exploring common ground on how to deliver effective long-term decision-making which earns public trust

Delegate Briefing Book

Symposium on Trusted, Long-Term Decision Making

Tuesday, 31 October 2017, Melbourne
and
Wednesday, 22 November 2017, Sydney

What changes can we agree
upon to deliver effective
long-term decision-making
which earns public trust?

Version 2 (23 October 2017)

Version control

Version Number	Date Distributed	Brief Description
1	25 September 2017	Distributed as initial information and to provide the necessary reading materials for direction on the submissions and issues participants wanted to learn more about or discuss further at the Melbourne session to order to better help address the question put to the Symposium.
2	23 October 2017	Reissued with additional materials and information including: • An update on the outcomes of initial participant input on submissions and issues to be considered during a specific component of the Melbourne session (see page 21) • Additional participant submissions received (see page 22) • Addition of identifying content on the positions and organisational affiliation of expert submissions (see page 49) • Inclusion of additional reading materials requested by the Symposium's Convening Group (see page 68) • Inclusion of a list of Symposium participants (see page 80)

Version control

Table of Contents

Welcome from Convening Group

On behalf of the Convening Group for the Symposium on Trusted, Long-Term Decision-Making, it is with pleasure that we provide you with this Briefing Book to help you prepare for this unique undertaking. We would like to thank you for committing your time, energy and intellect to this very worthwhile – and necessary – initiative.

By attending and actively participating in the Symposium you are adding your inputs to a very important piece of work aimed at progressively ensuring our country's governments turn their energies toward delivering effective long-term decision-making which earns public trust.

Those of us who have chosen to attend are a diverse group. Among us are concerned citizens, some who have served in government or senior public administration roles; others who have long histories of community and academic activity, with yet others who bring business leadership or policy expertise and experience to the table. Together, we are determined to find constructive ways to address the structural and systematic gridlock that is holding our country back.

The Symposium will be structured to collect and distil inputs in a participative environment. As a group, we will be exploring and developing ideas that contributors of different backgrounds and perspectives may have for resolving complex problems. As a group we will assess, understand and sort through an array of inputs before we finally move to identifying best fit solutions that we can agree on and recommend to those in positions to implement them. That is why two days have been allocated – with a gap between them to allow adequate time for deeper reflection and review.

This is a significant topic that warrants and deserves significant consideration. What changes can we agree upon to deliver effective long-term decision-making which earns public trust?

We also understand that any recommendation for change is likely to be found challenging by some - especially if it means broader community discourse and engagement in key policy decisions. Those of us involved in convening the Symposium see this as a long-haul challenge but believe that we must optimistically and energetically address this for the good of future generations of Australians.

As a varied gathering of individuals and organisations, we have something unique that brings us together: a commitment to do something tangible to improve the ways decisions are made in Australia. We look forward to working with you to find a common voice and message to address something that we each view to be critical for the benefit of our country.

Glenn Barnes

Convening Group Chair

The Hon Verity Firth

Convening Group Deputy Chair

Why the Symposium?

Making difficult public decisions has become harder as society has grown more sceptical and cynical of political and government intentions. It is a priority to address this and the Symposium provides an opportunity not to complain about how public decisions are made, but to come up with potential solutions.

Many conferences are static opportunities where opposing views are presented without any attempt to find a shared position. Unsurprisingly, governments do not act on the predictable positions espoused. In contrast, the Symposium will take those very different views as the starting point for a conversation and exploration on what can be agreed upon or where we can find common ground.

The Symposium concept had its genesis in a series of conversations among various individuals and organisations who recognised in each other a concern for the governance of the country and a frustration at the public opinion challenges faced by those who do or seek to lead. Acting as a facilitator, the newDemocracy Foundation coordinated two planning meetings, one in Sydney and a second in Melbourne, bringing together these individuals and organisations to consider whether an event like the Symposium was a suitable way to work together to restore trust in the systems and constructs that deliver public decision-making. The enthusiasm was overwhelming and from this, a self-nominated Convening Group formed to undertake the planning and delivery of the initiative. The Convening Group undertook to oversight the design and shape of the Symposium and collectively auspice its delivery. They operated under Terms of Reference which set out the roles, responsibilities and operational structures for the group. To support their work, the newDemocracy Foundation agreed to fund the event and to provide the secretariat services required to deliver an event of this complexity. More information on the membership and role of the Convening Group is provided in a later section of this Briefing Book.

The Convening Group worked carefully to focus the Symposium to ensure it could explore what common ground can be found on the topic at hand. The Group nominated a diverse range of thought-leaders, peak bodies, industry organisations, think-tanks and academic institutions to be invited to participate. They identified that key issues to be considered at the Symposium included:

- What are the structural factors that limit or hamper the process of public decision-making, and good government in Australia?
- How has affected the country and why is this critical to be rectified?
- How could these factors be resolved or addressed in a way that could, where possible, be tested by government?

With that in mind, the Symposium has been designed to be action-oriented and outcome driven: to find new proposals for decision-making which can reasonably be trialled. The contention is that if government can be presented with democratic reform ideas that carry the support of a cross section of supporters from all perspectives, they are likely to be more receptive. The hope is that governments see the appeal in responding to the clear public desire to do democracy better and that this is recognised as a supportive contribution. As a further contribution and to help test the ideas and recommendations of the Symposium, the newDemocracy Foundation has put forward $5million to operate these tests with any willing government be they local, state or federal (see *What happens after the Symposium?* for more details).

Scope and remit

The issues that impact on democracy, decision-making and public trust are wide-ranging, almost without limit.

With that in mind, the Symposium's Convening Group determined that it was critical that the event and its deliberations focus on the absolute core of what must be addressed. It became clear that there was a need to strip away what *could* be addressed and instead focus on what *should* be addressed. As the Symposium is designed to be a deliberative event, the Convening Group agreed to put to delegates an open question which cannot be addressed with a simple yes or no.

The scope of the Symposium is to address **the structures and processes that impact on public decision making by government.**

The remit of the Symposium is to answer the question:

**What changes can we agree upon
to deliver effective long-term
decision-making which
earns public trust?**

What happens after the Symposium?

The Symposium is not commissioned by government but is being jointly convened by a range of individuals and organisations including the Australian Institute of Company Directors, Foundation 1901, newDemocracy Foundation, The Benevolent Society, University of Melbourne and University of Technology Sydney

Unlike other conferences or gatherings, the deliberative nature of the Symposium means that what follows the two days, will largely be determined by the nature of the agreements explored, the common ground found and the recommendations made. It will be an important guiding principle for the deliberations that they be outcome driven, recognising an opportunity exists for them to be trialled or tested. While the organisations supporting the Symposium do not have authority to implement recommendations, the newDemocracy Foundation has made available $5million to operate a test or tests of them with any willing government be they local, state or federal. This is an extension of a public commitment given in 2016 to fund an initiative that considers how democracy could be done better. This offer was made to all members of Parliaments in the country to help realise an ambition that democracy in Australia could be more representative, clearly deliberative and based on structures which restore citizens' trust. As the Symposium echoes this ambition, newDemocracy sees this as a suitable means of pursuing long-term decision-making which earns public trust.

It should also be noted that the Convening Group's Terms of Reference stated that:

> The Convening Group will operate from August 2017 until December 2017, by when it is anticipated the Symposium and its related activities will have been concluded. Should there be further steps recommended by the Symposium which would require the continuation of the Convening Group, it will be at the discretion of the Convening Group to consider and further extend its membership and operation and to review, amend or readopt these Terms of Reference.

To best support the communication of the Symposium's outcomes to parliaments and parliamentarians around the country, the leadership of the major political parties and the minor parties and independents who currently sit in the Federal Parliament have been invited to nominate representatives to attend the final session of the second day of the Symposium (from approximately 3.30pm onwards) to observe the proceedings. The same invitation has been extended to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate (and their state and territorial equivalents) to nominate representatives of parliamentary departments such as staff from clerk's offices or committees to attend. Individuals who are nominated to attend through these means will not participate in the Symposium, but will be able to observe the final deliberations of the proceedings so that they better understand and appreciate how the recommendations were arrived at.

A deliberation in practice

The Symposium will provide opportunity to move beyond set piece speeches and instead offer the opportunity to find common ground among a small group of participants.

Where many, even most conferences are staid, static opportunities this will be different. The Symposium will be a deliberation and it is worthwhile stating at the outset what is meant by this, and why it is important to follow this methodology. The following extract from a newDemocracy Foundation *R&D Note* provides key information on the difference between debate, dialogue and deliberation (the full *R&D Note* is available at the Foundation's website):

> Typically, political discussion is *debate*. The aim is to persuade others, and ultimately the majority, to one's own position. It's a win/lose situation where participants are inclined to maintain their original view. It can be angry, adversarial and swift. It can also be rational and drawn out. *Dialogue* can help to cut through some of the weaknesses of *debate* through slower civil exchange, sharing understandings by listening well, and building relationships. The emphasis with *dialogue* is not on decision making so much as on a respectful, clarifying exchange. These distinctions were defined by Hodge et al.

Debate	Dialogue	Deliberation
Compete	Exchange	Weigh
Argue	Discuss	Choose
Promote opinion	Build relationships	Make choices
Seek majority	Understand	Seek overlap
Persuade	Seek understanding	Seek common ground
Dig in	Reach across	Framed to make choices
Tight structure	Loose structure	Flexible structure
Express	Listen	Learn
Usually fast	Usually slow	Usually slow
Clarifies	Clarifies	Clarifies
Win/lose	No decision	Common ground

> *Deliberation* involves both *dialogue* and *debate* (Gastil & Levine, 2005). Debate might occur when there is an invited panel of experts arguing about their various positions. Deliberation is distinctively different, even though attention is still paid to a 'competition of ideas' (Yankelovitch, 1991). This is because, the aim of a public deliberation is to investigate various options by hearing from experts, explore common ground, and finally reach a group decision. The fundamental difference between deliberation and debate is whether the end objective is either zero-sum or consensus seeking. In this sense, dialogue is an essential ingredient to deliberation (Yankelovitch, 1999).

The Convening Group has committed to ensure that the Symposium is genuinely deliberative and that it is based on respectful conversations, despite individual differences; deep exploration of issues, with a shared motivation to solve a problem; and an enhanced ability to think critically. It is this emphasis on critical thinking that will see the Symposium stand apart from standard conferences or other gatherings in which delegates may have previously participated. The sessions will involve a range of activities and approaches. With large groups, there will always be times when small group activity is advantageous to accelerate the process and minimise entrenched viewpoints. Exercises designed to challenge cognitive biases and test

expert knowledge will also help the group weigh up various contested options. The group members will be asked to agree on own procedural guidelines, set criteria for evaluation, gather information, test it, brainstorm solutions, prioritise possibilities, agree on recommendations and account for minority opinions when consensus is not found. Ultimately the group will also work together to reflect the outcomes of this, collectively writing a report or communique which will form the output of the Symposium.

Expert facilitators

Designing and delivering a deliberative process that leverages the best critical thinking of those participating in the Symposium will require highly skilled facilitation. This will allow the group to make its own decisions and find its own way, but that ensures the Symposium's scope and remit is addressed. Two independent facilitators, expert in their field, have been appointed to work with the Convening Group and Symposium delegates to achieve a successful outcome from the two days:

Nicole Hunter – Director, MosaicLab

Nicole has a Bachelor of Agricultural Science (Hons) and a Certificate in Dialogue, Deliberation and Public Engagement (University of Sydney). Nicole spent 20 years working in State Government in facilitation and community engagement roles but for the past 5 years has been consulting with a focus on community and stakeholder engagement. Nicole has skills in facilitation, deliberative engagement, strategic planning, negotiation, mediation and risk communication. She has extensive experience working with highly charged issues and emotional stakeholders on all fronts, chairing contentious committees around mining, landfills, and providing high level strategic advice into key oversight reference groups.

Marcia Dwonczyk – Director, Creativma

Marcia has over 25 years of experience in senior executive roles in the government and non-government sectors, across Australia and overseas. She is Director of Creativma working as an independent innovation and change specialist with a focus on partnership and engagement. Marcia works nationally and internationally to increase effective partnering and is an Associate and lead practitioner trainer with the international Partnership Brokers Association (PBA). PBA works to build capacity for those managing collaboration processes to enable a more equitable and sustainable world through innovation, efficiency and excellence in multi-stakeholder collaboration. Specialising in working with diverse stakeholders around complex issues, Marcia works with people to build their knowledge and skills in partnering and engagement to develop new approaches to address these issues.

To support delegates as they prepare for the Symposium, our facilitators have provided the following guidelines and information.

The role of the facilitators

The role of a facilitator in deliberative processes is different to that of traditional 'town hall' style meetings, focus groups and other workshops. The skills, knowledge and experience of facilitators in deliberative processes is key to the group achieving its outcomes. Together, the facilitators will:

- Act as a servant to the room;
- Emphasise learning, exploring common ground, collaborative decision-making;
- Enable the group to find its way;
- Enable respectful dialogue in often contested spaces;
- Work with the group to move beyond tightly held positions, foster curiosity to explore the interests, principles, ideas which underpin them;
- Build participants' confidence in their capacity to deliver results;
- Carefully design processes to assist the group to achieve its objectives/remit;
- Encourage the surfacing of differences to increase understanding of different perspectives;
- Provide a range of ways for participants to interact, take account of different learning styles, keep fresh so that all are able to do their best critical thinking;
- Adapt flexibly to the group to offer whatever micro processes will prove helpful to the group; modify on the run;
- Focus on process for the group rather than the topic under consideration to avoid subconscious influencing; and
- Promote collaboration principles of diversity, equity, openness, common ground and courage to speak up in both practice and process.

Attendance principles

Attending a deliberative process is different from all other workshops, meetings or facilitated sessions that you may attend. In ordinary workshops and meetings, you are usually asked for input into an issue but not asked to make judgement and decide on the final set of recommendations.

Deciding on an agreed set of recommendations across a diverse group of people requires a higher level of commitment (time) to ensure continuity of thinking and dialogue. This means we ask all participants, in the first instance to commit to all sessions. This commitment is an important first step as it is an indication of the seriousness of the task and the importance of everyone's involvement. The shorter the process, the harder it is to miss sessions and ensure the necessary continuity is maintained. In reality, there are times life happens and as a result some people can't attend some sessions due to a previous long-standing commitment, a family or work emergency, or illness.

When sessions must be missed by participants there are a set of principles we work towards to retain as much continuity in the process as possible. These principles are:

We Don't Go Backwards

All participants are aware and accept that the group does not revisit topics, issues or resolved matters from previous sessions that they may have missed. Acceptance of this means the agenda can progress with confidence, even if one or two people are absent. It also avoids the frustration that may be felt by the main group if one or two people try to re-visit 'old ground'

Do the Reading

Anyone absent from a session commits to reading any materials either brought into or produced from a session. They also commit to participating in any online discussions (if they are provided) to better equip them with an understanding of what happened and what was discussed.

Buddy Up

If someone must miss a session it is incumbent on that person to find a *buddy* that will help them understand what has occurred in the session. This person is either nominated beforehand to help inform the absent participant, or a willing participant offers to contact the absent participant and bring them 'up-to-speed' with discussions, materials, information and decisions (if they occurred). In the case of the Symposium, the buddy system could also occur through the following: If a participant knows they are likely to be absent on one of the days, they nominate another person (either already in the symposium or from their network) to 'represent' them in the session. The same principles outlined above apply to the 'new representative' – they must accept that we won't return to past agenda items, they must read and prepare as best they can for the session and they must speak with someone from the session prior to attending.

Group decision-making principles

The best description of group decision-making is the diamond model as described by Sam Kaner ('A Facilitator's Guide to Participatory Decision-Making', 2005). This diamond, depicted below, describes the process a group goes through to solve a difficult problem.
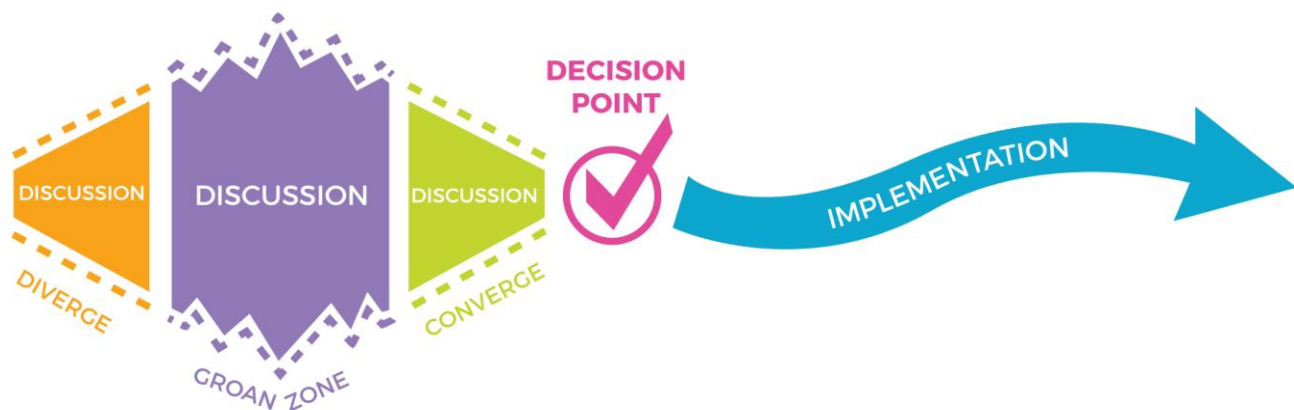
The 'point-of-decision'

During discussion, a group is operating in the 'world of ideas'. Brainstorming and building on each other's thinking (divergence), exploring possibilities, developing models and trying them on in their imagination. But when you shift from discussion to decision, a group enters the 'world of actions'. In this 'world' the group is asked to commit to an idea, make it come true, sign up to a recommendation, and 'make a call'. Between these two moments in time is the 'point-of-decision'. This is the formal marker that says, "From this moment on we stand by this agreement. This agreed view will be treated as the officially authorised view from this group. Disagreements will no longer be treated as alternative points of view, but rather are considered officially as objections, minority reports or in some cases "out-of-line".

