withdrew. We replaced the first withdrawals of people with no educational qualification with new participants with Level 1 qualifications: this was the closest available match. However we didn't think it was acceptable to do this for more than one or two people. We therefore ultimately decided to ask ICM to do some additional recruitment work. Three of the final participants were recruited in this way.

The results of the recruitment are shown on the next page.

How the citizens' assembly worked: the preparatory phase

The citizens' assembly took place over the course of one weekend, Friday evening to Sunday afternoon. On the Friday evening the citizens' assembly met for only a short period of time. It focussed on administrative tasks, but also two further areas:

- Hopes and fears: Participants discussed their hopes and fears for the citizens' assembly, informing the facilitation and support teams' approach to the weekend;
- Conversation guidelines: Participants discussed the rules that they would like to see guide conversations during the citizens' assembly. The facilitation team collated these on Friday evening and presented them back to participants on Saturday morning. The guidelines underpinned participants' and facilitators' work for the rest of the weekend.

Two lead facilitators explained each step of the citizens' assembly's process throughout the weekend. There was also a table facilitator on each table² at all times to facilitate the small group discussions. This helped to ensure that everyone's voice was heard and that the citizens' assembly kept to time.

How the citizens' assembly worked: the learning phase

The citizens' assembly had three key phases: the learning phase, and the discussion and decision phases.

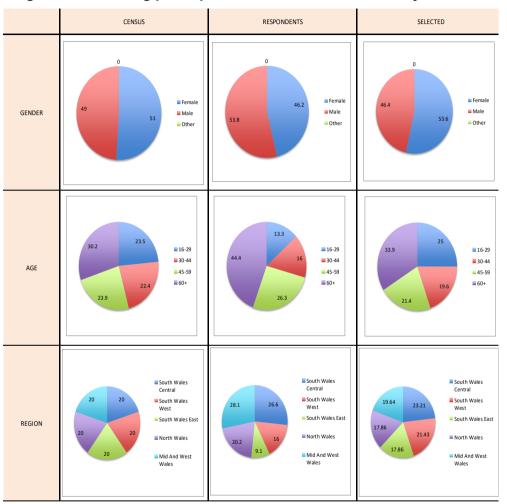
The learning phase of the citizens' assembly started on Saturday morning with a background information panel. This panel featured:

- Dr Huw Pritchard, University of Cardiff: Dr Pritchard explained what the National Assembly for Wales is, the budget it scrutinises, its powers and role;
- Professor Graham Smith, Professor of Politics and Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster: Professor Smith outlined the four areas on which the citizens' assembly would focus (see below). He also ran through considerations that participants might want to note when hearing about ways to shape the future – for example, their cost, who takes part and the depth of consideration given to an issue.

Participants spent time questioning Dr Pritchard and Professor Smith. We limited questions at this stage to points of clarification or requests for further information. These two speakers were not allowed to give personal opinions.

² There were seven tables in total. We changed the seating plan each day so that every participant got to meet and discuss the topic with as many other participants as possible.





CENSUS RESPONDENTS SELECTED No qualifications No qualifications No qualifications Level 1 or 2 Level 1 or 2 Level 1 or 2 EDUCATION LEVEL Level 3 or Level 3 or Level 3 or Apprenticeship or Other Apprenticeship or Other Apprenticeship or Other Level 4 and above Level 4 and above Level 4 and above 40. 42.9 Yes VOTE 2016? ¥es ¥es No No No WELSH LANGAUGE ¥es Yes Ves SKILLS No No White White White ETHNICITY BAME BAME BAME

Figure 1: Recruiting participants for the citizens' assembly³

 $^{^{\}rm 3}$ Full details of the data sources used in the recruitment calculations can be found in Appendix A



Following this panel, participants spent time considering what they had just heard about the National Assembly for Wales' powers, and the issues they cover. Participants noted their thoughts on what is and is not working well in Wales at the moment from amongst these issues. This was followed by a vote on this topic later in the weekend.

The citizens' assembly then moved on to the second and most substantial part of the learning phase. A total of six speakers presented ways that people in Wales can, or could, shape their future through four areas of the National Assembly for Wales' work:

- 1. The Assembly's committees
- 2. The Assembly's role in questioning government
- 3. The Assembly role in budget approval
- 4. Setting the agenda for the Assembly

These are the areas of the National Assembly for Wales' work in which there is greatest potential for innovation in how people in Wales can shape their future.

For each of the areas, participants heard evidence about what these innovations could be. Where relevant, they also heard evidence about current ways in which they can shape their future as context for their discussions.

Speakers were (in order of appearance at the citizens' assembly):

- **Dr Diana Stirbu, London Metropolitan University:** Current ways to shape the future through the Assembly's committees;
- Dr Alan Renwick, Constitution Unit, University College London: New ways to shape the future through the Assembly's committees;

- **Rebecca Rumbul, Head of Research, mySociety:** New ways to shape the future through questioning government;
- Anthony Zacharzewski, President, The Democratic Society: New ways to shape the future through budget approval;
- Professor Cristina Leston Bandeira, Professor of Politics, University of Leeds: Current ways to shape the future through setting the agenda; and,
- Dr Clodagh Harris, Head of the Department of Government & Politics, University College Cork⁴: New ways to shape the future through setting the agenda.

Participants spent time questioning these speakers in depth at their tables.

A note on exclusions

The citizens' assembly did not hear evidence on ways for people to shape their future by contacting individual Assembly Members (AMs) or political parties. This is because these routes to influence already exist and changes to them are a matter for the individual AMs and parties concerned. We made these exclusions explicit to participants.

Similarly, we made clear to participants that they were considering the National Assembly for Wales as it currently exists. The citizens' assembly did not hear evidence on questions such as whether the Assembly's powers, the number of AMs or the Assembly's electoral system should change.

⁴ Dr Harris unfortunately missed the citizens' assembly weekend due to illness. A member of the facilitation team presented her pre-prepared slides on her behalf.



How the citizens' assembly worked: discussion and decision phases

The discussion and decision phases were spread across late Saturday afternoon and Sunday. Participants looked at each theme – committees, questioning government, budget approval and setting the agenda – in turn. For each theme they discussed:

- The pros and cons of each new way of shaping the future;
- Whether or not each new way of shaping the future should be available to people in Wales; and,
- Their order of preference in terms of how important it is that each new way of shaping the future is available to people in Wales.

Participants voted by secret ballot to give their final view on the latter two of these questions.

Participants then looked across all the potential new ways to shape the future and discussed which three they would most like to see available. Again, they then voted by secret ballot to give their final view.

Lastly, participants discussed whether there was anything else they would like to say to the National Assembly for Wales on the topic of shaping the future.

The rest of this report contains the results of all the above-mentioned votes, as well as the key points made by participants throughout the entirety of their discussions.



2. ABOUT WALES

The citizens' assembly started with a background information panel. This included information about the National Assembly for Wales, the budget, it scrutinises, its powers and role. Participants' first task after this panel was to reflect on the information about what is and is not covered by the powers of the Assembly.

We then asked participants to write down:

- Two things that you think are working particularly well in Wales at the moment, or that you would like to see stay the same;
- Two things that you think are either working particularly badly, or where there are key challenges facing Wales.

We collated and themed these responses on Saturday evening.⁵ The next day we ran through the resulting options with participants. Participants then voted on each set of options in turn.

What's working well?

Participants each had four votes – they could choose the four things that they feel are most working well in Wales or which they would most like to see stay the same. The results of the vote were as follows:

	No. votes		
-	 Ancient monuments and historic buildings Wales is such a patriotic nation – 'we are already half way there' maintenance and access 		
Food		29	
-	high quality local produce and high food		

⁵ Where participants specified a reason for their view or a particular aspect of a theme that there were referring to, we included these comments as bullet points underneath an overall heading (see the 'options' column in the tables).

quality standards	
Environmental protection particularly water and flood defences good progress on recycling 	25
Tourism and culture - a growth industry	24
Maintaining green spaces agricultural landscapes, forestry, and town and city centres 	21
Sport and recreation - well supported	20
Welsh language - education and support for	16
The National Assembly for Wales	14
Education and training - we have lower higher education fees - new curriculum	12
Town and country planning - especially in regeneration areas and with improvements in local transport	7
Fire safety - fire and rescue services locally	4
Roads and infrastructure	4



What are the key challenges facing Wales?

Again, participants each had four votes – they could choose the four things that they most feel are working badly in Wales, or which they most feel are facing key challenges. The results of the vote were as follows:

Option	No. votes
 Heath services needs more support both GPs and hospitals 	37
Mental health services not enough support and understanding a growing issue 	32
 Education closing rural schools struggling schools in poorer areas challenges with providing for Special Educational Needs not enough emphasis on Welsh language 	28
Road infrastructureparticularly in rural areas	24
Public transport particularly in rural areas 	19
 Environmental protection particularly in agricultural areas challenge to balance this with commercial concerns 	18
 Social welfare system not providing the support needed 	16

Phone and broadband infrastructure	14
Housing particularly the long wait for social housing 	12
Economic development lack of investment help for small businesses 	11
Tax raising - is it too low to meet our needs?	9
Culture - funding cuts means risks to history and unique identity	2

What can the National Assembly for Wales take from these conclusions?

It is important to note two points when looking at the above results. Firstly, participants did not hear evidence on the above issues. Secondly, a statistically representative opinion poll would be a more reliable method, budget permitting, of accessing the population's gut reaction to the current successes and challenges facing Wales.

Nonetheless the results above do provide an indication of the sorts of issues of concern to people in Wales.

Where headings such as 'education' appear in both lists, participants have stated which aspects of the sector they feel are and are not working well.



3. HOW CAN PEOPLE IN WALES SHAPE THEIR FUTURE?

This section contains the results of the citizens' assembly. They are presented by theme, in the following order:

- Ways of shaping the future through:
 - a. The Assembly's committees
 - b. Questioning government
 - c. Budget approval
 - d. Setting the agenda
- The final votes and discussions:
 - e. Overall preferences
 - f. Anything else to tell the National Assembly for Wales

Before we present the results, it is sensible to run through the options considered by the citizens' assembly in more detail.

Thirteen ways to shape the future

Participants considered a total of thirteen new ways for people in Wales to shape their future.

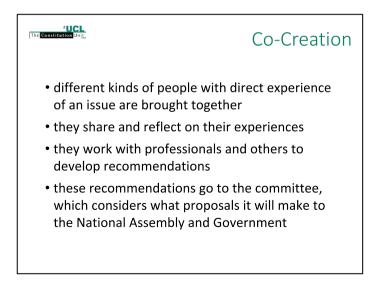
The Expert Lead worked with the citizens' assembly's speakers to chose these options. They gave priority to innovations already in use by other parliaments and governments (both local and national) around the world. On the rare occasions that these did not exist, they gave priority to ways of the shaping the future that are realistic, in practical terms, for the National Assembly for Wales to consider. An internal steering group at the National Assembly Commission oversaw this process, including the choice of speakers.

As noted earlier in this report, participants also heard evidence about current ways in which people in Wales can shape their future. This provided important context for their discussions. The options on which participants heard evidence were as follows.

a. The Assembly's committees

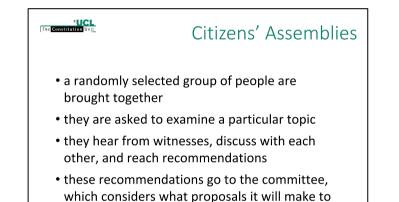
There are already significant opportunities for people in Wales to shape their future through the work of the National Assembly for Wales' committees. Participants heard evidence about how this currently works (please see Appendix B). They then heard evidence about three new innovations that could provide additional opportunities for people in Wales to shape their future. These were:

 Co-creation: Co-creation involves bringing together different kinds of people, including those with relevant personal experience. These people work together to develop recommendations, which are then presented to a committee(s) as part of its evidence gathering. The speaker gave the example of the process used to create Scotland's social security charter.





2. **Citizens' assemblies:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people learn, discuss and make recommendations about an issue(s). The speaker gave the example of the Citizens' Assembly on Social Care commissioned by two committees of the UK House of Commons in 2018.



the National Assembly and Government

3. **Online discussion:** An online forum is created for discussion of a particular topic or issue area. Anyone can propose ideas, comment on the ideas of other people, and vote for their favourite suggestions. The speaker gave the example of the 'Your priorities' website, and in particular how it has been used in Bute and Cowal.

