THESIS

PARTNERING FOR INCLUSION: DEMOCRATIC FUNCTION IN DELIBERATIVE

RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES

Submitted by

Kalie McMonagle

Department of Communication Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Spring 2017

Master's Committee:

    Advisor: Katherine Knobloch
    Co-Advisor: Martín Carcasson

    Katherine Knobloch

ABSTRACT

Inclusion serves as one of the key tenets of deliberative theory. This tenet asks that all those affected by an issue be given a meaningful opportunity to participate in the deliberative process. However, there are multiple sites and actors within the deliberative system that are responsible for implementing inclusion. Deliberative theorists and practitioners rely on cross-sector partnerships with governmental, educational, business, and non-profit organizations to recruit diverse stakeholders for deliberative processes. This study sought to understand the way cross-sector partners conceptualized stakeholders, faced barriers to recruitment, and implemented recruitment strategies. Findings indicate that there remains a significant difference in the way that theorists, practitioners, and cross-sector partners view and implement inclusion. Cross-sector partners require additional support to meet the deliberative standard.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Deliberative theorists regard inclusion as paramount to the deliberative process (Dahl, 1989; Briand, 1999; Mansbridge, 2012). Inclusion constitutes a, "meaningful opportunity to participate," and be heard by fellow community members (Briand, 1999, p. 75). The degree to which a forum is inclusive weighs heavily on the legitimacy of a forum's outcomes (Dahl, 1989). Processes that lack representation are more likely to be perceived as unfair and result in the less trust of the outcomes (Kahane et al., 2013). Additionally, the degree of inclusion within a conversation can have potential material and psychological risks and benefits for participants depending on their feelings of isolation or civic efficacy (Stromer-Galley, 2007; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2012; Su, 2014). These considerations make participant recruitment design a fundamental part of the deliberative process.

The existing literature has identified many of the key barriers to participant recruitment but has largely done so from a deliberative framework. Inclusion of diverse groups in the deliberative process, however, oftentimes requires the participation of cross-sector partnerships (XSPs) with organizations working outside of the deliberative framework. These XSPs, like government and advocacy groups, can be useful in connecting to multiple communities to whom deliberative organizations may not have access, but XSP organizations may have differing constraints, objectives, and philosophies than those of their deliberative partners.

To better understand the collaboration of deliberative and XSP organizations in inclusive recruitment, this study seeks to take a deliberative systems approach to understanding purposive recruitment methods for community forums. As opposed to random or elective sampling methods, purposive recruitment selects targeted populations and aims to intentionally include them in forums (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). Often this occurs by networking with organizations

that have built relationships and trust with specific populations. XSPs play a vital function within these deliberative recruiting systems, even though they may not directly engage citizens in tackling difficult tradeoffs and value conflicts. As such, this study investigates how external organizations recruit inclusive participants for deliberation.

The following study explores organizations who worked in partnership with the Center for Public Deliberation (CPD) at Colorado State University. The CPD conducts deliberative conversations throughout the Northern Colorado area, often in conjunction with XSPs. Interviews conducted with partner organizations were used to understand how partner organizations conceptualize inclusion and implement strategies for recruitment as a result of this conceptualization. The final section will offer examples of best practices and suggestions for participant recruitment strategies.

Recruiting for Inclusion in Deliberative Systems

When governmental agencies, NGOs, voluntary associations, and advocacy groups partner with deliberative practitioners, they attempt to fulfill part of the democratic function of deliberative systems (Mansbridge et al., 2012). A deliberative systems approach contends that no single small scale deliberative forum can fulfill all the necessary democratic functions for legitimacy (Mansbridge et al., 2012; Parkinson, 2012). Rather, a deliberative systems approach calls for a plurality of public actors, sites, and roles relating with a deliberative purpose (Bohman, 2012; Mansbridge et al., 2012, Parkinson, 2012). Hence, a representative deliberative system would be one in which a variety of decision-making institutions are able to influence the public in a number of ways (Bohman, 2012; Parkinson, 2012).

To better understand the different facets of deliberative systems, scholars have begun to delineate the different types of actors who interact within such systems. In some cases, actors are

sorted in terms of their communication style, whether interpersonal, group, or mass communication (Maia, 2007). Others have created a typology based on the desired communication outcome of the organization, depending on the degree to which the organization enacts collaborative methods (Doran, Franklin, Jennings, & Norman, 2007). Since the actors involved in deliberative systems and this study may embody a number of these positionalities, this study will use the term cross-sector partnerships (XSPs) to describe the range of actors that work collaboratively, "in mutual problem solving, information sharing, and resource allocation," (Koschmann, Kuhn, and Pfarrer, 2012, p. 332). While the term XSP will be used widely throughout the paper, the word *partner* may also be used interchangeably to refer to the individuals within XSPs who planned a forum in conjunction with the deliberative organization.

While the inclusion of XSPs enables multiple sites and methods of communication, these different parties may not have the same objectives as the deliberative organizations with which they interact. When partnering with deliberative organizations XSPs ideally should seek to embody a deliberative character that upholds "reasonable, respectful discussion," (Parkinson, 2012, p. 332). Recruitment of inclusive deliberative participants is one way that conveners and XSPs can meet these demands. Conveners often rely on XSPs to help to gather key stakeholders. Based on the different missions of XSPs, they're able to tap into existing networks of potential participants in a way that conveners are not. For example, in a conversation around affordable child care, a local daycare may be better able to engage parents than a neutral party. Still, the scope of XSPs networks is often limited and conveners cannot rely on a single XSP to engage all the stakeholders. In the case of the daycare, they would be ill-equipped to engage a wide-variety of business owners. Whether or not XSPs uphold the same normative goals for inclusion as their deliberative counterparts, however, remains in question. This includes how well a partner's

definition of inclusion aligns with a deliberative definition and how well they're able to implement that definition.

To be considered legitimate, a deliberative process must be inclusive of a multitude of voices and perspectives. According to Dahl, (1989) the inclusion of a plurality of voices exists as the central tenet of the democratic process. However, it's unrealistic to achieve inclusion wherein each individual may represent their own positionality on every public decision. Rather, Briand states that democracies have an imperative to, "demonstrate equal concern and respect for all citizens by ensuring that they have a meaningful opportunity to participate in this process and to have their needs, concerns, and interests understood and appreciated by their fellows," (1999, p. 75). In other words, conveners must ensure that they do not exclude groups in order to constitute inclusion (Dryzek, 2000; Mansbridge et al., 2012). This imperative for inclusion comes from an ethical perspective. It's based on the idea that governments should treat citizens, "not merely as objects of legislation, as passive objects to be ruled, but as autonomous agents who take part in the governance of their society" (Gutmann and Thompson, 2004, p. 3).

Aside from the ethical imperative for inclusion, participants gauge the legitimacy of a forum based on the inclusion of stakeholders (Kahane, Loptson, Heriman, & Hardy, 2013; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014; Carcasson & Sprain, 2010). Stakeholders are representatives of a group or organization that's thought to have a collective interest in an issue (Kahane et al., 2013). When outside groups perceive a process to be unrepresentative of the positions on a given issue, they are more likely to perceive the process as unfair (Kahane et al., 2013). Furthermore, greater homogeneity could lead to greater distrust of deliberative groups over time (Sunstein, 2000). Whether or not the public views a process as unfair has significant consequences. Mansbridge et al. argue that, "legitimacy in this strong sense maximizes the chances that people

who share a common fate will agree, willingly, to the terms of their common cooperation" (2012, p. 12). A deliberative process may yield a productive and well-thought out decision, but if the process is perceived as illegitimate, these decisions will fail to be implemented.

In addition to meeting the normative goals for democracy, inclusivity can be vital to ensuring more equitable political participation; the presence of diverse and inclusive participants at deliberative events can provide significant gains for citizens. Participating in deliberation allows citizens to expose themselves to a greater range of viewpoints, be open to learning, and reconsider previous viewpoints (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). Moreover, by attending a deliberative event, participants are more likely to engage in civic behaviors in the future (Gastil, Deess, Weiser, & Simmons, 2010; Fishkin, 1995; Price & Capella, 2002). A lack of inclusivity at deliberative forums may serve to further widen the engagment gap between dominant and marginalized groups. As a result of these potential consequences, previous studies have called for future research into engaging the hardest-to-reach participants and sustaining this participation over time (Su, 2014).