In many decision-making settings, this is definitely NOT what groups do! Group members are often not sure whether a decision has actually been made. If they don't follow through on the supposed 'agreed position' people can be heard to defend themselves ("I didn't know we agreed on that!") or the reverse occurs when people act prematurely – thinking an agreement has already been made ("I was sure we decided to go ahead with that plan?!").

What is a decision based on?

In many decision-making processes whether people 'accept' or 'reject' a recommendation is used as the basis for finding agreement. In deliberative processes we look for nuances that help understand people's 'level of agreement' and their reasons why. By doing this we explore reasoning and difference more respectfully and with greater purpose, and enable a fuller conversation about what is possible rather than further polarisation.

Decision rules used in deliberative processes

When we facilitate deliberative processes, we explain the diamond of decision making and provide some clear decision-making rules to help signal a 'decision point'.

The following decision rules will guide how we work together:

1. Consensus

Where possible we reach for 'consensus' or 'unanimous agreement'. We use various methods for sharing, dialoguing and understanding to help people find where there is already a sense of common ground.

2. 80% majority

Where consensus cannot be reached we look to find where the vast majority of participants can standby a decision. We do not explore small majorities ala Brexit type 'votes' instead we look to fid at least 80% of the participants able to 'live with' a recommendation for it to be considered the vast majority.

3. Minority reports

Where there are participants who feel very strongly about a recommendation that does not reach the 80% 'live with it' mark, they can find another couple of people who share this view and write a short 'minority report' that is included at the back of the group's final report.

The role of observers

Observers are usually given the opportunity to listen to and watch the proceedings and can be an important part of a deliberative process. In the case of the Symposium the observers are likely to be limited to a small number of individuals and potentially, parliamentary representatives (see *What happens after the Symposium?*). The Symposium will have sessions that are open and others that are closed, much like a criminal jury process. Observers are welcome during the open sessions and will be asked to leave for closed sessions. A code of conduct is made visible near the observer area and is given to observers on arrival. This will reflect the following principles:

- Observers are invited to attend at the times specified for the open sessions and are expected to stay until there is a break. People coming and going is surprisingly disruptive.

- Observers are asked to refrain from interacting with the Symposium delegates. If observers have any comments or questions to the group, they can place these on the assigned 'observer board'. The Symposium delegates will review these during breaks.
- Observers are asked to refrain from forecasting any results before they are finalised by the group. Nothing is a final recommendation until the end of the final day and even what may appear as a recommendation early in the process will often change throughout the discussions.
- The symposium delegates ultimately have control, and the facilitators will respond to their requests, regarding observers. For example, delegates may decide to close a previously open session, and if they do so observers will be asked to leave.
- Observers are asked to be understanding that the agenda and timings are not exact. If delegates want to continue a discussion, then we will let that happen, as they own the process.
- Observer seating is limited; therefore, attendance will be restricted in each open session. This will be done based on registrations and then on a "first come first served" basis.
- We will advise delegates who is in the room at the start of each open session. If observers have a formal interest in proceedings (interest group, government role and community group) they are asked to declare this so it can be shared with delegates. To facilitate this, observers are asked to sign-in and identify if they are from an interest group.
- Official video recording and photography may be occurring and by attending observers need to understand they may end up in images used to explain the process.
- Observers are not allowed to make audio or video recordings or take photos whilst observing the Symposium process.
- All observers are asked to maintain a standard of behaviour that does not disrupt the work of delegates. Observers are asked not to engage in conversations with each other or with delegates, nor make phone calls whilst sitting in the observation area.
- Symposium delegates will be exploring issues, asking questions and forming opinions. These may change over the two days. We request observers to respect the privacy of individuals and encourage them to listen to the dialogue and issues as they emerge without pre-empting conclusions based on the observation of a single session.
- Any posts to social media are considered published public comment, so observers are asked to be polite and respectful of others and their opinions, and again, not forecast a final agreed recommendation.

How the Symposium will unfold

There will be four distinct phases of the Symposium, each paving the way for that which follows. While this is expected to be an organic process that responds to the deliberations as they unfold, the information below provides an overview of what is anticipated to occur.
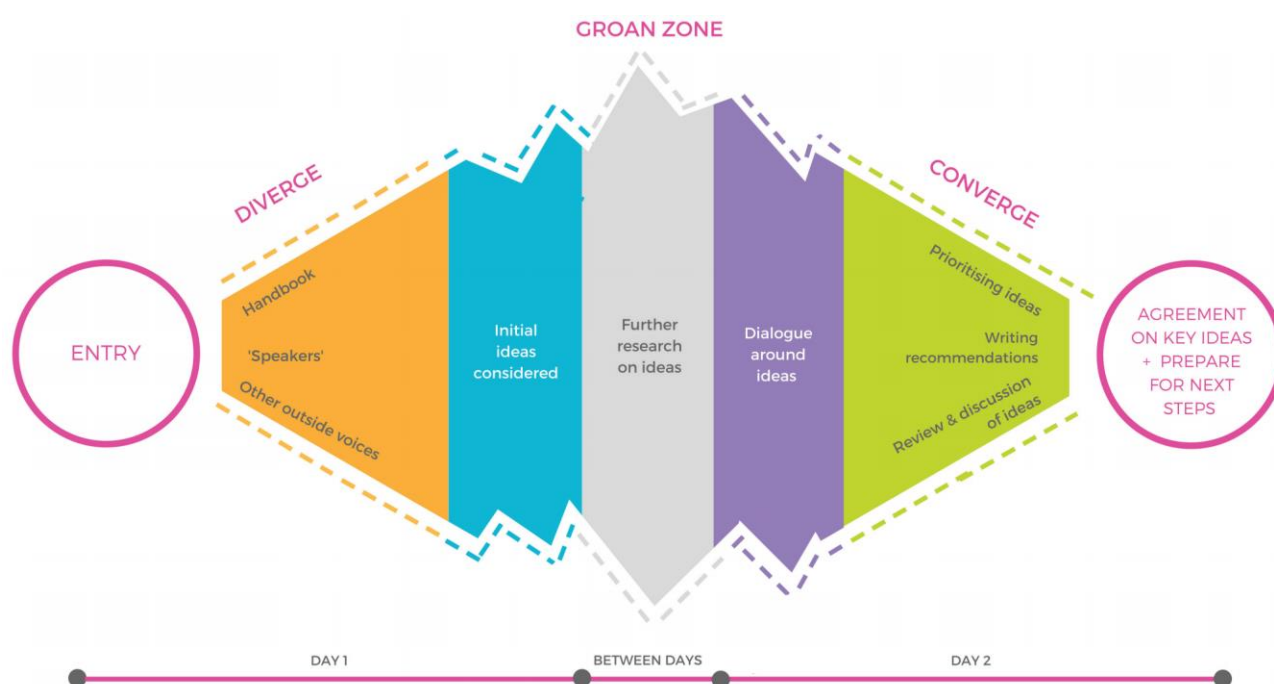
What happens between now and meeting one?

In preparation for meeting one, delegates are being provided with this Briefing Book. You are asked to review the materials provided, and in particular to review the submissions (delegate and expert) and additional reading materials provided. This reading will be used to inform the development of an issue and speaker list for the meeting, and you are able to provide input to this. Instructions on how to provide this input are outlined in *Using delegate and expert submissions*.

What will happen at meeting one?

Meeting one will focus on the following components:

1. Introducing delegates to the process: overview and agree on operating guidelines, overview the process and how it will work (including decision-making rules), review aims and agenda for the day and get to know who is in the room.
2. Other voices: consideration of how to bring ideas and views of voices other than delegate's own into the room to explore diversity of opinions.
3. Exploration of submissions: overview critical and strategic thinking to help analyse and review submissions and gather insights.

4. Speakers: hear from and have active conversations with selected 'speakers' about their views and ideas.
5. Initial ideas: building from individual thinking to group brainstormed ideas where no ideas are left out and similar ideas are clustered and themed.
6. Next steps: overview and agree the activities for between meetings (identify information gaps to be followed up).

What happens between meetings?

There are several things that will need to take place between the two gatherings of the Symposium.

First and foremost, delegates will be asked to reflect on the deliberations that have taken place so far and to consider how their views are forming or reforming. This is an important opportunity to absorb the inputs from the first meeting.

Secondly, Symposium secretariat staff will work to source any additional information, materials or other details requested by delegates (as agreed at the end of meeting one). Materials which are sourced will either be provided to delegates electronically as they become available, or will be supplied at the start of meeting two.

Finally, and critically for those delegates who have had to arrange a pair or buddy, the period between meetings will be the opportunity to communicate so that the person attending meeting two understands what has occurred in the previous session. This will require covering off on discussions, materials, information and decisions (if they occurred).

Beyond this, the Symposium delegates may also determine actions or tasks they themselves will undertake in between sessions. Any action or task will be agreed at the end of meeting one.

What will happen at meeting two?

Meeting two is likely to focus on the following components:

1. Review of progress at Meeting one: reminder of operating guidelines and status of deliberations.
2. Additional information and initial drafting: overview any new information and revisit ideas brainstormed at the end of meeting one. Additions, deletions, reflections and drafting.
3. Co-writing: using the initial ideas as a basis to start building clearer and stronger recommendations for review by the whole group.
4. Review, refinement and finalisation: as individuals and as a group review the ideas and explore levels of comfort around each idea.
5. Closing comments and preparation for next steps as may be agreed.

Communication about the Symposium

All delegates attending the Symposium, are encouraged to make the case for reform in their own words and from their own perspective by writing and speaking in the media. If this is something delegates choose to pursue, you are simply asked not to disclose confidential information to the media which may be provided to you (you will be told what information, if any, is confidential); and to speak to your *experience* of the process and not *on behalf of* the Symposium, being careful not to suggest what the final recommendations will be

ahead of those decisions being made. If delegates do provide comment or content to media, please make your case either using your own affiliation (eg Glenn Barnes, Company Director) or augment this with participation in event (eg Glenn Barnes, Delegate to the Symposium on Trusted, Long-Term Decision-Making).

Please note that the Convening Group has secured the services of Round 3 Creative, a specialist video production studio to film the two Symposium gatherings. Material captured will be used to produce a series of short video pieces which record the Symposium and help communicate its outcomes.

Symposium Convening Group

The role of the Convening Group has been to coordinate the Symposium's preparation in the hope that it achieves its stated objective to explore the common ground on how to achieve an improved structure of government decision making in Australia. The role of the Group is to enable to the Symposium to occur, not to seed or lead its discussions or to determine its conclusions.

The objective of the Group has been to ensure that the Symposium is an outcome driven. Working with a Secretariat provided by the newDemocracy Foundation, the Group has considered and agreed the Symposium's:

- Scope and remit;
- Meeting dates and locations;
- Participants;
- Means of collating relevant academic and international materials, submissions and proposals for innovation to be shared among delegates;
- Means of facilitating subsequent representation or involvement of broader community members; and
- Overarching methodology and session design (based on the advice of independent facilitators).

Membership of the Convening Group is comprised of:

- Peter Achterstraat (Australian Institute of Company Directors)
- Glenn Barnes (Individual)
- Luca Belgiorno-Nettis (newDemocracy Foundation)
- Verona Burgess (Individual)
- Lyn Carson (newDemocracy Foundation)
- Lisa Chung (Benevolent Society)
- Verity Firth (University of Technology, Sydney)
- Tim Gordon (Individual)
- Nicholas Gruen (Individual)
- David Hinchliffe (Individual)
- Nick Reece (University of Melbourne)
- Jane Reynolds (Foundation 1901 Ltd)
- Rob Sturrock (Centre for Policy Development)
- Mark Triffit (Centre for Policy Development fellow)

The Convening Group was supported by:

- Marcia Dwonczyk, Creativema (Independent Facilitator)
- Nicole Hunter, MosaicLab (Independent Facilitator)
- Georgina Inwood (newDemocracy Foundation)
- Kyle Redman (newDemocracy Foundation)
- Iain Walker (newDemocracy Foundation)

During the Symposium deliberations, Convening Group members will participate as ordinary members of the Symposium cohort, sharing their own individual ideas, views, interests and experience.

Practical information

The Symposium will meet in person over two days, as follows:

- 8.30am for 9am-5pm, Tuesday, 31 October in Melbourne; and
- 8.30am for 9am-5pm, Wednesday, 22 November in Sydney.

On both days, the working session will be followed by optional drinks and canapes, concluding at 6.30pm.

Melbourne venue information

The Melbourne venue will be The Park, 36 Lakeside Drive, Albert Park, Melbourne. The Park is located on Lakeside Drive, on the banks of Albert Park Lake. Lakeside Drive can be accessed via Albert Road, Queens Road or Fitzroy Street.
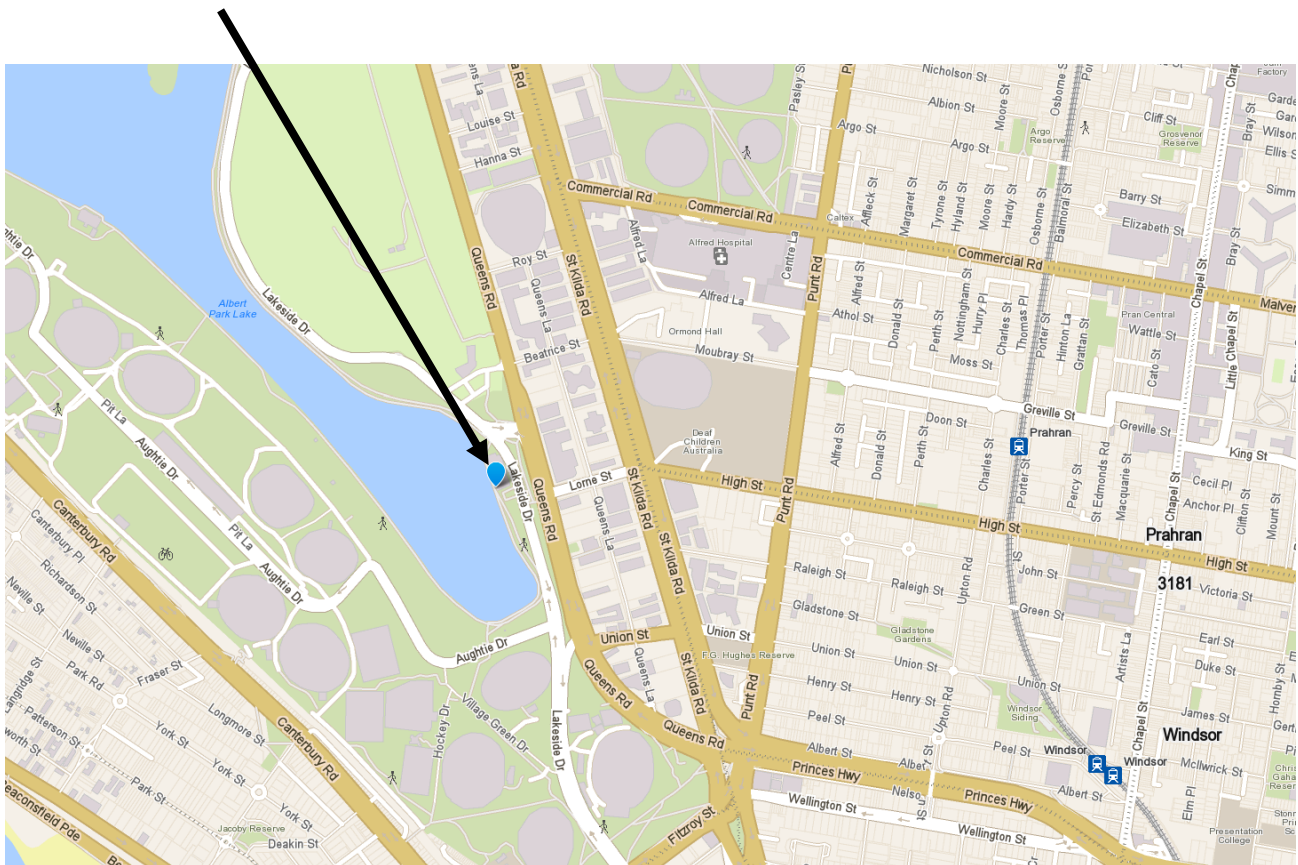
There are approximately 40 parking spaces at the front and left-hand side of the venue, and a similar number opposite (adjacent to the nearby golf course). Other parking options for The Park include:

- Albert Park Carpark, 36 Lakeside Drive, Albert Park (directly next the The Park and LAGO Parking);
- Pullman and Mercure Carpark, 65 Queens Road, Melbourne; and
- Wilson Carpark, 600 St Kilda Road, Melbourne.

