



Oregon

Kate Brown, Governor

Citizens' Initiative Review Commission

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Web Site: www.Oregon.gov/CIRC

WHO: Citizens' Initiative Review Commission

WHEN: Monday, April 20, 2015– 1:00 P.M.

WHERE: College of Urban & Public Affairs
Portland State University
506 S.W. Mill Street, Room 611
Portland, OR 97201

What is the purpose of the meeting?

The purpose of the meeting is to conduct regular commission business. Please use appropriate language, manners, and protocols when conducting commission business. A copy of the agenda is printed with this notice. Please visit <http://www.oregon.gov/CIRC/meetings.shtml> for current meeting information.

Is the public allowed to attend the meeting?

Yes. Members of the public are invited and encouraged to be in attendance at all commission meetings. All public audience members are asked to sign-in on the attendance roster prior to the meeting. Comments may be heard under public comment portion of the meeting as listed on the agenda. Please wait to be recognized by the Chairperson prior to commenting.

What if the board/council enters into executive session?

Prior to entering into executive session the commission chairperson will announce the nature of and the authority for holding executive session, at which time all audience members are asked to leave the room with the exception of news media and designated staff. Executive session would be held according to ORS 192.660.

No final actions or final decisions will be made in executive session. The commission will return to open session before taking any final action or making any final decisions.

Who do I contact if I have questions or need special accommodations?

The meeting location is accessible to persons with disabilities. A request for accommodations for persons with disabilities should be made at least 48 hours before the meeting. For questions or requests call 503-725-5248. All members are asked to please give at least 24-hour notice if they are unable to attend the meeting so arrangements may be made.



Citizens' Initiative Review Commission
Commission Meeting



1:00pm, Monday, April 20, 2015
Urban Center Room 611
Portland State University
506 SW Mill St.
Portland, OR 97201

- **Call to order**
- **Approval of minutes from Mar 10, 2015 CIRC Commission meeting**
- **Evaluations of 2014 CIRs**
 - Citizen Panelist Evaluation – Healthy Democracy (Moderator Evaluation included)
 - Research Team Report – Healthy Democracy / CIRC Administrative Coordinator
 - Discussion on findings and recommendations for Commission Report on 2014 CIRs - All
- **Report on Selection of new CIRC Commissioners from Citizen Panelist Evaluation - CIRC Administrative Coordinator**
 - Commissioner Terms Included
- **2015-2017 Draft Work Plan Review**
 - Key Tasks
 - Schedule
- **2015-2017 Draft Budget Review**
 - 2013-2017 Budget and Actual Expenses
 - Proposed 2015-2017 Budget
- **Public Comment Period**
- **Other Business**
 - June 8th Public Hearing on 2015-2017 Budget
 - June 8th Meeting



Citizens' Initiative Review Commission
Commission Meeting



1:00pm, Tuesday, March 20, 2015
College of Urban & Public Affairs
Portland State University
506 S.W. Mill St., Room 720
Portland, OR 97201

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Jerry Hudson, Chair
James Huffman, Vice-Chair
Ann Bakkensen
Mary Forst
Robin Gumpert
Kay Ogden
Marion Sharp

MEMBERS ABSENT:

Daniel Esqueda

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT PRESENT:

Sarah Giles, Administrative Coordinator
Roslyn Owen, Financial Coordinator
Wendy Willis, Policy Consensus Initiative Executive Director

GUESTS PRESENT:

None

Call to Order

Jerry Hudson, Chair, called the meeting of the Citizens' Initiative Review Commission (CIRC) to order at 1:00 pm., Tuesday, March 10, 2015, at the College of Urban & Public Affairs, Portland State University, 506 S.W. Mill Street, Room 720, Portland. Roll was called.

Approval of Minutes from Commission Meeting November 20, 2014

Robin Gumpert made a motion to approve the minutes from the CIRC Commission Meeting on November 20, 2014. Ann Bakkensen seconded the motion. Commissioners voted unanimously to approve the motion.

Evaluation of 2014 CIRs

Robin Gumpert gave a summary of the Moderators' Evaluation of the 2014 CIR sessions, which both took place in early March with all four moderators for both CIRs participating. Healthy Democracy staff facilitated the evaluation and the CIRC Administrative Coordinator was also present. The summary included in the Commissioners' meeting materials reflects the moderators' opinions that they continue to experience the CIRs as a unique and deliberative process, valuable for informing the citizen voters. Moderators also agreed on the importance of the co-moderator model, as the CIR process is a very complex one. In addition, the co-moderation helps to model good communications and working in collaboration as an added benefit to citizen panelists. The

moderators noted the many adaptations that took place over the course of both Oregon CIRs in 2014 as well as the pilots in other states and jurisdictions. They found that one of the final outputs that was successful was getting to a repeated small and large group format from Day 1 to Day 4. The final CIR pilot in Arizona also provided what the moderators considered a successful panel of independent experts who provided background info about the topic (pension reform) on Day 1. The moderators recognize the difficulty of independent experts being perceived as neutral, but such experts who are not affiliated with a campaign can still provide important information to citizen panelists. Moderators highlighted one process component for continued improvement: allowing panelists sufficient time to develop their own statements. They also suggested narrowing down and making clear the reasoning behind choosing different voting methodologies over the course of the CIRs as well as updating the moderator manual to ensure it is valuable in training new moderators.

The Commission has a discussion about both how to create enough time for citizens to work on developing their own statements within the shortened CIR timeframe (from 5 days to 3.5 days) and whether moving from 24 citizen panelists to 20 citizen panelists allowed for equitable representation of demographic groups. The Commission requested more information from the program manager, Healthy Democracy, on how a smaller group impacted equitable representation and perceptions of the representative sample.

Healthy Democracy would also be conducting the Citizen Panelists Evaluation of the 2014 CIR sessions in early April and would submit that report to the Commission ahead of the Commission's next meeting. In addition, the research team was completing their report to the Commission. The Commission requested both reports ahead of a late April meeting for their review in order to develop the Commission's findings and recommendations on the 2014 CIRs.

Quarterly Report to the Governor's Office

Hudson informed the Commissioners that the Governor's Office was now asking for regular quarterly reports from Commissions. He and Administrative Coordinator Sarah Giles would respond to the request prior to a March 31, 2014 deadline. Hudson asked Commissioners if they had any suggestions on one question, the top five results or outcomes of the Commission's work in the previous quarter. Commissioners suggested referencing the development of both a draft 2015-2017 work plan and 2015-2017 budget as well as conducting evaluations of the 2014 CIRs.

CIR Process Review

Healthy Democracy would like to engage the Commission in a robust process review of the CIR process along with partners from the 2014 pilots, the Policy Consensus Initiative, and others. Ann Bakkensen volunteered to represent the Commissioners during the process review. The CIR also requested a memo from Healthy Democracy on what participation in the process meant for the Commission.

Work Plan

Commissioners reviewed the 2013-2015 Work Plan and requested the staff provide a draft following that template for 2015-2017 Work Plan at the following meeting.

Draft Budget

Commissioners reviewed the 2013-2015 budget and actual expenses to date as provided in the meeting materials packet. They noted that the 2015-2017 budget would need to be developed based on anticipated length of the CIRs and requested administrative staff consult with program staff and funder Healthy Democracy on both anticipated length and anticipated funding. Staff would present a draft budget at the following meeting and schedule a public hearing for early June on the proposed budget.

CIRC Membership Update

Chair Hudson reviewed the Commissioners terms and noted that the evaluations of the 2014 CIRs would bring in two more citizen panelists to fill those spots and staff would continue to work with the Senate Republican leadership on filling the third political appointment. In addition, Commissioners would need to ensure that any

expiring terms would not exceed 6 in a two year period. The Commissioners noted that addition for the 2015-2017 Work Plan as they may need to develop an administrative rule around term expirations.

Public Comment

There were no guests present.

The meeting adjourned at 2:30 p.m.

Prepared by: Sarah Giles,
Administrative Coordinator

DRAFT

Panelist Report to the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review Commission

On April 1, 2015, four panelists from the two Citizens' Initiative Reviews (CIRs) conducted in 2014 convened to evaluate CIR procedures. The panelists were Debby Southworth and Richard Beamish, who reviewed measure 90, and Ernest Estes and Al Medley, who reviewed Measure 92. The evaluation was facilitated by Lucy Greenfield, Public Affairs Director of Healthy Democracy, on behalf of the CIR Commission. CIRC Administrator Sarah Giles and CIR Commissioners Ann Bakkensen and Kay Ogden were also present.

Panelists made suggestions about several areas of the CIR process. Healthy Democracy is engaging in a thorough review of 2014 CIR events, and will be combining this feedback with feedback from the independent research team, moderators, advocates, and leaders in other states that piloted the Citizens' Initiative Review to suggest possible changes to the CIR process.

A summary of the evaluation by panelists, including recommendations, can be found below:

Strengths and weaknesses of the process

- Panelists expressed that they appreciated having the chance to serve on a review, and mentioned having more hope for our political discourse after meeting with a diverse group for a civilized discussion of a contentious issue.
- Panelists universally praised the moderators who facilitated the reviews, noting that they were able to keep panelists on track and guide the process.
- Panelists had questions about the orientation portion of the process (see recommendations below).
- Multiple panelists would have appreciated more time for the review process overall.
- Panelists noted that at times advocates for and against the measure were not able to come to agreement about a key factual question, and in these cases it was difficult for panelists to ascertain which information to trust.
- Panelists felt that the final process of editing claims for the voters' pamphlet sometimes delved into minutia rather than the key issues, and that a clearer roadmap would have helped guide this process.

Recommendations

- Provide more information to panelists before the reviews begin (examples: a sample Citizens' Statement, an introduction to how the panel would review, modify, and create claims, a statement about the role of advocate panels, and a schedule).
- Consider shortening the orientation portion of the process, but only if it is still possible to give all panelists (including those from diverse backgrounds and with varying educational experiences) a solid grounding in the process.
- Find ways to encourage more panelists to ask questions during the advocate sessions.

- Increase clarity about the schedule and process of the review to provide a roadmap for panelists.
- Consider changing the language that accompanies the vote tally. “Position taken by X panelists” can imply that all panelists voting for the position agreed with all the arguments in the section.
- Consider increasing the length of the reviews, but balance the need for additional time with the need to bring together a diverse group including a significant cohort of working Oregonians.

Moderator Report to the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review Commission

According to ORS 250.143 (1), "each person who served as a moderator for a citizen panel that evaluated a measure voted on at the most recent general election shall: (a) Convene to evaluate procedures related to the citizen panels and submit a written report to the Citizens' Initiative Review Commission summarizing the evaluation, along with any recommendations; and (b) Appoint two moderators from among the former panelists convened for the evaluation to be members of the commission."

On February 18, 2015, four moderators from the two Citizens' Initiative Reviews (CIRs) conducted in 2014, convened to evaluate CIR procedures. The moderators included Robin Gumpert and Michael Schnee from the CIR for Measure 92; and Mary Forst and Molly Keating from the CIR for Measure 90. The evaluation was facilitated by Tyrone Reitman, Executive Director of Healthy Democracy, on behalf of the CIR Commission. Lucy Greenfield, also of Healthy Democracy, and CIRC Administrator Sarah Giles were also present.

Moderators made suggestions about several areas of the CIR process. Healthy Democracy is engaging in a thorough review of 2014 CIR events, and will be combining this feedback with feedback from the independent research team, panelists, advocates, and leaders in other states that piloted the Citizens' Initiative Review to suggest possible changes to the CIR process.

A summary of the evaluation by moderators, including recommendations, can be found below:

Strengths and weaknesses of CIR procedures:

- Moderators see the CIR as a unique deliberative exercise and a valuable process for providing information to citizens about ballot measures.
- Given the complexity of the process, moderators found it important and useful to co-facilitate with another moderator.
- Moderators adapted to several new process changes in 2015. They tested different approaches, and in many cases made process improvements during the reviews.
- Moderators did not notice any differences in panel dynamics after the change in size of the CIR panel from 24 to 20 citizens.

Moderator suggestions:

- Moderators suggested allowing panelists significant additional time to develop content for the Citizens' Statement (writing pro and con statements and key findings).
- Moderators suggested looking at ways to bring in additional independent information and voices to give context for the measures and to be available to answer questions and provide information to panelists throughout the CIR.
- Moderators suggested narrowing down the number of voting methods used and increasing time for deliberation and for flexibly structured group conversation.

- Moderators suggested modifying the format for advocate resource panels to ensure that each panel provides new and useful information.
- Moderators suggested updating the moderator manual to include a section explaining how the CIR differs from a typical deliberative event and cautioning moderators about potential pitfalls. They also suggested redesigning the manual to give moderators a clearer understanding of the process (for instance, break the process up into repeated building blocks).

Citizens' Initiative Review Commission Terms

JERRY E. HUDSON, Chair

Senate Democratic Leadership
Recommendation
Portland, Oregon
*First term of service 4/10/2012 -
4/9/2016*

JAMES L. HUFFMAN, Vice Chair

Senate Republican Leadership
Recommendation
Portland, Oregon
*First term of service 4/10/2012 -
4/9/2016*

ANN BAKKENSEN

Former CIR Panelist
Portland, Oregon
*First term of service 4/10/2012 -
4/9/2016*

DANIEL ESQUEDA

Former CIR Panelist
Salem, Oregon
*First term of service 5/21/2013-
5/20/2017*

MARY C. FORST, J.D.

Former CIR Moderator
Portland, Oregon
*First term of service: 5/21/2013-
5/20/2017*

ROBIN GUMPERT

Former CIR Moderator
Portland, Oregon
*First term of service 5/21/2013-
5/20/2017*

KAY OGDEN

Former CIR Panelist
Bend, Oregon
*First term of service 5/21/2013-
5/20/2013*

MARION SHARP

Former CIR Panelist
Portland, Oregon
*First term of service 4/10/2012 -
4/9/2016*

***ERNEST ESTES**

Former CIR Panelist
Portland, Oregon
First term of service begins 2015 - TBD

***DEBBY SOUTHWORTH**

Former CIR Panelist
Portland, Oregon
First term of service begins 2015 - TBD

CHAPTER 72

AN ACT

SB 1544

Relating to Citizens' Initiative Review Commission; creating new provisions; amending ORS 182.454, 250.137, 250.139 and 251.185; repealing sections 21 and 22, chapter 722, Oregon Laws 2013; and declaring an emergency.

Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:

SECTION 1. ORS 250.137 is amended to read:

250.137. (1) The Citizens' Initiative Review Commission is established as a semi-independent state agency subject to ORS 182.456 to 182.472. The commission shall consist of 11 members. The members shall be appointed in the following manner:

(a) The Governor shall appoint three members who have at some time been selected by the four appointed members of an explanatory statement committee under ORS 251.205 (5) to prepare an explanatory statement, as follows:

(A) One member recommended by the leadership of the Democratic party in the Senate and one member recommended by the leadership of the Republican party in the Senate.

(B) Except as provided in subparagraph (C) of this paragraph, one member recommended by the leadership of the political party with the largest representation in the Senate that is not the same party as the Governor.

(C) If more than two political parties are represented in the Senate, one member recommended by the leadership of a third political party with the largest representation in the Senate.

(b) [Four] **Two** former moderators shall be appointed as members as described in ORS 250.143.

(c) [Four] **Six** electors who have served on a citizen panel shall be appointed as members as described in ORS 250.143.

(2) The term of office of a member of the commission is four years, with the terms of no more than six members expiring every two years. Vacancies shall be filled by the Governor for the unexpired term, consistent with subsection (1) of this section.

(3) The commission shall:

(a) Ensure that the citizen panels are convened to review initiated measures in a fair and impartial manner.

(b) Adopt rules necessary to carry out the commission's duties under ORS 250.137 to 250.149.

SECTION 2. ORS 250.139 is amended to read:

250.139. (1) The Citizens' Initiative Review Commission shall select one or more state measures proposed by initiative petition to be voted on at a general election and convene a separate citizen panel to review each selected measure.

(2) In selecting a measure to be reviewed by a citizen panel, the commission shall consider the following criteria:

(a) The fiscal impact of a measure.

(b) Whether the measure amends the Oregon Constitution.

(c) The availability of funds to conduct reviews.

(d) Any other criteria established by the commission by rule.

(3) Each citizen panel shall evaluate and write statements for the measure considered by the panel.

(4)(a) The commission shall select citizens for each panel from a representative sample of anonymous electors, using survey sampling methods that, to the extent practicable, give every elector a similar chance of being selected. Each citizen panel shall consist of not fewer than 18 and not more than 24 electors.

(b) The commission shall ensure, to the extent practicable and legally permissible, that the demographic makeup of each panel fairly reflects the population of the electorate of this state as a whole, with respect to the following characteristics, prioritized in the following order:

(A) The location of the elector's residence.

(B) The elector's party affiliation, if any.

(C) The elector's voting history.

(D) The elector's age.

(c) In addition to the criteria described in paragraph (b) of this subsection, the commission may also consider:

(A) The elector's gender.

(B) The elector's ethnicity.

(C) Any other criteria.

(5) The commission shall, from moneys in the account established under ORS 182.470:

(a) Compensate each elector for each day served on a panel in an amount [calculated using the average weekly wage as defined in ORS 656.211] **established by the commission by rule;**

(b) Reimburse each elector who serves on a panel for travel expenses in accordance with reimbursement policies determined by the commission by rule;

(c) Provide for costs required to convene and conduct a citizen panel; and

(d) Transfer to the Secretary of State all moneys necessary to pay the costs of printing any statements described in ORS 250.141 in the voters' pamphlet.

(6)(a) Each panel shall meet to review the measure on **not fewer than three and not more than five** consecutive days for a total of not less than [25] **24** hours unless otherwise provided by commission rule.

(b) Each panel shall conduct public hearings at which the panel shall receive testimony or other information from both proponents and opponents of the measure. Unless otherwise determined by a majority of the panelists, equal time shall be allotted to proponents and opponents of a measure.

(c) The chief petitioners of the measure shall designate two persons to provide information in favor of the measure to the citizen panel. If the chief petitioners fail to timely designate two persons to appear before the panel, the commission may desig-

nate two persons who support the measure to provide information in favor of the measure.

(d) The commission shall designate two persons who oppose the measure to provide information in opposition to the measure.

(e) The commission, by rule, may specify additional criteria regarding the public hearings.

(7) The commission shall provide each panel with any complaints regarding the panel not later than the [fourth] **third** day the panel convenes.

(8) The commission shall, by rule, establish qualifications for moderators for each citizen panel. A moderator must have experience in mediation and shall complete a training course established by the commission.

(9) The commission shall contract with two moderators for each panel and shall compensate each moderator for service.

SECTION 3. ORS 182.454, as amended by section 19, chapter 722, Oregon Laws 2013, is amended to read:

182.454. The following semi-independent state agencies are subject to ORS 182.456 to 182.472:

(1) The Appraiser Certification and Licensure Board.

(2) The State Board of Architect Examiners.

(3) The State Board of Examiners for Engineering and Land Surveying.

(4) The State Board of Geologist Examiners.

(5) The State Landscape Architect Board.

(6) The Oregon Board of Optometry.

(7) The Oregon Patient Safety Commission.

(8) The Oregon Wine Board.

(9) The State Board of Massage Therapists.

(10) The Physical Therapist Licensing Board.

(11) The State Landscape Contractors Board.

(12) The Citizens' Initiative Review Commission.

SECTION 4. ORS 251.185, as amended by section 20, chapter 722, Oregon Laws 2013, is amended to read:

251.185. (1) The Secretary of State shall have printed in the voters' pamphlet for a general election or any special election a copy of the title and text of each state measure to be submitted to the people at the election for which the pamphlet was prepared. The pamphlet must include the procedures for filing a complaint under ORS 260.345. Each measure shall be printed in the pamphlet with:

(a) The number and ballot title of the measure;

(b) The financial estimates and any statement prepared for the measure under ORS 250.125;

(c) The explanatory statement prepared for the measure;

(d) Arguments relating to the measure and filed with the Secretary of State; [and]

(e) Any racial and ethnic impact statement prepared for the measure under section 3, chapter 600, Oregon Laws 2013[.]; **and**

(f) Any statement submitted for the measure by a citizen panel under ORS 250.141.

(2) A county measure or measure of a metropolitan service district organized under ORS chapter 268, and ballot title, explanatory statement and arguments relating to the measure, filed by the county or metropolitan service district under ORS 251.285 shall be included in the voters' pamphlet described in subsection (1) of this section if required under ORS 251.067.

SECTION 5. ORS 251.185, as amended by section 8, chapter 600, Oregon Laws 2013, and section 20, chapter 722, Oregon Laws 2013, is amended to read:

251.185. (1) The Secretary of State shall have printed in the voters' pamphlet for a general election or any special election a copy of the title and text of each state measure to be submitted to the people at the election for which the pamphlet was prepared. The pamphlet must include the procedures for filing a complaint under ORS 260.345. Each measure shall be printed in the pamphlet with:

(a) The number and ballot title of the measure;

(b) The financial estimates and any statement prepared for the measure under ORS 250.125;

(c) The explanatory statement prepared for the measure; [and]

(d) Arguments relating to the measure and filed with the Secretary of State[.]; **and**

(e) Any statement submitted for the measure by a citizen panel under ORS 250.141.

(2) A county measure or measure of a metropolitan service district organized under ORS chapter 268, and ballot title, explanatory statement and arguments relating to the measure, filed by the county or metropolitan service district under ORS 251.285 shall be included in the voters' pamphlet described in subsection (1) of this section if required under ORS 251.067.

SECTION 6. Sections 21 and 22, chapter 722, Oregon Laws 2013, are repealed.

SECTION 7. The amendments to ORS 250.137 by section 1 of this 2014 Act apply to appointments made on or after the effective date of this 2014 Act.

SECTION 8. This 2014 Act being necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety, an emergency is declared to exist, and this 2014 Act takes effect on its passage.

Approved by the Governor March 13, 2014

Filed in the office of Secretary of State March 14, 2014

Effective date March 13, 2014

CITIZENS' INITIATIVE REVIEW COMMISSION

2015-2017 WORK PLAN

Draft Review April 20, 2015

Key goal:

To provide oversight of the Citizens' Initiative Review (CIR) in a manner that ensures its integrity, effectiveness, and sustainability

Key tasks:

- Regularly assess progress toward key work plan tasks and revise as needed
- Consider additional administrative rules re CIR process, moderators, and criteria for ballot measure selection
- Secure long-term administrative services contract for 2017-2019
- Secure program services contract for 2016 CIR
- Develop and approve biennial Commission report on financial and other activities in 2016
- Review and approve policies & procedures for 2016 CIR
- Review Commissioner terms, plan for new appointments, consider administrative rules re term staggering
- Determine sufficiency of funds
- Select 2016 ballot measures for review
- Review and approval of annual financial report for previous fiscal year
- Review panelist and moderator evaluations of 2016 CIR to develop Commission findings and recommendations re CIR in 2017
- Develop and approve 2017-19 biennium budget

Meeting Dates (precise dates TBD):

August 2015

December 2016

March 2016

June 2016

July 2016

September 2016

December 2016

February 2017

April 2017

June 2017

August 2015 Meeting:

- Standing legislative and financial updates

December 2015 Meeting:

- Standing legislative and financial updates

March 2016 Meeting:

- Standing legislative and financial updates

June 2016 Meeting:

- Determine sufficiency of funds to carry out duties of CIR Commission and to pay for statements to be printed in Voters Pamphlet
- Standing legislative and financial updates

July 2016 Meeting:

- Review and approve policies & procedures for 2016 CIR
- Select 2016 ballot measures for review
- Standing legislative and financial updates

September 2016 Meeting:

- Standing legislative and financial updates

December 2016 Meeting:

- Standing legislative and financial updates

February 2017 Meeting:

- Review panelist and moderator evaluations of 2016 CIR to develop Commission findings and recommendations re CIR
- Review and approve abbreviated biennial Commission report on financial and other activities (due April 1, 2016)
- Review Commissioner terms, plan for new appointments (terms are four years, with no more than six member terms expiring every two years)
- Standing legislative and financial updates

April 2017 Meeting:

- Develop and hold hearing for 2017-2019 biennium budget
- Standing legislative and financial updates

June 2017 Meeting:

- Approve 2017-19 biennium budget
- Approve administrative and program services contract(s)
- Standing legislative and financial updates

CITIZENS' INITIATIVE REVIEW COMMISSION 2015-2017

REVENUE

A. Beginning Balance

Ending Cash Balance 2015-17 Biennium \$ 1,992

A. Total \$ **1,992****B. Donations**

Grants

Individual Contributions \$ -

B. Total \$ -**C. Earned Income**

\$ -

C. Total \$ -**Total Revenues** \$ **1,992**

EXPENSES

A. CIR Commission Services

Voters Pamphlet Publication (2 CIRs) \$ 11,750

CIR Panelist Stipends (2 CIRs) \$ 16,000

CIR Panelist Travel Reimbursements (2 CIRs) \$ 5,000

CIR Panel Recruitment List/Mailing (2 CIRs) \$ 6,250

A. Total \$ **39,000****B. CIR Commission Administrative Expenses**

Administrative Staffing \$ 40,000

Liability Insurance \$ 2,500

Commissioner Travel Reimbursements \$ 1,000

Banking Fees \$ 650

B. Total \$ **44,150****C. CIR Event Expenses (2 CIRs)**

Project Management Staffing \$ 15,000

Research \$ 10,000

Event Staffing \$ 12,000

Moderators and Facilitators \$ 16,000

Moderator Training \$ 2,000

Event Security \$ 1,000

Venue Rental / Meals \$ 12,500

Lodging \$ 20,000

Staff Travel & Training \$ 4,000

Office Supplies \$ 500

Videography \$ 2,000

Summary Report \$ 2,500

Miscellaneous Event Expenses \$ 1,000

C. Total \$ **98,500****D. Professional Services**

State Government Service Charges \$ 10,000

Professional IT Services \$ 2,500

Professional Services \$ 7,500

D. Total \$ **20,000****E. Other**

Contingent Expenses \$ 4,500

E. Total \$ **4,460****Total Expenses** \$ **206,110****Total Revenue** \$ **1,992****Total Expenses** \$ **206,110****Balance** \$ **(204,118)**

*Budget for 2015 - 2017: based off assumption of 2 - 4 day CIRs, each with 20 panelists

REVENUE

A. Beginning Balance

Ending Cash Balance 2011-13 Biennium \$ 3,519

A. Total \$ 3,519 \$ 3,519

B. Donations

Grants \$ 186,481 \$ 94,001

Individual Contributions \$ -

B. Total \$ 186,481 \$ 94,001

C. Earned Income

\$ -

C. Total \$ -**Total Revenues** \$ 190,000 \$ 97,520

EXPENSES

A. CIR Commission Services ***

Voters Pamphlet Publication (2 CIRs) \$ 10,500 \$ 11,750

CIR Panelist Stipends (2 CIRs) \$ 28,000 \$ 12,800

CIR Panelist Travel Reimbursements (2 CIRs) \$ 5,000 \$ 5,096

CIR Panel Recruitment Mailing (2 CIRs) \$ 6,500 \$ 18

A. Total \$ 50,000 \$ 29,665 \$ -

B. CIR Commission Administrative Expenses

Administrative Staffing \$ 17,000 \$ 9,500 \$ 7,500

Liability Insurance \$ 2,500

Commissioner Travel Reimbursements \$ 1,000 \$ 379

Banking Fees \$ 540 \$ 453 \$ 161

B. Total \$ 21,040 \$ 10,333 \$ 7,661

C. CIR Event Expenses (2 CIRs)***

Project Management Staffing \$ 27,000 \$ 14,000

Research & Event Staffing \$ 10,000 \$ 3,000

Moderators and Facilitators \$ 16,000

Moderator Training \$ 2,000

Event Security \$ 1,000

Venue Rental / Meals \$ 13,000 \$ 13,000

Lodging \$ 18,000 \$ 12,000

Staff Travel \$ 1,000 \$ 264

Office Supplies \$ 1,000 \$ 262

Videography \$ 2,000

Summary Report \$ 2,500

Miscellaneous Event Expenses \$ 1,000

C. Total \$ 94,500 \$ 42,526 \$ -

D. Professional Services

State Government Service Charges \$ 10,000 \$ 4,744

Professional IT Services \$ 2,500

Professional Services \$ 7,500

D. Total \$ 20,000 \$ 4,744 \$ -

E. Other

Contingent Expenses \$ 4,460 98.95 \$ 500

E. Total \$ 4,460 \$ 99 \$ 500**Total Expenses** \$ 190,000 \$ 87,366 \$ 8,161**Total Revenue** \$ 190,000 \$ 97,520**Total Expenses** \$ 190,000 \$ 87,366 \$ 8,161**Balance** \$ - \$ 10,153 \$ (8,161)

*Budget for 2013 - 2015: based off assumption of 2 5-day CIRs, each with 24 panelists

**Actual Expenses dating from Jan 2014 to Feb 25 2015; expenses reflect 2 3.5day CIRs, each with 20 panelists;

***Actual expenses for some items on A. CIR Commission Administrative Expenses and C.

CIR Event Expenses do not reflect costs that Program Contractor absorbed and did not bill CIRC for.