Barriers to Inclusion

Within any deliberative process, there are *internal* and *external* barriers to inclusion. Internal barriers occur during the process itself. These can consist of whether communication styles provide space for all participants, whether the facilitator actively sought engagement from all participants, or whether the participants with the most social power were allowed to dominate discussion (Dryzek, 2000; Benhabib, 1996; Fung et al., 2004; Young, 2000). For example, minority participants can be seen as less authoritative and speak less often in forums (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014). Even when minority participants do speak up, they are often tasked with managing token positions within conversations; as a result, these underrepresented individuals

can feel greater isolation and the need to conduct more impression management (Fung, Young, & Mansbridge, 2004; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014).

External Barriers These determine whether someone was able to attend the forum.	Internal Barriers These determine whether someone was able to participate effectively in the forum.
• Did they receive an invite?	• Were they the only person of a given identity in the room
• Did they have transportation?	• Did some participants dominate the conversation more than others?
• Did they have time to attend?	• Was there a facilitator present?
• Would attending the event mean giving up something else (i.e. work or childcare)?	• Was the forum offered in their primary language or communication style?
• Did they trust the organization/location hosting the event?	• Did they believe their voice would make a difference?
• Were they interested in/affected by the issue?	• Did they have enough knowledge to form an opinion?
• Did they feel they would make a difference?	• Did they feel safe participating?
• Did they consider their potential contributions to be of value?	• Were their contributions affirmed and taken seriously?

Figure 1. External and Internal Barriers to Engagement

Alternatively, external barriers prohibit individuals from entering into the public dialogue. This could be whether or not the participant had access to transportation to the event, whether they were interested in the topic, whether they trusted to event organizers, or whether or not they received an invitation (Fung et al., 2004; Su, 2012). This study concerns itself with external barriers. It seeks to discover how partner organizations attempt to address external barriers through their recruitment strategies.

Access to resources serves as one barrier to participation. The likelihood of public participation is closely linked with education level, socioeconomic status (SES), and proximity to social networks (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2010). Often, disempowered groups have less resources, interests, and time to engage in a deliberative conversation (Fung, 2003), and as a result affluent and educated individuals are more likely to attend forums than their marginalized counterparts (Fung, 2003; Petts, 2008). When deliberative events engage in voluntary self-selection (i.e. the event is open to anyone who would like to attend) the attendees tend to be wealthy, educated, and professional (Fung, 2003).

Education level and SES are thought to impact participation because they increase the communicative skills individuals need to engage in these types of conversations (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2010). Additionally, deliberative conversations tend to be long-term processes, centered around discussion, and ask that participants analyze significant amounts of information (Petts, 2008). As a result of these costs, participating in deliberative forums can be psychologically harmful experiences for disempowered groups when they result in just talk and lead to no action (Chen, 2014; Fung et al., 2004; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014; Su, 2014).

The existing literature understands many of the barriers that prevent disempowered groups from participating in deliberative forums. However, these barriers may be different for XSPs that partner with deliberative groups to run forums. As a result, this study poses the following research question:

R1: What barriers do XSPs encounter in engaging participants in deliberative events?

Defining Stakeholders in Deliberative Systems

Conveners of deliberative forums are often interested in identifying and recruiting "stakeholders." Stakeholder theory originates in business management theory as a way to

segment an audience, but has been readapted for the purposes of deliberative recruitment (Kahane et al., 2013). For deliberative forums, that audience most often consists of citizens. Under this conceptualization, all citizens in a community may be considered stakeholders. Alternatively, stakeholder refers to, "the representative of a formally constituted group or organization that has or is thought to have a collective interest," (Kahane et al., 2013, p. 5). This definition refers to a representative of a formal group, however these groups may be diverse in the amount of structure, purpose, membership identity, and interests (Kahane et al., 2013; Maclean and Burgess, 2008; Wolf and Putler, 2002).

When it comes to identifying stakeholders, deliberative and XSPs may have competing values systems and interests. Recruitment organizations may identify key stakeholders as target groups to invite and solicit engagement from, but they tend to rely on established networks to recruit participants (Kahane et al., 2013). Organizations may use snowball sampling to diversify this original contact list, but these new recruits may be derivative of the same networks. Kahane et al. caution that this effort can have distinct biases (2013). Conveners may choose to invite those who are, "considered reasonable, open to collaboration, and legitimate in broad public terms," which excludes radical or alternative parties (Kahane, 2013, p. 11). Similarly, conveners may choose to invite well-established stakeholder groups with an existing public presence, effectively excluding less consolidated groups (Kahane, 2013).

Even the act of deciding what stakeholders are most affected by an issue can reflect the socially and politically positioned perspectives of the conveners (Kahane, 2013). Forums may seek to address holistic goals, which affect the populus as a whole, by reaching out to all individuals affected by event (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014). Some forums intend to address relational goals, which affect the relationship between just a few sectors of the public. When

conveners aim to address relational goals, recruitment strategies don't include the entire community. Rather, recruitment efforts focus on those specific communities most affected by the issue (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014). Within each of these settings, the nature of the problem determines the level of inclusion and methods of recruitment.

Based on the potential differences in the ways that deliberative and XSPs identify stakeholders and perceive their role in the process, this study poses the following research question:

R2: How do XSPs conceptualize stakeholders in a deliberative process?

Strategies for Recruitment

The application of inclusive principles can vary in a given deliberation, depending on the specific barriers to inclusion and the goals of the process. Similar to recruitment of participants for a study, recruitment methods for an inclusive deliberative event may occur in a number of ways. To ensure a more representative group of participants, conveners may make certain requirements that necessitate the participation of certain groups or individuals in a forum. These requirements could be in the form of, "quotas, proportional representation, reserved seats, and overrepresentation in case of fairly small cultural groups to ensure that their voices are adequately heard," (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2010, p. 90).

Self-selection allows anyone to participate through an open invitation (Fung, 2003; Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012), though conveners often place a special focus on recruiting underrepresented populations (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014). This approach relies on networks to recruit further participants through snowball sampling (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). In snowball sampling, participants are asked to recruit people from within their own networks to attend the event.

Invitation to the event occurs through a process of word-of-mouth. As a result, self-selection often creates homogenous participant groups (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012).

A random selection attempts to diversify the pool by recruiting an audience that will reflect the demographics of the wider population. While conveners may actively recruit a representative sample, participants will still choose to attend and may be constrained by barriers of time, resources, and interest (Fung, 2003; Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). Moreover, within a representative forum disempowered groups may find themselves isolated because of their relative position to the majority (Fung, Young, & Mansbridge, 2004; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014).

Alternatively, conveners may employ an election method wherein a population votes for representatives within a deliberative process. This process can be valuable for engaging gatekeepers (Petts, 2008). Gatekeepers are significant figures within a community who can communicate in and outside of the community to connect individuals who many not have resources to participate in a deliberative forum (Petts, 2008). However, an election method may be dominated by individuals with more money, time, and resources (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). While each of these methods has significant benefits and drawbacks, this study focuses on one method in particular: purposive sampling.

There are two main methods of purposive sampling: the stakeholder model and targeted recruitment (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). Within the stakeholder model, conveners identify a number of groups or identities with a vested interest in a given issue (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). Representatives from each of these groups are asked to attend the deliberative event and speak on behalf of their community (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). Alternatively, the targeted recruitment (or affirmative action) approach identifies particular identities that may not naturally self-select

into a process and aims to recruit them for a process (Fung, 2003; Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2012). This may include reaching out to local media, grassroots, advocacy, or non-profit agencies to access individuals. Within either method, XSPs are crucial partners in gathering diverse and representative participant groups.

