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COMMUNICATION COTERMINAL PROGRAM
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AUSTRALIA DELIBERATES 2001 DELIBERATIVE POLL

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
IN AN ETHNICALLY DIVIDED SPACE

It is the fundamental right of every citizen living in a democracy to have a say.
It is a fundamental responsibility of every citizen to make that an informed say.
It is the responsibility of the rest of us to listen.
-Australia Deliberates: Reconciliation—Where From Here Final Report (Ryan 2001)

ABSTRACT

In February of 2001, Australia hosted its second national Deliberative Poll titled, *Australia Deliberates: Reconciliation-Where from Here?* As a social experiment, this Australian Deliberative Poll aimed to gauge the opinion of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous representatives on Reconciliation. Australian Reconciliation is a national cause in search of attaining cultural harmony and equality amongst its Aboriginal and Non-Indigenous communities. This paper is a case study of the 2001 Australian Deliberative Poll. The goal of this analysis is to answer the following questions: Can deliberation change political attitudes historically rooted within ethnocentric social paradigms? Does it matter who is present in the room during deliberation? In other words, must certain individuals be present in order to affect the way attitudes are shaped and modified? The results of this study confirm that deliberation can and does change the political attitudes of individuals even when the issues being discussed are sensitive to social prejudice. The data also supports the notion that representation does matter in deliberation, especially if the public policy decisions being discussed directly affect members of historically disadvantaged groups.

THE DELIBERATIVE POLL®: A CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Deliberation has long been extolled as a key ingredient for any democratic process. Deliberation distinguishes itself as a social process rather than just a form of communication by providing individuals the opportunity to revise and modify their opinions in response to social interaction. While political opinions based on discussion and reflection seem like the most ideal, practicality has led to a different reality for today's democracies (Elster 1998). As time and attention transformed into commodities, political values have comparatively begun to decay in today's society and attitudes now rise from very little thought and policy evaluation (Luskin 1987, Delli Carpini & Keeter 1996, Price 1999).

Lack of time and information overload caused by market driven technology and media systems have further hindered democratic ideals (Iyengar & McGrady 2007). This market approach has inherently driven individuals to use heuristics or 'gut rationality' as substitutes for factual information (Popkin 1994). According to Downs, it is not only rational but also logical to be uninformed especially when the payoffs of being politically active are trivial (1957). Thus implying that the opportunity cost of being politically informed in today's society is simply too high.

But what would happen if opportunity costs were lowered? This is a question Deliberative Polling has tried to advance upon since its introduction in 1994. Developed by Stanford University Professor James Fishkin, the Deliberative Poll enables academics to take an ideological snapshot of not only what the public thinks about a given topic, but what the public in aggregate *would think* if they had the time and resources to become better informed (Fishkin 1995). Deliberative Polls provide an ideal democratic forum conducive for deliberation, learning, weighing of competing arguments, interaction with a diverse set of people and a consideration of different values and opinions—ultimately resulting in the formation of an “enlightened preference” (Fishkin 1991).

The basic design of this social experiment includes an initial questionnaire capturing the baseline political attitudes of a random sample of individuals within a population. Second is the distribution of balanced and informative briefing materials presenting arguments for and against specific policy proposals. After completing a questionnaire on their policy attitudes, participants are invited to attend a deliberative conference held for the entirety of one weekend. At the conference, each individual is randomly placed in a small group moderated by a trained facilitator whose purpose is to establish a favorable environment for deliberation.

The 2001 National Australian Deliberative Poll held in the Old Parliament House in Canberra throughout the weekend of February 16th-18th addressed various issues of Aboriginal Reconciliation and Australian history. Notably, both these issues are of great importance to Australian public policy given the controversial national disagreement regarding the continent's colonial past. The most prominent perspective (sustained by Australian law and official traditionalists for nearly 200 years) presents Australia's colonial past as a European settlement of uninhabited land—a *terra nullius* (McHoul & Rapely 2001). However, a second account of the past fervently counters this notion of *terra nullius*, and alternatively describes European settlement as an invasion and displacement of the continent's original inhabitants (Reconciliation Australia 2009). The discrepancy between both historical accounts is reflective of the highly politicized and divisive state of social relations in Australia.

This inability for Indigenous and Non-Indigenous communities to reach a common ground has led to continual disruptions hindering the establishment of salient public policies for Australian Reconciliation. Many of the potential solutions to the conflicts between the general population and indigenous communities are embedded within a latticework of politics and social statuses—this 2001 Australian Deliberative Poll addresses Reconciliation through both perspectives.

The Australian Deliberative Poll process began with the compilation of 1454 initial survey responses from a sample representative of the Australian population. All voting age Australians (with telephones) had an equal opportunity of participating in the Deliberative Poll (Ryan 2001). As a whole, the individuals surveyed formed a microcosm of the Australian electorate—implying that the concerns voiced in deliberation were reflective of the concerns held by the general public.

Of these 1454 respondents, a total of 344 Non-Indigenous Australians and 46 Indigenous Australians of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent gathered for the Deliberative Poll titled “Australia Deliberates: Reconciliation-Where from here?” These participants were randomly divided into 25 small deliberative groups of approximately 15 members each. From these 25, 15 groups were designed to have no Indigenous representatives, while the remaining 10 groups consisted of a heterogeneous mix of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people. All participants were placed in groups by random assignment; Non-Indigenous participants were randomly placed in all 25 groups while Indigenous representatives were randomly placed within the latter set of ten groups. The randomization of group assignment was used to provide assurance that Non-Indigenous participants in all groups—with or without Aboriginals—differed minimally. All participants remained in the same small group from the conference’s start until its finish.

Besides deliberating, small groups also attended plenary sessions throughout the weekend providing participants with the opportunity to question the opinions of experts and policy makers. Various third-party advisors reviewed the briefing materials used in preparation for the plenary sessions over a period of six months in an effort to create a neutral document that did not advocate for a specific view. The Advisory Groups for this project included a diverse set of government ministers and advisors such as: Australia’s Prime Minister at the time, Bob Hawke; the Chair of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), Geoff Clark, and the former Chair of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, Evelyn Scott. Ian Sinclair, former National Party Leader

and Speaker of the House, along with Barry Jones, former MP and ALP Federal President, both served as moderators for this Australian Deliberative Poll.

At the end of the deliberative weekend after becoming better informed, after hearing the voiced opinions from fellow small group members, after being involved in plenary sessions with politicians and experts alike, all Deliberative Poll participants individually and confidentially responded once again to the same questionnaire that was presented to them at the start of the process.

While most Deliberative Polls consist of just one undifferentiated treatment, this project is unique in its use of ethnically divided groups. This design thus allowed for the embedment of a social experiment within the Deliberative Poll itself. The benefit of this particular design is that it allows for a measure and comparison in the movement of those groups *with* Indigenous Australians and those groups without. In this way, bias caused by indigenous presence is controlled for.

METHODOLOGY

Raw data collected from the questionnaires distributed pre and post-deliberation was used for this statistical analysis. Deliberative Poll participants were split into two groups; Groups 1 through 15 were categorized as the control group and groups 16 to 25 were categorized as the treatment group. The treatment in this experiment was the inclusion of Indigenous representatives in the deliberative small-groups. The control had no Indigenous representatives.

A total of nine indices were created. Each index is composed of two or more statistically related survey questions. The purpose for these indices is to provide a glimpse of how attitudes changed regarding particular Reconciliation policies. Included in this study are six political attitude indices, two opinion indices and one knowledge index. The attitude indices address survey questions targeting public policy action. Opinion indices address an individual's opinion towards the

importance of Reconciliation and the status of Aboriginals in general society. Lastly, the knowledge index includes all questions related to factual information about the Australian government and the continent's history.

Every question included in this study was linearly recoded into a [0,1] interval where 0 marked opposition and 1 marked support for Reconciliation. The Knowledge Index in particular recodes correct answers as 1 and incorrect responses as 0. The use of this [0,1] interval is applied for clarity in comparison. In particular, the fundamental edifice of this statistical analysis is the comparison between Time1 (pre-deliberation) survey responses and Time2 (post-deliberation) responses. The difference between Time1 and Time2 allows us to statistically measure the direction and magnitude of the opinion change following deliberation.

The net change of opinion or attitude simply refers to the difference between pre and post-deliberation means: $X_2 - X_1$. This difference can be either positive or negative but since our interest lies in the magnitude of the change, the absolute value is noted as the net change of opinion, $|X_2 - X_1|$. The X_2 represents the mean value of a particular index at Time2. Accordingly, X_1 represents the mean value of a particular index at Time1.

HYPOTHESES

The purpose of this study is to analyze the shifts in political attitudes and opinions that resulted from Australia's 2001 national Deliberative Poll. In particular, this paper intends to establish whether or not any systematic differences exist between the shifts of opinion incurred by the control group (the 15 groups without Aboriginal representation) and the shifts of opinion found in the treatment group (the 10 groups with Aboriginals). This analysis will approach these research aims by using statistical analysis to examine the shifts in all indices—(I) The Knowledge Index (II) Opinion Indices and (III) Policy Indices.

These indices are all analyzed along the following hypotheses: First, we hypothesize that statistically significant shifts in attitude, opinion and knowledge will emerge at the individual and aggregate level. Based on previous Deliberative Poll results, we postulate that (1) learning will occur (2) opinions will become more pro-Reconciliation and (3) attitudinal shifts will become more supportive of Aboriginal policies. We also hypothesize that the presence (or absence) of Indigenous people will lead to a systematic difference in post-deliberation responses between the treatment and control group. We expect Non-Indigenous participants in the treatment group to become more supportive of Reconciliation policies compared to those participants in the control group.

In deciphering the effect of Indigenous presence during deliberation, this study will involve tracking the responses submitted by all Non-Indigenous participants. The reason why we focus particularly on the movement of Non-Indigenous opinion is because the results of the initial questionnaire showed that all Indigenous people unanimously favor pro-Reconciliation policies. Given such strong convictions, it became clear that changes in Indigenous views would be minimal. After reviewing post-deliberation results, this assumption proved to be correct. Comparing pre and post-deliberation responses shows that Indigenous Australians maintained the same positions they held at the start of the deliberation process. Conclusively, the changes from Time1 to Time2 in Indigenous opinion were minor and not statistically significant (see Appendix 2). The fact that Indigenous opinion remained virtually still with a high degree of agreement led us to believe that an attitudinal threshold existed and that including Aboriginal responses in the analysis would mask the underlying attitudinal change resulting from the experiment's design. For this reason, the following results focus on the movement of political attitudes and opinions of just Non-Indigenous participants.