Empowering Voters through Better Information: Analysis of the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review, 2010-2014

Report presented to the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review Commission

by



John Gastil, Professor of Communication Arts & Sciences and Director of the
McCourtney Institute for Democracy, Pennsylvania State University

Katherine R. Knobloch, Asst. Professor and Assoc. Director of the
Center for Public Deliberation in the Dept. of Communication Studies,
Colorado State University



Robert Richards, Doctoral candidate in the
Dept. of Communication Arts & Sciences, Pennsylvania State University

Acknowledgements

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Summary Evaluation of the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review, 2010-2014

This one-page summary highlights key findings from a 2015 report by John Gastil, Katherine R. Knobloch, and Robert Richards, "Building a More Informed Electorate: Analysis of the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review, 2010-2014," available online at <http://tinyurl.com/cironline>. Principal funding for this research came from the National Science Foundation. Our investigation examined the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review (CIR) from 2010-2014. Our research included direct observation of the CIR panels, panelist surveys, detailed assessments of the Citizens' Statements, a usability study of the Statements, and phone, mail, and online survey analysis of the electorate who received each of the 2014 Statements. (A separate report includes analyses of the CIR pilot projects held in 2014.)

CIR panels have achieved high-quality deliberation, even amidst continual process adjustments.

- The 2014 Oregon CIRs maintained the high level of deliberation obtained in 2010 and 2012, though reducing the panels from five days to four, coupled with numerous procedural adjustments, caused some inefficiencies and disruptions.
- The vast majority of 2014 participants reported learning enough about the measure to make an informed decision and rarely reported difficulty processing information, despite addressing issues of scientific complexity. SEE REPORT SECTION 1

CIR panels have produced strong, but not flawless, Citizens' Statements.

- Most of the claims made in the Oregon Citizens' Statements produced between 2010 and 2014 were accurate and verifiable, though two statements contained a single (minor) error.
- Some redundancy appeared in the 2014 statements, especially regarding claims that were repeated in the Key Findings and in the Arguments in Favor and Opposition.
- Citizens' Statements were clearly written but at times used language that may not be accessible to a substantial portion of voters. SEE REPORT SECTION 2

Citizens' Statements consistently make voters better informed about ballot measures

- On every Oregon CIR studied since 2010, reading the Statement has produced increases in voter knowledge about the ballot measure.
- Averaging across all the CIRs held in 2014, the net effect of reading a Citizens' Statement is greater than the difference in voter knowledge between those with high school educations versus college degrees. SEE REPORT SECTION 4

Citizens' Statements reached even more voters in 2014, though most Oregonians did not read them.

- Statewide surveys of Oregon voters found that 54% of those likely to vote were aware of the CIR by the end of the 2014 election, compared to 52% in 2010 and 40% in 2012.
- Overall, more than one-third (36%) of Oregon voters read the Citizens' Statements before completing their ballots, compared to roughly one-quarter in 2012. SEE REPORT SECTION 3

Voters find the Citizens' Statements helpful but want to know more about the CIR process.

- A majority (56-58%) of 2014 Oregon Citizens' Statement readers found them at least somewhat useful, and higher percentages (63-67%) rated them as at least somewhat informative.
- Usability testing, however, suggests that Oregon voters believe they need to know more about the CIR if they are to place more trust in the Citizens' Statements. SEE REPORT SECTION 3

Introduction

This report provides an overall assessment of the quality of deliberation that took place during the 2014 Citizens' Initiative Reviews, as well as the quality, utility, and impact of the resultant Citizens' Statements those reviews produced.¹ We focus on the 2014 CIR process but make reference to earlier findings from our reports that assessed the 2010 and 2012 Oregon reviews.

The Oregon legislature created the Citizens' Initiative Review (CIR) in 2009 to help voters make informed choices on statewide ballot measures. After convening two CIRs in 2010, the Oregon legislature made this process a regular institution in 2011 and has convened two CIR panels in each subsequent initiative election. For each CIR panel, Healthy Democracy, which has convened every CIR thus far, convenes a stratified random sample of 19-24 registered voters for 4-5 days to study and deliberate on a specific ballot measure. Citizen panelists hear from both sides of the issue, talk with neutral witnesses, and deliberate intensively as a full panel and in small groups, then write a one-page analysis for distribution to the wider electorate via official Voters' Pamphlets.

Our research method for studying the CIR in 2014 included direct observation of the panels, surveys of the citizen panelists, detailed assessments of the Citizens' Statements, a usability study of the Statements, and phone, mail, and online survey analysis of the electorates who received each of the 2014 Statements. (See Appendix B for details.) This paralleled the methods used in our evaluations from 2010 and 2012. We will frequently make reference to those earlier CIR panels, and those who wish to learn more about them are directed to the two previous CIR reports produced by this research team.

The six CIRs held over the past five years have covered a wide range of issues, from mandatory sentencing to genetically modified organisms. Our report refers to each of these different CIRs, which Table I.1 summarizes in relation to their respective electoral contexts.

Table I.1 Basic descriptions of six Citizens' Initiative Review panels, 2010-2014

Year	Location	Election	Ballot Measure	Subject	Election Results	Panel Vote
2010	Salem, OR	OR general	Measure 73	Sentencing	57% FOR	AGAINST (21-3)
			Measure 74	Marijuana	56% AGAINST	FOR (13-11)
2012	Portland, OR	OR general	Measure 85	Kicker	60% FOR	FOR (19-5)
			Measure 82	Casinos	71% AGAINST	AGAINST (17-7)
2014	Salem, OR	OR general	Measure 90	Top 2 primary	68% AGAINST	AGAINST (14-5)
			Measure 92	GMO labels	51% AGAINST	AGAINST (11-9)

Note. "GMO" refers to genetically modified organisms.

Summary Assessment of CIR

The most straightforward assessment of the CIR concerns its impact on voter knowledge. The survey data we collected shows that CIR panels have a consistent effect on voters' issue-relevant knowledge—an impact that has been noted in the 2010 and 2012 reports and which gets even more attention in Section 4 of this report. The quality of information provided in the CIR Citizens' Statements is the

¹ In this report, the phrases "Citizens' Statements" and "CIR Statements" are used interchangeably.

primary reason that Oregon voters have turned to the CIR when seeking to learn about ballot measures. Section 3 summarizes how voters use and assess the CIRs.²

Before looking at impacts, however, our report begins by assessing the CIR process itself, in Section 1 of this report. That section assesses the CIR in terms of the rigor of its issue analysis, the civility and democratic quality of its deliberations, and the quality of the final statement produced by the CIR panels' decision making process. We provide a thorough assessment of the 2014 CIRs in Section 1 of this report, but Table I.2 summarizes the 2010-2014 evaluations in terms of overall letter grades. This shows that the typical CIR process gets an A- for its deliberation, with some performing better than others but none (so far) earning straight As on these evaluations. As for the Statements produced by CIR panels, the typical grade is a B+. Section 2 of this report shows that CIR panels have produced accurate and substantive Citizens' Statements, which earns the documents good grades. Nevertheless, a challenge in producing a one-page guide on ballot measures is explaining the facts and key arguments in a way that is maximally useful for a voter who has not had the chance to study the issue as closely as the panelists.

Table I.2 Summary evaluations of CIR process and statements, 2010-2014

Year	Ballot Measure	Rigorous Issue Analysis	Civil and Democratic Process	Quality of Citizens' Statement
2010	Mandatory sentencing (Oregon M73)	B+	A-	A-
	Medical marijuana (Oregon M74)	B+	A-	A
2012	Non-tribal casinos (Oregon M82)	A-	B+	B+
	Corporate "kicker" (Oregon M85)	A-	A	A
2014	Open primaries (Oregon M90)	A-	A-	B+
	GMO labeling (Oregon M92)	B	A-	B+
Modal grade from 2010-2014		A-	A-	B+

The more precise grades given to the statewide Oregon CIR processes in 2014 appear in Table I.3. Section 1 of this report explains in more detail our assessment of the process, but these grades make clear that the overall assessment of the deliberation on Measure 90 was more favorable than the one for Measure 92. Once again, the reasons for these assessments appear in more detail in the Section 1.

² One naïve way to judge the CIR's success would be asking whether its implementation has changed electoral outcomes directly. More often than not, CIR panels have voted in the same direction that the general public ultimately voted, though the 2010 CIR on mandatory sentencing stands as a stark exception. In that case, the CIR voted 21-3 against a popular measure. Even though our 2010 report concluded that reading the CIR Statement likely eroded support for that measure, it still passed by a comfortable margin. It remains impossible, however, to demonstrate definitively a CIR Statement's ultimate electoral impact, given the complex indirect effects it can have during an election and the influence of other forces, such as shifting campaign spending and advertising. Nonetheless, the 2014 GMO (genetically modified organisms) food labeling issue in Oregon (Measure 92) failed by a narrow margin, with 50.5% of voters opposing it. The result was similar to the corresponding CIR panel's 11-9 vote against, and the CIR may have been a deciding factor in the election's outcome. In a case such as this, the important detail is not the narrow split in the CIR panel's vote but, rather, the substance of the CIR Statement.

Table I.3 Detailed evaluations of CIR process and statements, 2014

Criteria for Evaluating Deliberation	Oregon MSR 90 (Open Primaries)	Oregon MSR 92 (GMO Labeling)
Promote analytic rigor		
Learning basic issue information	A-	B
Examining of underlying values	A-	B
Considering a range of alternatives	A-	B+
Weighing pros/cons of measure	A	B
Facilitate a democratic process		
Equality of opportunity to participate	A	A
Comprehension of information	B+	B
Consideration of different views	A-	A-
Mutual respect	A	A
Produce a well-reasoned statement		
Informed decision making	B+	B
Non-coercive process	B	B+

Overview of the 2014 Reviews

Much has been learned about the CIR since 2010. Many of the recommendations from the 2010 and 2012 reports were put into practice by Healthy Democracy, an organization that has kept itself—and its CIR panels—open to scrutiny.³ This adaptive quality of Healthy Democracy has meant that the CIR has changed over the years, but those changes have been driven by both a desire to refine the CIR and a practical need to make the CIR as cost-effective as possible. That drive led to some of the design variations examined in Section 1 of this report. In particular, a contraction of the total duration of CIR panels led to some process challenges.⁴ Likewise, the CIR experimented with producing Citizens' Statements that did not contain panel votes.

Many of those reading this report may already be familiar with the CIRs held in 2010 and 2012, and those who wish to learn more about those can read detailed assessments in our previous reports.⁵ Few readers, though, know the details of the 2014 reviews, and we close this introductory section with an overview of those, starting with notes about how they differed from previous implementations of the CIR process.

In 2014, Healthy Democracy conducted two statewide CIR processes in Oregon. 2014 also brought significant structural changes to the CIR, in particular, the reduction of the process from five days to four days, the downsizing of the panel from 24 participants to 20 participants, and the elimination of

³ We will present recommendations for future development of the CIR in a separate report, which looks across all the CIRs held from 2010-2014, including those at the city and county level and in other states.

⁴ We had hypothesized this problem in our 2014 NSF grant application, a document that Healthy Democracy read and responded to in the way it executed the CIR this past year.

⁵ See Gastil and Knobloch (2010) and Knobloch, Gastil, Richards, and Feller (2013).

background witnesses. Below, we provide an outline of the 2014 agenda and a brief overview of the individual reviews.

Both of the 2014 CIRs followed the same basic process design. Each panel met for four consecutive days and heard from advocates in favor of and opposed to the measure. At the end of their deliberations, the panelists had created a list of findings relevant to the measure and then used these findings to craft their Citizens' Statements. The basic agenda was as follows:

- Day 1: Orientation to CIR and the ballot measure
- Day 2: Identification of questions for advocates and expert panel 1
- Day 3: Expert panels 2 and 3 and identification of additional findings
- Day 4: Key Findings prioritization and development of arguments in favor of and opposed to the measure

Though each panel followed roughly the same agenda, modifications were made to the structure based on the success of previous agenda segments and the needs of the panel.

The process also saw significant structural modifications from previous years. The format for developing and voting on the sections of the Citizens' Statements saw a number of process modifications. Rather than independently developing findings and arguments for the statement, as had been done in years past, participants began deliberations with a set of claims developed by advocates and largely worked to prioritize and edit these claims for inclusion in the Citizens' Statement. Process modifications and developments such as these and their effects on the overall quality of the deliberations will be discussed in the next sections, but first, we provide details on each of the reviews.

Healthy Democracy conducted two statewide initiative reviews in 2014. The first panel met during August 17-20 and reviewed Measure 90, which would have allowed voters to select one candidate for office in an open primary, and then the top two candidates would advance to the general election, regardless of their party affiliation. The second panel met during August 21-24 and reviewed Measure 92, which would have required food manufacturers and retailers to label packaged foods that contain genetically engineered ingredients. Both reviews were conducted in Salem, Oregon, the state's capital. The CIR Commission oversaw the process, determining which measures to study, and facilitators from the 2010 and 2012 processes moderated. The Citizens' Statement was distributed via the state *Voters' Pamphlet*.

Section 1. CIR Process Design and Deliberative Quality

To assess the quality of the CIR's deliberative process, we applied the same evaluative scheme used in 2010 and 2012.⁶ In particular, we were interested in understanding whether the CIR provided opportunities for analytic rigor, sustained a democratic group process, and resulted in informed and egalitarian decision making. Such features are essential to any deliberative democratic process, including the CIR.⁷

For each review, a team of two or three researchers sat in on the process, taking notes and engaging in real-time coding of the deliberative quality of each agenda segment. In addition, participants at each review completed daily and end-of-review evaluations that asked them to assess their overall satisfaction with the process and its performance according to several criteria.

In this section, we detail how the 2014 CIR process performed on each of these criteria. We also examine how design variations, from 2010 to 2014 and across the 2014 forums, affected the CIR panelists' deliberations, their overall satisfaction, and the Citizens' Statements they produced.⁸

1.1 Overall Satisfaction

Before addressing the specific criteria, we begin by reporting on CIR panelist satisfaction. At the end of each review, panelists are asked to rate their "overall satisfaction with the CIR process." When looking at the reviews across years (Figure 1.1), we see a slight drop off in satisfaction between 2010 and 2012 but relative stability in overall levels of satisfaction between 2012 and 2014.⁹

Looking at the levels of satisfaction across reviews in 2014 provides more insight into how process changes may have affected panelist satisfaction. Figure 1.2 shows a somewhat lower level of satisfaction in the CIR for Oregon Measure 92, in which panelists reviewed GMO labeling, than among panelists in the Measure 90 CIR.

Four interrelated issues may have led to decreased levels of satisfaction at the Measure 92 review:

- process designers and moderators altered the agenda as the review progressed, and there were deviations from the agenda owing to facilitator error;¹⁰

⁶ Gastil and Knobloch (2010); Knobloch, Gastil, Richards, and Feller (2012). The rationale for this evaluation scheme is presented in Gastil, Knobloch, and Kelly (2012).

⁷ Gastil (2008). More generally, see Nabatchi et al. (2012). For a comparison with another comprehensive report on a deliberative process in Australia, see Carson et al. (2013).

⁸ Appendix C provides a sample of the participant evaluations and Tables I.2 and I.3 provide a report card for each of the processes, from 2010-2014. This report card provides a quick overview of how each process performed according to the deliberative criteria, though a detailed discussion of the reviews is provided below.

⁹ Results stem from daily and end-of-review evaluations that all participants completed between 2010 and 2014. All evaluations had a 100% response rate (2010 $N = 48$, 2012 $N = 48$, 2014 $N = 39$). The slight decrease in satisfaction from 2010-2012 could have many possible explanations, among them procedural difficulties with one of the 2012 CIR sessions (on casinos) and possibly the fact that the 2012 CIR was less novel than its predecessor (i.e., the 2010 panels had the benefit of being the first ones).

¹⁰ In preparing this report, we have solicited feedback from Tyrone Reitman and Lucy Greenfield of Healthy Democracy, and we have taken their views into account in editing this report. Occasionally, we reference their comments directly in these footnotes. For instance, regarding the current discussion, from the perspective of Healthy Democracy the errors committed by facilitators were the principal problem in 2014. As the year

- panelists were often confused about the agenda and continually questioned the moderators about the purpose of tasks and how they would relate to future tasks;
- the process for developing the statement was particularly unclear for panelists, who expressed frustration with a lack of ability to edit parts of the statement once they were developed; and
- panelists were often pressed for time to complete tasks, particularly when engaging in statement writing.

Figure 1.1 Panelists' overall satisfaction with the process, 2010-2014

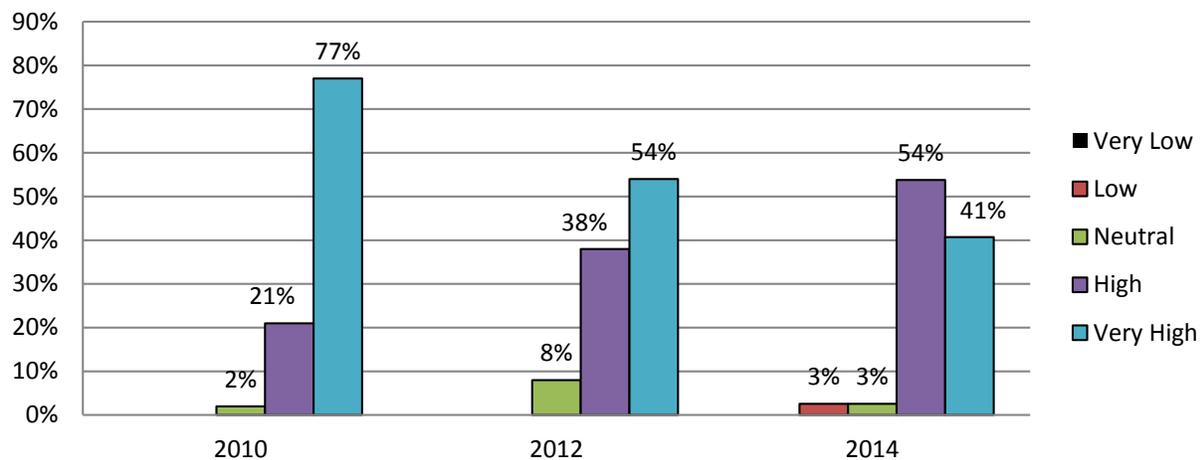
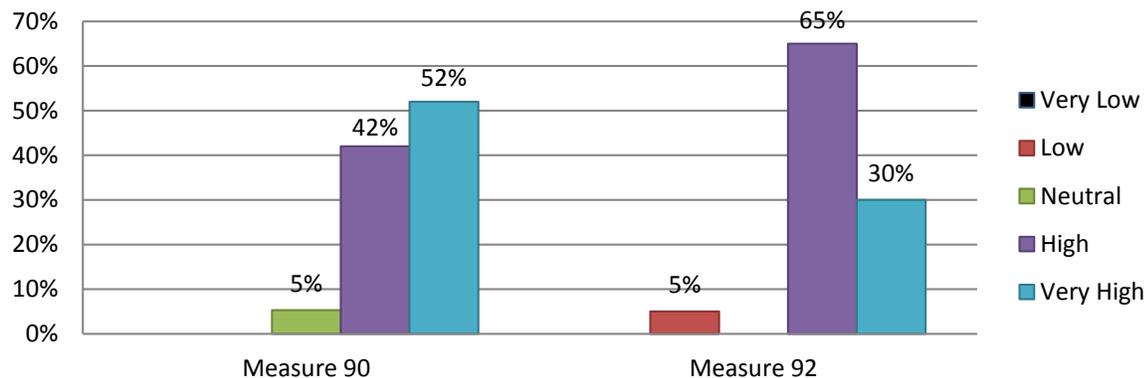


Figure 1.2 Panelists' overall satisfaction with the process, 2014



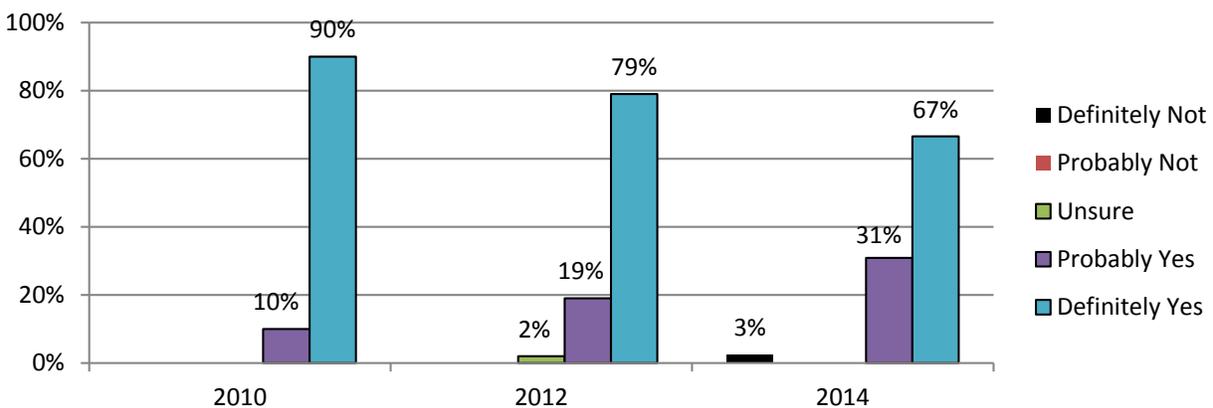
progressed, Healthy Democracy tried to revise their own procedures to reduce the potential for facilitator deviations from process guidelines. Such errors or confusions were not unique to 2014, as facilitators had erred in their interpretation or adaptation of the CIR process as early as the first panel. This evaluation, however, focuses more on the actual process that unfolded during the course of the CIR, as opposed to the process design that Healthy Democracy had devised.

Each of these problems, and their effect on the Citizens' Statement, will be discussed in more detail below, but the lower levels of satisfaction for the Oregon Measure 92 CIR underscore the need for a relatively stable process design in which panelists (a) clearly understand how process elements relate to one another and (b) have ample opportunity to write and edit their Citizens' Statement.

1.2 Analytic Rigor

A minimal test of a CIR process' analytic rigor is whether the panelists believed that, by the end of the week, they adequately understood the initiative they had studied. To assess this, the final panelist survey asked if they had learned enough to reach a good decision. Figure 1.3 presents the results aggregated for 2010, 2012, and 2014. This graphic indicates a decline from 2010 to 2014, though virtually all panelists said that they either probably or definitely learned enough to reach a good decision. Even so, 2014 represents the first year that any panelists (roughly 3%) felt that they had not learned enough by the end of their deliberations.