Particularly in the case of purposive sampling, conveners must focus on network connections. Often recruiters use network-based strategies to gather participants from multiple target groups (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2010) Proximity to a given social network increases the chances of someone participating simply because it increases they are more likely to get an invitation (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2010). However, working with leaders and volunteers in organizations that have access to other new and different networks has only shown to be effective sometimes (Ryfe & Stalsburg, 2010). For example, some research has found that this is an effective recruitment tool with many demographics, with the exception of Hispanic populations (Fung & Lee, 2008; Fung, Lee, & Harbage, 2008; Esterling, Fung, & Lee, 2011).

One strategy that has been shown to successfully engage long-term community members with little to no prior civic participation is a bottom up design (i.e. Participatory Budgeting) (Su, 2014). Bottom up processes include community members in designing the process, rather than having people in leadership positions determine who should be invited to participate (Su, 2014). Local community members are asked to identify key stakeholders for target outreach by recruiters. These community members may identify key groups that a top-down approach would miss. Forum conveners have been able to aggregate critical masses of disempowered individuals by working with such voluntary associations to recruit participants (Kahane et al., 2013; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014).

Aside from recruiting specific populations because resources such as time and transportation can affect participation (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014), recruiters may attempt to persuade participants to attend by reducing the material and symbolic costs of participating. According to Karpowitz & Raphael (2014), decreasing costs may include, "providing background materials about the issues, providing translation services, paying stipends to participants, and the like," (p. 91). Disempowered groups are more likely to participate when these potential costs decrease and/or the possible rewards increase (Stromer-Galley, 2007). For example, offering transportation to an event may help to reduce the costs of attending a forum.

Finally, the rewards of attending increase when deliberative participants have a direct impact on final decisions, rather than an advisory role (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014; Su, 2014). In an advisory role, participants would offer their opinion and policymakers would take this opinion into account when making the final decision. However, policymakers have no formal responsibility to enact the recommended proposal. A sense of efficacy increases when participants amend or determine future public policy as a result of their deliberation (Fung, 2003). Participants may be more likely to engage when the rewards of the process result in public action.

The existing literature clearly identifies many of the barriers to participation for minority groups. Additionally, it has identified many of the tools conveners use to address these barriers. The current research even goes so far as to understand some of the reasons why conveners may avoid engaging in active recruiting practices for minority participants. However, many of these findings are based on a lens that assumes that recruiters are part of deliberative organizations with deliberative values. However, when XSPs are involved in recruitment, their value-systems

may impact their recruitment methods, therefore impacting the results of the deliberation. As such, this study poses the following research questions:

R3: What strategies do XSPs use to engage participants in deliberative events?

Methods

This study evaluated recruitment strategies of organizations that partner with the CSU Center for Public Deliberation to conduct deliberative forums. The CSU Center for Public Deliberation (CPD) serves as an impartial resource to the northern Colorado community. Working with students trained in small group facilitation, the CPD assists local government, school boards, and community organizations by researching issues and developing useful background material, and then designs, facilitates, and reports on innovative public events. The study utilized informational interviews with partners who have previously worked with the Center for Public Deliberation to conduct deliberative conversations. Qualitative data was collected through 10 interviews with representatives from partner organizations. Organizations consist of community groups (i.e. government, non-profit) who are active in engaging and enacting public solutions for community problems. For example, the Center for Public Deliberation has previously partnered with the staff from the City of Fort Collins neighborhood department, the Fort Collins Senior Center, and United Way of Larimer County. Interview participants were members of organizations who participated in the planning process of a deliberative event in conjunction with the Center for Public Deliberation. The interviews took between 30-60 minutes in length. They were conducted over the phone or in person and were audio recorded. Participants were asked to describe the recruitment goals of their event, challenges they encountered in recruitment, and the strategies they used to recruit participants (see Appendix for complete interview questionnaire.).

13

A grounded theoretical approach was taken to analyze the qualitative data from interviews. Grounded theoretical analysis uses qualitative data and an inductive process to generate relevant findings (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Charmaz, 1990). Messages from the qualitative data are coded through a process of memoing (Chamaz, 1990). These codes are then analyzed for overarching themes within a sample (Chamaz, 1990). Through the process of writing, the researcher further refines these themes (Chamaz, 1990).

Central to this theoretical approach are the philosophical tenets that phenomena are continuously changing and that contrary to determinism, individual actors have the agency in their own lives to change their conditions (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Utilizing this approach shed light onto the relationship between XSPs and purposive recruitment by acknowledging the deliberative forum's location within a larger deliberative system. Deliberative system theory acknowledges the fluidity of actors within the deliberative process and views their function as contingent upon their relational partners (Mansbridge et al., 2012). Relying on grounded theory allowed the researcher to inductively explore the way non-deliberative partner organizations conceptualize stakeholders and how this impacts the strategies they employ for participant recruitment.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Barriers

RQ1 asked what barriers XSPs encountered in recruiting participants. The barriers that partners identified reflected the existing research on barriers to participation in deliberative forums. When referring to challenges that partners faced in participation, interviewees referred to overarching barriers to participation or barriers to recruiting a specific stakeholder (i.e. businesses). However, partners rarely referenced specific barriers to engaging disempowered or

<div align="center">

14

</div>

minority populations until these populations were referenced by the researcher in an interview question. The barriers that partners identified fell within three categories: material costs of participation, limitations of outreach, and the perception of participation.

Material costs of participation. When partners spoke about the material costs of participation, they identified resources that were missing that in turn prevented participants from attending a forum. Interviewees primarily identified time and the location in conjunction with a lack of transportation. Many of the material costs in the literature were not identified here, including, but not limited to, childcare, financial incentives, materials to increase knowledge of the topic, and access for multiple languages.

The material cost of time was referenced in a number of ways. Timing could refer to the amount of time an individual would have to commit to be a part of the process. This was referenced in a day-long event that was specifically targeted at engaging business professionals. The convener of the process reflected that next time they would make the process available through a series of shorter events that would accommodate business work schedules better. Timing could also refer to the scheduling of the event and whether it could easily be incorporated into work, family, and recreational schedules of potential participants. Often, the time that the event was scheduled negatively impacted a key stakeholder, regardless of when the event was scheduled. For example, an event that was planned during the day allowed students to attend, but made it difficult for working professionals to participate. Alternatively, one partner cited her personal perspective in trying to understand why youth wouldn't be likely to attend an evening event:

> Honestly, when I was younger, do you want to go to a night meeting? Let's be honest. So I think the way that we engage youth has got to evolve, I think it is evolving, but I think a two-and-a-half-hour night meeting certainly wouldn't have been something that I would have done on my Wednesday night, or whatever night of the week it was.

15

Comments like these indicated that the timing of the event may have prevented certain

demographic groups from engaging in an event.

Partners described issues around the location of the event through a couple different

lenses. In one case, the partner recognized the overt impact that distance played in recruiting

low-income participants to the event. Hosted in a more rural location, low-income residents were

located less centrally to the primary community. This was recognized as something that would

have prevented them from being able to attend. In another situation, the location was a material

cost because of lack of available parking surrounding the venue. She said:

> It's hard for off campus people to really come to campus, because of parking issues or
> they just feel unfamiliar, so they don't feel comfortable doing it. So I know that we talked
> about wanting to get community members, but we also realized that there were some
> inherent limitations, because it was on campus and during the day.

Located on a campus, students and faculty had easy access to parking and transportation. The

partner suggested that offering free parking passes could be one way to enable community

members outside of the campus to participate. Lastly, partners identified that a lack of

transportation to the event was a barrier. If potential participants did not have a car or access to a

bus between certain hours, attendance would become more difficult. However, when attempting

to recruit low-income seniors with a variety of ability needs, one partner attempted to provide

transportation. She found that offering transportation had little impact on recruiting these voices.

The responses to interview questions cannot explain why a partner may not have

identified other material costs to participation. Rather, this study could only identify that there

were other key barriers that partners didn't bring up during interviews.

Limitations of outreach. Partners often said that participants simply did not hear about

the event and that resulted in their not attending.