RESULTS

Index I: Knowledge

Existent academic research on Deliberative Polling links information gain with changes in political attitudes (Fishkin 1995). This information gain refers to the knowledge Deliberative Poll participants attain after reading briefing documents, participating in plenary sessions and hearing the opinions of fellow group members during deliberation.

This Knowledge Index is derived from a set of factual multiple-choice questions included in the distributed questionnaires. This index includes questions about the names of government ministers, the results of important court cases, and the specific year legal amendments were passed or introduced. All the information needed to answer these questions was included in the briefing material distributed to all participants. The following charts describe the movement that occurred in knowledge gain comparing pre and post-deliberation results:

Knowledge Questions: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	0.15915	Positive	Yes***
Control	0.18453	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	0.19241	Positive	Yes***

*** $p \leq .01$ ** $p \leq .05$ * $p \leq .10$

Knowledge: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Treatment Group	.5199	.7123	.19241***
Control Group	.5168	.7014	.18453***
T-C	.00303	.01091	.00788

*** $p \leq .01$ ** $p \leq .05$ * $p \leq .10$

Post-deliberation results of this Knowledge Index confirm that levels of basic knowledge

about Australian politics increased significantly from the start to finish of the Deliberative Poll. Therefore, we can claim with some degree of certainty that there may be an underlying correlation between changes in political knowledge and changes in attitude. The most interesting finding from this Knowledge Index is the fact that the difference in knowledge gain between the treatment and control group was not statistically significant (the difference of differences; the third value in the (T2-T1) column in the chart above). This result is important because it means that both the treatment and the control groups gained about the same amount of knowledge from the process. Most importantly, this finding rejects the argument that a difference in knowledge is the driving force behind any attitude/opinion change between our treatment and control groups. Furthermore, the fact that the gain in knowledge in both groups was approximately of the same magnitude, speaks for the value of randomization in the experiment's design. This provides a measure of internal validity verifying that Non-Indigenous participants in the treatment group are not significantly different from those in the control, at least not in their ability to assimilate political information.

Index II: Opinions

A. Reconciliation Opinions

As expected, our first hypothesis is supported by the data. Virtually all post-deliberation opinions proved to be statistically different from pre-deliberation responses. The index mean at Time2 increased for all participants, signaling that deliberation gave rise to a more supportive outlook towards matters of Reconciliation. Accordingly, we also find support for our second hypothesis. Post-deliberation results show that the net change in opinion for the treatment group was greater than that of the control group. The difference between the shifts of opinion (the difference of differences) between the treatment and control proved to be statistically significant. This means that the amount of support for Reconciliation in the treatment group was statistically greater than that of the control group (see third value of (T2-T1) in Difference of Differences chart).

Reconciliation: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.13387	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.13599	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	.18606	Positive	Yes***

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

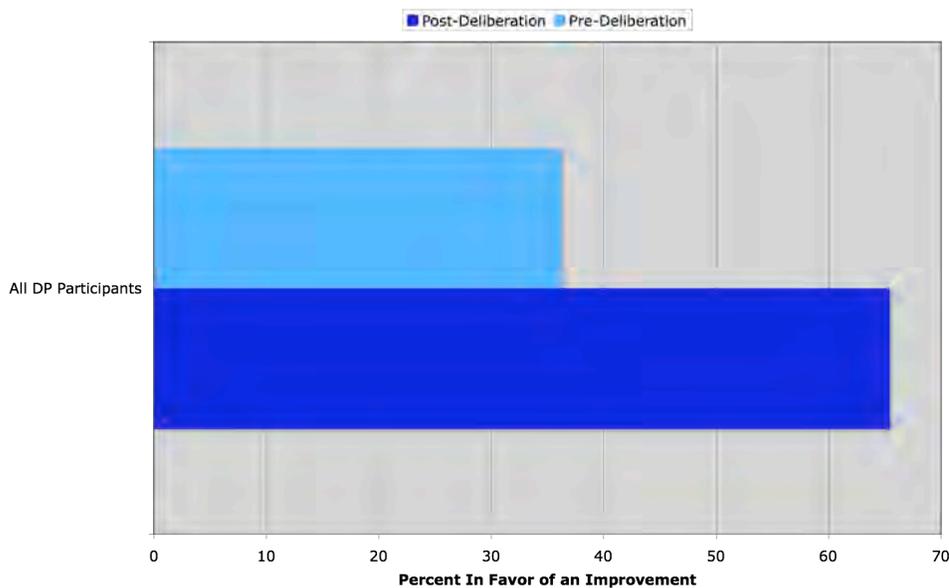
Reconciliation: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Treatment Group	.6202	.8068	.18606***
Control Group	.6244	.7640	.13599***
T-C	-.0042	.04278	.05007***

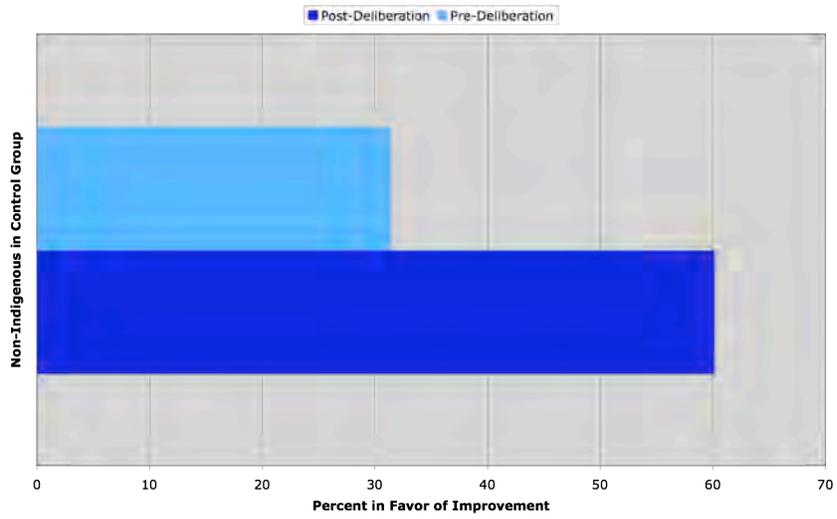
***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Conclusively, post-deliberation results show that Non-Indigenous participants came to perceive Reconciliation as an issue of greater importance than that which they had originally perceived at the start of the deliberation. This result implies that interaction with Indigenous participants elicited dramatic differences between pre and post-deliberation opinions toward Reconciliation. Notably, the treatment group shows not only a higher net change but it also shows the highest level of support for Reconciliation overall.

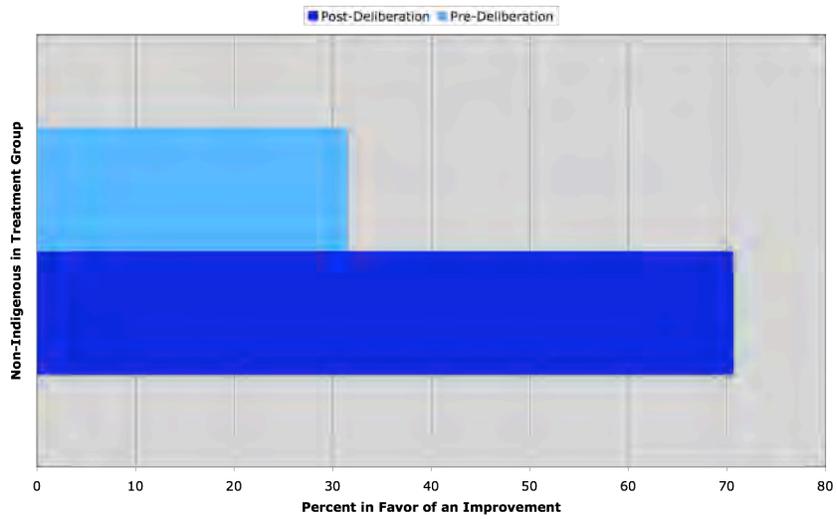
Importance of Improving Relations Between the Two Communities



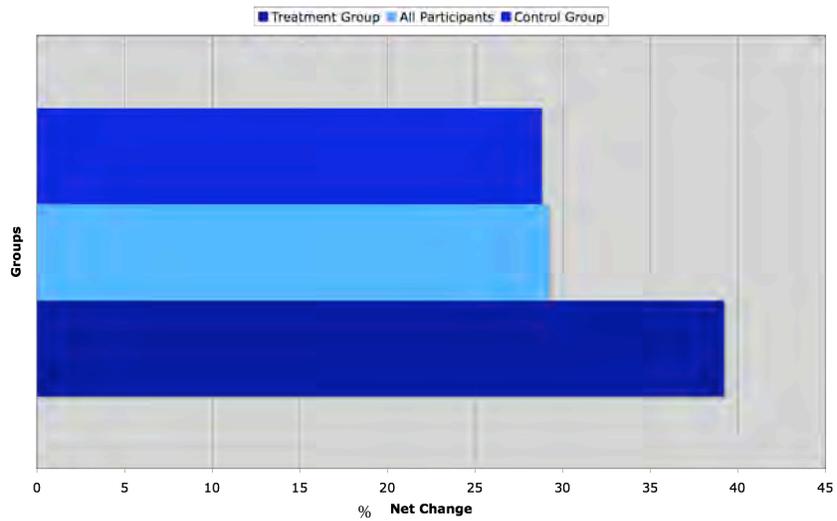
Importance of Improving Relations Between the Two Communities



Importance of Improving Relations Between the Two Communities



Comparison of Net Change



B. Opinions of Comparative Disadvantage

The results derived from the Comparison Index show that Non-Indigenous participants ended up with a more negative view towards the level of inequality in living conditions between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous communities. A higher mean at Time2 means that Aboriginals are perceived to be comparatively more disadvantaged than other Australians in areas including health, housing, education and income, amongst others. The table below demonstrates that all Time1 means increased to values closer to 1 at Time2. The importance of this table comes from its ability to show that Non-Indigenous participants believed that the disadvantages faced by Aboriginals were of greater extremity than they originally had thought at Time1.

Comparison: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.08302	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.0734	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	0.15857	Positive	Yes***

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Comparison: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Treatment Group	.7059	.8452	.15857***
Control Group	.7695	.8203	.07340***
T-C	-.0636*	.0249	.08517***

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Comparing the results of the control group with those of the treatment group once again reveals a greater magnitude shift in the treatment group. Differentiating the shifts between treatment and control, we find that the treatment group demonstrated statistically significant greater shifts in opinion (see Difference of Differences).

