

Brief running title: **Designing Participatory Technology Assessments**

Full title: **Designing Participatory Technology Assessments:
A Reflexive Method for Advancing the Public Role in Science Policy Decision-making**

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Declaration of interests

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Abstract

Decades of social science scholarship have documented and explored the interconnected nature of science, technology, and society. Multiple theoretical frameworks suggest the potential to direct this process of mutual shaping toward desired outcomes and away from undesired ones through broader inclusion of new voices and visions. In 2010, a group of researchers, educators, and policy practitioners established the Expert and Citizen Assessment of Science and Technology (ECAST) network to operationalize these frameworks. Over the course of a decade, ECAST developed an innovative and reflexive participatory technology assessment (pTA) method to support democratic science policy decision-making in different technical, social, and political contexts. The method's reflexive nature gave rise to continuous innovations and iterative improvements. The current ECAST pTA method includes three participatory phases: 1) Problem Framing; 2) ECAST Citizen Deliberation; and 3) Results and Integration. Proving adaptable and replicable, the method has generated outputs for decision-making on a variety of science and technology issues and at governance scales ranging from the local to the national and international. ECAST's distributed network model has also promoted independence, continuity, and sustainability through changing sociopolitical contexts. In this paper, we detail the current state of the ECAST pTA method; share mini case studies to illustrate circumstances that prompted new method innovations; and offer a vision for further developing and integrating pTA into democratic science policy decision-making.

Key words

Participatory technology assessment (pTA); Citizen deliberation; Responsible innovation; Reflexivity; Decision-making

1. Introduction

Decades of social science scholarship have documented and explored the interconnected nature of science, technology, and society—with science and technology shaping, and concurrently being shaped by, society (see Felt et al., 2017). These insights would seem to hold the possibility for a conscious social steering of this process of mutual shaping toward desired outcomes and away from undesired ones. Such an ambition lay behind early formulations of the idea of technology assessment (TA) (Arnstein, 1977), and its embodiment in government TA offices in the U.S. and Europe (Herdman and Jensen, 1997; Vig, 1992). But another pathway focused not on government policy apparatus but rather on expanding the range and diversity of perspectives involved in science and technology policy decision-making. Proposed frameworks such as Extended Peer Review, Constructive Technology Assessment, Responsible Innovation, Anticipatory Governance, and Real-Time Technology Assessment offered guidance on the governance of emerging science and innovations, as well as ways to utilize social values to direct the paths of innovation toward positive societal outcomes (Barben et al., 2008; Funtowicz and Strand, 2007; Guston and Sarewitz, 2002; Schot and Rip, 1997; Stilgoe et al., 2013). These frameworks each proposed broader inclusion of new voices and visions to contribute to science and innovation and explore alternative futures.

Participatory technology assessment (pTA) encompasses a class of methods for integrating new kinds of social actors into science policy discussions (Joss and Bellucci, 2002). These methods first gained traction as a decision support tool in Europe when the Danish Board of Technology experimented with a method of pTA called consensus conferences beginning in the late 1980s. Similar efforts emerged in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the early 1990s (Joss and Bellucci, 2002; Sclove, 1995). Consensus conferences, citizens' juries, and citizens' assemblies all serve to integrate a broader variety of perspectives into deliberations about science and technology than standard governance mechanisms (Rowe and Frewer, 2005).

Amidst new European initiatives to expand democratic input into science and technology assessment (Joss and Durant, 1995) and a TA capacity vacuum left by the demise of the U.S. Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) in 1995, a group of researchers, educators, and policy practitioners from the Arizona State University Consortium for Science, Policy and Outcomes; the Museum of Science, Boston; SciStarter (a nonprofit group that promotes citizen science); the Loka Institute (a nonprofit group that seeks to strengthen democratic input into science and technology); and the Science, Technology and Innovation Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, put forward a concept paper in 2010 to develop a new institutional capacity in the U.S. that could integrate public engagement into future TA activities (Sclove, 2010). Though the concept paper argued that this new capability should reside in Congress as part of a reinstated OTA, it also recognized some of the challenges with a formal institutional structure, especially that large, bureaucratic institutions often struggle to innovate in the absence of nationally perceived crises and bipartisan policy windows (Delborne et al., 2013).

41 As an alternative to a formal government structure, the concept paper suggested the
42 creation of the Expert and Citizen Assessment of Science and Technology (ECAST) network, a
43 distributed network bringing together universities, science centers, and nonpartisan policy think
44 tanks to conduct pTAs on complex, contested, and emergent science, technology, and society
45 issues. The network had five objectives (Sclove, 2010):

- 46 1. **Combine participation and expertise:** Incorporate effective citizen participation
47 methods to complement expert analysis;
- 48 2. **Adopt a 21st-century structure:** Develop a partially decentralized, agile and
49 collaborative organizational structure, seeking TA effectiveness, low cost and timeliness;
- 50 3. **Continually innovate concepts and practices:** Encourage, evaluate and, as warranted,
51 adopt new TA concepts and methods;
- 52 4. **Be nonpartisan in structure and governance:** Establish the ethos and institutional
53 structures needed to ensure that any new TA institution is strictly nonpartisan. When
54 there are strongly divergent normative perspectives on a particular topic, individual TA
55 projects can benefit from a balanced, overtly value-pluralistic or multi-partisan approach;
56 and
- 57 5. **Be committed to transparent process and public results.**

58
59 After a demonstration project providing citizen input to the United Nations Convention
60 on Biological Diversity in collaboration with the Danish Board of Technology (Worthington et
61 al., 2012), ECAST piloted its first independent pTA project with the National Aeronautics and
62 Space Administration (NASA) on its Asteroid Initiative (Tomblin et al., 2015). This paved the
63 way for pTA projects with the Department of Energy on nuclear waste disposal and with the
64 National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration on community resilience.

65 ECAST's portfolio now includes projects on climate intervention research, automated
66 vehicle futures, and gene editing, supported by more than three million dollars of public and
67 philanthropic funding over the past five years. Strong funding support in recent years highlights
68 a growing focus on public engagement. In the past decade, public engagement in the early phases
69 of science and technology policymaking advanced from being an afterthought to a principal
70 recommendation by major scientific advisory bodies (see, for example, NASEM, 2008;
71 NWTRB, 2016; PCSBI, 2016). Outside the scientific community, leaders at large philanthropic
72 organizations acknowledged: "We need to engage in and support the messy, complex work of
73 civic discourse and negotiation" (Christopherson et al., 2018). Private sector actors have also
74 emphasized the importance of engagement work. For example, the head General Motors'
75 autonomous vehicle (AV) development company recently asserted, "This [AV development] is
76 something we need to do with society, with the community, and not at society" (Kolodny and
77 Schoolov, 2019). Through its projects and development of its pTA method, the ECAST network
78 has helped to both meet, and further stimulate, this demand for public input.
79

80 1.1 What we've done

81 Over the past decade, we¹ have conducted 40 citizen deliberations in 18 different U.S.
 82 cities, engaging approximately 2,100 participants (Table 1). An additional 35 deliberations
 83 scheduled for 2021-2022 will double the number of participants while adding at least 24 new
 84 locations. Our distributed network model and commitment to continuous learning and innovation
 85 have allowed for sufficient flexibility to develop a reflexive pTA method that can be replicated
 86 and scaled from the local and regional, to the national and global levels. Applied across a range
 87 of topics, the method has generated inputs for decision-makers, often in response to specific
 88 demand for such inputs, in the public, private, nongovernmental, and academic sectors.