To reach The Park by public transport when travelling from the city, use Trams number 3/3a,5, 6, 16, 64, and 67 and alight at stop number 27 (High Street/St Kilda Road). From this stop, turn right down Lorne Street and walk towards the Lake, crossing Queens Road.
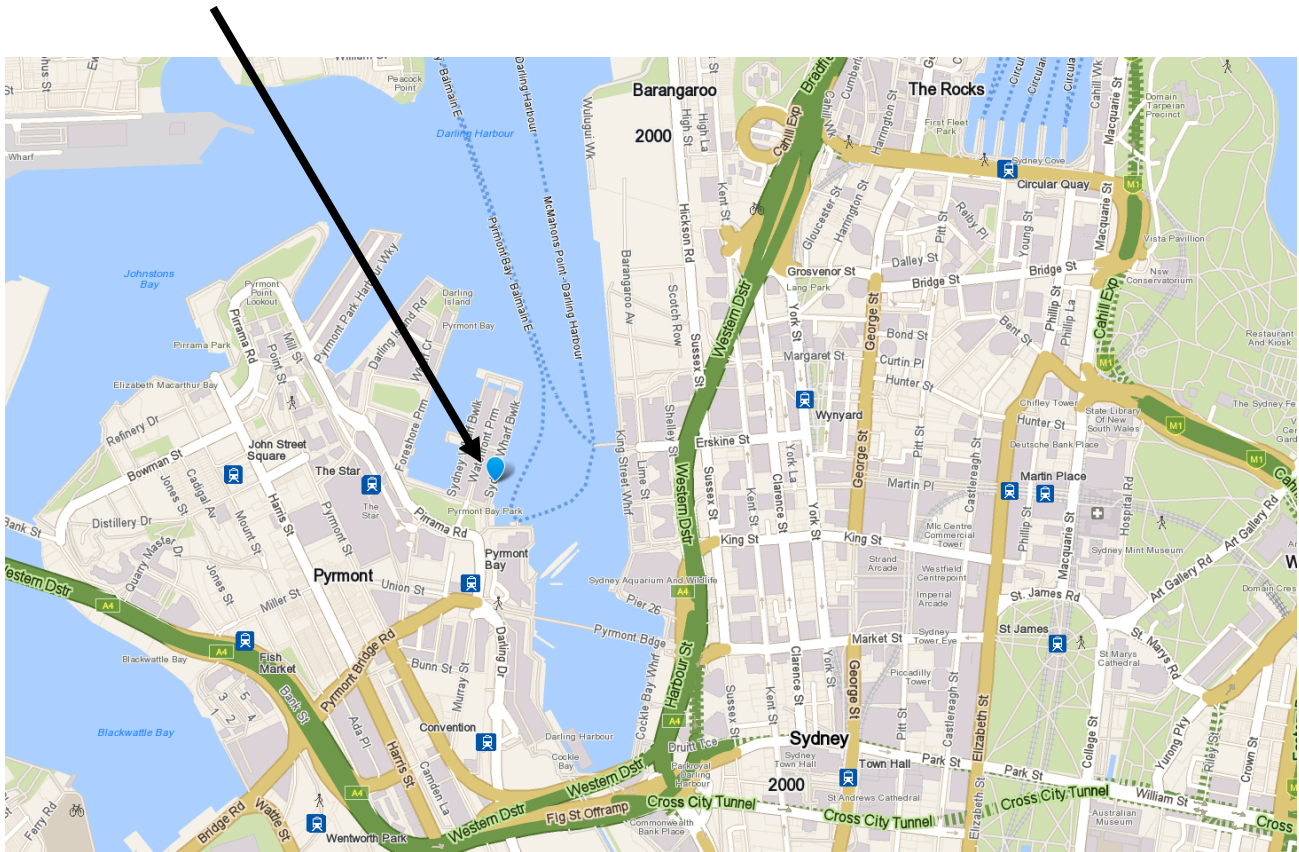
Sydney venue information

The Sydney venue is the Australian National Maritime Museum Conference Centre, 58 Pirrama Rd, Pyrmont, Sydney. The Conference Centre is situated at the Museum at Darling Harbour, and can be accessed through a dedicated entry which will be clearly signposted.

Discounted parking options for the Museum include:

- Harbourside Car Park, located at 100 Murray Street, Pyrmont; and
- The Star, 80 Pyrmont Street, Pyrmont (discount between the hours of 8am-6.30pm only).

Discounted parking is provided with validation of your ticket from the Museum staff.

The Museum is also widely accessible by public transport, including:

- Train (walking from Town Hall or Central Stations);
- Bus (walking from the city or by catching bus number 389 bus which stops at the Museum);
- Ferry (Sydney Ferries' Route F4 services Darling Harbour approximately every half hour and stops at the Pyrmont Bay Wharf next to the Museum); and
- Light rail (the Pyrmont Bay stop is located directly opposite the Museum).

Preferred accommodation options

For accommodation in Melbourne, The Park has a preferred accommodation arrangement with the Mercure and Pullman hotels (14.5% discount off public rates). To access this benefit, follow this link:

       www.pullmanalbertpark.com.au

If any technical issues arise in relation to this, please contact the hotels directly, referencing booking codes SCP621067 - ME569AU615.

For accommodation in Sydney, the Australian National Maritime Museum has a preferred accommodation arrangement with the Novotel Sydney on Darling Harbour (10% discount from our best available unrestricted rate). To access this benefit, contact their Reservations Team on 02 9288 7180 or at H1181@accor.com, and quote NEW211117. The discount is valid for 21 and 22 November, 2017.

How the delegate and expert submissions guided the Symposium's planning

As part of the commitment to ensure the Symposium is a deliberative process, delegates were asked to use the content in the following sections to help shape the agenda for the first meeting.

An important aspect of the Symposium will be the exploration of ideas and views of voices other than your own. The submissions and additional readings that follow provided the first opportunity to commence this exploration and the review of these by participants assisted facilitators develop the agenda for the first meeting.

Following an online survey of participants (which asked which submissions and issues participants wanted to learn more about or discuss further at the Melbourne session) the following external speakers have been confirmed to participate in a speed dialogue activity:

- John Gastil, Professor at the McCourtney Institute of Democracy, Penn State University to speak to his submission and to the international topic (will appear remotely as he is based in the United States);
- Carolyn Hendriks*, Associate Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University (in-person) to speak to the representation in politics topic and to her submission;
- Verity Trott, PhD Candidate at University of Melbourne (in-person) to speak to the online topic; and
- Joo-Cheong Tham, Associate Professor at University of Melbourne Law School to speak to the donations and international topics.

Further to this, the following participant speakers have been requested to participate in the same speed dialogue activity:

- Percy Allan,
- Glenn Barnes,
- Nicholas Gruen (for the submission jointly authored with Tim Flannery); and
- the newDemocracy Foundation.

The selection of these speakers and issues was derived from the results of the online survey and it should be noted that the speed dialogue session is intended as a starting point for discussions and will not restrict the full exploration of other submissions and issues.

*Disclosure note: Associate Professor Hendriks is also a member of the newDemocracy Foundation's Research Committee. Her attendance, and submission, is independent of this advisory role.

Delegate submissions

All Symposium delegates were offered the opportunity to provide a submission of approximately one page, offering a concise introduction to a concept or proposal they believe should be considered by the Symposium. The same opportunity was offered to those who were invited to attend, but due to other commitments, are unable to attend.

Submitters were asked to address what their concept and proposal is, provide a brief description and precis of benefits which would be provided and any further evidence, reading or references. The following submissions are provided for delegate consideration:

1. Allan, Percy
2. Australian Council of Trade Unions*
3. Baghai, Mehrdad
4. Barnes, Glenn
5. Crowhurst, Kate*
6. Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia
7. Gordon, Tim
8. Goode, Charles
9. Gruen, Nicholas and Flannery, Tim
10. Hinchliffe, David
11. Infrastructure Victoria
12. Kitchen, Alison
13. Macnamara, Jim
14. McKew, Maxine
15. newDemocracy Foundation
16. Newman, Campbell
17. Susan McKinnon Foundation
18. Walsh, Richard

Please note, these are published alphabetically (by last name/organisation) to avoid any perception or potential bias in prioritising one submission over another.

*These submissions were received after the first edition of this Briefing Book and have therefore been added in second edition.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Allan, Percy

Proposal:

All tiers of government should adopt a 'business case' approach to developing public policy instead of making policy on the run or by cabinet fiat.

Description:

By a 'business case' approach is meant:

- establishing the facts and known views about a situation,
- identifying the alternative policy options,
- weighing up their pros and cons (either quantitatively or qualitatively depending on whether the policy is 'hard' or 'soft'),
- sharing those findings with the public and getting its reaction, after which
- finalising a policy position to put before Parliament or to promulgate by regulation.

Benefits:

The use of Green and White policy papers is critical to such an approach yet is used sparingly in Australia even though it pays huge political dividends by giving those affected an opportunity to help shape the outcome of policy and thereby have ownership of it.

Green papers float proposals for public feedback whereas White papers outline the final form that policy will take before it's reviewed as legislation.

The alternative approaches of making 'policy on the run' and 'policy by fiat' and then overselling them through 'spin-doctoring', are usually a recipe for failure both for the giver (the politician) and the receiver (the citizen).

Yet politicians continue to repeat these mistakes probably at the behest of their media advisers who seek a daily profile for them at the expense of their ongoing credibility.

The following flow chart summarises the ten steps involved developing a business case in a public policy context as advocated by Professor Kenneth Wiltshire of the University of Queensland Business School.

The Elements of a 'Business Case' Approach to Public Policy Making

Establish need → Set Objectives → Consider Mechanisms → Identify Options → Brainstorm Alternatives ↓

Communicate Decision ← Introduce Legislation ← Publish Proposals ← Consult Further ← Design Pathway

Source: Based on the Wiltshire Ten Point Criteria for Public Policy Making
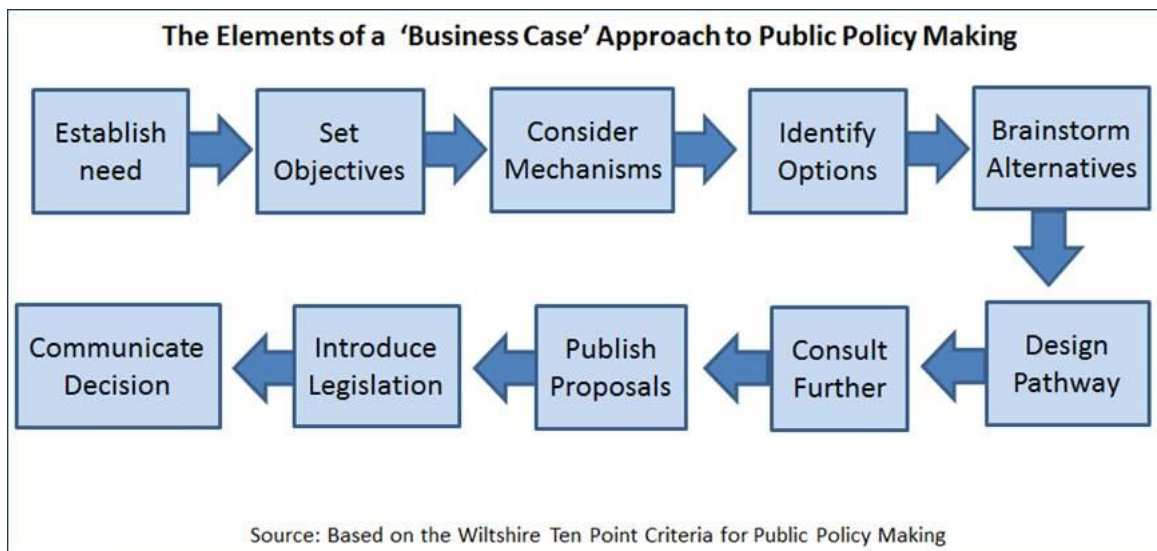
Recommendations:

- All Governments formally commit to applying a Wiltshire style 'business case' framework to policy making.
- All elements and phases of public policymaking be open, transparent, consultative and accountable.
- The 'business case' be founded on a strong evidence base including consultation with those affected directly (e.g. clients) or indirectly (e.g. taxpayers).
- Education and training programs be developed at all levels of Government to establish policy capability and a culture of policy stewardship.

Reference:

John H Howard (Author), Percy Allan (Editor), et al, *Public Policy Drift, Why governments must replace 'policy on the run' and 'policy by fiat' with a 'business case' approach to regain public confidence,* Institute of Public Administration Australia (IPAA) Public Policy Discussion Paper, 4 April 2012. Also see references cited at the back of this publication.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Australian Council of Trade Unions

1. The concept and proposal

Inequality in Australia is at a 70 year high(i). Wages growth is the lowest it has been since records began (ii). With an estimated 40% of Australia's workforce in one form of insecure work or another (iii) and workers' share of economic output at the lowest level in 50 years (iv), the laws that once helped make Australia fair are broken. Australian Unions proposal is that our workplace laws should be rebalanced in a way that provides stability for a generation.

Australian unions propose that the relevant laws be overhauled with the underpinning purpose of tackling inequality, providing improved living standards and replacing precarious work with secure jobs.

2. Brief description and precis of benefits which would be provided

Australia's workplace laws have been radically altered five times in 25 years (Keating 1993, Howard 1996, Howard 2005, Rudd 2009, Turnbull 2016/17). The current system is characterized by a combination of labour market deregulation alongside complex regulation of bargaining and enforcement regimes. Underpinning each of the changes in the last quarter of a century was an economic dogma of neo-liberalism that promised that a more deregulated labour market would always lead to higher employment and rising wages. The results have been quite different. Neo-liberalism has created winners and losers a large proportion of the workforce engaged in insecure work, high youth unemployment alongside 1.4 million temporary visa workers (v), wages are stagnating, wage theft has emerged as a business model and there has been a collapse in collective bargaining with 25% reduction in the number of workers covered by enterprise agreements in 2017 compared to just three years ago (vi).

Low wage growth and the recent cuts to penalty rates have been quickly followed by a stagnation of retail sales. The gender pay gap remains stubbornly high at around 15% (vii), women's retirement incomes are well below those of men.

A new labour law system that would sustain Australia for a generation by promoting secure jobs, delivering decent living standards and improved compliance would reduce inequality, boost domestic demand, and encourage longer term planning. Workers and employers could save and invest with greater confidence. A stronger local economy would provide a buffer against global uncertainty.

3. Further reading

https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Education_and_Employment/AvoidanceofFairWork/Report

I. Andrew Leigh, *Battlers and Billionaires The Story of Inequality in Australia*, Redback Publishing, 2013
II. ABS, Wage Price Index, June 2017. Cat No 6345.0
III. Australian Council of Trade Unions, *Lives on Hold: Unlocking the Potential of Australia's Workforce*, 2012
IV. Jim Stanford, *Labour Share of Australian GDP Hits all-time Record Low*, Australia Institute, June 13 2017
V. Australian Senate, *A national disgrace: the exploitation of temporary work visa holders*, Inquiry Report, 2016
VI. https://docs.employment.gov.au/documents/trends-federal-enterprise-bargaining-march-2017

VII.   Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency, *What is the Gender Pay Gap*, https://www.wgea.gov.au/addressing-pay-equity/what-gender-pay-gap accessed 18/10/17

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Baghai, Mehrdad

About thirty years ago, I became fascinated with Nobel laureate Tom Schelling and his work on collective action. He agreed to be my thesis advisor and I started my research work under him. Having reviewed Axelrod's work on the two-party Prisoner's Dilemma (PD), I approached Tom to discuss some deep questions. Axelrod's contribution was primarily in the recognition that the PD was rarely a one-off game. In real life, it tended to be an iterated game with all kinds of trust and reputation issues involved in how many people play it. In addition, in the real world, the structure had to be multi-party as Tom had argued. But that is not all. In the real world, would it not be likely that players would be of unequal size and importance? I imagined that the game had to involve power asymmetries with some "superpowers" as well as "small states".

Even more important, the computer tournament approach assumes that personal interactions do not change strategies. That is to say, players sitting across the table and facing each other would play no differently than players isolated in solitary confinement with no contact or interaction with their counterpart. But everyone knows that people's strategies often have as much to do with the "human" or "emotional" factors. There is a game within the game and to really understand the dynamics that are at work, we would have to unleash the human side of the PD and to observe the results. Simply put, computer tournaments would not do.

With Tom's encouragement and support, I began a collaboration with Ted Parson (now a professor at University of Michigan) to create an interactive simulation that fit these criteria: multi-party PD (~ 24 parties); iterated game (~ 10-15 rounds); with clear power asymmetries; and involving role-play instructions that allowed different human-emotional interpretations to play out.

We developed such a game around the theme of global warming, which at the time was a very obscure theme in popular circles. The premise was that 24 nations had signed the General Agreement on Climate Change (GACC) promising to reduce their emissions by certain amounts. Some nations like the USA had larger commitments. The minnows had smaller commitments. Regardless of the size of the promised reduction however, there was no enforcement mechanism under international law. Countries would only voluntarily decide whether or not to meet their obligations. Moreover, the scoring system was set up such that every country would benefit from the emission reductions of others (ie, a public good) but would bear costs to reduce its own emissions. Even back in 1988, this dynamic was the clear challenge that global warming posed.

We set up the simulation so individuals would play the roles of Ambassadors from the 24 nations and would submit their emission reduction decisions by secret ballot every 10 minutes or so. Each round represented a year in the life of the GACC. To maximize the human dimension, the Ambassadors were given no process guidelines for the time between votes: it was entirely up to them to decide what to do, whom to meet, how to behave. At typical simulation took around three hours to play.

We ran the game hundreds of times with Harvard undergraduate and graduate students. The game became part of the courses on negotiation at the Business School, Law School and Kennedy School. We used it to train the Canadian negotiating team for the Rio Summit as well as Chief Investment Officers of big asset management firms. I tried playing the game with teenagers and the game was incorporated into the curriculum of 120 high schools in Ontario. It is now the signature activity for our High Resolves program which has engaged over 160,000 high school students in Australia.

Suffice it to say, there has been enough experience with the game to observe some important insights about strategy in a real-life collective action problem. Here are the biggest three learnings:

- The "J-Curve" of collective action. In all but one single run of the simulation, cooperation emerged only after a decline to a nadir. It seems a crisis is a typical trigger for a recognition of the need for collective action.
- The coalition of the willing. Almost always, a coalition forms with at least a "minimum viable" size often made up of a few smaller blocs. The challenge for this group is how to deal with the free-riding nations who are not contributing their fair share to the public good.
- ▪ Free-ridings most successful if unabashed. Those nations who chose to free-ride were much more successful if they did in an unabashed and open manner than a sneaky and opportunistic way. The latter caused much damage to group trust and momentum.