Index III: Policies

A. Symbolic Gestures/Formal Acknowledgments

Australian Reconciliation is currently debated along two lines—between adopting a symbolic versus a practical reconciliation. Those in support of a symbolic approach believe in the healing that may occur in response to formal acknowledgements of Australia’s Indigenous past (Huggins 2003). For proponents of a practical reconciliation, moving forward and improving living conditions as well as enhancing overall wellbeing is not dependent on the past (Muldoon 2003).

“Symbolic” gestures of reconciliation are generally perceived by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to be the foundation of enduring reconciliation (Aboriginal History 2008). In accordance with this belief, we find that by the end of the deliberative weekend, all participating Australians similarly believed that formal acknowledgements were necessary for the progress of Reconciliation. This is demonstrated by the positive shift in attitude (the higher mean at Time2) among all groups.

Symbolic Gestures /Formal Acknowledgements : All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.12553	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.12117	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	.19008	Positive	Yes***

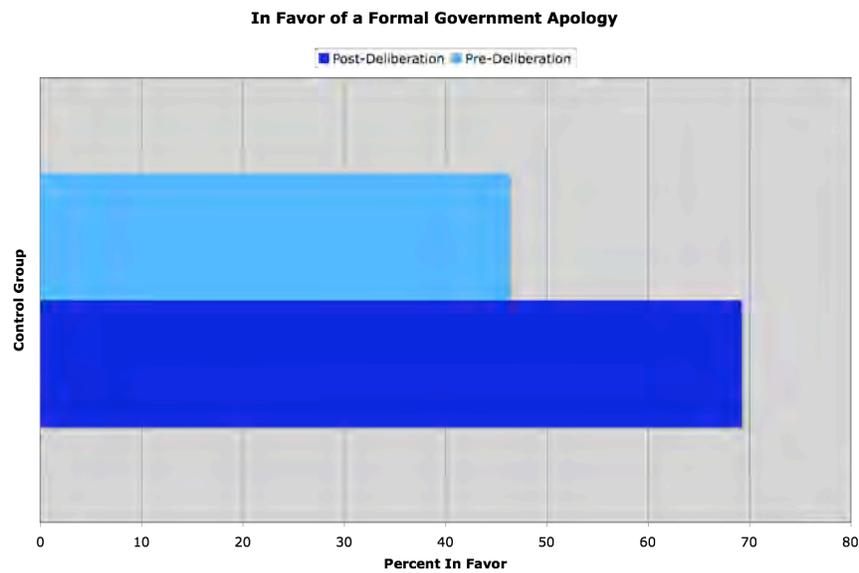
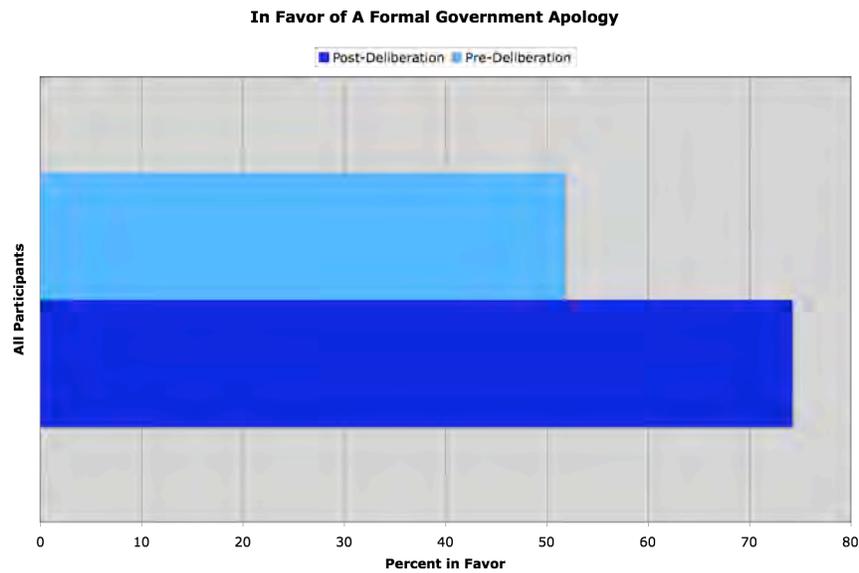
***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

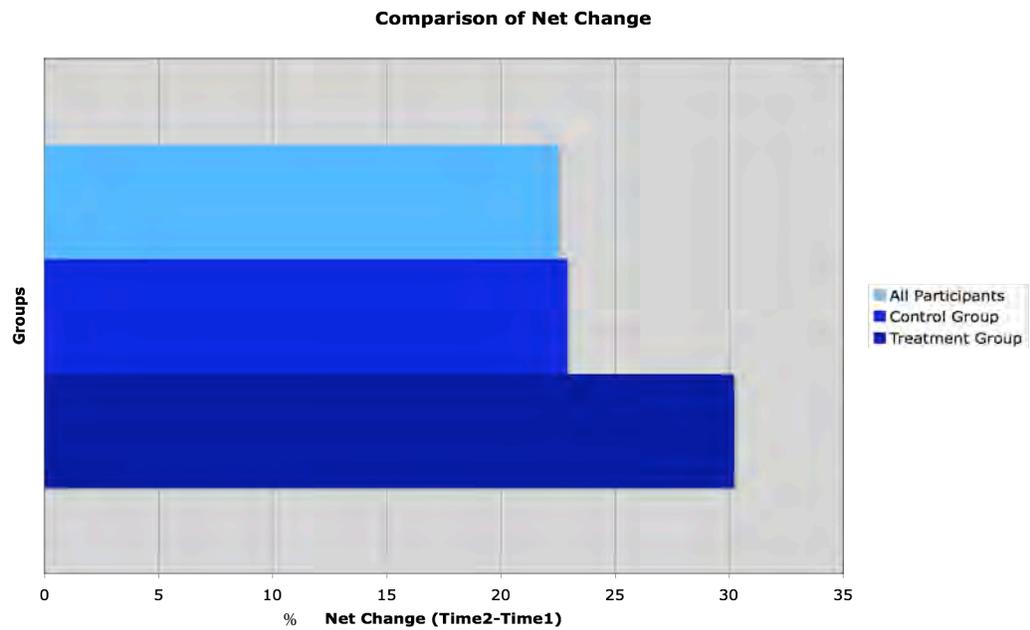
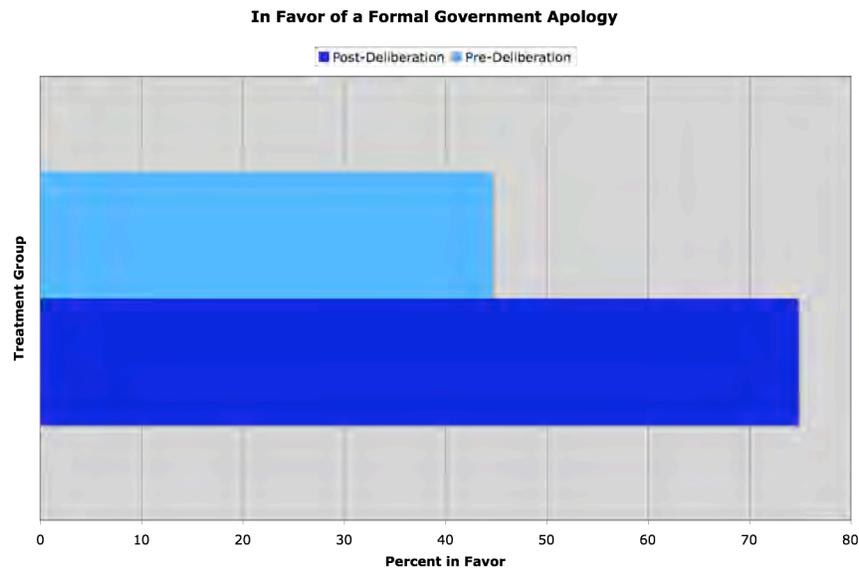
Symbolic /Formal Acknowledgements: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Treatment Group	.5606	.7494	.19008***
Control Group	.5925	.7104	.12117***
T-C	-.03190	.03904	.06891**

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Included in these formal acknowledgements are: the acknowledgement of being unfairly treated in the past, the formal acknowledgement of Aboriginals as the original land owners and a formal government apology (particularly the apology desired is in reference to the taking of children by force away from their families and placing them in state institutions during a period of Australian history known as the Stolen Generation).





As shown by the graphs above, support for an official government apology increased substantially for all participants. Additionally, all shifts were statistically significant. Those in the treatment group witnessed the greatest magnitude change from Time1 to Time2 in favor of a government apology. Accordingly, the treatment group's support for a formal government apology was also found to be substantially greater than that of the control.

Education

Fundamentally understanding and recognizing the history of Australia's Indigenous people is another central point of Australian Reconciliation (Informaworld Publications 2008). Education is a particularly important aspect of Reconciliation as it is considered directly related to the ability to take control of one's life and the opportunity to progress (Human Rights & Equal Opportunity Commission 1997). The adoption of school programs inclusive of Australia's Aboriginal history, recognizing the impact Indigenous people have had on the history of the continent is viewed as an effective approach towards reconciling the past. In recent years disagreement on the topic has incited a renewed desire to focus on understanding the past in order to reconcile the future. The following charts show the effect of deliberation on these attitudes toward education reform:

Education: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.09466	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.09253	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	0.14078	Positive	Yes***