89 **Table 1:** ECAST network's portfolio of participatory technology assessment projects

Year	Subject	Scale	Sponsor	Locations (Participants)
2012	Biodiversity	National, Global	United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity	4 (277)
2014	Planetary Defense	National	National Aeronautics and Space Administration	2 (186)
2015	Climate and Energy	National, Global	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	4 (275)
2015-2018	Climate Resilience	Local	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA)	8 (489)
2016-2017	Nuclear Waste Disposal	National	Department of Energy	5 (cancelled) ²
2016-2017	Genetically Modified Algae	National	Environmental Protection Agency	stakeholder only ³
2016-2019	Gene Drive Mice	National	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency	stakeholder only
2017-2018	Driverless Cars Issues	Local, National	Kettering Foundation	2 (23)
2017-2019	Climate Intervention Research	National	Sloan Foundation	4 (202)
2018-2019	Automated Mobility Futures	Local, National	Charles Koch Foundation & Alfred P. Sloan Foundation	4 (317)
2018-2020	Future of Internet Pilot	National	Internet Society	1 (32)
2020-2020	We, The Internet	National, Global	Internet Society, UNESCO, World Economic Forum, European Commission, World Wide Web Foundation, others	5 (55) (virtual)
2018-2021	Climate Resilience and Citizen Science	Local	NOAA	28 (planned)
2018-2022	Community Co-creation	Local	National Science Foundation	4 (planned)
2019-2020	Public Interest Technologies	Local	New Venture Fund (Public Interest Technology University Network)	4 (201) (virtual)
2019-2020	Human Gene Editing Issues	Local,	Kettering Foundation	2 (43) (virtual)

¹ The authors use first person perspective to broadly capture the contributions of multiple members of the ECAST network. Not all network members were involved in every project but they remained an integral part of ECAST's intellectual and institutional structure.

² These deliberations were fully designed and scheduled to take place, however a change in the presidential administration led to the cancellation of the project. We include this project to demonstrate the diversity of topics covered and federal agencies engaged, and to highlight the sometimes politically unstable nature of this work.

³ Deliberations listed as "stakeholder only" did not include members of the general public as participants. These projects helped us refine the processes later used in our stakeholder design workshops (further described below).

		National		
2019-2022	Human Genome Editing Futures	National	National Institutes of Health	3 (planned)

91
92 In this paper, we describe how inclusion of a broad set of voices can facilitate
93 democratic decision-making in the high-stakes, high-uncertainty context in which many critical
94 science policy decisions occur. Just as society shapes science and innovation, social and political
95 circumstances have influenced our work and pTA method. To illustrate these effects, we outline
96 the current state of our pTA method and provide abbreviated case studies of some of our projects
97 to highlight circumstances that catalyzed innovations to our method. Finally, we reflect on
98 lessons from a decade of operationalizing pTA and offer a vision for further developing and
99 integrating pTA into democratic science policy decision-making.

100
101 **1.2 Typology of Terminology**

102 Many terms used in this paper carry different meanings in different societal and scholarly
103 contexts. For clarity we offer here our definitions for these terms.

104
105 **Table 2:** Clarification of terms used throughout the paper.⁴

Experts	Individuals who study the science or technology at the core of a given sociotechnical question. These include physical and natural scientists, engineers, and other professionals who are conducting technical research or developing a technology. Also included are social scientists, humanists, and other scholars studying the societal impacts of a given science or technology, as well as federal agency officials who play roles in shaping technical knowledge and how it’s used.
Stakeholders	Actors from government, nongovernmental organizations, philanthropies, and industry who are not directly involved in the development of a technology but still view themselves as having a stake in the outcomes. We distinguish these stakeholders from members of the general public. These actors already have formal pathways for shaping decisions around sociotechnical issues through advocacy groups, lobbying, or other political channels.
Citizens	Members of the general public with no formal stake in an issue. Use of the term “citizen” does not relate to an individual’s legal citizenship status, but rather emphasizes the individual’s role as a non-expert actor in a democratic society.

106

⁴ Though we distinguish between experts and stakeholders for clarity, we recognize that stakeholders have their own form of expertise. While what we define as “experts” primarily offer *contributory expertise* (expertise to contribute to the science of a field), stakeholders have *interactional expertise* (an understanding of the context and community in which work is being conducted) (Evans & Collins, 2002). Of course some individuals might have both forms of expertise. We draw on both types of expertise throughout our process.

107 2. Background

108

109 Many scientific and technological issues with which policymakers grapple exist in what
110 Funtowicz and Ravetz (1993) termed the “post-normal age” wherein facts are uncertain, values
111 are in dispute, stakes are high, and decisions are urgent. Beyond the confines of a controlled
112 laboratory setting, complex sociotechnical issues are steeped in technical, methodological, and
113 epistemological uncertainties which traditional scientific approaches cannot eliminate completely
114 (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1990). Persistent uncertainties subsequently allow conflicting parties to
115 put forth opposing scientific evidence to support their positions (Sarewitz, 2004). Take, for
116 instance, quintessential post-normal issues such as genetically modified organisms and nuclear
117 energy and waste disposal. Despite years of scientific research, political conflict surrounding
118 these issues remain as contested as ever, if not more so.

119 Such contentious problems both proliferate within, and characterize, an age of divisive
120 politics. New methods for helping legislators and other decision makers anticipate the social
121 aspects of emergent technologies and manage them upon arrival are a critical need in democratic
122 decision-making. One general category of approach is technology assessment (TA), the “practice
123 intended to enhance societal understanding of the broad implications of science and technology”
124 (Sclove, 2010). New capabilities such as the Science, Technology Assessment, and Analytics
125 (STAA) team at the Government Accountability Office are taking a leading role in conducting
126 these assessments (NAPA, 2019). But modern TAs require an upgrade from their twentieth-
127 century predecessors, which primarily sought to produce technical inputs to policy problems.
128 Traditional TAs failed to capture many of the social and ethical considerations surrounding
129 technical questions, thus limiting their usefulness to decision makers. Future TAs that address
130 ethical dimensions and call attention to structural social impacts may better equip policymakers
131 to address emerging technologies (Graves and Cook-Deegan, 2019; Sclove, 2020; Smits et al.,
132 2010).

133 Modern TAs also need to be better integrated into institutional decision making
134 processes. Critiques of the 1990s Ethical, Legal, and Social (ELSI) programs of the US Human
135 Genome Project assert the “impotence” of the programs due to their organizational separation
136 from actual research decision making (Fisher, 2019, 2005; McCain, 2002). This fate similarly
137 befalls many ELSI reports produced by National Academies committees, executive-branch
138 bioethics commissions, and congressional research units. One promising attempt to address this
139 problem is the 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act of 2003, which
140 prescribed integration of societal and technological concerns into both research and research
141 policy processes (Fisher and Mahajan, 2006). The Act also called for public input outreach, a
142 type of involvement that Sclove (2020) asserts may provide better insights into structural-level
143 impacts of technologies than individual concerns raised by ELSI experts.