* * *

There is an undeniable power in experiencing the dynamics of an MPD in order to gain a deep sense of collective action problems. To this end, interactive exercises may hold the key to impact for trusted long-term decision-making. They help policymakers to not only frame the structure of the policy challenge, but also to experience the human dimensions of a policy problem, often from a different vantage point to their own.

Zoe and I will embellish on how this methodology could be applied to myriad other domains, including trade, particularly in a plurilateral or multilateral settings [Zoe McKenzie who will be attending the October session as author's buddy]. It is less apt, we suspect, in a bilateral setting, because it is too tempting to 'tribalise' – that is, to put oneself in the shoes of the opposition, as opposed to this method below, which does not allow for proponent and oppose, as the diversity of actors by necessity produces a diversity of views, the only solution to which is compromise (it is why the Senate is a less partisan place!)

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Barnes, Glenn

Time for a refresh and reboot

The elected representative form of democracy (some call elected autocracy) has shown itself to be relatively effective as a form of government over a long period of time. However, the system is now being questioned in terms of its ability to effectively operate in today's world. There are means – some simple and some radical – by which the model could be made more effective and more representative of the "will of the people".

In Australia, our elected parliaments are being viewed as being unable to effectively address the issues of broad public concern and instead indulging in partisan political gaming. The disenchantment of people with their elected politicians looks to be leading a significant part of the population, especially the younger cohorts, to disengage with the governance processes of our country – and others to look for simple 'populist' solutions. There is growing reason to be concerned that we could drift toward authoritarianism or, even worse, civil unrest due to community frustration with government.

There are many ways we could potentially refresh our system of government and re-engage the population in the governance of our country. These vary from the use of citizen juries or electronic plebiscites, to guide the formation of policy on major issues, through to constitutional reform on how our parliamentary representatives are selected and the powers are vested in the various layers of government. An example of how we might radically reboot our system would be to concurrently:

Move to a four year fixed terms for the lower house;

Change the upper house to become "the people's house of review" being selected by sortition with one third of members being replaced each year;

Improve the clarity of responsibilities and accountabilities at each of the three levels of government (federal, state and local) with policy being focused at the federal level and efficient and effective service delivery being the focus at state and local levels;

The return of "tenure" for our public servants to ensure fearless independence and continuity of policy advice, and the highest standards of implementation of adopted policy initiatives.

The symposium we are about to engage in is a first step in seeking to help Australia's governments turn their energies toward *delivering effective long-term decision-making which earns public trust*. The road to change in our governance structures is likely to be a long and frustrating one but the opportunity for a better future for Australians makes it worth the journey.

A few references and reflections:

Of no personal influence…. How people of common enterprise unexpectedly shaped Australia

Alex McDermott

Conversations with Power: What Great Presidents and Prime Ministers Can Teach Us About Leadership

Brian Michael Till

Against Elections

David Van Reybrouck

Kofi Annan (September 2017):

This means that we need to make our democracies more inclusive. This requires bold and innovative reforms to bring in the young, the poor and minorities into the political system. An interesting idea put forward by one of your speakers this week, Mr. Reybrouk, would be to reintroduce the ancient Greek practice of selecting parliaments by lot instead of election. In other words, parliamentarians would no longer be nominated by political parties, but chosen at random for a limited term, in the way many jury systems work. This would prevent the formation of self-serving and self-perpetuating political classes disconnected from their electorates

John Howard (11 May 2017):

Is reported by The Australian newspaper's Andrew Burrell to have made this comment when talking about the potential energy crisis facing Australia's eastern states.

Our political processes are failing Australia and Australians! They need change to meet the challenges faced by society today and better engage the people of Australia in the big decisions we "must" make.

Ken Henry (16 May 2017):

'So the truth is there is no medium term fiscal policy strategy at all,'' he told The Australian Financial Review. ''Instead, the fiscal policy principle is 'let's do the minimum we need to do in order to satisfy the ratings agencies and, in terms of the selection of policies, we're guided by the polls'. So, in other words, do the minimum amount guided by populism.''

P**aul Kelly, The Australian (12 April 2017):**

"Hope fades for good politics based on good policy"

"The problems facing the Turnbull government are of its own making yet part of a far bigger story — the failure of a political generation — where the demise of quality public policy is tied to the decline of trust in the political system.

If you want evidence, look no further than the energy crisis that threatens our industry and jobs, our chronic budget deficit that typifies a nation bent on living beyond its means, the removal from public discussion of reform of our industrial relations system, our inability to even consider a comprehensive tax reform package that broadens the base and cuts rates, thereby achieving equity and efficiency, and the likely prospect of a housing affordability package that disappoints expectations and involves dubious policy.

Paul Keating's famous line that "good policy is good politics" is the rare exception these days. We fool ourselves thinking fake news is a Trump phenomenon when Australia is littered with the disease in our flawed public debates….."

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Crowhurst, Kate

Empowering Young People to have a voice in their Community

Concept:

- Young people today are passionate about issues but many are disengaged from politics.
- Our education curriculum provides a basic political education but by University, young people must choose a political party in order to remain actively engaged in politics.

Proposal:

- Young people will meet with their local state or federal politician once a month to speak about and address local issues.

Description:

- This opportunity will exist for young people in Canberra state politics from 2018, under the Advocate initiative.
- Benefits:
  o The proposal provides a sustainable, long-term approach to ensuring that young people have a voice in politics through the local politician who represents them.
  o Politicians are able to engage with young people in their electorate through the group.
  o Young people will receive an impartial education in the political system, building a rounded knowledge of how politicians influence and are influenced by change.
- Ongoing opportunity
  o The opportunity is ongoing, with positions available every 6 months for young people to take part.
  o Young people serve year-long terms with a group, enabling ongoing conversations with their local politician.

Starting Questions:

- Should politicians be concerned with the opinions of young people in their electorate?
  o Is there value in embedding the opinions of the next generation in policy?
  o Should conversation remain focused on local issues?
- How do you ensure that a group of young people is representative of the electorate?
  o Where can you reach young people already disengaged from politics?
- How would you structure a discussion between young people and politicians?
  o How can you ensure that discussion remains constructive?
  o Can constructive discussion result in change?

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia

The Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) is the national peak body representing Australia's culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities and their organisations. FECCA provides advocacy, develops policy and promotes issues on behalf of its constituency to Government and the broader community. FECCA strives to ensure that the needs and aspirations of Australians from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds are given proper recognition in public policy. FECCA supports multiculturalism, community harmony, social justice, and rejects all forms of discrimination and racism.

Australia is one of the world's most culturally diverse nations. The 2016 Census showed that 67 per cent of the Australian population were born in Australia. Nearly half of Australians had either been born overseas (first generation Australian) or one or both parents had been born overseas (second generation Australian). In addition, there were over 300 separately identified languages spoken, with more than 21 per cent of Australians speaking a language other than English at home. Australia is a country of migrants, and the continued success of multiculturalism in this country requires leaders who recognise and value the contribution that diversity makes to our way of life.

In light of this significant reality, FECCA believes that all long term decision making should take into account the needs of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. Decision makers are encouraged to protect and strengthen the fundamental concepts of multiculturalism and social inclusion through referencing the views and experiences of CALD people. All individuals have the right to self-determination and decision makers should work to empower members of CALD communities to have their own say.

It is important to recognise that there is no homogenous experience for Australia's CALD populations, and that there is diversity across and within communities. There needs to be CALD representation in leadership roles to reflect the diversity of Australian society as a whole, and to create role models for future generation of migrants and refugees.

References

ABS Media Release 27 June 2017, Census reveals a fast changing, culturally diverse nation

http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/lookup/Media%20Release3

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Gordon, Tim

All levels of Australian government should consider structural changes designed to attract representatives who are better empowered to achieve their goals and less inclined to partisanship for political gain.

The measures suggested below are examples of ones designed to:

- ensure political office is a service or a passion - it should never be a "good career move" in of itself; and
- to encourage a broader spectrum of people into the ranks of our representatives by making the work itself more manageable and focused, so that the people who do serve in these roles can do the job to the best of their abilities.

Taken together these measures should reduce the incentives for deliberate and unconstructive antagonism/partisanship and encourage productive engagement between politicians on all sides.

Salary

Elected politicians should be paid the national average wage adjusted (up or down) annually. There should not be a material financial incentive to become or remain an elected representative. Political salaries are vastly in excess of the average wage, meaning political office is, objectively, lucrative. With the best will in the world this creates incentives that drive behaviours. The wage cap should apply to all offices, regardless of status – i.e. the Prime Minister to the opposition back bench, again, to ensure there can never be a financial motivation at play. The cap will protect campaigning and political decision making from (even unconsciously) being motivated or fettered by concerns around losing a high paying job, while having the additional benefit of ensuring that politicians cannot help but be in touch with the reality of average Australians.

Term limits

There should be a term limit on elected office – perhaps 2 x 4 year terms (or one senate term) to ensure a constant refresh and to create an imperative to get things done. An ongoing process of refreshing any organisation to bring new skills and perspectives helps with all aspects of governance -corporate governance principles, for example, suggest that directors lose independence and objectivity after 10 years on a board . Additionally, the fact that the day-to-day of a representative would cease to be about being re-elected should embolden decision making plus actually make the work more bearable (i.e. less time on campaigning events and more time for the "day job" of being in office and, dare I say it, even for family and relaxing and recharging).

Elections

Fixed 4 year terms. This is so obvious it barely bears mentioning. Elected officials should not be playing games/seizing moments - they should do the job for the period they were elected for. Fixed terms will also allow the private and public sector to plan better. Fewer elections and longer terms will also give representatives the space to deliver programs and make real contributions.

Federal campaign financing

It should be impossible to profit from an election and there is no sound economic or public benefit basis for an arms race on spending, particularly as modern forms of communication have greatly reduced the need for big spending to engage a wide audience. The payment of ~$2.60 per vote once a threshold of 4% has been met should be changed to the payment of a flat amount to all candidates who hit that threshold. This

fee should be equal to an overall cap on spending per candidate. General, party-wide, spending on campaigns should be pro-rated over candidates in calculating spending for the purposes of the individual cap to minimise the advantages that could flow to parties with large numbers of candidates.

All donations greater than a (relatively low) threshold should be listed in real time on standard form candidate/representative and party websites. Donations from associated entities should be aggregated and the ultimate controller disclosed (similar to the "Relevant Interest/Associate" concepts in Takeovers Law). All financial benefits, regardless of form, should be considered donations and disclosed.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Goode, Charles

I would like to make a suggestion to you and that is in looking to come up with a model of improved democracy and that may well involve more participatory democracy then I think it would be very helpful to analyse the Swiss system. As I understand it the Federal Government only gets about 10% of the revenue; the taxes are by Canton; and any increase in tax requires a referendum of the people in the Canton. They also have referendums on other major issues and so feel very involved with their system of democracy.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Gruen, Nicholas and Flannery, Tim

Proposal for a community funded citizens' chamber

Submission to the Symposium on Trusted, Long-Term Decision-Making by Nicholas Gruen and Tim Flannery

Concept

We should detox our democracy by establishing a *citizens' chamber.* Membership of the chamber would be determined by random selection from the electorate subject to a process that ensured that the chamber was broadly reflective of the proportions of people in the community regarding (for instance)

- Gender

- Age

- Whether resident in inner, outer suburbs of our cities or in the regions

- Whether of English speaking background or not

The chamber would deliberate on public issues and advise the public of the upshot of those deliberations in short, simple guides.

Ideally this would be a standing chamber that shadowed the parliamentary notice paper, so that, for anything that went through the parliament, there was also a record of what ordinary Australians made of the issue when given time to deliberate together.

If it were not possible to raise the funds to allow this to happen, a good starting point would be to fund a citizens' chamber to vet the policies of the various parties in the months leading to the next national general election.

Benefits

Without any formal place in our constitution, the chamber would nevertheless:

- Provide a transparent and compelling means by which all Australians can observe any differences between what our parliamentarians are voting for and the *considered* opinion of the Australian people.

- Increase the accountability of our elected representatives to the considered opinion of their constituents.

- Generate experience with such bodies with a view to developing a place in our constitution for such a body.

Evidence and reading

N. Gruen, 2017. Detoxing Democracy

Part One: http://www.themandarin.com.au/75323-nicholas-gruen-detoxing-democracy/

Part Two: http://www.themandarin.com.au/75485-detoxing-democracy-2-mixed-model-democracy-australia/

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Hinchliffe, David

FIXING A BROKEN SYSTEM...

My guiding principle is it takes a thief to catch a thief. For possible answers to how we might fix a broken political system I draw on my own 25 years experience as a politician. I served in Australia's largest and most politicised Council - Brisbane City - and as a Labor leader from 2004-2008 during which time I also served as the Deputy Mayor to Liberal Lord Mayor Campbell Newman. It remains the only Liberal-Labor coalition in Australia's history and despite our differences, we made long term decisions and got things done.

So, my summarised suggestions for improved decision-making in parliamentary governments are:

1. FUNDING. Eliminate all direct private funding of political parties or candidates. All donations should go to an electoral commission and where the donor wishes that donation to be allocated to a particular individual or party, they may choose to do so but the source of the funding is not disclosed by the electoral commission to the candidate. End all funding from developers and lobbyists for developers.

2. EXPENDITURE. Place a limit on the campaign expenditure for individual or collective political campaigns. If you introduce restrictions on donations but don't limit election expenditure, all you'll do is have more wealthy people funding their own campaigns. (We don't need more Clive Palmers or Donald Trumps.)

3. Change the institution of parliament. It's outdated. Our intolerably restrictive Constitution means some of the major parliamentary reforms (selection of an upper house by lot rather than by election) stand alone oat n0 chance of success. So I suggest the following small steps for consideration:

 (A) NAMES.   What's in a name? A lot. For example "Oppositions" oppose everything. The name dictates the behaviour. Where there are political parties, they should be called 'majority' or 'minority' parties. The 'government' should refer to the executive (the cabinet) and not the whole of the majority party (or parties). Speakers should resign from their parties.

 (B) GEOGRAPHY. The 'geography' of Parliament should be changed. Don't have members of the same party sitting together -- it simply encourages bad behaviour. Watch the dynamic of parliament change completely if you start mixing them up. I found that when as Labor leader I sat next to Liberal leader Campbell Newman in Council and in our cabinet meetings. We disagreed on many things but grew to know each other as people rather than simply protagonists and our language was civil and even respectful. Change the geography and you start to change the physics and chemistry.

 (C) INFORMATION. Information is power. It is also enlightening and at the same time chastening. The more expert information that politicians have about important decisions they face the more they see that problems aren't able to be reduced to simple slogans or quick fixes. Papers prepared by public servants should be shared among both majority and minority parties and independents. We did this during the Liberal-Labor Council in Brisbane and the effect was to take a lot of the politics out of decision-making. Prejudices and party doctrines lose their grip when confronted with fearless advice from experts.

There are plenty of other worthy initiatives such as citizen juries for major and divisive issues plus expanding and strengthening the parliamentary committee system which I'm sure others will expound upon. These too are worth experimenting with in our attempts to fix a broken system.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Infrastructure Victoria

Concept:

All decision-making should be underpinned by four principles: evidence, consultation, transparency, and flexibility.

Outline:

Decision-making should be based on evidence. It should use facts, not speculation. We are fanatical about evidence at Infrastructure Victoria because detailed, objective evidence will always support more informed decision-making. Developing an evidence base requires careful research. It is time-consuming and resource-intensive. But strong evidence is compelling and it will always be worth the effort.

Consultation is critical because working with others always delivers a better outcome than working in a silo. It needs to start early. Beginning a conversation with the community at the point of implementation is a recipe for disaster. But engaging with communities and stakeholders in an open and meaningful way right from the start can help to develop the evidence base, test ideas and challenge assumptions. It can build consensus and create collective ownership of the outcome.

Being consultative also means being open. Secrecy undermines good decision-making. Communities and stakeholders crave access to information and making information readily available helps build understanding of the issues and opportunities. It provides a platform for genuine and honest consultation. Transparency builds trust in the work, the process and in turn, the decision.

Flexibility is the final critical element. It's a mistake to equate planning and decision-making with certainty. The best planning builds in flexibility and the best decision-makers are responsive to change. Flexibility gives decision-makers room to move and means new information and new technology can be harnessed to get the best outcomes. Flexibility recognises that no one has all the answers and that the 'right' answer can change over time.

Further reading:

At Infrastructure Victoria we apply these four principles to everything we do. Consistent with our transparency commitment all of our work is available on our website at: www.infrastructurevictoria.com.au

This includes:

- Our 30-year strategy and all supporting materials including technical analysis and consultation reports
- Our advice on Victoria's second container port, including technical analysis and consultation reports
- Research papers on value capture and transport pricing

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Kitchen, Alison

An idea to be explored as we develop recommendations that might restore trust in the systems and constructs that deliver public decision making.

Trust can be defined as:

"A psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions of behavior of another" [Rousseau et al. 1998]

Central to rebuilding trust in the systems and constructs that we as leaders are responsible for, is an appreciation of and response to the vulnerability of the public for whom we all ultimately serve and exist.

A driving source of vulnerability today is the unprecedented pace and scale of disruption to the labour market. While the effects might not yet have fully manifested, the fear and uncertainty felt by workers across all industries, blue collar and professional workers alike, is increasingly palpable.

A junior auditor might embrace the leading-edge technology that enables him or her to deliver quality audit opinions today but he or she can't help but wonder what happens when the technology is so good that the client doesn't need them anymore. The uber driver, the one-time disruptor, wonders how he will supplement his income when driverless cars hit the roads. The full-time factory worker who has had her full-time role reduced to part-time hours, enjoys the extra time at home with her young family but worries about the impact the reduced hours will have on her superannuation balance. The young IT worker that has joined the gig economy, loves the freedom and variety of this style of working but wonders how compatible an unpredictable income stream might be with servicing a home mortgage.