The first reason this could have occurred was because of the limited resources of the partner to recruit participants. With the exception of a few interviews, most partners reported that their budget for the event consisted of moneys for the room and food at the event. When asked whether the XSP had a dedicated budget for the event, one partner answered, "We did not have one. We had a little bit of support from a [health community investment grant]. That covered the cost of meeting rooms and food." Funding outside of these costs was often allocated for staff time to dedicate hours to recruitment and for print materials. As is seen in the upcoming strategies section, this resulted in partners utilizing the most cost-efficient, accessible, and immediate strategies for recruitment. For example, one partner began by engaging the individuals who were closest to the issue at hand, because they already had an invested interest and were easy to engage. As time went on, they expanded their network of participants through a continuous process of snowball recruitment. Eventually they identified key sectors that they needed to find representatives in. However, each of these representatives were in some way connected to the original conveners via relationships. This strategy worked in response to the barrier of resources that occurred during the initial planning and made use of available relationships for efficient recruitment.

Perceptions of participation. Partners also attributed a lack of participation to beliefs they had about how potential participants viewed the forums. In particular, they mentioned ways that the participants' sense of efficacy, interest, and need to mitigate risks affected their attendance. The word attribute is specifically used here, because often times interviewees did not have a specific behavior from unwilling participants to support these beliefs. Rather these were conjectures that interviewees made about the attitudes of folks that did not show up to events.

Some partners felt potential participants feared that the public conversation would become too contentious and thus they avoided what they perceived to be polarized conversations. In a conversation around local food regulation, one partner observed that members of governmental organizations were afraid that the process would be too polarized in favor of regulation or opposed to regulation. This observation was specific to the context of the topic. This had been an issue that was consistently debated in the community and the key parties were well-established. However, there were also times that partners attributed a lack of participation to a similar fear, even though there wasn't a specific fear of polarization between two parties. One partner conjectured:

> I sometimes wonder if on these topics that we're bringing up, that can have a polarizing nature, if people are just fearful of having uncomfortable conversations. If they've never been, they don't know how it's managed, and they think it's going to be this debate situation. Their lack of familiarity with the process and the tone may keep them away.

In this situation, the partner assessed that a general reticence to participate in conversations that could result in conflict or the need to engage with opposing viewpoints made people unwilling to show up. In some cases, interviewees commented on an overarching culture that made people less and less willing to engage in these conversations.

Interviewees didn't use the word efficacy, but they described a belief that disempowered groups did not attend because they did not see themselves as an essential part of the process or felt the process would not result in real action. On partner argued that her process was successful, because they took efficacy into account, "I think there's nothing that bothers adults more than being asked their opinion and seeing it absolutely ignored. The conversation was helpful for our community, but the even bigger part was that they were able to see -- you said you were unhappy with the way things are regulated, we're going to go about changing that." Here the partner puts

a high value on action resulting from a process. She argues that a lack of action would have prevented participants from attending a forum.

In addition to a lack of efficacy, some XSPs felt that potential participants simply didn't have a significant interest in the conversation. One partner explained that:

> In general, humans are funny people. People really aren't that interested in participating in the topic they didn't come to talk about. So even though we try and try and try to get a different voice there, people really aren't that interested in participating at that level.

This comment reflects how a lack of interest can affect participation. Interviewees felt that people in the community who had been raised to believe that their voice was an important part of the process and saw representations of similar individuals modeling democratic behaviors were more likely to participate. Alternatively, there were populations identified that interviewees felt wouldn't see themselves as a citizen or expert if asked. According to one interviewee, this included the Latinx community and low income folks.

Stakeholders

RQ2 asked how XSPs conceptualized stakeholders in a deliberative process. The way in which organizations conceptualized stakeholders can be understood within two frames. The first is how they described the stakeholders they aimed to segment and recruit. These strategies align with a Ladder of Engagement model. The second conceptualization uses the Bennet Model for Cultural Competency to understand the way in which partners described engaging disempowered groups.

Ladder of Engagement. Partners described their goals for recruitment in a way that oftentimes reflected a Ladder of Engagement model. This model describes, "the different stages people go through to become stakeholders," and is based off a similar business model called the marketing funnel the describes the way that individuals move towards being consumers of a product (Kanter & Delahaye-Paine, 2012, p. 78). The marketing funnel traditionally uses four

stages: awareness, interest, desire, action (Kanter & Delahaye-Paine, 2012). Similarly, the

Ladder of Engagement moves through 6 steps from observing to leadership (Kanter & Delahaye-

Paine, 2012).
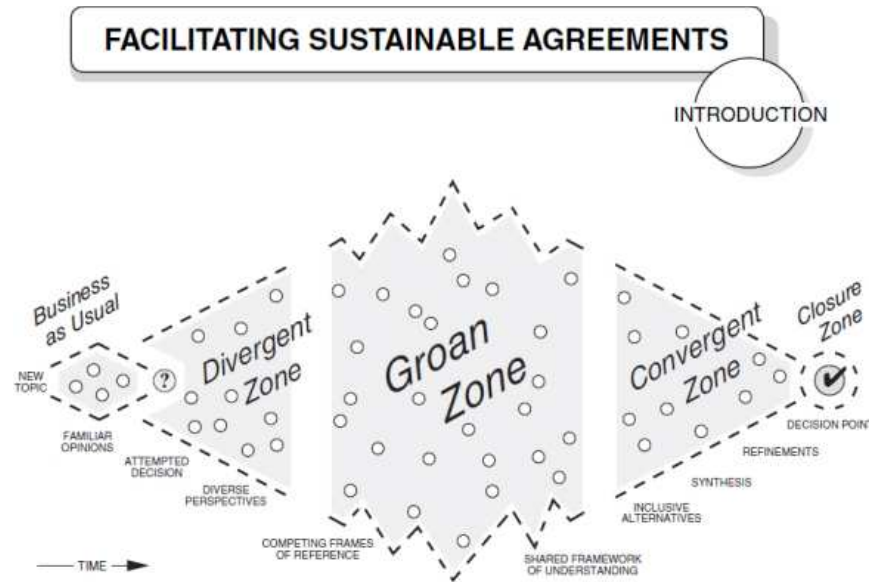
Figure 2. Kaner Model (2007)

The Ladder of Engagement differs from a citizen model of stakeholder identification,

because in the former model stakeholders are not pre-existing. Rather, stakeholders are

constituted through a process of engagement. Within the Kaner (2007) model of engagement,

individuals have opportunities to interact with the process at multiple stages and does not require

that they participate in every stage. This model also puts emphasis on the process of decision

making, rather than the development of key stakeholders. The following table summarizes the

key differences.

When partners talked about stakeholders, they described the strategies they used in ways

that correspond to the strategies in the ladder of engagement. Kanter and Delahaye-Paine (2012)

explain that, "the strategy behind using a ladder of engagement is that an organization employs

tactics—messaging, content, and channels—targeted to audiences at each rung of the ladder" (p.

84). Throughout interviews, partners described strategies used to engage stakeholders at the lowest rungs (awareness) and the highest rungs (action).

Ladder of Engagement	Deliberative Stakeholder Perspective
The desired action is pre-determined from the beginning.	Community members are capable of making decisions for themselves and may generate solutions that experts wouldn't.
The more you become involved, the more you become a key stakeholder. Those who have more agency to create change are higher up on the ladder.	Everyone who's affected by the issue is a stakeholder and should have the opportunity to meaningfully impact the process.
As a linear model, the objective is to get more people up the ladder towards action.	The Diamond of Participation illustrates the long-term process of coming to a decision. Stakeholders may not be a part of every step of the conversation, but are still important contributors.

Figure 3. Perspectives on Stakeholders

When partners sought to target audiences for awareness, they described the participants as people who had not yet recognized themselves as stakeholders. For example, one interviewee said, "Really we wanted to get people who didn't know anything about human trafficking into those rooms so that they could get some basic information and especially let them know that this was a problem in Fort Collins and not just overseas…" This interviewee specifically referenced participants with low levels of knowledge and investment in the issue. There's also a directional component to the identification of this stakeholder group. By describing the goal of the forum as increasing awareness and immediacy to the issue, the interviewee indicates that a primary goal is to move the stakeholder from awareness to action.