144 How might one rethink science and policy in a post-normal age? Funtowicz and Strand
145 (2007) summarize different theoretical frameworks for approaching the relationship between
146 science and policy, such as cost-benefit and precautionary approaches, and show why these

147 typically fail to address a core challenge of the post-normal age: the values controversies that lie
148 beneath apparently technical debate remain unresolved.

149 Such controversies arise from the differing ways individuals and institutions assess the
150 relevance of an issue and their beliefs about how to address, or even think about it (Schwarz and
151 Thompson, 1990). For example, how much value should be given to a human life in a cost-
152 benefit analysis? What risks might one accept in exchange for what potential benefits? What
153 social disruptions are acceptable and for whom? For such values questions and tradeoffs,
154 Funtowicz and Strand (2007) propose an extended participation model to help make explicit
155 what is often unacknowledged by experts or decision makers. In the model, an extended peer
156 community of citizens serves as “critics and creators in the knowledge production process”
157 (Funtowicz and Strand, 2007; Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1993). Exploring this idea further, we can
158 see how citizen engagement can improve both the outcomes of scientific research and its
159 integration into decision-making.

160 Citizens can introduce an expanded variety of perspectives on how scientific questions
161 should be framed (Kitcher, 2001). No singular perspective would then dictate the direction of
162 inquiry. Citizens would also weigh in on the strength and relevance of scientific evidence
163 throughout the decision-making process. Ultimately broader inclusion of citizens generates more
164 “socially robust” knowledge because society was involved in the genesis of the knowledge and
165 the knowledge assessment process (Gibbons, 1999; Nowotny et al., 2001). Generation of socially
166 robust knowledge can: 1) lead to greater trust in scientific knowledge and attenuate future
167 controversy (Kitcher, 2001), 2) yield new insights and ideas that ultimately improve
168 technological design (Schwarz and Thompson, 1990), 3) help citizens feel more ownership of or
169 investment in issues (Fischer, 2000), and 4) expand society’s ability to manage emerging
170 technologies (Guston, 2011). Not all methods of citizen engagement, however, yield these
171 positive outcomes.

172 Chilvers and Kearnes (2020) attribute such shortfalls for one type of engagement, citizen
173 deliberation, to what they describe as the “residual realist” view of engagement that treats citizen
174 deliberation and its evaluation as predefined, fixed concepts. This inflexible approach is not
175 suitable for deliberation work in practice, especially in evolving political and social contexts. As
176 an alternative, Chilvers and Kearnes (2020) offer a framework that outlines paths to forge
177 reflexive participatory practices, situate participation within broader decision contexts,
178 encourage innovations in participatory democracy, and recognize the impacts of science and
179 society on the deliberation. In reflecting on the evolution of ECAST and its work over the past
180 decade, we find that we followed many of these paths while working to translate the vision set
181 out at the network’s founding to something that could work in actual decision making settings.
182 Both the network’s structure and pTA method serve to incorporate new voices and visions into
183 science and technology decision-making through a reflective practice-oriented approach. In the
184 following section, we detail the current state of our pTA method with the hope that others will
185 continue to innovate on it, advancing reflexive citizen deliberation as means of democratic
186 decision-making.

188 3. Three Participatory Activities

189 Our pTA method includes three phases of participatory activity: 1) Problem Framing; 2)
190 ECAST Deliberations; and 3) Results and Integration (Figure 1). While presented as distinct
191 phases, pTA is actually an iterative process. Projects typically span between 18 months and three
192 years depending on their scale.

193 The novelty of our method stems not from the development
194 of all new tools for deliberation and engagement, but rather through
195 its integration and reflexive adaptation of existing methods to
196 increase the diversity of voices involved in TAs. Multiple approaches
197 exist for eliciting expert and stakeholder perspectives (Jones et al.,
198 2011), conducting dialogues with citizens (Rowe and Frewer, 2005),
199 and presenting results to decision makers (e.g., briefs, reports,
200 journal articles). Our method builds on and connects these discrete
201 science policy activities to support inclusive, deliberative, and usable
202 TAs. Since 2010, we have reflexively co-designed engagement tools
203 with the public, experts, and stakeholders that adapt pTA forums to
204 local circumstances (Chilvers, 2008; Chilvers and Kearnes, 2020;
205 Pallett, 2015) and uniquely respond to institutional and cultural
206 contexts.

207

208 3.1 Problem Framing

209 Our method uses two participatory activities to construct a balanced issue framing.
210 Recognizing that public concerns may not always align with those of experts (e.g., Jasanoff,
211 2003; Wynne, 1996) and that an expert-designed series of questions can merely reinforce pre-
212 existing expert commitments (Stirling, 2008), we begin our issue-framing process with open-
213 framing focus groups (e.g., Bellamy et al., 2016), which empower citizens to speak through their
214 experiences. We then combine citizen perspectives with expert and stakeholder perspectives
215 extracted from a prior review of the academic literature and from a stakeholder design workshop.
216 Prior to our full-scale deliberations, we conduct a small test deliberation and make necessary
217 adjustments to the design and materials to improve their clarity.

218

219 3.1.1 *Open-Framing Focus Groups:*

220 We recruit diverse groups of 15-20 citizens for open-framing focus groups in two to three
221 locations. These focus groups use a two-tiered deliberation model—occurring either on one full
222 day or two half-day sessions—to elicit both unstructured (tier 1) and structured (tier 2)
223 responses. The first tier includes open-ended questions on general hopes and concerns regarding
224 the topic (Rourke, 2014). Participants receive minimal background material during the first tier
225 and instead draw on their personal experiences to inform their responses (Bellamy et al., 2016;

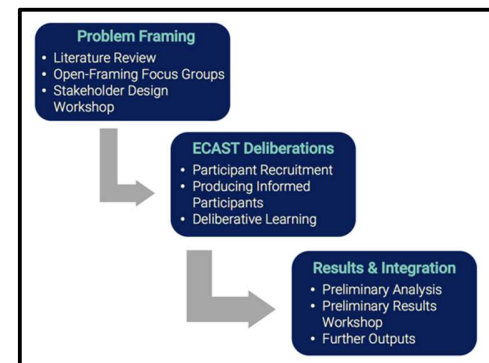


Figure 1: The three phases of the ECAST pTA method with their key activities.