Figure 1.3 Panelists' assessment of having learned enough to make a good decision, 2010-2014



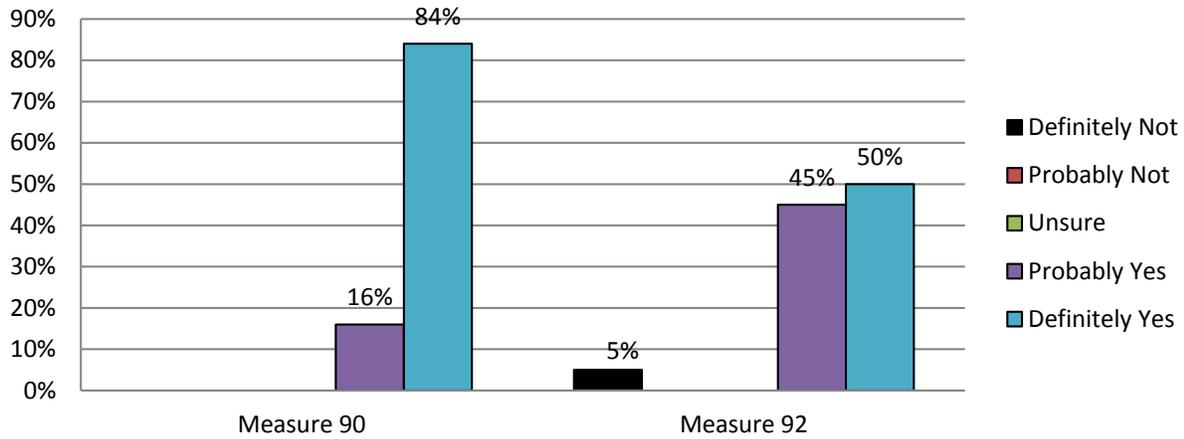
As Figure 1.4 indicates, one reason for this may be the increased complexity of the initiatives in 2014. The 2014 reviews asked panelists to weigh in on highly complex initiatives, including the labeling of genetically modified foods. The scientific and economic details of these issues may be one reason that some panelists left the CIR believing that could not fully grasp the measure.

A second reason for the lower levels of understanding in 2014 may be the exclusion of neutral witnesses. One of the biggest changes between 2010-2012 versus 2014 was the absence of neutral or non-advocate background witnesses.¹¹ During the first two years of CIR panels, background witnesses often performed a number of important roles, such as verifying or debunking the claims of advocates or offering new sources of information. Other times, it was helpful for panelists to hear a neutral witness state that it was too difficult to predict with precision a policy's outcomes, such as the impact an initiative may have on the budget or public health. These witnesses helped panelists sift through the

¹¹ The use of neutral witnesses is more than a matter of design preference. Identifying, recruiting, and selecting these experts is a significant expense for program staff, and pro and con advocates sometimes question the neutrality or relevance of such witnesses.

information provided by advocates. Without their presence, some panelists may have had difficulty resolving competing claims made by the pro and con advocates.

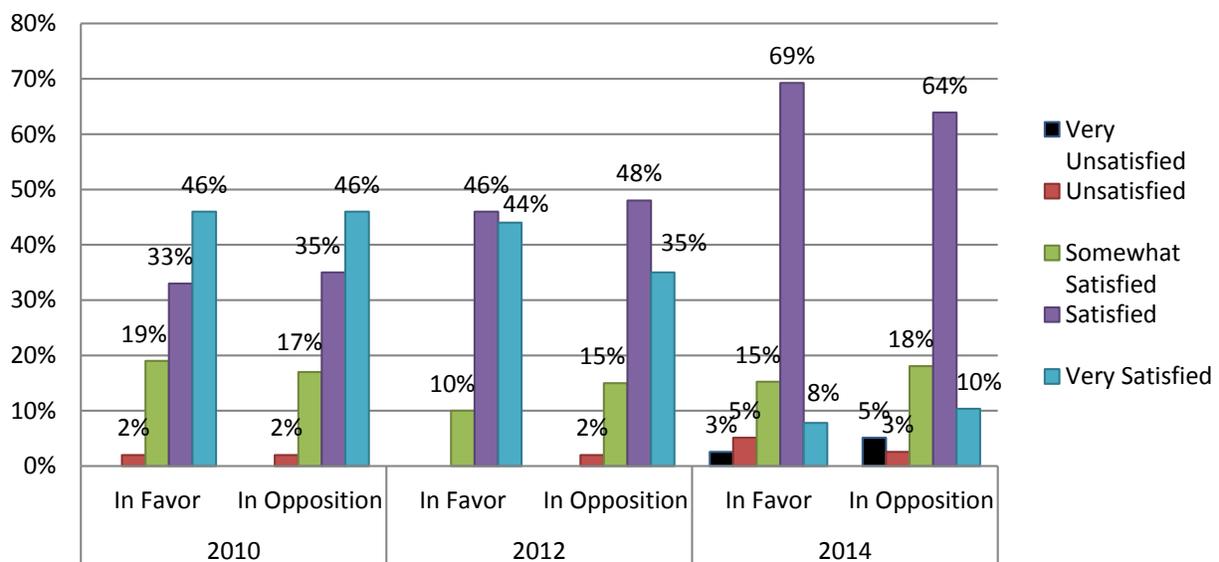
Figure 1.4 Panelists’ assessment of having learned enough to make a good decision, 2014



Weighing Information

Another measure of analytic rigor asked the CIR panelists to rate the process’ performance at weighing information for and against the measure. Aside from the aforementioned decline from 2010 to 2012, Figure 1.5 shows that satisfaction on this dimension appears relatively stable between 2012 and 2014. Although the process design saw several major changes in how the panelists sifted through initiative-related information, many of these changes balanced one another in their effect on this criterion.

Figure 1.5 Panelists’ satisfaction with the process weighing of information, 2010-2014



One such change for 2014 was the way that information was conveyed to the panelists. In 2014, panelists heard from advocates during three panels: The first generally addressed why the measure was on the ballot, the second what was in the measure, and the third what potential impacts the measure

may have. On the morning of day two, panelists formulated questions to ask during the three panels and then on the afternoon of day two and during day three the advocates in favor of and opposed to the measure responded to those questions and additional questions posed by the panelists.

This process change had a number of consequences. The first was largely positive: Because advocates from both sides sat on the same panel, they could respond directly to claims made by the other advocate teams. This allowed them to challenge claims in real time and enabled the panelists to see how the advocates responded to each other's arguments. The 2010 and 2012 processes did not provide such back-and-forth discussion opportunities for the advocates, and this change likely allowed the panelists to better weigh competing arguments against one another.

Another process change that likely helped panelists weigh competing arguments was an initial exercise that focused on pairing competing claims. At the beginning of the process, panelists were presented with a list of claims, generally developed by the advocates. When first introduced to this list, the panelists were asked to identify competing claims by looking to both the pro and con claims and finding points of contention. They then used these points of contention to develop the questions for advocates. By encouraging the panelists to look at the claims in comparison to one another, this design element allowed them to better identify factual and values-based disagreements that needed clarification and then gave them the opportunity to raise those points of contention in their questions for the advocates.

Even so, not all of the process changes related to the advocate panels were quite so positive. Because the panelists developed their questions before hearing from the advocates, their questions sometimes became redundant. For example, advocates from the first panel would at times in the course of their presentations provide answers to questions intended for the second or third panels. The second and third panels, however, would still be charged with answering the originally posed questions, which occupied the time that could have been used for questions that arose as panelists began to learn more about the measure.

Finally, one thing that remained relatively static from 2010 to 2014 was the presentations by the advocates. In general, we find that the advocates often have a hard time speaking to the panelists' level of expertise. In short, advocates generally speak to a highly informed audience of other experts or advocates or a relatively uninformed audience of the general public, the latter usually through commercials or sound bites that give little opportunity to explore initiative-related information in depth. The CIR panelists represent a unique population. Spending four to five days learning about the initiative, they become much more informed than the average voter, though they still do not have the level of issue-relevant information held by advocates and experts. Advocates tend to have trouble navigating this middle ground, speaking to panelists either as average voters—and therefore not providing enough in-depth analysis—or as experts—using jargon or terminology with which the panelists are unfamiliar. This trend was particularly salient for the GMO review.

The results from 2014, in Figures 1.6 and 1.7, indicate a difference in satisfaction along this criterion between the Measure 90 and Measure 92 panels. Though most panelists are either highly or very highly satisfied with the process' performance in weighing the information in favor and opposed to the measure, panelists for Measure 92 show a noticeable decline in this regard, with no panelists saying they were highly satisfied with weighing the information in favor and only one panelist being highly satisfied with weighing the information in opposition.

Again, this may be due to the process instability and the panelists' lack of understanding about the purpose of some of the agenda segments. During both small- and large-group discussions, the panelists

would often stray from the task, asking moderators about the purpose of the agenda segment, arguing that they should be using their time differently, or, unclear about the assigned task, discussing initiative-related information but not necessarily performing the required task, such as identifying reliable information from panel sessions.¹² Each of these diversions would detract from panelists' time to sift through the information provided by the advocates.

Figure 1.6 Panelists' satisfaction with weighing information in favor of the measure, 2014

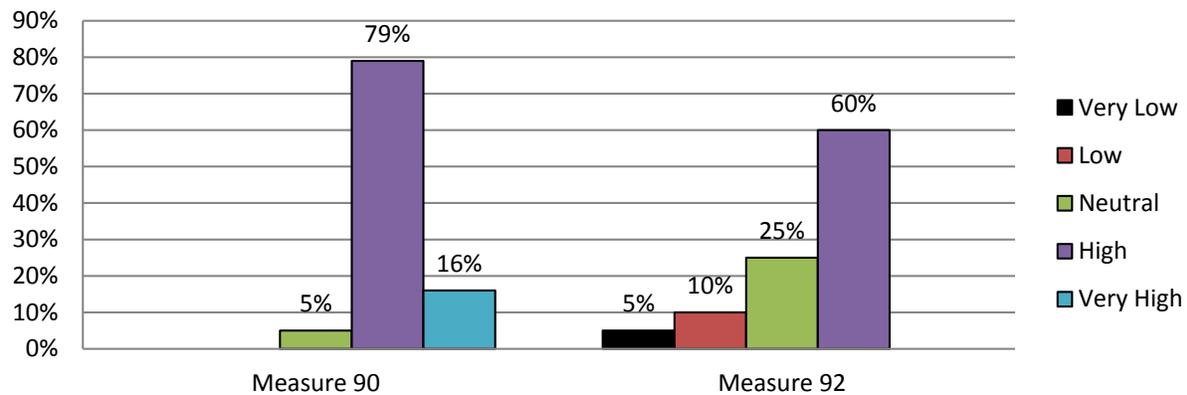
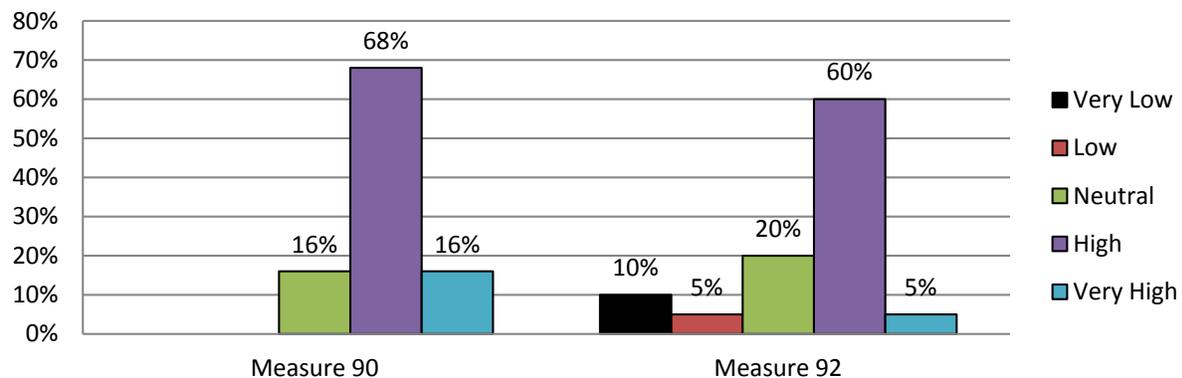


Figure 1.7 Panelists' satisfaction with weighing information in opposition to the measure, 2014



In addition to the decline in satisfaction along this criterion for Measure 92, the other Oregon initiative, Measure 90, also had relatively low levels of satisfaction on this criterion (though the vast majority of panelists still reported being highly satisfied with the process' performance in weighing information). One reason for the decline on this criterion, particularly in relation to the panelists' generally high level of process satisfaction, may be the lack of small group facilitators. Measure 90 was the only process in which some of the small groups were not facilitated.

¹² Healthy Democracy also noted in reviewing this report that the pro advocates on this issue had difficulty addressing the questions put to them by panelists. Such difficulty has been seen in each of the years of the CIR, when pro or con advocates come to the CIR unprepared for sustained deliberation. Ultimately the preparation of advocates depends on their own willingness to take the time to learn the CIR process.

In 2010 and 2012, only the first two small group sessions were facilitated. Panelists were then instructed to self-facilitate and selected a fellow panelist to serve as the moderator for the small group. During the 2014 Measure 90 CIR, without the presence of small group moderators, dominant members of some groups overwhelmed the conversation and thereby stifled in-depth issue discussion and disagreement. Noticing the problem, Healthy Democracy attempted to correct this problem by integrating small group moderators by the end of the Measure 90 CIR process (as well during the Measure 92 CIR) but well after much of the discussion of claims and identification of reliable information had been completed. The absence of the moderators, then, may have limited some of the panelists' sense that they had had an adequate opportunity to fully discuss initiative-related information, thus lowering their satisfaction in this regard.

Weighing Values

Turning to whether the process gave ample opportunity for the consideration of underlying values, most panelists are again either highly satisfied or very satisfied with the processes' performance (Figures 1.8 and 1.9). This high level of satisfaction likely stems from two design features: the presentations by the advocates and the small- and large-group deliberations. Because the panelists spend several hours hearing presentations by and interacting with the advocates, they have the opportunity to understand the underlying reasons why the advocates support or oppose the initiative. The advocates often rely on personal stories or narratives when discussing the initiative, explaining why values such as health or environmental protection may be important to decisions about GMOs or why diversity of choice or higher participation rates may be important to consider when deciding on open primaries. Panelists then have an opportunity to sift through these competing values when engaging in small- and large-group discussions and when prioritizing the advocate claims.

The importance of small and large group deliberations is reiterated when looking to the results of both 2014 CIRs. The CIR with the lowest level of satisfaction in this regard is the Measure 92 (GMO labeling) review. During this review, panelists spent less time engaged in deliberation. Panelists often spent deliberation time talking about the structure of the process itself and attempting to clarify the purpose of the agenda segment. This reduced the time available for deliberation and likely prevented the panelists from thoroughly discussing underlying values.

Figure 1.8 Panelists' satisfaction with considering values in favor of the measure, 2014

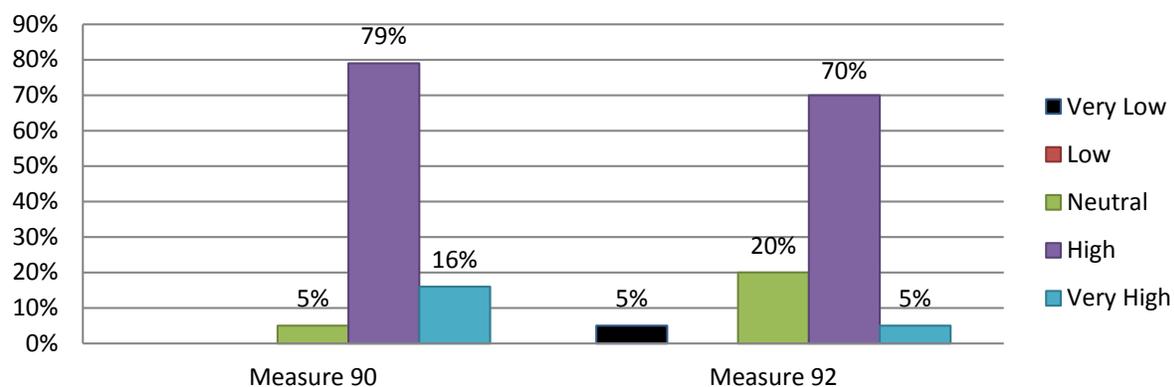
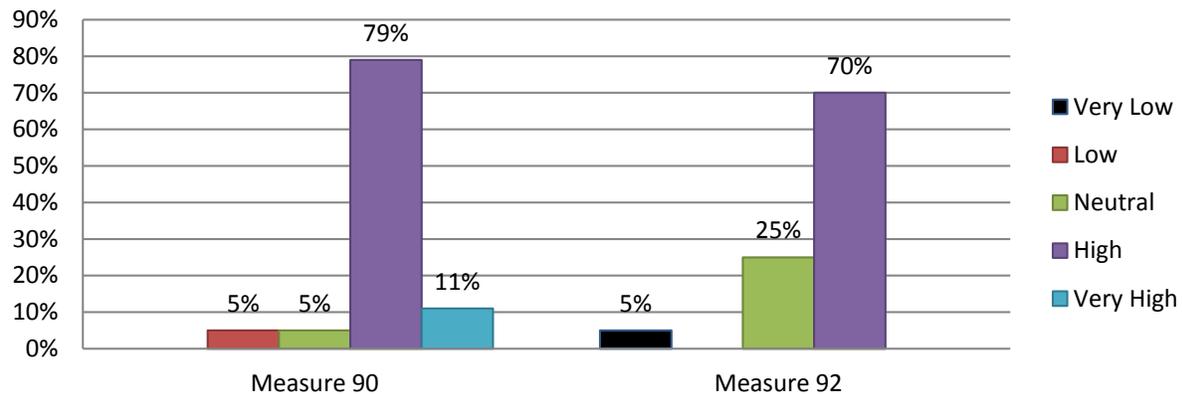
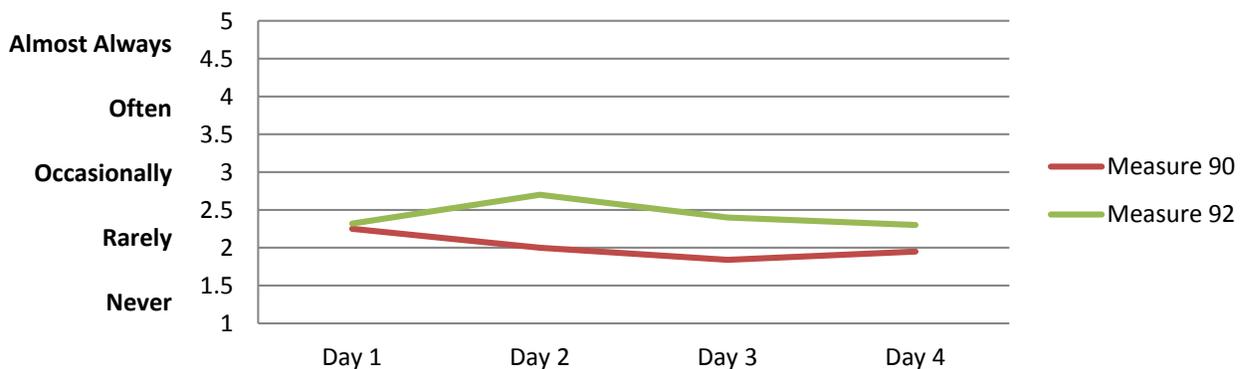


Figure 1.9 Panelists' satisfaction with considering values in opposition to the measure, 2014

Following the Discussion

Our last measure of analytic rigor asks whether panelists had difficulty following the discussion. At the end of each day, we asked panelists how often they had had “trouble understanding or following the discussion today” on a scale from “Never” to “Almost Always.” Figure 1.10 presents the results for the 2014 CIRs.

Figure 1.10 Panelist reports of difficulty following the discussion, 2014

In general, we find that though the majority of panelists reported rarely or never having trouble following the conversation, those that studied the GMO measure had more trouble on Day 2, when they first began to study the measure in-depth. This may be expected for scientifically complex issues, as panelists were often tasked with understanding how GMO products were created and their potential effects on health, the environment, and the economy.¹³ Still, it is promising to note that even when faced with issues of such scientific complexity, most panelists on most days reported that they at least adequately understood the discussions taking place. Again, the success on this measure is likely due to the extended opportunity to hear from and question the advocates and to discuss those presentations in small group sessions. As the review progressed beyond day two, most panelists reported a decline in

¹³ From the perspective of Healthy Democracy, the panelists' confusion can also be attributed to poor presentation of evidence by the advocates. Juries suffer from the same problem when expert testimony or judicial instructions are not presented effectively during trial; see Vidmar and Hans (2007).

difficulty following the conversation, indicating that panelists tended to better understand the measure and related issues as the reviews progressed.

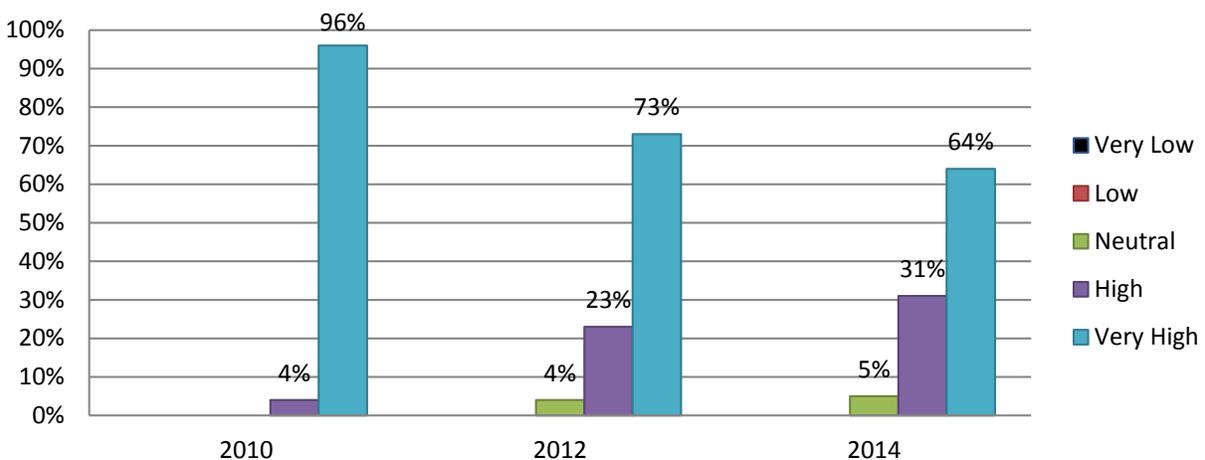
1.3 Democratic Process

In assessing the democratic quality of the discussion, we look for relatively equal speaking opportunities across the panelists, mutual comprehension of one another, and signs of thoughtful consideration of each other's arguments amidst a respectful group climate.¹⁴ The CIR generally performs well in this regard, both across years and across 2014 reviews. Panelists rarely report evidence of bias in the reviews, either from the moderators or in the amount of time provided for both sides. When panelists do report feelings of bias, they almost always balance one another out, with panelists reporting a sense of bias on both sides.

Neutral Facilitation

Figure 1.11 provides a summary measure of the panelists' sense of bias. At the end of the review, panelists are asked, "One of the aims of this process is to have the staff conduct the Citizens' Initiative Review in an unbiased way. How satisfied are you in this regard?" Almost all panelists from all reviews reported high or very high satisfaction along this criterion and no panelist has ever reported low or very low satisfaction along this measure by the end of the review.

Figure 1.11 Panelists' satisfaction with goal of conducting an unbiased process, 2010-2014



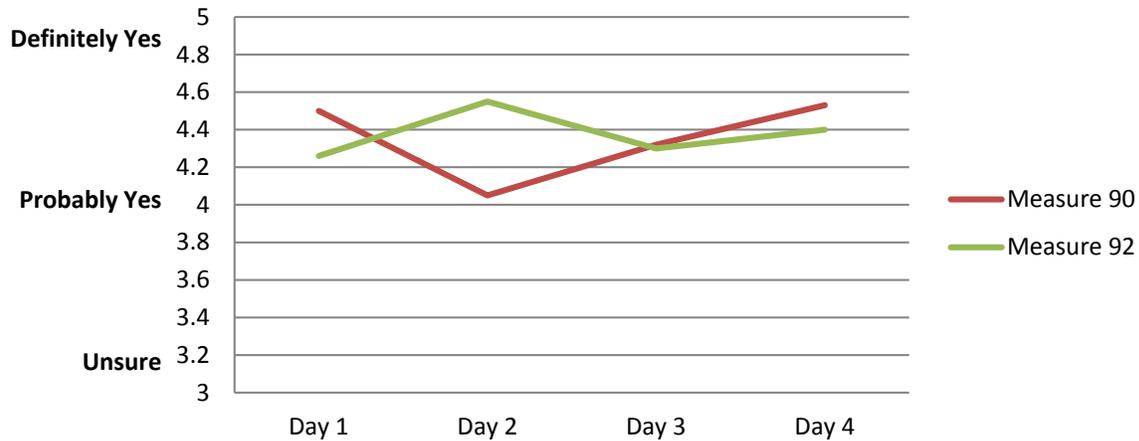
Several factors likely contribute to this. The moderators facilitated all large group discussion in 2010 and 2012 and additionally moderated the majority of small group sessions in 2014. Moreover, the moderators maintain strict neutrality during the process and are careful to avoid interjecting their own opinions on the measure or showing favoritism in their language or the amount of time given to either side. Moderators neither ask panelists to consider information that they themselves do not raise nor play devil's advocate if groups tend toward agreement. This style of moderation is particularly well suited to the CIR, where the maintenance of neutrality and the absence of bias are crucial to the long-term viability of the process.

¹⁴ Gastil (2014) stresses these as essential features of democratic small groups of all varieties.

Equality of Speaking Opportunities

To explore how variations in process design influenced equal speaking opportunities in 2014, at the end of each day we asked panelists to assess whether they “had sufficient opportunity to express [their] views today” on a scale from “Definitely No” to “Definitely Yes.” Figure 1.12 presents those results. Again, almost all panelists rated the reviews highly on this criterion, saying that they definitely or probably had sufficient speaking opportunities.

