

# From structured to everyday deliberation: Education and the prospects for deliberative democracy<sup>1</sup>

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Amidst the excitement about the idea of deliberative democracy, we need to draw the conclusion that, in practice, deliberation remains at the margins of contemporary political systems. Existing institutional innovations have simply failed to make deliberation a widespread practice. Education in this respect appears to offer a promising alternative to work towards a more deliberative citizenry. In this paper, I therefore examine the relationship between deliberation in the classroom (*structured deliberation*) and deliberation in day-to-day life (*everyday deliberation*). Based on a field experiment at a Dutch secondary school among 70 students, I show that while in-class deliberation can promote political interest and knowledge, it does not necessarily lead to an increase in everyday deliberation. A qualitative analysis of the classroom sessions reveals how deliberation requires communication skills that are unlikely to be developed solely by talking about politics in the classroom. The results thereby invite us to rethink in what ways education can play a role in stimulating deliberation in everyday life.

**Keywords:** deliberative democracy; everyday deliberation; deliberative character; education; experiments

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## 1. Introduction: Nasty, brutish, and short

Public debate in the world's most mature democracies all the more often is nasty, brutish, and short.<sup>2</sup> The use of misinformation and populist rhetoric appears to increasingly inhibit open and respectful discussion of political issues in a wide variety of established democracies (Rooduijn, 2016). The 2016 referendum in the United Kingdom to leave or remain in the European Union forms a telling example. It spurred campaigns fueled by misleading information and unsound argumentation (Renwick et al., 2016). Citizens were consequently faced with a choice between two inaccurately portrayed alternatives. This pulled the legitimacy of the outcome into question and formed at least part of the cause of the pro-Europe mass protests in London nine days after the referendum (Vulliamy, 2016). The referendum thereby illustrates how even in such an old democracy as the UK contentious issues are far from always resolved through open and in-depth public discussion. This is a discomfoting conclusion for advocates of deliberative democracy.

This strand of democratic theory upholds that deliberation, short for open and mutually respectful discussion of political issues, is the key to legitimate democratic decisions (Chambers, 2003). Deliberation arguably constitutes the converse of the lion's share of contemporary public debate: it is satisfying, respectful, and thorough. Through deliberation citizens can weigh the (dis-)advantages of political arguments and reach more considered opinions upon which to base their political actions and decisions (e.g. Owen & Smith, 2015). This is thought to not only underpin the legitimacy of collective decisions but also to help to promote mutual understanding and manage political conflict (Dryzek, 2005; Goodin, 2006).

While these prospects have turned deliberative innovations into popular tools among policy makers (Hendriks & Carson, 2008), the above demonstrates how deliberation often remains at the margins of our political systems. Clearly, attempts by students of deliberative democracy to promote deliberation through such institutional innovations as citizens' juries (e.g. Huitema, van de Kerkhof, & Pesch, 2007) and deliberative polls (for a meta-analysis see List et al., 2013) have fallen short of turning it into a common practice. As Bächtiger and Wegmann (2014) point out, "the 'great majority' does generally not even know that a deliberative citizen event has happened" (p. 127; see also Luskin et al., 2007, p. 3-4). Deliberation simply remains for most people an unattractive and cognitively costly activity (Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009, p. 154; Rosenberg, 2014). Is deliberative democracy then to remain a normative ideal?

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<sup>2</sup> Phrase adopted from Thomas Hobbes' (1651/1839) *Leviathan* (p. 113).

I argue that to save the project of deliberative democracy, scholars and policy makers alike need to abandon the focus on largely incidental and isolated events that stimulate deliberation only among a handful of citizens. We need to look for other ways to encourage the exercise of deliberation among the public at large. I here focus on perhaps the most promising approach: to socialize citizens into deliberation through education. Starting from the premise that nobody is born a deliberator, this approach views deliberation as a skill that has to be learned (Samuelsson & Boyum, 2015, p. 76). As schools are one of the major political socialization agents (Quintelier, 2013, p. 139, 143-144), becoming acquainted with and routinized in deliberation at this stage could have a substantial impact on students' engagement in deliberative talk later in life (Campbell, 2008, p. 439; see also Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009, p. 160; Luskin et al., 2007, p. 4; McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2006). Education thereby may form the key to turning this form of communication into a norm for the discussion of political problems.

The main limitation of previous studies of deliberation at school is that they fail to provide a connection between *structured* deliberations in the classroom and *everyday* deliberations that occur outside of these formal, structured meetings. The main goal of this study, therefore, is to assess whether deliberation in the classroom can ensure that deliberation will travel beyond the walls of the school (cf. Michaels, O'Connor, & Resnick, 2008, p. 295). To be specific, I answer the following question:

To what extent can *structured* deliberation at school influence the degree of *everyday* deliberation students are engaged in?

Given the “underlying agreement in the literature that deliberative skills, knowledge and values are learned through *practice*” (Samuelsson & Boyum, 2015, p. 79 [emphasis in original]), I rely on a method of instruction that provides students with hands-on experience in deliberation: deliberative polling (cf. Luskin et al., 2007). The specific design is known to increase participants' openness to others' opinions, knowledge on the topic at hand, feelings of efficacy, and willingness to become civically active (Barabas, 2004; Farrell, O'Malley, & Suiter, 2013; Fishkin et al., 2010; Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; Fishkin, Luskin, & Siu, 2014; Himmelroos & Christensen, 2013; List et al., 2013; Luskin et al., 2007). In educational contexts, several studies have already produced largely comparable results (Bogaards & Deutsch, 2015; Latimer & Hempson, 2012; Luskin et al., 2007). It thereby forms a promising tool to nurture the practice of deliberation in everyday life.

The present study relies on the findings of a field experiment conducted at a Dutch secondary school with 70 participants. Using a novel measure of everyday deliberation, the results lead to the conclusion that while in-class deliberation may enhance students' capability and willingness to deliberate in some respects, it does not follow that it automatically also promotes deliberation itself in students' day-to-day lives. Complementary qualitative analyses of the deliberation sessions suggest that the way students communicate with each other in the classroom is unlikely to live up to deliberative standards, even in theoretically near-ideal circumstances. Turning deliberation into an everyday practice, therefore, appears to require more than organizing classroom sessions that allow for talk about political matters. I reach these conclusions by proceeding as follows. First, I situate the research in the literature on deliberative democracy and point out the missing link between structured and everyday deliberation. Then, I present the design of the study and the employed methods, after which I render an overview of the results. Lastly, I return to the implications of the findings for deliberative democratic theory and the way deliberation is studied empirically.

## **2. Deliberation and education: theory and hypotheses**

### *Defining deliberation*

Deliberative democratic theory comes in many forms, yet, all its advocates view *talk* in some form as a central ingredient to a well-functioning political system (Chambers, 2003).

'Deliberation' in this respect forms the key type of talk. Although the question what constitute the essential characteristics of *deliberation* remains hotly debated in the literature, most deliberative democrats will agree with the following minimal definition: *deliberation involves an exchange of reasons among people concerning matters of public concern, marked by mutual respect, and with the goal of reaching mutual understanding* (cf. Gutmann & Thompson, 1996, 2004; Lefrancois & Ethier, 2010, p. 273).

This lean definition of deliberation allows for it to encompass not only rational argumentation but also other types of talk, such as storytelling and emotional claims (for a discussion on this see Bächtiger et al., 2010, p. 38ff.). Nevertheless, it excludes such types of talk as manipulative rhetoric and bargaining which are not aimed at mutual understanding and often do not meet the standard of mutual respect. Moreover, its two key conceptual elements resonate with other aspects of deliberation often referred to in the literature. *Mutual respect*, on the one hand, involves the acceptance of the equality of all involved speakers, as frequently pointed out as a characteristic of deliberation (Habermas, 1996; Thompson, 2008,

p. 504-505). This manifests itself in allowing others to express their opinions as well as in considering their reasons for holding these, regardless of their socio-cultural status (Mansbridge et al., 2012, p. 11; Young, 2002, p. 55). The *pursuit of mutual understanding*, on the other, implies a requirement of self-reflexivity and the search for common ground amongst speakers (cf. Barabas, 2004, p. 689). Understanding each other requires one to reflect upon one's own preferences as well as to search for shared understandings.

#### *Deliberation, politics, and education*

Deliberative democrats have high hopes for this form of communication to manage political conflict and underpin the legitimacy of representative democracy (Goodin, 2006; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). However, deliberation often remains at the margins of contemporary political systems. Deliberative institutional innovations have not succeeded in blunting political antagonism, have failed to engage the public at large, appear infeasible in large and complex societies, or have lacked substantial policy impact (e.g. Ackerman & Fishkin, 2002; Bächtiger & Wegmann, 2014). A central problem is that deliberation remains largely restricted to designated fora which are mostly incidental and exclusive of the larger public (Luskin et al., 2007, p. 3-4). As Jacobs, Cook, and Delli Carpini (2009) conclude for their extensive study in the United States, “the archetypal deliberative forum—face-to-face interactions—is not attended by three-quarters of Americans. If it is expected to be a fountain of life for today's Athenian citizens, the water pressure appears to be low” (p. 153).

A more promising way to promote deliberation is the education of young citizens (cf. Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013, p. 567-568). While political socialization is a life-long process through which citizens “[acquire] knowledge, skills and attitudes with respect to the political system” (Abendschön, 2013, p. 1), socialization early in life appears most influential (e.g. García-Albacete, 2013, p. 92). Schools are major political socialization agents and thereby can have a significant impact on how students deal with political matters later in life (Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009, p. 160; Luskin et al., 2007, p. 4; Quintelier, 2013, p. 143-144). In fact, as Gutmann and Thompson (2004) indicate,

“[i]f schools do not equip children to deliberate, other institutions are not likely to do so. Families are appropriately protected from intrusive political regulation by rights of privacy. The other set of institutions that dominate many people's lives—consisting of the mass media, most prominently television—is among the most unfriendly to deliberation” (p. 36).

Schools thus play a vital role in teaching citizens the relevant skills to deliberate (Samuelsson & Boyum, 2015, p. 76-77). In the long run, education thereby forms a potentially powerful tool to create a citizenry of deliberators.

Yet, this approach has failed to provide a detailed link between deliberation amongst citizens in their roles as students at school, on the one hand, and deliberation amongst citizens as agents in the wider political system, on the other. In general, empirical studies emphasize the byproducts of deliberation at school, such as an increase in political interest, knowledge, and efficacy (e.g. Latimer & Hempson, 2012; Luskin et al., 2007). Still, they fail to clarify how these underpin the quality of democracy from the standpoint of *deliberative* democracy. The key question whether deliberation *itself* can travel beyond the walls of the school remains unaddressed. To address this gap in the literature, I first of all hypothesize a direct, positive effect of *structured* on *everyday* deliberation. The former captures deliberation taking place in a designated forum, while the latter involves deliberation occurring outside of the confines of such structured meetings (cf. Delli Carpini, Cook, & Jacobs, 2004, p. 317-318; Fishkin & Luskin, 2005, p. 289). Adapting this to educational contexts, this leads to the following hypothesis:

HYPOTHESIS 1:        *Students that regularly deliberate at school engage more in everyday deliberation than students that do not.*

However, to expect that making citizens more versed in deliberation at school will automatically motivate them to also adopt a “deliberative stance” (Owen & Smith, 2015, p. 228-229) towards political matters in everyday life is to neglect that the circumstances in our daily lives are often inimical to deliberation. For many deliberation remains a costly and unappealing activity compared to their day-to-day routines (Rosenberg, 2014). Some may find political matters too difficult to understand, others may feel uncomfortable talking about politics, and yet others may lack any interest in political problems at all (see below). It follows that students need to develop a specific set of skills and attitudes if we are to expect structured deliberation to spill over into everyday deliberation (cf. Samuelsson & Boyum, 2015, p. 77).

I refer to this set of skills and attitudes as a person’s *deliberative character*.<sup>3</sup> Deliberative character comprises both the *capability* to deliberate as well as the *will* to do so.

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<sup>3</sup> The term ‘deliberative character’ was originally introduced by Paul Weithman (2005) who conceived of it as “the set of dispositions citizens must have if they are to govern themselves by public deliberation” (p. 263). The

The former captures “the capability for full and effective use of political opportunities and liberties in deliberation, such as when citizens make their concerns known and initiate public debate about them” (Bohman, 1997, p. 325; see also Rosenberg, 2014). Building on the empirical literature on structured deliberation, deliberative capability appears to depend upon a person’s sense of political efficacy, level of political knowledge, and ability to self-reflect. The will to deliberate appears to most of all hinge upon a person’s political interest and his or her level of political and civic engagement (see below). Previous studies of the effects of structured deliberation show that it tends to enhance these five indicators of deliberative character (Barabas, 2004; Farrell, O’Malley, & Suiter, 2013; Fishkin et al., 2010; Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; Fishkin, Luskin, & Siu, 2014; Himmelroos & Christensen, 2013; List et al., 2013). As deliberative character appears necessary to evoke deliberation in people’s day-to-day lives, structured deliberation may promote everyday deliberation through the development of deliberative character. Therefore, in addition to the direct effect stipulated above, I also hypothesize an indirect effect of structured on everyday deliberation.

HYPOTHESIS 2:        *The effect of structured deliberation on everyday deliberation is mediated by deliberative character.*

#### *Developing deliberative character*

Deliberation at school can enhance students’ deliberative character in five ways. First of all, deliberation at school can make students more knowledgeable about politics. Students may not deliberate in everyday life because they simply do not know what is going on in politics or find political matters too complicated. Deliberative teaching methods tend to outperform more traditional ways of instruction in terms of the knowledge about politics students acquire (Andersson, 2015; Luskin et al., 2007, p. 10; Latimer & Hempson, 2012, p. 379). Previous studies show that students tend to experience talking about politics in the classroom as both fun as well as useful in light of the skills they learn (e.g. Jerome & Algarra, 2005, p. 496). Deliberation as a form of active participation, therefore, is likely to “increase information retention by offering memorable opportunities to apply knowledge” (Darr & Cohen, 2016, p. 3).

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use of the term here is much less strict and in the first place intended to capture what characteristics a person requires to make it likely that he or she will engage in everyday deliberation.

HYPOTHESIS 3: *Students that regularly deliberate at school become more knowledgeable about political matters than students that do not.*

Second, practicing deliberation at school can stimulate political interest (Luskin et al., 2007). In their day-to-day lives, citizens tend to be attracted to other activities much more than an in-depth conversation about public matters (Lerner, 2014). Young people especially are likely to be distracted and lack interest in public affairs (García-Albacete, 2013, p. 93; Latimer & Hempson, 2012, p. 384). They are much more likely to play video games or browse social media than to engage in a face-to-face discussion about political matters once the school bell rings. By letting students engage actively with political issues through deliberation, they are likely to become more politically interested (Bogaards & Deutsch, 2015, p. 222; Gershtenson, Rainey, & Rainey, 2010; Luskin et al., 2007). In turn, as political interest is the number one precursor of political engagement (García-Albacete, 2013), it can be highly influential in determining the likelihood of everyday deliberation (see also Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009, p. 54).

HYPOTHESIS 4: *Students that regularly deliberate at school become more interested in political matters than students that do not.*

Third, in-school deliberation can enhance students' feelings of political efficacy. Political efficacy is generally thought to cover both an internal and external dimension. Whereas internal efficacy refers to a person's "confidence in [his or her] own resources" (Amnå, 2010, p. 197), external efficacy relates to "an individual's assessment that his or her political views and action have *an impact on the political process*" (Grönlund, Setälä, & Herne, 2010, p. 98 [emphasis added]). Disparate knowledge levels (see above) or structural inequalities may make some students reluctant to share their opinion and engage in an open discussion about public issues. They may feel that their opinion does not matter or will be overruled by more powerful or eloquent speakers (Young, 2002). Practicing deliberation in a safe environment as the classroom can help students develop the relevant skills to become well-equipped deliberators (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004; Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009, p. 160; Luskin et al., 2007). This can contribute towards making students feel more confident about the resources they can employ while talking about politics in their daily lives, that is, increase internal efficacy. This is tightly linked to the likely effect on external efficacy:



the more confidence one has in one's resources, the likelier one will feel capable of influencing the political process (Grönlund, Setälä, & Herne, 2010, p. 98-99).

HYPOTHESIS 5: *Students that regularly deliberate at school feel more politically efficacious than students that do not.*

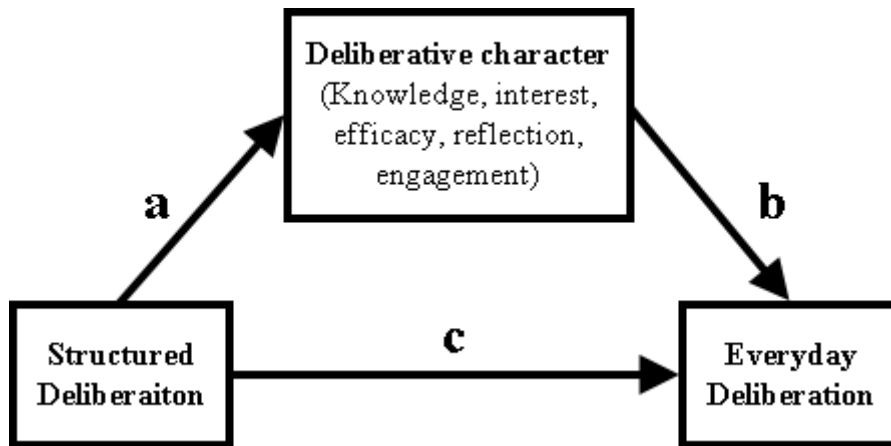
Fourth, practicing deliberation at school can stimulate self-reflection. In everyday life, people tend to often rely on cognitive short-cuts and habitual behavior that undermine an open-minded and mutually respectful conversation (Rosenberg, 2014). Deliberation takes time and requires participants to step out of their day-to-day routines to critically reflect upon their own opinion and consider the opinions of others. The requirement of critical reflection makes deliberation a particularly costly activity (John, Smith, & Stoker, 2009). By continually exposing students to others' opinions, deliberation at school can incite students to reconsider their own (Avery, Levy, & Simmons, 2014; Gershtenson, Rainey, & Rainey, 2010, p. 113). Furthermore, showing students the value of deliberation, stimulating their interest in politics, and teaching them relevant skills, all contribute towards reducing the costs associated with deliberation. As a result, the effect of deliberation on the degree to which students are willing to reconsider their opinion in conversations about politics is likely to spill over into everyday life.

HYPOTHESIS 6: *Students that regularly deliberate at school reflect more upon their opinions on political matters than students that do not.*

Fifth, deliberation can make students more civically and politically engaged (Gershtenson, Rainey, & Rainey, 2010, p. 96; Jerome & Algarra, 2005, p. 496). Civic disengagement is particularly pronounced among youth. As Keating and Janmaat (2015) indicate, "rates of civic engagement are declining across all age groups, but the downward trend appears to be particularly steep among young people who are less likely than previous generations to vote, become a member of a political party or a trade union and/or to volunteer" (p. 409-410). Disengagement is likely to go hand in hand with lower levels of everyday political talk; the less engaged people are, the less likely they are to talk about political matters. As stated above, by enhancing political interest, deliberation in school has the potential to increase levels of political engagement among youth (García-Albacete, 2013).

Several studies of deliberation have already substantiated this in educational contexts (Latimer & Hepmson, 2012; Luskin et al., 2007). Figure 1 summarizes the discussion.

**HYPOTHESIS 7:** *Students that regularly deliberate at school are more willing to become civically and politically engaged than students that do not.*



**Figure 1** Hypothesized relationship between structured and everyday deliberation

Original figure adopted from MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007, p. 595.

The discussion above has assumed that students positively experience in-class deliberation. This led to the aforementioned hypotheses which state that it will develop their deliberative character and increase the likelihood of engaging in everyday deliberation. However, a part of the literature on deliberative democracy suggests the contrary. Two criticisms stand out. First, Sunstein (2002) points towards the tendency of deliberation to confirm participants' opinions rather than to stimulate reflection. This derives from the limited repertoire of arguments available to participants and "people's desire to maintain their reputation and their self-conception" (p. 176). Second, several authors argue that deliberation tends to reproduce social inequalities (Sunstein, 2005; Young, 2002). This suggests that social domination in classroom deliberations may further undermine, rather than enhance, feelings of efficacy among participants. These views on deliberation imply that practicing deliberation at school may decrease the likelihood that students will engage in everyday deliberation.

Nonetheless, whether deliberation at school produces positive or negative outcomes, appears to depend mostly on the adopted format of deliberation (Thompson, 2008, p. 499ff.). In this respect, the format of deliberative polling has been able to circumvent the potential

pitfalls hinted at above. As Luskin et al. (2007) explain, “the method of Deliberative Polling is to interview a random sample; provide them with balanced briefing documents; bring them together for small group discussions and plenary sessions with policy experts or policy makers; and then have them answer the same questions they were asked when first interviewed” (p. 6). Results across a wide variety of contexts show that deliberation in such polls stimulates reflection, increases participants’ knowledge of and interest in the topic, and stimulates their willingness to become politically engaged (Barabas, 2004; Farrell, O’Malley, & Suiter, 2013; Fishkin et al., 2010; Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; Himmelroos & Christensen, 2013; List et al., 2013). Furthermore, social inequalities among participants appear not to significantly shape the dynamics of the deliberations when this format is adopted (e.g. Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; Fishkin, Luskin, & Siu, 2014). Given the robustness of this particular format, this study adopted a form of deliberative polling to examine the relationship between structured and everyday deliberation.

### **3. Design and methods**

The study consisted of a field experiment at a Dutch secondary school. It examined the relationship between structured and everyday deliberation by conducting two rounds of deliberative polling. The sample consisted of 70 students involved in a social science course (*maatschappijleer*) divided over three groups. Table 1 shows how the groups were largely comparable in terms of students’ background characteristics. The experiment took place over the span of two weeks, during which each group had two class meetings a week. Each week a different topic was discussed. This sought to overcome possible fatigue and practice effects. The topics covered the material being dealt with in the respective social science course: European integration (week 1) and global citizenship (week 2). This allowed for a direct comparison between the treatment and control groups. Two groups received a treatment (deliberation and plenary-only) and one continued with the regular curriculum (control). The groups were randomly assigned to the different conditions (Setälä & Herne, 2014, p. 66). As this was a mandatory course for all students, participants were not expected to be more interested in or knowledgeable about politics than other students at the school.

The design deviated from regular deliberative polls in two principal ways. First, the involved students did not represent a random sample of the total student population at the school. Nonetheless, the proposed design appeared more realistic in terms of integrating it into a school’s curriculum (for comparable approaches see Latimer & Hepmson, 2012; Luskin

Table 1. Characteristics of the sample

	Deliberation group	Plenary-only group	Control group
Political party membership	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Civic association membership	16 (76%)	20 (80%)	17 (71%)
Sex			
Female	11 (52%)	17 (68%)	11 (46%)
Male	10 (48%)	8 (32%)	13 (54%)
Average age (SD)	15.7 (0.6)	15.7 (0.6)	15.5 (0.5)
<i>N</i>	21	25	24

et al., 2007). Second, in regular deliberative polls the aim of the small-group deliberations is to prepare a list of questions to be posed to policy experts during the plenary session (e.g. Fishkin et al., 2010, p. 439; Isernia & Fishkin, 2014, p. 319). By contrast, the aim here was to provide an overview of all presented arguments in order to facilitate the deliberations (see below).

