



Democracy 2025

AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC SERVICE
DELIBERATIVE JURY REPORT

DEFINING THE CHALLENGE, MAKING THE CHANGE

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Museum of
Australian Democracy
Old Parliament House



UNIVERSITY OF
CANBERRA



INSTITUTE FOR
GOVERNANCE
& POLICY ANALYSIS

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ABOUT DEMOCRACY 2025

Across the world trust in political institutions is in decline. This matters. Trust is the basis of institutional support. It is the glue between government and citizen that facilitates collective action for mutual benefit. Without trust we don't have the ability to address complex, long-term challenges or build integrated and cohesive communities.

Trust is also closely tied to satisfaction; it is an indicator of the health of democracy. The Museum of Australian Democracy (MoAD)'s recent research, *Trust and Democracy in Australia*, shows that satisfaction in our democratic practice has more than halved over the past decade and trust in key political institutions and leaders recently reached its lowest level since measurement began. In response to this, MoAD, together with the Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis at the University of Canberra (UC-IGPA), established the initiative *Democracy 2025 – bridging the trust divide*. Its purpose is to ignite a national conversation on how we can bridge the trust divide, strengthen democratic practice, and restore the confidence of Australians in the performance of their political institutions. Achieving these goals require us to understand why trust has declined, and what will need to be done to rebuild it. *Democracy 2025* audits the qualities of Australian democracy, investigates and experiments with new and old ways of doing democracy and facilitates conversations on how to improve our democratic practices and be the best democracy that we can be.

MoAD holds a unique position on the frontline of democracy, civic agency and change. We are a museum not just of objects but of ideas. We seek to empower Australians through exhibitions, schools' learning programs and events that both stimulate and inspire. Trusted by the public, government, public service and business alike, we are uniquely able to advance national conversations about democracy, past, present and future.

Australia's independent public service has an important voice in this debate and potentially a central role in bridging the trust divide. This report examines the problem of declining public trust from the perspective of a representative sample of federal public servants brought together to deliberate on the role they could play in the renewal of Australia's democratic practice. Find out more at: www.democracy2025.gov.au.

Daryl Karp AM
Director,
MoAD

Professor Mark Evans
Director,
Democracy 2025

FOREWORD

The APS has a fundamental role to play in helping to bridge the trust divide between government and citizen and reverse recent trends. As David Thodey, the Chair of the Independent Review of the Australian Public Service has highlighted “Trust is a foundation stone for good [APS] work”.¹ With this aim in mind a deliberative jury was established by Democracy 2025 with the support of members of the Secretaries Board to scope the nature of the problem and examine what the APS and its key partners in Australian governance could do to address the divide.

The thoughts of the deliberative jury focused on the questions – what would a trusted public service look like and how can the APS create it? The findings demonstrate, in line with the forthcoming Thodey recommendations, that it is time for the APS to renew itself to strengthen its capacity to better support the needs and aspirations of Australian communities. A range of potential avenues for strengthening the work of the APS are presented for further exploration.

Many thanks to Democracy 2025 at the Museum of Australian Democracy, and its partners Mosaiclab and the Public Policy and Societal Impact Hub at the Australian National University for designing such a thought provoking conversation and demonstrating the power of deliberation. But above all, thank you to the members of deliberative jury and their agency sponsors for helping write the next chapter in the remarkable history of the APS.

Dr Heather Smith PSM

Secretary, Department of Industry,
Innovation and Science

¹ See www.apsreview.gov.au/news/vision-australias-public-service

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings from an Australian Public Service (APS) deliberative jury which was convened between the 13th and 14th February at Old Parliament House. In this first of what we hope will be a series of Chatham House deliberations we focused on the questions – *what key elements of democratic trust are broken and what needs to change to create a trusted APS?*

Nine recommendations for bridging the trust divide have been tabled for consideration by the Secretaries Board stimulated by the desire of jury members to serve the Australian community and support the needs and aspirations of Australian communities. These are:

1. To maintain the central role of the APS in the Westminster advisory system the capability of the advisory system needs to be enhanced through the adoption of the best innovation and evidence-based practices.
2. To ensure that programs and services are fit for purpose citizen-centred design should be a first principle of policy and service development.
3. To ensure that programs and services meet the needs and aspirations of the citizenry, the APS should embed a culture of authentic, early, regular and open citizen engagement to drive policy development.
4. To counteract truth decay and communicate effectively with the citizenry, the APS needs to engage in public debate to justify actions, explain policy and present evidence in an honest and reliable way.
5. To benefit from the diversity of knowledge and experience in different sectors APS staff should be mandated to rotations in other sectors and jurisdictions.
6. To improve civic and whole of government understanding of public policy decision-making provide a public right to know guarantee through an open government information framework (subject to normal exemptions).
7. To build strong and effective working relationships between ministers, political advisers, and the APS develop collaborative learning and development opportunities and appoint senior departmental officers to adviser positions in Ministerial offices.
8. To ensure a sustainable future build long term/strategic policy systems on key policy issues (e.g. the economy, climate, ageing, geopolitics, education, health and wellbeing).
9. To deliver on the APS's role as defined by the 1999 Public Service Act we require courageous and authentic leadership at the senior executive level. This should be enshrined and measured through the achievement of its vision, putting public service values into practice, meeting its accountabilities and delivering positive outcomes for communities.

Our recommendations focus on building trusting working relationships between the APS and ministers' offices, other jurisdictions of government, the media system and the Australian citizenry. In addition, an emphasis is placed on inclusive policy-making for the long term and

building institutional capacity to adapt to longer term challenges beyond the short term electoral cycle. This will require reaffirmation of some of the key features of the Westminster model of parliamentary government; in particular, the independent nature of the APS and its ability to recruit its leadership free of political interference, discharge its stewardship role and meet the terms of the *1999 Public Service Act*.

It will also require celebration of what is authentically Australian about our Westminster system and the central role of an independent APS in both maintaining and enabling public sector institutions and services to flourish.

JUROR REFLECTIONS

"Great to work with people who want to do interesting things to make APS better."

"It was interesting to see how the ideas came together."

"It was a privilege to be asked to participate"

"I started with some trepidation but I have really enjoyed it."

"I thought it was really interesting that we got different views from different backgrounds but in the end came to agreement."

"The room had a range of diverse views and everyone treated each other with respect and allowed people to say what they wanted to say."

"We were able to get into the nitty gritty in a way that we can't in other forums."

"Everyone was really honest today."

"The Australian Public Service is in good hands."

"It was nice to work on something that is important and feeling like my little voice can make a difference."

"It has been great to meet a whole raft of people from across the public service."

"So many issues we face cross portfolios and trust is one of them."

"I really enjoyed being part of the process. We all have really different experiences but have ended up with an agreed set of themes."

"A lot has changed since I was in the public service but the passion is still there and it is a delight."

"Having the ex-public servants was valuable, learning from their experiences."

"Organisation and facilitation were really good, as was the choice of venue; my favourite culture venue in Canberra."

"It has been great to meet so many different people who are working on these issues that I never knew."

"The format was really interesting and enabled people from diverse perspectives to develop quality recommendations that they own."

"You don't know at the start of these discussions how they will go. I have been humbled. Everyone was generous which was a quality of the public service."

"I'm looking forward to hearing the outcome of what has been an extraordinary conversation."

"It is great to have a really good outcome. We have a high-quality contribution here."

"It is incredible to see how people take to the format and give it so much energy and commitment."

"This method makes people feel committed and want to engage in it."

"We achieved shared outcomes because of shared values which makes me very optimistic for the public service."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is always exciting to be involved in a change process when there is a genuine commitment to collaborative problem-solving. We would therefore like to express our gratitude to those collaborators who have helped us to define the progressive challenge for the next chapter in the history of the APS and map some potential pathways to its achievement.

Firstly, to our passionate and creative facilitators Nicole Hunter and Kimbra White from Mosaiclab; thank you for being so easy to work with and providing such great facilitation to the project.

Secondly, to Sean Innis and the Public Policy and Societal Impact Hub at the Australian National University, thank you for being so generous with your time and rich in insights.

Thirdly, special thanks must also be conveyed to Daryl Karp, Director of the Museum of Australian Democracy, Dr Heather Smith PSM, Secretary to the Department of Industry, Innovation and Science and her Chief of Staff, Louise Talbot, for their tremendous help in bringing this project to fruition.