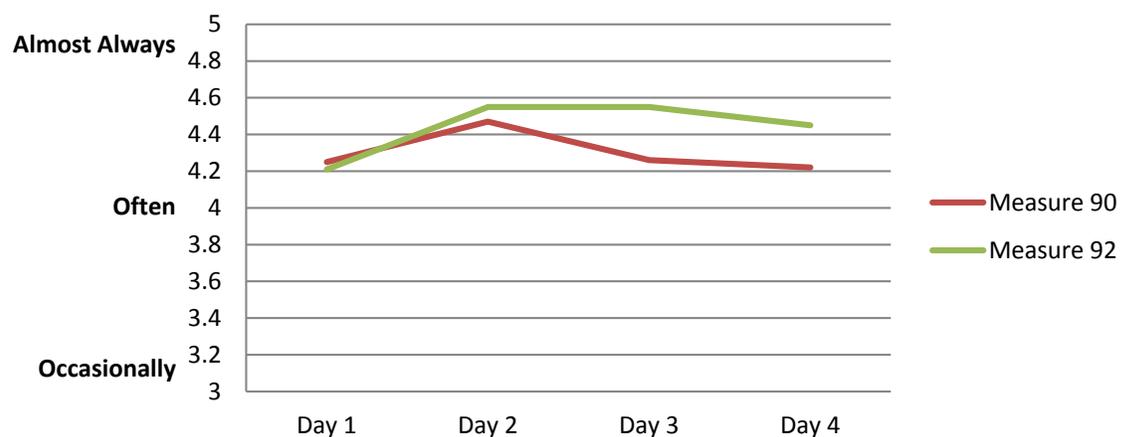
Figure 1.12 Panelists’ assessment of having sufficient opportunity to express their views, 2014



Consideration of Different Views

Similar patterns emerge when panelists were asked, “When experts or other CIR panelists expressed views different from your own today, how often did you consider carefully what they had to say?” (Figure 1.13).

Figure 1.13 Panelist reports of considering the views of others, 2014

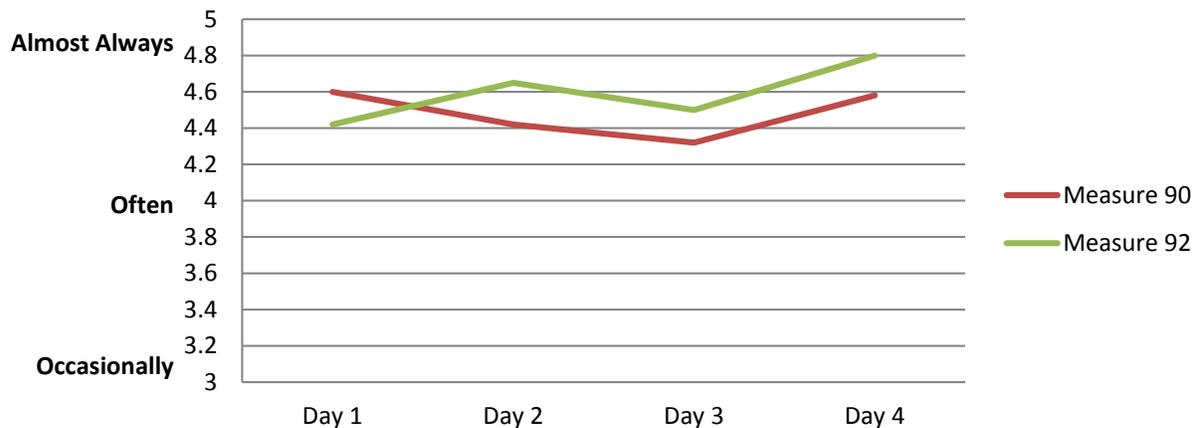


The presence of facilitators and the ample opportunity for small and large group deliberations likely led to this high level of satisfaction. The review scoring lowest along these criteria was Measure 90. As discussed above, the lower levels of satisfaction are likely due to the absence of small group moderators for many of the small group sessions. Bolstering this finding, the higher levels of having opportunities to express their views on days three and four likely reflect the infusion of small group facilitators, who began moderating small groups at the end of day three and continued facilitations on day four.

Mutual Respect

To assess the level of respect, we asked panelists at the end of each day, “How often do you feel that other panelists treated you with respect today?” (Figure 1.14). Again, the CIR rates very highly in both reviews, with almost all panelists on every day reporting they often or almost always felt respected. Moreover, this measure appears fairly stable over time, with little variation among days or across reviews.

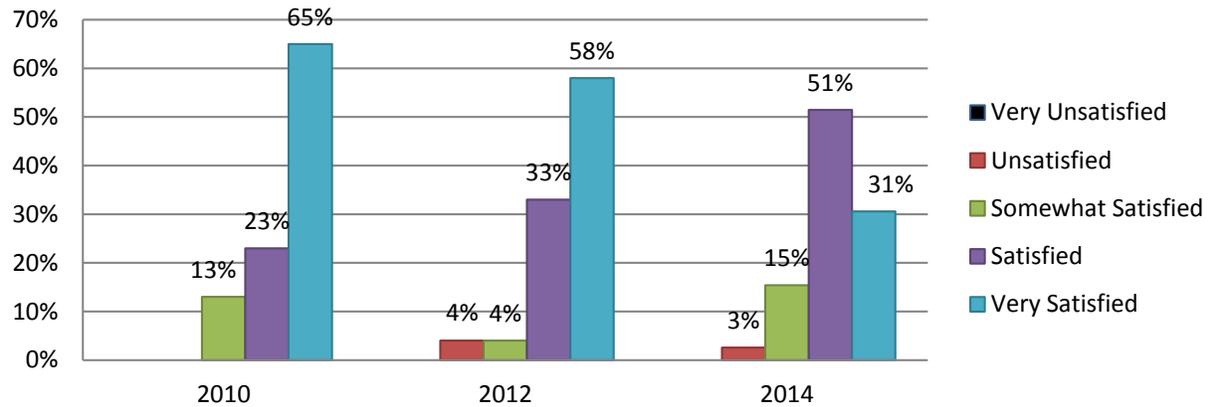
Figure 1.14 Panelists’ assessments of feeling respected, 2014



The days that do tend to rank lowest in this regard are often days two and three, when the panelists hear from the advocates. On these days, the panelists may be responding more to the advocate presentations than to treatment by other panelists. Panelists often expressed frustration with the advocates when they felt that the advocates were avoiding their questions or failing to provide concrete answers. The lower feelings of respect may be a response to these tactics by advocates. Panelists engaged in extensive deliberations about the topic may feel disrespected by advocates who they feel are trying to manipulate them rather than provide them with strong and reliable information.

1.4 Decision Making

In evaluating the decision-making process, we look to the panelists’ satisfaction with the Key Findings and with the Arguments in Favor of and in Opposition to the Measure. Though satisfaction with the Key Findings remains high, as shown in Figure 1.15, a steady decline in satisfaction emerges when looking across years: Panelists in 2014 were more likely to be satisfied than very satisfied. (A detailed discussion of the quality of the statements themselves will be provided in Section 2.)

Figure 1.15 Panelists' satisfaction with the Key Findings, 2010-2014

As previously mentioned, rather than generating claims independently based on advocate presentations, in 2014 the panelists were given a list of claims developed by the advocates at the beginning of the process and worked with these claims throughout their deliberations. The panelists used these to construct questions for the advocates and after the advocates' presentations would edit and sort them according to strength and reliability. Panelists continued this process throughout the course of the review, eventually creating a list of the ten best claims, which became the basis for the Key Findings. (The reviews varied in the amount to which they were given time to edit these claims, as will be discussed below.)

One advantage to this format was the considerable time saved on grammatical editing. In 2010 and 2012, the fourth day of the CIR in which panelists developed and edited the Key Findings often proved the most problematic aspect of the process. This is due, in part, to the difficulty of large group editing, which consistently proved frustrating and time consuming. To overcome this difficulty in 2010 and 2012, panelists would often break off into ad-hoc groups so that a small group of panelists could craft a draft of this section. Although this sped up the process, it gave undue power to a small group of panelists. Providing panelists with pre-written statements appeared to solve this issue, as panelists needed to spend much less time engaged in grammatical editing or figuring out how to best phrase pertinent facts.

The disadvantage lies, however, in the additional power this provides to advocates, who had the ability to craft arguments that would eventually end up in the Statement. Though on its own, this may not be problematic, the panelists were not necessarily given enough opportunity to craft findings or arguments not provided by the advocates. Though some time was given for this, it was often tacked on to other goals, such as prioritizing the already-developed claims. Additional time provided to the panelists to identify information or arguments not provided by the advocates or extra encouragement that they are free to edit the advocates' statements may increase panelists' overall satisfaction with the statements as well as their autonomy in crafting them.¹⁵

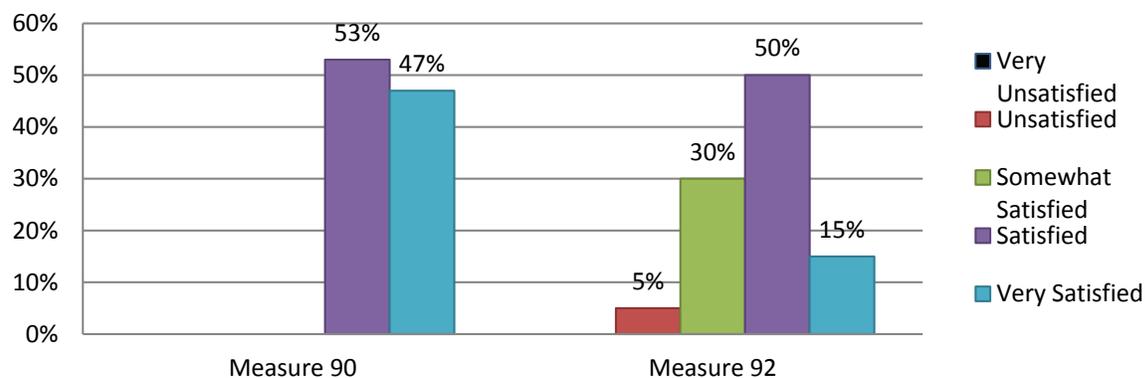
A related problem came with the order in which claims were prioritized. Claims were often prioritized before the panelists had a chance to edit them. This meant that important claims were deemed unreliable and, thus, panelists did not have an opportunity to edit those claims to make them more

¹⁵ Healthy Democracy is more sanguine about this aspect of the 2014 CIR procedure and has developed a revised process that devotes more time to this task.

reliable. At times this meant that claims would drop out of the discussion for statistical errors or biased language even though the underlying information was important to relay to voters.

When looking at both 2014 CIRs (Figure 1.16), we again see variation in levels of satisfaction, with a higher level of satisfaction in the Measure 90 panel than in the Measure 92 panel. A primary reason for the lower levels of satisfaction is likely the lack of time provided for crafting the final Key Findings and process confusion about how they would be finalized. Panelists were pressed for time to develop the final Key Findings. This was particularly acute for Measure 92, in which process implementation errors forced panelists to stay later than expected to finalize the Citizens' Statement. Perhaps the more pressing problem, however, was confusion about how the statements were to be constructed. Panelists in those reviews were often confused about the purpose of their votes, not necessarily realizing that they were voting to either select or finalize the Key Findings. In the case of Measure 92, process confusion meant that neither the panelists nor the moderators were quite sure at some points whether they were voting to prioritize the Key Findings for editing or to place them in the Citizens' Statement. This type of process confusion took up a significant amount of time that detracted from the time allocated to discuss and edit the claims.

Figure 1.16 Panelist satisfaction with the Key Findings, 2014



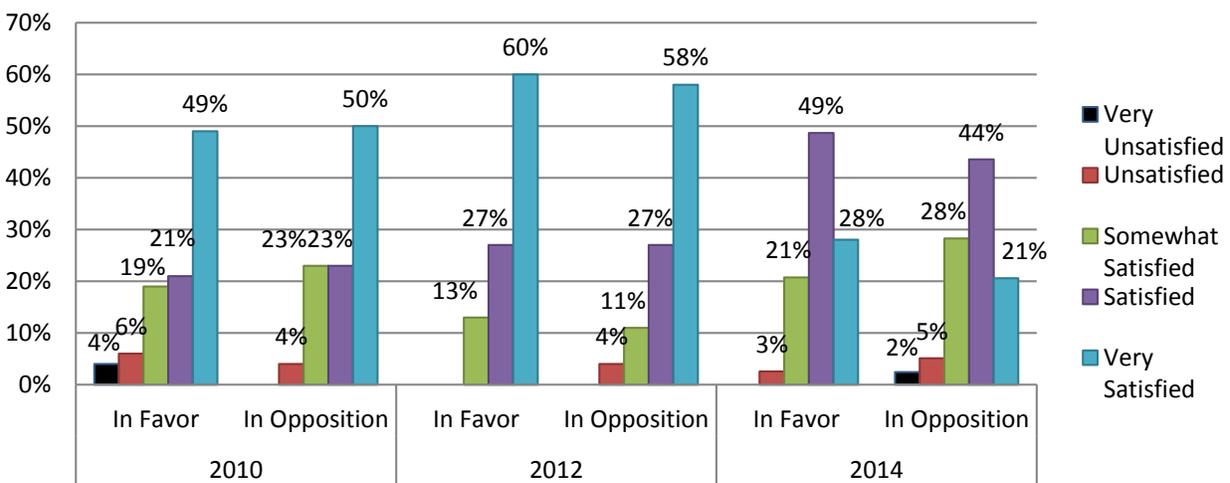
Turning to the panelists' satisfaction with the Arguments in Favor of and in Opposition to the Measure, we see variation over time in panelists' level of satisfaction across years, with 2012 scoring highest in this regard (Figure 1.17). One process change in 2012 that likely led to higher levels of satisfaction with this section of the statement was the ability for panelists to provide feedback on the pro and con arguments. After panelists split into their respective groups to write these sections, the groups then read the sections they had crafted to one another and solicited feedback from those panelists who were not members of their pro or con statement writing group. This allowed all of the panelists to provide input into the final pro and con arguments and led to more balanced and accurate statements.

This process was mostly upheld in 2014, though time constraints at times prevented adequate opportunity for this.¹⁶ A second design modification, however, provided even more opportunity for

¹⁶ Assessing whether a process had "adequate" opportunity for a given panelist to participate in one or another part of the process is difficult. There is no absolute standard for adequacy, and the time available for any given task remains finite. Nonetheless, there have been times during the CIR in 2010, 2012, and 2014 when panelists expressed the feeling that they had to rush through a part of the process. On this concept generally, see adequacy of speaking opportunities in Gastil (2014).

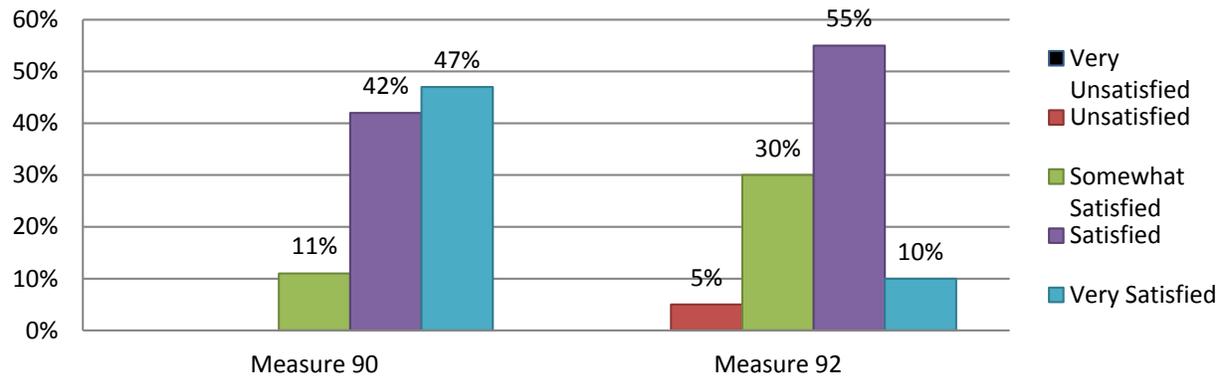
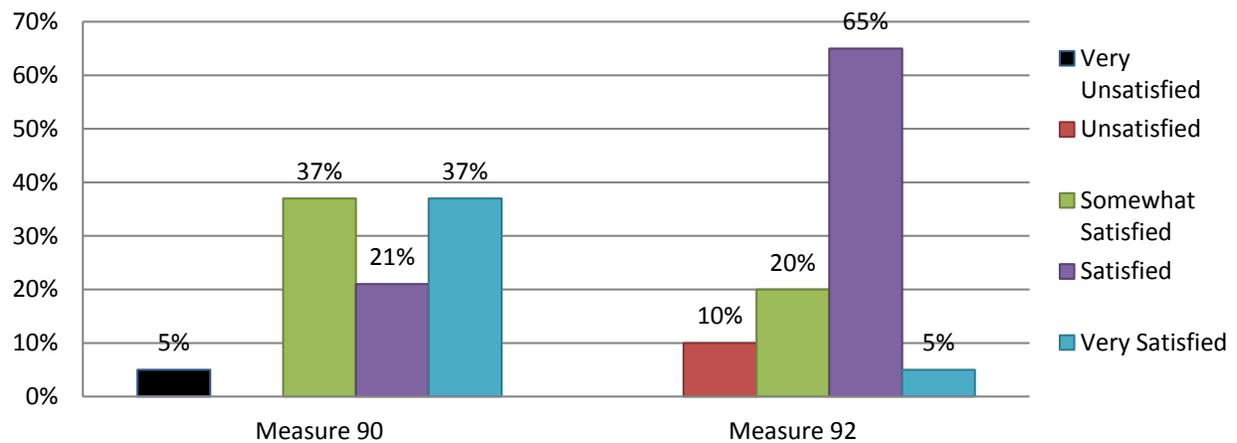
neutrality in these sections. In 2014, the panelists were randomly assigned to write either the pro or con arguments, rather than placing panelists in groups based on how they would vote, which had been done in 2010 and 2012. This decision appeared to create a more balanced level of satisfaction with these sections of the Citizens' Statement. Though fewer panelists reported being extremely satisfied with this section, the number who reported being unsatisfied with this section remained generally unchanged, and the overall level of satisfaction remained relatively high. Moreover, observation of these groups indicated that panelists may have been more thoughtful and less strategic when writing these sections than they had been in the past. Observations revealed that panelists were more likely to report thinking about what voters needed to know when writing these sections and appeared to be less focused on ensuring that their argument was more persuasive than the opposing group's. In addition, in instances when a small minority chooses one side, as was the case in 2010, dividing the groups in two provides a more equitable distribution of panelists' abilities, better ensuring that one side is not disadvantaged by the exclusion of more persuasive panelists or better writers and editors.

Figure 1.17 Panelist satisfaction with arguments in favor and opposition, 2010-2014



Looking at the 2014 CIRs allows us to further explore how process variation affected satisfaction with this section (Figures 1.18 and 1.19). One of the biggest points of process confusion when crafting the Arguments in Favor of and in Opposition to the Measure in 2014 was over the inclusion of claims in both the Key Findings and the Arguments in Favor of and in Opposition to the Measure sections. Because panelists voted to prioritize claims for the pro and con arguments before finalizing the Key Findings, claims often ended up in both sections of the Citizens' Statement. Moreover, edits made to these claims when constructing the Key Findings were not always carried over when constructing the pro and con arguments. This left some panelists frustrated as they felt that a significant portion of their work had been discounted when moving between tasks. (The problems associated with this from a voter's standpoint will be discussed in the next section.)¹⁷

¹⁷ Healthy Democracy notes that this problem was, once again, a training and management error, which has been resolved.

Figure 1.18 Panelist satisfaction with the Arguments in Favor, 2014**Figure 1.19 Panelist satisfaction with the Arguments in Opposition, 2014**

1.5 Summary

We found that the 2014 CIRs generally maintained the high standards for democratic deliberation evidenced in the 2010 and 2012 reviews. One review had difficulty processing complex scientific information (namely, the Measure 92 review on GMO labeling), and this showed up in a variety of more modest satisfaction ratings. In addition, we found that the statement writing process saw a slight reduction in quality in 2014 as panelists were pressed for time and had less autonomy in crafting their Citizens' Statements.

Section 2. Accuracy, Readability, and Completeness of the Citizens' Statements

In previous reports, we have provided general assessments of Citizens' Statements, but in this report we look more closely at all of the Statements produced by CIRs from 2010 through 2014. The intent of this section is to assess the Citizens' Statements on their own terms, as documents produced by CIR panels for use by voters.

The three assessment criteria we use are accuracy, readability, and comprehensiveness. No matter how deliberative the CIR process, its success depends on providing voters with Statements that have accurate content that voters can understand without great difficulty. Successful Citizens' Statements should also address the kinds of questions voters need answered when weighing ballot measures. Though the limited length of the CIR Statement may make it impossible to answer all such questions, a more comprehensive document should be more useful to voters.

To assess accuracy, each assertion in each statement was evaluated to determine whether it was verifiable, supported by the evidence presented to the panelists, and consistent with the text of the ballot initiative on which the panelists deliberated as well as other publicly available factual and legal information. The accuracy rating is a numerical score indicating the percentage of error-free substantive sentences in each statement.

To judge a CIR Statement's readability, each was measured using tools that determine the reading-grade level (in the U.S. public school system) required to understand the language used in the statement.¹⁸ A less mechanical procedure was then used to judge the clarity of each statement in terms of grammatical correctness, coherence and avoidance of jargon.

Finally, to determine the extent to which the Citizens' Statements provided informational content that is of value to voters, each assertion in each statement was coded using a coding scheme designating fifteen features—specifically topics and functions—commonly observed in the transcripts of panelists' discussions during the 2010 Oregon CIRs. The frequency with which these features appeared in the 2010 Oregon CIR panelists' conversations is interpreted to indicate kinds of informational content that citizens particularly value as they deliberate about ballot initiatives.¹⁹

2.1 Accuracy

In general, the Citizens' Statements produced to date were highly accurate, as shown in Table 2.1. For all six statements, the vast majority of assertions were supported by the text of the measures or information submitted to the panelists, were consistent with other facts or law, and were verifiable. Four of the Citizens' Statements were free of problems related to accuracy. Two Citizens' Statements contained one error each, and one of these statements also contained an unverifiable assertion.

¹⁸ Kincaid, Fishburne, Rogers, & Chissom (1975); Gunning (1968); McLaughlin (1969). Formulas for the scores appear in the note to Table 2.3.

¹⁹ Richards & Gastil (2013); Richards (2014).

Table 2.1 Measures of the accuracy of CIR Citizens' Statements

Statement	Accuracy Percentage
CIR 2010 - OR M73 (MandMin) Statement	100.0
CIR 2010 - OR M74 (MedMJ) Statement	100.0
CIR 2012 - OR M82 (Casino) Statement	96.6
CIR 2012 - OR M85 (Kicker) Statement	100.0
CIR 2014 - OR M90 (Primary) Citizens' Statement	100.0
CIR 2014 - OR M92 (GMO labels) Statement	91.3
Mean	98.0
Standard deviation	3.5

Note. Accuracy indicates the percentage of sentences in each Citizens' Statement that are free from factual or legal error.

In two instances, Citizens' Statements contained claims that were inconsistent with the text of the measure.

- In the Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measure 82 of 2012, one finding stated that "for every dollar of revenue produced by private casinos, 25 cents would go to the State lottery," whereas the text of the measure states that the share is twenty percent.²⁰
- In the Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measure 92 of 2014, one key finding states that the measure will require "labeling foods as non-GM," whereas the text of the measure does not require any foods to be labeled as non-GM.

Both of these errors in Citizens' Statements, and especially the latter, seem problematic because they may cause voters to harbor false beliefs of some magnitude about the content of the measure.

One Citizens' Statement included an unverifiable assertion among its findings. In the Citizens' Statement for Measure 92, one Key Finding reads in part: "If we are going to sell GMO salmon that contain genes from an eel-like organism ... or other engineered fish or meat now in development, we should label them."

This assertion is not a statement of fact, but a policy prescription. Indeed, it is a policy prescription favoring the measure. Its accuracy cannot be verified,²¹ so including such an assertion in the Key Findings section of a Citizens' Statement may confuse voters, who are likely to expect that section to contain only verifiable claims. In addition, when such an assertion plainly favors one side in the debate

²⁰ Oregon Measure 82 of 2012, § 4(4)(d)(F) provides that "of the 25% of adjusted gross revenue paid by the taxpaying casino to the State of Oregon ... the casino shall pay: ... 80% into the Oregon State Lottery Fund" (Oregon Secretary of State, 2012, p. 97).

²¹ Some moral and political philosophers (e.g., Landemore, 2013) might argue that this policy prescription has truth value. Even assuming that these philosophers are correct, we cannot identify any means of verifying the truth value of such a policy prescription that most voters are likely to accept.

about the measure, as the policy prescription contained in the Key Findings section of Measure 92 does, it may cause voters to perceive the CIR panel as biased.

2.2 Readability

The concept of readability has spawned multiple systematic measurement techniques. In this report, we employ three common scoring methods, each of which emphasizes different linguistic attributes or combinations of attributes:

- The Flesch-Kincaid score, which accounts for both average sentence length and average number of syllables per word, provides a gauge of the overall complexity of language in a text.
- The FOG score likewise accounts for both sentence- and word-length, but emphasizes sophisticated vocabulary by giving more weight to words having three or more syllables.
- The SMOG score, based solely on words having three or more syllables, measures only the amount of sophisticated vocabulary used in a piece of writing.

These measures indicate that the overall linguistic complexity of the Citizens' Statements lies at the level of a high school senior, or slightly higher.

Some of the most complex language in the statements appears in introductory paragraphs, where readers learn the purpose and design of the CIR process. For example, in most Oregon statements the introductory paragraph includes a sentence containing thirty-four words, eleven of which have three or more syllables, and a compound predicate.²² Language intended for readers having a twelfth- to fourteenth-grade reading level may be inaccessible to many intended readers of Citizens' Statements, given that a substantial share of Oregon adults have an educational attainment below the twelfth grade, or lack basic literacy skills.²³ Such language is also inconsistent with the reading-level standard of the Oregon state government.²⁴

Table 2.2 puts required reading level in a relative context by juxtaposing the six Oregon Citizens' Statements from 2010-2014 with other voter-pamphlet information. The paid pro and con arguments that appeared in the *Oregon Voters' Pamphlet* for those six CIR issues required the lowest reading level. The ballot titles and fiscal impact statements were next in complexity, followed by the Citizens' Statements. The explanatory statements and full text of the measure were both more demanding than the CIR, with the measures themselves requiring a college or graduate-level education to decipher.

Reading level scores for each Citizens' Statement from 2010-2014 appear in Table 2.3, along with another indicator of readability. We assessed the clarity of the language used in Citizens' Statements in terms of grammatical correctness, lucidity, and coherence, along with the avoidance of jargon (or

²² The sentence reads: "The panelists were randomly selected from registered voters in Oregon and balanced to fairly reflect the state's voting population based on location of residence, party registration, age, gender, education, ethnicity, and likelihood of voting." See, e.g., Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measure 90 of 2014.