226 Parkhill et al., 2013, p221). Beginning with a loose structure around the topic also allows us to
227 gauge the relationship between the issue and its social context (e.g., for driverless vehicles, we
228 begin with broader transportation issues) and reveals which issues participants prioritize most
229 (Macnaghten, 2017). The second tier introduces subject-specific background material, expands
230 on themes from first-tier discussions, and maps them against issues identified in the academic
231 literature review. While the first tier allows citizens to reflect freely and personally without
232 expert framing, the second tier offers additional reflections on issues not previously considered
233 by participants. The second tier thus serves as a check on how much framing influences public
234 perspectives and guides our approach to the general deliberation design.
235

236 **3.1.2 Stakeholder Design Workshop**

237 The purpose of the stakeholder design workshop is to solicit guidance from experts and
238 stakeholders on the design of our citizen deliberations. The workshop supports four main goals:
239 1) determine how to frame the policy problem from a diversity of perspectives and gauge the
240 trade-offs and levels of uncertainty associated with different plausible responses (Pielke Jr,
241 2007); 2) understand what basic knowledge is necessary for informed public input; 3) identify
242 what sociotechnical questions from the expert perspective could benefit from public deliberation
243 (Stirling and Mayer, 2001); and 4) ask experts and stakeholders to reflect on citizen responses
244 from the open-framing focus groups (Bellamy et al., 2016). We use these perspectives and
245 reflections, along with the outcomes of the open-framing exercises, to inform the questions,
246 structure, and background information for the pTA forums.

247 When inviting experts and stakeholders to the workshop, we are less concerned with filtering
248 out individuals who may be operating as advocates or “stealth advocates” (Pielke Jr, 2007), than
249 with assuring that our set of participants adequately represents the multifarious views and
250 positions for a given issue. A range of expert and stakeholder views helps to assure that
251 contested facts and values, and ongoing uncertainties, are not suppressed through an artificial
252 commitment to lowest-common-denominator consensus positions or supposedly neutral appeals
253 to unresolved uncertainties. We use these diverse expert and stakeholder perspectives and
254 reflections, along with the outcomes of the open-framing exercises, to inform the questions,
255 structure, and background information for the pTA forums, striving for an overall balanced
256 design. After the workshop, we construct an expert review committee that represents diverse
257 backgrounds and perspectives. These experts later review and provide feedback on the
258 background materials and deliberation design and may also answer questions during the ECAST
259 deliberations.

260

261 **3.2 ECAST Deliberation**

262

263 Derived from the Danish Board of Technology’s day-long, 100-person World Wide Views
264 (WWViews) method of multi-site deliberation (Danish Board of Technology, 2012), the

265 following paragraphs describe the method with which we elicit public values and preferences,
266 which we define as an ECAST deliberation.

267

268 **3.2.1 Participant Recruitment**

269 Our pTA citizen deliberations bring together approximately 80-100 diverse members of the
270 public that represent a cross-section of the population of the city or state in which the
271 deliberation takes place. In order to achieve sufficient diversity with respect to age, ethnicity,
272 education level, and other topic-specific criteria of relevance (e.g., for the project on driverless
273 mobility, the primary mode of transportation), we recruit participants through email lists, social
274 and traditional media, institutional partnering, and face-to-face canvassing, and offer a stipend,
275 usually \$100.⁵ We do not make any claims of, nor do we prioritize, statistical representation.
276 While census data guide our recruitment, we ultimately strive for diversity and inclusion,
277 bringing together representatives of each demographic group to promote a plurality of
278 perspectives (Dryzek, 2012).

279 We work to limit participation of individuals who are actively involved in the topic by
280 profession or through advocacy as their views (or those of people like them) are already known
281 through processes such as lobbying, public commenting, and town halls. They are also more
282 likely to dominate the conversation due to their higher levels of technical knowledge and
283 personal conviction (Kerr et al., 2007). The construction of a “disinterested public” offers
284 opportunities for decision-makers to hear new perspectives on an issue (Felt and Fochler, 2010;
285 Sclove, 1995).

286

287 **3.2.2 Producing Informed Participants**

288 We design our citizen deliberations in the style of what Kitcher (2001) describes as “tutored”
289 deliberations. As further defined by Durán and Pirtle (2020), tutored deliberants have an
290 understanding of the historical significance and values surrounding a question and feel ready to
291 debate a given issue. To promote thoughtful dialogue, we brief participants on the technical
292 aspects, salient issues, questions, and areas of uncertainty related to the topic. Participants
293 receive an information packet two weeks prior to the deliberation. Themed videos, multi-media
294 presentations, and briefing materials introduce additional information and considerations. These
295 briefing materials include “stakeholder cards”—cards with short descriptions of issue experts’
296 and stakeholders’ perspectives, and common public concerns derived from the open-framing
297 focus groups and the design workshop. In some of our projects, we included experts during the
298 deliberation activity in a limited and mediated (no direct interaction with participants) fashion to
299 answer participants’ questions.

300 Even though the expert review committee checks that the presented materials are balanced
301 and accurate, we recognize that briefing participants inevitably introduces some level of framing

⁵ Though some studies (detailed in National Research Council, 2013) suggest that stipend incentives may affect the responses research participants provide, we found that offering a stipend was critical for recruiting a sufficiently diverse participant sample.

302 effects. We also acknowledge that curation of the briefing materials involves values judgements
303 regarding what information is essential to avoid overwhelming participants with information
304 (Duncan et al., 2020). We rely on feedback from the stakeholder design workshop and our expert
305 review committee to determine this balance and seek to mitigate potential bias in two ways: 1)
306 Viewing the outcomes of the ECAST deliberations in light of the open-framed (un-briefed) focus
307 group responses, and 2) Using notes from table observers to understand the ways in which
308 participants draw on or reference the briefing materials.

309 Observations from past forums found that participants did often reference the briefing
310 materials and that the quality of discussion, even for highly technical topics, was high (Kaplan et
311 al., 2019; Tomblin et al., 2017). We attribute some of the successful integration of briefing
312 materials to our partnerships with informal science educators and their expertise in designing
313 accessible science education materials. Despite the challenges with briefing participants, we feel
314 that doing so is essential to combat criticisms that members of the public simply do not
315 understand the underlying technical issues. Our briefing process aims to “inform” rather than
316 “educate,” distinguishing it from both public communication and consultation (Rowe and
317 Frewer, 2005).

318

319 **3.2.3 *Deliberative Learning***

320 On the day of the deliberation, participants sit at tables of 6-8 individuals with a neutral
321 facilitator who guides them through multiple thematic sessions. For multi-site deliberations, all
322 sites use the same materials and facilitation protocol. All sessions are common across sites, with
323 the exception of one. The exception is a “local session” that is unique to each location and
324 dedicated to local issues. The general format for each session is: 1) watch a short briefing video,
325 2) engage in an interactive and facilitated table discussion regarding the session topic, and 3)
326 complete a group activity and individual worksheet. We host the deliberations at science
327 museums, universities, or similarly neutral locations so that participants feel the deliberation
328 process is independent of political influence.

329

330 **3.3 Results Integration**

331

332 **3.3.1 *Research Outputs and Analysis:***

333 We collect both quantitative and qualitative data regarding public values and rationales.
334 Qualitative data include written rationales from group activities and individual worksheets and
335 notes from table observers. In projects for which we have sufficient funding, we also create
336 transcriptions of table audio recordings. We analyze these qualitative data using standard open
337 and thematic coding methods (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Evans and Kotchetkova, 2009; Strauss
338 and Corbin, 1990). Open coding helps us identify emergent issues derived from deliberation
339 dialogue and written rationales (e.g., Macnaghten et al., 2019; Wibeck et al., 2015). Table
340 observations specifically help guide the open coding by identifying broader reasoning patterns
341 and by developing public value maps that reveal emerging, unanticipated issues (Bellamy et al.,

342 2017; Lezaun et al., 2017). We employ thematic coding to analyze the extent to which
343 participants are engaging with issues identified in the open-framing focus groups and design
344 workshops, and to identify themes of expressed interest to decision-makers.