In another forum, a partner recognized that they currently had a number of groups who were more significantly invested in the issue and were higher up on the ladder of engagement. In this case, she conceptualized key stakeholders as those who were unaware of the issue. She said,

"The people who have a significant stake we do not have a hard time hearing from, so really the overarching goal and purpose of these types of forums is to get the other voices, people who have a different significant stake or may not realize they have a stake." This statement reflects a similar progression towards becoming a stakeholder. In this description, an individual is unable to be a stakeholder until understand the impact of the issue on their own lives.

Alternatively, there were partners that specifically identified strategies to engage stakeholders at the action-end of the model. However, their conceptualization differs in some ways from the traditional Ladder of Engagement, because they often identified stakeholders who were in action-oriented positions rather than foster action-oriented behaviors in stakeholders who were already involved. In one case:

> The goal there was to really focus on getting community leaders to come to the event. We felt like we'd done a lot with previous forums in attracting older adults themselves to give input about their needs and desires for the future, so this was more about trying to get the community leaders in the room to really talk about what [the] county will look like in the future and that's always a bit more challenging.

The partner identifies that older adults were a significant stakeholder with an invested interest in the topic, but recognized that a different stakeholder was necessary for the action rung of the ladder. In this forum, the XSP felt the need to engage community leaders at the awareness rung of the ladder to encourage them to buy in to the process.

While deliberative theorists have laid out different ethical and logistical imperatives for inclusion, there's a different driver for recruitment efforts for many of these XSPs. From their perspective, a forum is a tool that helps them move towards change. In order to move towards that goal, they implement recruitment strategies that are driven by the different phases in the ladder of engagement. When a forum aims to build awareness of the issue, they use voluntary recruitment and target individuals who don't currently know much about the issue. After these

22

stakeholders have been constituted and their investment increases, they engage additional

stakeholders who carry a larger capacity to enact change. This linear process differs significantly

from a deliberative approach that necessitates inclusion on the basis that everyone should have

the right to represent themselves and the idea that decisions are more widely adopted when the

decision-making process is fair.

Cultural Competency. Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity also

provides a framework for understanding responses from partners (1986). This framework

identifies six key stages in an individual's process towards cultural competence: denial, defense,

minimization, acceptance, adaptation, and integration. Bennett's model works to explain why

some individuals are able to interact cross-culturally quite easily, while others face difficulties.

The first three stages are considered ethnocentric, where one's own culture remains central to the

way in which an individual understands the world. In the last three stages, individuals move

towards an ethnorelative understanding of culture where an individual understands his/her own

beliefs, attitudes, and values to be, "one organization of reality among many viable possibilities"

(Bennett, 2004, p. 1).

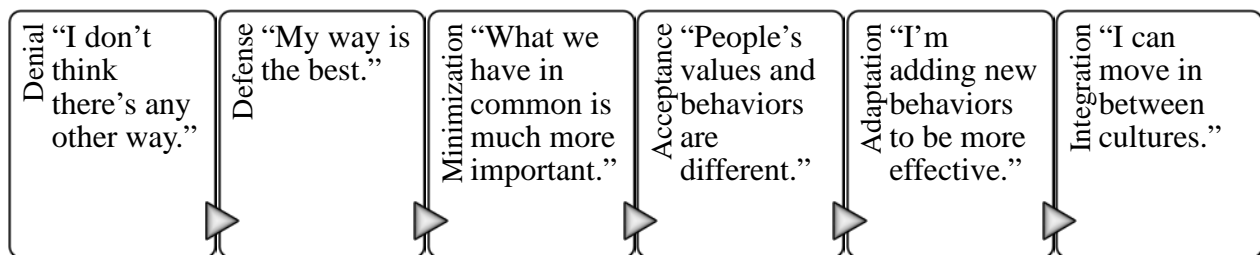| Denial	Defense	Minimization	Acceptance	Adaptation	Integration
"I don't think there's any other way."	"My way is the best."	"What we have in common is much more important."	"People's values and behaviors are different."	"I'm adding new behaviors to be more effective."	"I can move in between cultures."

Figure 4. Bennett's Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (1986)

This model helps to explain reasons why deliberative conveners sometimes fail to recruit

participants in ways that meet the deliberative imperative for inclusion. Briand states that

deliberative processes should "demonstrate equal concern and respect for all citizens by ensuring

23

that they have a meaningful opportunity to participate in this process and to have their needs, concerns, and interests understood and appreciated by their fellows," (1999, p. 75). While many conveners understand the theoretical importance of inclusion to the deliberative process for ethical and logistical reasons, their ability to practically implement this tenet may be affected by ability to communicate cross culturally. The XSPs relative success at including disempowered groups in deliberative forums can be understood using Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity. Interviews reflected that many partners fell within the minimization and acceptance stages and in turn achieved limited success in recruiting disempowered groups.

Within the minimization of difference stage, individuals emphasize the commonalities between different groups rather than acknowledging the differences in value systems and cultural patterns (Bennett, 1986). By focusing on the similarities, those in the minimizing stage avoid making adaptations in cross-cultural scenarios. Most significantly, interviewees rarely mentioned disempowered groups when asked about their recruitment goals for the event or their key stakeholders. Interviewees most commonly broached the topic when asked what strategies they used to engage disempowered groups. This reflected a tendency for planners to focus their strategies on culturally normative stakeholders, oftentimes without thinking about it. In response the question of disempowered groups, one interviewee said, "I don't think that we thought that far ahead, if I'm honest." This minimization could also occur by lacking a measurement tool that could track this outcome, "By eyeballing the room it was clear that we had community members and students, but we did not collect information about race, gender, sexuality…" While minimization resulted in a lack of specific strategies for recruitment, these partners also made statements that reflected the acceptance stage.

In the acceptance stage, people recognize the cultural differences between people. While they may exhibit curiosity towards other cultures, they do not express agreement or preference for alternative values (Bennett, 2011). In this stage, individuals recognize difference, but lack specific tools for adapting to difference. This was embodied in the following comment:

> I think that the general public, we need to invite them to a space where they can actively engage and feel like they're making a difference, and we're still in the process of creating that space. It's not that the value of their participation wasn't recognized, it just wasn't the right space for them to feel valued, and recognized, and connected.

This process was invite-only for community leaders. Here they recognize the relative importance of engaging diverse stakeholders; however, they felt ill-equipped to adapt their forum space to the needs of this community. This illustrates the way in which interviewees acknowledged that different cultural groups would need different things from a discussion space. However, no specific action was taken to adapt that space to diverse needs. In another example, a partner recognized the importance of including diverse groups, but ran into difficulties when attempting to put this into action. In regards to engaging diverse groups she said,

> That was important to me. I believe I reached [out] to [the founder of a Latinix cultural museum] and I reached out to [the Vice President for Diversity] on campus and [the Vice President for Student Affairs] but that is such a minor way of trying to reach out, and I'm always very, very, very frustrated…but this is a big concern of mine.

Throughout this comment, the speaker emphasizes the value of multiple cultures being at the table. She also acknowledges that her tools for engaging cross-culturally were insufficient.

In addition to reflecting the different stages, one partner identified the way in which the movement from one stage to another is a continuous process. She said:

> These things evolve. At first you're just trying to figure out how to include different people's voices. Like how do we ask questions that are going to engender a real dialogue. And then, not that you have that figured out, but you have that enough figured out. Then you start saying, who's in the room? Like there's sort of a natural evolution to these processes in a community. I think each community is going to go through their own path on this.

She identifies that as partner organizations adapt to the deliberative process, changes will occur

incrementally. She argues that making cultural adaptations comes as a secondary step to

engaging normative groups in deliberative conversations.

Strategies

RQ3 asked what strategies XSPs employed to recruit participants for deliberative events.

The strategies employed can be categorized into three distinct methods: marketing, networking,

and designing.

Marketing. When asked to describe the methods used to recruit participants,

interviewees first described their marketing techniques. Marketing techniques encompass

strategies that sought to promote the event by conveying a message to their target audience.