#### *Deliberation in the classroom*

All groups received balanced briefing materials on European integration during the last class meeting preceding the week in which the first poll took place.<sup>4</sup> The briefing was written by the researcher in close consultation with the involved teacher.<sup>5</sup> Students were told that the information could be part of later examinations to ensure that they all attentively studied the material. What is more, the briefings were used as a starting point for the small-group discussions in the deliberation group as well as for the research conducted by students in the other two groups (see below).<sup>6</sup>

During the first class meeting of the succeeding week, the deliberation group engaged in the first deliberation session. The group was divided into two smaller groups of around 10

<sup>4</sup> The briefing materials on European integration and global citizenship used in the experiment can be found in Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> As a manipulation check, students were asked in the final survey to indicate how balanced they found the information in the briefing materials. On a scale from 1 (not at all balanced) to 10 (fully balanced) the students ( $N = 64$ ), on average, rated the briefing materials as being relatively balanced in terms of providing arguments in favor and against the statement guiding the topic ( $M = 6.73$ ,  $SD = 1.60$ ). Only 22% of all students awarded the materials a grade below 6.

<sup>6</sup> 33% of all students ( $N = 66$ ) indicated in the final survey to have read, on average, more than half of the briefing materials by the end of the week in which the respective topic was dealt with in class. 42% indicated that they, on average, had read the briefings (nearly) completely by that time.

students to which students were randomly assigned. This was done to mimic the small discussion groups that precede larger plenary sessions in deliberative polling (e.g. Fishkin et al., 2010, p. 439). Random assignment sought to break up potential cliques and thereby stimulate open discussion. In contrast to national-level polls, students know each other already and have formed social bonds. Inequalities that may result from the existence of social groups may, therefore, inhibit open discussion even more than socio-economic inequalities alluded to in earlier studies (e.g. Michaels, O'Connor, & Resnick, 2008, p. 293).

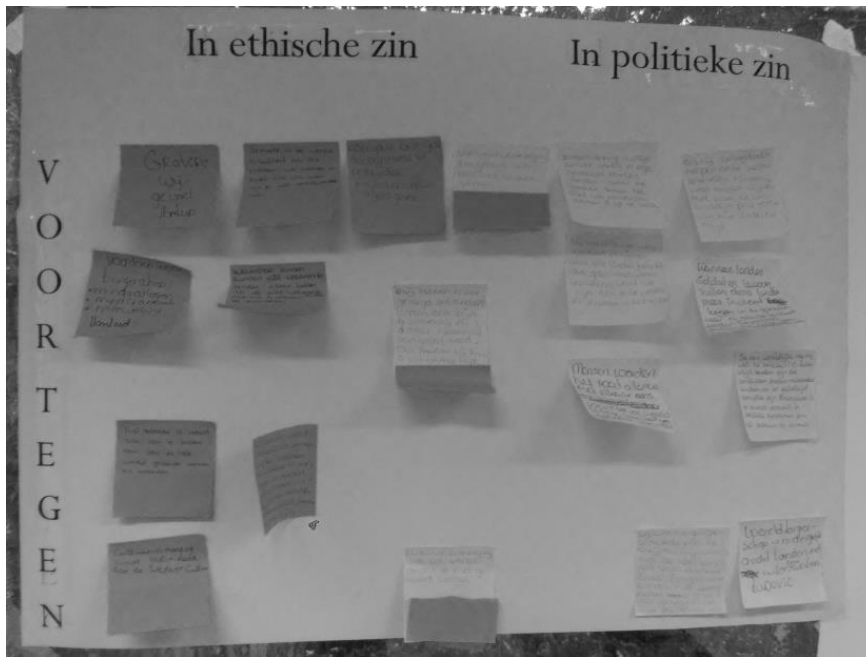
The round of deliberation consisted of a conversation of around 40 minutes about the topic at hand. The deliberations in one group were moderated by the researcher, the deliberations in the other by the involved teacher. Note here that the same teacher functioned as a moderator throughout the experiment and also taught all other classes of the respective social science course. It follows that all students were “located in comparable circumstances” (Setälä & Herne, 2014, p. 66). Both moderators performed the role of impartial arbiters, ensuring that all students complied with the rules and were allowed equal speaking time.<sup>7</sup> The deliberations started with an overview of the instructions, the allotted time, and an explanation of the aim of the deliberations. To stimulate deliberation, students were instructed to “help one another to present their arguments, listen to each other, [and] not interrupt (...) each other” (Andersson, 2015, p. 609). In addition, it was emphasized that the session would *not* resemble a debate, in which some of the students would win and others would lose. These instructions were displayed both on an electronic whiteboard and on flyers distributed to both groups.<sup>8</sup> This was done for the reason that multimodal presentation of instructions tends to underpin the clarity of the rules and stimulate students to become accustomed to them (Lerner, 2014, p. 62, 133-134).

Furthermore, the conversation was facilitated by a form of dialogue mapping (cf. Mingers & Rosenhead, 2004, p. 532): students wrote their arguments on post-its which were pasted on an overview sheet in each group (see Figure 2). After the deliberations, students had 5 – 10 minutes to revise, move, or *remove* their arguments written on the post-its. In the end, the sheets thereby represented a summary of the deliberations. As such, they formed the functional equivalent of writing a common statement on the topic (e.g. Grönlund, Setälä, & Herne, 2010). This format was considered less laborious and more engaging for the students than writing a full-fledged statement.

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<sup>7</sup> Others have referred to moderators with comparable tasks as “facilitators” (Landwehr, 2014, p. 88-89). For the complete instructions for the moderators, please see Appendix B.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix C for the flyers with the instructions used in the experiment.



**Figure 2** Dialogue mapping illustration

During the next class meeting of the week, all students in the deliberation group participated in a plenary session on the topic. First, the moderators briefly presented the two dialogue maps and used open questions to stimulate students to engage in the session and think about their formulated positions (Lefrancois & Ethier, 2010, p. 281). The plenary session was intended to offer students the chance to ask substantive questions rather than deliberate *tout court*. The moderators, therefore, primarily functioned as experts during this session whom the students could ask questions related to the content of the discussions.

The plenary-only group researched the topic during the first class meeting of the week and had a plenary session comparable to that of the deliberation group during the second class meeting. As the plenary-only group did not receive the deliberation treatment, a comparison between the two groups allowed me to single out the effects of structured deliberation on the variables of interest (Setälä & Herne, 2014, p. 66). The control group continued with the regular curriculum throughout the experiment. This involved researching the two topics during class time. The same procedure was repeated for the second round of the experiment, the only exception being the topic of global citizenship. Table 2 displays how the experiment proceeded over time.

Table 2. Overview of the experiment over time

Dates	Class meeting	Deliberation group	Plenary-only group	Control group
May 16 - 20	1st	-	-	Pre-treatment survey (T <sub>1</sub> )
	2nd	Pre-treatment survey (T <sub>1</sub> ) Briefing materials	Pre-treatment survey (T <sub>1</sub> ) Briefing materials	Briefing materials In-class research
May 23 -27 (European integration)	1st	Deliberation	In-class research	In-class research
	2nd	Plenary Survey 2 (T <sub>2</sub> ) Briefing materials	Plenary Survey 2 (T <sub>2</sub> ) Briefing materials	Survey 2 (T <sub>2</sub> )*
May 30 - June 3 (Global citizenship)	1st	Deliberation	In-class research	Briefing materials In-class research
	2nd	Plenary Survey 3 (T <sub>3</sub> )	Plenary Survey 3 (T <sub>3</sub> )	In-class research Survey 3 (T <sub>3</sub> )
June 17**	2nd	-	Survey 4 (T <sub>4</sub> )	-
June 20	1st	Survey 4 (T <sub>4</sub> )	-	-
June 21	2nd	-	-	Survey 4 (T <sub>4</sub> )

\* A short class, during which there was only time for conducting the second survey.

\*\* The final survey took place in a week during which all students followed the regular curriculum. It was attempted to keep the administration dates of the final survey as close to each other as possible.

### *Surveys*

In line with previous studies, the effects of the treatments were in the first place monitored by means of paper and pencil questionnaires.<sup>9</sup> These included items that captured the five indicators of deliberative character (political knowledge, political interest, internal and external political efficacy, self-reflection, and political and civic engagement) and items

<sup>9</sup> Students were assigned a respondent number in order to be able to keep track of which treatment they were given. This also allowed me to link students' responses across surveys.

which measured everyday deliberation. The items used to measure deliberative character were largely in line with previous studies of deliberative polls (e.g. Luskin et al., 2007).

Surveys were administered four times. First, all students filled out a pre-treatment questionnaire before they received the briefing materials on the first topic (T<sub>1</sub>). The second survey was conducted at the end of the first week only to monitor changes in knowledge levels (see *Knowledge* below) and the degree of reflection (see *Reflection* below) after the first round of polling (T<sub>2</sub>). This ensured equivalent timing of the measurement of the relevant items for both topics (European integration and global citizenship). Had the knowledge and reflection questions on European integration been asked after the second week of the experiment, then the time elapsed since dealing with the topic would have been longer (1 week) than that for global citizenship (right after the second class meeting of the week) (see Table 2). The third survey was conducted after the second round of polling (T<sub>3</sub>). The final survey was conducted two weeks after this second round in order to gauge longer-term effects (T<sub>4</sub>).

#### *Measurement of key variables*

Deliberative character was measured by means of five variables. First, *Knowledge* consisted of the sum of correct responses to 5 questions on European integration and 5 questions on global citizenship, resulting in a potential range of 0 (no correct responses) to 10 (all correct responses).<sup>10</sup> *Interest* consisted of two items measured on 5-point scales: the degree to which the student (1) followed politics and (2) had an opinion on political matters. The two items were averaged, ranging from 1 (little interest) to 5 (much interest). The scale showed moderate reliability (Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.44$  (T<sub>1</sub>), 0.56 (T<sub>3</sub>), 0.71 (T<sub>4</sub>)). *Internal efficacy* gauged the extent to which the student felt he or she understood what is going on in politics at the municipal, national, and European level. The 5-point items were averaged, resulting in a variable ranging from 1 (little understanding) to 5 (very much understanding). The scale had moderate reliability (Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.67$  (T<sub>1</sub>), 0.62 (T<sub>3</sub>), 0.55 (T<sub>4</sub>)). *External efficacy* monitored the degree to which the student felt his or her opinion about politics at the three respective levels *matters* on average, 1 indicating very little, 5 very much. The reliability of the scale was moderate again (Cronbach's  $\alpha = 0.73$  (T<sub>1</sub>), 0.57 (T<sub>3</sub>), 0.54 (T<sub>4</sub>)).

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<sup>10</sup> Two of the ten questions were open-ended and the other eight questions offered multiple choices. While open-ended items do not prevent guessing (Cor & Sood, 2016, p. 240), they were added to make recalling the correct answers in subsequent survey rounds more difficult. I included also *subjective* knowledge items in the final survey (T<sub>4</sub>). Objective questions only tap potential knowledge increases on highly specific items and thereby may lead to an underestimation of overall knowledge gains (cf. O'Flynn & Sood, 2014, p. 53-54).



*Reflection* measured the sum of opinions given on 5 statements on European integration and 5 on global citizenship, coded 1 when an opinion was expressed, 0 when ‘don’t know’ was answered. The scale thereby ran from 0 (no opinion expressed) to 10 (opinion expressed on all items). Lastly, *Engagement* by means of three survey items measured how willing the student was to (1) vote if he or she would be eligible to vote and to do voluntary work for (2) a political party or (3) a civic association. All three items were measured on 5-point scales and were averaged, amounting to an engagement scale extending from 1 (little willingness) to 5 (much willingness). The scale had slightly lower reliability than the other scales mentioned above (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = 0.48$  ( $T_1$ ),  $0.54$  ( $T_3$ ),  $0.49$  ( $T_4$ )).

The measurement of everyday deliberation required a novel approach. It consisted of a quantitative (i.e. the frequency of everyday conversations about politics) and qualitative dimension (i.e. in which fashion the student is likely to talk about political problems in everyday life). The former (*Frequency*) was measured by means of a 5-point scale on how much the respective student talked about political problems in everyday life (1 = almost never, 5 = nearly every day) (cf. CDD, 2012, p. 8). The items on the quality of everyday talk about politics sought to measure the extent to which the participant was likely to engage in everyday *deliberation* rather than other types of political talk. The participant was asked to imagine a conversation about a political problem in everyday life with family, friends, and/or acquaintances during which, at a certain point, the participant notices that all others hold an opinion on the topic that completely contradicts his or her own opinion. In other words, it sketched a clear state of disagreement between the participant and his or her interlocutors (cf. Naurin, 2007, p. 568). This scenario was opted for because it is in such situations that deliberation counts; here deliberation becomes a relevant tool to manage conflicting preferences and promote mutual understanding (Mutz, 2006, p. 20-21; Thompson, 2008, p. 502).<sup>11</sup>

The participant was then asked to indicate how likely it is that he or she would react in particular ways on an 11-point scale. The six reaction items were designed to tap the two core elements of deliberation: mutual respect (listen to others, express interest in others, and allow others time to speak) and seeking mutual understanding (ask others for clarification, reflect on

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<sup>11</sup> This situational approach was also less likely to entice participants to render socially desirable answers than when they would have been asked plainly whether they, for example, generally show respect towards others. To illustrate, Luskin et al. (2007) asked High School students in a deliberative poll conducted in California such questions as “How interested are you in hearing the opinions of other people?” and “How open are you to changing or revising aspects of your political beliefs?” (p. 25).

own opinion, and clarify own opinion to others).<sup>12</sup> A multiple factor analysis (MFA) was performed to monitor to what degree the six items loaded onto the two underlying dimensions. MFA resembles traditional principal component analysis (PCA) but accounts for the nested nature of the data (Pagès, 2015). In the present study, it accounted for the fact that the variables were measured at several points in time among the same participants. The MFA suggested to retain two dimensions corresponding to the items that were expected to gauge mutual respect and understanding. This gave support for the validity of the two measures: the items converged on the expected underlying dimensions and the items loading on one dimension could easily be discriminated from those loading on the other dimension (Adcock & Collier, 2001, p. 540ff.). By means of Thurnstone's regression method (DiStefano, Zhu, & Mindrila, 2009, p. 4) the six items were reduced to two variables: *Respect* and *Understanding*.<sup>13</sup> The exact procedure and results can be found in Appendix E.

How did these two measures, then, relate to the frequency of everyday political talk? Whereas *Respect* did not show a significant correlation with the frequency of political talk (*Frequency*) ( $p > 0.05$ ), *Understanding* showed a largely significant, positive relationship with *Frequency* ( $T_1: r_s = 0.33, p < 0.05$ ;  $T_3: r_s = 0.28, p < 0.05$ ;  $T_4: r_s = 0.21, p > 0.05$ ). This suggested that students that engage more often in conversations about political matters do not necessarily resort to more respectful forms of communication when confronted with conflicting opinions. The lack of association between these two variables seems in line with findings in the field of educational research with regard to listening.<sup>14</sup> This strand of literature shows how people generally “think listening is a natural process, it is easy, and they are doing it well” (Peterson, 2012, p. 88).<sup>15</sup> Given the widespread (yet inaccurate) belief that people think they listen well to others, it seems unsurprising that it was not associated with the frequency students talk about politics. To talk about politics more often does not mean that one also is more willing to listen to others (cf. Peterson, 2012, p. 87).

The correlations did indicate how the frequency of talking about politics tends to move in tandem with the degree to which a person seeks mutual understanding when he or she faces

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<sup>12</sup> For the exact questions see Appendix D.

<sup>13</sup> The scores of these two variables are not directly interpretable in terms of size as they are the result of a multiplication of the original scores on the various items and their factor score coefficients (see Appendix E for the full procedure). *Understanding* can potentially range from -3.2 to 2.5, *Respect* from 0 to 4.1. Higher scores on the two variables indicate a higher likelihood of reactions more attuned to seeking mutual understanding or respect.

<sup>14</sup> The items used to construct *Respect* largely match the operationalization of listening in this field of research (Wolvin & Cohen, 2012, p. 65).

<sup>15</sup> The high average scores on *Respect* measured in the pre-treatment survey ( $T_1$ ) seem to confirm this. Please see Table 3 below.

a conflict of opinions. This makes sense when we recall the discussion on political efficacy above. Students that tend to talk more often about political affairs are more likely to feel comfortable in the aforementioned situation to ask questions and clarify their opinion than students that have had less practice in talking about such topics (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, p. 35). In other words, the different components of everyday deliberation appeared to relate to each other in ways one would expect theoretically, adding to the validity of the employed construct (Adcock & Collier, 2001, p. 537). In sum, while the situational questions did not allow me to monitor the frequency of everyday *deliberation* directly, they did give an insight into how likely the participant was to engage in a deliberative form of communication in conversations about politics when confronted with disagreement. In combination with the item measuring the frequency of political talk, this offered a comprehensive first attempt at measuring everyday deliberation.

#### *Quantitative analyses*

Turning to the analysis of the survey data, it is worth reemphasizing that all variables included in the quantitative analyses were measured at T<sub>1</sub> (pre-treatment), T<sub>3</sub> (post-treatment), and T<sub>4</sub> (follow-up two weeks later), with the exception of *Knowledge* and *Reflection* (for the reason outlined before). In the analyses, *Knowledge* at T<sub>1</sub> consisted of the sum of correct responses to all knowledge items when they were first measured (European integration at T<sub>1</sub> and global citizenship at T<sub>2</sub>). In other words, what did the students know about the topics before these were dealt with in class? At T<sub>3</sub>, it consisted of the aggregate score at the second measurement point (European integration at T<sub>2</sub> and global citizenship at T<sub>3</sub>). That is, what did they know about the topics immediately after these were dealt with in class? And, finally, at T<sub>4</sub> it represented the sum of correct responses to all knowledge items in the final survey (both at T<sub>4</sub>). Or to put it differently: what did the students still know about both topics two weeks after the experiment? The same logic applies to the measurement of *Reflection*.

Recall now that part of the relationship between everyday and structured deliberation was hypothesized to be mediated by deliberative character. Therefore, I followed the most common approach to mediation analysis which requires all regression coefficients corresponding to the paths in Figure 1 to be significant, and the direct effect (c) to be larger than the indirect effect (a + b) (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007, p. 598-599). The repeated-measures design of the study required an analysis that accounts for interdependent observations, as a participant's response to question X at T<sub>2</sub> depended on his or her response to question X at T<sub>1</sub>. Therefore, I estimated multi-level models for each of the three paths

displayed in Figure 1, in which a participant's response (level 1) was the unit of analysis, which in turn was nested in the respective participant (level 2). This resulted in a total of 174 responses nested in 58 participants.<sup>16</sup> The effects of interest for all models, then, were the interactions between *Time* (T<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>3</sub>, and T<sub>4</sub>) and *Treatment* (deliberation, plenary-only, and control group), monitoring changes across groups over the course of the experiment. Multi-level modeling was preferred over more traditional techniques, most prominently repeated-measures ANOVA, as it can better handle missing data and relies on less assumptions about the data.<sup>17</sup>

### *Assessing the process*

The design set out above allows one to disentangle the effect of structured deliberation from that of reading the provided information and attending the plenary sessions. However, the question remains whether the treatment actually qualified as a form of structured deliberation. As pointed out in the literature section, some authors suggest that sessions reserved for deliberation may simply not involve deliberation among the participants at all (e.g. Sunstein, 2002; Young, 2002). Students may not communicate respectfully with one another or refuse to actively participate in the discussions regardless of the instructions, rules, or structure of the sessions. It follows that to interpret the findings of the quantitative analyses above, we require both an assessment of (a) the degree to which deliberation actually took place and (b) what aspects of the treatment, or sessions if you will, caused deliberation to occur or not. This can also generate valuable information for the design of future experiments seeking to measure the effects of structured deliberation (Kapiszewski, MacLean, & Read, 2015, p. 314-317).

To assess to what extent the conversations matched the characteristics of deliberation, I relied on two semi-structured interviews with the teacher and my own observations made during the sessions.<sup>18</sup> These also formed one of the sources of evidence for determining the causes of the occurrence of deliberation (or lack thereof). These were complemented with the information obtained through post-test evaluation questions included in the final survey

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<sup>16</sup> 12 students did not fill out one or more of the surveys and were therefore excluded from the longitudinal analyses.

<sup>17</sup> See Kwok et al., 2008 who also provide a more detailed discussion of the multi-level approach adopted here.

<sup>18</sup> For the transcripts of the interviews, please see Appendix G.

(Latimer & Hempson, 2012, p. 384-385; Setälä & Herne, 2014, p. 67).<sup>19</sup> These questions asked students about their personal experiences of the different aspects of the experiment.

In addition, I analyzed the dialogue maps produced during the sessions in two ways.<sup>20</sup> First, I examined the number of original arguments expressed by students vis-à-vis those derived (directly) from the briefing materials. New arguments are likely to stimulate students' thinking and require more explanation than arguments already contained in the briefings. By extending the available pool of arguments, original argumentation, therefore, is likely to enhance the chances of deliberation to occur (Sunstein, 2002, p. 176-177). Originality was assessed as follows. Arguments were coded as original when it was judged that they could not have been derived from the briefing materials in any way. All other arguments were coded as non-original. To assess the reliability of the coding, the researcher and a graduate student independently coded all arguments written on the post-its in the different groups. The coders agreed in 73% of all cases. Disputes between coders could be settled afterwards in all but two of all cases.<sup>21</sup> In these instances the researcher's coding was used.

Second, I assessed the diversity of the arguments put forward by the students. The higher the diversity of expressed viewpoints, the more likely reflection and seeking mutual understanding tend to become (Wolkenstein, 2016, p. 4). The diversity of arguments was assessed by looking at their dispersion over the dialogue maps. These maps were designed in line with the briefing materials. First of all, they were split horizontally in grids in favor and against the question/statement being discussed. For European integration this was represented by 'less' and 'more,' and for global citizenship by 'yes' and 'no.' Second, the columns on the maps represented the different themes discussed in the respective briefings. As European integration was divided into three themes ('Politics,' 'Culture/Identity,' and 'Economy/Finance') and global citizenship into two ('Ethical' and 'Political' conceptions of citizenship), this resulted in a dialogue map consisting of six cells for the former topic and one

<sup>19</sup> For these items, I largely followed the Center for Deliberative Democracy's (CDD) post-treatment survey (CDD, 2012, p. 8-9).

<sup>20</sup> Although the extent of deliberation is perhaps better studied by means of discourse analysis of the complete conversations (see Steiner et al., 2004), recording the conversations in the classroom was deemed infeasible. The variety of methods employed here, nonetheless, allowed for multiple insights into the process and the triangulation of the evidence. For a comparable approach see Fishkin, Luskin, and Siu (2014).