345 Quantitative data collection tools include pre- and post-surveys—which assess
346 motivations for participation, overall procedural satisfaction, self-perceived attitude change, and
347 knowledge acquisition as a result of participation (Rask et al., 2012)—and Likert-scale ratings
348 (five or seven point scale ratings expressing level of agreement or disagreement with a
349 statement) and rankings on individual worksheets. We conduct basic quantitative analysis on
350 these data, calculating means and distributions, as well as two-sample t-tests (or ANOVA
351 analysis) to compare means between sites. We do not use these analyses to make any statistical
352 extrapolations from our participant groups to the population at large. Our statistical work is only
353 to make sense of the data generated by the deliberations and to provide a general assessment of
354 the forum. We use the aggregate profiles of participants at each site to help explain why different
355 sites might generate different perspectives on an issue. The profiles also help us identify
356 demographic differences in perspectives about an issue, which is useful in thinking about how
357 decision-making has differential impacts along socio-economic, educational, gender, and ethnic
358 lines (e.g., Williams and Woodson, 2019).

359

360 **3.3.2 Preliminary Results Workshop**

361 During the deliberations, we collect more data than we can analyze within the project
362 timeframe. We use a second workshop with issue experts and stakeholders to present preliminary
363 deliberation results and to solicit input on directions for further inquiry. This workshop serves as
364 the third participatory element in our pTA process. While we strive to generate usable input that
365 stakeholders find credible, salient, and legitimate (Cash et al., 2003), these workshops also
366 become an opportunity to take experts and stakeholders beyond what they normally accept as
367 usable data (Bellamy et al., 2013). For instance, the use of qualitative data in decision-making
368 can be unfamiliar to technical decision-makers. These workshops become first encounters with
369 this type of data, allowing for reflective exploration about what it means and how it can be used
370 in decision-making. Through this process, experts and stakeholders begin to expand their views
371 of the value of citizen input into decision-making (see NASA example below; Tomblin et al.,
372 2017). These workshops are also an opportunity for us to be reflexive about the framing, design,
373 implementation, and potential future expansion of the pTA deliberations (Chilvers, 2008;
374 Chilvers and Kearnes, 2020).

375

376 **3.3.3 General Outputs:**

377 We aim to generate outputs that: 1) more expansively evaluate the technical, social, legal,
378 and ethical dimensions of emerging science and technology issues, 2) encourage expert and
379 stakeholder reflexive engagement with emerging issues, 3) are useful to local and national policy
380 and decision-making processes (Delborne et al., 2013; Emery et al., 2015) 4) empower citizens
381 and promote broader societal dialogues on the issues, and 5) improve subsequent framing,

382 design, and implementation of future pTA forums. To that end, we disseminate our results in
383 multiple formats. In addition to producing peer-reviewed publications, we share pTA outputs via
384 reports and briefing presentations to decision-makers, potential future pTA deliberation hosts,
385 participants, and the broader public.
386

387 4 Mini Cases – Innovation and Learning

388

389 At the network’s inception, we set out to operationalize the five core ECAST objectives
390 strategically and opportunistically, maintaining a sensitivity to political openings and closings
391 (i.e. when decision-makers have interest in and resources for citizen input) (Chilvers and
392 Longhurst, 2016). The decision to use the World Wide Views (WWViews) method of
393 deliberation, opportunistic at the time, turned out to be strategically significant. Over the course
394 of subsequent projects, the method proved sufficiently agile, scalable and adaptable for
395 addressing diverse science and policy issues. We present here brief summaries of our initial
396 demonstration project and five succeeding projects that show how we reflexively and iteratively
397 modified our pTA method through continuous conceptual and methodological innovations.
398

399

399 4.1 World Wide Views on Biodiversity

400 Background: WWViews on Biodiversity was a global citizen consultation held in 25
401 countries on September 15, 2012. Designed and developed by the Danish Board of Technology
402 (DBT), the consultations provided input to the Eleventh Council of Parties of the United Nations
403 Convention on Biological Diversity. DBT trained the global partners on their WWViews method
404 and provided the deliberation design and materials. On the deliberation day, results from all of
405 the countries were uploaded to a website and were later analyzed and synthesized into a results
406 report for presentation to national and global bodies.
407

408

409 Process: We used WWViews on Biodiversity as a demonstration project for the ECAST
410 network, hosting deliberations in Boston, Denver, Phoenix, and Washington, DC. To showcase
411 the distributed network model, each site featured institutional partnerships between a university
412 and an informal science education center.

413

414 Learning: From this initial project we drew important lessons that expanded the ECAST
415 concept and spurred the development of our pTA method (Worthington et al., 2012):

416

417 1. **Actively engaging policy stakeholders:** Future efforts needed to broaden,
418 systematize, and integrate expert and stakeholder engagement into the design,
419 deliberation, and dissemination processes.

418

419 2. **Training for museum professionals:** Educators in science centers required training
on the concepts and practices of citizen deliberation.

- 420 3. **Integrated research and evaluation:** Research and evaluation needed to be an
421 integral part of the designed activities, not an afterthought.
- 422 4. **Improving participant recruitment:** The citizen recruitment process required
423 improvement by pre-screening citizens, paying a stipend, and partnering with
424 community organizations in order to meet our representative diversity and process
425 legitimacy goals.
- 426 5. **Capturing participant narratives:** Participants should be able to express their views
427 using their own words—beyond the standard pre-determined multiple-choice options
428 designed by experts and stakeholders.
- 429 6. **Exploring executive branch opportunities:** Future pTA projects should leverage the
430 citizen engagement component of the Open Government Initiative⁶ to create
431 partnerships with federal agencies.

432 We applied these lessons to our next pTA project, sponsored by NASA.

433

434

435 **4.2 Informing NASA’s Asteroid Initiative**

436 Background: In July 2013, NASA released a request for information on innovative ideas
437 to facilitate planning of the agency’s Asteroid Initiative. We submitted a response recommending
438 that NASA engage citizens via WWViews-style deliberations. We later entered into a
439 cooperative agreement with NASA to design and conduct two in-person and one online citizen
440 deliberations. The deliberations would collect informed citizen views on the Asteroid Initiative;
441 provide citizen views as an input to shape the Initiative’s direction and engagement activities;
442 and serve as a potential pilot for pTAs of NASA’s future science and technology initiatives.