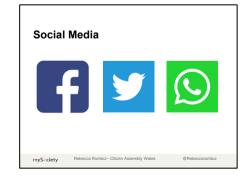
• an online forum is established for discussion of some matter • people can choose to take part

- they can propose ideas, comment on other people's ideas, and vote
- this feeds into the work of the committee

b. Questioning government

Participants heard evidence about three ways in which people in Wales could shape the future through questioning government. These were:

4. **Social media:** Using existing social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, etc.) to ask questions and receive responses;





5. **Web forms:** Using a form on the National Assembly for Wales website to ask questions and receive responses on the website;

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6. **Specialist platform:** Using a specially designed platform to support questions and answers. This platform would allow people to up-vote and down-vote each other's questions, and potentially also to comment on them.



c. Budget approval

Participants heard evidence about three ways in which people in Wales could shape the future through the budget approval process. These were:

7. Local groups budget game: Representative groups come together across Wales to play a budget prioritisation game, generating recommendations;

Option 1. Local groups across Wales play budget prioritisation game

- Representative groups of people (either randomly selected or targeted) come together across different parts of Wales for one day <u>before</u> draft budget is published.
- Divide into diverse tables of seven
- Existing budget of the Welsh Government is presented in the form of a board game with counters representing spending
- Each table discusses priorities and decides spending. To cast their vote the whole table has to agree to the allocation.
- Results from across all the groups in Wales are brought together and presented to the Government and National Assembly Finance Committee



8. **Citizens' assembly on spending priorities:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people discuss and make recommendations about their priorities for the budget.



Option 2: Citizens' assembly on spending priorities

- A citizens' assembly meets <u>before</u> the draft budget is published for a weekend
 - Randomly-selected people from across Wales
- The citizens' assembly agrees priority areas for investment in Wales and publishes its recommendations
- <u>After</u> the draft budget has been published, a small group from the citizens' assembly comes together to review whether its priorities have been reflected in the budget
- The conclusions are sent to the Finance and policy committees



9. Citizens' assembly reviews inquiry recommendations: Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people prioritise the recommendations from committee inquiries over the previous year that are directly linked to finance and budget issues.

Option 3. Citizens' assembly reviews Committee Inquiries' recommendations

- During the year Committee Inquires produce recommendations and the Government responds.
- <u>Before</u> the draft budget is published, a citizens' assembly meets for one weekend or more to review and prioritise these Inquiry proposals.
- Recommendations are made public before the budget consultation process.
- <u>After</u> draft budget is published, a small group from the citizens' assembly comes together for another weekend to review whether its priorities have been included. Able to question government.
- The results are published and sent to Finance Committee, other Assembly Committees and the Government.



d. Setting the agenda

There are already opportunities for people in Wales to help set the agenda of the National Assembly for Wales'. Participants heard evidence about how this currently works (please see Appendix B). They then heard evidence about four new innovations that could provide additional opportunities for people in Wales to shape their future through agenda setting. These were:

10. **Citizens' assembly – task set by the National Assembly:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people learn, discuss and make recommendations on an issue decided by the National Assembly. The speaker gave the example of the Irish citizens' assembly.

Option 1: Citizens' assembly with task set by National Assembly

Example: Ireland's Citizens' Assembly 2016-2018

- Set up by Parliamentary resolution to address diverse range of topics (abortion, climate change, aging, etc.)
- > Majority decision making by secret ballot
- Assembly presented its recommendations to the Houses of Parliament
- Government committed to respond to each recommendation. To date: successful referendum (abortion), committee deliberations and inclusion in Government plan (climate change)



11. **Citizens' assembly – task set by a citizens' council:** Randomstratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people learn, discuss and make recommendations on an issue decided by another randomly selected group of people. The speaker gave the example of the Ostbelgien Bürgerdialog.

Option 2: Citizens' assemblies with task set by citizens' council

Example: Ostbelgien Bürgerdialog

- 1. A permanent Citizens' Council (CC)
- 2. Citizens' Assemblies (CA)
- 3. Secretariat

Citizens' Council

> 25 members

- i. Chosen by lot
- ii. Hold seats for 18 months, with change in membership every 6 months

> Agenda setting and monitoring powers

- i. Takes evidence from parliament, government, civil society organisations and citizens
- ii. Selects the topics on which separate citizens' assemblies will be held that year one to three every year
- iii. Reviews how parliament is dealing with recommendations from citizens' assemblies.

Citizens' Assemblies

- >25-50 citizens randomly selected to reflect gender, age, education, socio-economic status.
- Recommendations are presented and debated in an open session of parliament and then in the relevant parliamentary committee.
- >Relevant minister prepares a response.
- >Don't know how well it works starting in September!

12. **Crowdsourcing priorities online:** Ideas for action by the National Assembly are proposed on a specially designed online platform. The speaker gave the example of the Better Reykjavik process.

Option 3: Crowdsourcing priorities

- > Example: Iceland Better Reykjavik
- > On line social network Your priorities
- \succ Gives people a chance to present ideas and raise issues about services and operations in Reykjavik city.
- > Space to outline pros/cons and ratings.
- City of Reykjavik commits to process the top 5 ideas each month in a standing committee.
- > Over 70,000 people have participated in a city with a population of 120,000 since 2011.
- > Over 3000 ideas have been formally received and 1000 accepted since 2011.



13. **Crowdsourcing ideas plus a citizens' assembly ('Blended approach')**: Ideas for action by the National Assembly are proposed on a specially designed online platform and reviewed by a randomly selected group of people chosen to be broadly representative of the wider population. The speaker gave the example of Madrid's Oberservatorio de la Ciudad.

Madrid

Proposals from digital Decide Madrid platform

Oberservatorio de la Ciudad –permanent citizen forum – 49 randomly selected members.

Propose solutions to key issues & monitor municipal actions.

Can recommend referendums on issues proposed on Decide Madrid

Don't know how well it works – only started in March!



3A. THE ASSEMBLY'S COMMITTEES: THE RESULTS

Participants considered three new ways in which people in Wales could shape their future through the work of the Assembly's committees:

- **Co-creation:** Co-creation involves bringing together different kinds of people, including those with relevant personal experience. These people work together to develop recommendations, which are then presented to a committee(s) as part of its evidence gathering;
- **Citizens' assemblies:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people learn, discuss and make recommendations about an issue(s).
- **Online discussion:** An online forum is created for discussion of a particular topic or issue area. Anyone can propose ideas, comment on the ideas of other people, and vote for their favourite suggestions.

Vote one: should these ways of shaping the future be available?

The graphs in figures 2 and 3 show the results of participants' first vote on the area of committees. We asked participants to rate each new way of shaping the future in terms of whether or not they thought it should be available to people in Wales. The graphs show a number of key findings.

- A large majority of participants (71.4%) felt that citizens' assemblies to inform committees' work should *definitely* be available to people in Wales. An even larger majority of participants (92.9%) felt that they should *definitely* or *probably* be available. One participant noted on their ballot paper that their support was conditional on there being enough time for meaningful discussion and reflection.
- Participants also showed strong support for the idea of cocreation. A large majority of participants (85.7%) felt that cocreation should *definitely* or *probably* be available to people in Wales, although only around half (48.2%) thought it should *definitely* be available.
- Very few participants felt that citizens' assemblies or co-creation should probably not or definitely not be available (just 3.6% and 5.4% respectively).
- In contrast, 23.2% of participants felt that online discussion should *probably not* or *definitely not* be available. Just 50% of participants thought that online discussion should *definitely* or *probably* be available.



Figure 2: Results of the first vote on committees (in full

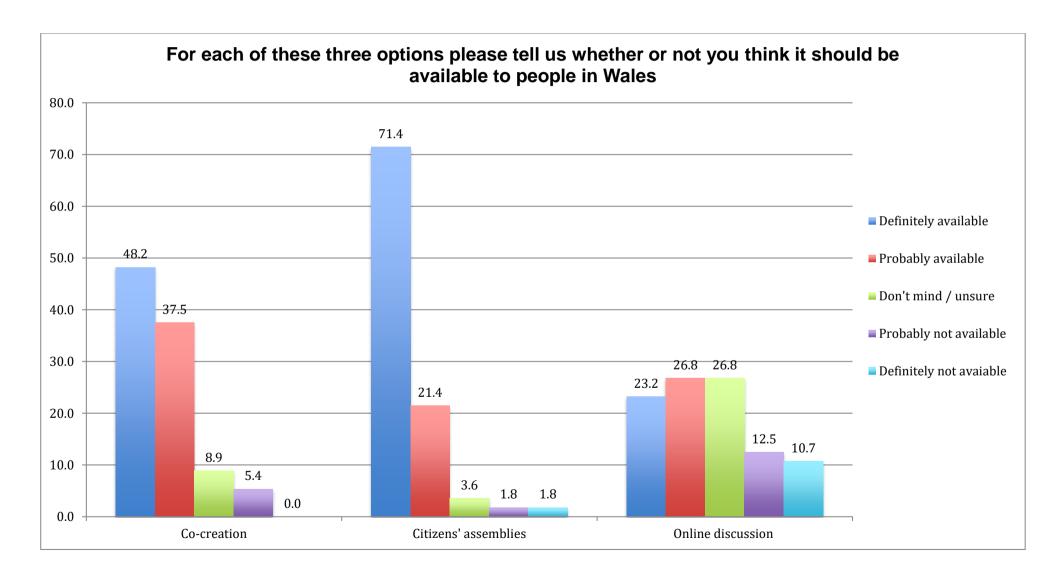
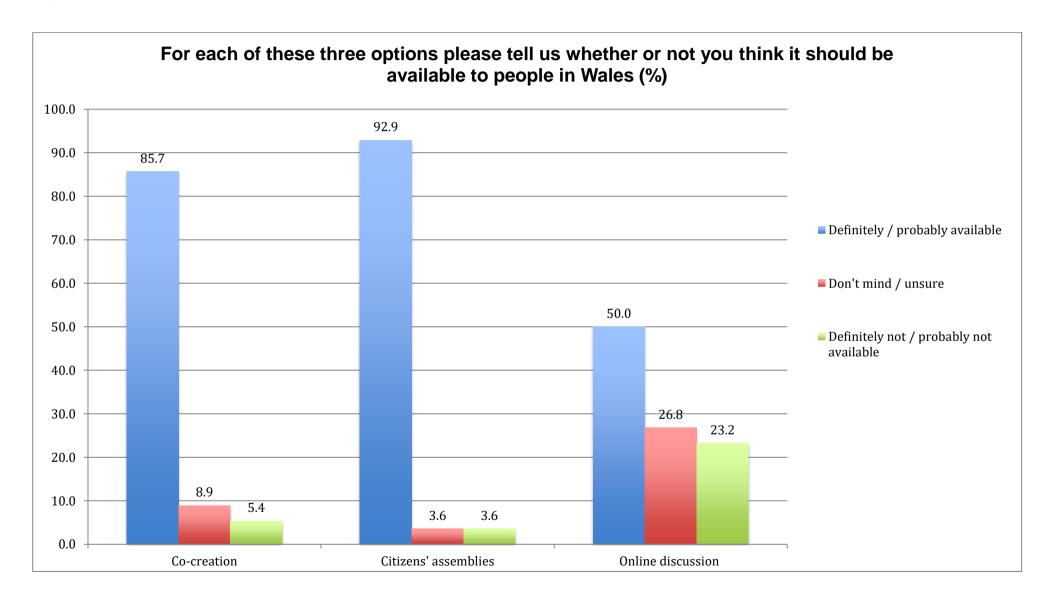




Figure 3: Results of the first vote on committees (support versus opposition)



Vote two: order of preference

The graphs in figures 4 and 5 shows the results of participants' second vote on the area of committees. We asked participants to rank the ways of shaping the future according to how important they think it is that they are available to people in Wales. The graphs show how the options fared when we counted (a) just first preference votes; and (b) when we gave points for preferences (2 points for 1st place, 1 point for 2nd place, 0 points for third place).

Unsurprisingly given the results of vote one, online discussion was clearly participants' least favoured option. It scored poorly on both first preference votes and points for preferences.

What is more surprising is how close the second vote was between citizens' assemblies and co-creation. Citizens' assemblies were participants' highest priority option in terms of first preference votes, but not by much. This may be because those in favour of co-creation from vote one felt very strongly that it should be available to people in Wales. The result may also have been affected by the spoilt ballot papers.