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

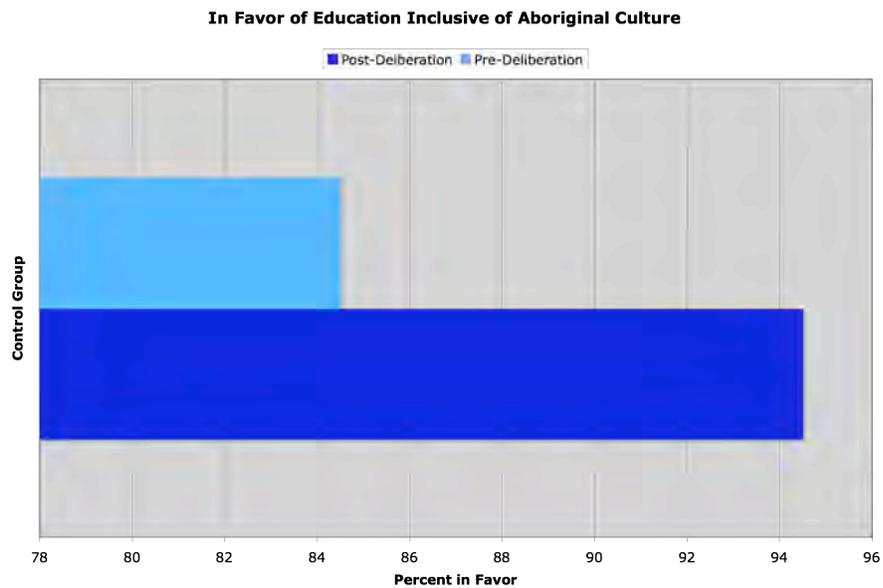
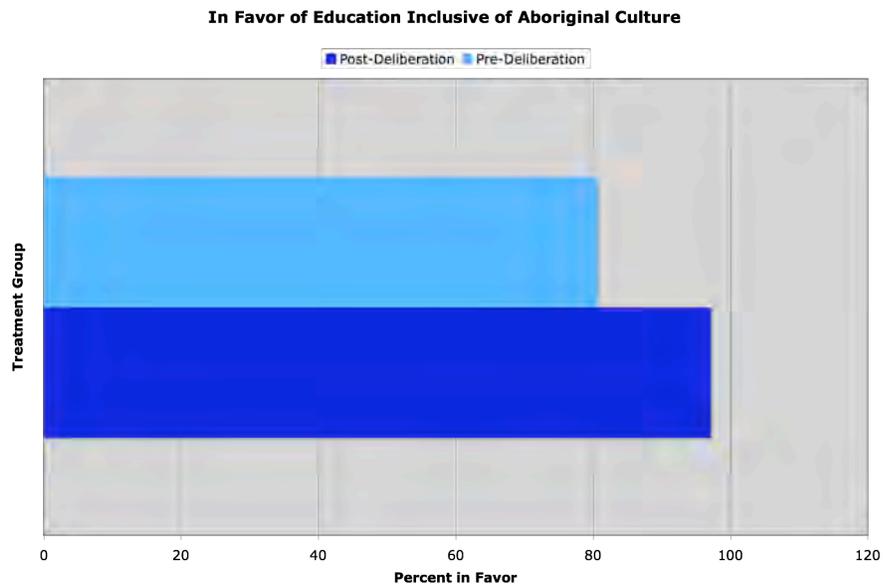
Education: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

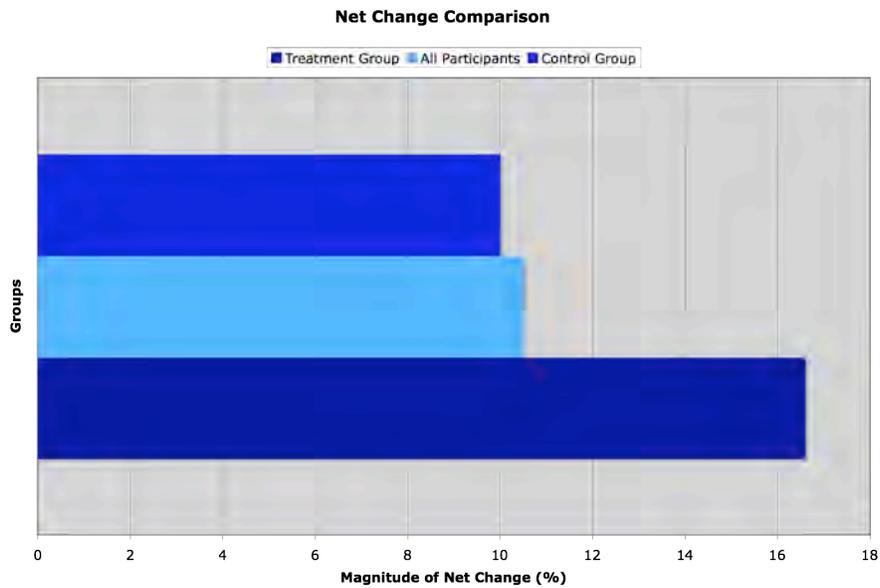
	T1	T2	T2-T1
Treatment Group	.8083	.9490	.14078***
Control Group	.8415	.9346	.09253***
T-C	-.03320	.01445	.04824*

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

The Indigenous participants surveyed for this Deliberative Poll were unanimous in their desire for the integration of Indigenous culture in Australia's education system. Our Education Index at post-deliberation shows that Non-Indigenous Australians also shared this advocacy for a

reformed and inclusive education system. All participants showed a positive shift towards the value of 1, indicating greater support for education including Aboriginal culture and history. Once again, the perspectives of the Non-Indigenous in the treatment group showed the highest attitude shift in favor of an Aboriginal-inclusive system of education. In comparing attitudinal shifts between the treatment and control, it is important to note that the difference in the magnitude shift from Time1 to Time2 is once again statistically greater for those in the treatment group (see Difference of Differences).





These high levels of agreement in favor of a more inclusive education system provides an unanimous decision highlighting a perspective that views education as a critical component in the pursuit of a mutually inclusive Australia. Although a high proportion of participants came into the deliberative process already agreeing with these education reforms, post-deliberation results show an indisputable rise in consensus and thus a stronger belief in favor of addressing education as an integral part of the overall framework of Reconciliation.

Employment/Finance

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Indigenous Australians are almost three times more likely to be unemployed (20.0% unemployment) compared to non-Indigenous Australians (7.6%) (ABS 2001). Escalating unemployment rates are not only harmful for Indigenous populations, but they also affect overall economic welfare due to the financial burden passed onto the Australian government to sustain a country with such significant employment disparities (Taylor & Hunter 1998). Rather than finding jobs for all Indigenous people, a more sustainable solution proposed by many politicians is to build a social infrastructure that helps Indigenous Australians obtain economic independence. Doing so would help the economy establish a parity between the

Indigenous and Non-Indigenous workforce (Altman 1991). Experts believe that if Indigenous unemployment was reduced to the same level as that of the rest of the population, economic and social payoffs would likely result.

These issues of financial independence and improvement in Aboriginal employment are consolidated into one index—Employment/Finance. In comparing pre-deliberation attitudes with post-deliberation political stands, we find statistically significant greater support for government assistance in Aboriginal employment and financial independence. As before, the Non-Indigenous participants in the treatment group saw the greatest magnitude shift in favor of policies advocating for economic independence. Additionally, following the already established pattern, the net change from Time1 to Time2 proved to be statistically greater for the treatment group compared to the control.

Government Help/Finance: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.09786	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.09402	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	0.15051	Positive	Yes***

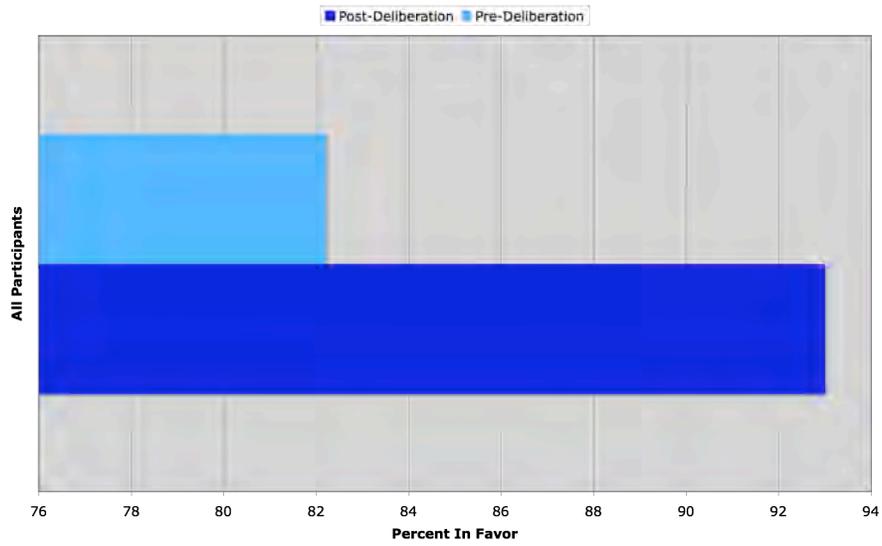
***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .1

Government Finance: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

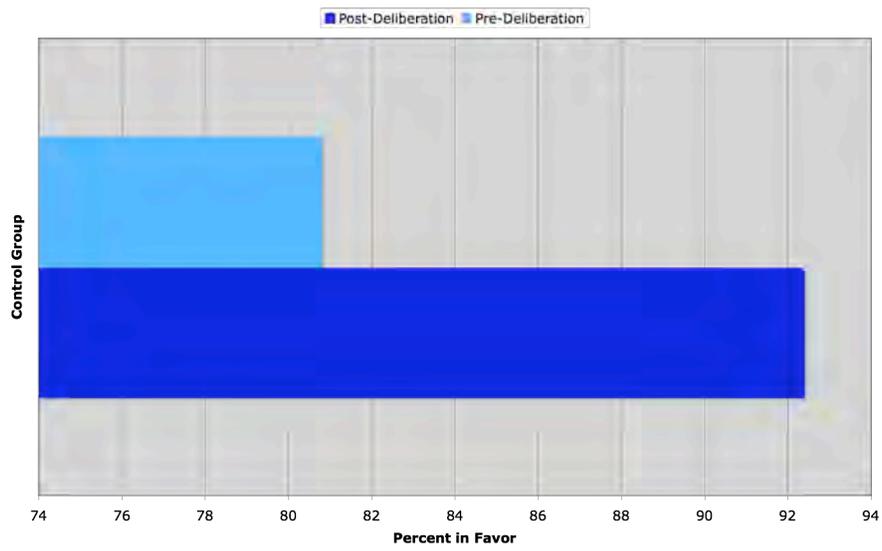
	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.7425	.8837	.15051**
Control Group	.7689	.8595	.09402***
T-C	-.02644	.02415	.05649*

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

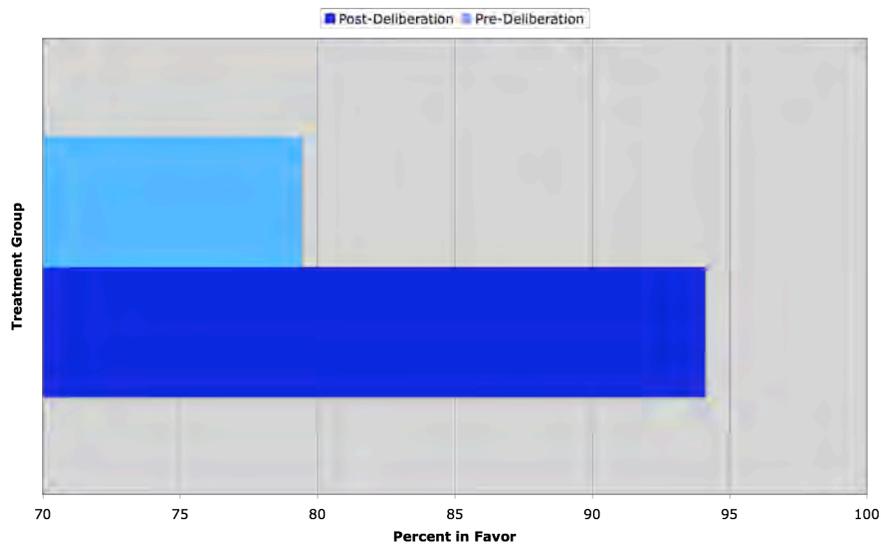
In Favor of Helping Aboriginals Attain Financial Independence