The disruptive impact of technology – automation and now rapid advances in AI – is exposing a grave vulnerability in all of us. Employment not only provides economic security, it also provides a more intangible value to us as individuals and the contribution we make to society. And while it is accepted that for every job lost to technology, new jobs will be created, the fear and challenge we face is that the pace of change might mean job-creation is simply not fast enough, displaced workers might lack the skills for jobs of the future and geographically, jobs of the future won't always be in the same place as the jobs that have been lost.

If we as leaders are to rebuild trust, we need to urgently face into this vulnerability. Inaction fuels the vulnerability, breeds fear and mistrust. Action through engagement breeds trust.

We need to actively explore and demonstrate we are thinking strategically about the challenges presented by dramatic changes in the workforce. We have a responsibility to identify the social and economic impacts and collectively shape the policies and frameworks that will maximize the potential technology delivers while protecting the well-being of society.

A selection of ideas for deeper exploration:

- Fiscal measures to incentivize:

    o reshaping rather than down-sizing of the workforce (taxing bots, lower relative tax rates for humans);

    o corporation store-invest in training programs for existing workforce and apprenticeships.

- Introduction of a Universal basic income providing all workers with an unconditional secure income base to cover essential costs. Reference might be made to trial being conducted in Finland.

- Regulatory measures to achieve a balance between freedom of the gig economy and the need to protect individual workers' rights.

- Better understanding of the economic and social impact of reduced working hours and exploring measures to ease the transition and 'normalise' less than full time work.

- A collaborative approach between government, business, academia on improving the transition of young people from education to the workplace.

- Measures to empower organisations to adopt a more agile and flexible approach to workforce planning.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Macnamara, Jim

Creating an 'architecture of listening' in government

The key to engaging, understanding, and winning and maintaining the trust of citizens

Professor Jim Macnamara PhD

Professor of Public Communication, University of Technology Sydney

Visiting Professor, The London School of Economics and Political Science

A 2-year, 3-country research study in Australia, the UK, and the US has found that, despite the foundational principles and promise of democracy (i.e., government that is responsive to *vox populi* – the voice of the people), and a stated commitment to open policy making and stakeholder and citizen engagement, governments listen poorly, sporadically, and sometimes not at all. The research found:

- On average, 80% of the communication resources of government departments and agencies are devoted to **disseminating government messages** (i.e., speaking), including resources assigned to public consultation, social and market research, complaints processing, correspondence, and interactive social media. In many cases, up to 95% of government information and communication activities are one-way transmission of messages through advertising, PR campaigns, speeches, Web sites, and so on;
- Listening activities that do occur such as consultation are often **tokenistic** – i.e., undertaken to comply with regulations rather than inform policy or decisions;
- On the relatively few occasions that active listening occurs (e.g., through research) it is mainly **instrumental** – that is, done to aid 'targeting' of citizens conceptualised as 'consumers' and to gain intelligence to inform campaigning;
- The research study concluded that, in the name of communication and engagement, governments create information and communication systems based on an 'architecture of speaking'.

The research recommends that an ***architecture of listening*** is required to counter-balance the brutalist architecture of speaking which currently informs the design of government communication, stakeholder and citizen engagement, public consultation, and policy development and implementation.

Large-scale listening is a challenge, but in an era of 'big data' and digital technologies more opportunities for listening than ever before are available. However, listening requires more than technologies. Eight elements of an *architecture of listening* have been identified as (1) a **culture** of listening; (2) addressing the **politics** of listening (e.g., who is listened to and who is not listened to); (2) **policies** for listening; (4) **structures and processes** for listening; (5) **technologies** for listening; (6) **resources** for listening; (7) **skills** for listening; and (8) **articulation** of what is learned from listening to policy making and decision making.

Based on this research and lessons from *Brexit*, a number of UK government departments are redesigning communication and citizen engagement within the framework of an *architecture of listening*, not only an architecture of speaking, including the Department of Health and the Ministry of Defence. However, lack of effective listening by governments and democratic institutions such as political parties remains a primary cause of declining public trust and political upheavals such as *Brexit* and the election of Donald Trump. Effective organisational listening is a key to democratic renewal.

Further information:

Macnamara, J. (2016). *Organizational listening: The missing essential in public communication*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Macnamara, J. (2017). *Creating a democracy for everyone: Strategies for increasing listening and engagement by government*. London, UK and Sydney, NSW: The London School of Economics and Political Science and University of Technology Sydney. https://www.uts.edu.au/node/230356

Bio information: http://www.uts.edu.au/staff/jim.macnamara

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: McKew, Maxine

Reform Issues for Consideration:

I believe there are two imperatives for the Federal Parliament to address -

1. *Substantial change to the laws relating to the financing of political parties and election campaigns.*
2. *The establishment of a Federal ICAC*

Political Donations reform:

There have been stop/start attempts for a decade or more to deal with the urgent need for comprehensive change to our system of political donations. Once again proposals for change are before the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters chaired by Liberal Senator Linda Reynolds and deputy chair Labor MP Andrew Giles. Having conducted consultations at the end of 2016, another round has been announced recently. It is hard to see this as anything other than yet another delaying tactic.
A tighter and more transparent set of laws would include -
- a ban on foreign donations
- On time disclosure of all donations
- Caps on donations
- Full accountability of campaign expenses by MP's and parties
- Restrictions on third party campaigns (corporate, union and other)

These issues have been canvassed in multiple reports in recent times, including the *Come Clean* report published by the John Cain Foundation in 2016 and researched by Monash Professor Colleen Lewis. (Copy provided in separate attachment)

A concerted effort by all like-minded government reform groups to press the Federal parliament to act on this matter should be considered ahead of the next Federal Election.

Federal ICAC:

In August the Accountability and Law Conference held at Parliament House heard views about the establishment of a federal ICAC. David Ipp QC, the former head of the NSW ICAC argued that it "was wishful thinking to believe corruption could be endemic in NSW but nowhere else in Australia." A growing list of national scandals around the behaviour of Federal MP's and the conduct of government and other agencies (ATO, regulatory capture of the Murray Darling basin, Border Force kickbacks, VET FEE HELP sorting of billions of taxpayer dollars through shonky providers, alleged trade union standover tactics) - all suggest that the current range of enforcement agencies are inadequate.

The push for a Federal ICAC has a growing list of supporters:
Tony Fitzgerald QC
Nicholas Cowdery QC
Geoffrey Watson SC and former NSW ICAC counsel
Numerous NGO's including Transparency International

As well *The Australia Institute* has taken this up as an issue of national importance and publishes Open Letters listing individuals and organisations in support of this proposal.
A Senate select committee on the matters surrounding a National Integrity Commission is due to report in mid September.

Again, I see benefit in joining forces with individuals and groups to argue for such a body at the federal level. A combined push by reform groups outside the Parliament would help keep this matter before the national media and by extension, maintain pressure on the legislature.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: newDemocracy Foundation

The most underused asset in politics today is the *common sense of everyday people*.

Our political institutions are in trouble. Their legitimacy is pinned to public trust and the concept of a popular mandate. We all know the state of trust in politicians around the world. Today, barely a quarter of Australian's trust their political representatives. Additionally, even with compulsory voting, 35% is the high-watermark of primary electoral support in Australia.

The idea of a mandate is central here. With low primary vote numbers governments assert they hold a mandate but the claim lacks credibility. The need for a mandate is clear: wide support is needed for hard, unpopular decisions. Elections are no longer capable of delivering a clear mandate. This is electoral fundamentalism – a mindset captive to the idea that the structures we have historically built are the only way to deliver healthy democracy, regardless of how often they struggle to serve the purpose of making trusted public decisions. We need a method of delivering something that really is a popular representative mandate.

While the pioneers of western democracy founded their legitimacy in elections, we remember that *Democracy* started with the Greeks, but, we have forgotten what made it worthy of that name. Demokratia was intrinsically representative and deliberative. The Athenians did not have elections: their politicians were selected by lot, from the citizenry. There were no election contests - no winners, no losers. No divisive campaigning to fracture society. It was a system built on dispute resolution, not dispute creation.

Citizens' Juries – where randomly selected representative groups make informed decisions on behalf of their community, are increasingly being used to deal with difficult policy issues in Ireland, the United States and here in Australia.

We think a complementary house of randomly selected people - *A Citizens' Senate* - could be trialed as a third house of Parliament. We might be wrong, and that's why we think a fair method for studying this measure, along with any others, is to put the question to a Citizens' Assembly and let it spend some months deliberating on the measures. The Irish Constitutional Convention of 2013 is a precedent in this regard.

Common ground found between a randomly selected group of everyday people is a fair and representative way of producing a popular *mandate* from public judgement.

An Australian Citizens' Assembly, chaired by a High Court judge and comprised of randomly selected participants together with politicians, could consider: *'What changes can we agree will improve the way we do Democracy in Australia?'* and report back to Parliament. Submissions would come from all and sundry on how to improve our democracy.

Australia has a unique ability to trial random selection at different levels of government.

At the **Local Government level**, we could trial a council selected entirely by sortition – demographically representative community members selected at random to represent their peers.

At the **State or Federal Government level**, we could trial a limited use dispute mechanism for use by the parliamentary opposition in the form of a citizens' jury on a bill or matter that the government is attempting to legislate on. If we were *pioneers*, we could trial a randomly selected Citizens' Senate for a 2-year period using the power of the Senate to delegate its authority to an appointed group.

For Further Reading on the projects mentioned above, evidence of their efficacy, and proven results, see the newDemocracy webpage at: www.newdemocracy.com.au/our-work/

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Newman, Campbell

Concept:

"De-militarise election day"

Problem:

Election day is becoming a stressful ordeal for voters. More than any time in the last thirty years people are being confronted with aggressive advocacy outside polling booths. Signs, banners, loudspeaker trucks, hordes of people from various groups, clamouring for attention are in many cases intimidating voters.

Surely citizens should be able to cast their vote in an atmosphere of quiet reflection?

Proposal:

Change the environment on Election day.

Extend current electoral laws to ban all advocacy and signage within 250 metres of polling booths on election day. A single stand to be provided inside the polling place for approved "How to Vote" cards. Each organisation with approved "How to Vote" cards to be permitted one worker to replenish material on the stand.

Advantages:

Create an atmosphere of quiet reflection for voters to cast their vote.

Engender a feeling of the seriousness of casting a vote (rather than the feeling that many voters express of it being a rowdy circus).

Reduce expenditure and resource requirements for all parties.

Give smaller parties the opportunity to compete on a level playing field.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Susan McKinnon Foundation

Proposition:

To improve accountability and transparency in key government departments through capturing outcome-focused metrics and amplifying the results.

Background:

One way to improve decision making in Australia is to find more accurate and transparent ways of measuring politicians' performance so citizens can hold them accountable.

The current political environment, characterized by increasingly frequent changes in government and departmental reshuffles, a 24-hour media cycle and the stripped back public service mean that ministers are only held accountable at moments of crisis. It also means that when an issue does become the focus of political discourse, "political amnesia", as Laura Tingle coins it, leads to an absence of in-depth evidence and analysis informing the debate.

There is simply not enough accountability or visibility on outcomes. Where transparency does exist it often communicates the wrong information - focusing on inputs such as spending levels or outputs such as program activities instead of results for the community. This is allowing our leaders to get away with making promises they have no intention of keeping, driving trust in politicians even lower.

Proposal

To introduce a free, timely, non-partisan source of incisive political performance data and analysis, focused on improving accountability and inspiring better decision making within government.

This would be achieved by introducing a series of dashboards that track and report on key performance indicators for selected government departments. The metrics would be focused on measuring outcomes not inputs or activities. The data would be accompanied with a strategy to provide context to the data and amplify the messages. Thus, shining a light on government performance, informing the public on the critical information they need to hold their representatives accountable and improving decision making in Australia.

Objectives:

1. To hold ministers and departments accountable to the public for their performance.

2. To improve the clarity and public understanding of government achievements.

3. To change the language used to communicate government deliverables - from inputs to outcomes.

Reference:

For inspiration of models being implemented internationally in the area of transparency, data metrics and amplification visit the links below:

- ABS Measures of Australia's Progress
- Statistics New Zealand's Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI)
- USAFacts.org
- The Penn Wharton Budget Model
- ProPublica
- PR Watch - The Centre for Media and Democracy

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Walsh, Richard

I am proposing two radical changes to the Australian democratic system with the aim, firstly, of making parliamentary legislative decisions more accurately reflect the will of the people and, secondly, encouraging greater participation in parliamentary decision-making by those who currently do not feel any desire to join a major political party.

Firstly, when voting in the parliament, I propose that each parliamentarian should not cast the same vote (one vote) but rather the vote they cast should be equal to the number of people they represent. I advocate a revised Hare-Clark system in which there are larger electorates returning three parliamentarians; there would be no quotas and preferences would flow only upwards from less favoured candidates until three were elected, each to cast in the parliament a vote equal to the votes they received after the distribution of such preferences.

Secondly, I would propose allowing citizens to choose between electing their representatives (as just described) or appointing them openly. Those elected would be called 'closed representatives' (they would not know the identity of the people who had elected them); those who were openly appointed (in the same way as you might appoint a proxy to cast your vote at a shareholders' meeting or some other public assembly) would be called 'open representatives' and parliament would be a mixture of both kinds of representative, each casting votes that numerically reflected the exact size of their support.

Only open representatives with a constituency of 50,000 would be entitled to sit in parliament and draw a salary, which would be proportionate to the size of their constituency. To be an open representative they would need to hold proxies from at least 5000 people; but if they were not representing 50,000 people they would be working away from parliament house, following proceedings on streaming TV and voting electronically. They would need to be very sensitive to the opinions of those they represent as those voters who have chosen to appoint their reps, rather than to elect them, could change their representative at any time (not impetuously overnight, but over a period of two months).

This is of necessity a very brief summary of a larger vision of what a modern, responsive democracy might look like. I have explored this to much greater length in my recently published book, *Reboot: A Democracy Makeover to Empower Australia's Voters* (Melbourne University Press, 2017).

Expert submissions

To provide a full baseline of information for delegate consideration, the Symposium Convening Group invited expert submissions from a range of Australian and international experts, academics and practitioners to elaborate on alternative models of decision making and governance which delegates may wish to explore.

As with delegates submissions, authors were asked to address what their concept and proposal is, provide a brief description and precis of benefits which would be provided and any further evidence, reading or references. The following submissions are provided for delegate consideration:

- Bakes, Rob (Practitioner, Macedon Ranges Sustainability Group)
- Cox, Eva (Professorial Fellow, University of Technology Sydney)
- Dowlen, Oliver (Scholar, Sciences Po, Paris)
- Gastil, John (1) (Professor, Penn State University)
- Gastil, John (2) (as above)
- Hartz-Karp, Janette (Professor, Curtin University)
- Hendriks, Carolyn (Associate Professor, Australian National University)
- Kildea, Paul (Senior Lecturer, University of New South Wales Law School) and Williams, George (Dean and Anthony Mason Professor, University of New South Wales Law School)
- NewVote
- Stoker, Gerry (Professor, University of Southampton) and Evans, Mark (Professor, University of Canberra)
- van Dijk, Harm (Founder, G1000)
- Vergne, Antoine (Consultant, Missions Publiques)
- Woldring, Klaas (Former Associate Professor, Southern Cross University)

Please note, these are published alphabetically (by last name/organisation) to avoid any perception or potential bias in prioritising one submission over another.

*Note that content in brackets after each person's name has been included in the second edition of the Briefing Book to provide context for participant's as they review the materials.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Bakes, Rob

Political Deliberation

Political Deliberation is a model designed to eventually draw a majority of ordinary citizens directly into free engagement with our democratic decision-making process. The aim is to make non-hierarchical decision making, similar in design to the kitchen table conversation method, a formal component of the exercise of power. Direct democracy could be inserted into our current system, juxtapositioned alongside representative government. Political Deliberation could become a web of engaged citizenship which would underpin, strengthen and legitimise other components of shared decision-making, like citizen's juries or a citizens' parliament. In local government, for instance, the local council would create an 'at the ready' register of local residents who are prepared to volunteer for Political Deliberation jury service. The register could be segmented, so that jurors could be drawn shire wide, or from a narrower locale depending the geographic relevance of the issue. Everyone who volunteers would be given the opportunity to participate. Each jury of six to eight people would be balanced to reduce the bias of age, gender, social background etc. One jury member could be a stakeholder living outside the area. The mechanism for Political Deliberation also could be triggered by petition.

Benefits of this model

- The process engagement over time, will lead communities to value deliberation with their fellow citizens, as a positive influence on civic life.
- Once all the discussion is summarised and ranked according to voting preferences, decisions will have broad citizen approval and trust.
- Disingenuous debate and ad hominem argument is replaced by respectful conversation and attentive listening.
- Political Deliberation, as a form of direct democracy, will become a valued part of our Social Contract and an powerful influence in creating social cohesion.
- We can benefit from the wiser decisions which would naturally flow from allowing our collective intelligence to flourish.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Cox, Eva

Improving trusted long-term decision making? Talk about what really matters.

The need for utopian visions - and more civil societies !

The trouble with Utopia is that few of us would agree on what it looks like, but having a belief that Utopia was possible, is the missing factor in most current political debates. There are many bitter debates as those in power and those wanting it delineate in fine detail what was wrong with what we have or want. However there are few attempts go past the complaints and put forward positive solutions and alternatives. There seems to be invisible containment fences around most public debates that restricts the topics and processes of politics to gloomy doom, interspersed with vitriol.

The tenor of debates is either tinkering with what is to improve it somewhat or lamenting the proposed bad changes. There is a signal absence of anything but current boring, mainly scary or boring economic policies because there is a serious lack of any faith in, or vision of, a better future. There is no space in most current debates on what kind of society we want to live in, or how to make societies more civil? What makes good societies has been overlaid by assumptions that step one and most following ones is economic growth. Whether the current malaise comes from fears about future environmental damage, of terror, technology or just a gutful of failing markets' trickling down, is arguable.