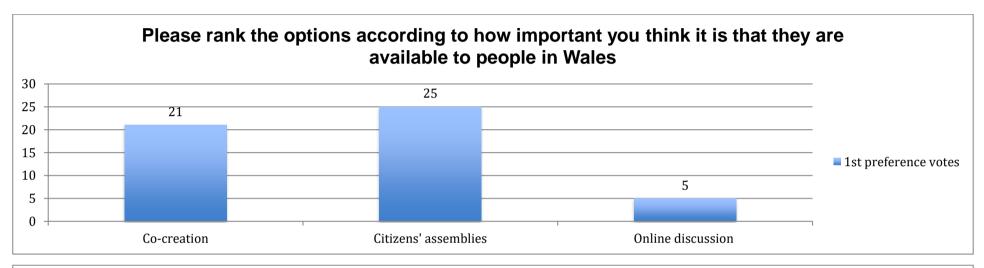
Spoilt ballot papers

Seven participants chose not to take part in vote two. These participants explained their decision on the ballot themselves. Their reasons included:

- Their answer depending on how well the different ways of shaping the future are delivered;
- Their answer depending on the Welsh Government's and Assembly's willingness to take outputs seriously and listen to them;
- Their preference depending on the topic to be considered, including potentially using a combination of the different options if appropriate;
- A belief that none of the ways of shaping the future should be used in isolation and they should instead be combined.



Figures 4 and 5: Results of the second vote on committees



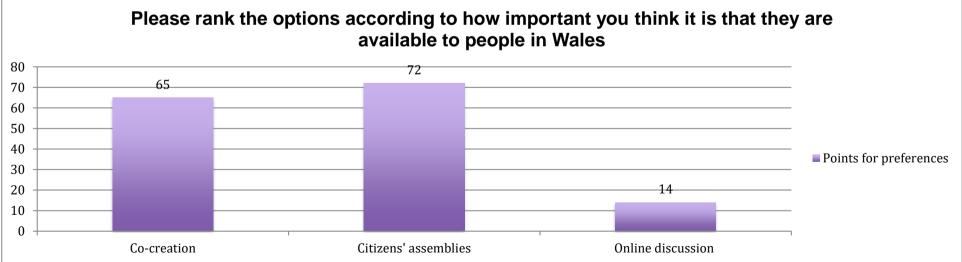




Table discussions

Participants' table discussions paint a clear picture of their views on each way of shaping the future. They worked together to capture their thoughts on the pros and cons of each idea.

	Pros	Cons
Co-creation	Involves people with lived experience and/or directly affected, giving them a voice and ensuring decisions are informed by the reality of what's happening	Limitations of lived experience: people could be emotional not pragmatic, and focus on anecdotal not scientific evidence
	 Involves a diverse group of people (lived experience, experts etc), getting them working together and resulting in joined-up thinking 	 Dominance of specific and vested interests Hard to find people with the relevant lived experience and/or interested
	Gives a wider view than current systemFocussed on an issue	 Would it exclude some people who have relevant knowledge and opinions?
	People with lived experience will add empathy and understanding	Fixed agenda and only addressing a specific subjectCommittee can pick and choose what to take forward
	Fair and sensible method to decide things as you get more views and experience	Could be dismissed by other members of the public
	Gives ability to make well informed decisions	Costly and time consuming?
	 Inclusion Like minded / share similar experiences 	Strong views and opinions maybe make it more difficult to come to agreement or have debate
		Could get bogged down with too much detail/information
		Difficult to make an environment where people do not feel judged



		 Lack of diverse participation The most outspoken or loudest get to speak the most
Citizens' assemblies	 Diverse and representative cross section of the country, working together including those who don't normally get involved Real people have a say in decisions, discussing what matters, feel their voice is important, sense of involvement Promotes learning and its informative, including learning from other participants Reward/£ to participants More likely to be listened to because it's 'representative', and be accepted by the public because it is 'real people; discussing the issues. Better decisions & attempting to get new/relevant ideas and opinions Greater variety and range of opinions expressed. Its 'user friendly' People's prejudices are challenged 	 An element of 'self-selection' – is there a certain type of person who will turn up? People with own agenda? Difficultly in achieving a representative sample Are there some people who couldn't attend – e.g. if they have health issues, or if they don't have the time or money Lack of expertise may lead to poor decisions or lack of relevant ideas Most outspoken people could dominate Expensive and time constraints Participants may lack depth of understanding or feel bombarded by information on the issue The size of a citizens' assembly might be considered too small Participants could be targeted by people with nefarious intentions Needs to be done with other tools



Online discussion	Open to wide range and a high number of people	Excludes certain groups (not everyone online or IT literate)
	Easy to access for the majority of the population	
	Low cost and time effective	 Participants (and therefore results) not representative, who would be eligible to take part?
	Can be done from home / in your own time	• Open to abuse or corruption (e.g. fake news, trolling, misinformation)
	 Good starting point for more in-depth work as get lots of views/ideas/opinions 	 May attract argumentative people and those with strong views may dominate the discussion
	Less popular views can be represented	<i>. . . .</i>
	 Good for shy people / those not comfortable speaking in front of people 	 Possible to lose control of discussion, or miss things if the discussion thread is long, disorganised discussion
	 Young people more likely to get involved 	 Shallow – lack of depth of discussion and lack of detailed information
	Instant result / record	 Some people may not take it seriously - there is no accountability if it's anonymous
	 Keeping up with the times 	 There is a fine line between censorship and moderation
		Impersonal
		Is it trustworthy?
		People might not listen to each other, or bother reading earlier discussions

3B. QUESTIONING GOVERNMENT: THE RESULTS

Participants considered three new ways in which people in Wales could shape their future through questioning government:

- **Social media:** Using existing social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, etc.) to ask questions and receive responses;
- Web forms: Using a form on the National Assembly for Wales website to ask questions and receive responses on the website;
- **Specialist platform:** Using a specially designed platform to support questions and answers. This platform would allow people to up-vote and down-vote each other's questions, and potentially also to comment on them.

These innovations could be used to question government at different points – for example, they could be used around First Minister's Questions, and/or around the questioning of Ministers by committees.

Vote one: should these ways of shaping the future be available?

The graphs in figures 6 and 7 show the results of participants' first vote on the area of questioning government. We asked participants to rate each way of shaping the future in terms of whether or not they thought it should be available to people in Wales. The graphs show a number of key findings.

- Participants were not keen on the idea of using social media to question government. Over half of all participants 55.4% said this way of shaping the future should *probably not* or *definitely not* be available. This compared to just 21.4% who thought it should definitely or probably be available. Two participants added additional comments to their ballot papers: one emphasised that they didn't think social media should be used at all; the other asked whether something equivalent to a cyber department would be needed to prevent trolling, and whether that would be costly.
- Participants were somewhat more positive about the idea of a web form, although even here support⁶ was lower (69.6%, versus 85.7% and 92.9%) and opposition⁷ greater (16.1% versus 5.4% and 3.6%) then for the two most popular options from the committees theme. Only 28.6% of participants thought a web form should definitely be available to people in Wales as a way to question government.
- Participants were significantly more positive about the idea of using a specialist platform. 83.9% of participants thought this should *definitely* or *probably* be available, although only half (50.0%) said it *definitely* should. Opposition⁸ to this idea was very limited at just 1.8%. One participant commented on their ballot paper that, if the platform includes a live feed of First Minister's Questions, the event should be moved to the evening so that people can watch it after work.

⁶ Those who thought it should *definitely* or *probably* be available

⁷ Those who thought it should *definitely not* or *probably not* be available

⁸ Those who thought it should *definitely not* or *probably not* be available



Figure 6: Results of the first vote on questioning government (in full)

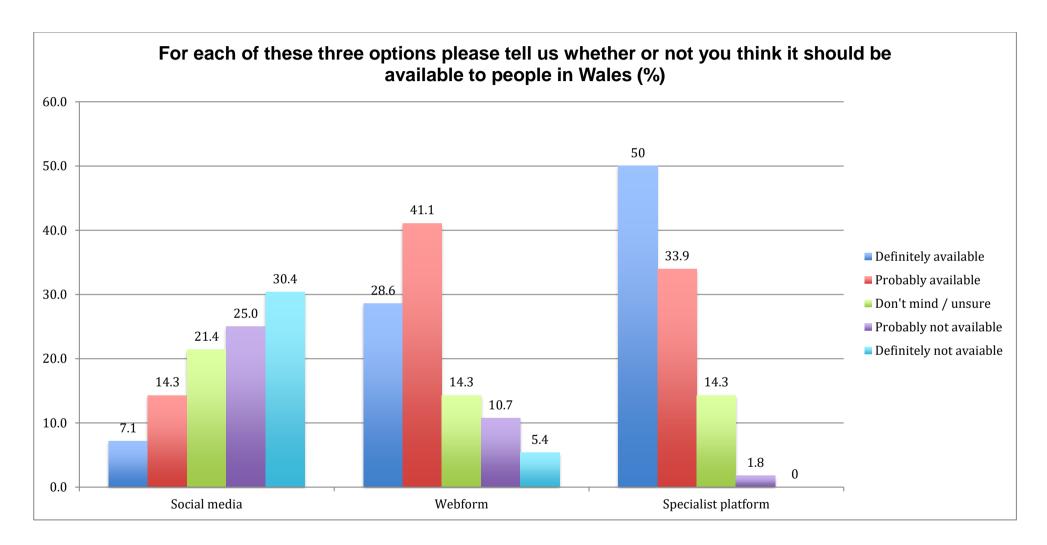
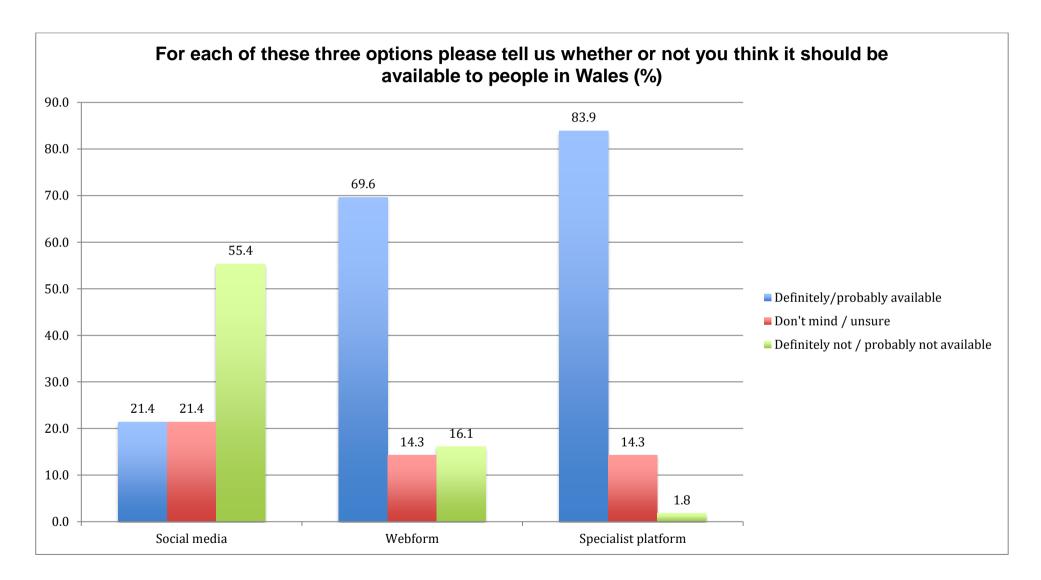




Figure 7: Results of the first vote on questioning government (support versus opposition)





Vote two: order of preference

The graphs in figures 8 and 9 shows the results of participants' second vote on the area of questioning government. We asked participants to rank the ways of shaping the future according to how important they think it is that they are available to people in Wales. The graphs show how the options fared when we counted (a) just first preference votes; and (b) when we gave points for preferences (2 points for 1st place, 1 point for 2nd place, 0 points for third place).