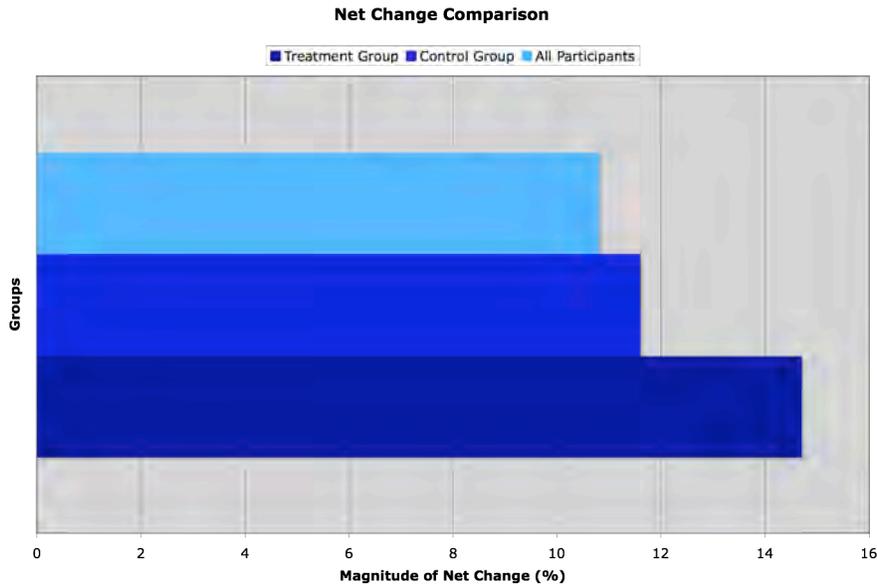


In Favor of Government Helping Aboriginals Attain Financial Independence



In Favor of Government Helping Aboriginals Attain Financially Independence





As is shown in the above graphs, a little more than 94% of the treatment group believed that the government should help Aboriginals become financially independent. This is a 14.7 percent increase compared to pre-deliberation sentiment. These specific priorities in funding across all participants highlights a desire to see government assistance channeled towards helping Indigenous Australians help themselves (Ryan 2001).

Legal

A significant proportion of the Australian population still maintain an assimilation-based approach towards Aboriginal affairs. Proponents of this assimilationist approach believe that Australia should be ‘one single nation with a single set of laws for all peoples’—regardless of race or culture (Ross & Pickering 2002). On one hand, such a system would establish an equitable legal infrastructure and would provide equal access to education and employment. On the other hand, the problem with this approach is that ‘equality’ inherently implies submitting to mainstream cultural practices. Naturally, Australian Aboriginals fervently resist these policies, preferring to maintain their native culture and traditions (Castile 1998).

Reflecting this general sentiment, Indigenous Australians involved in this experiment voiced a desire for concrete legal structures including special seats in parliament for Indigenous Australians

and the establishment of an integrated legal system combining indigenous and dominant culture into Australian law. All shifts from Time1 to Time2 were positive and statistically significant. As expected, the treatment group showed the largest magnitude change

Legal Privileges: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.12018	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.1225	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	0.19892	Positive	Yes***

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Legal: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.5106	.7129	.19892***
Control Group	.5172	.6370	.1225***
T-C	-.00652	.07591**	.07642*

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

After deliberation, about half of the participants believed Aboriginals should have special seats in Parliament. Yet, there was in general more support for a two-fold legal structure. This is demonstrated by the shift in support from 69 percent to 87 percent by all participants in favor of a legal system that allows for a general Australian law and a set of Indigenous-specific laws. Overall, our Legal Index saw a positive directional shift towards the value of 1. In particular, the treatment group had the greatest positive shift at a statistically significant level. As before, this positive shift in attitude was statistically greater for the treatment group compared to the control.

Individual Policy Questions (All Participants)

Question	% Time I	% Time II	% Difference
13. In favor of Aboriginal seats in Parliament	45	50	5
14. In favor of a Two law system	69.1	87.7	18.6

Native Land Titles/Compensation

Native land titles are by far the most controversial and legally battled aspect of Australian Reconciliation to date. As land legislation and policies varied from state to state, rights to native land claims have not only been ambiguous but difficult to prove and validate. In 1971 Justice Blackburn ruled that Australia was a *terra nullius* before the arrival of European explorers; thereby denying any native land titles to Australian Aboriginals. In 1976, the Federal Parliament of Australia passed the Aboriginal Land Rights Act, allowing Aboriginals in the Northern Territory the right to claim legal titles over their traditional territories (Flannery 1994). One of the most important cases for Aboriginal native land titles took place in 1992, when the decision was taken to the High Court of Australia in the Mabo Case. The resolution of the case declared Justice Blackburn’s previous ruling of Australia as a *terra nullius* to be invalid (Aboriginal History 2008).

Our Government Compensation Index consists of questions addressing the granting of native land titles, a treaty that agrees to provide these land titles under certain conditions and the granting of financial compensation. Statistical analysis of this Government Compensation Index shows that all participants reported an overall support for granting native Aboriginals land titles. All participants exhibited this positive directional shift as a whole. In line with the pattern that has emerged in every index thus far, the treatment group procured the greatest net change in attitudinal

shift from Time1 to Time2 in favor of government compensation. This shift was statistically greater than the magnitude shift of the control group (see Difference of Differences).

Government Compensation: All Participants vs. Control vs. Treatment

	Magnitude Change (Time2 – Time1)	Movement	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.10076	Positive	Yes***
Control Group	.0892	Positive	Yes ***
Treatment Group	0.16493	Positive	Yes***

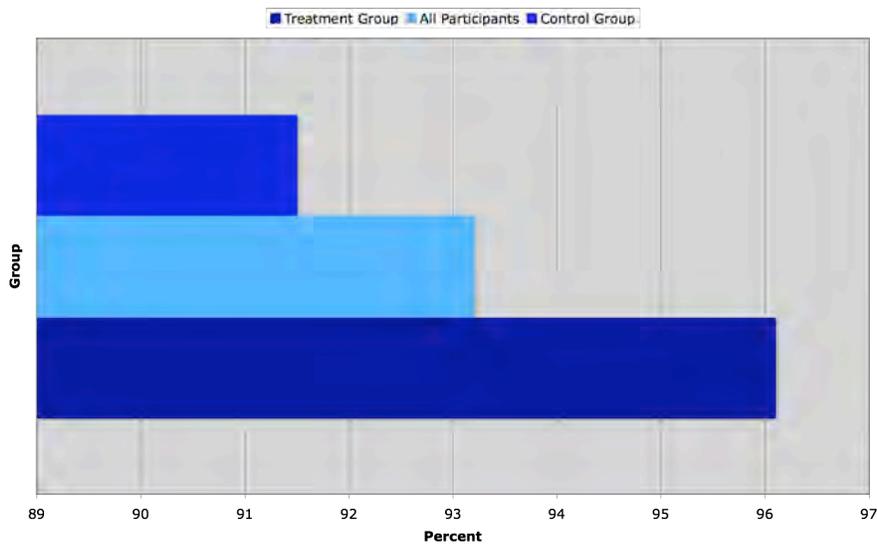
***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Government Compensation: Difference of Differences (Treatment vs. Control)

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.6207	.7855	.16493***
Control Group	.6091	.6926	.0892***
T-C	.01169	.09284***	.07573**

***p ≤ .01 **p ≤ .05 *p ≤ .10

Percent in Favor of Granting Aboriginals Native Land Titles



In regards to the specific question of granting native land titles, 93 percent of all participants were in favor of this government policy at the post-deliberation stage. Looking specifically at the treatment group, 96 percent agreed with the distribution of native land titles, while 91 percent of the control group agreed. These significantly high levels of agreement provide a sound argument for concrete policy changes in favor of native land titles.

CONCLUSION

Recurrent Patterns

Across all opinion and attitude indices two main patterns emerge. First, it is evident post-deliberation means are greater than those at the pre-deliberation stage. The closer to 1 the index mean is, the more supportive the respondents are towards Reconciliation. The movement towards 1 in all indices thus provides evidence that deliberation encouraged more empathetic attitudes and opinions towards the reconciling of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous communities. To further strengthen this finding we see that the difference in pre and post-deliberation means proved to be statistically significant for all three indices; knowledge, opinion and attitude.

The second pattern that became apparent was the statistically different results between the treatment and control group. For all opinion and policy indices, the magnitude change in opinion/attitude for the treatment group was statistically greater than that of the control group. Thereby implying that the presence of Indigenous representatives in the small-deliberative groups did make a difference in opinion and attitude change.

For our knowledge index the magnitude change between the treatment and control group was not statistically significant. Unlike the opinion and attitude indices, the lack of a statistical difference between treatment and control groups is good news. This result provides internal validity for the Deliberative Poll design by showing that a difference in knowledge is not behind the change in

attitude and opinion between our treatment and control groups. Inherently, this result also provides proof that the Non-Indigenous participants in the treatment group are not significantly different from those in the control group, at least in their ability to assimilate political information.

Most importantly, one must note that the direction of change for all three indices was the same; all knowledge, opinion and attitude indices saw a positive change towards a greater mean value closer to one. Conclusively, the results of this experiment provides enough evidence to suggest that participants as a whole left the 2001 Australian Deliberative Poll with a more favorable outlook towards Australian Reconciliation policies.

Deliberation Effects

The findings of this Deliberative Poll supports our hypothesis stating that deliberation does affect an individual's opinion and political attitudes despite the ethnocentric context that may envelope the issues being discussed. The emergent patterns present in the data sustain the argument that deliberation encourages individuals to adapt their perspectives, taking into account their learning about the issues and the arguments presented by those directly affected by the public policies discussed.