<sup>21</sup> To illustrate the coding procedure, consider the two following examples of how arguments were coded:

"The direction in which Europe is currently heading, already looks like a single country (central government, one president, open borders, etc.). If we are to continue like this, we will present ourselves more and more as 'European' instead of, for instance, 'Dutch' to people abroad. In itself that is not bad; the basis is already there." *Coding = non-original.*

"Political cooperation is necessary to act as a single entity at a global level; to improve our position of power vis-à-vis large countries (USA, RU, China)." *Coding = original.*

consisting of four cells for the latter topic. Figure 2 illustrates this for the topic of global citizenship.

Note that the structuring of the maps appeared not to steer, let alone polarize, the discussions. Figure 2 shows how students sometimes creatively joined post-its of different colors (corresponding to the different themes) or put them in between two categories. In terms of the coding, the researcher assigned such arguments to the cell in the map they focused on most. This was only necessary for 7 out of the total of 74 arguments. Diversity was assessed by graphically examining the number of arguments in each cell of the map by means of mosaic plots. This type of plot allows one to easily compare the relative distribution of arguments (Kastellec & Leoni, 2007, p. 758-759). The degree to which arguments were distributed evenly across cells functioned as the measure of diversity. That is to say, the more even the dispersion, the higher the diversity of arguments.

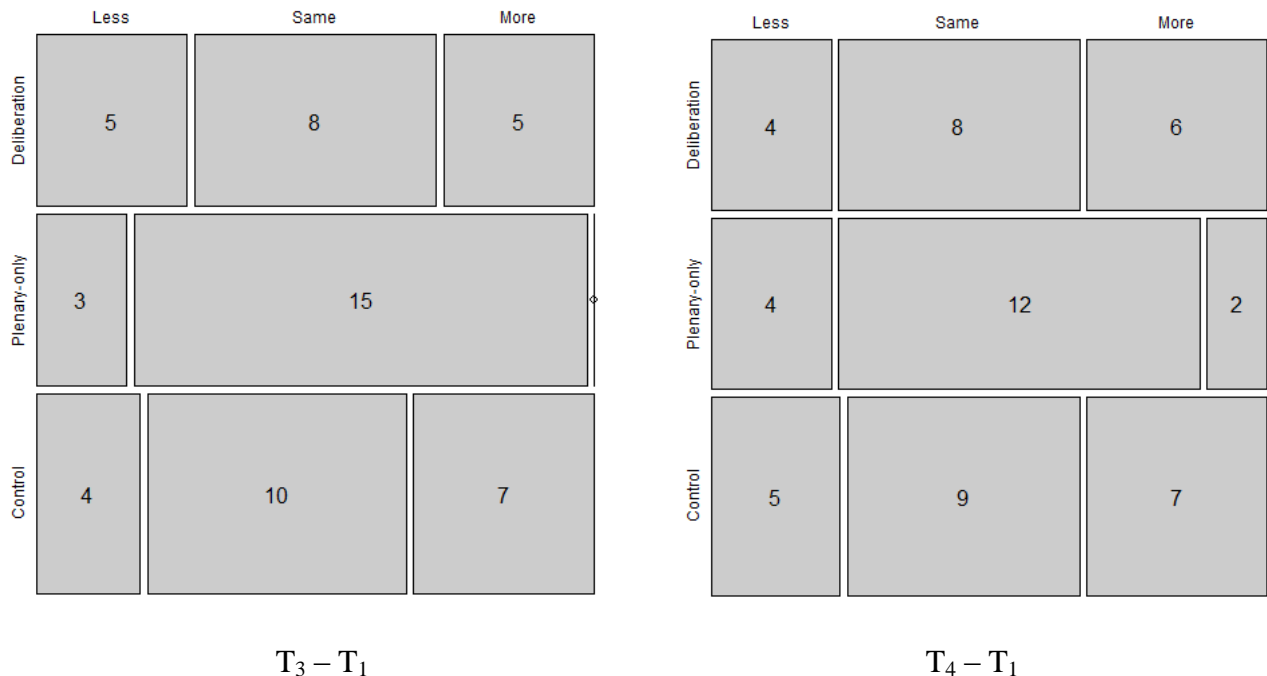
#### 4. Results

##### *Does structured deliberation promote everyday deliberation?*

Figure 3 displays the changes in how frequently the students talked about political problems in everyday life before and after the experiment. It shows how the patterns across groups are largely comparable, regardless of whether one uses the post-treatment measurement at T<sub>3</sub> (immediately after the experiment) or at T<sub>4</sub> (two weeks later). This suggests that the group receiving the deliberation treatment did not necessarily start to talk about political matters more frequently in everyday life than students in the other two groups. Table 3 displays the mean changes for all other key variables. It reveals no clear differences across groups in terms of changes in the likelihood of showing mutual respect or seeking mutual understanding in day-to-day conversations about politics. The former, on the whole, did not change significantly and the latter tended to decrease significantly in all groups.

The multi-level analyses confirm that there were no significant differences across the groups over the course of the experiment in terms of the variables measuring everyday deliberation. The interactions between *Time* and *Treatment* failed to reach conventional standards of statistical significance ( $p > 0.05$ ) for each of the models trying to predict the three aspects of everyday deliberation (i.e. *Respect*, *Understanding*, and *Frequency*) (Appendix F, Table F.1). Therefore, Hypothesis 1 which stipulated a direct effect of structured on everyday deliberation is not supported by the data. Moreover, a direct effect of structured on everyday deliberation (path 'c' in Figure 1) forms a necessary condition to

observe an indirect effect. It follows that the aforementioned lack of significant effects also rules out the possibility to find supportive evidence for Hypothesis 2 which stated that the effect of the treatment is mediated by deliberative character.



**Figure 3** Changes in the frequency of talking about political problems per group

‘Less,’ ‘Same,’ and ‘More’ relate to changes on the variable *Frequency*, coded as: 1 = ‘almost never’; 2 = ‘once a month’; 3 = ‘once a week’; 4 = ‘several times a week’; 5 = ‘almost every day.’ ‘Less’ denotes a lower response category at T<sub>3</sub>/T<sub>4</sub> than at T<sub>1</sub>, ‘Same’ the same response category, and ‘More’ a higher response category.

#### *Does structured deliberation develop students’ deliberative character?*

Although the experiment did not show a clear increase in everyday deliberation, increases in the indicators of deliberative character could still point towards the potential value of in-class deliberation. Overall, students did not significantly improve on answering the knowledge items in the survey (Table 3). The multi-level analysis underlines this: no significant differences were present across classes over time (Appendix F, Table F.2). Subjective knowledge items on the two topics contained in the final survey (T<sub>4</sub>) largely underpin this finding. When asked how much they learned about European integration and global citizenship in the respective social science course on a scale from 1 (very little) to 10 (very much), students rated their knowledge gains with an average 6.3 for the former topic and 6.5 for the latter, with no significant differences across groups.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The average subjective knowledge gains on European integration ( $F(2, 63) = 2.77, p = 0.07$ ) and global citizenship ( $F(2, 63) = 1.13, p = 0.33$ ) did not differ significantly across classes.

Table 3. Mean changes in key variables

	Deliberation group			Plenary-only group			Control group		
	T <sub>1</sub>	Change T <sub>3</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>	Change T <sub>4</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>1</sub>	Change T <sub>3</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>	Change T <sub>4</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>1</sub>	Change T <sub>3</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>	Change T <sub>4</sub> - T <sub>1</sub>
<i>Everyday deliberation</i>									
Respect	2.78	<b>0.22#</b>	0.04	2.80	0.16	-0.04	2.78	0.09	-0.08
Understanding	0.43	<b>-0.47***</b>	<b>-0.47***</b>	0.67	<b>-0.25*</b>	<b>-0.39**</b>	0.58	<b>-0.27*</b>	<b>-0.54***</b>
<i>Deliberative capability</i>									
Knowledge	4.17	0.39	0.56	3.53	-0.11	<b>1.21**</b>	3.67	0.52	0.19
Interest	2.75	<b>0.56*</b>	0.11	2.89	0.00	-0.13	2.71	-0.07	-0.02
Internal Efficacy	2.63	0.31	0.35	2.70	0.33	0.19	2.67	0.08	0.25
External Efficacy	2.33	0.31	0.30	2.61	0.14	0.12	2.44	0.05	0.05
Reflection	8.56	<b>1.39*</b>	<b>1.28#</b>	8.95	0.68	0.53	8.71	<b>0.90#</b>	0.86
Engagement	3.41	-0.17	-0.13	3.49	0.09	-0.07	3.11	0.05	0.11

Table entries are means (T<sub>1</sub>) and means of differences (T<sub>3/4</sub> - T<sub>1</sub>).

N(Class 1) = 18, N(Class 2) = 19, N(Class 3) = 21.

Significance based on paired-sample t-tests.

Significant differences appear in bold.

Statistically significant at the #  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  (two-tailed tests).



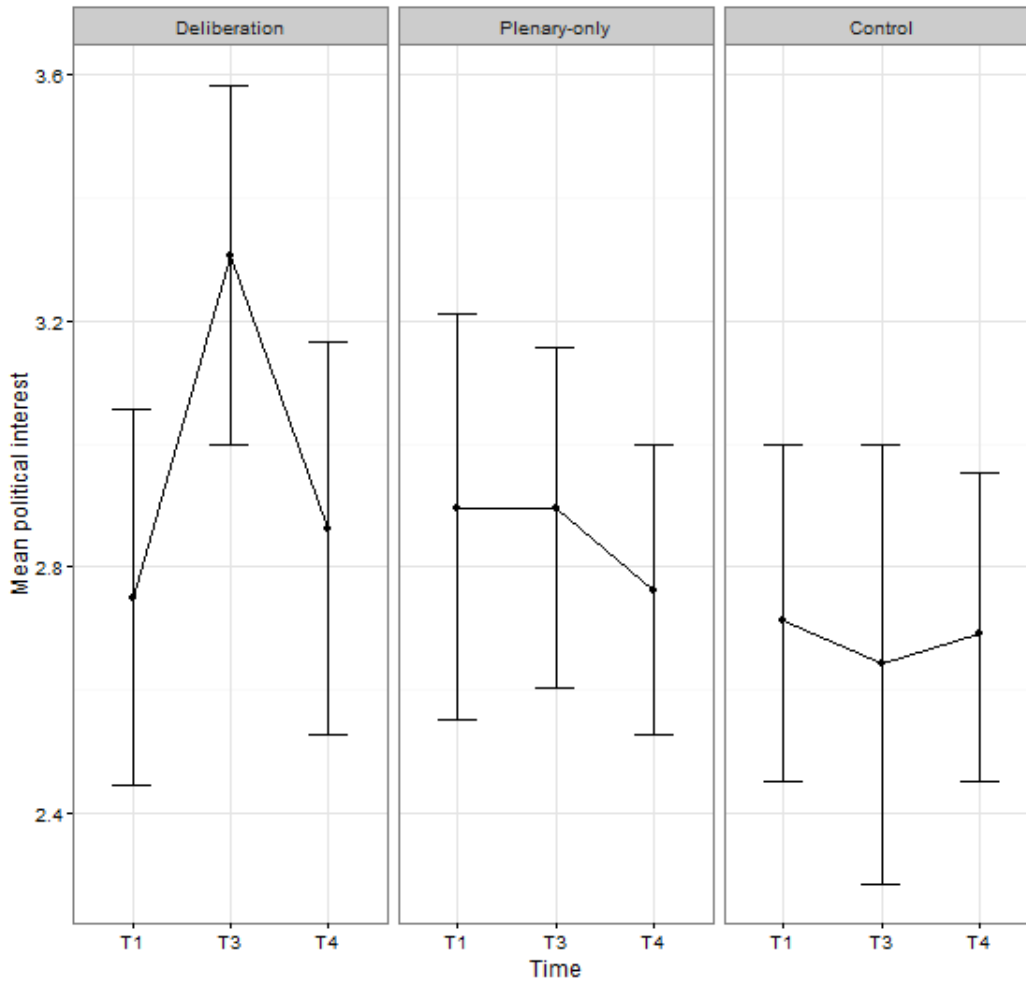
Nevertheless, when asked in the final survey how much they had learned during the classes featuring in the experiment vis-à-vis the classes they were used to following, 75% of all students in the deliberation group ( $N = 20$ ) said to have learned *more* during the classes that were part of the experiment and 20% felt that they had learned *much more*. In the group only receiving the plenary treatment ( $N = 22$ ), 60% felt they had learned *about the same* as during regular classes and the other 40% felt they had learned *more*. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 receives mixed support. On the one hand, knowledge gains on the specific topics seem not to have differed across classes. On the other hand, students in the deliberation group appear to still have felt that they, overall, learned (much) more than during regular classes.

Political interest only showed a significant increase in the deliberation group at  $T_3$  (Table 3). Figure 4 illustrates how the 95% confidence interval around the mean in this group does not overlap with that of the control group at  $T_3$ , pointing towards a significant effect. The multi-level analyses indeed confirm that political interest amongst students in the deliberation group was significantly higher at  $T_3$  in comparison with the control group. This effect remains significant when sex and civic association membership are controlled for ( $b = 0.63$ ,  $t(106) = 2.05$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The effect is also substantial: students in the former group tended to score 0.63 points higher on the 5-point interest scale after participating in the experiment. However, as the patterns in Figure 4 already suggest, the effect was not present anymore two weeks after the experiment at  $T_4$  ( $b = 0.13$ ,  $t(106) = 0.44$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). It follows that Hypothesis 4 also receives mixed support.

Reflection on the two topics increased only significantly in the deliberation group (Table 3). Yet, the multi-level model predicting reflection shows no significant differences across groups at  $T_3$  or  $T_4$ . Hypothesis 6, therefore, receives no clear support. The remaining hypotheses (Hypotheses 5 and 7) are also not corroborated on the basis of the multi-level models (Appendix F, Table F.2). In sum, while some knowledge gains could be observed and political interest tended to increase in the short term, structured deliberation appears not to have promoted everyday deliberation. In the following section, I show to what degree deliberation actually took place in the small groups during the experiment and point out possible explanations for the identified effects.

#### *A closer look at the deliberation sessions*

To what degree did deliberation actually take place in the classroom? During the first round of small-group discussions, nearly all students seemed engaged in both groups. As the teacher described for the discussion she moderated, “also people that *could not speak* followed very



**Figure 4** Mean political interest over time per group (95% confidence intervals)

carefully what the others were saying. (...) Everyone participated. And fanatically. And they also helped formulating what should be written on the cards” (interview May 27, 2016). As has been observed in other studies of deliberative polls (O’Flynn & Sood, 2014, p.46), however, while all students seemed engaged, they did not all participate equally in the discussions. When asked in the final survey to indicate to what extent they agreed with the statement that ‘everyone participated equally in the small-group discussions,’ 60% of the students ( $N = 20$ ) stated to not completely agree (20%) or not at all (40%). Only 10% somewhat agreed with the statement.<sup>23</sup> This may have particularly caused the lack of an effect on levels of efficacy amongst the students.

<sup>23</sup> The remaining 30% answered ‘neutral’ on the 5-point scale (1 = not at all; 2 = not completely; 3 = neutral; 4 = somewhat; 5 = completely).

What is more, the form of communication did not always display deliberative qualities. In terms of showing mutual respect, listening proved especially difficult. As the teacher responded to the question whether students succeeded in listening to each other:

“Yes, that’s difficult! They most of all want to talk. When something comes to their mind, they immediately want to say it. That is also a bit the *Zeitgeist*, right. People do not listen much anymore but for the most part just want to share their thoughts. Maybe we should actually practice it more” (interview May 27, 2016).

The fact that students helped each other in the formulation of their arguments shows how they at least to some degree sought mutual understanding. Nevertheless, the teacher hinted at a lack of reflection amongst students in view of others’ opinions: “I *would* like to see that they would *listen* more to each other. And that they then would consider whether they need to change their opinion” (interview May 27, 2016).

During the second round of the experiment, students appeared less engaged in the small-group discussions and at times showed disrespectful behavior. In the group moderated by the researcher, some students were not interested in the arguments of others and at times labelled others’ arguments as ‘stupid’ or ‘nonsense’ (observations made on May 30, 2016). It follows that the lack of listening to each other and reflecting upon others’ arguments was even more apparent during this second round.<sup>24</sup>

What could, then, have caused the lack of deliberative forms of communication? First of all, the sessions involved more than a mere recital of the arguments contained in the briefing materials. Figure 5 summarizes the assessment of the originality of argumentation. In all small-group conversations, about half of all arguments posted on the dialogue map could not be directly traced back to the briefing materials (52.7%). This suggests at least some original thinking and reflection by the students. This should not be overstated, however. As the teacher pointed out after the first week of the experiment, “... it is not yet very sophisticated, right? But perhaps it is just too short for that. (...) they all tend to state the usual arguments” (interview May 27, 2016).

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<sup>24</sup> The teacher described how she was disappointed with the second round of deliberations as follows: “The small groups about global citizenship went a bit worse than the ones about the EU I think. And I think that that was because of the group composition. I also think the weather played a role, because it rained heavily at that time and they always say that when it rains outside, it storms in the classroom. And they were not well prepared, they were really not well prepared” (interview June 3, 2016).

		Argument				
		Briefing		Original		
Moderator	Researcher	14		10	EU	
		11		10	GC	
Teacher		3		7	EU	
		7		12	GC	

**Figure 5** Number of original arguments vs. arguments derived from briefing materials  
GC = Global citizenship; EU = European integration; Briefing = Arguments derived from the briefing materials; Original = Original arguments.

Figure 6 captures the diversity of argumentation by illustrating the distribution of arguments across themes and positions. It indicates how the arguments written on the post-its displayed considerable variation, both in terms of the themes covered for each topic as well as the proportion of arguments in favor or against the question under discussion. In other words, the relatively even dispersion implies that the conversations appear not to have been tilted towards a particular perspective. Although the diversity of (partly original) arguments attests of a situation conducive to deliberation, the interviews and observations show that students, nevertheless, often failed to listen to each other and did not always seek mutual understanding. As such, students “just [talked] past each other, resulting in a cacophony of divergent views” (Barabas, 2004, p. 689). What could then explain this lack of deliberative communication?

The evaluation questions included in the final survey also point towards conditions favorable for deliberation. For each component of the deliberation treatment (the briefing materials, the small-group discussions, and the plenary sessions) students were asked to indicate on a 10-point scale (a) how *helpful* they found it to understand the respective topics,

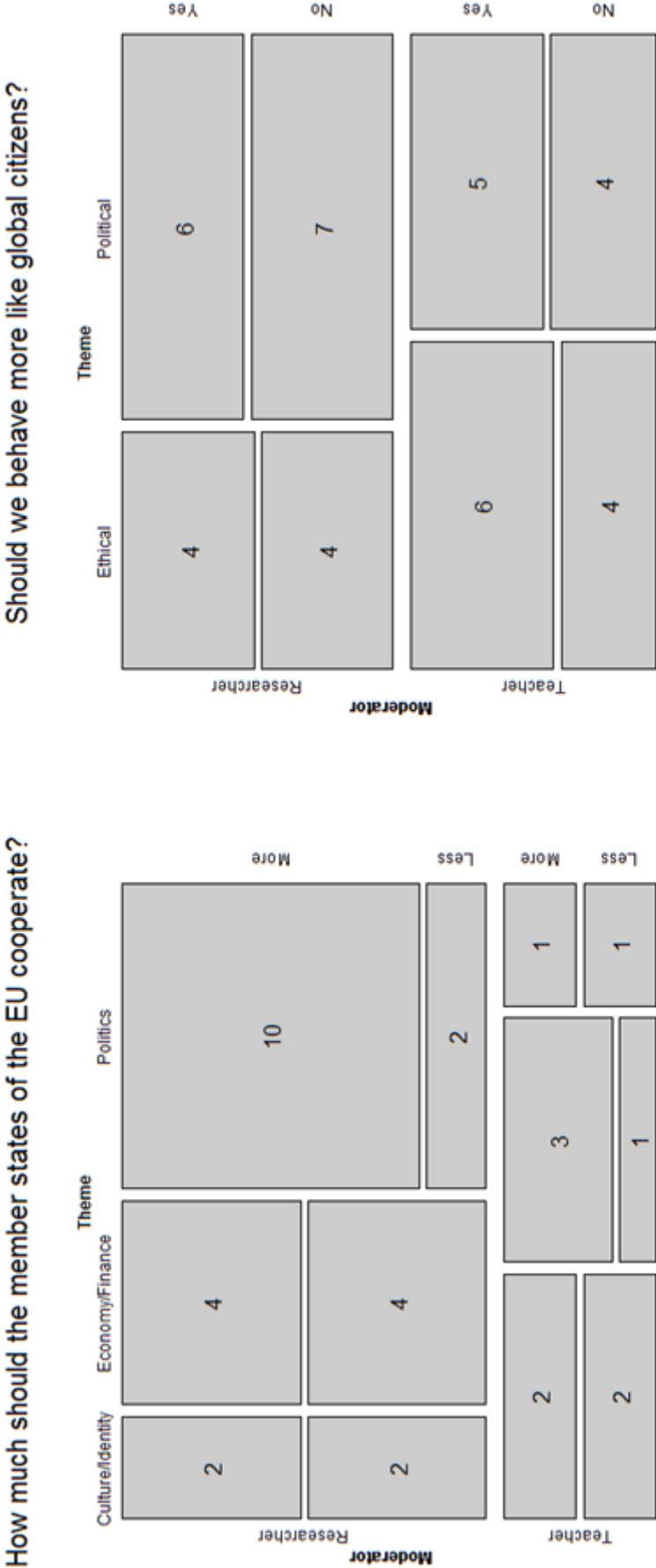


Figure 6 Distribution of arguments across themes and positions for each topic

(b) how *interesting* they found it, and (c) how *fun* they thought it was. In general, the deliberation sessions were considered useful, interesting, *and* fun. How helpful students found the different parts of the deliberation treatment differed significantly ( $F(2, 38) = 4.09, p < 0.05$ ) (see Table 4). Post-hoc Bonferroni tests reveal that students found the deliberations significantly more helpful in understanding the topics in comparison with the plenary sessions ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Students' opinions also differed significantly across the different parts of the treatment in terms of how interesting they found them ( $F(2, 38) = 9.68, p < 0.001$ ). Bonferroni tests show that the students felt that the deliberations were more interesting than (a) reading the

Table 4. Students' experiences of the experiment  
(Deliberation group)

How <i>helpful</i> to understand the topics were...	
the briefing materials	6.35 (2.27)
the plenary session	6.90 (2.15)
the small-group deliberations	7.70 (1.98)
How <i>interesting</i> were...	
the briefing materials	5.50 (2.19)
the plenary session	6.20 (2.23)
the small-group deliberations	7.55 (2.06)
How <i>fun</i> were...	
the briefing materials	4.85 (2.28)
the plenary session	5.85 (2.56)
the small-group deliberations	7.19 (2.22)

Means with standard deviations between parentheses.

Coding of the statements: 1 = Not at all helpful, interesting, or fun; 10 = Very helpful, interesting, or fun.

$N = 20$ .

briefings ( $p < 0.01$ ) and (b) attending the plenary sessions ( $p < 0.05$ ). Again, the different components of the treatments also received significantly different scores on the question how fun they were ( $F(2, 38) = 8.06, p < 0.01$ ). The deliberation sessions, on average, scored significantly higher than the briefings ( $p < 0.01$ ) and the plenary sessions ( $p < 0.05$ ) on the basis of the Bonferroni tests. In sum, the deliberations were considered, on the whole, more useful, interesting, and fun than reading the information or attending the plenary sessions. Therefore, the question remains why students *talked* about political matters but did not actually *deliberate*.