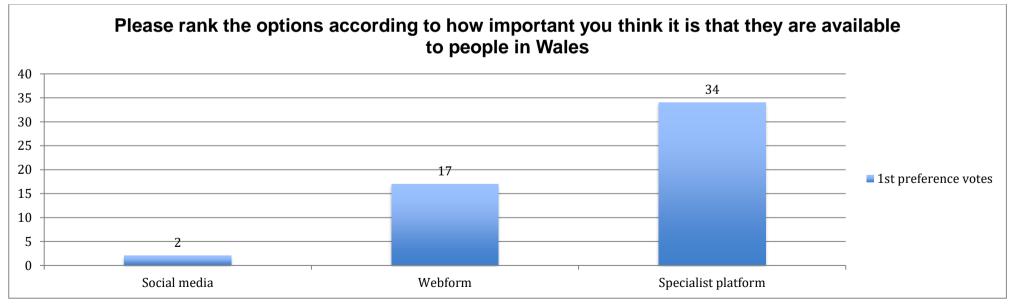
The results from vote two very much reflected the findings from vote one. The specialist platform was participants' preferred option. Social media received very little support.

Figures 8 and 9: Results of the second vote on questioning government



Three participants chose not to take part in vote two. They explained the reasons for their decision on their ballot papers, as follows:

- "All of the above need to be available bearing in mind people respond in different ways to the use of internet"
- "I don't think any of the options have convinced me but a combination has the potential to work - possibly in addition to a fourth non web-based option"
- "Approaches can be used to inform a variety of issues all are open to too many negatives. All require detailed publicity."





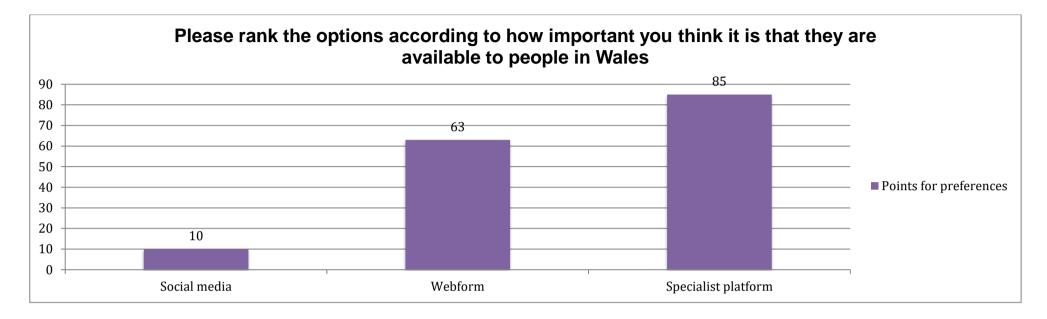


Table discussions

Participants' table discussions paint a clear picture of their views on each way of shaping the future. They worked together to capture their thoughts on the pros and cons of each idea.

		Pros		Cons
Social media	•	Easy – lots of people already engaged, familiar to people, established channel of communication Wide reach	•	 Not accessible to everyone: Lack of broadband/internet coverage; Not everyone computer literate; Not everyone uses social media
	•	Provides a permanent record of the question (on most social media channels)	•	Not a representative sample of people so could be biased
	•	Can get points across immediately	•	If there are lots of responses then comments may be lost and it could be overwhelming for decision-makers to sift through
	•	Can get point across without feeling intimidated	•	What social media channels people use changes all the time – would



because not face-to-face	need to keep up
 Draws attention to key political issues Wide range of issues can be raised, including people's experiences You can put photos as evidence Low cost? 	 Open to abuse: Fake comments; Nasty comments / trolling / people ganging up on others; People being deliberatively provocative; Political interference (e.g. Russia); Interference from lobbyists; 'real' comments get lots in mass of responses; Hard to distinguish between real and fake accounts;
 Open to debate Speed - can be used quickly to express opinions/thoughts or to gather anecdotal evidence Accessible Ability to use social media to get things done/ publicity gets stuff done/show action by representatives or institutions Inclusive 	 Lack of anonymity and privacy People could get abuse; What people post might be used against them in the future (digital footprint); People don't understand privacy settings People's opinions may change over time Could favour more dramatic issues and be vulnerable to herd mentally / bandwagons No discussion with other people / shallow / impersonal Too argumentative / open to inflammatory opinions People have a lack of trust in information on social media Can't be done locally Can external moderation be trusted? Easy for decision-makers to overlook Access to broadband?



Web forms	More private than social media	 Not accessible to everyone: Lack of broadband/internet coverage
	 Easy to your express opinion and ask the questions you want to ask 	- Not everyone computer literate
	Quick, clear and simple	 Sceptical about whether people would take part/ boring method to engage people
	Goes direct to National Assembly (not via third party)	 Not a representative sample of people who take part/how do you know who is taking part?
	Can be restricted by geography (and could be locally moderated)	Can be off-putting and impersonal, no human contact
	Efficient way of collecting data	• Don't get a response straightaway (less immediate than social media)
	No postage costs / more cost-effective	Not always simple
	Structured way of getting information	 People won't think carefully about what they write (compared to face- to-face process)
	Accessible to more people than social media (?)	 Not enough space
		 No record of what you asked, unlike sending an email
		• Will the National Assembly respond at all? Will it just be a bureaucratic or party political response? Could have a negative effective on citizen engagement if answers inadequate
		 Self regulation by National Assembly – not independent?
		 Insecure: could be open to abuse; you don't know who you're receiving the email from
		Concerns about privacy and how data used
		 Not interactive – don't discuss things with other people



		 Too much information for decision-makers to sift through / requires a lot of admin to process More expensive than social media? Questions not always relevant to individual / one size fit all approach does not work Scams could trick people with fake sites
Specialist platform	 Easy to use – a clear structure designed for that purpose Feels professional / specialised People able to see what others have said and react to it – allows you to explore different ideas, share views and have a more in-depth discussion Helps identify issues and priorities Allows voting so more chance of getting heard Easy to moderate Moderated, regulated (by Welsh government?) = no trolling Potentially safer / more secure than other options? Encourages two-way conversation / easier to reach politicians / easier to hold politicians to account User-focused / user-friendly 	 Not accessible to everyone: lack of broadband/internet coverage People are not already on the platform: Would people bother to take part? Would it only attract a certain type of person? / too specialised? Would need to be used with other methods Will it get enough traffic if it's new? You have to know about the platform to be able to find it and publicising it would be expensive Reliant on/requires proactive engagement It would need instructions on how to use Could be time-consuming and frustrating to track your question Could be confusing for some people Vulnerable to a coordinated assault by activist groups Data harvesting (the site might collect people's data and use it for other purposes) Privacy and personal data issues, security



Custom solution to a specific required	 Politicians might take a long time to respond or cherry pick what issues they respond to, or people might not be able to engage.
	 Is it expensive setting up and maintaining / moderating / development / awareness raising?
	Fake forms
	Lack of anonymity (unless it says 'anon' when you post on it)



3C. BUDGET APPROVAL: THE RESULTS

Participants considered three new ways in which people in Wales could shape their future through the Assembly's work on budget approval:

- Local groups budget game: Representative groups come together across Wales to play a budget prioritisation game, generating recommendations;
- **Citizens' assembly on spending priorities:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people discuss and make recommendations about their priorities for the budget;
- **Citizens' assembly reviews inquiry recommendations:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people prioritise the recommendations from committee inquiries over the previous year that are directly linked to finance and budget issues.

Vote one: should these ways of shaping the future be available?

The graphs in figures 10 and 11 show the results of participants' first vote on the area of budget approval. We asked participants to rate each way of shaping the future in terms of whether or not they thought it should be available to people in Wales. The graphs show a number of key findings:

- Two ways of shaping the future the citizens' assembly on spending priorities (67.9%) and citizens' assembly to review inquiry recommendations (76.8%) received significant support⁹, although just 35.7% and 46.4% of participants, respectively, thought they should *definitely* be available.
- The local budget game was a significantly less popular option. More participants (42.9%) thought it should *definitely not* or *probably not* be available, than those who thought it *definitely* or *probably* should be (32.1%). Five participants added comments to their ballot paper noting that the game should be available specifically as an educational tool for children and young people, rather than as a decision-making tool. One of these participants also thought it could be suitable for families or groups of friends. A sixth participant thought the game should be available as an exercise or tool within a citizens' assembly.

⁹ Those who thought it should *definitely* or *probably* be available



Figure 10: Results of the first vote on budget approval (in full)

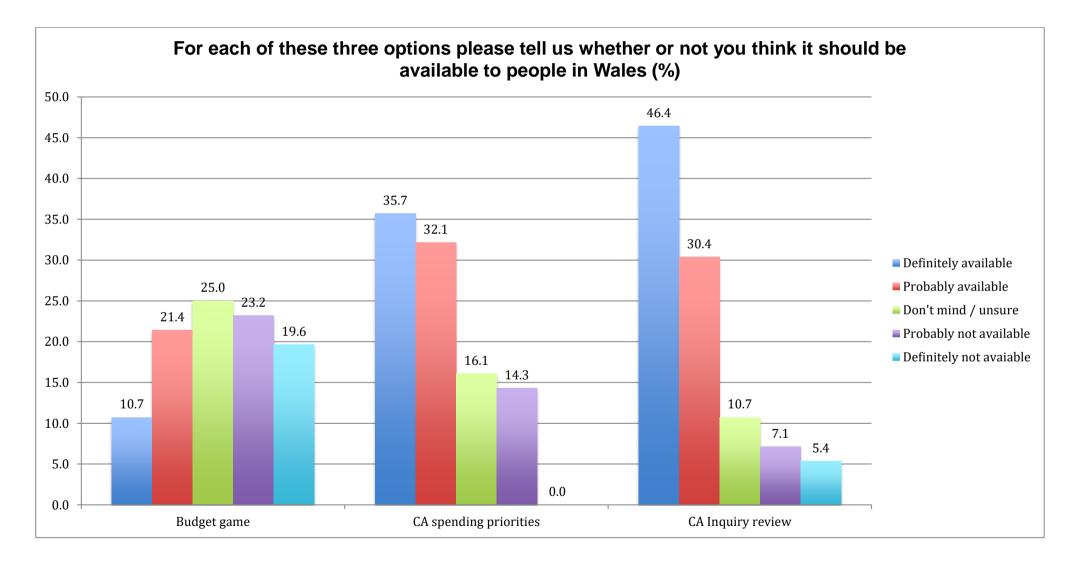
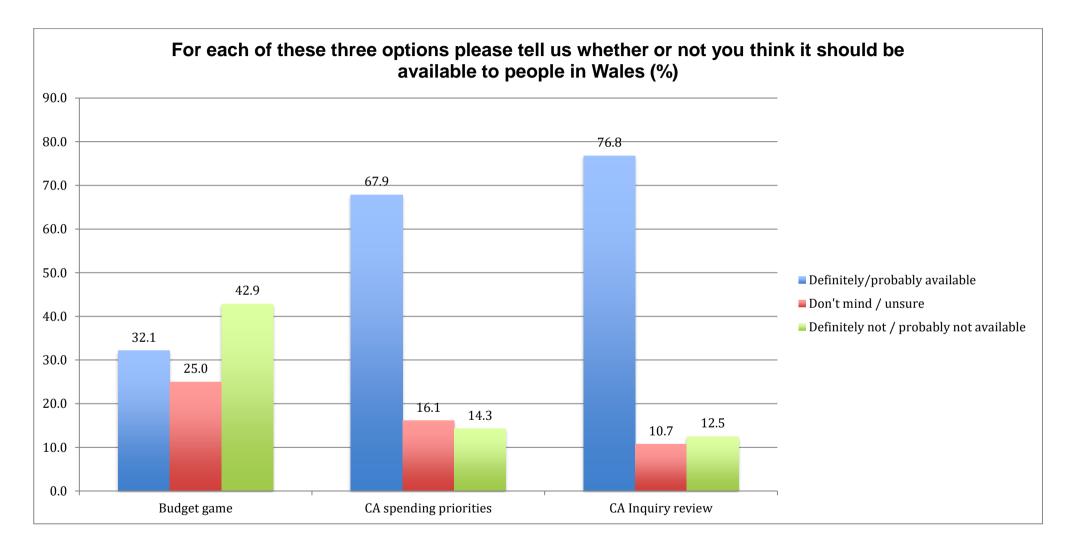




Figure 11: Results of the first vote on budget approval (support versus opposition)





Vote two: order of preference

The graphs in figures 12 and 13 shows the results of participants' second vote on the area of budget approval. We asked participants to rank the ways of shaping the future according to how important they think it is that they are available to people in Wales. The graphs show how the options fared when we counted (a) just first preference votes; and (b) when we gave points for preferences (2 points for 1st place, 1 point for 2nd place, 0 points for third place).