According to Ryan's final report of the Deliberative Poll, people may be influenced by the interaction with others, by learning about the relationships among alternatives and by considering their own personal criteria in decision-making (2001). These considerations may be the motivating factors driving individuals to hold a shared understanding of the issues at hand. Some may argue that these factors may drive a desire for social approval. If so, these results would be construed as negative through its implication that participants felt a need to submit to holding the same opinion as those around them. However, the fact that Deliberative Polling does not mandate a collective final decision offsets this argument (Fishkin 1995).

Another proposition posed by Ryan attempts to explain the greater magnitude change in the treatment group compared to the control by arguing that the treatment group may have ended up with more sympathetic opinions about Reconciliation after deliberation simply because it may have been the first time these Non-Indigenous Australians were exposed to first-hand personal accounts of the disadvantages and inequalities faced by Aboriginal communities (2008).

However, in the end one must note that the results of all Deliberative Polls are attained by having each voter confidentially and independently submit their responses in a secret-ballot format. Post-deliberation responses are therefore nothing other than the result of personal reflection and projection of an individual's beliefs after the deliberative process. The design of the experiment therefore argues only in favor of the effectiveness of deliberation in democratic decision-making.

The Effect of Presence

The results of this case study of the 2001 national Australian Deliberative Poll provides substantial data supporting our hypothesis that the presence of Indigenous people in the deliberation process played a key role in eliciting responses advocating for pro-Reconciliation policies. This is evidenced by the fact that the treatment group was more likely to accept and support Reconciliation policies. We find that the treatment group experienced a much greater magnitude change in attitude and opinion compared to the control group with no Indigenous participants. The data shows that while the treatment and control groups both moved in the same positive direction, the opinions of the treatment group members were stronger and more unanimous than that of the control group.

To further our argument we tested and compared the changes in opinion and attitude incurred by the treatment and control groups. The results of a difference-of-differences statistical analysis shows that differences in the magnitude change of opinion by the treatment group was statistically significant—meaning that the treatment group was found to statistically result in much

higher changes in opinion. This statistical significance effectively verifies that Indigenous presence may have spurred a systematic difference between the post-deliberation responses reported by the treatment and those made by the control. Thereby suggesting that the presence of Aboriginals during the deliberation process drove the treatment group to hold stronger beliefs in favor of Reconciliation compared to the control group.

Given that the Non-Indigenous members of the treatment and control group differed minimally, and when considering that the only difference between the two groups was Indigenous presence, the results can be interpreted as pointing towards one conclusion—presence does make a difference.

Internal Validity

Vying for the internal validity of these Deliberative Poll findings, the administrators of the experiment collected a separate random sample of Australian individuals throughout the same weekend of February and asked them about the same issues that were being presented in the actual Deliberative Poll. Quantitative data from this second “independent control” group, according to the administrators of the project, showed similar attitudinal responses to those obtained at the pre-deliberation stage (Ryan 2001). This acknowledges that the base level, Time1 mean values are true representations of the Australian general public. Therefore we can say with confidence that the concerns raised in deliberation were indeed representative of the concerns of the general public.

DISCUSSION

Existent social psychological research shows that the general Australian population continues to hold negative stereotypes and unfavorable attitudes towards Aboriginal people—spurring sentiments of ethnic prejudice that encourages a gap between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous communities. Recent political movements in Australia have incited a renewed desire to

focus on the need for mutual understanding of the past in order to arrive to progressive solutions for contemporary Aboriginal problems. The 2001 Australian Deliberative Poll addressing Australian Reconciliation embodied a democratic step towards finding this mutual understanding. Using raw data from the actual deliberation process, this study explored two relationships. The first relationship analyzed is the effect of deliberation on Time2 policy attitudes and preferences. The second analysis focused on comparing the changes between the treatment group (the ethnically mixed groups) and those changes in the opinions of the control group (groups with no Indigenous).

In general, this paper is an initial step towards analyzing the effect of Deliberative Polling on opinion change in light of ethnic prejudice and minority representation issues. One conclusion we can make with certainty is that the Australian participants as a whole were more unanimous and more supportive of the goals of Reconciliation at the end of the deliberative process. By the end of the process the general directional shift in opinion of Non-Indigenous participants complimented Indigenous perspectives and created a consistent message about relative Aboriginal disadvantages and what can be done to address these differences.

One important question our results raised was, “Do minority groups *need* to be present in order to have favorable policies approved?” According to existent academic research the tentative answer to this question is yes. An extensive body of theoretical literature argues that historically disadvantaged groups should be represented in deliberation due to the fact that representation allows for the group’s perspectives, issues and interests to come across effectively (Dovi 2002; Phillips 1998). This literature argues for an established need for the presence of “descriptive representatives” (representatives that embody the characteristics typical of the larger group or class of whom they are a part of) providing a diversity of perspectives that add to the deliberation process (Mansbridge 1999). Phillips further argues that a commitment to diverse representation is not only

ideal but also a necessary stipulation for political participation and the legitimacy of democratic institutions (1998).

Political and social theorists argue that the history and experiences of disadvantaged groups help others perceive their claims as compelling, genuine, and accurate, thereby granting more weight to the disadvantaged group's propositions compared to generalizations that may have been made otherwise without their presence (Williams 1998). Furthermore it is argued that when others have to speak for groups for which they are not a part of, the message is affected and runs the risk of being perceived as paternalistic and/or imperialistic (Alcoff 1995).

According to Mansbridge, one of the conditions that make descriptive representatives most effective is in the case of "uncrystallized" interests (1999). Issues of race may sometimes emerge as cases of "relatively uncrystallized interests" if little is known about "the other." Uncrystallized interests therefore provide a prime context in which disadvantaged groups need to be present in order to present their perspectives with sufficient vigor (Phillips 1995). The idea that voters can change their preferences after thinking about them further encourages the need for diverse representation when these voters are formulating how they are going to vote on issues affecting historically disadvantaged groups.

However, since the design of this study led to a systematic over-representation of Indigenous participants in the treatment group, we cannot establish with confidence a causal association that exclusively associates minority presence with changes in political stands. The reason why this causal relationship cannot be established simply relies on the fact that not just presence but the number of representatives present in the deliberation may have factored into the overall change in opinion from Time1 to Time2.

This representation factor insinuates that there may also be a need for a certain numerical threshold (based on the proportional divide between minorities and non-minorities) in order to

attain mutual understanding. Some theorists arguably agree that “equal opportunity of access to political influence” is important for democratic deliberation (Knight & Johnson 1998). In this case, equal opportunity of access refers to a proportional balance between dominant and disadvantaged groups in deliberative contexts. Furthermore, there is some agreement amongst theorists recognizing that members of historically disadvantaged groups need various representatives in order to capture the diverse set of interests and beliefs that are held by the group (Dovi 2002). In accordance with this proposal, Mansbridge and others assert that more than one representative in deliberation contributes more to the “larger understanding” (1999, 1983; Kymlicka 1993; Phillips 1995; Pitkin 1967, 1972). As such, it is understood that an increase in the number of representatives of disadvantaged groups may help further substantive representation of the group’s interests (Thomas 1991).

At the same time Mansbridge warns against looking at representation from just a numerical perspective. She proposes that the need for a critical mass must be assessed a reflection of the context in which it is to be applied. Following along the lines of elementary economic analysis, Mansbridge therefore argues that critical mass thresholds should be applied only when the benefits of the context outweigh the proportional externalities that may arise from over-representation of a group (1999).

While generalizing these results to the general society may not be ideal, we firmly believe that the findings of this study provide some important insight as to the role voice and presence play in a process responsive to social interaction among people of different walks of life. Given the unique design of the 2001 Australian Deliberative Poll, this study is able to add to the already existent academic literature on Deliberative Polling effects, on the effectiveness of deliberation and the significance of minority representation. However, further research should aim to decipher between

the role of mere presence and the effect critical mass thresholds have on deliberative outcomes in order to progress our understanding of deliberative democracy and politics in general.

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Appendix 1: Index Questions

Knowledge Index

16. When were Aboriginals first counted in the Australian population census?
17. When did people stop removing Aboriginal children from their families?
18. What was the result of the Mabo Case?
19. Who is the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs
20. Who is the chair person for ATSIC?
21. State whether the following about ATSIC is true or false
 - a. representative democratically elected by Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander People
 - b. responsible for expenditures of about ½ the federal government funding for indigenous programs
 - c. monitors performance of government agencies provisioning services to Aboriginals
 - d. oversees community health centers throughout Australia run by Aboriginals
- B5. Who is Meg Lee?
- B6. Who is Michael Wooldridge?

Knowledge Index

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	0.5379	0.6970	0.15915	Yes***
Control	0.5168	0.7014	0.18453	Yes ***
Treatment	0.5199	0.7123	0.19241	Yes***
All NonIndigenous Participants	0.5178	0.7047	0.18693	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	0.6897	0.6462	-0.04348	No

Opinion Indices
Comparison

A3. Considering Aboriginal people as a group in the community, comparatively do you think that Aboriginals are disadvantaged or not?

A4. Thinking about living conditions, to what extent would you say that Aboriginals are better off, worse off or about the same as other Australians?

A6. Mark opinion about whether or not you think Aboriginals are better off, worse off or the same as Australians on the following issues:

- (a) opportunity to get ahead in life
- (b) Health
- (c) Housing
- (d) Opportunities for employment
- (f) Education
- (g) life expectancy
- (h) jailing or imprisonment
- (i) income

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.7687	.8517	.08302	Yes***
Control Group	.7784	.8518	.0734	Yes ***
Treatment	.7018	.8604	0.15857	Yes***
All NonIndigenous Participants	.753	.8546	.10166	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	.8839	.8363	-.04758	No

Reconciliation

A2. Compared with all other issues facing Australia today, how important would you say improving relations between Aboriginal people and other Australians is

A5. Do you think the government provides too much, not enough or about right amount of programs and assistance for the Aboriginal people?