²³ According to the U.S. Census Bureau, as of 2009 the percentage of adults aged 25 or above who had not obtained a high school diploma or equivalent degree was 10.9% in Oregon (Ryan & Siebens, 2012). The rate for all voters may be higher when adults aged 18-24 are accounted for. In addition, the National Assessment of Adult Literacy estimated that as of 2003 the percentage of adults lacking basic literacy was 10% in Oregon (U.S. Department of Education, 2003).

²⁴ The maximum reading level for Oregon state government information, established by the Oregon Department of Administrative Services, is tenth grade (Oregon Department of Administrative Services, 2015).

providing definitions, when such terms cannot be avoided). These are formal characteristics of language that can affect understanding but are not captured by the Flesch-Kincaid, FOG, and SMOG scores. For each statement, the percentage of sentences having these characteristics was determined, and the *Clarity* scores in Table 2.3 report the average score for the three characteristics. Summarizing across those scores, it appears that Citizens' Statements generally rate as having very clear language. Grammatical and vocabulary errors are few, and those that arise generally do not prevent the language from conveying its intended meaning.

Table 2.2 Readability of Oregon CIR Citizens' Statements versus other voting guide materials for the same statewide ballot measures, 2010-2014

Document Type	Flesch-Kincaid Reading Level	SMOG Reading Level	FOG Reading Level	Index Reading Level	Rank: Easiest to Read
Pro and Con Arguments	9.6	11.7	8.2	9.8	1
Ballot Title	13.3	12.9	7.5	11.2	2
Financial Impact Statements	11.9	13.0	10.1	11.7	3
CIR Citizens' Statements	12.1	13.9	12.0	12.7	4
Explanatory Statements	13.8	15.1	14.2	14.4	5
Texts of Measures	15.2	17.0	20.6	17.6	6

Note. Index Reading Level is the arithmetic mean of the Flesch-Kincaid, SMOG, and FOG reading-level scores. For score formulas, see the note to Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Measures of the readability and clarity of CIR Citizens' Statements, 2010-2014

Statement	Flesch-Kincaid Reading Level	FOG Reading Level	SMOG Reading Level	Clarity
CIR 2010 - OR M73 (MandMin) Statement	11.3	11.5	13.7	100.0
CIR 2010 - OR M74 (MedMJ) Statement	12.5	10.0	13.7	100.0
CIR 2012 - OR M82 (Casino) Statement	12.6	12.5	14.5	98.0
CIR 2012 - OR M85 (Kicker) Statement	12.0	11.9	14.0	99.4
CIR 2014 - OR M90 (Primary) Citizens' Statement	11.8	10.1	13.6	98.0
CIR 2014 - OR M92 (GMO labels) Statement	12.2	12.9	14.0	100.0
Mean	12.1	11.5	13.9	99.2
Standard Deviation	0.5	1.2	0.3	1.0

Note. Flesch-Kincaid, FOG, and SMOG scores indicate grade-levels within the U.S. public school grade numbering system, so that, e.g., "12.1" means slightly higher than a twelfth-grade reading level. The formula for the Flesch-Kincaid score is: $0.39 * (\text{words} / \text{sentences}) + 11.8 (\text{syllables} / \text{words}) - 15.59$ (Kincaid et al., 1975, p. 14). The formula used to calculate the FOG score is: $((\text{words of one or two syllables} + 3 * \text{words of three or more syllables}) / \text{sentences}) - 2) / 2$ (Kincaid et al., 1975, p. 14). The formula for the SMOG score is: $(\text{square root of } (\text{words of three or more syllables per 30 sentences})) + 3$ (McCloughlin, 1969, p. 639). *Clarity* is an index consisting of the mean of three measures: the percentage of sentences in each Citizens' Statement that are free from, respectively, grammatical or vocabulary error, confusing or incoherent phrasing, and undefined jargon.

2.3 Comprehensiveness

Previous examination of voting guides in general, and Citizens' Statements in particular, led us to identify a set of issues that voters may need addressed to render informed judgments on ballot measures.²⁵ In practice, even a useful voting guide may not address all of these issues, but it is illuminating to examine whether the different Citizens' Statements address fifteen different issues, such as these:

- the policy goals of the initiative,
- the likely actual effects of the initiative,
- alternative means (other than the initiative) of achieving those policy goals,
- unintended consequences that could arise from the initiative,
- laws in other jurisdictions that were similar to the initiative, and
- reasons for using a new law rather than an alternative means to address the policy goals.

In terms of how many of these content features the CIR has addressed, the trend has been one of steady improvement from good to very good performance. Table 2.4 shows that whereas the 2010 Citizens' Statements each exhibited twelve of the fifteen content features of concern to citizens, the 2012 statements possessed thirteen of those features on average, and the 2014 statements possessed fourteen or all fifteen features. Ten of the content features—among them three functions and seven topics²⁶—appear in every Citizens' Statement produced to date.

Many of the content features in our coding scheme concern the task of identifying the intended effects (*i.e.*, the policy goals) of an initiative and comparing them to the likely actual effects of the measure. Most features related to this task—including descriptions of the need, policy goals, likely actual effects, including fiscal effects, and likely effectiveness of the measure—involve determining whether the initiative is likely to achieve the objectives its drafters intend, a determination that appears to be important to citizens who deliberate about initiatives.²⁷ The latter four topics—policy goals,²⁸ likely

²⁵ The issues, or content features, consist of topics and functions. The topics are the *need* for the initiative, the *policy goals* of the initiative, the likely *effectiveness* of the initiative in achieving those policy goals, *alternative means* (other than the initiative) of achieving those policy goals, *reasons for using a new law* rather than an alternative means to address the policy goals, the likely *actual effects* of the initiative, the likely *fiscal effects* of the initiative, *unintended consequences* that could arise from the initiative, *existing laws* relevant to the initiative, laws in *other jurisdictions* that were similar to the initiative, *bases for possible legal challenges* to the initiative, and relevant *values*. The functions, or purposes, are *description or explanation*, *evaluation*, and the *application* of legal rules in the initiative to hypothetical sets of facts. See Richards (2014).

²⁶ The topical features that appear in all six Citizens' Statements are policy goals, effectiveness, unintended consequences, actual effects, fiscal effects, existing laws, and values.

²⁷ Richards (2012); Richards & Gastil (2013).

²⁸ An example appears in the Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measure 85 of 2012: "The intent of this measure is for 100% of the 'kicker' to go to K-12 education."

actual effects,²⁹ fiscal effects,³⁰ and likely effectiveness³¹—were observed in every Citizens’ Statement, and the fifth, the need,³² is expressed in all statements produced in 2012 and 2014.

Table 2.4 Measures of the comprehensiveness of CIR Citizens’ Statements, 2010-2014

Statement	Comprehensiveness Percentage
CIR 2010 - OR M73 (MandMin) Statement	80.0
CIR 2010 - OR M74 (MedMJ) Statement	80.0
CIR 2012 - OR M82 (Casino) Statement	86.7
CIR 2012 - OR M85 (Kicker) Statement	93.3
CIR 2014 - OR M90 (Primary) Citizens' Statement	93.3
CIR 2014 - OR M92 (GMO labels) Statement	100.0
Mean	88.9
Standard deviation	8.1

Note. *Comprehensiveness* indicates the percentage of fifteen features of citizens’ legal communication employed in each Citizens’ Statement.

Unintended consequences are another salient topic related to the intended effects of initiatives. Beyond their interest in whether an initiative is likely to achieve its goals, citizens often express concerns about possible unanticipated adverse effects of initiatives.³³ Every Citizens’ Statement to date has addressed these concerns.³⁴

The topic of values³⁵ and the function of evaluation³⁶ are also content features that appear in all six Citizens’ Statements. Reading descriptions of values relevant to an initiative can encourage voters to reflect on their own value commitments that pertain to the measure. Such reflection can improve voting decisions by enabling voters to assess trade-offs among policy choices.³⁷ Both the likely effectiveness determination and the identification of unintended consequences involve the function of evaluation, the making of judgments about initiatives. The presence of these judgments in Citizens’ Statements can aid

²⁹ See the example appearing in the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 74 of 2010: “Availability of marijuana will increase [if the measure is enacted].”

³⁰ The Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 73 of 2010 provides an example: “Measure 73 will cost only 1/5 of 1% of the General Fund.”

³¹ An example appears in the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 90 of 2014: “Proponents do not predict that M90 would increase voter participation.”

³² See the example appearing in the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 90 of 2014: “Most elections are currently decided in low turnout primaries.”

³³ Richards (2012); Richards & Gastil (2013).

³⁴ The Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 73 of 2010 provides an example: “An unintended consequence of M73 is that juveniles aged 15 to 17 are subject to 25 year mandatory minimum sentences.”

³⁵ An example comes from the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 85 of 2012: “The passage of Measure 85 would demonstrate Oregon’s commitment to improving education.”

³⁶ The Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 92 of 2014 provides an example: “[Labeling genetically engineered foods] would offer [citizens] more control and transparency over their food purchasing decisions.”

³⁷ Gastil (2008).

voters by serving either as cues to follow, or, when expressly supported by reasons—as they often are in Citizens’ Statements—as spurs to reflection about the merits of initiatives.

Descriptions of the application of legal rules in an initiative to hypothetical fact patterns³⁸ likewise appear in every Citizens’ Statement. Reading accounts of how an initiative would apply in particular situations helps citizens to grasp the content of the initiative, as well as to evaluate likely actual effects of the initiative, and thereby to judge the probable effectiveness and risk of unexpected adverse consequences of the measure.³⁹

Further, citizens regularly seek information about benchmarks or alternatives with which to compare the initiative.⁴⁰ In Citizens’ Statements these are reflected in descriptions of existing laws in one’s own state that are related to the measure—*i.e.*, the legal status quo that would be altered by the initiative⁴¹—alternative means of achieving the initiative’s policy goals,⁴² reasons for preferring the initiative to existing law and alternative means,⁴³ and similar laws in other states or countries.⁴⁴ Descriptions of existing laws, alternative means, and reasons for preferring the initiative to existing law and alternative means can inform voters about the need for the initiative and about other possible ways of accomplishing the policy goals of the initiative. Accounts of laws resembling the initiative in other jurisdictions allow readers to assess the likely effectiveness and unintended consequences of the initiative. Thus, descriptions of existing laws, alternative means, reasons for preferring an initiative to alternative means, and other jurisdictions’ similar laws can substantially enrich the information base with which voters determine the benefits and disadvantages of initiatives. All six Citizens’ Statements included descriptions of existing laws and reasons for preferring the initiative to existing laws or to alternative means, but only three Citizens’ Statements described alternative means of accomplishing policy objectives, and just two—both written in 2014—expressly compared an initiative to similar laws in other states.⁴⁵

Bases for legal challenges to an initiative are another topic of considerable concern to citizens who make decisions about initiatives.⁴⁶ Descriptions of grounds on which a court might strike down all or part of a measure can help voters to gauge the value of their time and votes spent on a measure—since voters may consider wasted a vote for or time devoted to considering a measure all or the core provisions of

³⁸ See the example in the Citizens’ Statements for Oregon Measure 73 of 2010: “Sexting falls under the definition of explicit material [under the measure].”

³⁹ Richards (2012); Richards & Gastil (2013).

⁴⁰ Richards & Gastil (2013).

⁴¹ The Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 90 of 2014 offers this example: “Currently, every party has the right to have a candidate on General Election Ballot.”

⁴² An example comes from the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 73 of 2010: “No one convicted for felony sex offenses [under the measure] would receive the opportunity for treatment.”

⁴³ The Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 74 of 2010 furnishes an example: “[The measure] introduces additional regulation and control to an existing program previously approved by Oregon voters.”

⁴⁴ An example is found in the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 92 of 2014: “64 countries, including most of Europe, Australia, and Japan, already require labeling of genetically engineered foods and when those countries switched to requiring labeling food prices did not go up.”

⁴⁵ In at least one instance—the Citizens’ Statement for Oregon Measure 82 of 2012—the statement includes information that is based on a comparison with similar laws in other states (here, information about the effects of the presence of a casino in a community on residents’ gambling behavior), but does not expressly state that the information concerns other states’ laws.

⁴⁶ Richards & Gastil (2013); Richards (2014).

which are likely to be invalidated. Such descriptions can also help voters to identify the provisions of a measure, and their probable desirable and undesirable consequences, that are likely to remain in force after a court strikes down invalid provisions. Yet the Citizens' Statement produced by the only Citizens' Initiative Review panel known to have discussed legal grounds for challenging a measure—the panel for Oregon Measure 73 of 2010—failed to mention those grounds.⁴⁷

2.4 Efficient Design

Although the Citizens' Statements include most of the content features described above, the design of these documents has some undesirable features and lacks others that may improve its overall utility.

Section headings and sequencing

One feature commonly used in guides are topical headers that indicate the kind of information in each section, as with the headings and subheadings in this report. The Citizens' Statements have used varied headings since 2010, but the format in 2014 distinguished between three sections: Key Findings, Citizen Statement In Support of the Measure, and Citizen Statement In Opposition to the Measure. The first problem is that these elements are confusing in relation to the title of the full document. The one-page report of the CIR is called a Citizens' Statement, yet two of its three sections also make a claim to be Citizens' Statements. If a voter were to refer to something she read in a CIR Citizens' Statement, it would be unclear whether they meant the full document or one of these two subsections. Given the importance of explaining this novel process to new voters, such potential confusion is non-trivial.

A related issue is that the three sections of the 2014 Citizens' Statements are grammatically incommensurate: Whereas the latter parts are called "Statements" (for and against the measure), the first part comes merely as "Key Findings," rather than as a Statement of Key Findings. The 2010 version of the document was more parallel to the other sections ("Citizen Statement of a Majority of the Panel"), but that title had problems, as well (e.g., implying that it might be the only majority section, or deemphasizing the large majorities that typically support inclusion of a key finding).

The order of the main sections has also varied from 2010-2014 in a way that may reveal the optimal sequencing for these parts. In almost all versions of the statements, the Key Findings precede the arguments in favor and opposed to the measure,⁴⁸ but in some statements the Key Findings have followed the pro and con arguments.⁴⁹ Two related findings suggest that the optimal ordering has the findings first. Conventional models of deliberation and effective group decision making put at the front of the discussion sequence the establishment of a solid information base, which is the job of the findings section. Weighing pros and cons comes last, just prior to judgment.⁵⁰ Likewise, those juries that review the evidence first, before turning attention to a possible verdict, produce more robust deliberation.⁵¹ Since assertions in Key Findings frequently serve as rationales for claims made in pro and con arguments, this sequencing allows voters to examine the factual bases for many of the judgments expressed in the pro and con argument sections of the statements, and thus can improve voters' comprehension of the justifications for those judgments. Thus, displaying the Key Findings after the pro

⁴⁷ Measure 73 does not appear ultimately to have been challenged in court.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., the Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measure 73 of 2010.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., the Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measures 90 and 92 of 2014 in the online edition of the *Voters' Pamphlet* (<http://www.oregonvotes.gov/pages/history/archive/nov42014/guide/english/votersguide.html>).

⁵⁰ See Gastil (2008), which draws on earlier work summarized in Gouran and Hirokawa (1996).

⁵¹ For an overview, see Vidmar and Hans (2007).

and con arguments may interfere with the process of learning and reflection that the CIR is designed to encourage.

Another potential problem with Citizens' Statements is redundancy within and across their sections. Repeating assertions within a section wastes voters' time and may signal that either panelists failed to vet assertions carefully or that they wished to emphasize a point by, essentially, repeating it. The appearance of redundant claims in multiple sections of the Citizens' Statement—and particularly when a claim appears in both the Key Findings and one of the argument sections—may cause voters to be confused about the different purposes of the sections, and may cause voters to doubt the impartiality of the CIR panel (as discussed in Section 3.2). Although Citizens' Statements have avoided redundant statements within sections, they do display repeated statements across sections.⁵² As noted in Section 1, such repetition may be due in part to recent modifications to the CIR process.

Within the statement sections, the different kinds of claims voters make do not have corresponding subheadings. Though such a feature may be too costly in terms of the characters they would require in an already-crowded one-page document, it is noteworthy that there are no signposts to guide voters through the functionally distinct types of assertions made in the Citizens' Statements (see Section 2.3). It is possible that voters would scan and understand the sentences that pack these Statements if those were organized according to the kind of claim each sentence made.

Grammar choices

Finally, in our review of the Statements we noticed a grammatical variation that might be a subtle source of distraction or confusion. The forms of verbs employed in Citizens' Statements at times obscure the type of effect being described. One way to distinguish descriptions of intended effects from descriptions of likely actual effects of a measure is to use different verb forms for each type of consequence: the present tense for intended effects, and the conditional or future tense for likely actual effects. An example of this approach to describing intended effects appears in the Key Findings of the Citizens' Statement for Oregon Measure 85 of 2012: "This ballot measure earmarks the corporate 'kicker' to fund K-12 education." Here, a verb in the present tense, "earmarks," is used to describe an intended effect of the measure: "to fund K-12 education." Among the arguments in favor of the measure in the same statement, the conditional is used to designate a likely actual effect of the measure: "Measure 85 would keep the corporate 'kicker' dollars in the Oregon economy."

This pattern of verb forms is not consistently used, however. At times, the present tense is used to express likely actual effects of the measure, as in this example, from the arguments opposed to Measure 85: "Measure 85 removes the flexibility to place corporate kicker funds into a rainy day or other reserve fund." Although this passage describes a likely actual effect of the measure—reducing the legislature's options for addressing future revenue fluctuations—a present-tense verb, "removes," is used to describe this effect. Employing present-tense verbs to describe both intended effects and likely actual effects of a measure may confuse readers, especially when those effects are not expressly distinguished by other means, such as labeling.

⁵² For example, in the Citizens' Statement for Measure 90 of 2014, the following sentence appears verbatim in both the Key Findings and the Arguments in Favor of the Measure: "M90 increases competition among primary candidates allowing the primary voters to vote at their discretion, regardless of party registration."

2.5 Summary

Taken as a whole, the CIR has produced Citizens' Statements from 2010-2014 that get high marks for accuracy, clarity, and comprehensiveness. They generally require no more than a high school senior reading level, which is less demanding than the explanatory statements provided in the *Voters' Pamphlet*. The statements have a straightforward design, but improvements could be made in sequencing, section headings, grammar, and avoiding redundant claims.

Section 3. Voter Use and Assessment of Citizens' Statements

To understand how voters use and assess the CIR, surveys were conducted for the electorates corresponding to each of the 2014 CIR panels. The surveys maintained continuity with the approach taken in 2010 and 2012, and they made it possible to determine whether the experience of the CIR was changing for the average Oregon voter.

The phone surveys were structured to be representative of the population, using sampling quotas, but the online and mail surveys used demographic weights to adjust frequency data such that the sample was representative of the population in terms of age, education, political party registration, and sex. Thus, any survey results shown in overall percentages in this and the following section reflect data that has been weighted for demographics. As it turned out, such weighting produced only small shifts in the statistical results.

Even when sampled carefully and weighted appropriately, a limitation of any such surveys, however, is that they put too much distance between the voter and the researcher, who has to rely on a small set of closed-ended questions, which must be asked through the medium of a phone, computer, or postal service. To address this limitation, we commissioned a special “usability study” in Oregon⁵³ before this year’s surveys. This method, which consisted of face-to-face, loosely structured interviews with voters, provided new insights, some of which were then tested in the surveys that followed.

3.1 CIR Awareness and Citizens' Statement Use, 2010-2014

The most basic question about the CIR’s adoption is whether voters become aware of the panels, read their Citizens’ Statements, and find those one-page analyses useful. To answer those questions, we used a statewide phone survey of likely voters and attempted to replicate the research method used in 2010 and 2012.

The 2014 phone survey of 600 voters was conducted the final weekend before the election. The cooperation rate was 55%, which meant that more than half of the eligible respondents that interviewers successfully contacted provided a complete survey. (Comparison response rates from 2010-2012 and other basic survey data appear in Appendix B.) Using screening quotas, the phone survey’s demographics were very representative of Oregon in terms of respondent party registration, residence, age, and sex.

As in previous years, an overwhelming majority of respondents (71%) made use of the official *Voters’ Pamphlet*. Among those who had already cast their ballots when interviewed, 86% reported using the pamphlet.⁵⁴ Those who had already voted in the election are the focus for this section, because those respondents show what information sources had been used by those whose ballots were complete. Some comparisons can be made between these respondents and an equivalent subsample from previous years, though the 2010 sample is too small for extensive comparisons.⁵⁵

⁵³ Part of this usability study was also conducted in Colorado, as explained in section 3.2 below.

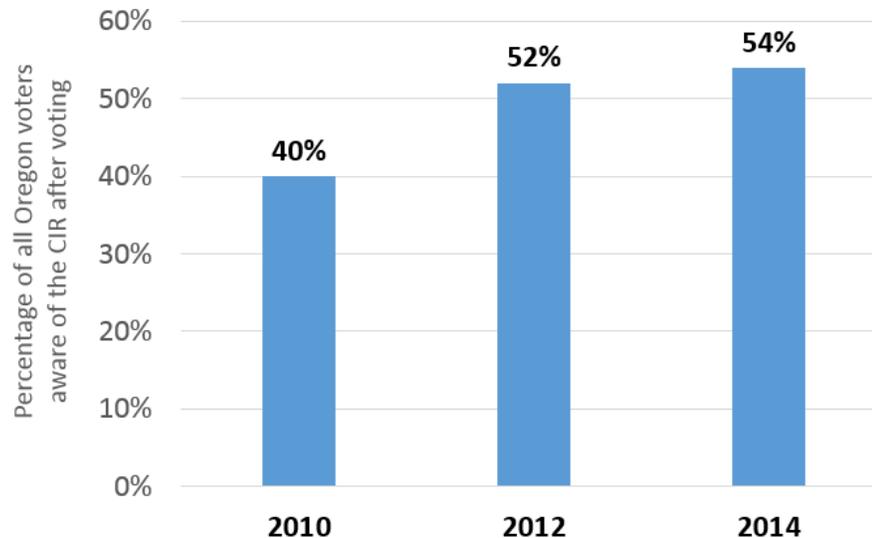
⁵⁴ Question: “By this point, some people have already read the online or print version of the official Oregon Voters’ Pamphlet for the November election. Others may plan to read the pamphlet later or not at all. How about you? Have you already read it, plan to read it later, or do you not intend to use it this year?”

⁵⁵ The 2010 survey was a rolling cross-sectional survey, which emphasized maintaining a consistent weekly sample across the last two months of the election, rather than a large N at the end of the election. Moreover, the University of Washington Survey Research Center was unable to sustain its calling rate as Election Day neared in

Awareness of the CIR in Oregon

In 2014, more Oregon voters were aware of the CIR than ever before.⁵⁶ Figure 3.1 shows that 40% of those who had turned in ballots in 2010 had heard of the CIR. That number rose to 52% in 2012, then to 54% in 2014. Given sample sizes, the difference between 2012 and 2014 is quite small, and it will be important to continue tracking this variable in coming years, particularly if there is a significant increase in the amount of publicity given to the CIR process.

Figure 3.1 Awareness of the CIR process in Oregon, 2010-2014



Closer inspection of the survey data shows that the proportion of voters “very aware” of the CIR dipped from 25% to 20%. That group is particularly important, because those choosing the “somewhat aware” scale point are freely admitting a foggy recognition of the CIR.

Table 3.1 Awareness levels for the Oregon CIR, 2010-2014

CIR awareness level	2010	2012	2014
Not aware	59%	47%	46%
Somewhat aware	26%	28%	35%
Very aware	16%	25%	20%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Sample size (N)	111	323	403
<i>At least somewhat aware</i>	40%	52%	54%

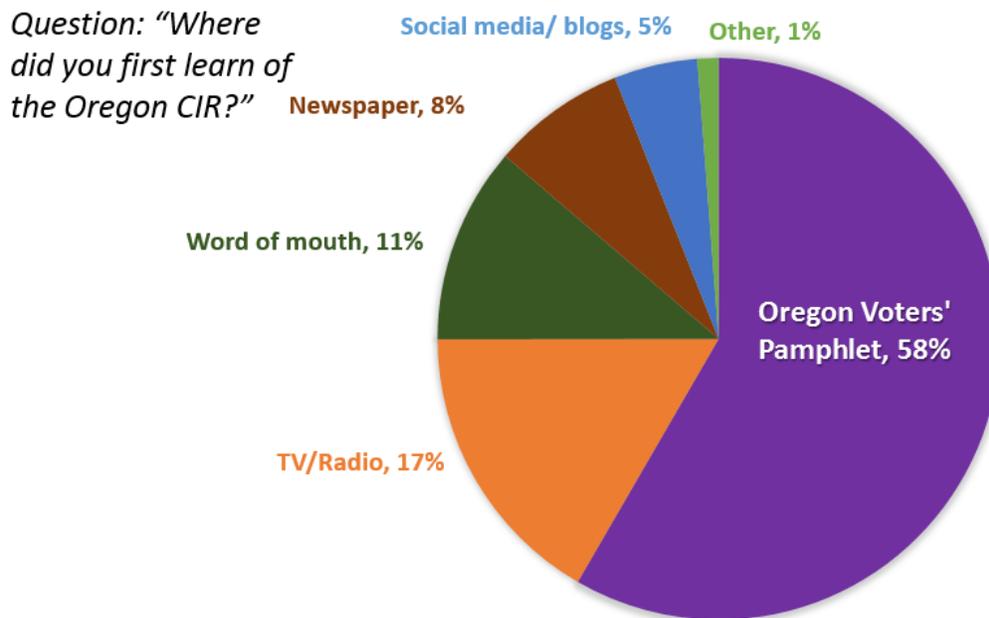
For the first time, in 2014, our phone survey included the question, “Where did you first learn of the Oregon Citizens’ Initiative Review?” As shown in Figure 3.2, 58% said that they learned of it from the

2010 because during the final two weeks, its interviewers had to conduct a Washington statewide survey at the same time that they completed their study of the Oregon CIR.