The results of vote two largely reflected those of vote one: a citizens' assembly to review inquiry recommendations was the most popular option; the local budget game the least popular.

Perhaps slightly more surprising, given the vote one results, was the extent to which participants preferred a citizens' assembly to review inquiry recommendations to a citizens' assembly on spending priorities. The former got over double the number of first preference votes compared to the latter.

Six participants wrote additional comments on their ballot papers as well as voting. Two commented that the budget game should be available as

an educational tool only. One further participant emphasised that they didn't think the budget game should be available at all.

Two participants said they found it frustrating that Assembly Members did not already prioritise inquiry recommendations. They felt that this should be part of AMs' job, with one participant suggesting that AMs' salaries should be cut if a citizens' assembly was used to do this instead.

The sixth participant said that they thought a citizens' assembly on spending priorities "should definitely be implemented" but that it may be best to combine it with co-creation:

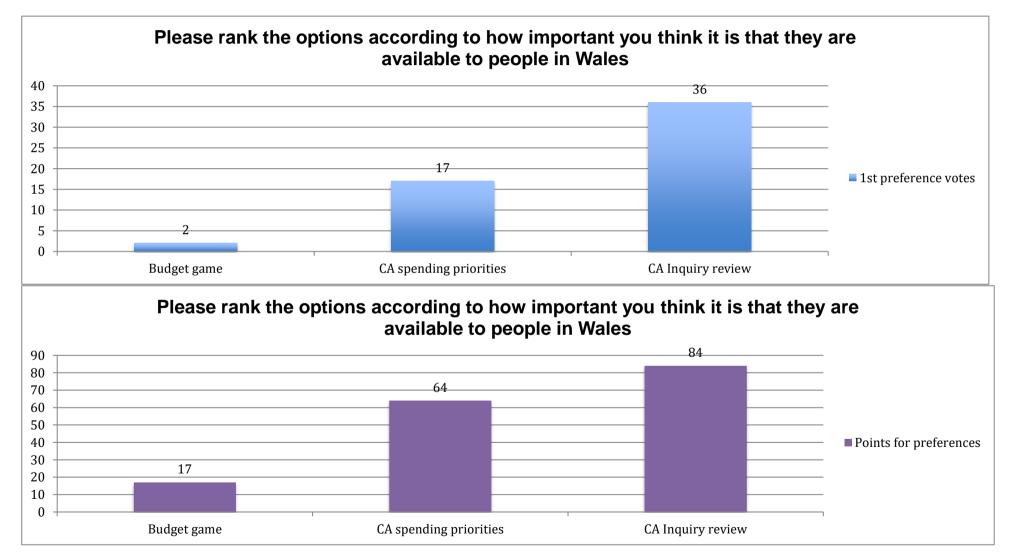
"Co-creation would supply facts and information for CA to make better and more informed decisions"

Spoilt ballot papers

One participant chose not to take part in vote two, stating that different ways of shaping the future should be used for different issues.



Figures 12 and 13: Results of the second vote on budget approval



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Table discussions

Participants' table discussions paint a clear picture of their views on each way of shaping the future. They worked together to capture their thoughts on the pros and cons of each idea.

	Pros	Cons
Local groups budget game	 Fun, engaging and inclusive - encourages participation (amongst disengaged groups/different ages/ different knowledge levels) Enables promotion of range of ideas Can draw on local knowledge of local needs Could use a participatory budgeting approach, citizen input model, help set priorities Citizen input might make final decisions more widely accepted 	 Data capture - no detailed reasoning captured (Might) require prior knowledge or lead to ill-informed decisions Potential for bias: input based on personal gain may mean some services suffer, or new businesses get money and disappear Difficult to engage / identify broad demographic, 'who are these citizens?' Needs a lot of pre-testing to make it work
	 People might be prepared to pay more taxes if they have a say in how money raised is spent Helps to make complex issues accessible: e.g. helping people to understand trade-offs, forces compromise, educational 	 Needs a better name ("game" would be tabloid heaven) Over-simple / trivialised: may not be taken seriously and yet could be "playing" with people's wellbeing and money
	 Fair and interactive, visually engaging Those who take part can provide wider understanding to others not involved 	 Needs good moderation to prevent railroading / intimidation / false consensus If it comes up with the same results as politicians – is it a waste of time / money? But if not adopted by politicians, is it a waste of time / money?
Citizens' assembly on spending priorities	Random selection allows broad perspectives, varied backgrounds, representative/balanced opinions	 Not local Citizens may make careless decisions or never reach



	De-centralises power & increases public confidence	agreement/conclusion		
	 Personal experiences of citizens humanises decision- making 	 Requires a lot of time: can't make a decision without sufficient information/knowledge (time-limited) 		
	• Democratic, engages people in the process and gives people more ownership of decisions (so they're less likely to complain about them)	 Bias or external influence on citizens may result in unbalanced spending decisions, with some sectors losing out 		
	 Promotes engaged and informed discussion amongst the people of Wales 	 Not entirely evidence based: preferences/prejudices may have an impact 		
	More time spent on developing draft budgets	Costly and bureaucratic		
	'Normal people' able to have a say	Seen as tickbox exercise?		
		Random selection maybe leads to lack of expertise		
Citizens' assembly reviews inquiry	 Wide range of people to review and provide feedback on recommendations 	Committee leads content to be discussed		
recommendations	 Meets needs not currently met - prioritising of recommendations 	 Potentially time-consuming or long drawn-out process, within a government term and for participants 		
	Allows you to see whether your views have been heard	 Is it cost-effective? Expensive? 'Are we just repeating the work of politicians?' 		
	 Option to (re)visit previously raised issues that weren't considered important at the time but may have since moved up the agenda 	 Raises questions about role of AMs, identifying who are the experts, is there enough in-depth information given 		
	Expert involvement means spending is evidence-based	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
	 Accountability / Enables participants to hold politicians to account for actions on the ground. 	 Prioritisation late in the process: things may already be set in motion, the Assembly may not listen at a late stage 		
	Clearly defined/focused task: keeps people on track	Personal prejudice or lack of knowledge		



 More likely to be listened to given that recommendations come from both the Assembly and the citizens' assembly 	•	Could be seen as just a rubber stamping / tick box exercise / pointless, especially if participants feel like decisions are already made.
	•	Citizens' assembly could get the blame for unpopular decisions



3D. SETTING THE AGENDA: THE RESULTS

Participants heard about four new ways in which people in Wales could shape their future through helping to set the Assembly's agenda:

- **Citizens' assembly task set by the National Assembly:** Random-stratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people learn, discuss and make recommendations on an issue decided by the National Assembly;
- **Citizens' assembly task set by a citizens' council:** Randomstratified sampling is used to select a group of members of the public who are broadly representative of the wider population. These people learn, discuss and make recommendations on an issue decided by another randomly selected group of people;
- Crowdsourcing priorities online: Ideas for action by the National Assembly are proposed on a specially designed online platform;
- Crowdsourcing ideas plus a citizens' assembly ('Blended approach'): Ideas for action by the National Assembly are proposed on a specially designed online platform and reviewed by a randomly selected group of people chosen to be broadly representative of the wider population.

Vote one: should these ways of shaping the future be available?

The graphs in figures 14 and 15 show the results of participants' first vote on the area of agenda setting. We asked participants to rate each way of shaping the future in terms of whether or not they thought it should be available to people in Wales. The graphs show a number of key findings:

• The ways to shape the future under this theme were more controversial those under the other themes. With the partial exception of crowdsourcing, they all received reasonably

significant levels of support, but also reasonably high levels of opposition:

	Should probably / definitely be available	Should probably not / definitely not be available
Citizens' assembly – task set by the National Assembly	58.9%	19.6%
Citizens' assembly – task set by a citizens' council	60.7%	19.6%
Crowdsourcing priorities online	41.1%	33.9%
Crowdsourcing ideas plus a citizens' assembly ('Blended approach')	62.5%	25.0%

- As with the committees theme, the explicitly online option (crowdsourcing) did less well than its counterparts. In contrast, the blended approach – which included some crowdsourcing – received the highest level of support; it did however also receive the second highest level of opposition;
- Two participants made additional comments on their ballot papers. One noted that they were in favour of crowdsourcing, but not if it was done purely online. Another noted that crowdsourcing could be used in a slightly different way to feed into a citizens' assembly whose task was set by the National Assembly for Wales or a citizens' council.



Figure 14: Results of the first vote in the setting the agenda theme (in full)

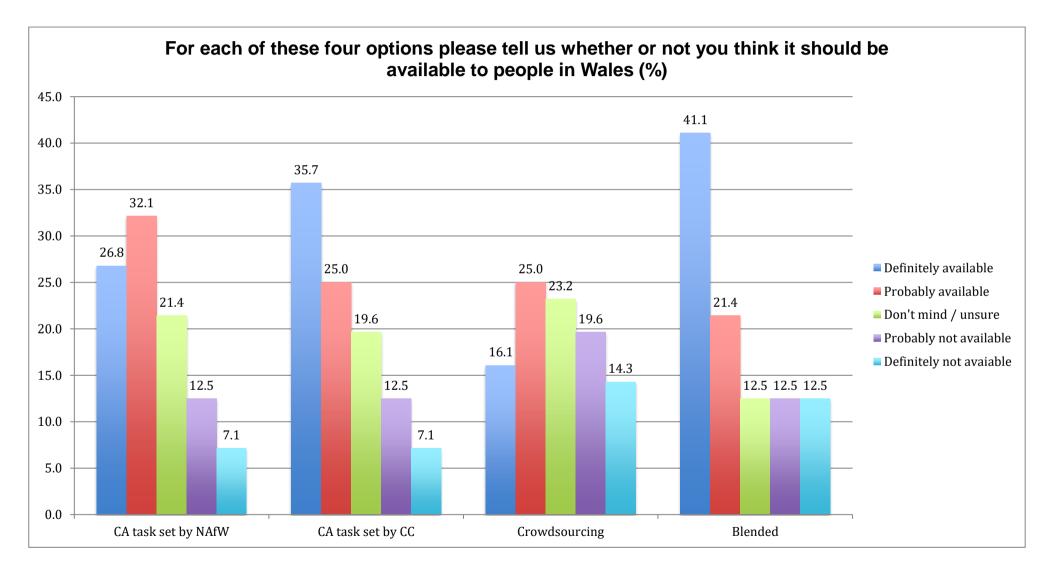
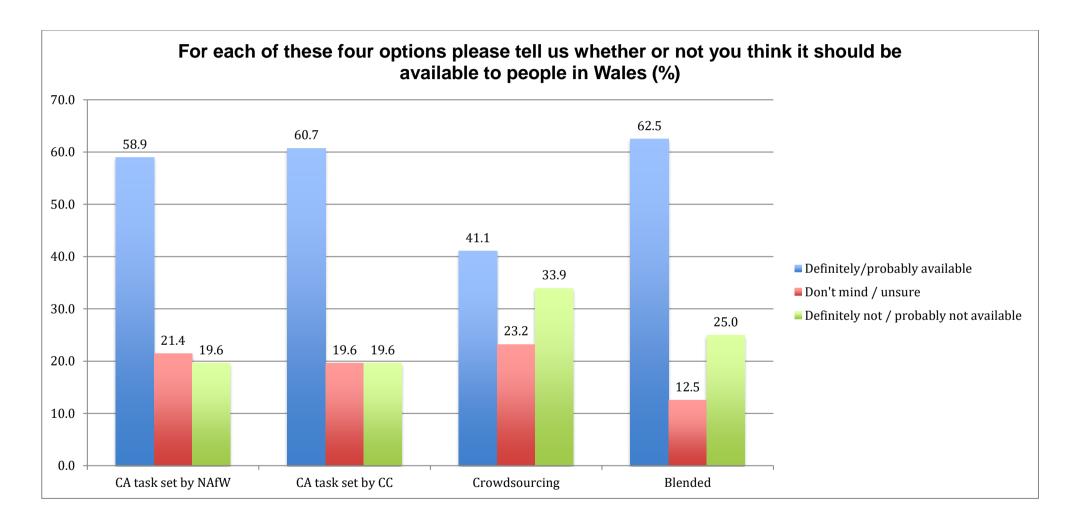




Figure 15: Results of the first vote in the setting the agenda theme (support versus opposition)





Vote two: order of preference

The graphs in figures 16 and 17 shows the results of participants' second vote on the area of agenda setting. We asked participants to rank the ways of shaping the future according to how important they think it is that they are available to people in Wales. The graphs show how the options fared when we counted (a) just first preference votes; and (b) when we gave points for preferences (3 points for 1st place, 2 points for 2nd place, 1 point for 3rd place, 0 points for fourth place).