These strategies included the following:

- Email
- Posters
- Flyers
- Newspaper advertisements
- Newspaper editorial
- Radio advertisements
- Word-of-mouth
- T-shirts
- Sidewalk chalk advertisements
- Press release
- Sponsorship package

With the exception of a few partners, marketing efforts were largely limited to marketing

strategies that wouldn't have a cost associated other than staff time. When asked if there was a

budget associated with the forum, staff time, room rental, and food for the event were the most

common budget priorities. To help supplement budgets, partners sought the financial support of

organizations or departments that were closely linked to the event. For example, partners

received funds from student groups, the Center for Public Deliberation, or adjusted line items in

their current general budget to fund the event. The exception to this model was an organization that was conducting a long-term, regional process that incorporated multiple forums over a decade and resulted in a partnership of multiple organizations.

Throughout different forums, the marketing was directed at one or two specific audiences to engage underrepresented groups. In one case the partner made the event invite-only to insure that they were able to meet quotas for stakeholders that had been previously missing in the discussion. This also allowed the partner to limit the number of stakeholders who would ordinarily arrive voluntarily simply because they had a significant stake in the issue and the greatest resources for attending. By extending an open-invitation to those who would voluntarily attend, conveners would risk having an over-representation of just this one kind of stakeholder. Alternatively, another XSP altered their forum rather than attempting to market their event toward traditionally underrepresented populations. Here, the forum was designed to be representative of their target population, because they expected certain disempowered groups would be unlikely to attend. In place of members of disempowered groups, the partner insured that a variety of nonprofit service providers would be in attendance to represent the perspectives of their disempowered clientele.

Networking. Each partner's outreach was contingent upon their pre-existing network at the outset of recruitment. Multiple interviewees attributed their success or failure to meet recruitment goals to the social network of the planning committee. In a contentious discussion around local food, one partner attributed her unique position of employment to her ability to bridge polarized groups. Employed by an educational institution, she had previously established relationships within county government and agriculture, even though the two were traditionally at odds. She said:

27

I think that's how we got the county people and the agriculture together. They don't usually encounter each other [other] than when one is trying to regulate the other. I think that because extension is well-regarded in both realms, we were able to get both to the table...We were the type of common thread.

This partner describes a bridging relationship that enabled the participation of two opposing groups. Putnam refers to these network ties as social capital (Putnam, 1993). In particular, individuals may experience bridging or bonding capital. Bonding capital exists between socially homogenous groups. This could be within a workplace, a neighborhood, or a cultural group. Alternatively, bridging capital occurs when individuals build relationships with different groups. In this case, the XSP had existing social capital with two oppositional groups and used their capital to bridge ties across those groups.

For many groups, this kind of foundation was not present. In one interview, the partner was able to identify the ways that relationships affected outcomes throughout multiple stages of the process. Early on, the partner had many relationships with the senior community but had few relationships with business owners. While invites were initially delivered to the business community, the effort largely failed. Since this partner worked on multiple forums over the following decade, relationships were built over time and produced a more successful turn out years later. Building relationships required one-on-one meetings with business owners:

The other thing is, we actually went and met one on one with key people in the community that we wanted to be more involved. Like we met with the president of the Chamber of Commerce, for example, and asked him to publicize by email to his members.

Partners of the process also recruited a respected business leader to write an editorial article in the local newspaper to establish credibility with the larger community. In this case, the XSP used the business leader's reputation to create bridging capital on a larger scale. Rather than developing relationships one-by-one, the editorial allowed them to significantly increase their

bridging capital by making use of the business leaders bonding capital with other business owners.

The importance of network relationships could also be seen in the groups that ended up participating in the event. Despite a desire to have the entire county represented in one forum, one partner reported that the participants largely reflected the geographic network ties of conveners:

> A lot of the organizations tend to be located in Fort Collins, even if they represent the county. It's always easy to get people in Fort Collins involved. Leveraging that network is easy, because I think a lot of the partnership members are in Fort Collins, their network ties tend to be stronger there. So getting Loveland or other places involved is more challenging, because you're looking at the outer layers of your network. It's always an issue.

This partner observed that not only did convening partners need to have network relationships, but the strength of those ties determined how effective their recruitment efforts were. This example reflects the importance of bonding capital in determining who is likely to attend an event. The bonding relationships that already existed within geographical locations naturally swayed the eventual participant turnout.

Partners overall were able to access a network of the community that the Center for Public Deliberation would not be able to reach on its own. Partners relied on the existing networks they were tapped into, whether that was in terms of their contact lists, location, or formal organizational partners. In order to reach additional stakeholders, partners accessed alternative networks based on their professional or personal relationships. For example, a partner may not work directly with transportation, but knew someone who worked on a transportation board or commission in the city. When partners did not have a direct personal connection, sometimes they attempted to contact a prominent figure within that stakeholder group. When attempting to engage disempowered people of color, one partner contacted the Vice President for

Diversity and Vice President for Student Affairs at the university. However, partners reported

that these efforts to contact prominent individuals rarely led to success in recruiting

disempowered groups. Within this comment, the partner assessed this strategy as ineffective, but

also emphasizes the importance. This indicates that an inability to recruit disempowered groups

may be a result of a lack of network connections, rather than a lack of interest on the part of

partners.

   Designing. Partners indicated that design contributed to their ability to recruit certain

participants, even though it was rarely identified as a primary strategy. Designing refers to the

way the event structure was planned in an effort to attract specific participants to attend. Partners

implemented design recruitment when there was a significant stakeholder that was unlikely to

attend the event, because a lack of interest, trust, or efficacy around the process.

   One event sought to gather input on a number of community issues that were in need of

future action. Rather than hosting an individual forum for each topic, the event was designed to

gather input on three different topics at once:

> We sort of intentionally juxtapose different issues together to get people that are more
> interested in something else to come and learn more about ours. Since it was still in the
> early stages, what we did was we collected demographic data at each stage in the game—
> I can't say we expected this widely diverse group of people to come to the [forum], but
> we thought we'd get more [than] if [we] just did a single issue topic. So we wanted to
> collect data so we could know who are getting, who are we not getting?

 Partners employed this design to diversify the stakeholders present for each discussion. They

anticipated that community members with the strongest vested interest in each topic would arrive

at the event. Ideally, these stakeholders would not only participate in the discussion around their

central topic, but would also engage in discussions about other community topics. Partners hoped

that through discussion some community members would recognize that the issue did affect

them and would subsequently become invested in the issue, even if they weren't yet invested

enough to actively choose to join in conversations on the topic. For example, one forum asked participants to discuss how to regulate short term rentals (STRs) (i.e. Airbnb). Partners expected that owners of STRs would attend, because they had an interest in protecting their business. However, neighbors of STR locations would be less likely to attend (unless they had already experienced conflict), because they would be unlikely to think about the issue until it affected them. By designing the event with three central topics, someone who did not own a STR would also participate in the discussion because they were already at the event.

The design of the event was also used to reduce the risks of participating for certain stakeholders. This occurred when polarization on the issue was a significant barrier to specific groups' participation. Water issues had become a significant area of concern for community residents, because a new reservoir had been proposed to meet increased demand. Engineers and environmentalists were positioned as key enemies within this conversation. In order to address this, the partner brought both protagonists in to help plan the event, "We worked with the protagonists on all [informational materials] to come up with the pros and cons, so I feel that that [informational packet] was really well, well done." This was designed to prevent either group from being overrepresented at the forum because of an assumption of convener bias. In a similar situation, the partner assigned participants specific tables to insure that members of each stakeholder group would be present at a table. This was intended to satiate the fears of government officials who worried that they would be verbally attacked by local farmers and local food advocates who were frustrated with regulations. These strategies indicate a desire to mitigate the negative impacts of participation that specific stakeholders may feel when entering a forum.

Discussion

This study took a systems perspective to understand the relationship between deliberative and partner organizations in recruiting stakeholders for deliberative forums. In part, this study sought to find out how partner conceptualizations of inclusion compared with those of deliberative theory. From a practitioner standpoint, this study sought to find practical lessons to improve recruitment efforts for partner organizations.

Results from RQ1 indicate that partners identified barriers that were consistent with those identified in the existing literature, though they were more likely to discuss limitations based on time and transportation than other types of material resources. These support the framework of Fung et al. (2014) for understanding internal and external barriers to participation but indicate that partner organizations may not fully anticipate the barriers to inclusion that worry deliberative practitioners. However, partners also considered internal barriers based on some of their strategies for recruitment. In particular, using elements of design to recruit participants indicated a consideration of internal barriers. This happened when partners used design to mediate the perception of bias or a lack of interest in a topic.