Fourthly, a huge thank you to members of the Secretaries Board and their jurors for participating in the project. I hope this report provides a strong measure of the potential contribution that deliberation can make to addressing complex problems.

And finally, many thanks to Nicole Moore for her great intellectual and analytical support in compiling this report and Sabina Moore for her wonderful logistical support.

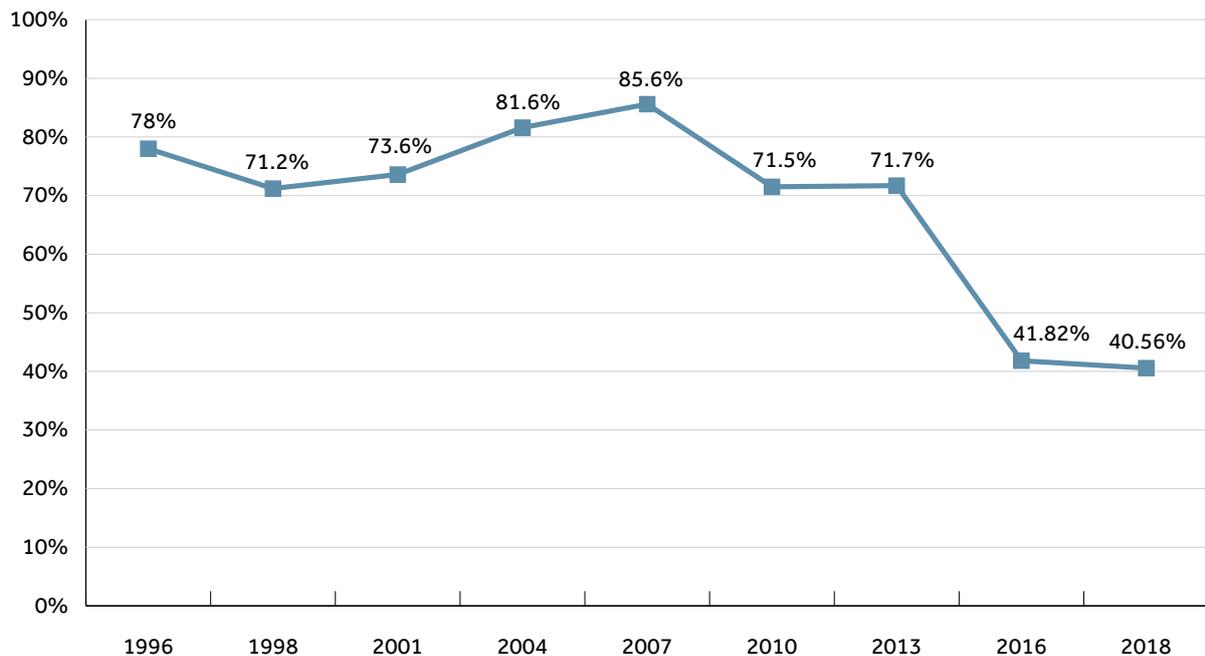
Professor Mark Evans

1. PREAMBLE

The 2018 Edelman Trust Barometer reports 'a world of seemingly stagnant trust' with 80 per cent of the world's democracies being distrusted by the majority of their citizens. Across Australia public trust in our democracy is also in decline. Democracy 2025's recent research, *Trust and Democracy in Australia* (Stoker, Evans and Halupka, 2018), shows that satisfaction in democracy has more than halved in a decade. Australia's leading institutions including government, business, NGOs and media are

among the least-trusted in the world at a time when the Australian economy has experienced twenty-five years of economic growth. The level of democratic satisfaction (41 per cent) and trust in politicians and government ministers (21 per cent), political parties (19 per cent) and federal government (31 per cent)² is at an all-time low and social trust between Australians has fallen below 50 per cent for the first time to 47 per cent.

Figure 1. Democratic satisfaction in Australia 1996 to 2018



Source: Stoker, Evans and Halupka, 2018.

² These findings are also in keeping with the 2018 Australian Values Study (retrieved 25 February 2019 from: <https://www.srcentre.com.au/ausvalues>) and the Electoral Integrity Project (retrieved 23 August 2019 from: <https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/>).