The results of vote two are interesting. Participants significantly favoured ways of shaping the future that give people in Wales greatest control over the citizens' assembly's topic. This left the citizens' assembly with the task set by the National Assembly for Wales almost as unpopular as crowdsourcing in terms of first preference votes. On points for

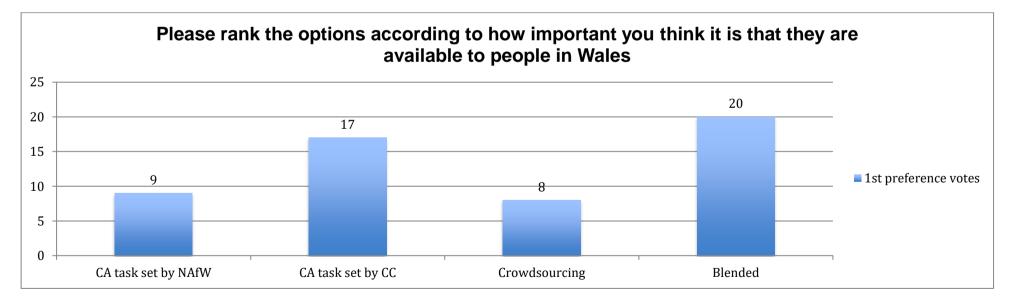
preferences, it did significantly better than crowdsourcing but still came a clear third.

Three participants wrote additional comments on their ballot papers. Two noted that crowdsourcing could be done through multiple formats, with one participant stating that mailing lists should definitely be included. One participant wrote that they thought the blended idea was "pointless" because we "already have public opinion."

Spoilt ballot papers

Three participants chose not to take part in vote two. One participant did not explain their decision. One said that they thought all the ways of shaping the future were "potentially useful". The third said that all the methods should be used sequentially.

Figures 16 and 17: Results of the second vote in the setting the agenda theme





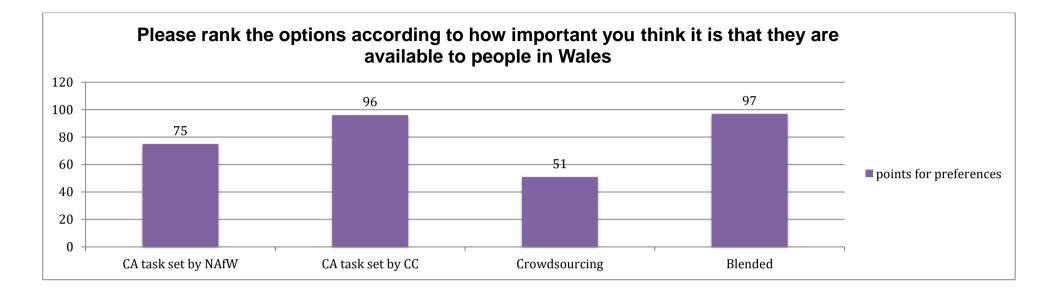


Table discussions

Participants' table discussions paint a clear picture of their views on each way of shaping the future. They worked together to capture their thoughts on the pros and cons of each idea.

	Pros	Cons
Citizens' assembly - task set by the National Assembly	 National Assembly for Wales should know what are pertinent subjects for discussion 	 People may be frustrated that their interests aren't covered
	Because National Assembly for Wales has asked for recommendations, they may be more likely to act on findings	 Numbers may be too low and participants uninformed May be leading / miss important topics (government may not raise issues they don't want public to
	 Focused attention on one issue set by National Assembly for Wales would be productive 	discuss/pre-set the agenda)
	May be more free from political biases	 May be used to end political squabbles rather than discuss real issues



	Focused and specific discussion on set topic	Would have to be outsourced responsibly
	 Better than a referendum 	 AMs are subject to lobbying / party political bias
		• Aivis are subject to lobbying / party political bias
	Chance for people to learn	Psychological impacts on participants (it's hard work)
	Gives clarification and direction on matters already decided by the National Assembly for Wales	Requires balance of initial ideas
		Could be seen as tick-boxing
Citizens' assembly - task set by a citizens'	Local assemblies would encourage local ideas	People may not be well enough informed
council	No intervention from politicians: less room for political bias	Participants could end up axe-grinding their favourite topic
	 Might raise issues of which National Assembly for Wales is unaware 	 "Death by committee" – too many randomly selected groups
	Focus is on public interest	 Random selection may result in political imbalance (too many left or right views). There may also be
	 Closest to direct democracy: grass roots & less susceptible to party politics 	insufficient diversity/numbers of people
		Threat to elected officials
	 Independent: real people, real issues that matter to them - might allow us to tackle unpopular topics Holds the government to account If embedded in government processes, cost wouldn't be questioned 	Citizens' Council may be open to bribes
		 Would need to be open about costs/selection of participants etc
		Continuity of Citizens' Council broken if members change too often



		Waste of money
Crowdsourcing priorities online	 Gain understanding of wide range of priorities: anyone can submit ideas Fast, anonymous, cheap, inclusive and accessible 24 hours a day to most people Gives space for non-conventional ideas Gives easy access to wide range of topics Would need to be run by outside agency, not government Encourages active involvement May allow "niche" priorities to be heard 	 Maybe too many ideas: some get lost in the crowd Could end up as a popularity contest Requires better digital inclusion policy Possibility that suggestions are misinterpreted Ideas won't necessarily reflect all interests/groups Long time to sift through bad ideas Selection of ideas to go forward might not be transparent / open Younger people may see it as boring Would need good moderation to prevent extreme views / subliminal messages

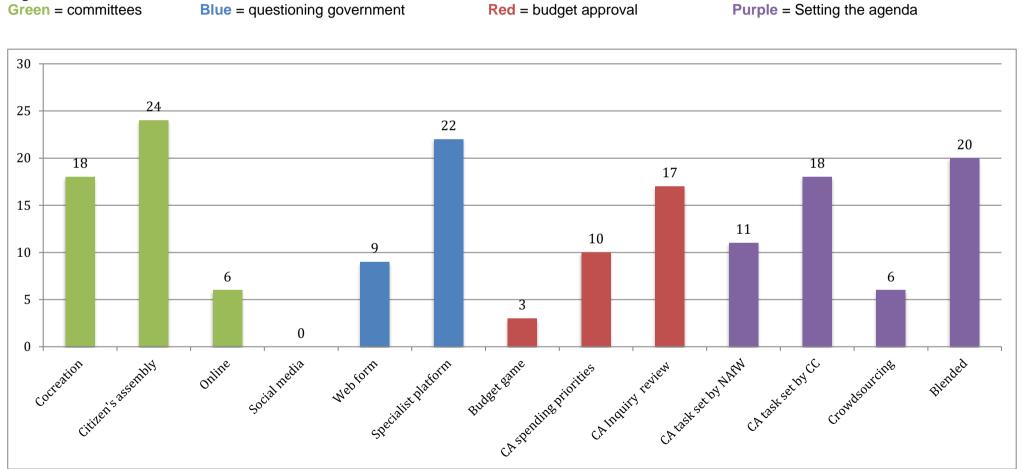


Crowdsourcing ideas plus a citizens' assembly	 Widens general awareness as well as allowing deep discussion Better coverage of views with more people involved Groups as well as individuals are involved: social and private input: reach is increased Good mix of ideas to take into structured discussion Combines the merits of two good ideas Allows validation of ideas "Closes the loop" 	 Possible lack of security Not everyone has internet access May be out of sync with the National Assembly for Wales' priorities May duplicate work More ideas not necessarily good – they may be bad ideas Carries problems intrinsic to both ideas May be very costly Risks undermining specialists/ disempowering politicians Might lead to opinion overload, making decision- making difficult
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3E. OVERALL PREFERENCES: THE RESULTS

The final vote saw participants consider which three of all the new ways to shape the future they would most like to see available. The results are shown in figure 18 below.

Figure 18: Results of the final vote





These results are in many ways consistent with the votes on the individual themes. The topics that scored best within each theme are also the ones that scored best here. The least popular options within each theme (online discussion, social media, the local budget game and crowdsourcing) again did poorly.

In another way, however, the results are more surprising. To show why, it is useful to look at figures 19 and 20 below. These show the results of vote one for all the themes.

Figure 19: Results of the first vote on individual themes (levels of support)

Green = committees	5
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Blue = questioning government

Red = budget approval

Purple = Setting the agenda

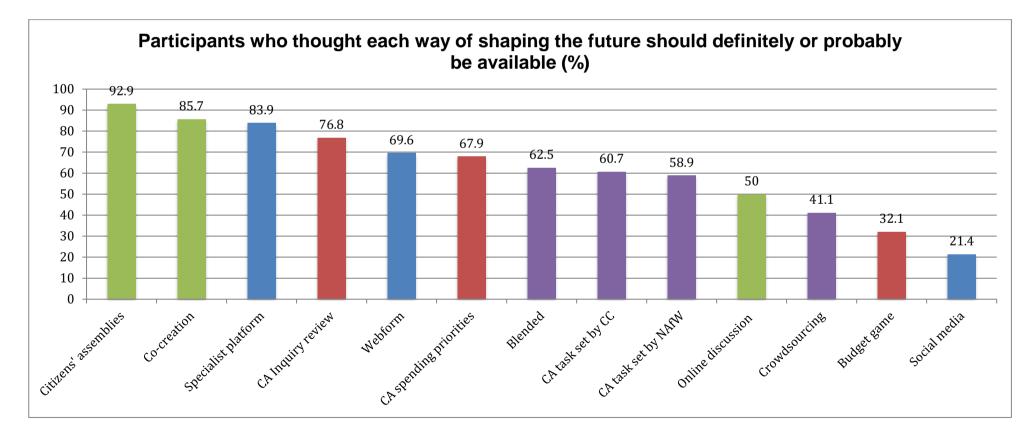




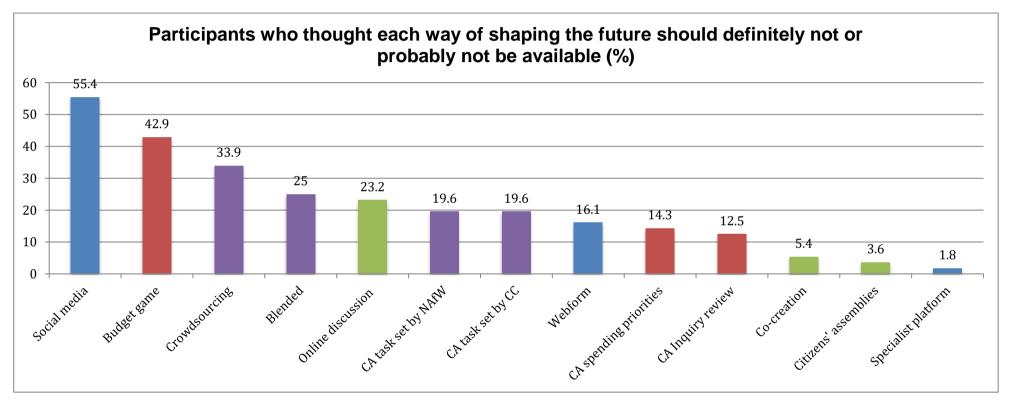
Figure 20: Results of the first vote on individual themes (levels of opposition)

Green = committees

Blue = questioning government

Red = budget approval

Purple = Setting the agenda



What these figures suggest is that ways of shaping the future through setting the agenda have done much better in the final vote than may have been predicted. In the final vote (figure 18), two options from setting the agenda came within participants' top five choices. However, neither of these options were in participants' top six choices according to the earlier votes (see figure 19). Both of them also recorded quite a high level of opposition in these earlier votes (see figure 20). Conversely web forms as a way of questioning government and a citizens' assembly on spending priorities as way of inputting into budget approval did less well than may have been expected in the final vote. Both were in participants' top six choices in the earlier votes (see figure 19) but did not make the top six in the final vote.