⁵⁶ Results are from telephone surveys of 111 likely voters in 2010, 323 in 2012, and 403 in 2014 (see Appendix B).

Voters' Pamphlet, 17% said it was radio/television, 11% said "word of mouth," 8% said newspaper, and the rest were spread across other categories (including just 2% on other online sources).⁵⁷

Figure 3.2 Where Oregon voters first learned of the CIR



Note. $N = 247$.

CIR Statement readers

In previous years and memos, we have presented CIR readership statistics in different formats and formulations. For this report, we chose to focus once more on just those respondents who had already voted. We also put a restriction on readership responses, such that one who acknowledges no prior awareness of the CIR cannot be counted as among those who have read a Citizens' Statement.⁵⁸ We also have simplified the analysis by aggregating across the two CIR issues from each year, such that we measure whether an individual read *either one* of the Citizens' Statements.

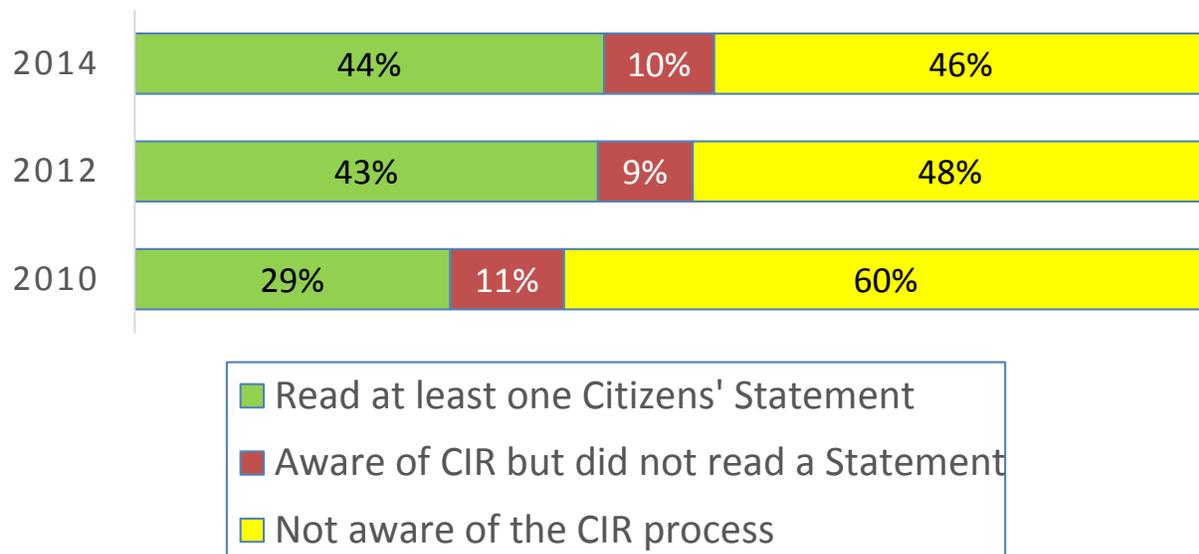
The point of such analysis is to find out the proportion of Oregon voters who know about the CIR and then choose to consult at least one of its Statements. Figure 3.3 breaks down Oregonians who had cast their ballots into three groups: those unaware of the CIR, those aware but not reading a Statement, and those who were both aware of the CIR and chose to read at least one of that year's Citizens' Statements. The proportion in the latter category rose from 29% in 2010 to 43% in 2012 and 44% in 2014. That result

⁵⁷ Regarding the CIR spreading by word of mouth, our online survey in Oregon (see Appendix B) included a question asking how often participants discussed what they read in the Reviews with other citizens. Roughly a third (33%) never did so, another third (32%) did so "once or twice," and the remaining 34% talked about the CIR materials with other people "a few" or "many" times.

⁵⁸ The skip logic used in the 2012 survey permitted asking those "not aware" of the CIR whether they had read one or the other Citizens' Statement from that year. In this analysis, those individuals are all counted as non-readers.

represents a large jump from the CIR's first year, but caution is advised because the relevant sample size from 2010 has a relatively large margin of error (i.e., +/- 12%).

Figure 3.3. CIR awareness and Statement use among Oregon voters who had already cast their ballots, 2010-2014

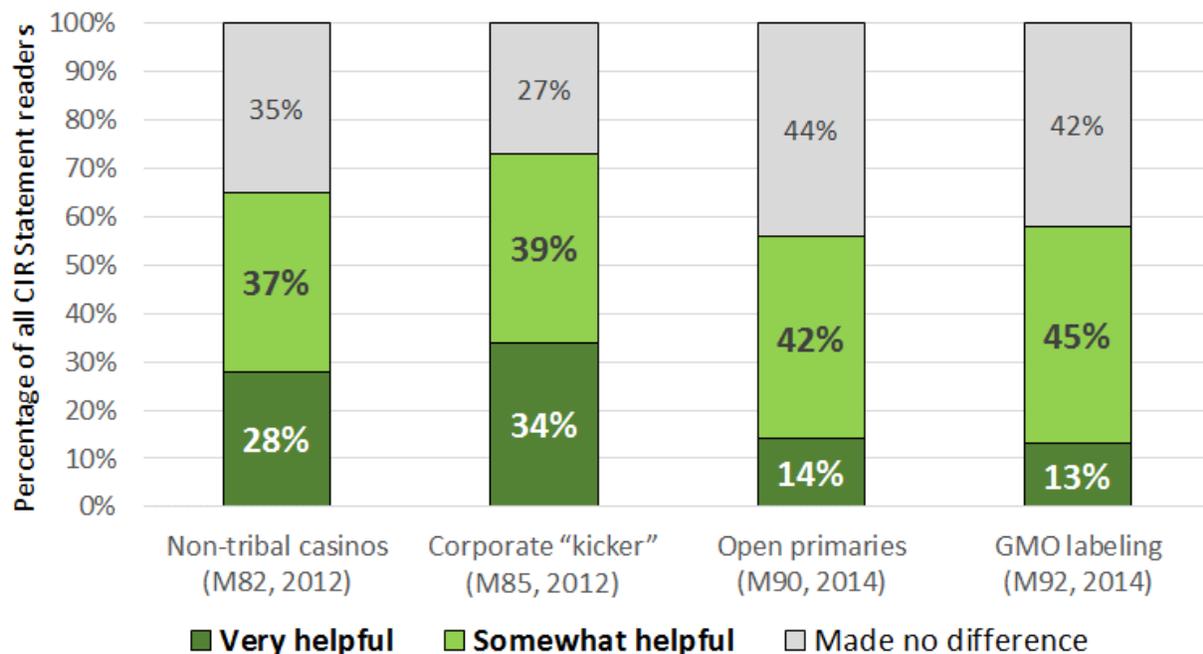


Note. Sample sizes were $N = 68$ (2010), $N = 250$ (2012), and $N = 200$ (2014).

One of the statistics underlying Figure 3.3 is the readership rate among those who were at least somewhat or very aware of the CIR. This proportion has been relatively stable since the CIR's inception, with 74% of those aware of the CIR in 2010 reading at least one Statement, compared to 83% in 2012 and 81% in 2014.⁵⁹

Though the readership for the CIR increased in 2014, the percentage of readers who rated the Citizens' Statements as at least "somewhat helpful" declined from 2012-2014. Figure 3.4 shows that the drop was from 65-73% in 2012 to 56-58% in 2014.

⁵⁹ The samples are large enough for 2012-14 to also compare readership rates among those "somewhat" versus "very" aware of the CIR. Those figures have not changed during the past two years, being 75% and 91% in 2012, compared to 75% and 89% in 2014. The 2012 survey's skip logic also permitted calculating a readership percentage for those "not aware" of the CIR, and fully 28% of those who said they had not previously heard of the CIR reported reading its Statement. That probably reflects response error, but it could also indicate a subgroup who interpret the CIR awareness question as asking whether they were aware of the CIR prior to reading one of that year's Citizens' Statement in the *Voters' Pamphlet*.

Figure 3.4 How helpful Oregon voters found the Citizens' Statements, 2012-2014

Question: "In deciding how to vote on [the measure], how helpful was it to read the CIR Statement?"

A variation on this question included in the 2014 survey asked how much information voters got from reading the Citizens' Statements (Table 3.2). This phrasing was developed because it gets more directly at the purpose of the CIR, as a means of imparting trustworthy information. In 2014, most respondents rated the Citizens' Statements as "somewhat informative" (55% for M90 and 49% for M92), with roughly two-thirds in both cases finding them to be at least somewhat informative.⁶⁰

Table 3.2 How informative Oregon voters found the 2014 Citizens' Statements

Informativeness rating	2014: M90	2014: M92
No new information	33%	37%
Somewhat informative	55%	49%
Very informative	12%	14%
Total	100%	100%

Are CIR readers a special kind of voter?

For the 2014 survey, the CIR Commission had requested that we re-examine the predictors of Oregon CIR awareness, use, and helpfulness to see if those using the CIR are different from the rest of the statewide electorate. To answer that question, we conducted a regression analysis that aims to

⁶⁰ Minimum $N = 120$. Questions in the 2014 online survey (see Appendix B) also asked CIR Statement readers to recall how easy it was to understand the Citizens' Statements and whether they chose to discuss them with other people. The vast majority rated the statements as "easy to read" (68% for Measure 90, 73% for Measure 92), with fewer than 2% saying either was "very difficult to read."

“predict” various outcomes, such as becoming aware of the CIR, reading a CIR Statement, or finding such a statement useful or readable once one picks it up to read it. Regression analysis estimates the independent influence that comes from each of a set of related variables, and in this case, we used demographics that measure some of the important social and economic variations among Oregonians. Those with more education and income might be expected to differ from others because those variables are often associated with higher levels of civic engagement. We also tested for differences between men and women, between younger and older voters, and between those Oregonian voters who identified their ethnicity as “white” versus all other ethnicity identity combinations. (Sample size limitations necessitated the crude dichotomy, which still can pick up differences in studies of civic behavior.)

In the end, we found almost no significant predictors.⁶¹ In particular, awareness and use were broadly distributed across the Oregon voting population in a way that was unassociated with one’s educational level, income level, age, sex, or ethnicity (at least, as measured herein). The only significant variable in any equation was age: Younger voters found the Measure 92 Citizens’ Statement more useful than did older voters, and they found the Measure 90 Statement more informative than did their older counterparts.⁶²

3.2 How Voters Read and Use the Citizens’ Statements

To better understand the way voters handle, read, and use the Citizens’ Statements, we contracted with Bentley University, which hosts a User Experience Center that has experience studying voting systems.⁶³ Elizabeth Rosenzweig led the research effort and conducted many of the interviews herself.⁶⁴

The sample we chose for the study consisted of a mix of CIR veterans and new users across two states and three ballot issues. In Oregon, 20 voters read the Citizens’ Statement on Measure 90 (open primaries), and an equal number read the Statement for Measure 92 (GMO labeling). Half of those interviewees were chosen because they had used Citizens’ Statements in the past, with the other half being novices.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Sample sizes for some of the analyses were too low to treat nonsignificant findings as anything other than non-findings.

⁶² The direction and size of the association with age was similar, but not quite significant, for the other two items in this set (i.e., the utility of Measure 90 and the informativeness of Measure 92). The significant semi-partial correlations were of modest size, from -0.21 to -0.25. Regression effectively parses out the unique effects of each variable, but when looking at age by itself (i.e., without controlling for the other variables), one can see the simple association between age and CIR assessments. For instance, 77% of voters under the age of 50 rated the Measure 90 CIR statement as at least “somewhat informative,” compared to 60% of those 50 and over. As for the other result, a majority (61%) of those under 50 rated the Measure 92 CIR Statement as “somewhat helpful,” whereas the majority (58%) of those 50 and over rated it as making “no difference.”

⁶³ Selker, Rosenzweig, & Pandolfo (2006).

⁶⁴ The other facilitator was Lena Dmitrieva. This section is adapted from their report (Rosenzweig, Dmitrieva, et al., 2014).

⁶⁵ To compare the Oregon experience with a state considering adopting the CIR, another sample of 20 voters were interviewed in Colorado as they read a Citizens’ Statement on Colorado Proposition 105 (another GMO labeling measure) produced by a pilot Colorado CIR. Results of the Colorado interviews are not reported here, but are available from the authors.

Each session lasted approximately one hour and was video recorded. Facilitators followed a structured test script, which asked interviewees to review and provide feedback on the Statement they read during the session. Interviewees were also invited to relate that experience to how they prepare their ballots outside of the laboratory. Below are highlights from these videos, which show how voters experience using the Citizens' Statements *in their own words*.

In some cases, we investigated particular insights or concerns raised by the voters who took part in these testing sessions. Where appropriate, we interject corresponding survey data.

Theme #1: The conventional materials provided to voters are insufficient

Many voters complained about the materials put in front of them when they lack a Citizens' Statement. In the case of Oregon, the CIR analyzes only two ballot measures during the statewide initiative elections, which are held in that state only during even-numbered years. Interviewees complained that the official Ballot Title and full text of a given measure were sometimes hard to understand. Even if a person knew what his or her position was, it was sometimes confusing whether a yes or no would support that position. Sometimes voting "yes" actually means saying "no" to a law, and vice versa. One interviewee said that what's needed is "bigger typeface and less words...." What arrives in the Voters' Pamphlet is "too wordy.... The level of accessibility is not there" (P33).⁶⁶ Another interviewee said that sometimes the Pamphlet text has "a lot of science words, like WHOOSH...over my head" (P11). In sum, Oregon voters find conventional information sources limited, or misleading.

Theme #2: The Citizens' Statements provide many voters a useful source of information

In Oregon, many of those interviewed had a clear conception of the Citizens' Statement. They often noted that it served as a condensed version of the state voting guides. The CIR Statement provided simpler language and shorter length. One interviewee said that the Statement makes it possible to "decipher" the Voters' Pamphlet. One noted, "[I] don't feel as overwhelmed as [with] the booklet" (P40). Voters believed that the Statement "gave a lot more insights" (P6) because it "explains in layman's terms" (P11) the ballot issues it addresses.

More generally, many Oregonians understood the purpose of the Review and what makes it work. The Review is "really trying hard to reach the general masses to keep them informed" (P33). A key to its effectiveness was that it was written by citizens, for citizens. As one interviewee said, the Statements are "written by people like me and not politicians" (P39). Moreover, "because the panelists are normal people and the statements are very direct" (P6). The result is "keeping interest groups in check" (P6).

We juxtapose those qualitative findings with assessments of past CIR Statements by those Statement readers who participated in our 2014 online survey in Oregon (see Appendix B). This subset of survey respondents who had at least some awareness of the CIR were asked to rate the overall quality of all six Statements produced by the CIRs held in Oregon since 2010, as shown in Table 3.3. Although many had to decline, owing to unfamiliarity with the measures, the results provide a useful point of comparison.⁶⁷ The table below skips the mid-point rating and just contrasts the percentages who rated each as either good or poor in quality. Acknowledging the very low sample size for 2010, the table shows that almost

⁶⁶ "P" numbers refer to the interview's location in the record of the usability tests. They are included here for future reference.

⁶⁷ Question wording: "The Citizens' Initiative Review has existed in Oregon since 2010. Below is a list of the Reviews that have taken place since the time you said you first became aware of them. Please rate the OVERALL QUALITY of each of these Review statements. If you have not seen a particular review, mark the 'don't know' response."

half of respondents typically give one of the two highest ratings (“good” or “very good”) and about one-in-six usually offer a “poor” or “very poor” mark. The correlations among all of these ratings were quite high, which means that individuals are holding generally favorable (or unfavorable) views of both past and present CIR Statements.⁶⁸

Table 3.3 Oregon voters’ assessments, in 2014 survey, of the quality of current and past CIR Statements

CIR Statement	Good/ Very Good	Poor/ Very Poor	N
CIR 2010 - OR M73 (MandMin) Statement	43%	8%	20
CIR 2010 - OR M74 (MedMJ) Statement	49%	15%	23
CIR 2012 - OR M82 (Casino) Statement	44%	24%	136
CIR 2012 - OR M85 (Kicker) Statement	47%	18%	131
CIR 2014 - OR M90 (Primary) Citizens' Statement	50%	13%	670
CIR 2014 - OR M92 (GMO labels) Statement	58%	15%	716

Theme #3: Some voters don’t know enough about the CIR to trust it, or they detect bias

In Oregon, the more experienced users of the Statements tempered their enthusiasm with practical suggestions for how their existing Reviews could be improved. Two primary reasons were given by those interviewees who were reluctant to place too much trust in the Citizens’ Statements. Many interviewees expressed that they wanted more information about the panelists, specifically, who they were and how they were recruited. Many other interviewees were skeptical about the objectivity of sources of information the panelists received. As one interviewee said, “I don’t know what they [the panelists] read – where did they get that?” (P4). More generally, the panelists wanted to know more about the CIR: “I like the idea, but it doesn’t seem transparent” (P4).

Some Oregon interviewees went further to say that they thought the Key Findings in the Statements could show bias. In the case of Measure 92 (GMO labeling), for example, one panelist thought using the phrase “eel-like organism” had a sensationalist tone (P9). Some interviewees reported that duplicated content between Key Findings and either the pro or con arguments makes the Key Findings appear biased in the corresponding direction. Some thought the con arguments were not so clearly opposed to the measure, whereas another thought the Statement was “one-sided, against the issue” and included “lots of pessimistic statements” (P22). More generally, many interviewees indicated that they wanted more numbers and concrete data, which would make the information seem more objective.

Those concerns prompted us to include in our online Oregon survey a series of questions about the Citizens’ Statements. First, we conducted a special study on the subgroup of survey respondents who had already voted but were not at all aware of the CIR process. We randomly assigned these

⁶⁸ The modest increase from 2010 to 2014 in the percentage of voters who recall Citizens’ Statements favorably might hearten those who hope to see the public appreciation for the CIR increase over time. A more straightforward interpretation, however, is that among those who have used the CIR Statements over the years, they have come to believe that the CIR process itself has improved since its inception. The findings from previous CIR surveys have shown variable results in utility ratings from one year to the next (e.g., Figure 3.4), but veteran users assess the CIR as a process that has improved steadily over time. Moreover, the differences among these years (and the sample sizes for those recalling the 2010 CIR) are not large enough to warrant strong interpretations either way.

respondents to read the Citizens' Statement on either Measure 90 or Measure 92. Roughly a hundred survey participants spent at least a minute reading the Statement assigned to them, and afterward, they answered a series of questions.⁶⁹ Results are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Assessments of Citizens' Statements read during the online survey by respondents who had voted without being aware of the Oregon CIR in 2014

Survey question	M90	M92
Citizens' Statement provided enough info about... (% answering "yes")		
how the citizens serving on the Review panel were selected	74%	66%
how the three-and-a-half day Review panel process was conducted	53%	49%
who sponsored and organized the Citizens' Initiative Review on [M90/92]	47%	48%
Key findings in the Citizens' Statement		
How accurate? (% rating as completely or mostly, vs. somewhat or not at all)	59%	68%
How relevant? (% rating as completely or mostly, vs. somewhat or not at all)	64%	66%
How neutral? (% rating as "generally neutral")	38%	22%*
PRO arguments in the Citizens' Statement		
How strong? (% strong or very strong, vs. weak or very weak)	69%	72%
How relevant? (% rating as completely or mostly, vs. somewhat or not at all)	56%	58%
How trustworthy? (% mostly or completely trustworthy, vs. somewhat/not)	40%	43%
CON arguments in the Citizens' Statement		
How strong? (% strong or very strong, vs. weak or very weak)	72%	64%
How relevant? (% rating as completely or mostly, vs. somewhat or not at all)	61%	52%
How trustworthy? (% rating as mostly or completely trustworthy, vs. somewhat/not)	49%	38%
Recalling correctly the vote taken by the panelists	54%	34%*
N	92	110

* indicates a statistically significant difference ($p < .05$) in ratings between the two groups.

In both cases, participants said they knew enough about how the panelists were chosen, but a majority of respondents in both cases did not believe they had been provided enough information in the CIR Statement about who sponsored and organized the CIR. Respondents were also evenly split on whether they knew enough about how the panel was conducted.

As for assessing the Statements themselves, the results were similar across Measures 90 and 92, with only two differences in the ratings across the issues. First, readers found the Key Findings in Measure 90 to be more neutral, though even then, only 38% gave it a "generally neutral" rating. In the case of Measure 90, panelists were relatively evenly divided in sensing a bias for or against, but in the case of Measure 92, 49% thought the Key Findings were stacked against the measure (compared to 30% seeing bias in the other direction).

⁶⁹ The introduction to this section read, "Although you have already voted, we would like you to offer an assessment of one of the Citizens' Initiative Review statements created for this year's election in Oregon. Please read the following statement on [Measure 90/92], then answer a few short questions about it. Note that the Review statement contains four sections: a summary of the Review process, key findings, arguments for the measure, and arguments against the measure. You will be asked three questions about each section."

Second, in both cases a plurality of those giving a guess recalled correctly how the panelists voted on their respective measure, but the proportion was much higher for Measure 90 (54%) than for Measure 92 (34%). When one includes in the total percentages those who dared not venture a guess because they were sure they didn't remember, the figures are not as different (38% for Measure 90 vs. 28% for Measure 92), because fully 29% chose not to guess on Measure 90. That fact makes this difference harder to interpret, because that fact makes it unclear whether a strongly divided CIR vote is more memorable than a closely divided one.

This online survey also afforded the opportunity to ask Oregonians who knew about the Citizens' Statements what they thought about the CIR more generally, now that they had a few years of experience with it. Between a third and a majority of respondents agreed with each of five reasons one might not use the Citizens' Statements, though those agreement percentages were generally lower the more familiar one was with the CIR.⁷⁰ The reasons shown in Table 3.5 were presented in random order but are sorted from the most to the least plausible explanation for not reading the Statements.

To be clear, the explanations in Table 3.5 are not reasons voters gave for not reading Citizens' Statements themselves. The indirect phrasing of the question permitted voters to acknowledge potential problems with the CIR without having to embrace those concerns explicitly during the survey. Thus, the more important finding is not the absolute percentages for the different reasons in Table 3.5 but the *relative* percentages therein. Those responses that received the most agreement represent concerns about the CIR that strike the general public as most plausible.

Table 3.5 Plausibility of different hypothetical reasons for declining to read a Citizens' Statement in Oregon, 2014

Reason voters gave for why others might NOT use the Citizens' Statements	Agree/ Strongly Agree
I view the world very differently compared to the people who write the Review...	57%
I had/have already made up my mind so I didn't need to read the Review...	51%
I don't appreciate the technical language used in the Review statements.	41%
The Review statements are unreliable information sources.	39%
The Review statements are too difficult to read and use.	33%

A final set of questions asked all online survey respondents (except those exposed to a Citizens' Statement in the experiment) to rate the importance of knowing key details about each CIR. They ranked six items, shown in random order, and the results in Table 3.6 show how consistent those ratings were regardless of how aware one had been of the CIR prior to taking the survey.⁷¹ When asked to "rank

⁷⁰ Question wording: "Below are reasons why a voter might NOT choose to read the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review statements. For each possible reason, please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree."

⁷¹ Question wording: "The Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review is only successful if voters can trust the people and process involved in creating the Review statements. Some voters might want more information about the Citizens' Initiative Review process to appear in its Review statements to help them judge the reliability of those statements. Full details on each review already appear on the Internet, but it may be possible to provide more information in the printed Review statements, as well. Please RANK THE IMPORTANCE of each piece of information in judging the trustworthiness of the Citizens' Initiative Review statements. Use your mouse to drag and drop the items listed below to rank them, with #1 being the MOST important thing you need to know about the Review process, and #4

the importance of each piece of information in judging the trustworthiness of the Citizens' Initiative Review statements," the highest priority was knowing who funded the CIR.

Table 3.6 Ranking of the importance of information about Oregon CIR by awareness level, 2014

Feature of the Oregon CIR	Not previously aware	Somewhat aware	Very aware of CIR
The principal sources of funding for the Reviews	#1	#1	#1
Who organized and facilitated the Reviews	#2-3	#2	#2
Who testified before the Review panel	#3-5	#4	#2-4
How the Review panel conducted its deliberations	#4	#2-4	#3
The demographics of the Review panelists	#5	#5	#3-5
Where the Review panelists live	#6	#6	#6
N (total respondents in each group)	286	709	460

Theme #4: Voters were more interested in the content of the Citizens' Statements than in how CIR panelists voted

One special detail in an Oregon Citizens' Statement is the vote tally that shows how the panelists split on the measure at the end of their week of deliberations. The basic idea is that voters might want to know how the panelists themselves intended to vote after spending four or five days studying a ballot measure.

In Oregon, most interviewees understood that the Statements showed how many panelists voted for and against the measures and liked knowing that result. Some interviewees, however, were unclear whether or not there was any overlap in terms of the findings. As one said,

"I assume they all had these statements to look at, to give a thumbs up thumbs down on. It seems too neat and clean to think that nine would choose these set of bullets and eleven would choose these without some sense of, in part, a middle that they all tended to agree on. Or, maybe there was a set of bullets that almost none of them [agreed on]?" (P7)

Many interviewees indicated that the panelists' votes did not affect their positions.

- "I really don't care who is for it or against it. I just want the findings that they found." -P3
- "It matters more what you vote than what other people vote." -P11
- "Just because a lot of people think something doesn't mean it's right." -P14

One interviewee worried how others might construe the balance of votes shown for a given CIR panel: "I think the majority/minority things... are actually really screwed up. I know that a lot of people just look at those words and want to side with the majority.... It's the only way it's weighted" (P19). Indeed, some interviewees whose views matched the minority of the panelists sometimes said that result made them

being the LEAST important." (There were six items to be ranked, so the reference to #4 as the least important was a typo. This was probably an innocuous error since the question presented respondents with all six items, randomly ordered, for them to rank.)

feel less confident about their positions. “When I’m in [the] minority,” one said, “... am I missing the boat?” (P1).

In the surveys we have conducted on the CIR from 2010-2014, one consistent finding has been that many of those who read the Citizens’ Statements do not even recall the balance of panelist votes. Table 3.4 showed a similar result for persons answering survey questions minutes after reading a Statement for the first time.