443

444 Process: The cooperative agreement represented a departure from a standard federal
445 agency research grant. The nature of the agreement, which required that NASA remain involved,
446 fostered collaboration on the deliberation design. The project also provided an opportunity for us
447 to follow-up on all six of our WWViews Biodiversity lessons learned and innovate on the
448 WWViews method. We first instituted tighter screening to limit space experts and advocates.
449 Second, NASA sought to understand the reasoning processes that participants used in arriving at
450 their individual and group selections. We altered the WWViews deliberation design, adding
451 collection of qualitative data via written rationales for individual and group votes, notes from
452 table observers, and transcripts of table audio recordings to meet this need. These qualitative data
453 allowed us to construct narrative descriptions of table discussions. NASA program managers
454 found these narratives beneficial for countering criticisms that citizen preferences for one
455 technology pathway over another stemmed from a lack of understanding. As a third innovation,
456 we promoted more active engagement during the deliberation by introducing several discussion

⁶ During his presidency, President Obama called for greater transparency and public involvement in federal decision-making in his Memorandum on Transparent and Open Government (*Transparency and Open Government; Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies*, 2009).

457 aids and group activity boards. Fourth and finally, NASA experts participated in the deliberation
458 through a mediated and virtual expert question and answer session.

459

460 Learning: The most important lesson from the NASA project was that active engagement
461 of experts and stakeholders throughout the pTA process increases the usability of the pTA
462 outcomes. This active engagement was a reflexive co-learning process. Through consistent
463 communication with NASA experts, we were able to better understand the types of citizen input
464 data that they found most valuable and NASA experts expanded what they considered valuable
465 citizen input (e.g., the integration of qualitative data). Aiming to foster a similar dynamic around
466 the analysis of our pTA data in future projects, we decided to add what we later called a
467 preliminary results workshop to our method.

468

469 The deliberations provided direct input on NASA's 2014 Asteroid Redirect Mission
Downselect Decision which weighed tradeoffs between two methods for capturing an asteroid.
470 In deliberation, participants expressed a nearly unanimous preference for the option that included
471 as a co-benefit the social values of developing technology for future voyages to Mars and
472 advancing planetary defense (Tomblin et al., 2015). NASA ultimately chose to move forward
473 with this option. While their decision was grounded in many technical factors, we do know that
474 feedback from our pTA method was included in their decision process and that citizens'
475 preferences were consistent with NASA's final choice (Steitz, 2015). Furthermore, the
476 deliberations helped elevate the issue of planetary defense within NASA's discourse. In a public
477 event in March 2018, a NASA official stated that participants' strong emphasis on planetary
478 defense during the deliberations influenced the creation of NASA's Office of Planetary Defense
479 in 2015 (ASU, 2018). The meaning behind this action is twofold—it first demonstrates that
480 members of the public can exercise foresight when considering future priorities that may not be
481 the current focus of the technical community; and secondly, NASA did take seriously input from
482 the deliberation.

483

484 Nevertheless, though active engagement with NASA experts led to mutual learning and
485 influenced decision-making within some of NASA's directorates, we realized that the framing of
486 the pTA was narrowly construed through NASA's priorities. Based on our experience with
487 NASA, we subsequently sought to systematize sustained engagement with experts, but also
488 expand our pTA design to include a broader set of stakeholders.

489

490

490 **4.3 Community Deliberation for Improved Resilience and Environmental Decision-Making**

491

492 Background: During the NASA project, we improved upon many elements of our pTA
493 method but did not address our goal of implementing training for museum professionals. We
494 viewed museums as essential partners because of their convening power, status as a nonpolitical
495 institutions, and knowledge of local context. Though museums traditionally focus on exhibit-
496 based work, we sought to develop their capacity to host deliberations. An opportunity to do so
emerged with a request for proposal (RFP) from NOAA's Office of Education in Spring of 2015.

497 The RFP argued that in order for communities to become more resilient, “their members must
498 have the ability to...weigh the potential impacts of their decisions systematically” (“NOAA-
499 SEC-OED-2015-2004408,” 2015). We saw this as an opening to demonstrate how informed
500 citizen deliberation could be used as a replicable model for strengthening community resilience
501 while generating capacity within science museums to conduct pTAs.
502

503 Process: The first year of the three-year project focused on systematic and structured
504 expert and stakeholder engagement to design the deliberation, including the local sessions. This
505 process innovation grew out of critiques of narrow, expert framings like that in our NASA
506 project. We held workshops in Boston and Phoenix, bringing together not only NOAA experts
507 but also local resilience planners and stakeholders. We piloted our pTA method in two museums
508 and then replicated it in six additional museums in the United States. The Museum of Science,
509 Boston, a founding ECAST member, hosted the first deliberation and leveraged the event as a
510 training opportunity. In addition to learning about the logistics of recruiting for and hosting a
511 deliberation, the event managers and lead facilitators for future host-sites were able to actually
512 witness the execution of a pTA deliberation.
513

514 Learning: The key lesson for us was that museum teams can quickly develop capacity to
515 host deliberations using centrally-developed materials. This increased capacity, in turn, adds
516 value to pTA projects by providing additional locations where pTA practitioners can host
517 deliberations, ideally adding geographic diversity to the deliberation sites. One noteworthy
518 difference between the NASA and NOAA projects was the scope. While the goal of the NASA
519 project was to provide mission-level decision support, the NOAA project sought to develop local
520 capacity for resilience planning. Results integration was not part of the NOAA project scope and
521 was left to the initiatives of the local planning authorities. Some planning authorities used the
522 results but many did not. We believe that through more sustained engagement with our pTA
523 process, the planning authorities may have had greater trust in the method and seen value in the
524 developed materials as tools to support their educational and engagement goals. Nevertheless,
525 NOAA saw value in our deliberative approach and provided a follow-up grant to our partner, the
526 Museum of Science, Boston in 2018 (Table 1) to replicate the model and apply lessons-learned
527 in 20 additional cities.
528
529

530 **4.4 Open-Framing on Autonomous Vehicles**

531 Background: In late 2016, the Kettering Foundation, a research organization that studies
532 approaches for promoting democratic principles, invited us to a series of meetings about
533 improving methods of citizen participation. During the meetings, we highlighted two specific
534 areas for improvement based on our project experiences: rural representation and expert framing.
535 Primarily hosting our deliberations in major urban centers, we acknowledged our failure to
536 capture hopes and concerns of individuals living in rural areas. We also recognized that only

537 engaging experts and policy stakeholders in the design and development of our deliberation
538 topics and questions may alienate citizens during deliberation. If citizens do not see their
539 concerns reflected in the issue framing, they are apt to lose interest and disengage from the
540 process (Bellamy et al., 2016; Rourke, 2014). By only speaking with experts and stakeholders,
541 we might also fall victim to blind spots in emergent areas of concerns and fall short in one of the
542 main goals of public deliberation: citizen empowerment. We partnered with Kettering in the
543 spring of 2017 to conduct a design experiment. We sought to explore how citizen framing of
544 emergent technology issues might differ from those of experts and stakeholders. Using
545 autonomous vehicles (AVs) as the issue of focus, we used an open-framing approach—providing
546 minimal background information on AVs—to explore citizens’ hopes and concerns in a small,
547 rurally situated city (Cumberland) and an urban center (Baltimore) in Maryland.