What this strongly suggests is that **it was important for participants that people in Wales can shape the future across all areas of the National Assembly for Wales' work**. Participants tended to cast their three votes for ways of shaping the future from three different themes. No participants chose three options from the same theme when casting their final vote and only a small number cast two votes for options from the same theme. This meant that ways of shaping the future that came second in their theme in the initial voting lost out, explaining the comparatively poor results for web forms and a citizens' assembly on spending priorities.

What this does not, however, fully explain is why ways to shape the future through agenda setting did so well. Participants only had three votes each in the final vote. They could have picked options from three different themes without picking something from agenda setting at all. This suggests that participants who supported ways of shaping the future through agenda setting felt particularly strongly about these options.

It is impossible to be sure about why this is the case. However it may be because participants wanted to strike a balance between: (a) helping the National Assembly for Wales address issues that it sees as important, and (b) being able to ensure people's voices are heard on the issues that they think the Assembly should be addressing.

Additional comments

Nine participants wrote additional comments on their ballot paper for the final vote. The participants suggested that:

- Committees should combine citizens' assemblies with co-creation;
- Co-creation should "run through everything the government does";
- Lived experience is particularly important and could be incorporated into other ways of shaping the future too, not just cocreation;

- Whilst they had not picked it, crowdsourcing as a way of agenda setting should also be considered;
- Although they had chosen three ways of shaping the future, they strongly believed that a combination of different options would be most cost effective and appropriate;
- Although they had chosen three ways of shaping the future, their actual preference would vary according to the issue being considered;
- Any specialist platform used for questioning government should be public - everyone should be able to see the questions and answers;
- How to moderate any way of questioning government would need careful consideration;
- The local budget game should be promoted in primary schools;

Spoilt ballot papers

One participant chose to spoil their ballot paper for the final vote. They explained why as follows:

"I feel that although a number of these approaches are positive, they do not stand alone and should only be used in conjunction with one or more other approaches. To identify three would misinform the Assembly and may lead to inaccurate and poor recommendations and money therefore wasted."



3F. ANYTHING ELSE TO TELL THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR WALES?

Towards the end of the citizens' assembly, participants discussed whether there was anything else they wanted to tell the National Assembly for Wales on the subject of shaping their future. We also asked participants the same question on their feedback forms, and had a 'parking space' available throughout the citizens' assembly. The 'parking space' was a place for participants to store points that they felt were important but which were tangential to the table discussions.

In this section we report the ideas raised by participants through these three channels.

More engagement

Participants commented that they would like to see **more and continued engagement** from the National Assembly for Wales:

"Please don't let this weekend be a one-off. More citizen engagement with the Welsh assembly can only be a good thing"

"Give citizens more opportunity to voice their ideas, and be involved"

"It is the best way to make decisions and if people complain you can say that people of Wales were consulted"

They were concerned that this engagement **reach all parts of Wales** and they wanted **more people to know that it happens**:

"To ensure that they communicate with the people of Wales. Remember North Wales exists too!!" *"Please let people around the country see and learn more, don't stay in Cardiff"*

"To advertise the existing methods of contacting NAfW"

"Just more information and publicity to get people included. People want to make a difference but don't often have the means or opportunity"

They also said that they would like to stay involved themselves:

"Should also be aimed at under 16s, would love to be further involved now I have more info"

"Can the Assembly keep in touch with this Citizens' Assembly? And ask our views in future?"

Specific ideas for engagement

Participants put forward a number of specific ideas for how engagement could work.

Some of the ideas focussed on **ways for AMs and MPs to engage locally**, and requests for them to do this more:

"It would be really nice to run a citizens committee and include members of the public to meet annually to discuss topics to report back to the local AM. This would be great to help set up to inspire and educate others"

"MPs need to do more, listen more, be more engaged with diverse range of people and opinions"

"Assembly members could make themselves more accessible to the electorate"



Other ideas looked at how local engagement could link to national engagement (and vice versa):

"There should be a way for the public to ask the committees to visit their community. Social media is great, but not available for everyone"

"W.A. should link more with county councils processes generally"

"Some of the prep done locally e.g. presentations and then brought together for 2nd weekend to deliberate"

Some participants made **specific suggestions around local powers and engagement**:

"Why can't local towns be responsible for what money is spent locally? Example: parking fees in Gwynedd go to Central in Caernafon and they decide how the money is spent?!?!"

"Randomly selected people for local police meetings not just a selection of their fans e.g. family"

Some participants focussed their comments on **ideas for online** engagement:

"Add more online options for feedback and listen to public opinion"

"Create a monthly forum for opinions, closely moderated, and try to get a consensus of opinion"

One participant made suggestions around the new ways of shaping the future discussed during the citizens' assembly:

"I advise you to combine the citizens assemblies with co-creation. The citizens assemblies decide what should be done or fixed and then co-creation groups are formed to discuss the certain topics chosen"

"Funding for citizens assembly needs to respect time required – 2 weekends, 4 Saturdays. But some might not do two weekends: trade off"

"Combine some of the options suggested for a better method"

"There are dangers in the 'digital by default' argument when it comes to engagement tools"

Topics for future engagement

Participants suggested **a wide range of topics for future engagement**. We have included a full list of these suggestions in Appendix C. Topics mentioned by more than one participant included, in alphabetical order by issue:

- What happens after Brexit
- Protecting businesses and stopping closures
- Climate change
- A range of issues around housing and low impact development
- NHS
- Police funding
- Social care for vulnerable children and the elderly, including support for carers
- Investing in sport
- A range of transport issues



Education for young people on key issues

Some participants felt that more could be done to educate people on key issues from a young age:

"Involving children from a young age in the big questions/decision is vital! More so than the WYP (youth parliament) whilst this is important, young children should be encouraged to discuss these issues in school/at home so we can create a population that is interested and engaged in the political process as part of life (not an addition to)"

"Can schools' councils influence the Assembly?"

"I wish that there would be support in educating these topics in schools"

A request for decision-makers to listen

Several participants said that they want the National Assembly for Wales and AMs to listen:

"Listen to what citizens have to say and take it on board"

"Be active but listen widely for the good of our country and communities"

They also noted that **they want to see change from this citizens**' **assembly**:

"I would hope that the information gathered during this assembly is used to successfully influence/facilitate eventful change"

"To ensure that citizens are encouraged and empowered, the national assembly must demonstrate how some of our decisions have resulted in real action and real change. This should be communicated to the population to encourage future participation"

Constitutional and democratic reform

A few participants made **points around constitutional reform**, the composition of the National Assembly for Wales and Assembly Members' pay:

"More diversity of NA members"

"How many Assembly Members and Assembly staff are wheelchair users or consider themselves as having a disability?"

"Why want an extra 30 AMs, use it on public services"

"Pay cut for Assembly members? What do they do?"

"Proportional representation fits better with this than first past the post. Wales is special!"



4. WHAT DID PARTICIPANTS THINK OF THIS CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY?

All participants filled out a feedback form at the end of the citizens' assembly weekend. The form asked for their views on the citizens' assembly overall and key aspects of how it worked. It also asked them to judge whether or not taking part in the citizens' assembly had changed their feelings about participation more generally.

Views on the citizens' assembly overall

We asked participants to give three overall ratings for the citizens' assembly. They scored the citizens' assembly very highly across all three measures.

	Average score out of 6 (where 6 is excellent and 1 was poor)
Overall how would you rate this weekend's event?	5.3
Overall how would you rate the lead facilitators?	5.5
Overall how would you rate the table facilitators?	5.6

Views on key areas: information

We asked participants to give their views on five areas relating to the information they received at the citizens' assembly.

Question	Strongly agree or agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree or strongly disagree	Don't know or didn't answer
I have learned a lot during the Assembly about shaping our future through the work of the National Assembly for Wales	<mark>94.6</mark>	3.6	0	1.8
I have had enough information to participate effectively	<mark>92.9</mark>	3.6	0	3.6
The information I have received during the Assembly has been fair and balanced between different view points	92.9	1.8	1.8	3.6
I have understood almost everything that the other members of my small group said during our discussions	92.9	5.4	0	1.8
I have understood almost everything that was presented by the speakers	<mark>85.7</mark>	8.9	3.6	1.8



Views on key areas: small group discussions

We asked participants to give their views on three areas relating to the small group discussions.

Question	Strongly agree or agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree or strongly disagree	Don't know or didn't answer
I have had ample opportunity in the small group discussions to express my views	<mark>92.9</mark>	1.8	3.6	1.8
My fellow participants have respected what I had to say, even when they didn't agree with me	<mark>96.4</mark>	0	0	3.6
No one at my table tended to dominate the discussion so that others found it difficult to contribute	<mark>89.3</mark>	7.1	0	3.6

Feelings about participation in decision making

We asked participants to give their views on whether or not taking part in the citizens' assembly had changed their feelings towards participation in decision-making more generally.

Question	Strongly agree or agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree or strongly disagree	Don't know or didn't answer
Taking part in this citizens' assembly has made me want to be more involved in other aspects of decision making	<mark>91.1</mark>	1.8	0	7.1
I feel more confident to engage in political decision making as a result of being involved in this citizens' assembly	<mark>92.9</mark>	3.6	0	3.6



Views on citizens' assemblies in general

Participants had already expressed their views on citizens' assemblies during the event itself. Their feedback forms were consistent with what they had said throughout the process.

Question	Strongly agree or agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree or strongly disagree	Don't know or didn't answer
Citizens' assemblies like this should be used more often to inform government and the National Assembly decision-making	<mark>91.1</mark>	7.1	0	1.8

We asked participants to give a reason for their answers. We have included a full list of their responses in Appendix D. They included:

"I felt included/involved and taken seriously during the event and feel it would be nice for others to feel the same"

"It makes participation and contribution possible for ordinary people like me"

"Nobody knows all the answers, so to encompass a diverse group must be helpful in arriving at those answers"

"Gives the national assembly a bigger and better thought process on what needs to be done" "I think it reduces the distance between the citizen and the government. I think the random selection means citizens who may not otherwise participate in the democratic process (i.e. don't vote) now have a chance to participate and it may increase the likelihood of their future engagement. More engagement + more informed citizens can only be a good thing"

"Makes the process of the assembly more visible and feeling of inclusion"

"In reality the National Assembly for Wales should as a governing body be in a position to conduct all affairs, but on occasions call on citizens panel to compliment them"

"It is expensive way of doing it, if other options are cheaper and include more people"

"Because people feel informed and engaged and able to make an educated decision/informed opinion"



APPENDIX A: DATA SOURCES USED FOR STRATIFICATION DURING PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

We recruited participants using a process called a civic lottery. We randomly selected ten thousand households in Wales from the postcode database. We then sent a letter to these addresses asking if any adults over sixteen years old would like to take part in the citizens' assembly. Adults who did want to take part and who were free on the relevant dates responded online or by phone. In total, 331 people said that they would like to take part. This response rate of 3.31% is typical, and within the Sortition Foundation's projected range of 3-7%.

We then used stratified random sampling to select sixty participants who together reflected the population of Wales. The stratification was performed on the following dimensions using the listed data sources.

The percentages given below are the figures for the population as a whole. Numbers in brackets are the number of citizens' assembly participants we therefore aimed for.

Gender (self identified)

- Male 51% (30-31)
- Female 49% (29-30)
- Other 0% (none selected this category)

Data from Wales section of:

https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populati onandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/2011censuspopulationandh ouseholdestimatesfortheunitedkingdom/r01ukrttable1_tcm77-292362.xls

Age

- 16-29 23.5% (14-15)
- 39-44 22.4% (13-14)
- 45-59 23.9% (14-15)
- 60+ 30.2% (18)

Data from Wales section of:

https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/2011censuspopulationandhouseholdestimatesfortheunitedkingdom/r01ukrttable1_tcm77-292362.xls

Education level

- No qualifications 25.9% (15-16)
- Level 1 or 2 29% (17-18)
- Level 3 or Apprenticeship or Other 20.5% (12-13)
- Level 4 or above 24.5% (14-15)

Data from Wales section of:

https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populati onandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/2011censuskeystatisticsan dquickstatisticsforwardsandoutputareasinenglandandwales/r22ewrttableq s501ewladv1_tcm77-296626.xls

Geography

12 people from each of the 5 electoral regions.