Previous studies often emphasize that how moderators facilitate the discussions can have a significant impact on the degree of observed deliberation (e.g. Landwehr, 2014). In the final survey, students were asked to what degree they felt the moderators ensured that everyone could participate in the small-group deliberations. Of the 20 students in the deliberation group that filled out the final survey, 40% somewhat agreed with the statement, 45% agreed completely, and the remaining 15% answered ‘neutral’ on the 5-point scale (see footnote 23 for the coding). Students were also asked about how much they felt the moderators imposed their own opinions. Only two out of the twenty students answering the final survey in this group answered that they agreed somewhat with the statement that the moderators sometimes imposed their own opinion.<sup>25</sup> Lastly, the students answered a question on the degree to which moderators ensured that both arguments in favor and against the statement under discussion were paid attention to. 90% of the students in the respective group agreed at least somewhat with the statement that the moderators ensured that equal attention was paid to both sides.<sup>26</sup> In other words, also with regard to the role of the moderators the circumstances appear to have been favorable for deliberation to occur.

In short, while the circumstances were conducive to deliberation, not all students participated equally in the discussions and the verbal exchanges amongst the students mostly did not match the characteristics of deliberation (i.e. showing mutual respect and seeking mutual understanding). In other words, even though students may have *talked* about political matters, they did not *deliberate* about them. The involved teacher suspected that this may be due to the default type of public speaking taught in (Dutch) secondary education:

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<sup>25</sup> Six students answered ‘neutral,’ eight ‘not completely,’ and four ‘not at all’ on the 5-point scale (see footnote 23 for the coding).

<sup>26</sup> The remaining 10% (two students) answered ‘neutral’ (see footnote 23 for the coding).

“...in *Dutch class*, debates are being practiced. And I do not know if they practice this in [tenth grade] already, but it is all debate-focused. And that is a pity because then people forget how to listen. We need to practice listening in those *small groups* [and] we need to practice it *in plenary*, because that is ... *Exhausting*, right?!” (interview May 27, 2016)

The inability of the sessions to nudge students towards more deliberative forms of communication suggests that those interested in promoting everyday deliberation should not merely emphasize the need to practice public speaking as such (see Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009, p. 160), but should also look for ways to practice the skills required for *deliberation* in public life. The results show that talking about political matters in the classroom can develop some aspects of students' deliberative character. The in-class sessions thereby constitute promising instruments to increase the likelihood of everyday deliberation in the long term. Yet, the findings here at the same time suggest that it might be too much to expect that during such sessions students also internalize a mode of communication which they generally do not engage in.

## 5. Discussion

The idea that deliberation forms an essential ingredient to make democracy work not only has gained support in academic circles but has also attracted the interest of policy-makers worldwide (Hendriks & Carson, 2008). However, amidst the excitement surrounding the idea of deliberative democracy, we need to draw the conclusion that, in practice, deliberation remains at the margins of contemporary political systems. Although many deliberative democrats have put their bets on deliberative mini-publics to inject deliberation into political systems (for an overview see Grönlund, Bächtiger, & Setälä, 2014), these fora remain exclusive of the larger public and have failed to turn deliberation into a common practice.

This study has sought to redirect research on deliberative democracy towards education as a more promising tool to nurture everyday deliberation. Existing studies of deliberation in educational institutions have treated it either as yet another pedagogical instrument (Samuelsson & Boyum, 2015) or have failed to make explicit how it can underpin standards of deliberative democracy in the wider political system (e.g. Luskin et al., 2007). In light of the recent concern with the question what deliberative democracy might look like at the systemic level (Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012), I have pointed out several ways in which



in-class deliberation could travel beyond the walls of the school. Introducing the concepts of structured and everyday deliberation, I provided an attempt at conceptualizing how education can promote deliberation in daily life and thereby contribute to the deliberative quality of the overall system.

### *Key findings*

The experiment at a Dutch secondary school provided a first case to test the relationship between structured and everyday deliberation. The findings here, first of all, suggest that talking about political matters at school can increase political knowledge and interest, yet does not necessarily underpin the practice of deliberation outside of school. Certainly, the experiment took place over the course of only two weeks, and a prolonged treatment may have produced the hypothesized effects. Nevertheless, the findings underscore the need to empirically verify whether structured deliberation promotes the practice in everyday life, also when it results in enhancing certain aspects of students' deliberative character. This may put the findings of earlier studies (e.g. Luskin et al., 2007; Latimer & Hempson, 2012) in a different light: perhaps deliberation only stimulated the development of deliberative character but failed to increase the likelihood of deliberating in daily life. As I point out below, this also has implications for how we think about the role of education in stimulating deliberation.

The detailed analysis of the small-group discussions showed that even though the conditions required for deliberation according to the literature were largely present, the discussions, on the whole, did not display the key characteristics of deliberation (i.e. mutual respect and seeking mutual understanding). This underlines the need for experimental studies exploring the effects of structured deliberation to monitor to what extent deliberation occurred in the first place (cf. Fishkin, Luskin, & Siu, 2014). In order to nudge students towards more deliberative forms of communication, future interventions could experiment with coupling the conversations to actual decision-making power or letting students decide on the topic to be discussed (for an experiment in this direction see Bogaards & Deutsch, 2015).

In addition, the lack of deliberation observed in this study suggests that the conversations about political issues might need to be complemented with explicit training in such deliberative skills as active listening or self-reflection. Active listening especially is not a natural skill but needs practice and instruction (Peterson, 2012). As has also been pointed out with regard to teaching other types of oral communication (e.g. Korn, 2004), simply giving students the opportunity to talk about political matters may not suffice to teach them all relevant skills. Teaching deliberation seems to require not only room for discussion with

instructions that are supposed to stimulate deliberation, but also specific guidance and explanation with regard to *how* students are to deliberate (cf. Bond, 2012). What does showing respect towards others involve? And in what ways can students make sure they understand each other?

### *Theoretical implications*

The findings thereby have two major implications for how we conceive of the role of education in promoting deliberation. First, they suggest to rethink what deliberative character involves. Not only do people need to acquire sufficient knowledge on political affairs, feel comfortable to talk about political issues, or have a special interest in such topics, they also need to know *how to deliberate*. This points towards the need to think of deliberative character in terms of a broader set of skills and attitudes. As I have pointed out on various occasions, listening in this respect appears to constitute an essential skill that has often been overlooked in previous studies. People that know much about politics and are able to reflect upon their opinions very well, may still be poor listeners and thereby not as well-equipped to deliberate as one might think.

Second, we need to move beyond thinking about deliberative character as the sole condition for everyday deliberation to occur. Deliberative character is necessary yet not sufficient for everyday deliberation. Even when people are capable and willing to deliberate in daily life they need not engage in it. Other forms of communication may simply be cognitively less costly or part of people's routines (cf. Rosenberg, 2014). As Mutz (2006) suggests, for deliberation to become common practice, it needs to turn into the default form of communication for dealing with conflicting political views in day-to-day conversations (p. 150). To put it differently, deliberative standards need to be internalized as norms of communication if they are to be adhered to in our daily conversations about political problems (cf. Lefrançois & Ethier, 2010, p. 278). Given the current emphasis across a wide variety of educational systems on adversarial rather than deliberative forms of communication (e.g. Jerome & Algarra, 2005; McDevitt & Kioussis, 2006, p. 249), this would involve a drastic change in the way communication skills are taught in secondary education. Students would need to be routinized in deliberation at school in order to make it standard practice and for it to travel beyond the walls of the school (van der Does, 2016).

*Methodology and limitations*

Next to these substantive contributions, the study has also provided a novel measurement of everyday deliberation, providing two measurement scales touching upon its key components: showing mutual respect and seeking mutual understanding. Although here employed in an experimental setting, the situational questions used for these measures could easily be used in large-N survey research as well. The frequency of political talk complementing these two scales was measured here by simply asking students how often they generally talk about political problems in everyday life. A more promising way to measure the frequency of political talk, especially in survey research, is the day reconstruction method (DRM) developed by Kahneman and colleagues (2004) which is known to provide more reliable estimates of people's daily conduct.<sup>27</sup>

Besides these contributions, the design of the study has its limitations. While conducting experiments in existing classes enhances the ecological validity of the study (Andersson, 2015, p. 608), the fact that students of the three groups were able to talk to each other in between the treatments endangered the internal validity of the experiment. Nonetheless, the graveness of this contamination problem is lessened when one presumes that all students talk with each other, turning it into a constant contextual factor. The identified relative differences across the three groups can then still be interpreted as the effects of the treatments. In fact, this potential diffusion problem then simply makes the performed statistical tests more conservative. Limits to the external validity of the experiment are clearer. The targeted school only provides *upper* secondary education which prepares students for university programs. Therefore, it remains uncertain what the results would have been at a lower level of secondary education. The literature suggests at least that changes in some of the variables examined here may be more easily observed at lower levels of education, where knowledge of and interest in politics may be lower too (e.g. Fishkin & Luskin, 2005). Lastly, the quantitative analyses largely relied on close-ended survey items which may not have captured all occurred changes (O'Flynn & Sood, 2014, p. 46). This again echoes the need to complement such analyses with more qualitative work.

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<sup>27</sup> This study also included the DRM in all surveys. Due to such practical issues as the day of the week on which the various surveys were administered, it does not feature in the results section. To show how the method can be used to measure the frequency of political talk, I have included it in Appendix D.

*Concluding remarks*

To conclude, in view of the current systemic agenda in the field of deliberative democracy, the present study points towards the potential of education as a tool to turn deliberation amongst citizens into common practice and thereby, in the long run, transform our political systems. Given the exclusive nature of most existing deliberative innovations, education remains a potentially powerful way to affect the lives of all citizens, albeit with its own limitations. This study has sought to provoke students of deliberative democracy to rethink what deliberative character involves and what can turn deliberation into a more common form of communication. It forms a first examination of the effect of structured on everyday deliberation, and it has tried to pave the way for future studies in the field to study this relationship in other educational contexts and beyond.

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## Appendix A

### Briefing materials



# Meer of minder Europa?

Moeten de lidstaten van de Europese Unie meer of minder samen gaan werken?

De Europese Unie (EU) is een economisch en politiek samenwerkingsverband tussen 28 landen. Waar het begon als een puur economisch verbond tussen zes landen in de jaren vijftig, is de EU vandaag de dag uitgegroeid tot een organisatie die op veel gebieden direct invloed heeft op wat er in de lidstaten gebeurt. Sommigen zien het proces van **Europese integratie** als een zegen voor het Europese continent: het heeft gezorgd voor economische groei, politieke stabiliteit en het oplossen van grensoverschrijdende problemen. Anderen kijken er juist negatief tegen aan: het betekent dat rijke lidstaten opdraaien voor de kosten van armere lidstaten, dat de politiek verder van de burgers af komt te staan en dat regeringen de controle verliezen over wat er in hun land gebeurt.

Wat zou er gebeuren als de EU een nog grotere invloed krijgt op wat er in de lidstaten gebeurt? En wat zou er gebeuren als we de invloed van de EU juist terugdringen? Deze vragen komen keer op keer terug in discussies over de toekomst van de EU. Maar wat weten we er nu eigenlijk over? En wat zijn de argumenten voor en tegen verdere integratie? Hier bespreken we in grote lijnen enkele plus- en minpunten van Europese samenwerking op economisch/financieel, politiek en sociaal-cultureel gebied.

#### Economie en financiën

De Europese economie draait voor een groot deel om de monetaire unie (de **Eurozone**) waarvan 19 lidstaten deel uitmaken. Voorstanders van de monetaire unie geven vaak aan hoe de euro de handel tussen landen binnen de Eurozone heeft versoepeld en daarmee heeft

bijgedragen aan economische groei. Bovendien wijzen ze op de sterkere internationale positie die de euro de landen binnen de eurozone heeft gebracht. Tegenstanders noemen daarentegen de beperkingen die de monetaire unie met zich mee heeft gebracht. Zo kunnen lidstaten niet langer de koers van hun eigen munt bepalen. De Europese centrale bank (ECB) heeft hier nu de controle over voor de gehele Eurozone. Ook zien tegenstanders vaak een beperking in de regel dat het begrotingstekort van de lidstaten binnen de Eurozone niet hoger mag zijn dan 3% van het bruto binnenlands product (BBP). Hierdoor zijn de regeringen van deze lidstaten gelimiteerd in hoeveel ze kunnen uitgeven op de korte termijn.

**Europese integratie** verwijst naar het proces van steeds verdergaande samenwerking tussen de lidstaten van de EU

Naast de monetaire unie speelt het Schengengebied een belangrijke rol. Binnen dit gebied waartoe 22 EU lidstaten en vier andere landen behoren, zijn er geen grenscontroles en kan men dus gemakkelijk van het ene naar het andere land reizen. Sommige tegenstanders van deze open grenzen beargumenteren dat de open grenzen het bestrijden van criminaliteit moeilijker maken, aangezien de controle op het in- en uitgaan van mensen niet meer plaatsvindt. Voorstanders wijzen op de lange files aan de grenzen met België sinds er extra controles worden uitgevoerd wegens terroristische dreigingen. Volgens schattingen van het Centraal Plan Bureau (CPB) zullen de extra grenscontroles in de EU Nederland €9 miljard per jaar kosten, wat een daling inhoudt van het BBP van 1,3%. Zij stellen zodoende dat het sluiten van de grenzen zal leiden tot economische schade.

De **Eurozone** bestaat uit de 19 lidstaten die de euro als valuta hanteren

De financiën van de EU vormen een derde veel besproken onderwerp. De EU krijgt haar geld via import belastingen, een deel van de belasting toegevoegde waarde (BTW) geheven in de lidstaten en bijdragen van de lidstaten. Tegenstanders van verdere invloed van de EU verwijzen veelal naar de miljarden euro's die bijvoorbeeld zijn betaald om de Griekse economie er bovenop te helpen. Anderen zien dergelijke uitgaven juist als een sociale plicht van de rijkere lidstaten om de armere erbovenop te helpen. Bovendien moet worden gesteld dat het jaarlijkse EU budget vele malen kleiner is dan de meeste mensen denken. In 2013 was het budget van de Europese Unie (€ 144 miljard) bijna vijftig keer zo klein als het totale budget van alle lidstaten tezamen (€ 6.400 miljard).

### Politiek

Wie bepaalt er wat er binnen de EU gebeurt? Vier instituties vormen het hart van de Brusselse politiek. Allereerst bepaalt de Europese raad de grote lijnen van het beleid van de EU. Deze bestaat uit de regeringsleiders van alle lidstaten. De Europese commissie gaat over het dagelijks bestuur van de EU en haar belangrijkste taak is het voorbereiden van wetsvoorstellen en het invoeren van EU beleid. De commissie telt 28 leden, één uit iedere lidstaat. De leden van de commissie representeren de EU als geheel en zijn dus niet verbonden aan de belangen van hun lidstaat. De goedkeuring van wetsvoorstellen gebeurt grotendeels door twee instituties die vaak allebei groen licht moeten geven: het Europese parlement (EP) en de raad van de Europese Unie. Het EP wordt direct verkozen door kiesgerechtigde EU burgers en representeert het Europese volk. De raad van de Europese Unie bestaat uit de ministers van de lidstaten. Dit orgaan zorgt ervoor dat elke lidstaat een stem heeft in wat er binnen de EU besloten wordt.

Voorstanders van deze Europese instituties geven aan dat door de samenwerking op EU-niveau lidstaten problemen aan kunnen pakken die over de grenzen van één lidstaat heen

reiken, zoals bijvoorbeeld milieuvervuiling of internationale misdaad. Ook onderstrepen ze vaak dat sinds deze Europese politieke samenwerking er geen oorlog meer is geweest tussen EU landen. Sommige tegenstanders brengen naar voren dat de Europese instituties EU burgers niet goed representeren en niet transparant genoeg zijn. Zij dragen hierbij de geheime vergaderingen van de raad van de EU aan. Bovendien benadrukken ze de lage opkomst bij de verkiezingen voor het EP. Bij de laatste drie verkiezingen tot het Europees parlement kwam minder dan 50% van de kiesgerechtigde Europeanen opdagen bij de stembus.

Maar waarover beslist de EU eigenlijk? De EU houdt zich vooral bezig met landbouw en visserij, economische competitie, handel met niet-EU landen en de euro. Daarnaast heeft de EU een steeds sterkere invloed op zulke terreinen als het milieu, transport en regionaal beleid. De EU bemoeit zich niet met dat soort dingen als primair en secundair onderwijs, cultuur en huisvesting. Ook is de rol van de EU beperkt wat betreft de gezondheidszorg, belastingen en sociale zaken.

### Identiteit en cultuur

Tot op welke hoogte kunnen we spreken van één Europa? Voelen Nederlanders zich verbonden met Grieken en Portugezen en andersom? Voorstanders van verdere Europese samenwerking spreken graag over één Europa of stellen dat een nationale en Europese identiteit prima naast elkaar kunnen bestaan. Tegenstanders benadrukken echter dat een Europese identiteit ontbreekt: de culturele verschillen tussen de landen zijn simpelweg te groot.

Resultaten van de Eurobarometer, een grootschalige enquête die twee keer per jaar wordt gehouden in alle lidstaten, geven aan dat in de Europese Unie bijna 90% van alle burgers zich in de eerste plaats met hun lidstaat identificeert. Zo'n 38% van alle burgers identificeert zich uitsluitend met hun lidstaat en ongeveer 52% voelt zich in de eerste plaats

Nederlander, Spanjaard of bijvoorbeeld Italiaan en pas in de tweede plaats Europeaan. Oftewel: EU burgers lijken zich nog steeds meer verbonden te voelen met hun eigen land dan met de Europese Unie als geheel.

### Verdiepingsvragen

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*Wat voor andere argumenten kun je bedenken voor en tegen verdere Europese samenwerking?*

*Waarom is economische groei wel of niet een belangrijk onderwerp in discussies over Europese integratie?*

*Waarom zou de EU zich meer of minder bezig moeten houden met (a) ontwikkelingssamenwerking; (b) cultuur; of (c) onderwijs?*

*Op wat voor manieren is de Europese politiek meer of minder democratisch dan die op nationaal niveau?*

*Is een Europese identiteit die lokale culturen overstijgt mogelijk? Zou dit wenselijk zijn?*

### Extra bronnen

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#### Uitgebreide achtergrondinformatie EU

<https://www.europa-nu.nl>

(zie met name de voor- en nadelen van EU lidmaatschap: "Nederland en Europa" > "Kosten en baten van Europa")

#### De EU per thema/beleidsterrein

[http://europa.eu/pol/index\\_nl.htm](http://europa.eu/pol/index_nl.htm)

#### Het EU budget

[http://ec.europa.eu/budget/explained/myths/myths\\_en.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/budget/explained/myths/myths_en.cfm)

#### Europees Parlement

Civitas, p. 192 - 194

#### Europese Commissie

[http://ec.europa.eu/about/index\\_nl.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/about/index_nl.htm)

#### Raad van de Europese Unie

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/nl/council-eu/>

#### Het laatste EU nieuws

<https://euobserver.com/>

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## Lokaal of mondiaal?

Moeten we ons meer als wereldburgers gaan gedragen?

De laatste decennia is de wereld spreekwoordelijk steeds ‘kleiner’ geworden. Zo kunnen we tegenwoordig in Nederland eenvoudig producten kopen uit landen als Peru en China en staan we via internet in contact met mensen over de hele wereld. Sommigen beschrijven de wereld daarom als één groot dorp of één gemeenschap. Dit heeft de laatste jaren een discussie aangewakkerd over hoe mensen over de hele wereld zich tot elkaar moeten verhouden. Sommigen stellen dat wij als burgers van deze wereldwijde gemeenschap zorg dienen te dragen voor anderen overal ter wereld. Anderen wijzen er juist op dat zij zich niet met mensen aan de andere kant van de wereld kunnen identificeren of dat wereldburgerschap niet kan bestaan zonder wereldoverheid.

Maar wat betekent het eigenlijk om ‘burger’ te zijn op wereldniveau? En hoe verhoudt zich dit tot ons staatsburgerschap? Hier bespreken we twee verschillende opvattingen over wereldburgerschap en geven we voor elk van deze een kort overzicht van argumenten voor en tegen een dergelijke vorm van burgerschap.

### Wereldburgerschap in politieke zin

Burgerschap draait om het lid zijn van een gemeenschap. Opvattingen over burgerschap verschillen dan ook vooral in de manier waarop zij *lidmaatschap* zien en waarop zij de desbetreffende *gemeenschap* definiëren. Als we burgerschap in politieke zin begrijpen, gaat het in de eerste plaats om het lid zijn van een **politieke gemeenschap**. Politiek draait in de eerste plaats om het maken van collectieve beslissingen, dat wil zeggen beslissingen die voor iedere burger gelden. Een politieke

gemeenschap is dus een gemeenschap waarbinnen bindende beslissingen worden genomen die gelden voor alle burgers. De Nederlandse staat is een goed voorbeeld. Nederlandse staatsburgers dienen het beleid van de overheid te volgen en kunnen worden gestraft door diezelfde overheid wanneer zij dit nalaten.

Een **politieke gemeenschap** verwijst naar een gemeenschap waarbinnen een overheid bindende beslissingen neemt die gelden voor alle burgers

Kunnen we binnen deze politieke opvatting spreken over wereldburgerschap? Sommigen zeggen van niet. Op wereldniveau bestaat er niet eenzelfde politieke gemeenschap als bijvoorbeeld

de Nederlandse staat; er bestaat immers geen wereldoverheid. Anderen brengen hier echter tegen in dat de Verenigde Naties (VN) een grote rol spelen in het bepalen van wat er in de wereld gebeurt. In deze zin zijn alle burgers van landen die lid zijn van de VN dus ook een soort wereldburgers. Momenteel zijn 193 landen lid van de VN, wat neerkomt op bijna alle landen ter wereld.

Maar de argumenten voor en tegen wereldburgerschap binnen deze opvatting gaan vooral over wat lidmaatschap inhoudt. Hierover bestaan verschillende ideeën. *Liberalen* zien lidmaatschap in de eerste plaats als een juridische status binnen een politieke gemeenschap. Als we de VN als de wereldwijde politieke gemeenschap beschouwen, dan wijzen veel liberalen naar de universele verklaring van de rechten van de mens, waarin rechten zoals het recht op de vrijheid van meningsuiting en gelijkwaardige deelname aan politieke besluitvorming zijn vastgelegd. Critici en organisaties als Human Right Watch wijzen echter op de praktijk: in veel van de VN-lidstaten worden mensenrechten (nog) geschonden.