Most mainstream current political debates fail to offer signs of optimism and hope. This failure to look for common ground about creating good social outcomes contrasts with the post WW2 generations, who had clear visions of better futures. We had the Light on the Hill from Chifley, to drive faith in a future being better than the past. concept of welfare, equity and many rights created social movements and wide changes. However, the arrival of neoliberal individualism and materialism took over with the paradigm shift by the nineties.

Those of us who try to raise lack of attention to the need for social cohesion and fairness, which were excluded from any cabinet or other power tables. There is no space for any serious ideas about the need for another shift of paradigms. We need to finding common ground, by reviving debates that shed the basic assumptions that all that matters can be commodified and costed.

Move the debate from people as customers to citizens; look at the relative power roles of state, community and market and how they need to create a power balance so no one power group dominates. We are social beings, so the quality our connectedness matters in looking at what makes societies more civil, and how to get there.

So abandon the concept of Economically Rational Man and his algorithms and set social goals to recognise we are connected and interdependent, and function well with respect and dignity!

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Dowlen, Oliver

The proposal is for Citizens' Parliamentary Groups (CPGs) in each constituency. These groups (of around 20 citizens) would be randomly selected, suitably trained and charged with protecting the integrity and fairness of the political system. They would do so by undertaking three main tasks:

By ensuring that the MP or Assembly Member adhered to an agreed code of parliamentary conduct.

By creating stronger links between the MP or Assembly Member and the wider constituency.

By ensuring that MPs or Assembly Members acted on issues of grave public concern that threatened the integrity and fairness of the political system.

The citizens would hold office for one year only; 2 members would have closer contact with the MP for each month or similar period; the CPG would hold monthly meeting with the MP and publish reports of these meetings. Task 3 issues would require endorsement by two more CPGs before demands could be made for action. Failure to act could then lead to recall.

The advantages of the scheme can be summarised as follows:

It would help to bridge the gap between professional politicians and the citizenry.

It would help maintain public confidence in the political system.

It would consist of a two-way learning process between citizens and their political representatives.

It would give citizens an active role in politics between elections.

It would prevent the political establishment from closing ranks on issues of grave public concern.

It could provide citizens with a pathway into political involvement that is not dependent on political parties or party loyalties.

 It is designed to reinforce and complement the existing electoral system. For this reason it would be relatively easy to implement.

A full account of the scheme can be found on:
https://www.newdemocracy.com.au/docs/researchpapers/2017/Oliver%20Dowlen%20-%20Citizens'%20Parliamentary%20Groups.pdf

Note that this account is based on both UK and Australian contexts and includes provision for how the scheme could operate in multi-member constituencies.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Gastil, John (1)

Proposal: A Citizen-Led Review Process for Ballot Measures

Governments and citizen petitioners routinely place legal and policy questions on the ballot in countries that permit direct democracy. Recent elections, however, have heightened concern about how such elections get manipulated through fake news, ideological biases, and the rapid spread of misinformation. Voters often tell researchers that they have difficulty finding relevant, reliable, and concise information to assess the questions that appear on their ballots.

To improve voter information in direct democratic elections, the Oregon legislature began an experiment in 2010 that led to establishing a Citizens' Initiative Review Commission. When Oregon elections feature ballot measures, this commission convenes a panel of two dozen randomly selected citizens to deliberate on a ballot measure. Panel members spend four-to-five days hearing from expert witnesses, meeting in small groups, and weighing rival claims about a proposed policy. Panel members then write a Citizens' Statement that appears in the official voters' pamphlet distributed by the Oregon Secretary of State to every registered voter. Because Oregon is a vote-by-mail state, this means that each voter receives a ballot along with guidance from the Citizen's Initiative Review at roughly the same time.

Benefits: A Better Informed Electorate

The Citizens' Review process can help reduce voter confusion by using panels of regular citizens to provide their peers with timely information. First adopted in 2010 by the State of Oregon, this process has been tested twelve times – including by Oregon in every even-numbered year and in pilot tests conducted in Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts. The National Science Foundation and the Democracy Fund have funded extensive research on the Review. Investigators have found that the Review panels have performed quite well as critical readers of ballot measures ranging from medical marijuana to tax reform to the regulation of genetically modified organisms. Citizens who take part in Review have the luxury of time and information resources at the ready. Over several days, Review panels sift through the arguments for and against a proposal. Participants often have the chance to select additional expert witnesses from a list provided by staff, and their small group discussions delve into details and issues that campaigns on both sides of a policy issue often try to avoid. As a result, Review participants can often move past partisan or emotional biases and evaluate proposed laws on their merits.

Each Oregon Review has produced a final Citizens' Statement that has provided accurate and policy-relevant information at a reading level well below that of official government materials on proposed legislation. Many citizens in the state are taking notice. From 2012 to 2016, a majority (51-54 percent) of the Oregon electorate has become aware of the Review, with roughly two-fifths of voters reporting that they read the Citizens' Statement before voting. A large majority of those who actually read the Statements find them useful, and survey experiments show that reading the Statement increases voter knowledge on key aspects of proposed laws. Large majorities of readers report a desire to share what they read with other voters, even when the information went against readers' own voting preferences.

Further Reading

Gastil, J., Johnson, G. F., Han, S., & Rountree, J. (2017). Assessment of the 2016 Oregon CIR. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University.

Gastil, J., Knobloch, K., Reedy, J., Henkels, M., & Walsh, K. C. (2017). Assessing the Electoral Impact of the 2010 Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review. *American Politics Research*.

Gastil, J., Knobloch, K., & Richards, R. (2015). Empowering Voters through Better Information: Analysis of the Citizens' Initiative Review, 2010-2014. Report prepared for The Democracy Fund.

Gastil, J. (2014). Beyond endorsements and partisan cues: Giving voters viable alternatives to unreliable cognitive shortcuts. *The Good Society*, *23*, 145-159.

Published reports and articles on the Review are available at sites.psu.edu/citizensinitiativereview. *Reviews are run by* healthydemocracy.org.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Gastil, John (2)

Proposal: An Integrated Online Civic Commons

Government needs to work in partnership with non-governmental organizations, and universities to link together the best online tools for civic engagement and public consultation. These existing tools would become components in a larger, integrated online civic commons. The point isn't to invent yet another stand-alone tool or platform. Rather, the point is to make existing (and future) digital innovations more effective by integrating them. This includes a wide range of tools that serve different functions, such as apps by which a citizen can report a road that needs repair, crowdsourcing systems for public review of proposed administrative rules, and sophisticated software for conducting online deliberations. The best of these tools have sophisticated designs, but they typically exist in isolation, with limited user bases, low visibility, and code that becomes obsolete after an initial period of foundation or private funding. An integrated system would stabilize their code, draw in a broad user base, and link them to related tools. It would also include an incentive structure that promotes robust deliberation among citizens, meaningful input to public agencies, and direct feedback from government to the citizens who provided input.

Benefits: Deliberative Citizen Engagement and Government Legitimacy

This would improve how the public interfaces with the public sector by giving government more effective citizen input and building the legitimacy of institutions responsive to that input. This provides three related benefits.

1. Government often has a public participation mandate, but it needs a more reliable and affordable means of eliciting reflective and representative public input. To ensure high quality deliberation, this integrated online commons would use structured incentives and peer feedback, like those already used in online commerce and gaming.

2. Citizens, particularly digital natives, need a more compelling online commons for civic engagement that can sustain long-term participation. This integrated online system would reward sustained engagement and give citizens a genuine sense of accomplishment through direct government response to their input.

3. Government legitimacy and citizens' sense of political efficacy have dropped dangerously low, which has caused some to question the democratic system itself. Underlying causes of this problem include a disconnection between citizens and government and the widening gap between citizens who stand on opposite sides of political divides. This online commons draws citizens together and reconnects them with their government, thereby boosting citizens' trust in their own capacities, in each other, and in their government.

Further Reading

Gastil, J., & Richards, R. (2017). Embracing digital democracy: A call for building an online civic commons. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *50*, 758-763.

Gastil, J. (2016). Building a Democracy Machine: Toward an integrated and empowered form of civic engagement. Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation Working Paper Series, Harvard Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA.

Gordon, E., & Mihailidis, P. (2016). *Civic Media: Technology, Design, Practice*. MIT Press.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Hartz-Karp, Janette

Proposed innovation

Deliberative democracy has demonstrated its effectiveness in increasing public trust in government both at the collective and individual level. Representativeness, best achieved via stratified random sampling, is a key element of deliberative democracy, hence this proposal is for more effective ways of eliciting stratified random samples:

a/ State and Federal our Governments providing random samples from the Electoral Roll when requested by government ministers or 'accredited' NGOs to elicit participation in a 'mini public' to address an issue deemed to be non 'party political'; and/or.

b/ Accessing randomly selected jurors not approved by the trial lawyers to sit on the jury, to participate in a 'mini public' to deliberate an issue prioritized by government.

Benefits of random selection

There is an ongoing decline of public trust in democratic government (including both of elected officials and government institutions) in Australia and elsewhere. This has reduced the perceived legitimacy of government's decision-making. Deliberative democracy initiatives in Australia and overseas have enhanced citizens' sense of collective and political efficacy, which in turn, has led to improvement in levels of political. Random sampling, or 'selection by lot' is a critical element of this dynamic. Randomly selected participants are seen by others in their community to be 'everyday people', like themselves, without vested interests in the topic under discussion, who have made the time and effort to collaboratively resolve the issue. The decisions of such 'mini publics' tend to be trusted as being in the 'common good', and have resulted in improved public trust in governance.

a) Benefits of using the Australian Electoral Commission roles

A database of 'households', including a random sample, can be bought relatively cheaply. However, participation invitations 'To the Householder' have yielded very low response rates (1% recently in Port Hedland, W.A. with similarly low percentages noted by newDemocracy (in correspondence). Random sampling using companies with access to telephone numbers is considerably more expensive, and not always trustworthy (e.g. it was discovered that random sampling had been supplemented with 'snowball sampling' on 2 occasions in WA). In the early to mid 2000s, the WA Electoral Commission agreed to a process of supplying random samples from the electoral roll on the request of a State Minister if the purpose was assessed to be non party political. As a result, invitation letters addressed to the randomly sampled person enabled a significantly improved response rate – around 10%. Though the latter rates are still less than ideal, they did improve further after several years of successful 'mini publics'. (Notably, this appeared to reflect the public's increased trust and willingness to participate in 'mini publics' that were influential.)

b) Benefits of using randomly selected jurors, not approved by trial lawyers to sit on the jury

Citizens randomly selected for jury duty are required to participate or pay a significant fine. However, more potential jurors are randomly sampled than the numbers required for the jury, enabling lawyers to select those jurors deemed the most appropriate. Since our criminal justice system pays those randomly sampled potential jurors for their attendance, and concomitantly, those jurors have ensured e.g. with their workplaces, that they can participate – then they could be requested to participate in a 'mini public' instead. The benefits of this approach would be two-fold – 1/ the sample would be highly representative; and 2/ the 'mini public' would be accorded similar legitimacy to a jury.

Deliberative democracy 'mini publics' have proven their worth over the past decades in terms of more effective decision-making and increased public trust in democratic governance, as well as increased public officials' trust in the citizens' role in joint decision-making. Three inter-related factors drive the success of deliberative democracy mini publics: representativeness, deliberativeness and influence. Notably however, if mini publics are not representative, it is difficult to achieve deliberativeness (understanding and potentially bridging differing viewpoints) or indeed, influence (in terms of the public's perceived legitimacy of the government's decision-making). Though numerous methods for eliciting representativeness have been proposed and trialed, it is 'selection by lot' that has stood the test of time and is now rapidly gaining momentum

While it is easier to elicit a random sample for relatively small 'mini publics', its difficulty increases significantly for large-scale deliberations. However, government officials are often wary of small scale 'mini publics', perceiving that deliberative democracy 'mini publics' will have greater public legitimacy if they are scaled out. It is important to find effective ways of achieving stratified random samples for such large-scale processes. These two innovations to enable more representative participation would considerably assist the ever-increasing interest in implementing deliberative democracy. By enabling a) access to the electoral roll for approved initiatives; and/or b) requesting those not selected by trial lawyers for a jury to participate in a prioritized mini public – we could start the journey towards the institutionalisation of deliberative democracy as an effective means of improving trust in democratic governance.

Further Reading

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Cambridge University Press.

Van Reybrouck, D. (2016). Against elections: The case for democracy. London,

UK: The Bodley Head.

Weymouth, R., & Hartz-Karp, J. (2015). Deliberative collaborative governance as

a democratic reform to resolve wicked problems and improve trust. Journal of

Economic & Social Policy, 17(1), 4.

www.21stcenturydeliberation.com (see Initiatives)

www.newdemocracy.com.au

www.participedia.net

AGAINST ELECTIONS.mp4

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Hendriks, Carolyn

Designed coupling: connecting citizens to their democratic system

Finding new ways to connect citizens to their democratic systems is a central challenge in modern politics. In Australia, as in most democracies, membership in political parties is in decline, and there is rising popular distrust in politicians and political institutions.

But citizens are not rejecting representative democracy; they want it to work as it should. Research finds that citizens want their representatives and administrators to listen to everyday citizens to ensure that policy reforms are designed to make a difference (Hendriks 2017a). Surveys also suggest that citizens would welcome the opportunity to engage more regularly with their elected representatives and institutions that govern them (Evans and Stoker 2016).

My reform proposal is to build more opportunities for citizens to connect to their democratic and governance systems. To date proposals for creating more participatory politics have focussed on specific institutional procedures, such as citizens' juries, which typically find their home in executive government. However, in practice most one-off participatory mechanisms struggle to produce long-term democratic reform because they fail to influence relevant decision makers, elites and governance institutions.

My proposal addresses this shortcoming because it recognises that sustained democratic reform requires systemic change across a range of institutions, actors and practices (Hendriks 2016). We need to design 'coupling' opportunities for citizens to engage in various parts of the democratic system (see Table below). Strengthening connections between citizens and the institutions, actors and practices in our democratic systems improves our collective capacity to develop effective and legitimate responses to complex policy problems.

Reform target	Coupling what?	Examples
Institutions	Connecting citizens to formal democratic institutions, such as parliaments, parties, elections	• Extensive citizen input into parliamentary committees (e.g. NSW parliament). See Hendriks 2017b
Actors	Connecting citizens and their elected representatives (and descriptive representatives)	• Improved constituency relations (Hendriks 2016a) • Mixed membership of citizens and MPs in policy deliberations (e.g. Irish Constitutional Convention) • Boosting citizen engagement in interest groups (e.g. Brotherhood of St Laurence)
Practices	Connecting citizens and governance practices, such as advocacy networks, stakeholder and advisory bodies	• Connecting citizens to various elite, expert and stakeholder bodies (e.g. NHS reform in the UK)

Further Reading

Evans, Mark, and Gerry Stoker. 2016. "Political participation in Australia: contingency in the behaviour and attitudes of citizens." Australian Journal of Political Science 51 (2):272-287.

Hendriks, Carolyn M. (2017a) 'Citizen-led democratic reform: innovations from Indi'. Australian Journal of Political Science. 52 (4) Forthcoming.

Hendriks Carolyn M. and Kay A. (2017b) 'From "opening up" to democratic renewal: deepening public engagement in legislative committees' Government and Opposition.

Hendriks, Carolyn M. (2016). "Coupling citizens and elites in deliberative systems: the role of institutional design." European Journal of Political Research. 55 (1): 43-60.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Kildea, Paul and Williams, George

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1. What is the proposal or innovation? (one sentence)

The Constitution should be amended to introduce fixed, four-year terms for the House of Representatives.

2. Brief description and precis of benefits which would be provided (200 words)

The maximum term for members of the House of Representatives is currently three years. This is unusual in global terms: most national lower chambers have terms of four or five years. Under current arrangements it is possible for the Prime Minister to call an election before the three-year term has expired, so in practice the average period between elections is about 2.5 years. These arrangements are an impediment to good governance because they encourage governments to make decisions based on short-term electoral advantage rather than the long-term public interest.

The introduction of fixed, four-year terms would bring about several benefits. It would:

- give governments time to engage in the long-term planning that is essential if the nation is to address its biggest policy challenges;
- create a more stable environment for business and therefore increase business confidence;
- bring federal terms into line with those of state and territory parliaments; and
- help create the conditions for improved public debate.

Having a 'fixed' term would remove the government's current ability to call elections when it suits its political fortunes. It would also promote stability by ensuring that, absent special circumstances, the parliament would run for its full four year term.

3. Further reading and references

Scott Bennett, 'Four-Year Terms for the House of Representatives?', *Research Paper No 2, 2003-04* (Department of the Parliamentary Library, 2003).

Scott Bennett, 'House of Representatives fixed terms: the barriers to implementation', *Research Paper No 15, 2008-09* (Department of the Parliamentary Library, 2008).

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: NewVote

Our innovation

A secure digital participation platform (an app) for political issues and solutions - accessible by all Australian permanent residents aged 16 years and over.

Who we are

We are a nonpartisan, financially sustainable registered charity. Our board of directors is fiercely independent and broadly representative of the political spectrum. Our mission is to break down the barriers that impede public participation in political discourse.

How the platform works

The platform is about policy, not party . Public education is a key focus . It bridges the gap between an informed public on the one hand and decision makers on the other. Users can:

1. Browse through and learn about political issues that matter most to them and the potential solutions to those issues (through our facilitation of balanced information - wikis, crowd rated aggregation of third party media sources and citizen juries);

2. Introduce political issues and/or potential solutions for public consideration - increasing direct participation in democracy and effectively crowdsourcing solutions;

3. Participate in discussion with other users (using Pol.is) that is open, safe and respectful – in order to analyse, co-create and refine solutions. Institutions, political parties, public figures etc. can endorse specific solutions to add real world credibility; and

4. Vote on the solutions that they want implemented, and change their vote at any time as votes don't "close" - the platform is a real time measurement of public sentiment which reduces the risks and effects of vote stacking and misinformation campaigns focused on poll dates.