Even so, there were quite a few barriers to participation that interviewees did not bring up. These included, but were not limited to, childcare, financial incentives, materials to increase knowledge of the topic, and access for multiple languages. The absence of these barriers could be a result of three different scenarios. First, the barriers may not have been salient to the specific stakeholders they were recruiting or the forum they were designing. For example, some forums attempted to address relational goals, which would only affect certain sectors of the public (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014). In this case, the conveners were not intending to make their forum representative of entire city or county. As a result, they would encounter specific barriers to

participation from the unique sectors they were engaging and would have missed barriers that other partners experienced throughout planning.

Alternatively, partners may not have brought up certain barriers, because of the way that they conceptualized stakeholders for a given process. If a given demographic was not considered a key stakeholder, then a partner also wouldn't consider key barriers to participation from this group. When it came to engaging disempowered groups, many partners made statements that fell into the minimization of difference stage for cultural competence. During the minimization stage, individuals are likely to focus on the commonalities between groups, rather than the differences (Bennett, 1986). As a result, they may not have conceptualized adaptations that needed to be made to address barriers for different groups.

Lastly, partners may not have brought up certain barriers because they lacked the specific resources needed to address those issues. As a result, they may have ignored the need for that stakeholder or intended to engage them at a later date. This theory is supported by the fact that while partners identified a number of strategies to reduce the costs of participation, they did not often consider increasing the benefits of participation (Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014). Increasing the benefits for low SES stakeholders could include offering material incentives to attend an event (i.e. gift cards, payment) or insuring that the decisions made would result in direct policy change. Since most organizations had a limited budget for changes and often required the participation of key stakeholders to affect direct change, these strategies may not have been considered feasible options for partners.

In regards to RQ2, results indicated that partners conceptualized stakeholders in different ways than deliberative theorists did. This difference occurred because partners did not indicate that they viewed stakeholders in terms of accommodation (Degeling et al., 2015). In a

33

governmental setting, accommodation would entail modifying an existing strategic plan to accommodate the feedback of stakeholders in order to garner public support for the given plan. Rather, the way in which partners described stakeholder identification reflected a ladder of engagement model. This model views engagement as a process of acquiring and constituting individuals as active stakeholders in an issue. The ideal within this model is that the commitment of individuals to an issue increases over time to ensure that action and change takes place. In some cases, this may have occurred because the goals of the event were not purely deliberative. If a partner sought to simply raise awareness about a given issue, then their goals aligned with a ladder of engagement because all groups could be included and the XSPs were specifically interested in recruiting those who may be traditionally unengaged. However, in other cases, XSPs wanted to work with participants farther along the ladder. If seeking to include those who are already at the action rung of the ladder, marginalized groups who tend to be underrepresented in traditional means of engagement may be subsequently excluded. This contrasts deliberative theory, which requires that all affected stakeholders have the opportunity to meaningfully participate in the conversation.

Within a cultural competency framework, most of the partners fell within the minimization and acceptance stages (Bennett, 1986). These stages risk the participation of disempowered stakeholders, because individuals in these stages avoid making adaptations for other cultures. Bennett (1986) advises that to overcome these hurdles individuals engage in "difference-seeking" behaviors that illuminate cultural differences, provide intercultural experiences or role plays to increase empathy, and enable autonomous learning wherein individuals use research to increase understanding. Applying this lens, deliberative organizations would need to model culturally competent recruitment strategies for partners. They

could also provide localized resources on different cultures, have them participate in conversations with non-dominant groups, and lead them in reflections on the impact of their own culture on their practice to help promote learning around difference and adaptation.

This model provides one tool for understanding the challenges and barriers to recruiting disempowered groups to deliberative forums. When looking at the imperative for inclusion in the larger context of deliberative theory, using a prescriptive, rather than descriptive, framework creates tensions with other deliberative values. Bennett argues that one moves through the stages in a linear progression and the farther one travels, the more cultural competent they become. However, for the deliberative practitioner, overtly prioritizing the value of inclusion conflicts with competing values of impartiality and neutrality. This tension has occurred and reoccurred throughout deliberative theory (Fung, A., et al. (2004); Fraser, N. (1990); Young, I. M. (2000); Parkinson, J. (2012). This current study doesn't seek to address the tension, but raises it as a continued area of study.

Regardless of its limitations, Bennett offers useful insight within the constraints of the current study. Current research has identified that there are key barriers to engaging disempowered groups in deliberative processes (Fung, Young, & Mansbridge, 2004; Fung, 2003; Karpowitz & Raphael, 2014; Petts, 2008; Su 2014). This makes it difficult to practically implement inclusion that allows all affected persons to meaningfully participate. Since the affected population has been identified in the issue, it is reasonable to use Bennett as a framework from outside of deliberative theory to better improve deliberative practice.

From the responses to RQ3, researchers can better understand how to help practitioners implement theoretical definitions of inclusion. The research question asked what strategies partners used to recruit participants. These efforts fell into three categories: marketing,

networking, and design. The way in which partners recruited reveals some key lessons for recruitment. Most of the partners were limited in terms of their resources. Oftentimes, resources were primarily used to host the event. There were very few instances in which partners had a dedicated budget towards recruitment. In order to meet deliberative goals for inclusion, practitioners and theorists need to do one of two things. They can generate low cost solutions for recruiting diverse groups. Alternatively, theorists may need to provide a substantive case for inclusion efforts that practitioners can use to advocate for resources within their organizations.

The importance of the partner's network was a salient factor for many of the partners. They not only cited it as a component of their recruitment strategies, but often attributed their relative success or failure to the relationship ties they had with the key stakeholders. While one partner cited the relationship with the Center for Public Deliberation as a factor that increased organizational credibility, most of this discussion was centered around the interpersonal relationships of the recruiting partner. The partners indicated that they often had strong bonding capital with similar organizations, like other educational, nonprofit, or governmental entities. Alternatively, bridging capital with business organizations was often much harder to develop and affected the recruitment outcomes.

A lack of bridging capital with disempowered groups could affect the ability to recruit them to events. Larsen et al. (2004) found that residents with more social capital are more likely to participate in civic behavior. In particular, they found that individuals with higher levels of education and longer rates of residency possessed higher levels of social capital (Larsen et al., 2004). This corresponds to Ryfe et al.'s (2010) findings that individuals of higher SES are more likely to participate in public forums. Larsen et al. (2004) suggest that in order to increase the participation of disempowered groups, partners need to help increase their capacity to turn

bonding capital into bridging capital. In addition, partners tended to identify stakeholders with pre-existing social capital as key targets of bridging relationships. As a result, significant time and resources were spent developing relationships with these individuals. Therefore, it may also be advantageous for partners to spend similar efforts on bridging relationships between disempowered groups.

Limitations and Future Directions

Due to the relatively small sample size included in this study, these results cannot be generalized. Overall, there were 9 interviewees who participated in the study. While the participants came from a wide variety of organizations, they do not constitute a representative sample in size. Additionally, this study is limited in the scope of its context. The study was conducted in one geographical location and all interviewees were partners with the same deliberative organization. Demographically, the county in which the study was conducted is predominantly Caucasian (census.gov). Due to relative low ethnic and racial diversity, results of this study cannot be applied to other communities consistently. As a result, an area for future research would be exploring the relationship between partner and deliberative organizations in other cities who are working with different deliberative centers. This would allow us to see if different strategies or barriers are more salient in different contexts.

<div align="center">

Conclusion

</div>

As deliberative theory increasingly becomes applied in local governments, school systems, and community groups, it becomes important that practitioners and theorists work together to understand a growing deliberative system. Interviews with partners made clear that those working in conjunction with deliberative organizations face many of the challenges that theorists projected. However, many partners become limited by organizational and material

<div align="center">

37

</div>

restraints as they attempt to recruit participants. This may mean that they don't have the

necessary resources for robust recruitment at the onset or are pressured to produce outcomes that

will result in action. Additionally, they approach recruitment through a more traditional

marketing lens, which differs from the deliberative definition of inclusion. Overall, this research

reaffirms the necessity for partnerships between theorists, practitioners, and community partners,

because of the importance of both bonding and bridging ties within the deliberative system.