De *republikeinse* opvatting ziet lidmaatschap niet alleen als het hebben van bepaalde rechten maar ook als het kunnen participeren in de politiek. In deze opvatting wordt de nadruk gelegd op representatieve democratie en verwijst participatie in de eerste plaats naar het stemmen bij verkiezingen en het doen van (vrijwilligers)werk voor politieke partijen. Bij gebrek aan een wereldoverheid, komt wereldburgerschap binnen deze opvatting op het volgende neer. Mensen kunnen in eigen land politieke partijen (onder)steunen waarvan één of enkele na verkiezingen een regering vormen. Deze regering stuurt vertegenwoordigers naar de VN. En de VN bepalen dan een internationaal beleid dat beïnvloedt wat er in de wereld gebeurt. Wereldburgerschap in deze zin overlapt dus met nationaal burgerschap. Het grootste kritiekpunt hier is dat er door de verschillende lagen tussen burgers en de beslissingen die door de VN worden genomen een te grote afstand zit. Het lijkt zodoende lastig om participatie van burgers op wereldwijd niveau te kunnen waarborgen.

Het **maatschappelijk middenveld** omvat de niet-commerciële organisaties tussen burgers en de staat in.

De *communitaristische* opvatting gaat nog een stap verder dan republikeinen en ziet lidmaatschap als het *willen* participeren in de gemeenschap, zowel op politiek als sociaal vlak. Het gaat hier niet alleen om het meedoen binnen politieke organisaties, zoals politieke partijen, maar ook om het mee willen doen in het **maatschappelijk middenveld**. Dat er een wil is om op wereldniveau mee te doen binnen niet-commerciële organisaties wordt duidelijk als we kijken naar het grote aantal actieve **transnationale niet-gouvernementele organisaties (TNGO's)**. Deze organisaties vertegenwoordigen uiteenlopende belangen die zij wereldwijd proberen te behartigen. Bovendien worden duizenden TNGO's inmiddels regelmatig geconsulteerd door de VN. Hiertegenover staat dat dit aantal actieve TNGO's nog niet betekent dat mensen overal ter wereld er aan bijdragen of lid van zijn. Lidmaatschap van organisaties actief in het

maatschappelijk middenveld is over het algemeen erg beperkt vandaag de dag.

### Wereldburgerschap in ethische zin

Burgerschap gaat niet volgens iedereen over een *politieke* gemeenschap. Een andere manier om wereldburgerschap op te vatten is in ethische zin. Deze benadering ziet de wereld als één grote gemeenschap waartoe alle mensen behoren. Ten grondslag van wereldburgerschap in deze zin ligt de idee dat we allemaal deel uitmaken van één mensheid. Iedereen is dus per definitie een wereldburger. Volgens deze opvatting betekent lid zijn van de wereldwijde gemeenschap dat men zich identificeert met en zorgdraagt voor deze gemeenschap. Wereldburgerschap in ethische zin draait dus vooral om de plicht die we hebben om zorg te dragen voor elkaar op mondiaal niveau. Hierbij wordt geen onderscheid gemaakt tussen mensen dichtbij en ver weg.

Voorstanders van deze opvatting over wereldburgerschap verwijzen vaak naar de verschillende manieren waarop mensen wereldwijd vandaag de dag met elkaar verbonden zijn. De toename in internationale handel heeft er de laatste decennia voor gezorgd dat consumptie en productie aan de ene kant van de wereld direct effect kunnen hebben op economieën aan de andere kant. Hieruit volgt een verplichting om rekening te houden met bijvoorbeeld de gevolgen van consumptie hier op de mensen in het land waar de productie plaatsvindt en te proberen de uitstoot van schadelijke gassen voor het milieu te beperken met wat men doet. Wereldburgerschap houdt hier concreet dus in dat mensen nadenken over de gevolgen van hun acties voor mensen wereldwijd. Dit gaat ook terug naar de idee van één mensheid: zoals we vaak denken over familie en anderen die dichtbij ons staan, zo moeten we denken over alle mensen.

Tegenstanders van deze blik op wereldburgerschap verwijzen vaak naar een van de versies van burgerschap in politieke zin: we kunnen niet spreken over wereldburgerschap omdat er geen mondiale politieke gemeenschap bestaat. Een wereldoverheid vormt volgens velen ook geen oplossing vanwege praktische overwegingen, zoals hoe vorm gegeven zou moeten worden aan representatie.

Bovendien vragen sommigen zich af of een wereldwijde gemeenschap in bredere zin wel bestaat. Dat we met elkaar verbonden zijn via verschillende media, wereldhandel en snelle transportmiddelen, wil niet zeggen dat we ons ook echt lid voelen van één gemeenschap. Sommigen beargumenteren dat zij geen morele verplichting hebben om voor anderen zorg te dragen waarmee zij zich niet verbonden voelen. Het argument luidt dat mensen van nature zich verbonden voelen met hun familie en directe omgeving of gemeenschap; er is niets natuurlijk aan een wereldwijde gemeenschap. Anderen voegen hier aan toe dat zij zich nergens toe verplicht voelen als zij anderen niks hebben aangedaan. Waarom moet iemand hier zorgdragen voor iemand ergens anders wie hij nooit iets heeft aangedaan? Ook dragen tegenstanders van deze opvatting van wereldburgerschap aan dat zij met hun individuele acties geen invloed kunnen hebben op wat er met anderen in de wereld gebeurt. Hun acties zouden alleen betekenis hebben wanneer anderen ook zorg zouden dragen voor mensen wereldwijd en dit achten zij zeer onwaarschijnlijk.

### Verdiepingsvragen

*Moet er een wereldregering zijn om over wereldburgerschap te kunnen spreken?*

*In hoeverre hebben mensen een plicht om met anderen met wie zij geen band hebben rekening te houden?*

*Tot op welke hoogte denk je dat TNGO's bijdragen aan het creëren van een wereldwijde gemeenschap? Waarom?*

*Moet er een politieke gemeenschap zijn om over burgerschap te kunnen spreken?*

*Kunnen we over een wereldwijde politieke gemeenschap spreken met het bestaan van de VN?*

*Vormen de verschillen in cultuur tussen mensen wereldwijd een probleem voor wereldburgerschap? In welk(e) opzicht(en)?*

### Extra bronnen

Verschillende soorten burgerschap (in politieke zin)

Civitas, p. 19-21

Wereldburgerschap en rechtvaardigheid

<http://www.filosofie.nl/nl/artikel/45254/wat-als-nationaliteit-niet-zou-bestaan.html>

Over een wereldwijde gemeenschap

<http://www.filosofie.nl/nl/artikel/42223/soei-jinse-levenskunst-saamhorigheid-en-vriendschap.html>

Verenigde Naties

[http://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vh8jvwtwufp/site\\_map](http://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vh8jvwtwufp/site_map)  
(kort overzicht VN)

<http://www.un.org/en/index.html>  
(officiële website VN)

<http://www.cmo.nl/vncanon/index.php/intr>  
a (zie de verschillende thema's onderaan)

Verenigde Naties en TNGO's

<https://www.globalpolicy.org>  
(site in het Engels over TNGOs en de VN)

(bron afbeelding: <http://www.estherjacobs.info>)



## Appendix B

### Sessions and instructions

Table B.1 Overview of deliberation sessions

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1. Set-up	The class is divided into two groups of approximately 10 students to which students are randomly assigned. One of the groups is moderated by the researcher, the other by the involved teacher (henceforth, both are referred to as ‘the moderators’). The rules of the deliberations are displayed on the classroom’s smartboard and on several A5 flyers which are distributed to both groups.
2. Opening	The moderator in each group welcomes the students and explains the rules and structure of the deliberations. He/she also explains the overview sheet. To start off, the moderator asks students in some way in favor of the motion to raise their hands. Then, he/she asks several of them to clarify their position to commence the deliberations.
3. Rules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) It is not a debate; there are no winners or losers.</li> <li>b) The goal is to share and clarify each other’s opinions and arguments.</li> <li>c) Students should try to help each other in formulating their opinions and arguments.</li> <li>d) Students should listen to each other and not interrupt others.</li> </ul>
4. Structure	<p><u>Part 1</u> (40 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Students share their opinions on the topic and underpin these with one or more arguments.</li> <li>b) The moderator makes sure that all students understand the argument(s) and invites others to ask the respective student to clarify it if needed.</li> <li>c) When a student is satisfied with an argument and all others understand it, he or she writes it on a post-it. The post-it is then pasted on the overview sheet where the student deems it fits best.</li> <li>d) The order of argument, clarification, and writing is repeated throughout the deliberations.</li> </ul> <p><u>Part 2</u> (5 – 10 minutes)</p> <p>After a clear buzzer has signalled the end of the deliberations, the moderators invite the students to have a look at the overview sheets. Students can either (a) revise, (b) move, or (c) <i>remove</i> their own arguments.</p>

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Table B.2 Overview of plenary sessions

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1. Set-up	All students participate in the plenary discussion of the topic. The session is moderated by the researcher and the involved teacher, who both also function as experts that can be consulted by the students.
2. Opening	First, the moderators go over the rules and structure of the plenary session. They then give a short, general overview of the deliberations during the preceding session (deliberation group) or give a short overview of the topic, touching upon the different themes related to it (plenary-only group).
3. Rules	The same as during the deliberation sessions (Table B.1). The only difference is that students can ask moderators substantive questions.
4. Structure	<p>a) After the introduction, the moderators</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (Deliberation group) very briefly summarize per theme the arguments given in each deliberation group during the preceding session. Students are asked to clarify their arguments and explain them to the students that participated in the other deliberation group.</li> <li>• (Plenary-only group) ask which students are in any way in favor/against the motion. Then, they ask several of them to clarify their position to start the plenary discussion.</li> </ul> <p>b) Students are asked by the moderators whether they agree with the given opinions and arguments, or whether they wish to put forward another opinion/argument. The moderators use open questions to stimulate students' thinking and to enhance the clarity of the arguments they give.</p>

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Table B.3 Instructions for moderators (deliberation sessions)

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1. The moderators do not answer any questions related to the content of the deliberations. Moderators ask the students to find an answer to such substantive questions amongst themselves.
  2. The moderators do not share their own opinion on the topic at hand. They only facilitate the discussion and do not try to steer the deliberations into a particular direction. For that purpose, they use open and non-suggestive questions as much as possible.
  3. The moderators try to ensure equal participation of all students in the deliberations.
  4. The moderators keep the deliberations on topic, seek to ensure that all themes related to the topic are awarded attention, and try to let students clarify their arguments to each other.
  5. The moderators try to keep the deliberations going and intervene as little as possible to warrant the 'naturalness' of the conversation.
- 

Table B.4 Instructions for moderators (plenary sessions)

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1. The moderators function as experts and can be consulted for questions related to the content of the discussions throughout the plenary session.
  2. The moderators do not share their own opinion on the topic at hand. They only facilitate the discussion and do not try to steer the conversation into a particular direction. For that purpose, they use open and non-suggestive questions as much as possible.
  3. The moderators try to ensure equal participation of all students in the discussions.
  4. The moderators keep the conversation on topic, seek to ensure that all themes related to the topic are awarded attention, and try to let students clarify their arguments to each other.
  5. The moderators try to keep the conversation going and intervene as little as possible to warrant the 'naturalness' of the conversation.
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Appendix C  
Flyers used in deliberation sessions



## Meer of minder Europa?

Moeten de lidstaten van de Europese Unie meer of minder samen gaan werken?

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1. Dit is **g een debat**. Er zijn geen winnaars of verliezers.
  2. Het **doel** is om met elkaar in gesprek te gaan en ieders mening over het onderwerp te horen.
  3. Wanneer je een nieuw argument hebt gegeven, schrijf dit dan op een **post-it** en plak deze op het overzichtsveld.
  4. Probeer elkaar zoveel mogelijk te **helpen** bij het onder woorden brengen van een argument.
  5. **Luister** naar elkaar en onderbreek anderen niet.
  6. Het groepsgesprek **stopt** als het signaal klinkt. Hierna is er tijd om je argument(en) op het overzichtsveld te herzien, verplaatsen of weg te halen.
- 



Figure C.1 Flyer deliberation session on European integration



## Lokaal of mondiaal?

Moeten we ons meer als wereldburgers gaan gedragen?

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1. Dit is **géén debat**. Er zijn geen winnaars of verliezers.
  2. Het **doel** is om met elkaar in gesprek te gaan en ieders mening over het onderwerp te horen.
  3. Wanneer je een nieuw argument hebt gegeven, schrijf dit dan op een **post-it** en plak deze op het overzichtsveld.
  4. Probeer elkaar zoveel mogelijk te **helpen** bij het onder woorden brengen van een argument.
  5. **Luister** naar elkaar en onderbreek anderen niet.
  6. Het groepsgesprek **stopt** als het signaal klinkt. Hierna is er tijd om je argument(en) op het overzichtsveld te herzien, verplaatsen of weg te halen.
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Figure C.2 Flyer deliberation session on global citizenship

## Appendix D

### Survey items used in quantitative analyses (and DRM)<sup>28</sup>

#### *Frequency*

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Q. Sommige mensen praten constant over politieke problemen, anderen nooit en weer anderen af en toe. Hoe vaak praat jij gemiddeld over politieke problemen in het dagelijks leven? Tel de gesprekken tijdens les op school niet mee.

- Bijna elke dag
- Meerdere keren per week
- Één keer per week
- Één keer per maand
- Bijna nooit

#### *Day reconstruction method (DRM)*

---

Denk nu terug aan gisteren. Probeer de dag te zien als een film die bestaat uit verschillende scènes of delen. Geef elk deel een korte naam die je helpt te herinneren wat je toen hebt gedaan (bijvoorbeeld: “Van school naar huis fietsen” of “Voetballen met vrienden”). Gebruik hiervoor de ruimte hieronder.

Geef bij elk dagdeel aan hoe lang het ongeveer duurde. Bij de meeste mensen duurt zo'n dagdeel ongeveer tussen de 15 minuten en 2 uur. Een dagdeel eindigt wanneer je ergens anders naartoe gaat, een activiteit klaar is en je ergens anders aan begint of wanneer de mensen waarmee je samen bent veranderen.

Onderstreep de dagdelen die je doorbracht met anderen.

Je vindt een voorbeeld op het instructieblad.

Wanneer je hier mee klaar bent, beantwoord dan alsjeblieft de vragen op de volgende pagina door gebruik te maken van je aantekeningen.

---

<sup>28</sup> Each survey was introduced as follows: “In deze enquête worden je vragen gesteld over je interesse in en kennis over politiek. Ook wordt naar je mening gevraagd. Je antwoorden blijven vertrouwelijk. De informatie wordt alleen door de onderzoeker gebruikt. Anderen komen dus niet jouw specifieke antwoorden op de vragen te weten. De antwoorden hebben ook geen gevolgen voor je cijfer voor het vak maatschappijleer. Het is wel belangrijk dat je de vragen zo goed en serieus mogelijk probeert te beantwoorden.”

Q. Kijk naar je aantekeningen en denk opnieuw terug aan gisteren. Hoeveel gesprekken heb je toen gevoerd met anderen over politieke problemen?<sup>29</sup> Tel de gesprekken tijdens les op school niet mee. Vul één getal in.

*Voorbeeld: GOED: 5 gesprekken FOUT: 2 – 4 gesprekken.*

..... gesprekken

Q. Hoe lang duurden deze gesprekken over politieke problemen ongeveer? Probeer een schatting te maken van het aantal minuten dat deze gesprekken gemiddeld duurden. Vul één getal in.

*Voorbeeld: GOED: 25 minuten FOUT: 10 – 15 minuten*

..... minuten

Q. Op sommige dagen voeren mensen meer gesprekken over politieke problemen en op andere dagen juist minder dan gemiddeld. Vergelijk het aantal gesprekken dat je gisteren voerde over politieke problemen met hoeveel je normaal gesproken over politieke problemen praat. In hoeverre heb je gisteren meer of minder dan gemiddeld over politieke problemen gesproken?

- Veel meer
- Net iets meer
- Vrijwel hetzelfde
- Net iets minder
- Veel minder

---

<sup>29</sup> All questions on political problems were preceded by the following introduction: “Hieronder volgen vragen over het praten over ‘**politieke problemen**’. Gesprekken over politieke problemen kunnen bijvoorbeeld gaan over wat de gemeente moet doen om de lokale economie te stimuleren, over de vraag of de regering de alcoholleeftijd moet verhogen of over kleinere problemen zoals hoe buurtbewoners samen vervuiling in de buurt zouden moeten aanpakken. Kruis het antwoord aan dat het beste bij je past. Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden.”

*Respect and Understanding*

Stel je een gesprek voor in het dagelijks leven met vrienden, familie of bekenden dat gaat over een politiek probleem.

Tijdens het gesprek merk je dat de rest een geheel andere mening heeft over het onderwerp dan jij.

Hieronder volgt een aantal reacties op deze situatie. Geef aan hoe waarschijnlijk het is dat jij op dezelfde manier zou reageren. De schaal loopt van **-5 (zeer onwaarschijnlijk)** tot **+5 (zeer waarschijnlijk)**. Omcirkel per reactie één van de cijfers.

Reactie	Antwoord										
a. Ik durf mijn eigen mening over het onderwerp niet meer te geven.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. Ik stel de anderen vragen over wat ik niet begrijp aan hun standpunten.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
c. Ik blijf bij mijn eigen mening.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
d. Ik luister minder aandachtig naar wat de anderen te zeggen hebben.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
e. Ik bedenk me of de redenen voor mijn eigen mening eigenlijk wel zo goed zijn.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
f. Ik toon minder interesse in het gesprek.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
g. Ik probeer de anderen te laten begrijpen waarom ik een andere mening heb.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
h. Ik geef de anderen minder tijd om hun mening te geven.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

Note: Items d, f, and h were used to construct *Respect*; b, e, and g were used for *Understanding*; The remaining items (a & c) were, in the end, deemed inappropriate on theoretical grounds.



*Knowledge (European integration)*

---

Q. De leden van welk van de onderstaande Europese instituties worden direct verkozen door burgers van de Europese Unie?

- De Europese raad
- Het Europese parlement [correct answer]
- De Raad van de Europese Unie
- De Europese commissie
- Het hof van justitie van de Europese Unie

Q. Hoe heet de huidige voorzitter van de Eurogroep? Vul hieronder zijn/haar naam in.

..... [correct answer: (Jeroen) Dijsselbloem]

Q. Hoeveel van de lidstaten moeten akkoord gaan met een wijziging van een Europees verdrag om dit door te laten gaan?

- Een derde van alle lidstaten
- De helft van alle lidstaten
- De helft van alle lidstaten + 1 extra lidstaat
- Twee derde van alle lidstaten
- Alle lidstaten [correct answer]

Q. Met welke van de onderstaande taken houdt de Europese centrale bank zich niet bezig?

- Het bepalen van het monetaire beleid van de Eurozone
- Het heffen van inkomstenbelastingen [correct answer]
- Het monitoren van de financiële stabiliteit van de Eurozone
- Het bewaken van de liquiditeit van de Eurozone
- Al het bovenstaande

Q. Waar houdt de Europese Unie zich het meest mee bezig?

- Defensie, economische competitie en cultuur
- Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, milieu en gezondheidszorg
- Landbouw, handel en economische competitie [correct answer]
- Transport, misdaad bestrijding en milieu
- Defensie, gezondheidszorg en milieu

*Knowledge (global citizenship)*

---

Q. Welk van de onderstaande processen draagt bij aan ‘globalisering’?

- Technologische innovaties op het gebied van communicatie
- Toename in internationale politieke samenwerking
- Het wegnemen van handelsbarrières tussen landen
- Toename in het aantal actieve transnationale actoren
- Al het bovenstaande [correct answer]

Q. Hoeveel landen zijn momenteel lid van de Verenigde Naties (VN)?

..... [correct answer: 193]

Q. Hoe worden de lange termijn doelen van de Verenigde Naties (VN) vanaf 1 januari 2016 genoemd?

- Wereldagenda
- Millenniumdoelen
- Duurzame ontwikkelingsdoelen [correct answer]
- Agenda 2050
- Lange termijn doelen voor een betere wereld

Q. Welke vijf landen hebben een permanente zetel in de VN veiligheidsraad?

- Verenigde Staten, China, Rusland, India, Groot Brittannië
- China, Rusland, Groot Brittannië, Canada, Frankrijk
- Verenigde Staten, Rusland, Groot Brittannië, Frankrijk, Canada
- China, Rusland, Groot Brittannië, Frankrijk, India
- Verenigde Staten, China, Rusland, Groot Brittannië, Frankrijk [correct answer]

Q. “De Internationale Arbeidsorganisatie (ILO) is een intergouvernementele organisatie” Is dit juist of onjuist?

- Juist [correct answer]
- Onjuist

*Interest*

---

Q. Sommige mensen volgen de politiek zeer aandachtig, anderen besteden er zeer weinig aandacht aan. In hoeverre volg jij de politiek?

- Zeer veel
- Regelmatig
- Gemiddeld
- Een klein beetje
- Helemaal niet

Q. Sommige mensen hebben een mening over elk politiek probleem, anderen hebben alleen een mening over bepaalde problemen en weer anderen hebben bijna nooit een mening over politieke problemen.

In hoeverre heb je zelf een mening over politieke problemen? Heb je een mening over alle, veel, sommige, slechts enkele, of geen politieke problemen?

- Vrijwel alle politieke problemen
- De meeste politieke problemen
- Sommige politieke problemen
- Slechts enkele politieke problemen
- Geen mening over politieke problemen

*Internal efficacy*

---

Q. In hoeverre heb je het gevoel dat je begrijpt wat er in de politiek gebeurt? Geef dit aan voor ieder van de volgende niveaus:

Q.a Gemeente\*

- Zeer veel
- Veel
- Enigszins
- Niet
- Helemaal niet

Q.b Nederland

- Zeer veel
- Veel
- Enigszins
- Niet
- Helemaal niet

Q.c Europese Unie

- Zeer veel
- Veel
- Enigszins
- Niet
- Helemaal niet

\* : *De gemeente waar je op dit moment woont.*

*External efficacy*

Q. Sommige mensen hebben het idee dat hun mening over politiek er niet toe doet, anderen hebben het idee dat hun mening heel belangrijk is en weer anderen vinden dat hun mening er enigszins toe doet.

In hoeverre heb jij het idee dat jouw mening over politiek ertoe doet? Geef dit aan voor ieder van de volgende niveaus:

Q.a Gemeente\*

- Zeer veel  
 Veel  
 Enigszins  
 Niet  
 Helemaal niet

Q.b Nederland

- Zeer veel  
 Veel  
 Enigszins  
 Niet  
 Helemaal niet

Q.c Europese Unie

- Zeer veel  
 Veel  
 Enigszins  
 Niet  
 Helemaal niet

\* : De gemeente waar je op dit moment woont.

*Reflection (European integration)*

Stelling ( <i>Europese samenwerking</i> )	In hoeverre ben je het hier mee eens?					
	Helemaal niet	Niet geheel	Neutraal	Enigszins	Helemaal	Weet ik niet
Q. De euro moet worden afgeschaft.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. Er moet een EU leger komen waar alle lidstaten aan bijdragen.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. De Europese Unie moet meer te zeggen krijgen over het onderwijs in de lidstaten.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. De Europese Unie moet meer te zeggen krijgen over cultureel beleid in de lidstaten.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. Nationale parlementen moet een grotere invloed krijgen op wat er op Europees niveau wordt besloten.	1	2	3	4	5	WN

*Reflection (global citizenship)*

<b>Stelling</b> ( <i>wereldburgerschap</i> )	Helemaal niet	Niet geheel	Neutraal	Enigszins	Helemaal	Weet ik niet
Q. Verschillende culturen wereldwijd moeten zoveel mogelijk met elkaar in contact komen.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. Burgerschap moet vooral gaan over het hebben van rechten, niet het hebben van plichten.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. Burgerschap moet gaan over het mee <i>willen</i> doen binnen het sociale en politieke leven van een gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. De Verenigde Naties (VN) is onmisbaar als organisatie om wereldwijde problemen aan te pakken.	1	2	3	4	5	WN
Q. Landsgrenzen hebben vandaag de dag weinig betekenis meer.	1	2	3	4	5	WN

*Engagement*

Q. Als je oud genoeg zou zijn om te stemmen en er vinden verkiezingen plaats, hoe bereid zou je dan zijn om te gaan stemmen?