Moreover, the direction of the panel vote is no guarantee of influence. In our 2010 phone survey, for instance, those reading the Citizens’ Statement on medical marijuana became more likely to oppose the measure, even though the panelists had split 13-11 in favor. That particular Statement led with a Key Finding that worried about the enforceability of the measure, and substantive concerns such as those appeared more influential than the balance of panelist votes.

Our 2014 online Oregon survey provided a direct test of the importance of showing the panelist vote, and results suggest it was not a critical piece of information. Those who had neither voted nor read the Voters’ Pamphlet at the time of the survey were shown a Citizens’ Statement on either Measure 90 or 92, and half within each group saw a Statement that had the panel vote removed.⁷² A fifth group served as a control group and saw no Statement before answering the questions that followed.

To see if the difference in Citizens’ Statements worked as designed, a quick check tested voter inferences about how the panelists voted on each measure, using only those respondents who spent at least thirty seconds on the screen that showed them the CIR Statement. Recall that for Measure 90, the CIR panel opposed the measure on a 14-5 vote. A large majority (58%) of respondents not shown how the panel voted said they did not know the vote result; those who did venture a guess were spread out pretty evenly across possible outcomes.⁷³ By contrast, only 28% of those who read the Statement that included the panel vote were unsure, after the fact, how it had voted. The most common response (39%) was that “a large majority of citizen panelists opposed Measure 90,” with 7% recalling opposition by a smaller margin, 4% thinking the vote was even, and the remaining 21% having it backwards.

The result for Measure 92 was similar, in that those not shown the vote were left to guess (with 49% admitting they didn’t know the vote result), whereas a modest plurality of those seeing the result recalled it correctly (26% remembering that “a small majority opposed Measure 92”). Given that the panelists opposed the measure 11-9, it is noteworthy that 15% of those shown the Statement with that tally recalled it as “a large majority” opposing the measure, and 27% recalled that the panel favored it.

Did seeing the panelist vote tally influence voters’ own decisions? There were no net voting effects for Measure 92 (GMO labeling), and the voting effect for Measure 90 was simply between the control group and the two groups that read the Statement, with or without panelist votes showing. The control group

⁷² One advantage of online surveys is screening out “readers” who don’t take any time to read the text put before them. For this test, a thirty-second minimum was placed on the experiment, such that one was not counted as having actually read the CIR Statement if one was not on the page for at least 30 seconds.

⁷³ Question wording: “Do you happen to recall the position taken by the Citizens’ Initiative Review panelists on [the measure], which [measure description]? To the best of your knowledge, which of the following was true?
- A LARGE majority of citizen panelists FAVORED [the measure] - A small majority FAVORED [the measure]
- Citizen panelists were EVENLY divided - A small majority OPPOSED [the measure] - A LARGE majority of citizen panelists OPPOSED [the measure] - Don’t know.”

was more favorable toward the Measure 90 (56% intending to vote “Yes”) than were those who were asked how they would vote after reading the CIR Statement (44%). Once again, the result was not significantly different for those who saw the CIR panel’s 14-5 split opposing Measure 90 than for those who saw the Statement without it.

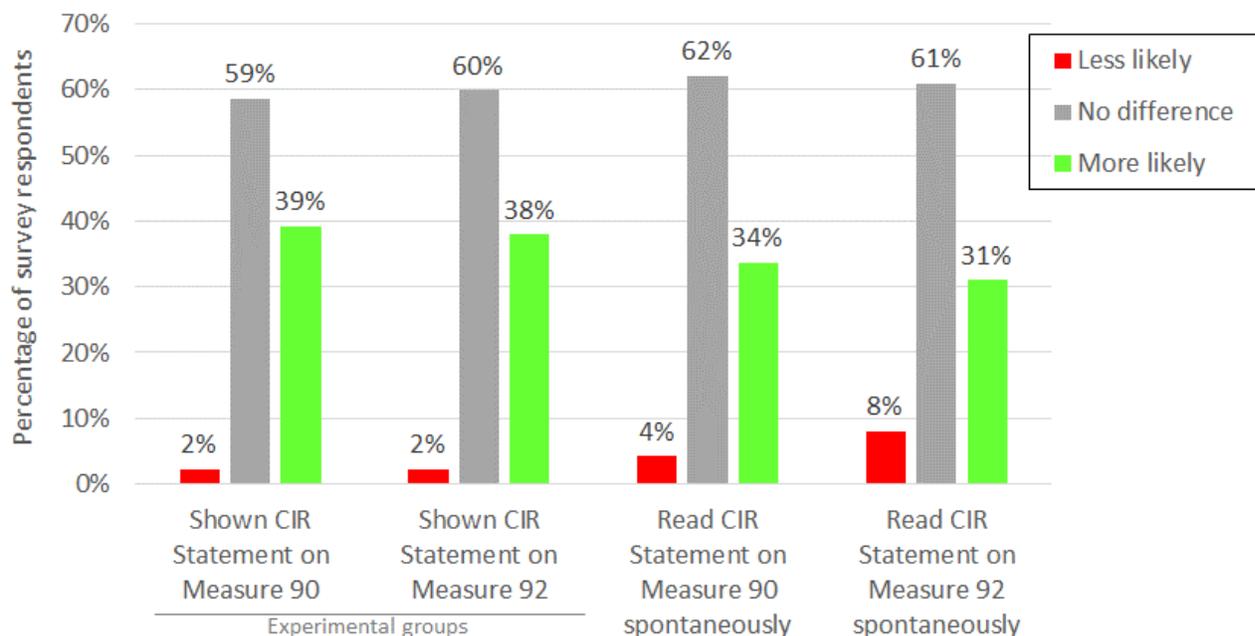
Theme #5: The Statements inspire some to vote on measures they might have skipped.

It did not surprise us to learn in the usability tests that some Oregon interviewees believed the CIR Statement reinforced their opinions and made them more confident in their vote. That translated for at least one interviewee, however, into encouragement to participate in the election itself: “It definitely makes me want to vote more because it helps you understand the issues” (P17).

Though this theme did not arise often, it was intriguing enough to investigate in the online Oregon survey. How many voters might, as a result of reading the Citizens’ Statement, cast a vote on a measure that might have otherwise been left blank? (Thanks to David Brinker and Brendan Lounsbury for latching onto this idea and getting it into our survey.) We approached this subject with a question wording that acknowledged the fact that voters sometimes pass over issues on their ballot—a phenomenon known as ballot “drop off.” The question read, “Some people choose to skip over particular ballot measures while filling out their ballot. Did reading the Citizens’ Initiative Review statement...make you more likely to MARK YOUR BALLOT on this particular measure, less likely to do so, or did it make no difference?”

Figure 3.5 shows the results from our online study for two different populations. The two sets of columns on the left of the figure are for those respondents who intended to vote but had not yet read the Voters’ Pamphlet; they were shown the Citizens’ Statement during the experiment, and nearly forty percent of them said reading it made them more likely to vote. The two sets of columns on the right are for voters who had already read the Citizens’ Statement before the survey, and the result was similar, with a third being more likely to vote for having read the Statement.

Figure 3.5 Estimating the likelihood that reading an Oregon Citizens’ Statement increases or decreases the intention to vote on the corresponding ballot measure, 2014



3.3 Citizens' Reflections on the Design of the CIR

The 2014 surveys differed from previous ones in that we included extensive questions about the design of the CIR itself.

What aspects of the CIR Oregon voters consider essential

Because so many Oregonians were familiar with the CIR, we asked the subset who said they were “very aware” of the process what they thought were the most important features of it.⁷⁴ Respondents were asked to rank each of four features of the CIR from most to least important, and each item was shown in random order.⁷⁵

Though each feature was rated as the most important by at least one-in-six respondents, the clearest #1 choice was ensuring that no citizen dominated the discussion, as shown in Table 3.7. The quality of witness testimony came next, followed by panelists being explicit about their opinions and ultimately understanding their own reasons and values underlying one another's views. Thus, for the average survey respondent who is already very familiar with the CIR, the key is that there be a democratic discussion with strong information provided by witnesses. Less critical is how effectively the panelists express themselves and listen to one another.

Table 3.7 Oregon voters' rankings of four features of the CIR process, 2014

Desirable feature of CIR deliberation	Ranked as...				
	#1	#2	#3	#4	Total
No citizen panelist should be able to dominate the discussion.	35%	22%	21%	22%	100%
Witnesses testifying before the Review panel must make sensible arguments backed up with evidence.	31%	30%	21%	19%	100%
Citizen panelists should express their positions clearly and directly to sure they are explicit about their opinions.	19%	30%	32%	20%	100%
By the end of the process, citizen panelists must understand the reasons and values underlying each other's views.	16%	18%	26%	39%	100%

CIR funding preferences

In Oregon, the most pertinent funding question was whether the CIR should be expanded beyond its current capacity. In the 2014 phone survey, we asked about this subject by giving respondents two choices. In response, 70% of respondents preferred maintaining “private funding to conduct 1-2 Reviews per election,” whereas 30% wanted to establish “state funding to conduct Reviews for all statewide ballot measures.”⁷⁶

⁷⁴ This was a subsample of 265 respondents, which was demographically re-weighted.

⁷⁵ Question wording: “The organizers of the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Reviews have experimented with variations in the duration and design of the Review process to make it more efficient and cost-effective. In refining the Review's procedures, please RANK THE IMPORTANCE of the following goals for the citizen panelists and the witnesses who testify during their deliberations. Use your mouse to drag and drop the four items to rank them, with #1 being the MOST important, and #4 being the LEAST important.”

⁷⁶ When those results were broken down along party lines, the majorities favoring private funding of just 1-2 measures were 58% for Democrats, 70% for independents, and 81% for Republicans. Effective sample size for this question was 433, because 28% of the full sample of 600 declined to give an answer one way or the other.

3.4 Summary

A majority of Oregon voters have become aware of the CIR process, and roughly two-fifths of the electorate read the most recent CIR Statements. Both figures represent an increase since 2010 but are comparable to statistics for 2012. A large majority of those who read a CIR Statement find it useful, and many say that reading a CIR Statement makes them more likely to vote on the ballot measure it addresses. CIR Statement readers come from all across the voting public, with no particular group much more likely to read it than any other. Even non-readers give the Citizens' Statements good marks, but both readers and non-readers alike want to know more about how the CIR is funded and how it operates.

Section 4. CIR Impact on Voters

One finding consistent between the 2010 and 2012 research reports was that reading the CIR Statement increased voters' knowledge levels. The 2014 surveys replicated that finding, principally through a survey experiment method. The reason we rely extensively on this technique is the power of inferring causation from experimental data. When respondents follow different paths through a survey, as a result of random assignment to different experimental conditions, we control for all the other variables that otherwise confound the inferences one might make about those who do or do not choose to read the CIR.

4.1 Experimental Results

Survey experiments were conducted in Oregon, along with pilot CIR projects in other states.⁷⁷ The main experimental design in the Oregon online survey was distinct from previous online surveys on the CIR. Of those surveyed, many had already voted or read the Voter's Guide, but 954 (46%) were eligible to participate in our CIR experiment, which focused on the panelists' recommendations as a key feature. Each of these respondents was randomly assigned to one of three conditions: control group ($n = 324$), CIR Statement without panelist vote shown ($n = 298$), or full CIR Statement, i.e., including information on how the panelists voted ($n = 332$). Those three groups were further split, such that half went through the experiment regarding Measure 90 and half proceeded into an identical experiment on Measure 92.

For both issues, reading the CIR Statement (using the same minimum-reading time limits described earlier) had significant effects on voter knowledge relevant to the ballot measure it addressed.⁷⁸ For Measure 92, the association between reading the CIR Statement and one's factual knowledge scores was substantially greater than the small effect of one's education level, but for Measure 90, the overall effect of reading CIR was comparable to the effect of prior education.⁷⁹ This is an interesting comparison in that it shows how the CIR Statement gets one "up to speed" relative to one's most educated peers. More on that particular finding will be shown later.

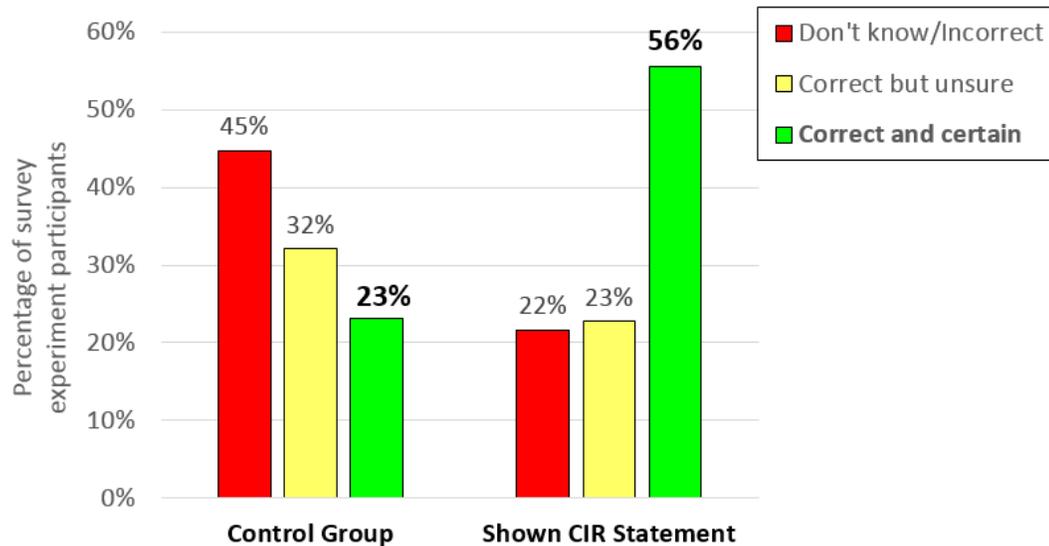
4.2 Integrating Knowledge Impact across the Surveys

The knowledge gains the CIR produces can be shown one item at a time, as in Figure 4.1, which shows a statistically significant difference between those who saw the Citizens' Statements and the control group for a particular question on genetically modified food labeling.

⁷⁷ In addition to the experiments conducted statewide in Oregon, related experiments were conducted in 2014 in Jackson, County, Oregon; Colorado (statewide); and Phoenix, Arizona. In this report, all results from the statewide Oregon survey experiments are described, as well as selected results from the Jackson County, Phoenix, and Colorado experiments. Designs and selected results of the Jackson County, Phoenix, and Colorado survey experiments are described in Section 4.2.

⁷⁸ The effect was roughly the same regardless of whether the CIR panel vote was included in the Statement.

⁷⁹ This was true for both zero-order correlations and for coefficients in regression.

Figure 4.1 Example of knowledge gains among Oregon survey experiment participants

Answers were in response to the following true/false statement: “The labeling requirements in Measure 92 DO NOT apply to alcoholic beverages, or prepared restaurant food.” The correct answer was “true”.

To see more clearly the consistency of the findings from the 2014 surveys, Figure 4.2 shows the percentage of knowledge items answered correctly by respondents in each of the surveys conducted in 2014, which include not only Oregon but also CIR pilot projects in Colorado and Arizona.⁸⁰ Though the CIR Commission focuses its attention on the statewide Oregon CIR process, the comparison is useful simply to show that the knowledge gains the CIR produces occur across geographic borders and at different scales (e.g., in a city or county, versus a state). The same results from Figure 4.2 are shown in a

⁸⁰ The phone survey did not include a knowledge battery, owing to the high cost of doing so in that survey format. In Jackson County, Oregon, the design of the online survey experiment was as follows. The experiment was designed to measure the effect of exposure to a Citizens' Statement, written by a pilot CIR panel, about Measure 15-119, concerning a ban on the cultivation of GMO crops, on subjects' knowledge of the measure, among other dependent variables. Each of 488 subjects was randomly assigned either to a control group or to a treatment group exposed to a version of the Citizens' Statement. (The statements varied in sequencing of the pro and con arguments.) The design of the Colorado survey experiment was as follows. The study measured the effect of exposure to the state's official voter guide materials and a Citizens' Statement—written by a pilot Citizens' Initiative Review panel—about Proposition 105—a GMO labeling measure similar to Oregon's Measure 92—on subjects' knowledge of the measure, among other dependent variables. Each of 815 respondents to an online survey was randomly assigned to one of three conditions: control group ($n = 287$), official voter guide without CIR Statement ($n = 250$), or official voter guide with CIR Statement ($n = 278$). The design of the Phoenix, Arizona survey experiment was as follows. The study measured the effect on subjects' ballot-measure knowledge—among other dependent variables—of exposure to the full text of a ballot measure—Proposition 487, a municipal pension reform measure—the official summary statement about the measure, and a Citizens' Statement about the measure written by a pilot CIR panel. Each of 224 subjects in an online survey was invited to read the official summary statement (78% of subjects accepted), the full text of the measure (50% of subjects accepted), and the CIR Statement (76% of subjects accepted). Relevant results of these Jackson County, Phoenix, and Colorado experiments appear in Figures 4.2 and 4.3 and Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Additional results of the Jackson County, Phoenix, and Colorado experiments are available from the authors.

more detailed tabular format in Table 4.1, which underscores the fact that all of these knowledge gains are statistically significant, for each of the ballot measures studied.⁸¹

Figure 4.2 Percentage of knowledge items answered correctly by respondents on five different ballot measures, 2014

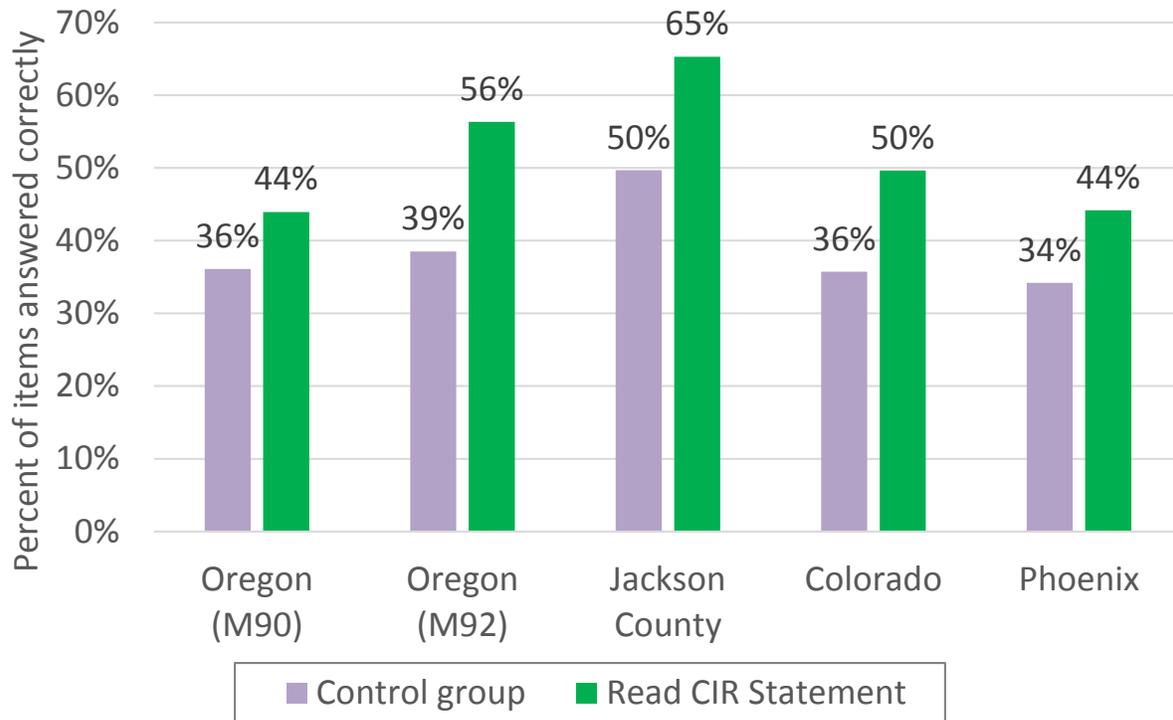


Table 4.1 Knowledge gains across five issues in three states, 2014

Survey issue and number of knowledge items	Experimental group	Mean score (% answered correctly)	Std. Dev.	Sample size (N)
Colorado 2014 - Measure 105 (GMO Labeling) – 11 items	Control group	.36	.16	287
	Read CIR Statement	.50	.21	104
Jackson County, 2014 - M15-119 (GMO Seeds) – 8 items	Control group	.50	.22	101
	Read CIR Statement	.65	.21	247
Oregon 2014 - Measure 92 (GMO Labeling) – 8 items	Control group	.39	.20	173
	Read CIR Statement	.56	.20	146
Oregon 2014 - Measure 90 (Open Primary) – 8 items	Control group	.36	.21	151
	Read CIR Statement	.44	.23	163
Phoenix 2014 - Measure 487 (Pension Reform) – 6 items	Control group	.34	.24	78
	Read CIR Statement	.44	.21	146

⁸¹ Answering “don’t know” counts as not knowing the correct answer and is included in the analysis.

By combining all these 2014 CIR data into a single dataset, with a combined sample size of 1,600, it is also possible to see more clearly the net impact of reading the CIR Statement in relation to the other ways in which voters differ from one another. In this case, we used the key demographics used to weight the samples as comparisons, plus a single item that measures the degree to which one regularly follows politics.⁸²

The results are shown in Table 4.2, and the only variables that did *not* predict knowledge scores were one's political party affiliation. Looking at the standardized regression coefficients ("Beta"), knowledge scores were higher for respondents who were older, had more formal education, male, and followed politics *less often*. The largest effect of all, however, was reading the CIR Statement as part of the experiment.

Table 4.2 Regression analysis of knowledge gains across five issues in three states, 2014

Variable in regression	B	SE	Beta (<i>b</i>)	<i>t</i>	Sig. (<i>p</i>)
(Constant)	.319	.027	--	11.713	.000
Dem (1 = Democrat, 0 = Independent)	.011	.012	.024	.893	.372
GOP (1 = GOP, 0 = Independent)	.010	.013	.021	.793	.428
Age category (3 levels)	.032	.007	.113	4.733	.000
Educational level (3 levels)	.044	.007	.144	6.117	.000
Female Sex (Female = 1, Male = 0)	-.035	.011	-.075	-3.154	.002
Follow Politics	-.037	.005	-.169	-7.186	.000
Read CIR Statement (vs. control group)	.129	.010	.299	12.668	.000

Note. B denotes the unstandardized regression coefficient, and SE represents the standard error of that coefficient.

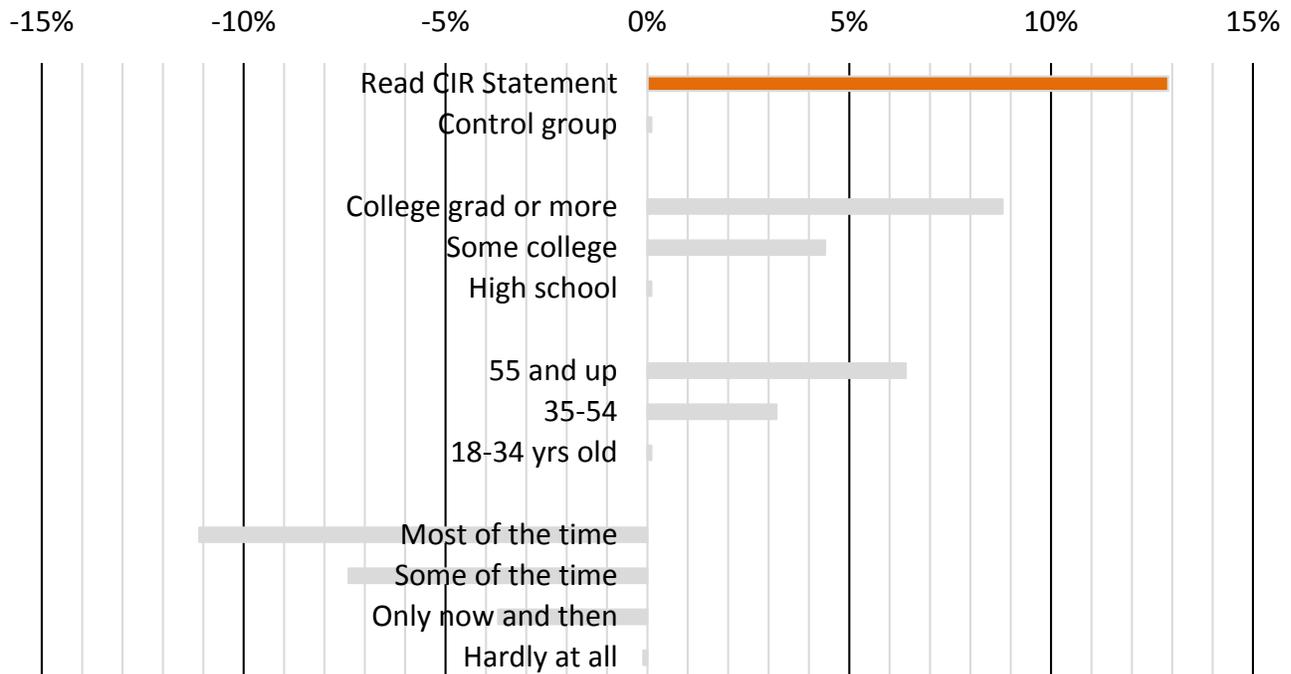
To see these relative impacts graphically, Figure 4.3 juxtaposes the increases in knowledge scores predicted by the unstandardized regression coefficients from Table 4.2. This figure begins with the 12.9% increase in the correct answers given by those who read the CIR Statement, as compared to control groups. Below that, one can see that the net effect of the CIR Statement is greater than the total 8.8% gain achieved by moving from the lowest formal education category (high school or less) to the highest (college graduate or more). The only difference in knowledge scores comparable in size is the 11% *decrease* in knowledge as one moves from the lowest level of following politics ("hardly at all") to the highest ("most of the time").

Finally, note that we tried assessing knowledge two other ways and got the same results. One method excluded "don't know" responses and just compared accurate versus inaccurate responses: The effect of reading the CIR Statement was again the strongest and had the same relationship to the effect size for education. A different method gave more credit for correct answers that respondents knew were

⁸² Question: "Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs? Hardly at all, only now and then, some of the time, or most of the time?"