548
549 Process: Traveling to each city twice over the course of four weekends, we solicited both
550 unstructured and structured responses from open-framing focus group participants. During the
551 first week’s discussion we asked participants their hopes and concerns about transportation, and
552 the hopes and concerns of their friends and family. The second week we introduced some
553 information about the various types of AV technologies, the five levels of automation, and areas
554 of expert concern that participants had yet to discuss. Participants then shared additional points
555 of concern in light of the new information. We used the insights derived from the focus groups to
556 create an issue guide about AVs for the National Issues Forums (Lloyd et al., 2018).

557
558 Lessons Learned: We were surprised that over the course of their discussions participants
559 touched on many of the issues we had identified during our literature review and also introduced
560 interesting new concerns. Though participants shared many of the same concerns as experts, the
561 relative priorities of those concerns differed between the two focus groups and between citizens
562 and experts. We found that the open-framing design created space for personal narratives to
563 surface. The focus groups also revealed that public concerns often extend beyond monetized
564 valuation continuums (e.g. lives saved, pollution avoided, and traffic reduced) characteristic of
565 choice sets in structured deliberations. This experiment convinced us of the value of flipping our
566 design process to begin with public concerns as a means of generating alternative issue framings
567 than those of experts. We incorporated this process innovation in our subsequent projects on
568 climate intervention research, a second project about autonomous vehicles, and a project on
569 human genome editing.

570
571

572 **4.5 Deliberations on Climate Intervention Research**

573 Background: Climate intervention research involves high uncertainty, expert
574 disagreement, and contested values—especially for a class of methods called Solar Radiation
575 Management (SRM) which aim to change the earth’s heat balance by reflecting more sunlight
576 back into space (National Research Council, 2015). In early 2017, a group of scientists from

577 Harvard University announced their plans for a field experiment to study a potential SRM
578 method (Dykema et al., 2014). Aware of possible public concern and opposition, the Harvard
579 team approached us about conducting a deliberation on their proposed research. We were wary
580 of using deliberation as a means to increase public acceptance of a contested research project.
581 Instead, we recommended developing a broader pTA deliberation inclusive of the perspectives of
582 proponents and opponents of the general prospect of SRM research. After discussions with
583 multiple philanthropic organizations, we secured funding from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation to
584 conduct pTA deliberations in two cities on democratic governance of SRM research.
585

586 Process: As an exploration of general SRM research governance, this project lacked a
587 direct tie to a specific decision process. We instead targeted the project outputs at three primary
588 audiences: scientists working on SRM research, funders who might support SRM research, and
589 scholars and practitioners engaged in developing governance frameworks for SRM research. We
590 also introduced the preliminary results workshop to support integration of pTA outputs into
591 expert and stakeholder decision processes. The project thus represented the first manifestation of
592 our full pTA method (Section 3). In designing a broader pTA deliberation, we chose to include
593 an option wherein participants could choose not to pursue SRM research. This option sought to
594 address the underlying question of “should we or should we not?” and give citizens the choice to
595 say no to conducting SRM research (Lehtonen, 2010). We also included a “we should not”
596 option in our later project about autonomous vehicle development.
597

598 Lessons Learned: The decision to broaden the scope of the pTA and situate it
599 independent of the Harvard research project yielded the desired outcomes of greater
600 methodological rigor and political legitimacy. This independence, however, came with a tradeoff
601 in terms of output usability and influence on decisions. In the NASA project, the pTA outputs
602 were directly integrated into agency decisions. In the NOAA project, local experts and decision
603 makers could learn from their direct involvement. Given the SRM project’s broad target
604 audiences and lack of focus on one specific research or technology development project,
605 producing a traceable impact in a similar timeframe was not possible. This experience exposed
606 the tension between the theory and practice of participatory deliberations, between being
607 embedded and being independent, and between process legitimacy and impact on decision
608 processes (e.g., Lehtonen, 2010; Stilgoe et al., 2014; Stirling, 2008). We feel that this tension
609 requires further discussion and debate amongst deliberation practitioners.
610
611

612 **4.6 Automated Vehicle Futures**

613 Background: After encountering differing expert and citizen framings of AVs during our
614 2017 Driverless Cars Issues project, we recognized the need for further deliberation on the
615 subject. Missions Publiques, a French nonprofit that organizes citizen deliberations and a prior
616 project partner of ours, was simultaneously in the midst of organizing day-long deliberations on

617 AVs in five French cities. In collaboration with Missions Publiques, we developed a plan to host
618 deliberations on automated vehicles in 17 cities across nine countries in Europe, the United
619 States, and Asia. In the U.S., we used philanthropic support to design and host deliberations in
620 Boston, Washington, and Phoenix in May of 2019. We also invited other cities to use our design
621 and deliberation materials to host a deliberation with their own funding. Several cities expressed
622 interest and ultimately Buffalo, NY convened the fourth U.S. forum in August, 2019.

623

624 Method: We adapted our pTA method to respond to the rapidly shifting socio-political
625 context of AVs. This included developing a broad partner coalition (e.g., project partners
626 included Audi, U.S. Federal Highway Administration, American Public Transportation
627 Association) within the U.S. to better understand diverse expert and stakeholder perspectives on
628 AV development and what questions could benefit from citizen deliberation. This project
629 involved all three participatory activities of our pTA method and brought back use of a local
630 session (not relevant in some of the previous projects) designed in collaboration with local
631 members of the partner coalition. By hosting the deliberations over many months, new cities
632 could join the project based on their individual policy or programmatic windows.

633

634 Lessons Learned: Building a partner coalition takes time, patience, and perseverance. We
635 required almost a year to identify and train cities to host the four deliberations. Partners that were
636 proactive and willing to invest their own resources hosted more successful deliberations. The
637 Greater Buffalo Niagara Regional Transportation Council, which hosted the Buffalo deliberation,
638 directly utilized the results from their local session to guide its strategic planning for automated
639 vehicles.

640 Deliberations on emerging technologies are not well-suited for the standard format for
641 grant-funded projects with set dates and deliverables since they rely heavily on social and
642 political windows of opportunity. These projects also require an especially flexible approach to
643 the pTA method since the issue context changes rapidly. When we began this project, the
644 deliberation outputs seemed most relevant to transportation planning agencies. Through
645 sustained interactions with experts and stakeholders, we ultimately found that the deliberations
646 generated outputs of greater interest to industry members. This project also served as a validation
647 that our pTA method is both structured enough to allow it to be replicated, and flexible enough to
648 be applied at various scales, ranging from the local to the global scales. The unique design
649 elements added during this project, as well as those discussed in the other mini cases, are
650 summarized in table 3.