- Zeer bereid
- Bereid
- Enigszins bereid
- Niet bereid
- Helemaal niet bereid

Q. Hoe bereid zou je zijn om een politieke partij te helpen, bijvoorbeeld door bijeenkomsten bij te wonen, campagne te voeren of op een andere manier?

- Zeer bereid
- Bereid
- Enigszins bereid
- Niet bereid
- Helemaal niet bereid

Q. Sommige mensen zijn actief binnen een sportvereniging, kerk, buurtvereniging of een ander soort vereniging of club. Zij helpen bij het organiseren van evenementen, coördineren activiteiten, regelen het dagelijkse bestuur of dragen op een andere manier bij aan het reilen en zeilen van de vereniging.

Hoe bereid zou jij zijn om op een dergelijke manier bij te dragen binnen een vereniging?

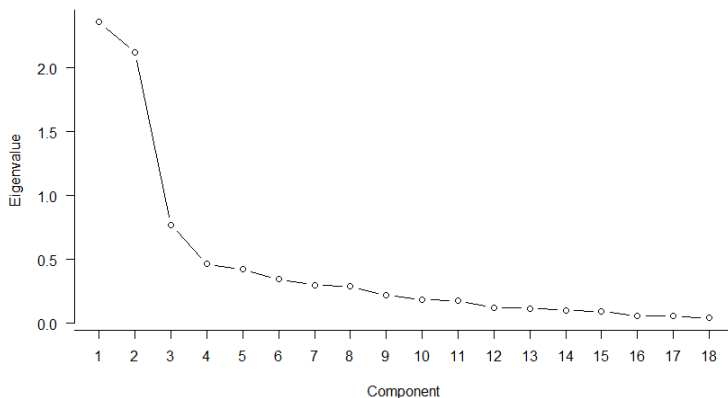
- Zeer bereid
- Bereid
- Enigszins bereid
- Niet bereid
- Helemaal niet bereid

## Appendix E

### Multiple factor analysis

To measure the quality of deliberation, six items in the survey were used to measure its two key dimensions: mutual respect (*Respect*) and seeking mutual understanding (*Understanding*) (see Table E.1). All items were measured on an 11-point scale ranging from a ‘very unlikely’ (0) to a ‘very likely’ (10) reaction to the sketched situation of disagreement (see Appendix D). The scales of items that were negatively phrased (*listen*, *interest*, and *time* in Table E.1) were first reversed so that all scales represented the likelihood of a deliberative reaction. That is, higher scores on the items represented a higher likelihood of a reaction that was theoretically expected to be attuned to showing mutual respect or seeking mutual understanding.

In order to verify whether the six items indeed represent the two latent factors of mutual respect and understanding, a multiple factor analysis (MFA) was performed by means of the *FactoMineR* package for the R software environment (Husson et al, 2016). This type of factor analysis allows one to account for the interdependence of the observations due to the repeated-measures nature of the data. The results showed that only the first two components had eigenvalues greater than Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and together explained 54.46% of the variance (Table E.1). Furthermore, the point of inflexion appeared to be at the third component in the scree plot displayed in Figure E.1. This also suggested to retain two factors.



**Figure E.1** Scree plot from multiple factor analysis

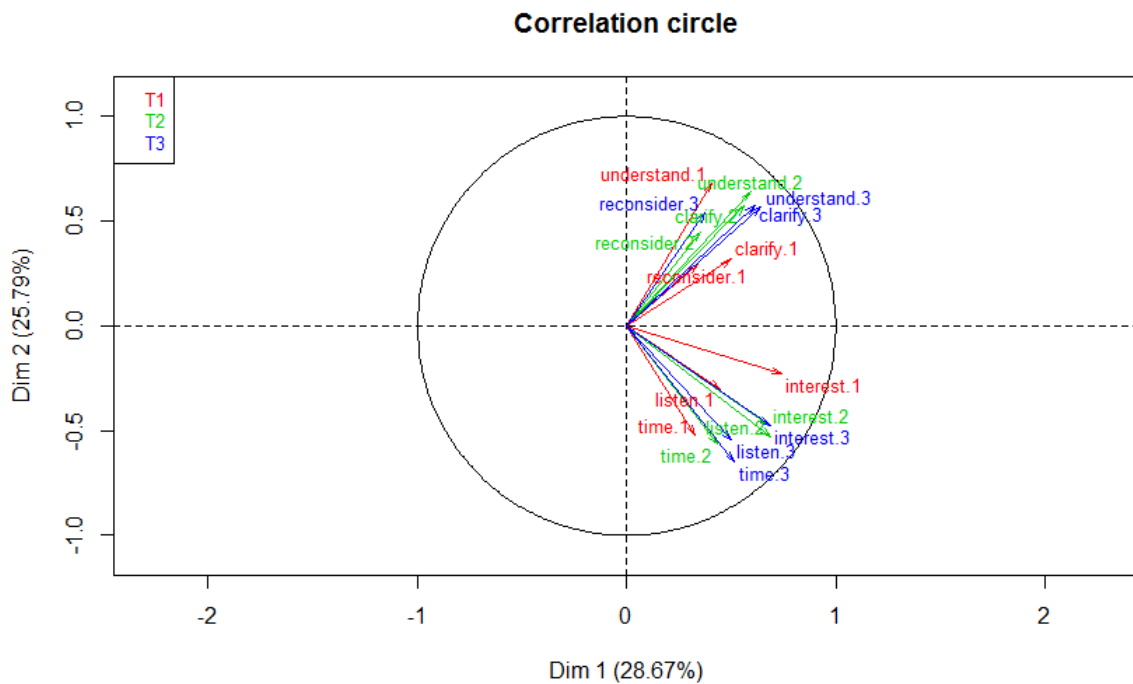
Figure E.2 shows how the items tapping the degree of seeking mutual understanding (*understand*, *reconsider*, *clarify*) as well as those measuring mutual respect (*interest*, *listen*, *time*) were clearly clustered together. The actual factor loadings are displayed in Table E.1. Cronbach’s alpha suggested moderate to high reliability for both the respect and the understanding scale (Table E.1).

The score for each factor (*respect* and *understanding*) was calculated using the following formulae, in which  $a$  denotes the factor score coefficient on the first dimension and  $b$  that on the second dimension for the  $i^{\text{th}}$  case, with  $\varepsilon$  denoting the error term:

$$\text{Respect}_i = a_1 * \text{Interest}_i + a_2 * \text{Listen}_i + a_3 * \text{Time}_i + a_4 * \text{Understand}_i + a_5 * \text{Reconsider}_i + a_6 * \text{Clarify}_i + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Understanding}_i = b_1 * \text{Interest}_i + b_2 * \text{Listen}_i + b_3 * \text{Time}_i + b_4 * \text{Understand}_i + b_5 * \text{Reconsider}_i + b_6 * \text{Clarify}_i + \varepsilon_i$$

The factor score coefficients were retrieved by multiplying the inverse of the original correlation matrix with the factor loading matrix (DiStefano, Zhu, & Mindrila, 2009, p. 4). By using factor score coefficients instead of raw factor loadings, the analysis accounted for the correlations between the items (Field, 2012, p. 756-757).



**Figure E.2** Correlation plot multiple factor analysis  
 Numbers refer to the different groups/measurement moments: 1 = T<sub>1</sub>, 2 = T<sub>3</sub>, 3 = T<sub>4</sub>.



Table E.1. Factor loadings multiple factor analysis

Item	Time	Respect (Dim. 1)	Understanding (Dim. 2)
I ask others questions about what I don't understand about their opinions ( <i>clarify</i> )	T <sub>1</sub>	.33	.22
	T <sub>3</sub>	.37	.39
	T <sub>4</sub>	<b>.40</b>	<b>.40</b>
I ask myself whether my reasons for holding my opinion are any good ( <i>reconsider</i> )	T <sub>1</sub>	.22	.20
	T <sub>3</sub>	.23	.31
	T <sub>4</sub>	.24	.37
I try to let others understand why I have another opinion ( <i>understand</i> )	T <sub>1</sub>	.27	<b>.47</b>
	T <sub>3</sub>	.38	<b>.44</b>
	T <sub>4</sub>	<b>.42</b>	.39
I listen less attentively to what others have to say ( <i>listen</i> )	T <sub>1</sub>	.29	-.21
	T <sub>3</sub>	<b>.48</b>	-.36
	T <sub>4</sub>	.33	-.37
I show less interest in the conversation ( <i>interest</i> )	T <sub>1</sub>	<b>.48</b>	-.16
	T <sub>3</sub>	<b>.44</b>	-.33
	T <sub>4</sub>	<b>.45</b>	-.33
I give others less time to give their opinion ( <i>time</i> )	T <sub>1</sub>	.21	-.36
	T <sub>3</sub>	.28	-.39
	T <sub>4</sub>	.34	<b>-.45</b>
Eigenvalues		2.36	2.12
% of variance		28.67	25.79
Cronbach's $\alpha$	T <sub>1</sub>	.55	.58
	T <sub>3</sub>	.70	.82
	T <sub>4</sub>	.77	.83

Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.

$N = 60$ .

**Appendix F**  
**Multi-level models**

Table F.1. Multi-level models predicting everyday deliberation

	Respect	Understanding	Frequency
<i>Fixed effects</i>			
Intercept	<b>2.67***</b> (0.18)	<b>0.73***</b> (0.17)	-1.54 (1.43)
Time (ref. = T <sub>1</sub> )			
T <sub>3</sub>	0.09 (0.10)	<b>-0.27**</b> (0.10)	<b>1.43*</b> (0.61)
T <sub>4</sub>	-0.08 (0.10)	<b>-0.54***</b> (0.10)	<b>1.96**</b> (0.64)
Treatment (ref. = Control)			
Plenary	-0.04 (0.17)	0.07 (0.16)	2.17 (1.38)
Deliberation	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.16)	0.30 (0.23)
T <sub>3</sub> * Plenary	0.07 (0.14)	0.03 (0.14)	-1.52 (1.10)
T <sub>4</sub> * Plenary	0.04 (0.14)	0.16 (0.14)	-2.05 (1.11)
T <sub>3</sub> * Deliberation	0.13 (0.15)	-0.20 (0.14)	-1.43 (1.00)
T <sub>4</sub> * Deliberation	0.12 (0.15)	0.07 (0.14)	-1.08 (1.03)
Female	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.12)	0.78 (1.01)
Civic association member	0.25 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.15)	1.45 (1.10)
<i>Variance components</i>			
Intercept	0.17	0.16	10.27
Residuals	0.10	0.10	0.33
-2 * LL	203.00	194.00	-
N (participants)	58	58	58
N (responses)	174	174	173

Multi-level ML estimates for Respect and Understanding models; Multi-level logit estimates for Frequency model, with the dependent variable coded as 1 = Talk about political matters at least once a week, 0 = Talk about political matters once a month or less.

Standard errors between parentheses.

Significant estimates appear in bold.

Statistically significant at the \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

Table F.2. Multi-level models predicting the mediators of structured and everyday deliberation<sup>30</sup>

	Knowledge	Interest	Internal efficacy	External efficacy	Non-reflection	Engagement
<i>Fixed effects</i>						
Intercept	<b>3.52***</b> (0.44)	<b>2.72***</b> (0.19)	<b>2.67***</b> (0.19)	<b>2.55***</b> (0.19)	-0.40 (0.54)	<b>3.12***</b> (0.19)
Time (ref. = T <sub>1</sub> )						
T <sub>3</sub>	0.52 (0.42)	-0.07 (0.21)	0.08 (0.21)	0.05 (0.20)	<b>-1.22*</b> (0.49)	0.05 (0.20)
T <sub>4</sub>	0.19 (0.42)	-0.02 (0.21)	0.25 (0.21)	0.05 (0.20)	<b>-1.10*</b> (0.47)	0.11 (0.20)
Treatment (ref. = Control)						
Plenary	-0.15 (0.47)	0.20 (0.21)	0.03 (0.22)	0.19 (0.21)	-0.22 (0.47)	0.38 (0.21)
Deliberation	0.49 (0.47)	0.04 (0.22)	-0.04 (0.22)	-0.10 (0.21)	0.09 (0.45)	0.30 (0.21)
T <sub>3</sub> * Plenary	-0.63 (0.61)	0.07 (0.30)	0.25 (0.31)	0.09 (0.29)	0.17 (0.73)	0.04 (0.28)
T <sub>4</sub> * Plenary	1.02 (0.61)	-0.11 (0.30)	-0.06 (0.31)	0.08 (0.29)	0.41 (0.66)	-0.18 (0.28)
T <sub>3</sub> * Deliberation	-0.13 (0.62)	<b>0.63*</b> (0.31)	0.23 (0.31)	0.27 (0.30)	-2.04 (1.33)	-0.21 (0.29)
T <sub>4</sub> * Deliberation	0.37 (0.62)	0.13 (0.31)	0.10 (0.31)	0.25 (0.30)	-1.06 (0.88)	-0.24 (0.29)
Female	0.08 (0.61)	0.07 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.02 (0.10)	0.30 (0.34)	-0.01 (0.10)
Civic association member	0.14 (0.34)	-0.06 (0.14)	0.01 (0.14)	0.14 (0.29)	0.40 (0.49)	-0.05 (0.14)
<i>Variance components</i>						
Intercept	0.33	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.66	0.02
Residuals	1.84	0.45	0.47	0.43	1.39	0.40
-2 * LL	624.70	356.80	361.10	351.80	-	344.00
N (participants)	58	58	58	58	58	58
N (responses)	174	174	174	174	174	174

Multi-level ML estimates for Knowledge, Interest, Efficacy, and Engagement models; Multi-level poisson estimates for Non-reflection model, with the dependent variable reflecting the reversed score on the variable *Reflection*.

Standard errors between parentheses.

Significant estimates appear in bold.

Statistically significant at the \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>30</sup> Quasi-poisson and negative binomial distribution models with Non-reflection as dependent variable produced

## Appendix G

### Interview Transcripts

#### *Background information interviewee*

Sex: Female  
 Age: 62  
 Highest level of education completed: MA History  
 Additional information: Teaching at the respective school now for 19 years

#### *Reading key*

R = Researcher

T = Teacher being interviewed

Emphasis indicated by means of *italics*

(...) indicates pauses or interruptions<sup>31</sup>

[Student / group] is used to replace actual student and class names in order to guarantee anonymity

#### **Interview May 27, 2016**

R:	Nu hebben we de eerste week gehad en hebben we een indruk kunnen krijgen van hoe het er aan toegaat. Ik was benieuwd hoe u het heeft ervaren en of u mij daar iets over kan vertellen, wat uw indrukken waren.
T:	Ik denk wel interessant. In die zin van (...) Nou, ook omdat ik mijzelf nu minder schuldig voel dat ik geen studiewijzer heb, want dat laat ik nu allemaal afhangen van hoe het hier loopt met jou. En leerlingen vinden het heel interessant om iemand van buiten te hebben, in de klas te zien. Ik merk ook dat ze heel gewillig zijn in het uitvoeren van de opdrachten <i>in de klas dan hè</i> . Alleen ik vrees dat er thuis niet zo heel veel gebeurt aan het voorbereiden.
R:	Oké.
T:	Ja, want ook <i>nu</i> weer waren ze niet bekend met die Europese bestuurlijke instituties,

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highly similar estimates. These results can be reproduced using the script provided in Appendix H. A poisson model was not required for the Knowledge model, as the dependent variable in this case followed a normal distribution. For a justification for using linear models with dependent variables measured on a 5-point scale (Interest, Efficacy, and Engagement) see Norman (2010). Assumption checks for all models can be accessed via the script provided in Appendix H.

<sup>31</sup> Other irregularities have largely been omitted, given that the purpose is to communicate the teacher's ideas (see the advice given in Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 186).

	terwijl ze dat wel ook in het boek hebben moeten bestuderen, moeten ze kennen voor de schoolexamenstof, (...)
R:	Dus thuis is het minder dan normaal of (...)
T:	Nee, maar het is altijd weinig thuis hoor. Als het behapbaar is, maar als ze (...) gewoon een paragraaf samenvatten (...) Er zijn ook altijd wel mensen die wel hun werk doen hoor, <i>ook thuis</i> . Bijvoorbeeld dat meisje wat hier zo (...) wat hier het langst gebleven is, die is overal heel erg als laatste omdat ze het heel erg secuur wil doen. Dus er zijn er die echt veel bij elkaar gezocht hebben. Maar of in [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ] die groep die echt moet delibereren in groepen, of <i>daar heel veel uitgezocht is</i> vraag ik me af hoor. Want die moeten echt <i>alles</i> uitzoeken thuis. Ik heb wel zitten bedenken van misschien als je nog eens een keer zo'n onderzoek doet, dat je een les extra inbouwt om ze op school de informatie bij elkaar te laten zoeken. (...) Ik ben heel erg benieuwd naar het verschil tussen de verschillende klassen.
R:	Maar in de klas, wat u zei, u zei dat is meer dan normaal dat ze mee willen doen (...)
T:	Ja, behalve vrijdag het zesde uur. Maar dat heeft ook te maken met de uitgesproken opvattingen van sommigen. Je ziet hoe ze op [Student] reageren steeds hè.
R:	Dus het is echt de tijd en dag, maar ook de samenstelling?
T:	Ja.
R:	Het lijkt me goed om dan even terug te gaan naar maandag, de deliberaties. Wat was daar uw indruk van?
T:	Dat ze dat <i>heel</i> leuk vonden. Maar die groep heeft ook vaker aan het begin van het jaar gevraagd van organiseer 's een keer een debat of iets dergelijks. Ik heb wel eens (...) heb ik je verteld hè dat ik ze in zo'n u-vorm, hoefijzer debat heb laten houden een paar keer –vinden ze heel erg leuk. En daarom was ik ook blij dat deze groep uitgekozen was. Ik dacht van, nou, die van die manier heel erg goed. Ik ben heel benieuwd of het ook beklijft, of er ook informatie in zit. En dat ze dan misschien gemotiveerder zijn om straks te gaan studeren omdat ze het erover gehad hebben.
R:	Denkt u dat het interesse heeft gewekt?
T:	Ja, er <i>was</i> bij sommigen interesse, maar nu (...) Ja, jij zei dat ze in <i>jouw</i> groep ook allemaal heel goed hadden meegedaan hè en ik heb nog naar speciale personen gevraagd (...) En in mijn groepje hebben ze ook heel erg goed meegedaan. En ook de mensen die <i>niet konden praten</i> die hebben <i>heel</i> nauwgezet gevolgd wat die anderen zeiden.
R:	Oké, ja. Was het zo dat sommigen veel meer aan het woord waren dan anderen?
T:	Ja, ik heb af en toe moeten afremmen, ik heb af en toe moeten afremmen, ja. Sommigen, ja (...) Ja, [Student] is ook een jaar ouder hè en was sowieso al vanaf z'n eerste klas heel erg uitgesproken en actief. Maar anderen die zijn er toch ook bij betrokken geweest. En ze volgden het <i>allemaal</i> . Al was het maar van dit briefje hangt verkeerd, moet een andere plek hebben, ja.
R:	Ja. Dus er waren wel sommigen die niks hebben gezegd?
T:	Of heel weinig, ja.
R:	Wel uit zichzelf of was het echt dat u ze aan moest wijzen?
T:	Nee, als ik zag dat iemand z'n hoofd al uitstak, zo van en nu wil ik, dan heb ik ook heel gauw de <i>prater eventjes</i> stil laten zijn en de ander laten praten.
R:	Maar goed, ze deden het wel uit zichzelf (...)
T:	Het kwam uit zichzelf, ja.
R:	En in hoeverre, in uw groep dan, slaagden ze erin om <i>echt</i> naar elkaar te luisteren?
T:	Ja, da's moeilijk! Ze willen vooral praten. Als er iets in hun opkomt, willen ze het meteen zeggen. Zit ook een beetje in de tijdgeest hè. Mensen luisteren niet meer <i>veel</i>

	maar willen vooral hun ei kwijt. Misschien moeten we het ook meer oefenen.
R:	Oké, ze willen dus vooral hun eigen mening delen. Maar gaan ze wel op elkaar in?
T:	Ja, ook. Ze hebben wel gehoord wat de ander zei.
R:	Dus in die zin luisteren ze wel, er is wel reactie (...)
T:	Ja.
R:	Hielpen ze elkaar ook met de argumenten die ze gaven? Zo van, als iemand het moeilijk had, dat ze dan bijvielen?
T:	Ja, of vulden elkaar aan. (...) Maar echt <i>diepgang</i> zit er nog niet in hè? Maar misschien dat het ook tekort is.
R:	Bedoelt u met de argumenten die ze gaven of (...)
T:	Ja, het zijn toch allemaal de standaard dingen die gezegd worden. Ja en ik ben heel benieuwd naar de uitkomsten. Ik vond deze wel tamelijk (...) erg voor <i>minder</i> , ja. Alleen die jongen hier vooraan was positief.
R:	Het was iets naar één kant geschoven?
T:	Ja.
R:	En de plenaire sessie hadden ze toen op dinsdag. Wat vond u van de dynamiek in de klas?
T:	Ik vond dat dat <i>goed</i> ging. [inaudible] Ik had de indruk dat de betrokkenheid best groot was. En ze hadden rustig nog even door kunnen gaan. <i>Deze</i> trouwens had ook nog wel even door kunnen gaan. Alleen het hilarische van sommigen dat moest er toch eigenlijk niet zijn. Maar ja, dat zit in die personen.
R:	Ja, dat is ook moeilijk om tegen te gaan natuurlijk. Vond u deze sessie heel anders dan die op dinsdag?
T:	Ja, dat <i>hilarische</i> . Dat heeft met sommige personen hier te maken. En die zitten niet in die andere groep. <i>En</i> de eerste groep was in het begin van de week en deze het één na laatste uur hè.
R:	Dus die tijd is wel belangrijk.
T:	Ja, de tijd is bepalend.
R:	Nou, [ <i>the control group</i> ] heeft natuurlijk helemaal geen sessies gehad, die heeft alleen maar info opgezocht. Kunt u mij misschien vertellen hoe dat is gegaan?
T:	Vooraf de meidengroep is <i>heel</i> secuur bezig geweest. Sommige jongens die maakten zich er, ja (...) Maar er zijn ook serieuze jongens hoor die dat gedaan hebben. Maar [ <i>the control group</i> ] is de <i>meest</i> serieuze wat betreft het stof verzamelen. Die maken er ook echt eigen verslagen van.
R:	En hebben ze naar alle websites gekeken die erop stonden?
T:	Volgens mij hebben ze naar heel veel websites gekeken, ja.
R:	Want moesten ze dan ook iets inleveren?
T:	Nee, dat hebben we niet gedaan. Hebben ze op zichzelf (...) Ik heb gezegd het is informatie voor jouw eigen (...)
R:	Jouw eigen stuk later?
T:	Ja.
R:	Wat ik me nog afvroeg: Als we die plenaire sessie vergelijken met die kleine groepjes, zag u dan grote verschillen? Hoe ze meededen, (...)
T:	Ja, ze waren benieuwd naar elkaars informatie.
R:	In de kleine groepen of?
T:	Nee, in de kleine groepen is de betrokkenheid groter en doe je eerder mee.
R:	Dat zag u ook?
T:	Ja, dan (...) Ik vraag me af of dat hilarische in kleinere groepen in deze klas dan ook <i>die</i> ruimte had gehad. Ik denk minder. Want ja, je moet het samen met minder mensen