Above all we appear to live in a more polarised world of “us” and “them”. In between there are increasing numbers of people who are feeling economically insecure, fearful for their jobs in an age of continual restructuring, cost containment and casualisation.³ The sense of belonging to a successful national project is being questioned.

By 2025 if nothing is done and current trends continue, fewer than 10 per cent of Australians will trust their politicians and political institutions – undermining the capacity for effective and legitimate government. Trust is the glue that binds government to citizen and facilitates collective action for mutual benefit. Without trust our ability to address complex, long-term challenges is severely constrained.

³ Retrieved 23 August 2019 from: <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/income-inequality.htm>.

2. DEFINING THE CHALLENGE

How we tackle the trust divide depends on how we define the problem and our research demonstrates that the problem is multi-dimensional requiring a broad range of responses (see Stoker and Evans, 2018). The literature can be loosely organised around demand and supply-side theories of trust.⁴

Demand-side theories focus on how much individuals trust government and politics and explore their key characteristics. What is it about citizens, such as their educational background, class, location, country or cohort of birth which makes them trusting or not? What drives the prospects for political engagement and what makes citizens feel that their vote counts? Or that their active engagement could deliver value. Are citizens changing their outlook and perspectives which in some way is making them less trusting and willing to participate? In general, the strongest predictors of distrust continue to be attitudinal and are connected to negativity about politics and in Australia particularly politicians, political parties and media.

Supply-side theories of trust start from the premise that public trust must in some way correspond with the trustworthiness of government. The argument here is that it is the supply of government that matters most in orienting the outlooks of citizens (OECD, 2018). It is common to consider whether it is perceptions of the *performance* of government, or its apparent *procedural fairness and quality* or whether there is something in the way that the trustworthiness of political institutions is *communicated* through a negative media system that matters most to trust.

What is clear is that trust is a complex and potentially “wicked” problem with multiple causes that requires a multi-faceted, cross-sectoral response (Stoker and Evans, 2018b). It is also evident given its pivotal role in the supply of government that the APS is uniquely placed and qualified to address certain aspects of the trust divide in partnership with other governance actors.

4 Evans, M. (2019), ‘Trust in politicians and government is at an all-time low. The next government must work to fix that’, The Conversation 25 February 2019, retrieved 22 July 2019 from: <https://theconversation.com/trust-in-politicians-and-government-is-at-an-all-time-low-the-next-government-must-work-to-fix-that-110886>

3. OUR PURPOSE – MAKING THE CHANGE

So what can the APS do to help bridge the trust divide? A partnership between *Democracy 2025* at the Museum of Australian Democracy, the Australian National University's *Public Policy and Societal Impact Hub*, Mosaiclab and the APS was recently established to curate a series of facilitated conversations on what the APS can do to bridge the trust divide.

The first Chatham House deliberation took place between the 13th and 14th February at Old Parliament House. In this first of what we hope will be a series of Chatham House deliberations we focused on the questions – *what key elements of democratic trust are broken and what needs to change to create a trusted APS?*

4. METHODS

Why are we using deliberative democratic techniques to guide this process? Deliberative democracy is increasingly viewed to be the most effective way of solving complex problems in a contested policy environment featured by low levels of public trust (Dryzek, 2010). Our partnership has significant experience in hosting and organising deliberative events, building on the experience of a number of participatory formats. We have designed several deliberative forums including the award winning 2007 European Citizen's Consultation (Mark Evans), and, the 2016 citizen assembly process on regional governance in the United Kingdom (Gerry Stoker). In addition, Mosaiclab has collaborated on the design and delivery of a range of citizen juries for the New Democracy Foundation including Local Democracy in Geelong, Yarra Valley Water, and Nuclear Waste Management in South Australia (see: <https://www.mosaiclab.com.au/projects/>).⁵

A Citizens' Jury is a group of randomly selected members of a community convened to consider a given topic and provide a response or recommendation to a governing body. In Australia and around the world, juries have increasingly become recognised for their capacity to deliver outcomes that are trusted by the broader community.⁶

The key operational features of a jury are:

- *Random Selection* – drawing on the criminal justice system jurors assess evidence, discuss their views and reach a consensus recommendation because random selection generates “people like us”.
- *Time* – is largely dependent on the nature of the task undertaken and the knowledge of the jurors but regardless of whether the jurors are lay-people or experts there should be sufficient time to meaningfully deliberate and find common ground without feeling pushed toward a pre-ordained outcome.
- *Information* – neutrality and accessibility of information is a core principle.
- *Clear remit* – a plain English question, phrased neutrally is essential.
- *Upfront authority* – to get everyday people in the room making a considerable time commitment, they need to know that the recommendations they reach mean something and won't be consumed within the bureaucracy.
- *Operation* – an 80 per cent supermajority is required for a final decision from the jury. In practice, they rarely need to go to a vote and decisions are frequently unanimous.
- Pre and post surveys are completed by participants to assess the impact of deliberation on preference formation.

In this case, we adopted the operational features of a jury but worked with an expert group of public servants.

⁵ See Nicole Moore's, better practice report for Democracy 2025, Co-design and Deliberative Engagement: what works? Retrieved 23 August 2019 from: <https://www.democracy2025.gov.au/documents/Democracy2025-report3.pdf>

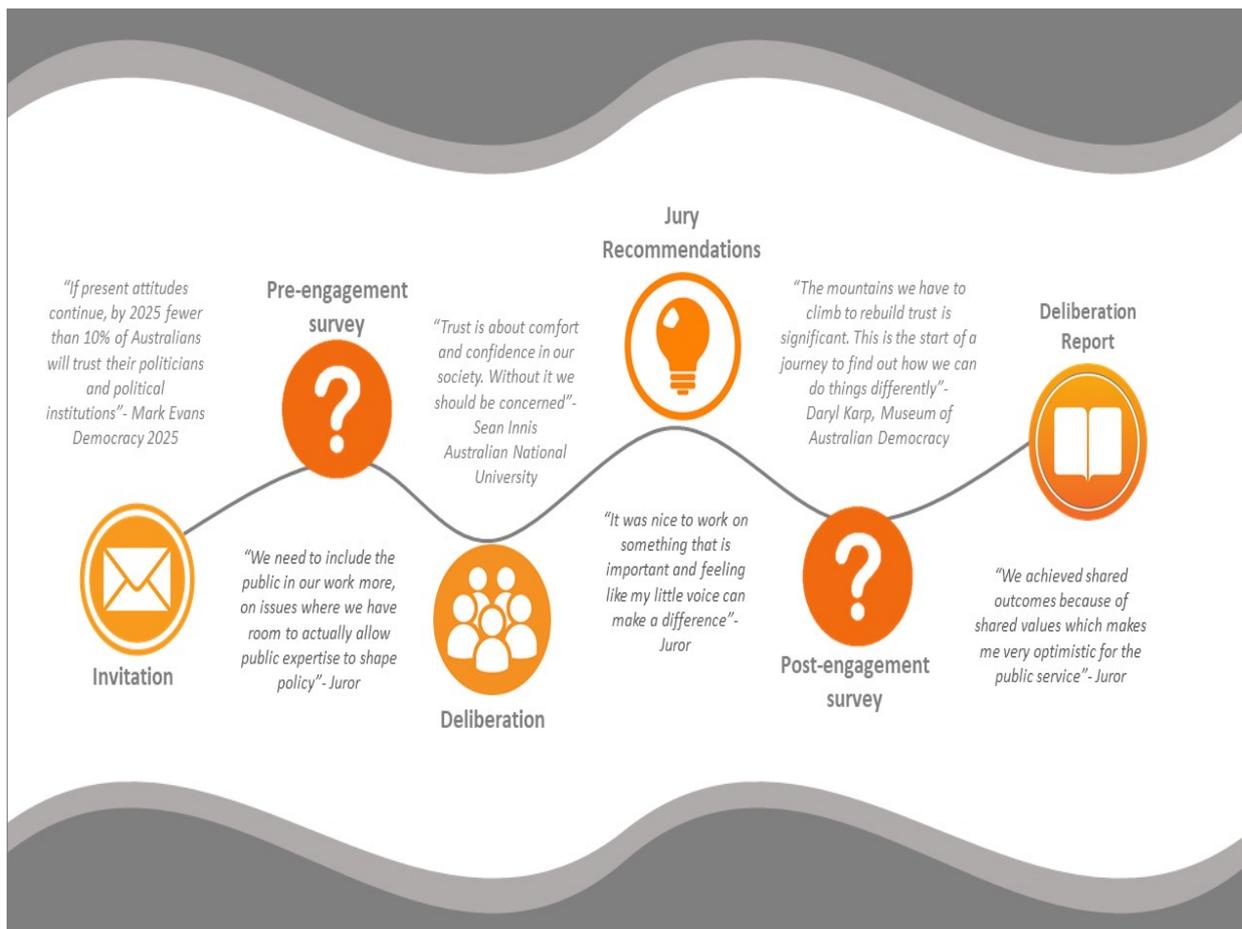
⁶ For further details, see: <https://www.newdemocracy.com.au/library/what-is-a-citizens-jury> (retrieved 22 August 2019).