“definitely” true/false, along with a greater penalty for having that same confidence in incorrect responses (see, for instance, the example in Figure 4.1). Again, reading the CIR Statement produced the strongest effect, with the same size relative to education. In these other cases, following politics closely continued to be *negatively* associated with higher knowledge scores, just as shown in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 Net increase in response accuracy on knowledge items pertaining to five ballot measures in three states, 2014



4.3 Disaggregating Knowledge Impact

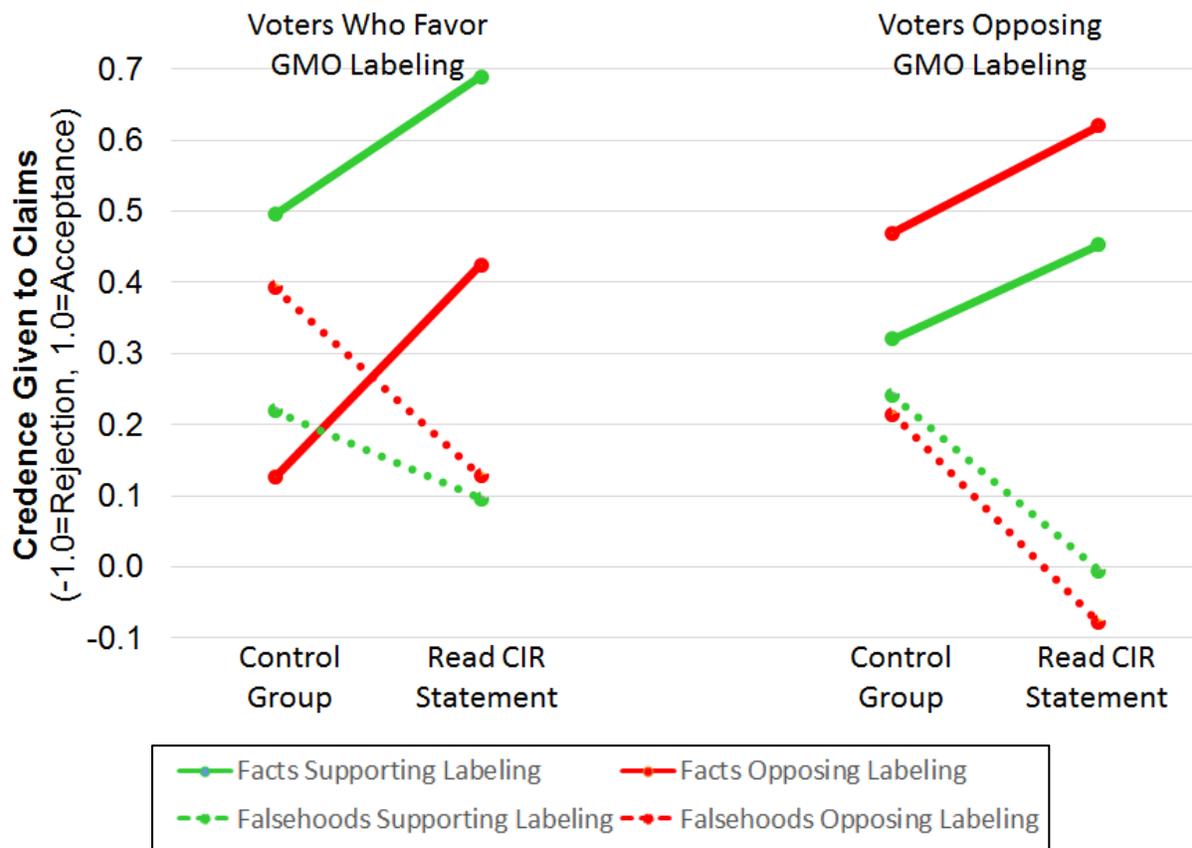
Future research will look more closely at whether the CIR Statement has a differential knowledge impact on different kinds of claims for varied audiences. One particular line of research that appears promising takes advantage of the fact that the true/false knowledge batteries in CIR surveys from 2010-2014 include both true statements and false statements, including ones that would—on balance—make people more or less likely to support the initiative in question. This careful balancing permits analyses such as those shown in Figure 4.4.

The full array of results in Figure 4.4 shows many interesting features of the CIR Statements’ impact on knowledge. First off, across both those voters who favored or opposed Measure 92 (GMO labeling), reading the CIR Statement resulted in greater acceptance of true statements and less acceptance of false statements. This was true regardless of whether such statements implicitly supported or undermined the ballot measure.

The differences the figure shows are what suggests a promising line of investigation for revisiting other CIR issues. One’s position on the measure is related to one’s acceptance/rejection of statements in precisely the direction one would expect, in light of the biased information processing that goes into the

formation of public opinions.⁸³ In this respect, the CIR Statement tends to reduce bias but cannot eliminate it, at least with regard to voters' assessments of true statements relevant to Measure 92. When looking at falsehoods, however, the CIR Statement moves voters from both groups toward a score of "0", which indicates uncertainty about the statement. That suggests that it may be harder for the CIR Statement to get voters to reject falsehoods than to accept accurate statements about a given ballot measure.

Figure 4.4 Increase in acceptance or rejection of true and false statements broken down by voters' positions on Oregon Measure 92 (2014) and by whether those facts implicitly supported or opposed the idea of GMO labeling



4.4 Summary

The one consistent impact that the CIR has on the electorate is to raise voters' level of knowledge about the measures addressed by the Citizens' Statements. For the survey items employed, the Statements typically raise knowledge by 10-20%, and that increase is greater than the issue knowledge gap between those voters who have the least and most formal education (i.e., high school vs. college graduates).

⁸³ Generally, see Zaller (1992). For a recent reformulation emphasizing the cultural origins of bias, see Kahan et al. (2007).

Section 5. Future Research

This report contains detailed information about the 2010-2014 CIR panels and Statements, but much more work remains to be done, and some of these findings will be developed for scholarly publication.⁸⁴ (For a summary of past publications, see Appendix C.) The extensive CIR projects in 2014 effectively doubled the dataset available for investigating CIR deliberation and impact, and anyone reading this report who wishes to learn more about this research or contribute to the analyses of these data can contact the report's authors directly.

In addition to new research ideas introduced in this report (e.g., Section 4.3), projects currently being considered for future CIR research include a more careful analysis of those individuals recruited for CIR panels who do not ultimately participate. The question of participation rate has not been a focus in previous evaluations, but it merits more careful scrutiny. One concern relates to those individuals who wish to participate but cannot manage to do so, given their life circumstances. Another relates to those individuals who refuse the invitation and whether they possess characteristics that differentiate them in a meaningful way from those who do volunteer to serve on CIR panels. Another point of interest with these individuals is whether the mere invitation to participate arouses their interest in the election, or in the CIR itself, and thereby increases their likelihood of participating in the election, or even reflecting more carefully on the choices on the ballot, particularly those analyzed by CIR panels. An experimental approach could even test the efficacy of involving these non-panelists in an online process, a method that was employed in the Australian Citizens' Parliament.⁸⁵

Another likely line of inquiry adjusts the experimental survey approach to look at ways of assessing the public's trust in the CIR process. One approach would vary the description of the CIR to add or subtract salient details about the process. Voters surveyed in 2014 indicated that they might trust the CIR more if they better understood its design, and this experiment could clarify which design features are most important. The findings of such a study would be useful for crafting Citizens' Statements, which can devote only so much space to such background information about the CIR process.

Another experiment could test trust in CIR factual findings by challenging those with unsubstantiated counterarguments by critics in the survey itself. One of the purposes of the CIR is to give voters unvarnished information about a ballot measure, but that information does not arrive in a vacuum. How likely are voters to accept the CIR's findings when those get challenged—even without substantiation—by critics that the voter would others be inclined to believe?

Meanwhile, many other CIR-related research papers proceed apace, based on transcripts and surveys from 2010-2014. Future CIRs will add to these inquiries, but it is possible that the data collection efforts in future years may be somewhat more lean, owing to the difficulty of assessing fully every CIR and the need for even a large research team to catch up with the data already collected. With this in mind, priorities in future years will be on daily/end-of-week surveys (but without follow-up surveys months or a year later), videotaping of CIR sessions (but without full transcription), and only brief phone surveys (to track CIR awareness/use) complemented by more narrowly focused online survey experiments.

⁸⁴ We will provide recommendations for the future development of the CIR itself in a separate report, which looks at all nine of the CIR processes conducted since 2010, including those held in Jackson County (Oregon), Phoenix (Arizona), and Colorado.

⁸⁵ Sullivan and Hartz-Karp (2013).

As we did in our 2012 report, we conclude this one by expressing appreciation to everyone who has made this larger research program possible. Our university and foundation partners (see Appendix A) have sustained this effort alongside our many undergraduate, graduate, and faculty colleagues. Healthy Democracy, the State of Oregon, and others have made the CIR a transparent process with the aspiration that our research can only help in the refinement of the CIR. The CIR panelists themselves also get credit for completing our surveys, with a remarkable response rate still at 100% during panels. We hope that our analyses and reporting of these data continue to warrant the participation of all who make their ongoing collection possible.

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Appendix A: Research Funding

The principal source of funding for the CIR research has been the National Science Foundation. Its two large grants and one small grant have contributed \$642,000 to this research effort, a figure that includes the indirect costs charged by various public universities. Other funding sources have combined to provide an additional \$150,000, as detailed below.

- Gastil, J. (2015). Principal Investigator, The **Democracy Fund**. "2015-2016 Citizens' Initiative Review Study and Reporting." (\$75,000)
- Knobloch, K. R. (2014). Principal Investigator, **National Science Foundation** (Directorate for Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences: Decision, Risk and Management Sciences, NSF Award #1357444, Amendment 001). "A Multi-State Investigation of Small Group and Mass Public Decision Making on Fiscal and Scientific Controversies through the Citizens' Initiative Review: Research Experiences for Undergraduates Supplement." (\$6,000)
- Gastil, J., & Knobloch, K. (2014). Co-Principal Investigators, **National Science Foundation** (Directorate for Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences: Decision, Risk and Management Sciences, NSF Award #1357276/1357444). "Collaborative Research: A Multi-State Investigation of Small Group and Mass Public Decision Making on Fiscal and Scientific Controversies through the Citizens' Initiative Review." (\$418,000)
- Gastil, J. (2013). **Pennsylvania State University** Social Science Research Institute. Award for summer workshop bringing together researchers investigating the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review. (\$5,000)
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- Gastil, J. (2010). Principal Investigator, **University of Washington** Royalty Research Fund. "Panel Survey Investigation of the Oregon Citizen Initiative Review" (\$40,000).

Appendix B: Research Method

This appendix presents many relevant details about the research method used in this study. The appendix begins with an overview of the survey methods used in Sections 3-4, then presents the details of the usability study in Section 3, followed by the observational and survey data used in Section 1.

Statewide CIR Surveys

Note that some of the fields below are blank because online survey panels don't have response rates, per se. Those surveys use a large pool of people willing to take part in online surveys. Screening questions are used to remove people not taking the survey conscientiously, and geographic or other filters are used to make sure they target the correct population.

Year	Medium	Method	Target Pop.	N	Surveys completed	Response rates*	Pct. by cellphone	Provider
2010	Phone, rolling	Random-dial	OR reg. voters	1,991	Aug 30-Nov 1	9% (RR4)	Not known	Washington Survey Center (Seattle, WA)
2010	Online, two-wave	Survey panel	OR reg. voters	971**	Aug 5-11 & Oct 22-Nov 1	--	--	YouGov/Polimetrix
2012	Phone	Random-dial	OR likely voters	800	Oct 25-Nov 5	4% (RR3) 23% (COOP3)	12%	Elway Polling
2012	Online	Mass email to random sample of voter list	OR likely voters	1,539	Oct 4-Nov 5	3% (RR4)***	--	Penn State Survey Research Center
2014	Phone	Random-dial	OR likely voters	600	Oct 31-Nov 2	3% (RR3) 55% (COOP3)	20%	DHM Research (Portland, OR)
2014	Online	Survey panel	OR intending to vote	2,077	Oct 16-Nov 7	--	--	Qualtrics

* These response rate types are described in full detail by the American Association for Public Opinion Research in its 2008 "Standard Definitions" guidelines, which are available online at http://www.aapor.org/AAPORKentico/AAPOR_Main/media/MainSiteFiles/Standard_Definitions_07_08_Final.pdf

** This N completed both surveys in the two-wave panel.

*** 60,000 emails were sent out to respondents, but based on invalid email returns, we estimated that approximately 20% of the emails matched to voter records (obtained as a merged data file by the Penn State Survey Research Center from a commercial vendor) were non-working or mis-matched to individual voters at the time of the survey.

Usability Testing

The Bentley University User Experience Center conducted this study in collaboration with our research team, and they provided the details on the implementation of their interviews with voters. Investigators tested the Citizens' Statements and some additional materials designed to provide information to voters about ballot measures with 40 participants over four days in a field research lab in Portland, Oregon, and with 20 participants over four days in a field research lab in Denver, Colorado.

- Test sessions were one-on-one.
- All sessions were video recorded.

- Each test session was approximately 60 minutes long.
- Test facilitators followed a structured test script.
- Participants were asked to review and provide feedback on various elements of the Citizens' Statements and their experiences when they are deciding how to vote.
- Usability issues were observed during testing.
- Participants completed a survey at the end of the session ($N=60$ responses), the details of which are not included in this report but are available on request.

CIR Observation Team

Each CIR since 2010 has had two or more researchers present to observe the event live and to ensure the recording of high-quality audio/video. Observers take detailed notes during the event, make codings on each segment of the CIR agenda, and discuss challenges and achievements with one another during each break. There has been continuity among observers such that each CIR after the initial one in 2010 has had at least one experienced observer present, and usually two. This method has enabled us to maintain a consistency in evaluation across the six CIR panels held during the past five years. Below is a list of all of the CIR observers from 2010-2014.

Year	Date	Ballot Measure	Issue	Size	Location	Research observation team
2010	Aug 9-13	M 73	Sentencing	24	Salem, OR	Gastil, Knobloch, Reedy
2010	Aug 16-20	M 74	Marijuana	24	Salem, OR	Gastil, Knobloch, Cramer
2012	Aug 6-10	M 85	Kicker	24	Salem, OR	Gastil, Knobloch, Richards
2012	Aug 20-24	M 82	Casinos	24	Portland, OR	Knobloch, Richards, Feller
2014	Aug 17-20	M 90	Top-Two Primary	19	Salem, OR	Knobloch, Bull
2014	Aug 21-24	M 92	GMO Labels	20	Salem, OR	Knobloch, Bull, Brinker

CIR Panelist Surveys

At the end of each day, the research team administers a brief questionnaire (two sides of one sheet of paper) to the CIR panelists, a simple daily check-in that has obtained a near-perfect 99% response rate. On the last day, the response rate has remained equally high for a more detailed questionnaire that asks not only for that day's assessment but for questions about the entire week of CIR deliberation. Below is an example of that questionnaire, given at the 2014 Oregon CIR on Measure 90.

Oregon CIR — Measure 90 — Day 4 Evaluation

Participant ID _____

Were the moderators fair? On a scale of one to five, did the moderators demonstrate a preference for either side?

1

2

3

4

5

The moderators favored those in SUPPORT	The moderators favored NEITHER side	The moderators favored those in OPPOSITION		
On a scale of one to five how equal was the time given to both sides today?				
1	2	3	4	5
Those in SUPPORT received more time		Both sides had EQUAL time		Those OPPOSED received more time
On a scale of one to five, how important a role did YOU play in today's panel discussions?				
1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important		Moderately Important		Extremely Important
Would you say you had sufficient OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS today?				
Definitely No	Probably No	Unsure	Probably Yes	Definitely Yes
When experts or other CIR participants expressed views different from your own today, how often did you consider carefully what they had to say?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Almost Always
How often do you feel that other participants treated you with respect today?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Almost Always
How often did you have trouble understanding or following the discussion today?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Almost Always
How often today did you feel pressure to agree with something that you weren't sure about?				
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Almost Always
If you did feel pressure to agree, please provide a brief description of why or from where you felt pressured.				
How well did the CIR STAFF perform in providing you with the support you needed to engage in the CIR process?				
Very Poor	Poor	Adequate	Good	Excellent
How satisfied are you with the KEY FINDINGS that the CIR panel decided on and wrote?				
1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL Satisfied		SOMEWHAT Satisfied		VERY Satisfied
How satisfied are you with the ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR statement?				
1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL Satisfied		SOMEWHAT Satisfied		VERY Satisfied
How satisfied are you with the ARGUMENTS IN OPPOSITION statement?				
1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL Satisfied		SOMEWHAT Satisfied		VERY Satisfied
Compared to the amount of information you knew about this measure yesterday, how much more do you know about this issue after today's deliberations?				
I am more CONFUSED about the measure	I understand the measure about the SAME	I understand the measure a LITTLE better	I understand the measure MUCH better	

How much more information do you need to confidently make a good decision on whether to support or oppose this measure?

I need a lot
more information

I need a little
more information

I already have
enough information

For the next questions, circle the answer that reflects how the CIR was conducted THIS WHOLE WEEK. A goal for this week was to learn enough about the measure to reach an informed decision. Do you believe that you learned enough this week to make an informed decision?

Definitely Not

Probably Not

Unsure

Probably Yes

Definitely Yes

Looking back over the past 4 days, how would you rate your overall satisfaction with the CIR process?

Very Dissatisfied

Dissatisfied

Neutral

Satisfied

Very Satisfied

One of the aims of this process is to have the staff conduct the Citizens' Initiative Review in an unbiased way. How satisfied are you in this regard?

Very Dissatisfied

Dissatisfied

Neutral

Satisfied

Very Satisfied

Please rate the performance of the CIR process on each of the following criteria.

Examination and summarization of important information about the measure.

Very Poor

Poor

Adequate

Good

Excellent

Consideration of the values and deeper concerns motivating those IN FAVOR of the measure.

Very Poor

Poor

Adequate

Good

Excellent

Consideration of the values and deeper concerns motivating those OPPOSING the measure.

Very Poor

Poor

Adequate

Good

Excellent

Weighing the most important arguments and evidence IN FAVOR OF the measure.

Very Poor Poor Adequate Good Excellent

Weighing the most important arguments and evidence OPPOSING the measure.

Very Poor Poor Adequate Good Excellent

During breaks and outside the CIR meeting room, some panelists have had conversations with each other about the ballot measure. How much influence did those informal talks have on your views during the CIR process?

I DID NOT PARTICIPATE in such discussions	I participated but was NOT INFLUENCED	Those conversations influenced me A LITTLE BIT	Those conversations influenced me A GREAT DEAL
---	---	--	--

If you participated in any outside conversations, which of the following were you doing in those conversations?
Please CHECK ALL that apply.

- Exchanging new information
- Clarifying information I had already learned
- Sharing my opinions with others
- Considering opinions different than my own
- Swaying the opinions of others
- Agreeing with panelists who shared my views
- Developing or writing KEY FINDINGS and ADDITIONAL POLICY CONSIDERATIONS
- Developing or writing arguments IN FAVOR
- Developing or writing arguments IN OPPOSITION

Thinking back over this past week, on which evenings do you recall spending time with other citizen panelists?
CIRCLE ALL that apply.

Sunday Monday Tuesday

At this point, how STRONGLY CONNECTED to your fellow citizen panelists do you feel?

Not at all Weakly Moderately Strongly Very Strongly
Connected Connected Connected Connected Connected

During break time or after hours, some panelists have conducted their own research on the ballot measure. Please circle the answer that best represents the amount of outside research that you conducted.

I DID NOT conduct outside research	I conducted a LITTLE BIT of outside research	I conducted A LOT of outside research
---------------------------------------	---	--

If you did conduct outside research, please indicate how much influence this outside research had on your views about the measure.

I conducted outside research but was NOT INFLUENCED	I conducted outside research and was influenced A LITTLE BIT	I conducted outside research and was influenced A GREAT DEAL
---	---	---

For the following questions, we wish to remind you that the information you provide in these daily feedback surveys is strictly confidential. Participant identifiers are removed once data are recorded, and you will not be identified personally with any of the responses given.

At the end of the CIR process, what is your position on Measure 90?

Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Not sure/ Undecided	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
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How confident are you on your position on the measure?

NOT AT ALL Confident	SOMEWHAT Confident	VERY Confident
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If you had to make your position on the measure known at the end of the CIR would you vote yes, no, or undecided?

Yes	No	Undecided
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If you had to make your position known at the end of the CIR and could only select yes or no, which would you choose ?

Yes	No
-----	----

With respect to your choice to support or oppose the measure, on which day did you decide how you would vote?

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
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Using the five-point scale below, which of the following best describes how you made your final decision this week?

1	2	3	4	5
I represented MY OWN views		I represented EQUALLY myself AND the people of Oregon		I represented the PEOPLE of OREGON

If a person who does not know much about the measure that you studied reads the Citizens' Initiative Review statement on it, how do you think they would choose to vote on the measure?

Definitely AGAINST	Probably AGAINST	Not sure/ Undecided	Probably IN FAVOR	Definitely IN FAVOR
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Please briefly explain the strongest argument that you heard in favor of the measure.

Please briefly explain the strongest argument that you heard in opposition to the measure.

How much CONFIDENCE do you think SUBJECT MATTER EXPERTS had in your panel's ability to produce a strong and reliable Citizens' Statement?

NO Confidence	VERY LITTLE	SOME	A LOT	COMPLETE Confidence
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Some panelists entered this process with no prior experience with this issue, while others had some relevant prior experience with this issue. How about you? Do you have any previous personal experience with this issue?

Yes, I do.	No, I do not.
------------	---------------

If you answered yes and feel comfortable sharing your experience, please provide a brief description of your own relation to this issue. Remember that all the answers you provide in this evaluation are strictly confidential.

What was your motivation to attend the CIR? (Please check all that apply)

- I was interested in the topic.
- I like to volunteer in my local community
- I was looking for a chance to get involved in the political process.
- I was motivated by the payment incentive.

Some people leave processes like this feeling the same as when they came. Others leave feeling differently about government, themselves, and other citizens. How about you? Do you think that this process has changed you? If so, please describe how you might have changed.

CIR processes will be held in the future for upcoming initiatives. What part of the CIR process would you recommend that the project staff change?

The following questions are simply for demographic purposes. We wish to remind you that the information you provide in these daily feedback surveys is strictly confidential.

Please check the box or boxes that best represent your employment status.

- Employed, more than 40 hours per week
- Out of work, looking for work
- A homemaker
- Employed, working 1-39 hours per week
- Self-employed
- A student
- Out of work, NOT looking for work
- Retired
- Unable to work

What is your approximate combined household income?

- Less than \$20,000 \$20,000 to \$34,999
- \$35,000 to \$49,000 \$50,000 to \$75,999
- \$75,000 to \$99,999 \$100,000 to \$149,999
- \$150,000 or More

BEFORE you were invited to participate in this week's Citizens' Initiative Review panel, how familiar were you with the Review process?

- I was NOT AWARE of the Citizens' Initiative Review before I was invited to participate
- I was AWARE of it but had NOT read its Statements in the 2010 or 2012 Oregon Voters' Pamphlet
- I READ ONE OR BOTH of the Review's statements in the 2010 and 2012 Oregon Voters' Pamphlets

In the future, members of the staff will be interested in hearing your feedback about the review process, would you be interested in serving on a committee tasked with evaluating the Oregon CIR?

Very Interested Somewhat Interested Not at All interested

After you leave, members of the research team would like to interview you regarding your experience at the CIR. With which of the following kinds of interview would you be okay? CHECK ALL that apply.

- A phone interview An in-person interview
- A questionnaire completed online A paper questionnaire mailed to you
- I would not be comfortable being interviewed

From all of us on the research team and from the project staff, THANK YOU for your help with the CIR evaluation.

Appendix C: Publications and Papers Directly Relevant to the CIR

Reports published on the CIR process

Knobloch, K., Gastil, J., Richards, R., & Feller, T. (2013). [Official 2012 CIR Evaluation Report for the Citizens' Initiative Review Commission](#). Assesses the quality of deliberation and electoral impact of the two CIR panels held in Oregon in 2012.

Gastil, J., & Knobloch, K. (2010). [Official 2010 CIR Evaluation Report](#) given to Oregon legislature on December 16, 2010. Assesses the quality of deliberation and electoral impact of the two CIR panels held in Oregon in 2010.

Academic articles and book chapters on the CIR process

Knobloch, K., & Gastil, J. (In press). Connecting micro-deliberation to electoral decision making: Institutionalizing the Oregon CIR. In Anna Przybylska (Ed.), *Deliberation: Values, processes, institutions*. New York: Peter Lang. Describes the development of the CIR as a formal part of election law.

Warren, M., & Gastil, J. (2015). [Can deliberative minipublics address the cognitive challenges of democratic citizenship?](#) *Journal of Politics*, 77, 562-574. Argues that processes such as the CIR and the British Columbia Citizens' Assembly could play a trustee role for citizens who seek reflective information and deliberative voting cues.

Gastil, J. (2014). [Beyond endorsements and partisan cues: Giving voters viable alternatives to unreliable cognitive shortcuts](#). *The Good Society*, 23, 145-159. Demonstrates how the CIR addresses problems in the initiative system by providing substantive and influential critiques of proposed legislation.

Gastil, J., Richards, R., & Knobloch, K. (2014). [Vicarious deliberation: How the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review influenced deliberation in mass elections](#). *International Journal of Communication*, 8. Explains how the CIR influences the electorate by way of detailed and relevant one-page assessments of ballot initiatives.

Knobloch, K., & Gastil, J. (2014). [Experiencing a civic \(re\)socialization: The educative effects of deliberative participation](#). *Politics*. Shows that citizen panelists in the CIR, and the Australian Citizens' Parliament, report experiencing profound shifts in their civic attitudes, which they attribute to participating in these public events.

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Early theoretical works conceptualizing processes like the CIR

John Gastil, [By popular demand: Revitalizing representative democracy through deliberative elections](#). Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2000. Provides a rationale for using randomly-selected citizen panels to review candidates for public officials, but it also identifies CIR-like panels on ballot measures as the best place to start such reforms.

Ned Crosby, [Healthy democracy: Bringing trustworthy information to the voters of America](#). Edina, MN: Beaver's Pond Press, 2003. Provides a detailed blueprint for how a CIR-like process could operate and explains how it could help improve democracy.