A8. Opinion on following issues:

Issue: (a) Aboriginal treated harshly/unfairly in past

A9. State whether you agree or disagree

(e) Disadvantages today are a result of treatment from the past

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.6648	.7987	.13387	Yes***
Control Group	.6322	.7682	.13599	Yes ***
Treatment	.6214	.8075	0.18606	Yes***
All NonIndigenous Participants	.6289	.7802	.15122	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	.892	.9219	.02983	No

Policy Indices

Symbolic Gestures/Formal Acknowledgements

- A8. (b) Nation should acknowledge occupation of land without Aboriginal consent
 (c) Aboriginal people should be recognized as original owners
- A9. (a) Government should apologize
 (d) Everyone should move on and stop talking about it

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.6252	.7507	.12553	Yes***
Control Group	.5996	.7208	.12117	Yes ***
Treatment	.5606	.7506	.19008	Yes***
NonIndigenous Participants	.5874	.7302	.1428	Yes***
Indigenous Participants	.9085	.9162	.00762	No

Education Reform

- A9. (b) More education about Aboriginal culture
 (c) More education about historical Aboriginal events

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.8466	.9413	.09466	Yes***
Control Group	.8415	.934	.09253	Yes ***
Treatment	.8083	.949	0.14078	Yes***
NonIndigenous Participants	.8312	.9386	.10741	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	.9602	.983	.02273	No

Government Help/Finance

- A9. (f) Nation should improve Aboriginal health, education, employment
 (g) There should be help for Aboriginals to become financially independent

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.7842	.882	.09786	Yes***
Control Group	.7696	.8636	.09402	Yes ***
Treatment	.7423	.8929	0.15051	Yes***
NonIndigenous Participants	.7614	.8723	.1109	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	.9489	.9517	.00284	No

Government Compensation

A11. Aboriginals should be granted native land titles

A12. Aboriginals should be granted financial compensation for Stolen Generations

A15. There should be a treaty agreement on native land titles, compensation and the right to control own affairs.

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.649	.7498	.10076	Yes***
Control Group	.6072	.6964	.0892	Yes ***
Treatment	.6198	.7847	0.16493	Yes***
NonIndigenous Participants	.6111	.7238	.11273	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	.9402	.9487	.00855	No

Legal Privileges

A13. Aboriginals should have designated seats in Parliament

A14. Should Aboriginals live under 2 laws or should just be under normal Australian Law?

	Mean Time I	Mean Time II	Mean Difference	Statistically Significant
All Participants	.5712	.6914	.12018	Yes***
Control Group	.515	.6375	.1225	Yes ***
Treatment	.5108	.7097	0.19892	Yes***
All NonIndigenous Participants	.5137	.6604	.14676	Yes***
All Indigenous Participants	.9535	.8953	-.05814	Yes *

Appendix 2: Indigenous Political Attitudes and Opinions for Individual Questions

Question	% Time I	% Time II	% Correct Difference
5. Not Enough Government Aid	86.7	67	0.3
8.b. In favor of Acknowledgement of occupied land	93.3	93	-0.3
8.c. In favor of a Formal Acknowledgement of original owners	97.7	97.9	0.2
9.a. In favor of a Government apology	93.5	100	6.5
9.b. In favor of Aboriginal Culture Education	97.8	100	2.2
9.c. In favor of Historical Education	97.8	97.8	0
9.d. (disagree with) Moving on & stop talking about it	73.3	67.4	-5.9
9.f. Believe that Nation should improve health/edu/house	97.8	97.7	-0.1
9.g. Believe that Nation should help financial independence	95.6	93.3	-2.3
11. Granting native land titles	95.5	95.2	-0.3
12. In favor of Granting financial compensation	93.2	95.5	2.3
13. Aboriginal seats in Parliament	93.5	89.1	-4.4
14. In favor of a Two law system	95.5	88.9	-6.6
15. In favor of a Special Treaty	93.3	91.3	-2

Appendix 3: Difference of Differences

Knowledge

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.5199	.7123	.19241***
Control Group	.5168	.7014	.18453***
T-C	.00303	.01091	.00788

Comparison

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.7059	.8452	.15857***
Control Group	.7695	.8203	.07340***
T-C	-.0636*	.0249	.08517***

Reconciliation

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.6202	.8068	.18606***
Control Group	.6244	.7640	.13599***
T-C	-.0042	.04278	.05007***

Symbolic Gestures/Formal Acknowledgements

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.5606	.7494	.19008***
Control Group	.5925	.7104	.12117***
T-C	-.03190	.03904	.06891**

Education

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.8083	.9490	.14078***
Control Group	.8415	.9346	.09253***
T-C	-.03320	.01445	.04824*

Government Finance

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.7425	.8837	.15051**
Control Group	.7689	.8595	.09402***
T-C	-.02644	.02415	.05649*

Government Compensation

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.6207	.7855	.16493***
Control Group	.6091	.6926	.0892***
T-C	.01169	.09284***	.07573**

Legal

	T1	T2	T2-T1
Test Group	.5106	.7129	.19892***
Control Group	.5172	.6370	.1225***
T-C	-.00652	.07591**	.07642*

*** $p \leq .01$ ** $p \leq .05$ * $p \leq .10$

Appendix 4: Variable Names and Labels

Name	Label
A#	AREA
D#	QA1.DESCRPTION OF GENERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND OTHER AUSTRALIANS
E#	QA2.DESCRPTION OF SELF IN RELATION TO IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN ABORIGINAIS AND OTHER AUSTRALIANS
F#	QA3.PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
G#	QA4.PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ABORIGINAL LIVING CONDITIONS
H#	QA5.BELIEVE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES TOO MUCH/NOT ENOUGH PROGRAMS/ASSISTANCE FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
J#A	QA6.BELIEVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE BETTER/WORSE OFF THAN OTHER AUSTRALIANS IN RELATION TO ASPECT - OPPORTUNITY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE
J#B	QA6. "" – HEALTH
J#C	QA6. "" –HOUSING
J#D	QA6. "" –OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT
J#E	QA6. "" –EDUCATION
J#F	QA6. "" –LIFE EXPECTANCY
J#G	QA6. "" –JAILING/IMPRISONMENT
J#H	QA6. "" -INCOME
K#	QA7.HEARD OF ABORIGINAL RECONCILIATION
M#A	QA8.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT ABORIGINAL PEOPLE - ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WERE TREATED HARSHLY/UNFAIRLY IN PAST
M#B	QA8."" - NATION SHOULD FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGE AUSTRALIA WAS OCCUPIED WITHOUT CONSENT OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
M#C	QA8."" - NATION SHOULD FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WERE ORIGINAL OWNERS OF TRADITIONAL LANDS/WATERS
O#A	QA9.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT ABORIGINAL PEOPLE - GOVERNMENT SHOULD APOLOGISE TO ABORIGINAL PEOPLE FOR WHAT HAPPENED IN PAST
O#B	QA9. ""-SHOULD BE MORE EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS ABOUT ABORIGINAL CULTURE
O#C	QA9. ""-SHOULD BE MORE EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS ABOUT HISTORICAL EVENTS SURROUNDING ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
O#D	QA9. ""-EVERYONE SHOULD STOP TALKING ABOUT WAY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WERE TREATED IN PAST/GET ON WITH FUTURE
O#E	QA9. ""- DISADVANTAGE EXPERIENCED BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE TODAY IS MAINLY A RESULT OF WAY THEY WERE TREATED IN PAST
O#F	QA9. ""-NATION SHOULD BE TRYING TO IMPROVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES SITUATION CONCERNING

	HEALTH/HOUSING/EMPLOYMENT
O#G	QA9. ""-NATION SHOULD BE TRYING TO HELP ABORIGINAL PEOPLE BECOME MORE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT/SELF RELIANT
P#A	QA10.AREA GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MOST - HEALTH
P#B	QA10. "" – HOUSING
P#C	QA10. "" –EDUCATION
P#D	QA10. "" - EMPLOYMENT
Q#	QA11.NATIVE LAND TITLE CLAIMS BE GRANTED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES/NOT AT ALL
R#	QA12.FINANCIAL COMPENSATION CLAIMS CONCERNING STOLEN GENERATION BE GRANTED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES/NOT AT ALL
S#	QA13.BELIEVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE SPECIAL SEATS IN PARLIAMENT
T#	QA14.BELIEVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SHOULD LIVE BY NORMAL AUSTRALIAN LAWS/CUSTOMARY TRIBAL LAWS
U#	QA15.SUPPORT TREATY BETWEEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND OTHER AUSTRALIANS
V#	QA16.WHEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE FIRST COUNTED IN CENSUS AS PART OF AUSTRALIAN POPULATION
W#	QA17.WHEN ABORIGINAL CHILDREN REMOVED FROM FAMILIES
X#	QA18.BEST DESCRIPTION OF MABO CASE RESULT
Y#	QA19.MINISTER FOR ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS
Z#	QA20.CURRENT CHAIR PERSON FOR ATSIC
AB#A	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSIC TRUE/FALSE - REPRESENTATIVES ARE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BY ABORIGINALS/TORRES STRAIT ISLANDERS
AB#B	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSIC TRUE/FALSE - RESPONSIBLE FOR EXPENDITURE OF ABOUT HALF OF ALL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FUNDING FOR INDIGENOUS PROGRAMS
AB#C	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSIC TRUE/FALSE - MONITORS PERFORMANCE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES PROVIDING SERVICES TO ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
AB#D	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSIC TRUE/FALSE - OVERSEES COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTRES THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA THAT ARE RUN BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
AC#	QB1.INTEREST IN POLITICS IN AUSTRALIA
AD#	QB2.POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT
AE#	QB3.STRENGTH OF SUPPORT FOR PARTY
AF#	QB4.PARTY MORE CONCERNED ABOUT SOCIAL/WELFARE ISSUES
AG#	QB5.MEG LEES POSITION
AH#	QB6.MICHAEL WOOLDRIDGES POSITION
AI#	QC1a.SELF BORN IN AUSTRALIA/OVERSEAS
AI#A	QC1a.BORN IN AUSTRALIA/OVERSEAS