	doen. En ik denk dat <i>daardoor</i> , door die kleine groepjes, het plenaire gedeelte ook beter was. Want ze moesten nu gaan uitleggen waarom ze een bepaalde positie hadden ingenomen. En <i>nu</i> moesten ze direct een eigen positie innemen; dat hadden ze dan wel schriftelijk voorbereid, maar (...) ja, die kleinere groepjes is toch beter (...) vooraf.
R:	En op zichzelf staand?
T:	Misschien <i>ook</i> goed. Dat je dan op een andere manier uit kunt wisselen tussen de groepen en de boel bij elkaar zetten en dan, ja, kijken wat ze ervan vinden. Dan hoeft het niet mondeling ofzo maar dan kunnen ze er in een opdracht iets mee doen.
R:	Ja. Want u zei ook dat de betrokkenheid dan groter was in die kleine groepen. Waaraan merkte u dat?
T:	Dat <i>iedereen</i> zwijgend of pratend meedeed. En fanatiek. En ook mee formuleren wat er op zo'n kaartje moest. En <i>nu</i> konden sommigen wegduiken. Een klassengesprek is altijd moeilijk en zeker als je nog zo'n lang lesuur hebt.
R:	Ja, want wat vinden ze precies moeilijk of eng als het klassikaal is?
T:	Nee, dan (...) Er zullen er zijn die denken 'oe' als je mij maar niet vraagt. Maar er zullen er ook denken doen jullie het werk maar, ik ga wel onderuit.
R:	En dat is moeilijker in de kleine groepen?
T:	Ja.
R:	We hebben het hier al een beetje over gehad hoor, maar nu ze die drie verschillende dingen hebben gedaan –eentje alleen maar info opzoeken, eentje plenair en de andere allebei: ziet u al een beetje verschillen met wat u zich afvraagt over kennis en dergelijke? Heeft u het idee, bijvoorbeeld, dat [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ] helemaal niets leert en dat [ <i>the control group</i> ] alles leert doordat ze het zelf opzoeken of (...)
T:	Nou, ik zal jou op de hoogte stellen van het essay als ze dat gemaakt hebben. Want het zou best wel eens kunnen dat als [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ] dingen was gaan uitzoeken in de klas zelf dat ze dan meer kennis hadden opgedaan. Maar het had ook kunnen zijn dat het andersom had gewerkt, dat ze heel snel klaar waren geweest met opzoeken, want het zal ons een zorg zijn, ik wil gauw klaar.
R:	Was dat bij [ <i>the control group</i> ] zo?
T:	Nee, ja sommige jongens. Maar, <i>ik denk</i> , nee, er zitten toch ook in [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ] mensen die overal het (...) naar het gaatje toe willen. En ik weet niet of ze dat thuis gedaan hebben. Juist omdat dat huiswerk niet zo geweldig is. Maar nu hebben ze <i>van elkaar</i> geleerd, denk ik.
R:	En heeft u het idee dat (...) Zouden ze er mee bezig zijn nu ze van die sessies hebben gehad?
T:	Zouden ze er buiten de les nog mee doorgaan?
R:	Nee, mee doorgaan niet per se, maar dat ze er over nadenken of over hebben.
T:	Ik denk het wel, ja. Maar dat denk ik voor alle drie de klassen. Daar zijn ze wel de types voor. En die ene jongen die dus zo'n flut enquête heeft ingevuld, die is wel op zijn eigen manier het nieuws aan het volgen. Want die heeft me nog wel eens bezorgd gevraagd wat ik van die Trump vind. Dus, ja.
R:	Ja, dus dat wil niet zeggen dat hij helemaal niks (...) zich nergens mee bezighoudt.
T:	<i>Nee</i> , hij is zeer geïnteresseerd maar school vindt hij verschrikkelijk.
R:	Dus er zijn in elke groep hele grote <i>persoonlijke</i> verschillen?
T:	Ja.
R:	Wat zou u denken dat dan de grootste rol speelt in hoe ze meedoen?
T:	Wat het belangrijkste zou (...)? <i>Ik denk</i> die [Student in <i>the plenary-only group</i> ] als die in een klein groepje had gezeten, dat hij vrij fanatiek bezig was geweest. Sommigen hebben ergens een mening over en die willen dat <i>beslist</i> laten horen. Ik zou <i>wel willen</i>

	dat ze ook wat meer naar anderen gingen <i>luisteren</i> . En dan kijken of ze hun mening moeten bijstellen. Maar bij <i>Nederlands</i> , worden debatten geoefend hè. En ik weet niet of dat in klas 4 al is, maar de hele (...) het is allemaal debat-gericht. En dat is jammer want dan verloor je het luisteren. En dat merk je (...) Dat luisteren dat moeten we oefenen in die <i>kleine</i> groepjes, moeten we oefenen in <i>klassikaal</i> verband, want dat is 'pfeeuw'. <i>Vermoeiend</i> hè?!
R:	Ja, oké, dus vooral het luisteren is een probleem. In die kleine groepjes misschien omdat (...) Ja, waarom denkt u (...) dat ze zich minder kunnen verschuilen (...)
T:	Ze kunnen zich minder <i>verschuilen</i> , maar dat (...) <i>Ze luisteren</i> wel naar elkaar, dat merk je doordat ze elkaar aanvullen, maar het <i>wachten</i> totdat de ander is uitgesproken – dat is moeilijk.

### Interview June 3, 2016

R:	Ik ben benieuwd naar wat er vandaag gebeurd is. Hoe het ging.
T:	Ik heb eerst even die tekst over wereldburgerschap gepakt. Niet die in de power point stond, maar die andere. Om het verschil tussen <i>resultaats</i> verantwoordelijkheid en <i>herstellende</i> verantwoordelijkheid te benoemen. En binnenlandse oorzaken van wereldarmoede en grensoverschrijdende oorzaken. Daar heb ik het eerst met ze over gehad. En toen heb ik ze jouw power point laten zien en daaromheen verteld. Ik heb extra aandacht besteed aan de Verenigde Naties (...) Toen was de tijd wel op hoor dat ze konden luisteren. Daarna zijn we de discussie begonnen over de mogelijkheid van politiek en ethisch wereldburgerschap. Daar kwamen (...) Na een moeilijke start, kwamen er toch wel redelijke argumenten uit. Dus toch wel een redelijke betrokkenheid. En ik zag toch ook de mensen die <i>niet</i> luisterden –ik bedoel die <i>niet</i> spraken- heeft het merendeel toch wel geïnteresseerd zitten luisteren naar wat er gezegd werd. En ik heb tegelijkertijd dus <i>getypt</i> .
R:	En hoeveel mensen spraken er ongeveer? Was het weer heel beperkt of (...)
T:	<i>Ja</i> , het was minder dan de helft. Maar wel (...) <i>Ja</i> , en dat waren vooral [Students] die eerst het voortouw namen. En het viel mij <i>op</i> dat de meisjes die wat zeiden die hadden <i>vooral</i> positieve argumenten, zeker in ethische zin, en de jongens hadden vooral terughoudende argument. <i>Ja</i> , dat is heel raar. Nu hebben niet <i>zo heel</i> veel meisjes iets gezegd, maar, <i>ja</i> (...)
R:	Duidelijke verschillen tussen jongens en meisjes.
T:	Er was ook één meisje die had dus die uitwisselingsorganisaties genoemd, want zij gaat een maand naar Ghana om (...) als vrijwilligerswerk in de gezondheid te werken.
R:	Oké, dus die was er al mee bezig.
T:	<i>Ja</i> , dat viel mij heel erg op. Dat zijn ook de meisjes die normaal heel erg sociaal zijn, die die argumenten gaven.
R:	Daar was het ook wel het onderwerp voor natuurlijk.
T:	<i>Ja</i> . Maar er zijn ook jongens die, met name [Student] weer, die ook positieve argumenten gaven. Maar het lijkt wel, zo (...) de <i>toon</i> waarop ze de negatieve argumenten geven, dat lijkt eigenlijk wel op (...) het tegen willen spreken van wat ze misschien denken dat <i>ik</i> positief van ze wil horen. Zo van: tegenwicht bieden van indoctrinatie door <i>mij</i> . Dat <i>lijkt</i> wel. Dat idee heb ik. [Student] die dacht een rechts argument te geven en die gaf een links argument. Dat ging over de kosten van defensie zijn slecht voor de economie. <i>Ja</i> , ik zei, nou dat zeggen linkse economen ook. Want de producten die zijn niet bedoeld om andere dingen voort te brengen maar om te vernietigen en om zelf vernietigd te worden.



R:	Ja. Maar goed, dat was ook weer een beetje richting u gericht dan of niet?
T:	Nee dat denk ik niet, nee (...)
R:	Want hoe merkt u dat, dat ze dat proberen?
T:	Ja, de <i>toon</i> . En dat de een de ander wil overtroeven, in het negatieve.
R:	Maar spraken ze dan tegen elkaar of echt tegen <i>u</i> ook?
T:	Nee, tegen mij. En ze waren ook onderling bezig, heel erg. Luisteren naar elkaar dat was <i>heel erg</i> moeilijk.
R:	Ja? Lastiger dan de vorige keer nog?
T:	Eigenlijk net zo. Maar ik heb natuurlijk nu mijn verbale geweld erin gegooid. Dat heb ik de vorige keer niet gedaan, want ja (...)
R:	Maar was er wel reactie op elkaar of was het echt in het wilde weg (...)
T:	Sommigen die ik de beurt wilde geven, die zeiden, nee, ik heb een ander argument. Een ander zei dan, laat mij maar, want ik wil hier nog even op ingaan. Dat toch ook wel.
R:	Beetje een balans eigenlijk. (...) En hoe vond u de rest van deze week gaan? Dus de andere plenaire sessie en die kleine groepjes.
T:	Die [ <i>the control group</i> ], die kwamen binnen heel energiek en die waren heel snel klaar, die hadden het gevoel van en nu? Wat moet ik nu?
R:	Dat was met dat zelf uitzoeken en dan bespreken hè?
T:	Ja. En toen heb ik ook bedacht: nou, weet je wat, ik ga van iedere groep er twee naar een andere doorschuiven. En dat (...) En toen kwamen ze in een andere samenstelling en het leek wel alsof dat beter ging. Want in één groepje had ik twee jongens en twee meisjes; de jongens waren met elkaar bezig en de meisjes ware met elkaar bezig. Niet met z'n vieren. En toen ze waren doorgeschoven naar een ander groepje, waren de meiden <i>wel</i> met z'n vieren bezig. Of ja, meiden, het waren ook weer gemengd jongens-meisjes. Toen ze de informatie uitzochten hebben ze met elkaar samengewerkt, de vriendinnen en de vriendjes, en, ja, die wilde ik <i>dus niet</i> met elkaar in een groepje zetten, want die wisten al van elkaar wat ze (...) En mij viel op dat van [ <i>the control group</i> ] één groepje, het groepje van de intellectuele elite meisjes, om zo maar te noemen, die het echt het beste doen, die bleven <i>hier</i> zitten, die wilden niet mee naar het computer lokaal. Die waren gewoon eerst met elkaar de vragen gaan beantwoorden en hadden geen zin om <i>alweer</i> voor de computer gezet te worden.
R:	Want ze hadden extra vragen gebruikt of?
T:	Ja. Ik had wel gevraagd van ga thuis ook 's wat opzoeken, ik wil dat je meer argumenten (...) Dat je ook ziet hoe het in elkaar zit.
R:	Die zijn dus best flink bezig geweest?
T:	<i>Jaha</i> . Ze kwamen ook ijverig gewoon in die groepjes weer. Behalve een paar jongens maar ja (...)
R:	En wat vond u van [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ]; die kleine groepjes en die plenaire sessie?
T:	De kleine groepjes over het wereldburgerschap vond ik wat minder gaan dan over de EU. En ik denk dat dat ook komt doordat ze (...) ja, de samenstelling die speelt een rol; ik denk ook dat het weer een rol speelde, want het regende toen heel hard en ze zeggen steeds als het buiten regent, dan stormt het in de klas. En ze waren niet goed voorbereid, ze waren echt niet goed voorbereid.
R:	Hoe zou dat komen dat er zo'n groot verschil was?
T:	Toen was het nog nieuw. En toen hadden we (...) toen kwam de <i>groepssamenstelling</i> misschien beter uit. En <i>dit</i> keer (...) Nou, wat jij zei, het moet steeds <i>nieuw</i> zijn, wil het ze boeien. Ik geloof dat deze klas daar best gevoelig voor is –ik wist niet dat het zo erg was. Maar, ja (...) ze zijn ook (...) Misschien dat de groep niet zo heel veilig was voor ieder.

R:	Vanwege (...)
T:	Ja, de samenstelling ofzo (...) Misschien dat ze daarom (...) Dat is ook onzin. Dat is niet (...) Dat is alleen maar invullen. Misschien ook die <i>EU</i> daar was die hele vluchtelingenproblematiek bij betrokken. En sommige onderwerpen die hebben we toen al besproken bij de <i>EU</i> die nu ook weer een rol speelden.
R:	Dus daar wisten ze al iets meer over?
T:	Ja, dus ja, misschien dat ze ook dezelfde argumenten konden gebruiken. Ja, ik weet het niet.
R:	Ik hoorde iemand zeggen dat dit een veel makkelijker onderwerp was om over te praten bij [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ] over wereldburgerschap dan over de <i>EU</i> .
T:	Oh ja?
R:	Oh, dat verbaast u?
T:	Ja, dat verbaast mij! Was dat in jouw groep of in die andere?
R:	In mijn groep.
T:	Ja. Want daar deden ze het ook beter, vond ik.
R:	Ja, ik weet niet hoe het in uw groep is gegaan.
T:	Ja, jij had [Student] weer. Jij had de dominante figuren, die de vorige keer in <i>mijn</i> groep de discussie leidden. Dat was die [Student] en die [Student].
R:	Dus er zijn duidelijk personen die de leiding nemen.
T:	Ja.
R:	En die plenaire sessie met [ <i>the deliberation group</i> ], toen met de hele klas (...)
T:	Die ging weer <i>beter</i> . Die vond ik beter gaan dan de groepjes. Maar dat komt omdat dan ook die dominante figuren dan weer de boel aanzwengelen. Want het is toch maar de helft ofzo die meegedaan heeft, iets gezegd heeft.
R:	Maar waren dat allemaal die dominante figuren die meededen of (...)
T:	Ja.
R:	Ja? Want ik had de indruk dat er wel een paar waren die de week ervoor <i>niet</i> hadden gesproken. [Student]
T:	Ja, maar die heeft vorige week in het groepje ook al flink een rol gespeelt. Die heb ik echt anders leren kennen.
R:	Oké. Maar tijdens die plenaire sessie, deden er ook mensen mee <i>door</i> die dominante figuren? Zeg maar dat zij aangezwengeld werden?
T:	Ja, toch wel, ja. Dat blonde meisje doet altijd heel erg [inaudible]. [Student] Maar [Student] niet. [Student] blijft fluisteren, zo zachtjes. Ik denk ook dat het te maken heeft met de positie in de klas die niet negatief is maar meer aan de rand hè. Ze horen niet bij de <i>peer group</i> . En [Student] is ook heel erg geïnteresseerd in alles wat er rondom religie speelt. Ze is ook al eens naar Israël geweest. (...) Ja, we hebben mensen met bijzondere religies. Die het loofhutzen feest vieren bijvoorbeeld, ja. Toch niet Joods zijn, maar er is iets tussen Joods en Christelijk in. (...)
R:	Maar deze week was het, die indruk had ik zelf ook, in de kleine groepjes was het iets minder serieus maar bij de plenaire dus <i>meer</i> . De week ervóór was het eigenlijk andersom. Toen ging het heel goed in de kleine groepen en toen was de plenaire wat minder serieus, vond ik.
T:	Maar we hebben toen toch redelijk wat op papier gekregen.
R:	Jawel, ja.
T:	Ik vond ze ongeveer gelijkwaardig.
R:	Ja, de plenaire sessies hetzelfde, de kleine groepen dus iets minder.
T:	Ja.
R:	Even kijken. Dus bij [ <i>the control group</i> ] ging goed. (...)

T:	Ja, dat is de vraag. Ze hebben het idee: wat <i>wil</i> ze nou eigenlijk van ons?
R:	Ja, oké, maar ze moesten wel (...) eigenlijk hadden ze dit al eerder gedaan, natuurlijk met Aristoteles ook.
T:	Ja, maar nu, het scheelt ook, ik heb (...) Bij een hele boel activiteiten heb ik steeds scores te verdienen gegeven. Dat heb ik nu gelaten.
R:	Ah oké, dus daarom dachten ze misschien wat wil ze?
T:	Ja. En dat heb ik nu gelaten. Dat ik bij <i>hun</i> wel kunnen doen, maar dan was het weer ongelijk ten aanzien van anderen. Dus (...)
R:	Maar goed, ze wisten toch dat het essay over burgerschap gaat.
T:	Ja.
R:	En heeft u nu het idee dat ze (...) dat het interesse zou kunnen wekken in zulk soort problemen?
T:	Nu hebben ze best wel hè (...) We hebben altijd een sociale actie. En <i>nu</i> is er een project gekozen in Sudan. Dus dat is eindelijk geen Westerse ziekte meer maar iets elders.
R:	Maar heeft u het idee dat zo les krijgen, dat ze daar (...) dat dat interesse wekt?
T:	Ik ben <i>benieuwd</i> . Ik zal ze in week 26, als je die enquête afneemt, zou je dat kunnen vragen.
R:	Nee, dat ga ik ook doen. Ik was gewoon benieuwd of u iets had opgemerkt of gehoord.
T:	Ik <i>denk</i> (...) sommigen die nu al goed meededen, dat die al die interesse hebben. [Student] die weet al een <i>hele</i> boel meer dan andere leerlingen. En het feit dat [Student] naar Ghana gaat, dat wil ook al iets zeggen. Maar (...) dat zou je kunnen zien aan figuren als [Student*]. Want die is tamelijk van de smalle horizon. En [Student] maar die heeft al een uitge... Die komt niet meer terug. Al was het maar omdat hij standvastig wil zijn.
R:	Want [Student*] sprak wel tijdens de plenaire sessie en in het kleine groepje.
T:	(...) Die is ook heel erg bang voor zijn school examen. Die is niet zo heel erg sterk. Ja, en wil je globaal kunnen denken, dan moet je een bredere horizon hebben hè.
R:	Ja, maar ik bedoelde niet op een bepaalde manier erover denken hoor, maar meer dat ze met dat soort problemen bezig zouden zijn.
T:	Weet ik niet. Wat mij <i>wel opviel</i> . [Student] –dat is een jongen die ik nooit hoor- die kwam met een argument uit de Stoïcijnse filosofie. Dat is uit dat tijdschrift van die bron. En dat sympathie zo'n grote rol speelt.
R:	Niet verwacht?
T:	Nee, dat had ik inderdaad niet verwacht.
R:	Dat was vandaag?
T:	Dat was vandaag, ja.
R:	En speelde het vandaag ook weer een rol dat het zesde uur was?
T:	<i>Ja</i> . Ja, ook een heel serieus meisje die kwam binnen en die zat hier en ik zeg: oh, kijk niet zo eng. En dan zei ze: ja, maar ik heb zoveel te doen, ik wil eigenlijk weg. Ja, dat zesde uur is niet geschikt voor dit soort dingen. Moeten we ze gewoon weer creatief bezig laten zijn het zesde uur. Ja, het onderwijs heeft zo zijn eigen problemen hè.