Ethnicity

- White 95.6% (50)
- BAME 4.4% (10 a decision was made to over-represent this category)

Data from Wales section of:

https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populati onandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/2011censuskeystatisticsforl ocalauthoritiesinenglandandwales/r21ewrttableks201ewladv1_tcm77-290595.xls

Vote in 2016 election (whether people voted or not)

- Yes 40.7% (24-25)
- No or ineligible 59.3% (35-36)

Yes = number of votes/(>16 total population) = 1.02m/2.505m

Data from age (above) and http://www.assembly.wales/research documents/16-30-2016 assembly election results/16-030-web-english.pdf

Welsh language skills (people who speak, read, write, or understand Welsh or some combination thereof)

- Yes 26.7% (16)
- No 73.3% (44)

Data from: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language/welshlanguageskills-by-localauthority-genderdetailedagegroups-2011census People not eligible to take part in the citizens' assembly were: employees of the National Assembly for Wales, Members of the National Assembly for Wales, Members of the UK Parliament, Local Authority Councillors, paid employees of any political party, and employees of politicians. We also ensured that we selected no more than one adult from each household.



APPENDIX B: EVIDENCE ON CURRENT WAYS TO SHAPE THE FUTURE

Participants heard evidence about current ways to shape the future through the work of the National Assembly for Wales' committees, and through helping to set the agenda for the National Assembly for Wales.

Below are the slides used by speakers in presenting this evidence.

The Assembly's committees



How people get involved in the work of Committees

Standard mode of public consultation

• Call for written evidence – anyone can write a response

All written contributions publicly available

• Oral evidence sessions - ministers, stakeholders and experts invited for in-depth questioning

Most sessions are streamed live by Senedd TV, recorded and publically available

Committees can go beyond this standard process...

Extending involvement 2ê Fact finding visits away from Cardiff Survevs Å⊕Å ⊦©₁ ÅÅÅ 떠유 Video interviews Focus groups & Reference groups **Citizens** Panel Photography Competition (Informal) Meetings with stakeholders Eisteddfod events <u>à à</u> Online discussion platforms (Dialogue, Conferences, Roundtable events & Loomio, WebChat, Facebook Live) workshops



Examples: Children and Young People Committee

Inquiry into textbooks (2017-18)

Emotional and mental health of children

- Video interviews in 5 schools with 25 participants.
- The Committee praised the video evidence as it directly influenced questioning of witnesses
- Teacher survey 425 responses
- Young people survey 1161 responses
- Video interview with 1 individual this was played again in plenary
- Five committee visits in north and south
 Wales 100 individuals

Examples: Equalities, Local Government and Communities

Renting Homes (Fees etc.) (Wales) Act 2019

Diversity in Local Government (2019)

- Six focus groups with 35 individuals
- Online discussion group on Dialogue with 29
 individuals
- One off-site visit, engaging 15 people

- A General public Survey and a
 - Councillors Survey 892 responses
 - Survey findings informed the questioning of witnesses
- Two roundtable events 20 participants

Strengths

- Innovation in opening up the process
- Eager to learn
- Looking at wider range of issues
- Attempts to go beyond 'usual suspects'
- Crowdsourcing agenda

Weaknesses

- Visibility issues
- Limited capacity
- Effectiveness dependent on a range of factors
- Follow-up on issues
- Diversity issues
- Extent to which wider engagement translates

into evidence

Conclusion

- Committees are the 'engine room' of the Assembly
- Critical places where deliberation happens and things get done
- Committees have improved public engagement
- Numerous ways in which citizens can contribute to committees' work
- But how effective is public engagement?

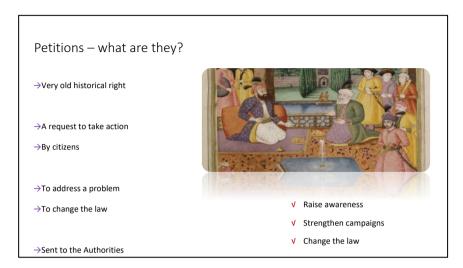


Setting the agenda

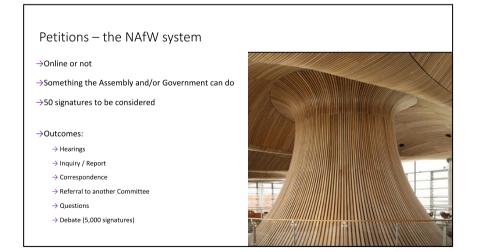


Setting the agenda from the outside

Professor Cristina Leston Bandeira







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Petitions Example

Petition P-04-682 Routine Screening for Type 1 Diabetes in Children and Young People



Youth Parliament – the NAfW system

 \rightarrow Welsh Youth Parliament (WYP): first elected 2018, two years term

ightarrowJoint declaration: WYP integrated into Wales democratic structures

 \rightarrow 40 + 20 Members (11 to 18 year olds)



ightarrowIdentified three themes

ightarrowWorking in workshops / issue committees (groups)

Youth Parliaments – what are they?

 \rightarrow Much more recent

- \rightarrow Group of young people (under 18)
- →Emulates election & working methods of main parliament

→Raises issues

→Proposes solutions



- Political education
- ✓ Giving young people a voice





Fire alarm	X Can clash with party politics
Mobilise people around issues	X Can feel purposeless
Raise awareness of issues amongst public and policy-	X Can end up forgotten
makers	X Tends to involve the "usual suspects"
Find solutions to problems	
Promote cross-party working	ightarrow Accessibility
Bring issues that matter to people to the core of poli	$^{ extsf{cy-}} ightarrow$ Flexibility of working methods and engagement
making	ightarrow Linkage with formal process



APPENDIX C: ANYTHING ELSE TO TELL THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR WALES – SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR FUTURE ENGAGEMENT

The full list of ideas put forward by participants was:

Climate change and the environment

- Don't ignore it and do a citizens assembly on climate change in Wales
- We request a citizens' assembly on climate change
- Planning at local level must take account of this (i.e. climate change)
- Climate change
- Respect one another the environment and work well together
- We need a stronger voice for climate change and environmental concern
- Climate change- be a leader in green energy (jobs as well)
- Green waste from chipboard companies has metal in it but is going onto land and is getting into food chain
- Climate change, not doing enough, need to be more sustainable
- Put £/tax concessions back into solar/renewable energy
- Green waste, spreading of metal on land.

Health and social care

- I'd like to see a citizens' assembly focusing on the National Health Service.
- Topic: Recognising mental earlier (other assembly)
- NHS funding: can Welsh Government raise/give more money to the NHS in Wales?
- Want event like this about NHS. Wales don't pay prescriptions. What power do they have in wales? How boost
- NHS issue bed blocking needs addressing
- Take private element out of care how can profit be taken out of peoples' care?

- Health service: sell all land they have bought to build new hospitals
- Look after retired, better carers etc
- Social care for vulnerable children/SEN specialist care- more

Transport

- Better, faster public transport (from Cardiff to rest of wales)
- More efficient roads
- North/south rail link
- Transport: I have concerns over the cancellation and consequent cost of M4 relief road.
- What happens with accessible transport? (Welsh v. UK Government); car park
- About highways: why was bypass at Newport refused? Letting more people be travelling through Wales.
- What did they stop the tolls on the Severn Bridge? They could keep it at a lower rate and have extra money to spend.
- If the railways can be nationalised in Wales, they should be, to improve infrastructure.

Police

- Topic: policing cuts
- Fund the police more
- Police Need to do more appropriate work, fund police more
- Local policing cuts, ambulance, emergency services in general so within questioning government need CA to look at resourcing, why, where its going etc

Business

- Protecting business in Wales (manufacturers/other/any retail):
- Keep in Wales stop closures
- Stop amazon taking over
- Use of exports in certain fields is imperative



National trust fund to start business. Prince Charles fund? How do I get?

Housing and development

- Lower tax and abolish inheritance tax make it possible to buy social housing
- Greater support for low impact development (housing)
- Issues caused by local housing association (not looking out for tenants)
- Topic: low-impact development

Sport

- Invest in sport getting young people off of playstations to out and about
- Next generation grand slam winners

Brexit

- Topic: detailed approach to post Brexit
- What will happen to EU funding after Brexit? How will gap be filled?

Other / multiple issues

- You could raise issues like wastage of resources, skills etc. Getting to the root causes – looking at the base rather then what's fluffy at the top
- Education where food comes from/ cooking/ life skills/ role of recycling
- Welsh public assets: are/can we protect for future generations, re. stop selling off.
- Topics we're concerned about: recycling; police force priorities; litter; blue badges
- What does Prince Charles own in Wales? And why named Prince's Trust?
- Refugees doing nothing

- Al/machine learning → whether regulated; personal info/ data protection issue
- Rural phone coverage



APPENDIX D: REASONS FOR AGREEING OR DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT, "CITIZENS" ASSEMBLIES LIKE THIS SHOULD BE USED MORE OFTEN TO INFORM GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DECISION MAKING"

Participants full list of responses was as follows.

Involving people / people having a voice

- By involving citizens in a positive way forward
- A good way to involve people, gives everyone opportunity to have their say
- I felt included/involved and taken seriously during the event and feel it would be nice for others to feel the same
- Gives people a voice, should include people more than once
- It allows people to have a say about what happens where they livethey're given a voice
- It gives a voice to all people, representative of Wales. Will help people feel less disenfranchised and frustrated. Accountability to government, broadening views and ideas of government
- It gives the people a chance to get involved
- The people of Wales need a voice
- It's important that people's voices are heard and this way is a lot more effective than the current system
- To give the people a say in how their home is managed and to inform government how the people are feeling about the ones in power
- It gives the layman a chance to have a say
- Gives the public a voice
- Because it gives people the opportunity to make decisions and get their voices heard on different views
- It gives people the opportunity to inform NAFW of their most pressing concerns

- Everybody's opinions make a difference
- It's important to consult the people who decisions that NA make will impact
- It makes participation and contribution possible for ordinary people like me

Diversity, representation and fairness

- Nobody knows all the answers, so to encompass a diverse group must be helpful in arriving at those answers
- You have a wide range of people from a number of backgrounds which leads to fair decision making, although perhaps this could be implemented on a local level as well
- Because it's a productive method of initiating discussion and collecting opinion from a wide demographic of representatives
- A cross section of experience and knowledge from throughout the country
- It provides a good cross section of ideas
- Wide range of views
- The broad range of views expressed by participants indicated it was fairly representative group of people and a valid form of citizen participation in Welsh politics
- Fair
- For fairness and transparency

Enhancing decision-making

- Often the government make decisions that lots of people disagree with. This way a more representative decision can be made
- AM and MP's are general practitioners able to inform = a better choice
- Gives the national assembly a bigger and better thought process on what needs to be done
- In case things are overlooked
- The politicians only know what they know, we are needed to tell them what's wrong
- It gives a good route to Government to know your views



• Guides A.M's considered views of people living in Wales. Albeit, selfselection was part of the process

Bring people and decision-makers closer together

- I think it reduces the distance between the citizen and the government. I think the random selection means citizens who may not otherwise participate in the democratic process (i.e. don't vote) now have a chance to participate and it may increase the likelihood of their future engagement. More engagement + more informed citizens can only be a good thing
- AMs are remote from their electorate and driven too much by party politics
- There needs to be greater participation of citizens in decision making and move to decentralise power away from political bodies which are failing
- The NAfW would benefit from meaningful engagement with the wider community. To develop a greater understanding of people's lived experiences to develop public engagement in the political process and decisions being made
- In reality the National Assembly for Wales should as a governing body be in a position to conduct all affairs, but on occasions call on citizens panel to compliment them
- Because it will help the assembly have more balance and also reassure voters that they listen
- Public interaction is always beneficial
- Makes the process of the assembly more visible and feeling of inclusion

Empowerment and information

- It is very important to engage in this way for many reasons, empowerment.
- Empowerment to the citizens, great way to gain knowledge, share thoughts, meet new people, be involved and feel valued
- We are the people of Wales, we are the people affected

- Because people feel informed and engaged and able to make an educated decision/informed opinion
- Very useful information
- Need information to be informed

Bring different people together

- Citizen assemblies bring together people in Wales to discuss matters
- Spread awareness and feel more united

Cost

- It is expensive way of doing it, if other options are cheaper and include more people
- Would the cost validate the event and would be listened to
- Cost

Other

- This was the first and it needs to define objective more clearly
- I think that because I enjoyed this and I would do it again