The deliberative process

Our deliberation included 21 nominated delegates from every member of the APS Secretaries Board, and, the Commonwealth Ombudsman's Office together with four former secretaries and deputy secretaries to provide institutional memory. The serving public servants were drawn from the SES (4) and Executive levels 1 (6) and 2 (7) with one representative from the APS 6 band.

The deliberative process is described in Figure 2. The deliberative format of the conversations ensured that every voice is heard through a combination of professional facilitation, high quality supporting documentation, and focused outcome-driven agenda. The agenda is designed to allow participants to refine their own views and define their highest priorities.

Figure 2. The deliberation process



The proceedings included conversations with experts who acted as witnesses and presented their latest findings and personal insights on addressing different aspects of the trust divide. The topics were chosen due to their salience in the existing literature (Stoker and Evans, 2018). Our expert group included:

- Associate Professor Ann Evans (Australian National University) on social inclusion issues (Economist, 2018; World Bank, 2018)
- Sean Innis (former Special Advisor to the Productivity Commission) on APS-private sector relationships (Evans and Halupka, 2017);
- Former Senator Bob McMullan on APS-political relationships (Boswell, 2018; OECD, 2018);
- Michelle Grattan AO on APS-media relations (European Commission, 2017&2018);
- Lin Hatfield Dodds (Deputy Secretary, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet) on APS-community relations (Evans, Stoker and Halupka, 2018); and,
- Professor Gerry Stoker (University of Southampton) on the international response to the trust divide (Boswell, 2018; OECD, 2018; Parent et al., 2005; Stoker and Evans, 2018).

5. PRE-DELIBERATION SURVEY FINDINGS

Jury members were surveyed prior to the deliberation process to assess their levels of concern and understanding on the issue of trust. There was a high level of concern regarding the significance that the decline of political trust has on the work of the APS (see Chart 1). There was however less awareness on the role of the APS in contributing to the decline in trust (see Chart 2) and still less appreciation for the role of the APS in improving the trust divide (see Chart 3).

Jurors were also asked two qualitative questions to unpack their understanding of what key elements of political trust are broken and what specific interventions the APS could introduce to bridge the trust divide.

Chart 1. Overall, how significant is the decline of political trust for the work of the APS?