Citizen juries are empanelled to deliberate on the top solutions and provide key findings, arguments for and against (similar to the US state of Oregon's Citizens' Initiative Review Commission). The results are displayed contemporaneously to the public but we also step beyond technology by actively communicating the results with the media, political parties, lawmakers, policy makers and institutions. When politicians, media, institutions and thought-leaders have access to detailed, informed and timely feedback about the community's thoughts and ideas, they are better able to (1) serve and represent the community and (2) make trusted long-term decisions that are well considered and community approved.

Further reading and references:

http://www.newvote.org.au

https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/directdemocracy/opinion_same-sex-vote--dawn-for-direct-democratic-action/43501138

https://blog.pol.is/pol-is-in-taiwan-da7570d372b5

http://participedia.net/en/methods/citizens-initiative-review

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305571691_How_to_make_democracy_work_in_the_digital_age

Book: Beasts and Gods: *How Democracy Changed Its Meaning and Lost Its Purpose* , Roslyn Fuller, Zed Books, 2015

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Stoker, Gerry and Evans, Mark

Proposal: Creating sites for interaction

1. to improve and enable trusted long-term government decision making in Australia by developing more dynamic and engaging sites for interaction between citizens and elected representatives

2. The analysis we have developed suggests that for many citizens, their negativity towards politics has increased in scope and intensity in part because citizens are more demanding in what they want from political leaders, and in part because they only get to judge performances by those leaders through the lens of stage-managed media events. We propose three areas for trials to address that gap. One ambitious model is provided by the Irish Constitutional Convention, an assembly comprised of both citizens and politicians that developed significant constitutional change measures in a joint deliberative effort. A second set of initiatives might build on the work of several elected representatives who not only construct an individual casework connection with constituents but also engage in collective conversations, reporting back and asking for ideas about the policy choices they need to make. Independents in Australian politics have pioneered some of these types of consultation practices. More devolved decision-making could also help. Evidence suggests that regardless of city size or political affiliation, local elected executives exhibit a non-partisan and pragmatic style of governance that is lacking in national settings.

3. Further Reading and References:

Evans, M., and Stoker, G. (2016) 'How do citizens calibrate their relationship with their polity? The contingent nature of political engagement in Australia', *Australian Journal of Political Science.* Online access DOI: 10.1080/10361146.2015.1123672

Nick Clarke, Will Jennings, Jonathan Moss, Gerry Stoker (2017) 'Changing spaces of political encounter and the rise of anti-politics: Evidence from Mass Observation's General Election diaries'. *Political Geography*, 56 (2017) 13e23

 Gerry Stoker, Jinjing Li, Max Halupka & Mark Evans (2017) 'Complacent Young Citizens or Cross Generational Solidarity? An Analysis of Australian Attitudes to Democratic Politics, Australian Journal of Political Science Vol. 52(2)

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: van Dijk, Harm

G1000.nu

Definition:

• G1000.nu is a citizens-initiative

• It's a free space for citizens, employers and government to speak with each other about the things which matter to them and their community

• Established and overseen by G1000.nu, together with citizens, government and/or employers

Principles:

• We all participate as citizens

• We use dialogue to find common ground

• We use sortition to give every member of the community the same chance to participate

• We want the whole system in the room: inhabitants, civil servants, politicians and employers

• We are leading ourselves, so no predetermined agenda and the possibility to move around freely and talk to whomever we want

• All choices and decisions made during the day are completely transparent

• It's safe to participate for everyone

Every citizens summit which is complying to this principles we grant our 'brand' and our support. We use the principles to make sure that one can recognize a G1000 as a free space to deliberate and the result is not compromised in any way. By doing that we try to re-establish ownership of citizens over their community: the definition of 'citizenship'.

In our philosophy inhabitants have become consumers rather then members of a vivid community. The expansion of the bureaucratic system leaves lesser and lesser space for citizenship to evolve. Where the system is delivering less and less solutions for the everyday problems of citizens, it's losing credibility and legitimacy.

G1000 not only provides renewal of citizenship, but also important information and choices of citizens. Not setting an agenda doesn't mean there is not a subject to talk about: there is always a reason to organise a G1000 and so there is always a subject, set by the organizers.

Until now we have organised abt. 22 such summits, of which 16 were a real G1000. The first G1000 was organized in Belgium 11th November 2011. Intellectuals and artists in Belgium took the initiative for the first time, while waiting more than 1,5 year for political parties to agree on a new government. David Van Reybrouck, one of the intellectuals then wrote a book: 'Against Elections', where he promoted the G1000-concept and sortition as a means of selecting participants. He got us enthusiastic to organize the first one in Holland on March 22th 2014. For that we developed the concept further into a detailed program for a Citizens Summit for 1.000 participants, a Citizens Forum and a Citizens Decision, all together taking abt. 3-4 month to come to final conclusions and proposals. The 'Dutch approach' of the deliberation consists of optimizing the process of ownership in the first place and not the generating of content, for government or

others. This approach generates also valuable outcomes in terms of content, but this is only part of the outcome.

We are quite willing to give you all more information on the subject in case you are seriously interested in our philosophy, knowledge and experience. It's good to tell you that we are under permanent scientific surveillance and evaluation, and based on that we did some rather strong optimization of our processes. And this is still going on at the moment in the search for an instrument for deliberation that is both tough and sensitive at the same time.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Vergne, Antoine

Quality of participation

The discussion around quality of participatory processes emerged at the same time as new instruments of public participation were designed and tested. Promoters of the oldest model of mini-public, the German Planungszelle, were already discussing about establishing clear and measurable criteria to ensure a maximum quality to the process as early as 1973 (Dienel, 1975). Though, a wider academic discussion on the subject appeared only in the mid-90s (see Fiorino 1990, Renn et al. 1995 or Rowe & Frewer 2000). It then dozed off, before slowly rising again since 2005 under the leadership of practitioners of participatory democracy and governments that were searching for clear criteria enabling them to assess their work. Four sets of criteria seems relevant.

Inclusion

Inclusion means that all citizens receive an equal chance of participating in the political life. It can either be interpreted in a quantitative or qualitative way. In the first case, inclusion increases with the number of people involved in the process. The more participants, the better: The successfulness of the process rises with the number of participants. In this case, a referendum in which 100% of registered voters participate is highly inclusive. Qualitative inclusion aims at collecting the highest diversity of opinions on the issue being addressed and at considering all interests and skills involved: that is for example the goal of the random selection of citizens for mini-publics, that brings together people from very different backgrounds. Inclusion is not only limited to citizens and three other three groups of actors should be included: government (represented by the administration and elected representatives), organized interests (such as civil society or economic interests) and finally the more diffuse group of "experts". One aspect of inclusion is measured by the ability of the process to provide an interesting role to participants: this can be measured through the level of power assigned to them, but also regarding at the symbolic and aesthetic strength of the processes or at the level of social experience and reward they provide. A Swiss Landsgemeinde in which citizens gather on the village main square to vote their laws before sharing a banquet seems to fulfill these criteria better than an information evening on a Sunday night in a cold, damp room.

Relevance

Quality of citizen participation is greatly dependent of its effects. It is therefore important to measure the effectiveness of a process: its impact not only on politics – on public policies – but also on the public sphere – on public debate and the media. The more concrete the effects of a process, the more probable that it will be the minds will be perceived as legitimate by the entire population. Relevant processes are also adapted: they connect objectives and tools through a preliminary metamatching operation. For example the ratification of a constitution by a citizen jury would allow for an informed decision but it would lack the necessary quantitative inclusion. On the contrary a referendum on a very complex issue like nuclear

waste management may be too reduced in a yes/no question for a given solution. Finally, relevance is also efficiency and a good process should take into account the balance between financial costs and benefits in terms of decision.

Deliberation

Highly qualitative citizen participation often requires a moment of deliberation in which the conditions of good deliberation are respected ("the best argument wins"). It firstly requires that sufficient information is provided to participants and/or that they share the information they possess in order to create a common understanding of topic at stage. Deliberation then demands a debate that is to say a presentation of

diverging arguments allowing the mapping of the disagreements, interests and needs. In a next step deliberation aims at entering in a dialogue that is to say a review of these elements and a time to exchange on the arguments in order to build a common ground. But a good deliberation is not limited to exchanges; it also produces a result. Most of the time, results are reached through a process of aggregation through a vote (consensus or majority, public or secret, weighted or not. Results can be a report with the arguments and their motivations (citizen Report in a citizen jury for example), a draft decision (e.g. proposed referendum question) or decision (e.g. vote on the referendum question).

Equity

Participatory processes are better when they have a high degree of equity – id est guarantee fair treatment of participants. To achieve this goal, equity the process must be transparent; it should be well documented and available to whoever wants to see it – e.g. through open systems, datas but also through compliance to accessibility standards. Equity requires reflexive designs that allow participants to discuss the process itself and give them an opportunity to influence and/or set the agenda. They also must be able to promote the emergence of bottom-up processes rather than dop-down ones. Reflexivity requests an evaluation, either by the participants or external. Equity also requires the presence of a third party primarily concerned with guarantying the quality of the process (a kind quality management like the one existing for industrial processes). This role can either be assumed by participants themselves or by external (facilitators for example) according to circumstances. The final criteria for equity is sustainability meaning the taking in account of next generations and the possibility of an empowerment of the participants.

Antoine Vergne (translation : William Paterson)

Original French Version: Antoine VERGNE, « Qualité de la participation », in CASILLO I. avec BARBIER R., BLONDIAUX L., CHATEAURAYNAUD F., FOURNIAU J-M., LEFEBVRE R., NEVEU C. et SALLES D. (dir.), Dictionnaire critique et interdisciplinaire de la participation, Paris, GIS Démocratie et Participation, 2013, ISSN : 2268-5863. URL : http://www.dicopart.fr/fr/dico/qualite-de-la-participation.

SUBMISSION AUTHOR: Woldring, Klaas

The SBS has recently interviewed me on a number of aspects of the governance system in Australia. You may be interested in circulating these amongst your membership and supporters. There are four short interviews below which come in the form of podcasts to start a public debate on these important issues:

1. The Republic, in response to recent statements by Bill Shorten, a very minimalist proposition. In contrast, I ask the question What kind of Republic do Australians really want? The next podcasts raise issues related to that.

2. The archaic Australian Constitution that can hardly be amended and is now in the news again on account of Section 44. I suggest that rather than trying to continue with more ineffectual piecemeal tinkering let's rewrite the entire Constitution so that we end up with a document that is owned by the Australian people, is clear, readily understood and flexible.

3. The dysfunctional federation, also subject of several unsuccessful inquiries and reform attempts. We need a form of state which effectively decentralises Australia and is based on national and strengthened local and city government. If we want regions, by all means, but let them be functional and decided by clusters of local governments in need of joint functional cooperation instead of regional governments, parliaments and civil services. A mezzanine regional concept is suggested.

4. The Australian electoral system for most lower house legislatures is based on the single-member-electoral-districts, a variant of the British heritage. It has resulted in a very adversarial parliamentary system in which much time and energy is spent on blaming the other party. It often means that in reality the country is governed by the major faction of one of the two major parties representing perhaps 30% of the electorate. We can do much better than that and adopt Proportional Representation - Party List system as used in no less than 86 countries in the world including New Zealand since 1996. This results in coalitions representing majorities of the middle ground.

If you like what you hear in these podcasts, please spread the word. Australia needs to start debating alternative systems. We are not talking about ideologies or personalities here. That requires an open mind approach that differs from the usual current affairs discourse within the existing systems.

http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/dutch/en/content/australian-democracy-part-1-republic-yes-or-no?language=en
http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/dutch/en/content/australian-democracy-part-2-new-constitution?language=en
http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/dutch/en/content/australian-democracy-part-3-federation
http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/dutch/en/content/australian-democracy-part-4-adversarial-voting-system

Additional reading

To ensure that the broadest range of key ideas and issues can be considered by delegates, the Convening Group requested that newDemocracy provide a number of additional reading materials covering a number of areas not otherwise canvassed by expert submissions.

The following subject areas are therefore covered for delegate consideration:

- Political Donations
- Representation in Parliament
- Online Democracy
- Structural changes to layers of Government
- International Innovations – A Starting Point
- International Innovations – Canada*
- International Innovations – New Zealand*
- International Innovations – Switzerland*

*This content has been included in the second edition of the Briefing Book at the request of the Convening Group.

SUBJECT AREA: Political donations

Voters are questioning the integrity of the Australian political system. At the core of this concern is the question of whether politicians are serving their constituents interests or the interests of their donors.

Many argue Australia's donations and disclosure system needs fundamental reform.

Currently, both the major parties have stated publicly that they will move to ban foreign donations, but are split on the question of how you regulate the so-called non-political actors.

Some suggested reforms to political donations in Australia, and their merits, are well documented in the **NSW Government's Panel of Experts 2014** inquiry into donations reform, chaired by **Dr Kerry Schott**. These include:

- The continuous disclosure of political donations.

- Increasing public funding for elections, or entirely publicly fund elections.

- Introducing various caps on donations, including the maximum total contribution.

- Removing anonymous donations.

- Tougher restrictions on campaign expenditure caps, including lower caps and broadening the types of expenditure included within any caps.

- Give the Australian Electoral Commission the legal authority and the budget to police and regulate the electoral system.

- Increase the penalties and time frame for prosecution of those who breach the law.

- Introduce tougher penalties and compliance and enforcement mechanisms.

For further reading see:

- The **NSW Government's Panel of Experts 2014** report on political donations:
  http://www.dpc.nsw.gov.au/announcements/panel_of_experts_-_political_donations

- **The Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters's 2017 Second Interim Report** on political donations can be found here:
  http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint/Electoral_Matters/2016Election/Report_1

- Previous reports from the **Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters** can be found here:
  http://www.aph.gov.au/em/completed_inquiries

- In 2008, the **Victorian Joint Investigatory Committee** conducted international investigations in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, their report is available here:
  https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/images/stories/committees/emc/politicaldonations-internationalreport.pdf

- In 2009, the **Victorian Joint Investigatory Committee into Electoral Matters** published their report on political donations, it can be found here:
  https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/images/stories/committees/emc/EMC_-_Political_donations.pdf

- In 2015, the **Victorian Ombudsman** release its report on political donations reform, it can be found here: https://www.ombudsman.vic.gov.au/getattachment/870e90f2-4edd-455f-8e17-fead7e36a2f0

- The current Victorian Government's proposed changes to its political donations laws can be found here, though these are yet to pass through parliament: http://www.premier.vic.gov.au/victoria-to-have-nations-strictest-donation-laws/

SUBJECT AREA: Representation in Parliament

A common concern with the makeup of Australian parliaments is with the people in the roles of political representation.

These concerns relate to the diversity of people in the room, regarding their lived experience and their descriptive representation of the different demographics within Australia.

Some suggested reforms to resolve these concerns include:

- The **OECD** has suggested that public electoral funding be conditional on gender diversity in representation (See, http://www.oecd.org/gov/2015-oecd-recommendation-of-the-council-on-gender-equality-in-public-life-9789264252820-en.htm).

- **Philippa Collin**, Research Fellow, Institute for Culture and Society, **Western Sydney University**, argues that key mechanisms for youth involvement in institutional policy processes, including the Australian Youth Forum and the Australian Youth Affairs Coalition, have been discontinued or defunded. This is despite international evidence that involving young people in policy development leads to more effective and appropriate policy (See, http://www.uws.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/476343/rewriting_the_rules_for_youth_participation.pdf)

- **Brian Lloyd**, in a paper prepared for the **Department of Parliamentary Services on Indigenous Representation**, has outlined the case for increasing indigenous representation in Australian parliaments. He suggests the consideration of dedicated Indigenous representation in Parliament. Something that has been a feature of the New Zealand parliament for close to 150 years. (See, http://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/rp/rp0809/09rp23#exec)

- **George Rennie**, lecturer in politics at the **University of Melbourne**, has argued that partially closing the revolving door between lobbyists and government representatives is a solution to some of the conflict of interest and corruption concerns. Of the 574 lobbyists registered with the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 207 are former Government representatives. These relationships are built around their effectiveness, but it has also been argued that they expose conflicts of interests. Rennie suggests legislatively removing the ability for Ministers to take up lobbyist positions once they leave their public positions (See, https://theconversation.com/the-revolving-door-why-politicians-become-lobbyists-and-lobbyists-become-politicians-64237)

- **Dr Joy McCann** and **Janet Wilson**, in their **Parliamentary Research Paper**, argue that across Australia women continue to be significantly under-represented in parliament and executive government, comprising less than one-third of all parliamentarians and one-fifth of all ministers. Gender quotas have been argued to resolve the underrepresentation of women in parliament. They have been implemented in more than 60 countries as statutory requirements, including in **France**, **Ireland** and **Spain**. **The Inter-Parliamentary Union** found that legislated quotas were more effective than party quotas in increasing women's parliamentary representation. International quotas have also been explored in demographics other than gender, such as indigenous ethic groups and ages (See, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1415/WomanAustParl and https://beta.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2017-03/women-in-parliament-in-2016-year-in-review).

SUBJECT AREA: Online Democracy

Many have argued that online voting tools are the answer to including the public in decision making.

New Australian innovations such as a The Flux Party and MiVote, that link members to app based voting on policy problems, present a new way in involving the public in real-time decision-making.

These decision-making apps also point to new ways in which Government can include citizens in decisions that affect them such as local planning, development, and budgeting.