Works Cited

Benhabib, S. (1996). Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political.

      Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bennett, M. J. (1986). A developmental approach to training intercultural sensitivity.

      International Journal of Cultural Relations, 10(2), 179-196.

Bohman, J. (2012). Representation in the deliberative system. In Parkinson, J. & Mansbridge, J

      (Eds.), *Deliberative systems: Deliberative democracy at the large scale.* Cambridge, UK:

      Cambridge University Press.

Briand, M. K. (1999). *Practical politics: five principles for a community that works.* Urbana, IL:

      University of Illinois Press.

Carcasson, M., Sprain, L. (2010). Key aspects of the deliberative democracy movement." *Public*

      Sector Digest, Summer, 1-5.

Chamaz, K. (1990) 'Discovering' chronic illness: Using grounded theory. *Social Science*

      Medicine, 30(11), 1161-1172.

Chen, Yea-Wen. (2014). Public engagement exercises with racial and cultural "others": Some

      thoughts, questions, and considerations. Journal of Public Deliberation, 10(1), 1-2.

      Retrieved at http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol10/iss1/art4

Dahl, R. A. (1989). *Democracy and its critics.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Degeling, C., Carter, S. M., & Rychetnik, L. (2015). Which public and why deliberate? A

      scoping review of public deliberation in public health and policy research. *Social Science*

      & Medicine, *131*, 114-121. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed2015.03.009

Dryzek, J. (2000). *Deliberative democracy and beyond.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.

Doran, J. E., Franklin, S. R. J. N., Jennings, N. R., & Norman, T. J. (1997). On cooperation in
multi-agent systems. The Knowledge Engineering Review,12(03), 309-314.

Fishkin, J. (1995). *The voice of the people: Public opinion and democracy.* New Haven, CT:
Yale University Press.

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public Sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually
existing democracy. *Social Text,* (25/26), 56-80. doi:10.2307/466240

Fung, A. (2003). Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices
and Their Consequences. *The Journal of Political Philosophy, 11*(3), 338-367.

Fung, A., Young, I. M., Mansbridge, J. (2004). Deliberation's darker side: Six questions for Iris
Marion Young and Jane Mansbridge. *National Civic Review,* 47-54.

Gastil, J., Reedy J., Braman, D., & Kahan. (2008). Deliberation across the cultural divide:
Assessing the potential for reconciling conflicting cultural orientations to reproductive
technology. *George Washington Law Review, 76,* 1772-1797.

Gutmann and Thompson, (2004). *Why deliberative democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton
University Press.

Kahane, D., Loptson, K., Heriman, J., Hardy, M. (2013). Stakeholder and citizen roles in public
deliberation. *Journal of Public Deliberation, 9*(2), 1-34. Retrieved at
http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd,vol9/iss2,art2.

Kaner, S., Lind, L., Toldi, C., Fisk, S., Berger, D. (2007). Facilitator's guide to participatory
decision making. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Kanter, B. & Delahaye-Paine, K. (2012). *Measuring the networked nonprofit: Using data to
change the world.* W. T. Paarlberg (Ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass A Wiley
Imprint.

Karpowitz, C. F. & Raphael, C. (2014). *Deliberation, democracy, and civic forums: Improving equality and publicity.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Koschmann, M. A., Kuhn, T. R., & Pfarrer, M. D. (2012). A communicative framework of value in cross-sector partnerships. *Academy of Management Review*, 37(3), 332-354.

Larsen, L., Harlan, S. L., Bolin, B., Hackett, E. J., Hope, D., Kirby, A., & Wolf, S. (2004). Bonding and bridging understanding the relationship between social capital and civic action. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 24(1), 64-77.

Maclean, S. and Burgess, M. M. (2008). Biobanks: Informing the public through expert and stakeholder positions. *Health Law Review, 16*(4), 6-8.

Maia, R. (2007). Deliberative democracy and public sphere typology. Estudos em Comunicação, 1(2007), 69-102.

Maibach, E. W., Leiserowitz, A., Roser-Renouf, C., & Mertz, C. K. (2011). Identifying like-minded audiences for global warming public engagement campaigns: An audience segmentation analysis and tool development. *PLoS ONE, 6*(3), e17571. DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0017571

Mansbridge, J., Bohman, J., Chambers, S., Christiano, T. Fung, A., Parkinson, J., Thompson, D. F., & Warren, M. E. (2012), A systemic approach to deliberative democracy. In Parkinson, J. & Mansbridge, J (Eds.), *Deliberative systems: Deliberative democracy at the large scale.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Parkinson, J. (2012). Democratizing deliberative systems. In Parkinson, J. & Mansbridge, J (Eds.), *Deliberative systems: Deliberative democracy at the large scale.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Petts, J. (2008). Public engagement to build trust: false hopes? *Journal of Risk Research, 11*(6), 821-835. DOI: 10.1050/13669870701715592

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Price, V. & Cappella, J. N. (2002). Online deliberation and its influence: The Electronic Dialogue Project in Campaign 2000. *IT and Society, 1*(1): 303-328.

Rowe, G. & Frewer, L. J. (2005). A typology of public engagement mechanisms. *Science Technology Human Values, 30,* 251-290. DOI: 10.1177/0162243904271724

Ryfe, D. M. & Stalsburg, B. (2012). *Democracy in motion: Evaluation the practice and impact of deliberative civic engagement.* Nabatchi, T., Gastil, J., Weiksner, G. M., & Leighninger, M. (Eds.) New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Su, Celina. (2012). Whose budget? Our budget? Broadening political stakeholdership via participatory budgeting. *Journal of Public Deliberation, 8*(2), 1-14. Retreived at http://www.publicdeliberation.net/jpd/vol8/iss2/art11

Sunstein, 2000. Deliberative trouble? Why groups go to extremes. *Yale Law Journal* 100: 74.

Stromer-Galley, J. (2007). Measuring deliberation's content: A coding schem e. *Journal of Public Deliberations, 3*(1), 1-35. Retrieved at http://www.publicdeliberation.net/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1049&context=jpd

Wolfe, R. A., and Putler, D. S. (2002). How tight are the ties that bind stakeholder groups? *Organization Science, 13*(1), 64-80.

Young, I. M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Appendix

Interview Questions

Please take a moment to consider when you worked in conjunction with the Center for Public Deliberation on a given forum. The following questions will regard your organization's role in gathering participants for that forum.

1. Describe your goals in gathering attendees for the forum.

    a. What was the population that the desired forum participants would represent?

    b. How many attendees did you wish to recruit?

        i. About how many attended your forum?

        ii. Why do you think contributed meeting/not meeting your goals for the number of attendees?

    c. Did your organization have a budget dedicated to producing this forum?

        i. What portion of this was dedicated to recruitment strategies?

        ii. How did you utilize that budget?

    d. What was your most effective recruitment strategy?

        i. What groups seemed to attend because of this strategy?

        ii. Are there any groups for which this strategy was ineffective?

    e. Were any specific strategies implemented to recruit minorities or disempowered groups?

2. Thinking about the issue your forum addressed, who did you consider to be groups with significant stake in the conversation?

    a. Were these individuals already a part of your organization's social network?

    b. What recruitment efforts were aimed at gathering these participants?

        i. How effective were these strategies?

ii.   Were these strategies more effective with some groups than others? Why?

c. Were there any stakeholders who were intentionally not invited to the event or

slated to be included in the discussions at a later date?

i.   What the reasoning behind these decisions?

3. Following the forum, were there any groups that you felt also should have been included

to add to the conversation who didn't attend?

a. Did you make an effort to recruit these groups?

i.   Why do you think they may not have attended?

ii.   How might you change recruitment strategies based on this?

4. What constraints or challenges did your organization encounter in recruiting participants?

a. Were there any specific challenges to engaging minorities or disempowered

groups?

i.   What were they?