651

652

653

654

655

656

		World Wide Views on Biodiversity (2012)	Informing NASA's Asteroid Initiative (2014)	Community Deliberation for Improved Resilience and Environmental Decision-Making (2015-2018)	Deliberations on Climate Intervention Research (2017-2019)	Combined Automated Vehicle Projects (2017-2019)
Design Element						
Problem Framing	Literature review	✓		✓	✓	✓
	Consultations with experts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Co-design with project sponsor		✓			
	Expert committee	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Stakeholder design workshop			✓	✓	✓
	Open-framing focus groups				✓	✓
	"We should not" option				✓	✓
	Multi-sectoral coalition					✓
	Deliberation	Expert Q&A		✓	✓	✓
Training for museum professionals				✓		
Active engagement (discussion aids, group activity boards)			✓	✓	✓	✓
Local session		✓		✓		✓
Results & Integration	Quantitative data	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Individual responses	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Qualitative data		✓	✓	✓	✓
	Group responses		✓	✓	✓	✓
	Preliminary results workshop			✓	✓	✓

657 **Table 3:** Table comparing design elements from mini case projects

658

659 5 Discussion and Future Research

660 Social science literature has explored and expounded upon the ideas of responsible
661 innovation, technology assessment, and anticipatory governance as means of promoting positive
662 societal outcomes in a post-normal context (Barben et al., 2008; Parkhill et al., 2013; Sclove,
663 1995; Stilgoe et al., 2013). Our pTA method offers one approach for operationalizing these
664 theories via citizen deliberation. Translating these theories into the policy and practice domains
665 inevitably creates a tension between methodological rigor and practicable and understandable
666 procedures. Through a process of “ongoing experimentation” (Lövbrand et al., 2011), we aspire
667 to the principles of good practice established at the ECAST network’s founding while working to

668 meet the needs of democratic decision-makers. The products of our decade-long experiment—
669 our pTA method and the ECAST network itself—offer not only a resource for practitioners of
670 democratic decision-making but also an institutional memory of lessons learned.

671 One of the main lessons is that our pTA method proved extremely adaptable. This
672 adaptability allowed us to incorporate new elements based on developing academic theories and
673 changing policy contexts. We built on the WWViews model, adding additional participatory
674 activities to address concerns regarding expert-only framings and to develop relationships for
675 improved decision impact (Delborne et al., 2013; Emery et al., 2015). Further, we found that
676 timing the deliberations based on policy windows rather than predefined project timelines
677 created more opportunities for citizen deliberations to support decision-making. Perhaps most
678 importantly, we grounded our method in a focus on reflexivity (Chilvers and Kearnes, 2020;
679 Stilgoe et al., 2013). Treating each pTA as a reflexive research project, we built upon our lessons
680 learned and embraced change in the face of evolving political, social, and institutional contexts
681 (Guston, 2011). We feel that the adaptability, flexibility, and reflexivity embedded in our three-
682 phase model allow for navigation of the delicate balance between policy and practice.

683 Operationalizing principles of democratic decision-making through a distributed network
684 offers unique advantages. ECAST’s distributed structure brings together a breadth of expertise
685 beyond the scope of one organization. The projects benefit from the partners’ diverse
686 experiences with engagement, academic research, and policy translation and the partners learn
687 from one another through the collaboration process. ECAST partners then transfer what they
688 have learned to the next project. In other words, there is knowledge generation, absorption and
689 internalization leading to iterative innovation and improvement, just as would be the case with a
690 learning organization (Senge, 2006).

691 Many deliberation methods emphasize the impacts of the experience on participants.
692 While important, we are also interested in exploring the impacts on the experts, stakeholders, and
693 conveners involved with pTA deliberations. Our experience and project-specific evidence
694 suggest this process of co-design helps promote a new way of “seeing participation” (Chilvers
695 and Kearnes, 2020) that extends beyond a deficit model view of public engagement wherein
696 public distrust of science stems from a lack of understanding (The Royal Society, 1985). To
697 expand our project-specific evidence of organizational impacts of pTA, we are working with
698 another researcher to explore the influence of pTA on expert culture as part of an NSF-funded
699 research study.

700 ECAST’s distributed structure also promotes independence, continuity, and
701 sustainability. However, shift in patronage can occur between legislative or executive regimes, or
702 even during a single regime, due to changes in policy priorities. Our first federally sponsored
703 project did not materialize until President Obama’s second administration, even though civil
704 servants from the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment and the Government Accountability
705 Office expressed interest in our work much earlier. We also experienced a shift in our portfolio
706 after the 2016 U.S. administration change when we pivoted to philanthropic and local
707 government sources of funding and government-industry-nonprofit partner coalitions. The shift
708 became an opportunity to support democratic decision-making in a much broader context rather

709 than organizational dissolution, and was accomplished without compromising ECAST’s
710 principles or goals.

711 Establishing strong partnerships among experts, stakeholders, conveners, and project
712 funders is a critical element of the process. As Polk (2015) highlights, even the generation of
713 socially-robust, co-produced knowledge is not enough to ensure its uptake. The outputs from our
714 pTA method proved most valuable for decision-making when the project had a direct connection
715 to a policy decision and when there were strong “process champions” creating the space and
716 legitimacy for this type of work in the relevant decision-making bodies (Torres, 2021).

717 While not currently formally measured as such, many of the ECAST pTA method’s
718 outcomes, such as the breadth of the ECAST portfolio, the establishment of new partnerships,
719 and the identified organizational impacts align with established measurements of success such as
720 feasibility, usability, and utility that are used to assess other process-based approaches (Platts,
721 1993; Platts and Gregory, 1990). In future pTA projects, we can apply these measures more
722 systematically to compare successes across projects and assess whether we are becoming more
723 successful over time.

724 Finally, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, we have had to adapt our method to a virtual
725 format. Examples of successful large-scale online deliberations exist, including the final round of
726 France’s Citizen Convention on Climate (Giraudet et al., 2021). The deliberations we hosted
727 virtually allowed us to reach participants from a greater geographic range and engage with
728 certain demographic groups that are harder to reach in a city setting. We ultimately felt, however,
729 that the virtual deliberations were not good substitutes for in-person deliberations. Given the
730 unique stressors and distractions of the pandemic-induced lockdowns, we feel the topics we
731 explored in our virtual deliberations require further discussion during more normal times.
732 Further, we found that virtual deliberations were still resource intensive as they still required
733 facilitators and notetakers.

734 As we share our pTA method and lessons from our projects, we hope to return to the
735 original vision for the network—operationalizing principles to support democratic decision-
736 making. While we originally set out to help expand the voices and values providing science and
737 technical advice to U.S. Congress, we found a need and demand for this work in multiple
738 branches and levels of governance, and in different decision contexts. We plan to continue
739 revising our method to better support democratic steering of science policy decisions⁷. Even so,
740 we hope to build capacity to conduct pTAs beyond our network in the federal agencies, local
741 governments, science museums, informal public venues, and beyond. Over time, these
742 organizations could integrate deliberative practices into their organizations; perhaps no longer
743 even needing an external actor like ECAST for routine rulemaking and decision support. The
744 issues facing the global scientific community—from climate change to human genome editing to
745 artificial intelligence—necessitate inclusion of a broad set of public values and voices to support

⁷ We see the reflexive and adaptable nature of our approach as one of its most valuable features. Rather than view the method as fixed, we consider it continually evolving. The three core phases of our approach (Problem Framing, ECAST Deliberations, and Results & Integration) distinguish it as an ECAST pTA deliberation, but the specific features of those phases may vary to meet the needs of the democratic decision-makers.

746 democratic decision-making. We hope that this paper illustrates how an iterative, reflexive,
747 collaborative, distributed, and innovation-focused approach can create sustained capacity to help
748 meet this demand.

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775

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