For further reading see:

- **Kevin Desouza** (**Arizona State University**) and **Akshay Bhagwatwar** (**Northern Illinois University**) examine citizen apps that address a wide range of urban issues from those that solve public transportation challenges to those that improve the management of public utilities and services and even public safety in their article "Citizen Apps to Solve Complex Urban Problems" in the *Journal of Urban Technology*. (See, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10630732.2012.673056)

- **Rodrigo Sandoval-Almazan, J. Ramon Gil-Garcia, Luis F. Luna-Reyes, Dolores E. Luna,** and **Yaneileth Rojas-Romero** similarly explore the use of these apps around the world in their article "Open Government 2.0: Citizen Empowerment Through Open Data, Web and Mobile Apps". (See, https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2463735&CFID=813227806&CFTOKEN=58325975)

- **Marco Prandini** and **Marco Ramilli**, from the **University of Bologna**, illustrate the motivations behind the apparent failure of internet voting, a process that, at first sight, looks desirable for many reasons. They analyze the most relevant efforts in the field, which can be grouped in two main lines: those grounded on a strong formal foundation, and those designed to achieve maximum participation. (See, https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2463741&CFID=813227806&CFTOKEN=58325975)

- **Flux**: https://voteflux.org/

- **MiVote**: http://www.mivote.org.au/

SUBJECT AREA: Structural changes to layers of Government

Some attribute concerns with our democracy to the structural elements of our different layers of government. Including how we vote, term lengths, the relationships between local, state and federal governments, and more.

- **Ryan Goss**, from the **Australian National University**, has argued that local council elections where businesses and property owning corporations are entitled to vote, are fundamentally undemocratic and skew the system against everyday voters. (See, http://unswlawjournal.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/403_advanceaccess_06.pdf).

- The **Australian Local Government Association** argues for the constitutional recognition of local councils to allow for funding reliability, while others such as **Narelle Miragliotta**, from **Monash University**, have argued against this. (See, https://theconversation.com/the-perils-of-constitutional-recognition-of-local-government-14471, and http://councilreferendum.com.au/alga-pages/12335, and http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Bills_Legislation/bd/bd1213a/13bd147)

- **Scott Bennett** explored changing parliamentary terms in the House of Representatives from 3 years to 4 years in a **parliamentary research paper**. Some have also called for term-limits aimed at encouraging turn over in the parliament. (See, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp0001/01RP04).

SUBJECT AREA: International Innovations – A Starting Point

Graham Smith, from the **University of Southampton**, in his book, *Democratic Innovations*, has documented various international innovations from Popular Assemblies, Mini-Publics and Citizens' Juries, Direct Legislation, and E-Democracy. (See, https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/democratic-innovations/7887AF1095A7546F8AE2E072CEF760F4)

Smith's contribution to the independent '**Power to the People**' report into political participation in the **United Kingdom**, titled: *57 Democratic Innovations from Across the World*, can be found here: https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/34527/1/Beyond_the_Ballot.pdf

It is a thorough documentation of democratic innovations canvassing developments from around the world, while providing an analytical framework for the evaluation of these innovations.

A brief survey of some of the listed innovations.

Voting innovations:

- Electronic voting (**Belgium**, **Brazil**, **the Netherlands**, **the United States**)

- Positive abstention voting – or none-of-the-above voting (**India**, **some Canadian Provinces**) (See, https://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/statutes/ccsm/e030e.php)

- Reducing the voting age (**Indonesia**, **Brazil**, **Cuba**, some **German local governments**)

Consultation innovations:

- Participatory forums (See, http://neweconomics.org/1998/06/participation-works/)

- Community planning techniques

- Citizens' panels

Deliberative Innovations

- Citizens' juries (**Australia**, **Belgium**, **the Netherlands**, **Canada**) (See, http://www.g1000.org/en/, http://citizensassembly.arts.ubc.ca/, http://www.newdemocracy.com.au/our-work/)

- Deliberative polling (**The United States**) (See, http://cdd.stanford.edu/deliberative-polling-timeline/)

- Consensus conferences (**Denmark**, **the Netherlands**, **New Zealand**, **Switzerland**)

Co-governance innovations:

- Local partnerships boards

- Chicago Community Policing (See, https://home.chicagopolice.org/get-involved-with-caps/how-caps-works/what-is-caps/)

- Lille Community Councils (See, http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/local_action_plan_lille_metropole_version_finale_en.pdf)

- Participatory Budgeting in **Brazil**

E-voting innovations:

- Minnesota E-Democracy (See, http://www.e-democracy.org/)

- BBC iCan (See, http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/ican)

- Civic Commons in Cyberspace

SUBJECT AREA: International Innovations – Canada

In 2004, 160 randomly selected residents of the province of British Columbia, Canada, participated in a bold and innovative experiment in deliberative democracy. They formed a Citizens' Assembly whose mandate was to analyze the electoral system and, if warranted, design a new electoral law for the province. For the first time in modern history, the task of creating an electoral system was given to ordinary citizens rather than politicians or experts.

Summary

The Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform was a body created by the government of British Columbia, Canada. The Assembly was charged with investigating and recommending changes to improve the electoral system of the province. The body was composed of 160 citizens selected at random from throughout the province. These members met approximately every other weekend for one year to deliberate about alternative voting arrangements.

In October 2004, the Assembly recommended replacing the province's existing First Past the Post (FPTP) system with a Single Transferable Vote (STV) system: this recommendation was put to the electorate-at-large in a referendum held concurrently with the 2005 provincial election. The referendum required approval by 60% of votes and simple majorities in 60% of the 79 districts in order to pass: final results indicate that the referendum failed with only 57.7% of votes in favor, although it did have majority support in 77 of the 79 electoral districts.

As a result of the referendum's perceived inconclusiveness, the government called another referendum on the same question, with the same approval thresholds that was held on May 12, 2009. In that referendum, the STV was defeated with 62 percent of voters opposing the change.

Purpose and Problem

Decisions about the rules of the political game — including the geographic delineation of electoral districts, rules about campaign financing, and voting systems such as plurality election and proportional representation — are frequently made by legislative bodies. One danger is that sitting legislatures will choose rules that advance their individual or party interest in re-election rather than to advance more general democratic values such as political competitiveness, diversity and voter choice, and the responsiveness of representatives.

When the British Columbia considered the question of whether to reform its electoral system from majority rule election of legislators to some form of proportional representation, the Government of British Columbia created a body called the British Columbia Citizen's Assembly, composed of citizens from throughout the province. The hope behind the Citizens' Assembly is that a recommendation made by ordinary citizens rather than professional politicians or political elites would produce fairer electoral system and be accepted as more legitimate by British Columbians.

Additional reading:

http://participedia.net/en/cases/british-columbia-citizens-assembly-electoral-reform

Mark Warren and Hillary Pearse eds. Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Lang, Amy. "But Is It For Real? The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly as a Model of State-Sponsored Citizen Empowerment" in Politics and Society, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2007): 35-70.

SUBJECT AREA: International Innovations – New Zealand

In New Zealand, they vote using the MMP voting system - Mixed Member Proportional.

Its defining characteristics are a mix of MPs from single-member electorates and those elected from a party list, and a Parliament in which a party's share of the seats roughly mirrors its share of the overall nationwide party vote.

Introduction to MMP

MMP is a proportional system, which means that the proportion of votes a party gets will largely reflect the number of seats it has in parliament.

Each voter gets two votes.

The first vote is for the political party the voter chooses. This is called the party vote and largely decides the total number of seats each political party gets in Parliament.

The second vote is to choose the MP the voter wants to represent the electorate they live in. This is called the electorate vote. The candidate who gets the most votes wins. They do not have to get more than half the votes.

Under current MMP rules, a political party that wins at least one electorate seat OR 5% of the party vote gets a share of the seats in Parliament that is about the same as its share of the party vote.

For example, if a party gets 30% of the party vote it will get roughly 36 MPs in Parliament (being 30% of 120 seats). If that party wins 20 electorate seats it will have 16 List MPs in addition to its 20 Electorate MPs.

Coalitions or agreements between political parties are usually needed before Governments can be formed as a result of the proportionality of the voting system.

What are the Māori seats?

In New Zealand, voters of Māori descent can choose to go on the Māori electoral option roll instead of the general electorate roll that the rest of the country uses. Their party votes don't change, but their electorate votes go to the Māori electorate contest taking place wherever they live.

When New Zealand introduced the MMP voting system in 1993, the law was changed to vary the number of Māori electorates according to the size of the Māori electoral population, using a similar quota to that used to determine the number of General electorates. Put simply, this change has meant if more Māori enrol on the Māori roll, it can result in more Māori electorates.

Since 1993, the number of Māori electorates has grown steadily, from four to seven.

Additional reading:

New Zealand Electoral Commission: http://www.elections.org.nz/voting-system/mmp-voting-system

SUBJECT AREA: International Innovations – Switzerland

Switzerland is a federal state: state power is shared between the federal government, the 26 cantons and the 2255 communes. The cantons and communes have broad scope in carrying out their responsibilities. Federalism makes it possible for Switzerland to exist as one entity – in spite of four linguistic cultures and varying regional characteristics.

Confederation, Cantons, and Communes

Switzerland, which is also referred to as the Swiss Confederation, has been a federal state since 1848. The Federal Constitution defines the Confederation's tasks and responsibilities. These include Switzerland's relations with the outside world, defence, the national road network, and nu- clear energy. Switzerland's Parliament, the Federal Assembly, is made up of the National Council and the Council of States; the government comprises seven federal council- lors, and the Federal Supreme Court is responsible for national jurisprudence. The Confederation is financed among other means through direct federal tax.

The Confederation is made up of 26 cantons, which are also known as 'states'. Each canton has its own parliament, government, courts and constitution. The cantonal constitutions may not contradict the Federal Constitution. The can- tons implement the requirements of the Confederation, but structure their activities in accordance with their particular needs. They have broad scope in deciding how to meet their responsibilities, for example in the areas of education and healthcare, cultural affairs and police matters. The individual cantons levy a cantonal tax.

The 26 cantons are divided into 2255 communes. Each canton determines itself the division of responsibilities between it and the communes. The responsibilities of the communes include local planning, running the schools, social welfare and the fire service. Larger communes and cities have their own parliaments, and organise their own referendums. In smaller communes, decisions are made by the citizens at communal assemblies. Each commune levies a communal tax.

Direct Democracy

In Switzerland, the people have more say in how the country is run than in almost any other country in the world. All Swiss citizens who are 18 or over have the right to vote at national level. In addition to the parliamentary elections, which are held every four years, the electorate can express its views up to four times a year in popular votes on specific political issues. In most cases, there are several proposals to be voted on at each ballot.

The Constitution and laws

A vote must be held on any amendment to the Constitution (mandatory referendum). Amendments to the Constitution require the consent of a majority of the People and of the cantons (double majority). On the other hand, a vote is only held on a revised or new law if a referendum is demanded. The new law is accepted if a majority of the electorate vote in favour of it (simple majority).

Polling calendar 2017

The Federal Council decides at least four months in advance which proposals will be voted on. The dates on which the ballots will be held are known long before then: currently all the dates have been fixed from now until 2035.

In 2017, federal ballots will be held on the following Sun- days: 12 February, 21 May, 24 September and 26 November.

Popular Initiative	Optional Referendum
Changing the Constitution Citizens can launch a popular initiative to demand a change to the Constitution – but not to any other form of law. Any Swiss citizen who is eligible to vote can sign a popular initiative, and a group of at least seven citizens (the initiative committee) can launch their own popular initiative.	**Putting a stop to a new law** Parliament passes new legislation and amendments to existing legislation. Citizens can respond by calling for a referendum on new laws and against certain international treaties. The right to request a referendum is an important element in Swiss direct democracy.
100,000 signatures Before a vote is held on a popular initiative, the initiative committee must collect 100,000 valid signatures in favour of the proposal within a period of 18 months. The Federal Council and Parliament will recommend whether the proposal should be accepted or rejected. For the proposal to be accepted, a majority of both the People and the cantons is needed (a double majority). If it is accepted, new legislation or an amendment to existing legislation is normally required to implement the new constitutional provision.	**50,000 signatures** Swiss citizens who are eligible to vote can sign a re- quest for a referendum. For a referendum to be held, it must be demanded by eight cantons (referendum requested by the cantons) or 50,000 valid signatures must be collected within 100 days. The new law comes into force if a majority of those voting say yes (a simple majority). If the majority vote no, the cur- rent law continues to apply.

Additional reading:

The Swiss Confederation – A Brief Guide:
https://www.bk.admin.ch/dokumentation/02070/index.html?lang=en

Symposium Participant List

The following is a list of participants taking part in one or both sessions of the Symposium. While all participants take part on an individual basis, a role or organisation with which each participant is readily associated has been included for the guidance of other participants.

Title	First name	Last name	Organisation
Mr	Peter	Achterstraat	Australian Institute of Company Directors
Mr	Nick	Alexander	UBS Investment Bank
Professor	Percy	Allan	Percy Allan & Associates Pty Ltd
Ms	Gina	Anderson	Aust. Charities and Not-for-profits Commission
Mr	Michael	Anrew	Board of Taxation
Dr	Nicholas	Apoifis	UNSW
Ms	Carol	Austin	HSBC Bank Australia
Mr	Mehrdad	Baghai	Alchemy Growth Partners
Hon	Ted	Baillieu	Premier of Victoria 2010-2013
Mr	Glenn	Barnes	Ansell Ltd
Admiral	Chris	Barrie	Former Defence Force Chief
Dr	Jeremy	Baskin	University of Melbourne
Mr	Luca	Belgiorno-Nettis	newDemocracy Foundation
Mr	John	Bevan	Bluescope
Mr	Jack	Boyd	Australian Young Labour
Ms	Verona	Burgess	The Mandarin
Dr	Emma	Campbell	Federation of Ethnic Communities Council
Mr	Nick	Cater	Menzies Research Centre
Ms	Lisa	Chung	The Benevolent Society
Mr	David	Crosbie	Community Council for Australia
Mr	Peter	Crossing	UBS Investment Bank
Ms	Kate	Crowhurst	Foundation for Young Australians
Mr	Gerard	Dalbosco	Ernst & Young
Ms	Suzanne	Daniel	Hunter Hall International
Professor	Megan	Davis	University of NSW
Ms	Emma	Dawson	Per Capita
Ms	Jacki	Dimond	Foundation for Rural & Regional Renewal
Dr	Bob	Edgar	Board director, various
Ms	Natalie	Egleton	Foundation for Rural & Regional Renewal
The Hon	Verity	Firth	University of Technology, Sydney
Mr	Jonathan	Flegg	Crosby Textor Group
Emeritus Professor	Geoff	Gallop	University of Sydney
Dr	Cassandra	Goldie	Australian Council of Social Service
Miss	Michelle	Goldstone	Patagonia Group
Mr	Timothy	Gordon	Gilbert + Tobin
Dr	Nicholas	Gruen	Lateral Economics
Dr	Ian	Harper	Deloitte Access Economics
Mr	Peter	Hartcher	Sydney Morning Herald
Professor	John	Hewson	Australian National University
Mr	David	Hinchliffe	Former Deputy Mayor, Brisbane City Council

Professor	John	Howe	University of Melbourne
Mr	Peter	Hunt	Greenhill Australia
Mr	Usman	Iftikhar	Foundation for Young Australians
Major Gen.the Hon	Michael	Jeffrey	Former Governor-General
Ms	Kathy	Jones	newDemocracy Foundation
Mr	Oliver	Jones	Ernst & Young
Ms	Daryl	Karp	Museum of Australian Democracy
Mr	Paul	Kelly	The Australian
Mrs	Annette	Kimmitt	Ernst & Young
Ms	Alison	Kitchen	KPMG
Ms	Edwina	MacDonald	Australian Council of Social Service
Ms	Andrea	Maksimovic	Australian Council of Trade Unions
Professor	Ian	McAllister	Australian National University
Ms	Zoe	McKenzie	Trade and Investment Advisory
Ms	Maxine	McKew	University of Melbourne
Mr	Travers	McLeod	Centre for Policy Development
Professor	Jim	Macnamara	University of Technology Sydney
Ms	Sam	Mellett	Susan McKinnon Foundation
Mr	Jim	Miller	Infrastructure Victoria
Mr	Stephen	Minns	King & Wood Mallesons
Ms	Melina	Morrison	Business Council of Co-operatives and Mutuals
Mr	Steven	Munchenberg	Formerly Australian Bankers' Association
Mr	Peter	Nash	KPMG
Mr	Campbell	Newman	Premier of Queensland 2012-2015
Ms	Kirsty	Nowlan	The Benevolent Society
Mr	Joseph	O'Brien	VisIR
Professor	Bob	Officer	University of Melbourne
Ms	Alexandra	Oliver	Lowy Institute for International Policy
Ms	Jane	Owen	Foundation for Young Australians
Mr	Akash	Patel	Foundation for Young Australians
Ms	Karen	Payne	Board of Taxation
Mr	Matt	Pritchard	Australian Institute of Company Directors
Clr	Nicholas	Reece	University of Melbourne
Ms	Jane	Reynolds	Foundation 1901 Ltd
Mr	Ben	Rimmer	City of Melbourne
Mr	Anton	Roux	ADC Forum
Mr	Michael	Roux	ADC Forum
Mr	Grant	Rule	Susan McKinnon Foundation
Mr	Simon	Schudmak	Franklin Templeton Investments
Mrs	Carol	Schwartz	Board director, various
Mr	Eric	Sidoti	Whitlam Institute
Mr	Steven	Skala	Deutsche Bank
Ms	Leanne	Smith	Whitlam Institute, Western Sydney University
Ms	Allegra	Spender	Australian Business and Community Network
Mr	Martin	Stewart-Weeks	Public Purpose Pty Ltd
Mr	Rob	Sturrock	Centre for Policy Development
Mr	Tom	Switzer	The Centre for Independent Studies
Mr	Lindsay	Tanner	Lazard Australia
Ms	Jo	Toohey	The Benevolent Society
Dr	Mark	Triffit	Centre for Policy Development
Emeritus Professor	Gillian	Triggs	University of Melbourne

Mr	Peter	Van Onselen	The Australian
Mr	Richard	Walsh	Publisher
Ms	Jeni	Whalan	University of Queensland

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