## Appendix H

### Replication script

```
#### REPLICATION SCRIPT VAN DER DOES, 2016 ####
```

```
### Load relevant packages ###
```

```
library(foreign)
library(ggplot2)
library(psych)
library(reshape)
library(vcd)
library(multilevel)
library(lme4)
library(plyr)
library(Hmisc)
library(pastecs)
library(lattice)
library(car)
library(pastecs)
library(ez)
library(FactoMineR)
library(missMDA)
```

```
### R & package versions ###
```

```
> sessionInfo()
```

```
R version 3.2.2 (2015-08-14)
Platform: x86_64-w64-mingw32/x64 (64-bit)
Running under: Windows 8 x64 (build 9200)
```

```
locale:
```

```
[1] LC_COLLATE=Dutch_Netherlands.1252 LC_CTYPE=Dutch_Netherlands.1252 L
C_MONETARY=Dutch_Netherlands.1252 LC_NUMERIC=C
[5] LC_TIME=Dutch_Netherlands.1252
```

```
attached base packages:
```

```
[1] grid stats graphics grDevices utils datasets methods base
```

```
other attached packages:
```

```
[1] FactoMineR_1.33 ez_4.3 car_2.0-25 pastecs_1.3-18 boot_1
.3-17 Hmisc_3.15-0 Formula_1.2-1 survival_2.38-3 lattice_0.20-31
[10] plyr_1.8.1 lme4_1.1-12 Matrix_1.2-2 multilevel_2.5 MASS_7
.3-43 nlme_3.1-128 vcd_1.3-2 reshape_0.8.5 psych_1.5.4
[19] ggplot2_2.1.0 foreign_0.8-65
```

```
loaded via a namespace (and not attached):
```

```
[1] reshape2_1.4.1 splines_3.2.2 colorspace_1.2-6 mgcv_1.
8-7 chron_2.3-45 nloptr_1.0.4 DBI_0.4-1
[8] RColorBrewer_1.1-2 stringr_1.0.0 munsell_0.4.2 gtable_
0.1.2 mvtnorm_1.0-5 leaps_2.9 knitr_1.13
[15] labeling_0.3 latticeExtra_0.6-26 SparseM_1.6 quantre
g_5.11 pbkrtest_0.4-2 parallel_3.2.2 proto_0.3-10
[22] Rcpp_0.12.5 acepack_1.3-3.3 scales_0.4.0 flashCl
ust_1.01-2 scatterplot3d_0.3-37 missMDA_1.10 mnormt_1.5-2
[29] stringi_0.4-1 dplyr_0.5.0 tools_3.2.2 magritt
r_1.5 tibble_1.0 mice_2.25 cluster_2.0.3
[36] data.table_1.9.4 assertthat_0.1 minqa_1.2.4 R6_2.0.
1 rpart_4.1-10 nnet_7.3-10
```

```
### Load data ###
```

```
data.m <- read.spss(file="Dataset, long format.sav", use.value.labels=TRUE, to.data.frame=TRUE) # (stacked
format, missing values not deleted)
dataset <- read.spss(file="Dataset, long format, no missings.sav", use.value.labels=TRUE, to.data.frame=TRUE)
# (stacked format, no missing values)
vio.data <- read.delim("Data for descriptive plots.txt", header=TRUE) # (regular format, with difference
variables included)
orig.data <- read.delim("Original.txt", header=TRUE) # (data for Figure 5)
disc.eu <- read.delim("disc.eu.txt", header=TRUE) # (data for Figure 6)
disc.gc <- read.delim("disc.gc.txt", header=TRUE)
data.ev <- read.spss(file="Evaluation data.sav", use.value.labels=TRUE, to.data.frame=TRUE) # (evaluation
questions)
mfa.data <- read.spss(file="MFA dataset, missing deleted.sav", use.value.labels=TRUE, to.data.frame=TRUE)
# Data for MFA
```

```
### NOTE: Class 1 = Deliberation group; Class 2 = Plenary-only group; Class 3 = Control group ###
```

```
### Create variables ###
```

```
dataset[,c(14,18, 30, 40)][is.na(dataset[,c(14,18, 30, 40)])] <- 0 # Set missing values for 'packaged' variables to 0
and base calculations on remaining items
dataset[,c(31:35, 41:45)][is.na(dataset[,c(31:35, 41:45)])] <- 111 # Set missing values to 111 (i.e. no answer)
```

```
attach(dataset)
knowledge <- knoweu_2 + knoweu_3 + knoweu_4 + knoweu_5 + knoweu_9 + knowcit_1 + knowcit_6 +
knowcit_8 + knowcit_9 +
  knowcit_10
non.reflection <- rowSums(dataset[,c("stateeu_1", "stateeu_5", "stateeu_6", "stateeu_9", "stateeu_10",
  "statecit_6", "statecit_7", "statecit_8", "statecit_9", "statecit_10")]) > 70)
reflection <- 10 - non.reflection
interest <- (politics + problem)/2
efficacy.in <- (under_mun + under_nl + under_eu)/3
efficacy.ex <- (opinion_mun + opinion_nl + opinion_eu)/3
engagement <- (vote + partyact + civicact)/3

dataset$listen.t <- listen.t* -1 # to reverse scales
dataset$interest.t <- interest.t* -1
dataset$time.t <- time.t* -1
```

```
dataset[,46:51] <- dataset[,46:51] + 5 # set scale to 0 : 10
dataset$clarify.t[is.na(dataset$clarify.t)] <- 0 # set two missing values to 0 and base calculation on remaining
items
dataset$listen.t[is.na(dataset$listen.t)] <- 0
```

```
data.t1 <- subset(dataset, dataset$T == 1)
summary(data.t1)
data.t2 <- subset(dataset, dataset$T == 2)
summary(data.t2)
data.t3 <- subset(dataset, dataset$T == 3)
summary(data.t3)
```

```
data.t1$respect <- data.t1$clarify.t * 0.06447675 + data.t1$listen.t * 0.08305846 + data.t1$reconsider.t *
0.05040800 +
  data.t1$interest.t * 0.09674044 + data.t1$understand.t * 0.05464271 + data.t1$time.t * 0.04597275 # original
scores * factor score coefficients
# (See MLA below)
```

```
data.t2$respect <- data.t2$clarify.t * 0.07574718 + data.t2$listen.t * 0.07762730 + data.t2$reconsider.t *
0.04722420 +
```

```

data.t2$interest.t * 0.08304949 + data.t2$understand.t * 0.07568523 + data.t1$time.t * 0.05098411

data.t3$respect <- data.t3$clarify.t * 0.07225701 + data.t3$listen.t * 0.06044639 + data.t3$reconsider.t *
0.03859031 +
  data.t3$interest.t * 0.08033948 + data.t3$understand.t * 0.07591162 + data.t1$time.t * 0.05868717

data.t1$understanding <- data.t1$clarify.t * 0.05169758 + data.t1$listen.t * -0.00498611 + data.t1$reconsider.t *
0.05035099 +
  data.t1$interest.t * -0.05535065 + data.t1$understand.t * 0.10393643 + data.t1$time.t * -0.08454482

data.t2$understanding <- data.t2$clarify.t * 0.07367345 + data.t2$listen.t * -0.08637066 + data.t2$reconsider.t *
0.07346275 +
  data.t2$interest.t * -0.06294077 + data.t2$understand.t * 0.10337936 + data.t1$time.t * -0.08139132

data.t3$understanding <- data.t3$clarify.t * 0.08150478 + data.t3$listen.t * -0.07123722 + data.t3$reconsider.t *
0.06535145 +
  data.t3$interest.t * -0.06124238 + data.t3$understand.t * 0.07953365 + data.t1$time.t * -0.09929844

data.full <- rbind(data.t1, data.t2, data.t3)
summary(data.full)

data.full1 <- cbind(data.full, knowledge, reflection, interest, efficacy.in, efficacy.ex, engagement)
summary(data.full1)

data.full1$talking <- revalue(data.full1$talk, c("Almost never" = "Once a month or less", "Once a month" =
"Once a month or less",
      "Once a week" = "At least once a week", "Several times a week" =
      "At least once a week", "Almost every day" = "At least once a week"))

### Reliability analyses (reported in text) ###
interest.alpha <- data.full1[,c(10,20)]
efficacy.in.alpha <- data.full1[,c(17:19)]
efficacy.ex.alpha <- data.full1[,c(14:16)]
engagement.alpha <- data.full1[,c(11:13)]

psych::alpha(interest.alpha)
psych::alpha(efficacy.in.alpha)
psych::alpha(efficacy.ex.alpha)
psych::alpha(engagement.alpha)

### Results ###

## Table 1 ##
data.mt1 <- subset(data.m, data.m$T==1)
by(data.mt1$age, data.mt1$class, describe)
table(data.mt1$civic, data.mt1$class)
table(data.mt1$party, data.mt1$class)
table(data.mt1$female, data.mt1$class)

## Table 3 ##

by(vio.data, vio.data$class, describe)

tdata.class1 <- subset(vio.data, vio.data$class=="Class 1")
tdata.class2 <- subset(vio.data, vio.data$class=="Class 2")
tdata.class3 <- subset(vio.data, vio.data$class=="Class 3")

# Paired samples t-tests (Deliberation group)
t.test(tdata.class1$respect, tdata.class1$respect2, paired=TRUE)

```

```
t.test(tdata.class1$understanding, tdata.class1$understanding2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$knowledge, tdata.class1$knowledge2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$interest, tdata.class1$interest2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$efficacy.in, tdata.class1$efficacy.in2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$efficacy.ex, tdata.class1$efficacy.ex2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$reflection, tdata.class1$reflection2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$engagement, tdata.class1$engagement2, paired=TRUE)
```

```
t.test(tdata.class1$respect, tdata.class1$respect3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$understanding, tdata.class1$understanding3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$knowledge, tdata.class1$knowledge3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$interest, tdata.class1$interest3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$efficacy.in, tdata.class1$efficacy.in3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$efficacy.ex, tdata.class1$efficacy.ex3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$reflection, tdata.class1$reflection3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class1$engagement, tdata.class1$engagement3, paired=TRUE)
```

```
# Paired samples t-tests (Plenary-only group)
```

```
t.test(tdata.class2$respect, tdata.class2$respect2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$understanding, tdata.class2$understanding2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$knowledge, tdata.class2$knowledge2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$interest, tdata.class2$interest2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$efficacy.in, tdata.class2$efficacy.in2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$efficacy.ex, tdata.class2$efficacy.ex2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$reflection, tdata.class2$reflection2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$engagement, tdata.class2$engagement2, paired=TRUE)
```

```
t.test(tdata.class2$respect, tdata.class2$respect3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$understanding, tdata.class2$understanding3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$knowledge, tdata.class2$knowledge3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$interest, tdata.class2$interest3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$efficacy.in, tdata.class2$efficacy.in3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$efficacy.ex, tdata.class2$efficacy.ex3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$reflection, tdata.class2$reflection3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class2$engagement, tdata.class2$engagement3, paired=TRUE)
```

```
# Paired samples t-tests (Control group)
```

```
t.test(tdata.class3$respect, tdata.class3$respect2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$understanding, tdata.class3$understanding2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$knowledge, tdata.class3$knowledge2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$interest, tdata.class3$interest2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$efficacy.in, tdata.class3$efficacy.in2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$efficacy.ex, tdata.class3$efficacy.ex2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$reflection, tdata.class3$reflection2, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$engagement, tdata.class3$engagement2, paired=TRUE)
```

```
t.test(tdata.class3$respect, tdata.class3$respect3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$understanding, tdata.class3$understanding3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$knowledge, tdata.class3$knowledge3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$interest, tdata.class3$interest3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$efficacy.in, tdata.class3$efficacy.in3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$efficacy.ex, tdata.class3$efficacy.ex3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$reflection, tdata.class3$reflection3, paired=TRUE)
t.test(tdata.class3$engagement, tdata.class3$engagement3, paired=TRUE)
```

```
## Table 4 ##
```

```
by(data.ev, data.ev$class, stat.desc)
```

```
## Figure 3 ##
```

```
vio.data$talkt4t1 <- factor(vio.data$talkt4t1,levels(vio.data$talkt4t1)[c(1,3,2)])
vio.data$talkt3t1 <- factor(vio.data$talkt3t1,levels(vio.data$talkt3t1)[c(1,3,2)])
mosaic(~ class + talkt4t1, data = vio.data, set_labels = list(class = c("Deliberation", "Plenary-only", "Control")),
  shade = FALSE, legend = FALSE, labeling = labeling_values, varnames=FALSE, na.action= na.exclude)
mosaic(~ class + talkt3t1, data = vio.data, set_labels = list(class = c("Class 1", "Class 2", "Class 3")),
  shade = FALSE, legend = FALSE, labeling = labeling_values, varnames=FALSE, na.action= na.exclude)
```

```
## Figure 4 ##
```

```
data.full1$T <- revalue(data.full1$T, c("1" = "T1", "2" = "T3", "3" = "T4"))
data.full1$treat.plot <- revalue(data.full1$class, c("Class 1" = "Deliberation", "Class 2" = "Plenary-only", "Class 3" = "Control"))
```

```
line <- ggplot(data.full1, aes(T, interest, color = treat.plot))
line + stat_summary(fun.y = mean, geom = "point") + stat_summary(fun.y = mean, geom = "line", aes(group =
treat.plot))+
  stat_summary(fun.data=mean_cl_boot, geom = "errorbar", width=0.4) + labs(x = "Time", y = "Mean political
interest") +
  facet_wrap(~treat.plot) + guides(color=FALSE) + theme_bw() + scale_color_manual("treat.plot",
values=c("Deliberation"="Black",
                                                "Plenary-only"="Black",
                                                "Control"="Black"))
```

```
## Figure 5 ##
```

```
mosaic(~ Moderator + Argument + Topic, data = orig.data,shade = FALSE, set_labels = list(Topic =
c("EU","GC")),
  legend = FALSE, labeling = labeling_values,
  varnames=TRUE, na.action= na.exclude)
```

```
## Figure 6 ##
```

```
disc.eu$more.less = factor(disc.eu$more.less,levels(disc.eu$more.less)[c(2,1)])
mosaic(~ Moderator + Theme + more.less, data = disc.eu,shade = FALSE, set_labels = list(more.less =
c("More","Less"), Theme=c("Culture/Identity",
                           "Economy/Finance", "Politics")),
  legend = FALSE, labeling = labeling_values,
  varnames=TRUE, na.action= na.exclude, main = "How much should the member states of the EU
cooperate?")
```

```
disc.gc$pro.con = factor(disc.gc$pro.con,levels(disc.gc$pro.con)[c(2,1)])
mosaic(~ Moderator + Theme + pro.con, data = disc.gc,shade = FALSE, set_labels = list(pro.con =
c("Yes","No"), Theme = c("Ethical", "Political")),
  legend = FALSE, labeling = labeling_values,
  varnames=TRUE, na.action= na.exclude, main="Should we behave more like global citizens?")
```

```
## In-text statistics ##
```

```
# Subjective knowledge gains
```

```
by(data.ev$learneu, data.ev$class, stat.desc)
anova.learneu <- aov(learneu ~ class, data = data.ev)
summary(anova.learneu)
```

```
by(data.ev$learncit, data.ev$class, stat.desc)
anova.learncit <- aov(learncit ~ class, data = data.ev)
summary(anova.learncit)
```



```

# Other evaluative questions
describe(data.ev)

# Differences amongst different parts deliberation treatment

help.data <- melt(data.ev[,c(1:2, 8:11)], id=c("respondent", "class")), measured = c("help.info", "help.delib",
"help.search", "help.plenary"))
help.class1 <- subset(help.data, help.data$class == "Class 1")
help.class1 <- na.omit(help.class1)
help.anova1 <- ezANOVA(data = help.class1, dv = .(value), wid = .(respondent), within = .(variable), detailed =
TRUE, type = 3)
help.anova1 # please see GG (sphericity assumption violated)
pairwise.t.test(help.class1$value, help.class1$variable, paired= TRUE, p.adjust.method="bonferroni")

inter.data <- melt(data.ev[,c(1:2, 12:15)], id=c("respondent", "class")), measured = c("inter.info", "inter.delib",
"inter.search", "inter.plenary"))
inter.class1 <- subset(inter.data, inter.data$class == "Class 1")
inter.class1 <- na.omit(inter.class1)
inter.anova1 <- ezANOVA(data = inter.class1, dv = .(value), wid = .(respondent), within = .(variable), detailed =
TRUE, type = 3)
inter.anova1
pairwise.t.test(inter.class1$value, inter.class1$variable, paired= TRUE, p.adjust.method="bonferroni")

fun.data <- melt(data.ev[,c(1:2, 16:19)], id=c("respondent", "class")), measured = c("fun.info", "fun.delib",
"fun.search", "fun.plenary"))
fun.class1 <- subset(fun.data, fun.data$class == "Class 1")
fun.class1 <- na.omit(fun.class1)
fun.anova1 <- ezANOVA(data = fun.class1, dv = .(value), wid = .(respondent), within = .(variable), detailed =
TRUE, type = 3)
fun.anova1
pairwise.t.test(fun.class1$value, fun.class1$variable, paired= TRUE, p.adjust.method="bonferroni")

### Appendix E: MFA ###

attach(mfa.data)

# Recode variables
mfa.data$listen.1 <- listen.1* -1
mfa.data$listen.2 <- listen.2* -1
mfa.data$listen.3 <- listen.3* -1

mfa.data$interest.1 <- interest.1* -1
mfa.data$interest.2 <- interest.2* -1
mfa.data$interest.3 <- interest.3* -1

mfa.data$time.1 <- time.1* -1
mfa.data$time.2 <- time.2* -1
mfa.data$time.3 <- time.3* -1

mfa.data[,1:18] <- mfa.data[,1:18] + 5

# MFA

mfa.1 <- MFA(mfa.data[,c(1:18)], group=c(6, 6, 6), type=c("s", "s", "s"), ncp=2,
name.group=c("T1", "T2", "T3"))
summary(mfa.1)

plot(mfa.1, choix="var", habillage="group", cex=0.8) # (Figure D.2)

# Scree plot (Figure E.1)

```

```

plot(mfa.1$eig[,1], type="b", xlab = "Component", ylab = "Eigenvalue", axes=FALSE)
axis(1, at = seq(0, 21, by = 1), las=1)
axis(2, at = seq(0, 2.5, by = 0.5), las=2)

# Extraction of factor loadings (see: http://factominer.free.fr/faq/index.html) (Table E.1)
loadings <- sweep(mfa.1$quanti.var$coord,2,sqrt(mfa.1$eig[1:ncol(mfa.1$quanti.var$coord),1]),FUN="/")
loadings

# Cronbach's alpha (Table E.1)
understanding.t1 <- mfa.data[,c(1,3,5)]
respect.t1 <- mfa.data[,c(2,4,6)]
understanding.t2 <- mfa.data[,c(7,9,11)]
respect.t2 <- mfa.data[,c(8,10,12)]
understanding.t3 <- mfa.data[,c(13,15,17)]
respect.t3 <- mfa.data[,c(14,16,18)]

psych::alpha(understanding.t1)
psych::alpha(respect.t1)
psych::alpha(understanding.t2)
psych::alpha(respect.t2)
psych::alpha(understanding.t3)
psych::alpha(respect.t3)

# Calculation of factor score coefficients
mfa.impute <- imputeMFA(mfa.data[,c(1:18)], group = c(6, 6, 6), type=c("s", "s", "s"), ncp=2)
mfa.data1 <- mfa.impute$completeObs # solving the correlation matrix requires no missing data
# NOTE only 2 cases are imputed here.

loadings.matrix <- data.matrix(loadings, rownames.force = NA)
loadings.matrix

mfaMatrix <- cor(mfa.data1[,1:18])
mfaMatrix
inverse <- solve(mfaMatrix)
inverse

factorscores <- inverse %*% loadings.matrix
factorscores # used in calculation of Respect & Understanding (see above)

### Appendix F: Multi-Level Models ###

## Treatment -> DVs ##

detach()
# RESPECT
plot(density(data.full1$respect))
gls.respect <- gls(respect ~ 1, data = data.full1,
  method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.respect <- lme(respect ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML", na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.respect, base.respect)

respect.m1 <- lmer(respect ~ T * treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML =
FALSE, na.action = na.omit)
summary(respect.m1)

respect.m1.ci <- profile(respect.m1)
confint(respect.m1.ci)
lattice::xyplot(respect.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(respect.m1))) # normality of level-1 residuals

```

```

qqnorm(residuals(respect.m1))
qqline(residuals(respect.m1))
plot(respect.m1) # homoscedasticity & linearity

# UNDERSTANDING
gls.under <- gls(understanding ~ 1, data = data.full1,
               method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.under <- lme(understanding ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML",
na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.under, base.under)

under.m1 <- lmer(understanding ~ T * treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML =
FALSE, na.action = na.omit)
summary(under.m1)

under.m1.ci <- profile(under.m1)
confint(under.m1.ci, level=.9)
lattice::xyplot(under.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(under.m1)))
qqnorm(residuals(under.m1))
qqline(residuals(under.m1))
plot(under.m1)

# TALKING
glm.talk <- glm(talking ~ 1, data = data.full1,
               family=binomial, na.action = na.omit)
base.talk <- glmmPQL(talking ~ 1, random = ~1|respondent, data = data.full1,
                    family=binomial, na.action = na.omit)
summary(glm.talk)
summary(base.talk)

talk.m1 <- glmmPQL(talking ~ T * treatment + female + civic, random = ~1 | respondent, data = data.full1,
family=binomial, na.action = na.omit)
summary(talk.m1) # plenary*T3 neg. sig. at .1 level

## Treatment -> Mediators

# KNOWLEDGE
describe(data.full1$knowledge)
plot(density(data.full1$knowledge))
gls.know <- gls(knowledge ~ 1, data = data.full1,
               method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.know <- lme(knowledge ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML", na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.know, base.know)

know.m1 <- lmer(knowledge ~ T * treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML =
FALSE, na.action = na.omit)
summary(know.m1)

know.m1.ci <- profile(know.m1)
confint(know.m1.ci)

lattice::xyplot(know.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(know.m1)))
qqnorm(residuals(know.m1))
qqline(residuals(know.m1))
plot(know.m1)

```

```

# INTEREST
plot(density(data.full1$interest))
gls.inter <- gls(interest ~ 1, data = data.full1,
               method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.inter <- lme(interest ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML", na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.inter, base.inter)

inter.m0 <- lmer(interest ~ T * treatment + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML = FALSE, na.action =
na.omit)
summary(inter.m0)
inter.m0.ci <- profile(inter.m0)
confint(inter.m0.ci, level=.999)

inter.m1 <- lmer(interest ~ T*treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML = FALSE,
na.action = na.omit)
summary(inter.m1)
inter.m1.ci <- profile(inter.m1)
confint(inter.m1.ci)

lattice::xyplot(inter.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(inter.m1)))
qqnorm(residuals(inter.m1))
qqline(residuals(inter.m1))
plot(inter.m1)

# INTERNAL EFFICACY
plot(density(data.full1$efficacy.in))
boxplot(data.full1$efficacy.in, horizontal =TRUE)
gls.effin <- gls(efficacy.in ~ 1, data = data.full1,
               method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.effin <- lme(efficacy.in ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML", na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.effin, base.effin)

effin.m1 <- lmer(efficacy.in ~ T * treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML =
FALSE, na.action = na.omit)
summary(effin.m1)

effin.m1.ci <- profile(effin.m1)
confint(effin.m1.ci, level=.999)

lattice::xyplot(effin.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(effin.m1)))
qqnorm(residuals(effin.m1))
qqline(residuals(effin.m1))
plot(effin.m1)

# EXTERNAL EFFICACY
gls.effex <- gls(efficacy.ex ~ 1, data = data.full1,
               method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.effex <- lme(efficacy.ex ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML", na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.effex, base.effex)

effex.m1 <- lmer(efficacy.ex ~ T * treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML =
FALSE, na.action = na.omit)
summary(effex.m1)

effex.m1.ci <- profile(effex.m1)
confint(effex.m1.ci, level=.999)

```

```

lattice::xyplot(effex.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(effex.m1)))
qqnorm(residuals(effex.m1))
qqline(residuals(effex.m1))
plot(effex.m1)

# REFLECTION
describe(data.full1$reflection)
plot(density(data.full1$reflection))

data.full1$non.refl <- 10 -data.full1$reflection
plot(density(data.full1$non.refl))
stat.desc(data.full1$non.refl)

refl.poisson <- glmmPQL(non.refl ~ T + treatment + T:treatment+ female + civic, random = ~1|respondent,
family=poisson, data = data.full1,
na.action = na.omit)
summary(refl.poisson)

refl.quasi <- glmmPQL(non.refl ~ T + treatment + T:treatment+ female + civic, random = ~1|respondent,
family=quasipoisson, data = data.full1,
na.action = na.omit)
summary(refl.quasi)

refl.NBI <- gamlssNP(non.refl ~ T *treatment + female + civic, random = 1 | data.nbi$respondent,
data = data.nbi, family=NBI, mixture="gq")
summary(refl.NBI)
plot(refl.NBI)

# ENGAGEMENT
gls.engag <- gls(engagement ~ 1, data = data.full1,
method="ML", na.action = na.omit)
base.engag <- lme(engagement ~ 1, random= ~1 | respondent, data=data.full1, method="ML",
na.action=na.omit)
anova(gls.engag, base.engag)

engag.m1 <- lmer(engagement ~ T * treatment + female + civic + (1 | respondent), data = data.full1, REML =
FALSE, na.action = na.omit)
summary(engag.m1)

engag.m1.ci <- profile(engag.m1)
confint(engag.m1.ci, level=.999)

lattice::xyplot(engag.m1.ci, aspect = 1.3)

plot(density(residuals(engag.m1)))
qqnorm(residuals(engag.m1))
qqline(residuals(engag.m1))
plot(engag.m1)

```