AI#B	QC1b.BORN IN AN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY
AM#	QC2.SELF ABORIGINAL/TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER
AN#	QC3.MEMBERS OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY ABORIGINAL/TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER
AO#A	QC4.HOW HAVE CONTACT WITH PEOPLE OF ABORIGINAL ORIGIN - THROUGH WORK
AO#B	QC4.HOW HAVE CONTACT WITH PEOPLE OF ABORIGINAL ORIGIN - THROUGH FRIENDS
AP#	QC5.NUMBER OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE LIVING IN/AROUND AREA
AQ#	QC6.AGE
AR#	QC7.SEX
AS#	QC8.AGE OF LEAVING SCHOOL
AT#	QC9.HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION
AU#	QC10.WORK STATUS
AV#	QC11.SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
AW#	QC12.HOUSEHOLD INCOME
AX#	QC13.INTERESTED IN ATTENDING RECONCILIATION DISCUSSION
BA#	GROUP
BD#	QA1.DESCRPTION OF GENERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND OTHER AUSTRALIANS
BE#	QA2.DESCRPTION OF SELF IN RELATION TO IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN ABORIGINAIS AND OTHER AUSTRALIANS
BF#	QA3.PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
BG#	QA4.PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ABORIGINAL LIVING CONDITIONS
BH#	QA5.BELIEVE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES TOO MUCH/NOT ENOUGH PROGRAMS/ASSISTANCE FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
BJ#A	QA6.BELIEVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE BETTER/WORSE OFF THAN OTHER AUSTRALIANS IN RELATION TO ASPECT - OPPORTUNITY TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE
BJ#B	QA6. "" – HEALTH
BJ#C	QA6. "" –HOUSING
BJ#D	QA6. "" –OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT
BJ#E	QA6. "" –EDUCATION
BJ#F	QA6. "" –LIFE EXPECTANCY
BJ#G	QA6. "" –JAILING/IMPRISONMENT
BJ#H	QA6. "" -INCOME
BK#	QA7.HEARD OF ABORIGINAL RECONCILIATION
BM#A	QA8.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT ABORIGINAL PEOPLE - ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WERE TREATED HARSHLY/UNFAIRLY IN PAST
BM#B	QA8."" - NATION SHOULD FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGE AUSTRALIA WAS OCCUPIED WITHOUT CONSENT OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
BM#C	QA8."" - NATION SHOULD FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WERE ORIGINAL OWNERS OF TRADITIONAL LANDS/WATERS

BO#A	QA9.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT ABORIGINAL PEOPLE - GOVERNMENT SHOULD APOLOGISE TO ABORIGINAL PEOPLE FOR WHAT HAPPENED IN PAST
BO#B	QA9. ""-SHOULD BE MORE EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS ABOUT ABORIGINAL CULTURE
BO#C	QA9. ""-SHOULD BE MORE EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS ABOUT HISTORICAL EVENTS SURROUNDING ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
BO#D	QA9. ""-EVERYONE SHOULD STOP TALKING ABOUT WAY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WERE TREATED IN PAST/GET ON WITH FUTURE
BO#E	QA9. ""- DISADVANTAGE EXPERIENCED BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE TODAY IS MAINLY A RESULT OF WAY THEY WERE TREATED IN PAST
BO#F	QA9. ""-NATION SHOULD BE TRYING TO IMPROVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES SITUATION CONCERNING HEALTH/HOUSING/EMPLOYMENT
BO#G	QA9. ""-NATION SHOULD BE TRYING TO HELP ABORIGINAL PEOPLE BECOME MORE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT/SELF RELIANT
BP#	QA10.AREA GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MOST
BQ#	QA11.NATIVE LAND TITLE CLAIMS BE GRANTED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES/NOT AT ALL
BR#	QA12.FINANCIAL COMPENSATION CLAIMS CONCERNING STOLEN GENERATION BE GRANTED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES/NOT AT ALL
BS#	QA13.BELIEVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE SPECIAL SEATS IN PARLIAMENT
BT#	QA14.BELIEVE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SHOULD LIVE BY NORMAL AUSTRALIAN LAWS/CUSTOMARY TRIBAL LAWS
BU#	QA15.SUPPORT TREATY BETWEEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND OTHER AUSTRALIANS
BV#	QA16.WHEN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE FIRST COUNTED IN CENSUS AS PART OF AUSTRALIAN POPULATION
BW#	QA17.WHEN ABORIGNAL CHILDREN REMOVED FROM FAMILIES
BX#	QA18.BEST DESCRIPTION OF MABO CASE RESULT
BY#	QA19.MINISTER FOR ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS
BZ#	QA20.CURRENT CHAIR PERSON FOR ATSI
CB#A	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSI TRUE/FALSE - REPRESENTATIVES ARE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BY ABORIGNALS/TORRES STRAIT ISLANDERS
CB#B	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSI TRUE/FALSE - RESPONSIBLE FOR EXPENDITURE OF ABOUT HALF OF ALL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FUNDING FOR INDIGENOUS PROGRAMS
CB#C	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSI TRUE/FALSE - MONITORS PERFORMANCE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES PROVIDING SERVICES TO ABORIGNAL PEOPLE
CB#D	QA21.STATEMENT ABOUT ATSI TRUE/FALSE - OVERSEES

	COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTRES THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA THAT ARE RUN BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE
CC#	QB1.INTEREST IN POLITICS IN AUSTRALIA
CD#	QB2.POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT
CE#	QB3.STRENGTH OF SUPPORT FOR PARTY
CF#	QB4.PARTY MORE CONCERNED ABOUT SOCIAL/WELFARE ISSUES
CG#	QB5.MEG LEES POSITION
CH#	QB6.MICHAEL WOOLDRIDGES POSITION
DA#	QD1.EVALUATION OF AUSTRALIA DELIBERATES CONVENTION
DB#A	QD2.VALUE - PARTICIPATING IN GROUP DISCUSSIONS
DB#B	QD2.VALUE - MEETING/TALKING TO OTHER DELEGATES OUTSIDE OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS
DB#C	QD2.VALUE - PLENARY SESSIONS WITH PEOPLE ON PANELS
DC#A	QD3.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT DISCUSSION GROUPS - GROUP LEADER PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERYONE TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSION
DC#B	QD3.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT DISCUSSION GROUPS - IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF EACH ISSUE WERE COVERED IN GROUP DISCUSSIONS
DC#C	QD3.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT DISCUSSION GROUPS - FOUND COMMENTS OF OTHER GROUP MEMBERS USEFUL IN YOUR THINKING ABOUT THE ISSUES
DC#D	QD3.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT DISCUSSION GROUPS - GROUP LEADER TRIED TO INFLUENCE THE GROUP WITH HIS/HER OWN VIEWS
DC#E	QD3.AGREE/DISAGREE WITH STATEMENT ABOUT DISCUSSION GROUPS - DISCOVERED THAT PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT VIEWS OFTEN HAD GOOD REASONS FOR THEIR VIEWS
DD#A	QD4.TIME SPENT DOING ACTIVITY - TALKED WITH OTHERS ABOUT RECONCILIATION ISSUES
DD#B	QD4.TIME SPENT DOING ACTIVITY - READ ABOUT RECONCILIATION ISSUES IN NEWSPAPERS/MAGAZINES
DD#C	QD4.TIME SPENT DOING ACTIVITY - WATCHED NEWS/CURRENT AFFAIRS PROGRAMS ON TELEVISION
DE#	QD5.PROPORTION OF DISCUSSION MATERIALS READ
DF#	QD6.DISCUSSION MATERIALS WERE BALANCED/BIASED

Appendix 5: Note on Participants

Due to the experiment design, all members of groups 1-15 were to be of Non-Indigenous descent. A review of the data showed that 5 out of the 240 participants in these fifteen groups responded that they were of Indigenous descent. Since we cannot determine whether this was a coding error, a mistake in response by the participant, or an actual tally, the data for these 5 participants was not included in this analysis. Statistical tests were run to ensure that the results obtained without these five participants were not significantly different from the results if the data had been included. The statistical analysis proved that the difference was minimal and thus rendered the benefit of not including the data from these individuals greater than the loss of keeping unverified data in the analysis.

Participant ID #: •268 •359 •747 •918 •931

Knowledge Questions (with and without 5 participants)

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	0.6977	0.6970	0.15851	0.15915
Groups with Indigenous	0.6903	0.6903	0.11939	0.11939
Groups with no Indigenous	0.7023	0.7014	0.18295	0.18453
NON-Indigenous in Treatment Grp	0.7123	0.7123	0.19241	0.19241
All NonIndigenous	0.7047	0.7047	0.18693	0.18693
All Indigenous	0.656	0.6462	-0.02852	-0.04348

Formal Acknowledgements/Proceedings (with and without 5 participants)

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.7504	.7507	.12447	.12553
Groups with Indigenous	.7963	.7963	.13219	.13219
Groups with no Indigenous	.7209	.7208	.11953	.12117
Non-Indigenous in Treatment Group	.7506	.7506	.19008	.19008
NonIndigenous Participants	.7302	.7302	.1428	.1428
Indigenous Participants	.8954	.9162	.01223	.00762

Education Reform

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.9411	.9413	.09277	.09466
Groups with Indigenous	.9527	.9527	.09797	.09797
Groups with no Indigenous	.9338	.934	.08951	.09253
Non-Indigenous in Groups with Indigenous	.949	.949	0.14078	0.14078
All NonIndigenous Participants	.9386	.9386	.10741	.10741
All Indigenous Participants	.977	.983	.01531	.02273

Government Help/Finance

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.8803	.882	.10076	.09786
Groups with Indigenous	.9117	.9117	.11887	.10402
Groups with no Indigenous	.8612	.8636	.0892	.09402
Non-Indig in Grp w/ Indigenous	.8929	.8929	0.16493	0.15051
All NonIndigenous Participants	.8723	.8723	.11273	.1109
All Indigenous Participants	.9311	.9517	.00855	.00284

Government Compensation

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.7495	.7498	.10028	.10076
Indigenous Representation	.8333	.8333	.11887	.11887
Groups with no Indigenous	.6972	.6964	.08869	.0892
Non-Indigenous in Groups with Indigenous	.7847	.7847	0.16493	0.16493
All NonIndigenous Participants	.7238	.7238	.11273	.11273
All Indigenous	.9242	.9487	.01515	.00855

Legal Privileges

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.6921	.6914	.11877	.12018
Groups with Indigenous	.7701	.7701	.11679	.11679
Groups with no Indigenous	.6397	.6375	.12010	.1225
Non-Indigenous in Groups with Indigenous	.7097	.7097	0.19892	0.19892
All NonIndigenous Particiants	.6604	.6604	-.05319	.14676
All Indigenous	.883	.8953	-.05814	-.05814

Comparison

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.8501	.8517	.08259	.08302
Groups with Indigenous	.8517	.8517	.09632	.09632
Groups with no Indigenous	.8490	.8518	.07923	.0734
Non-Indigenous in Grps w/ Indigenous	.8604	.8604	0.15857	0.15857
All NonIndigenous Participants	.8546	.8546	.10166	.10166
All Indigenous	.8264	.8363	-.03571	-.04758

Reconciliation

	Mean Time II (with)	Mean Time II (without)	Mean Difference (with)	Mean Difference (without)
All Participants	.7987	.7987	.13374	.13387
Groups with Indigenous	.8447	.8447	.13068	.13068
Groups with no Indigenous	.7690	.7682	.13572	.13599
Non-Indigenous in Grps w/ Indigenous	.8075	.8075	0.18606	0.18606
All NonIndigenous Participants	.7802	.7802	.15122	.15122