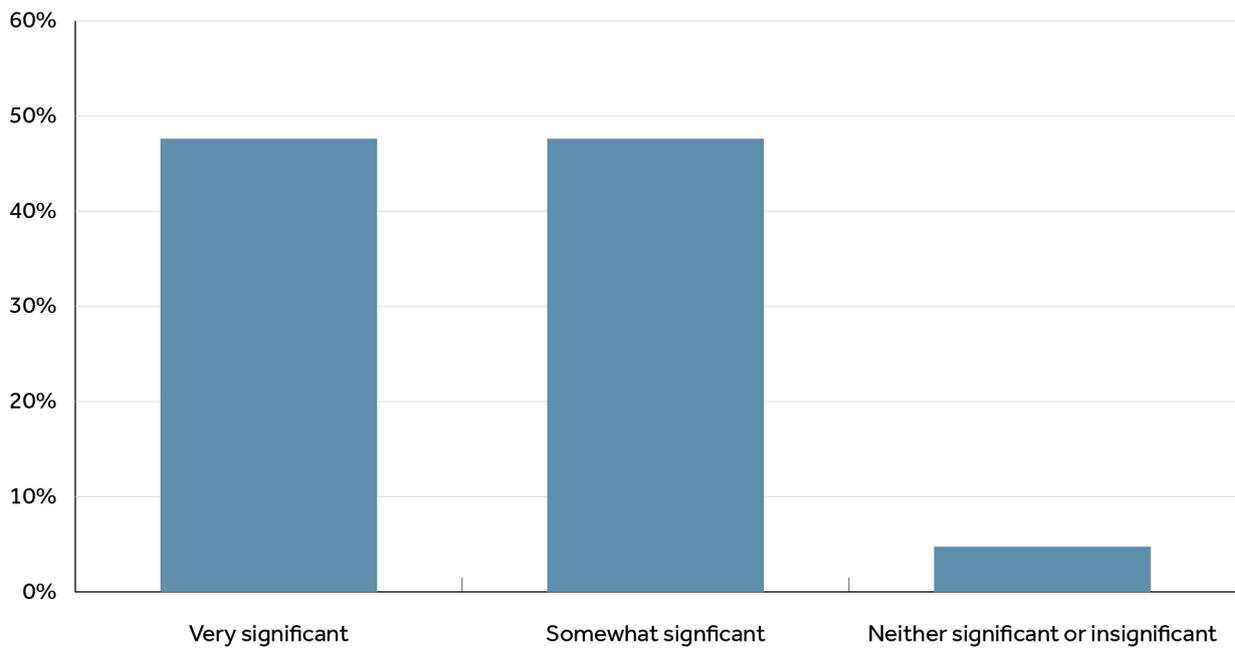


Chart 2. To what extent has the APS through its actions (as opposed to those of politicians) contributed to the decline in trust?

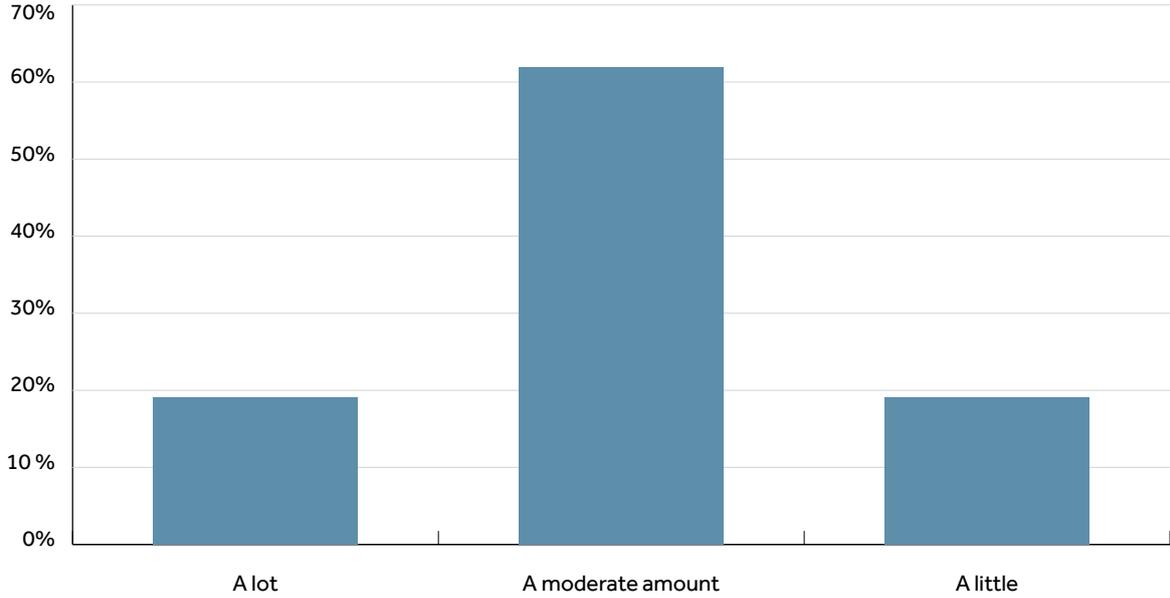
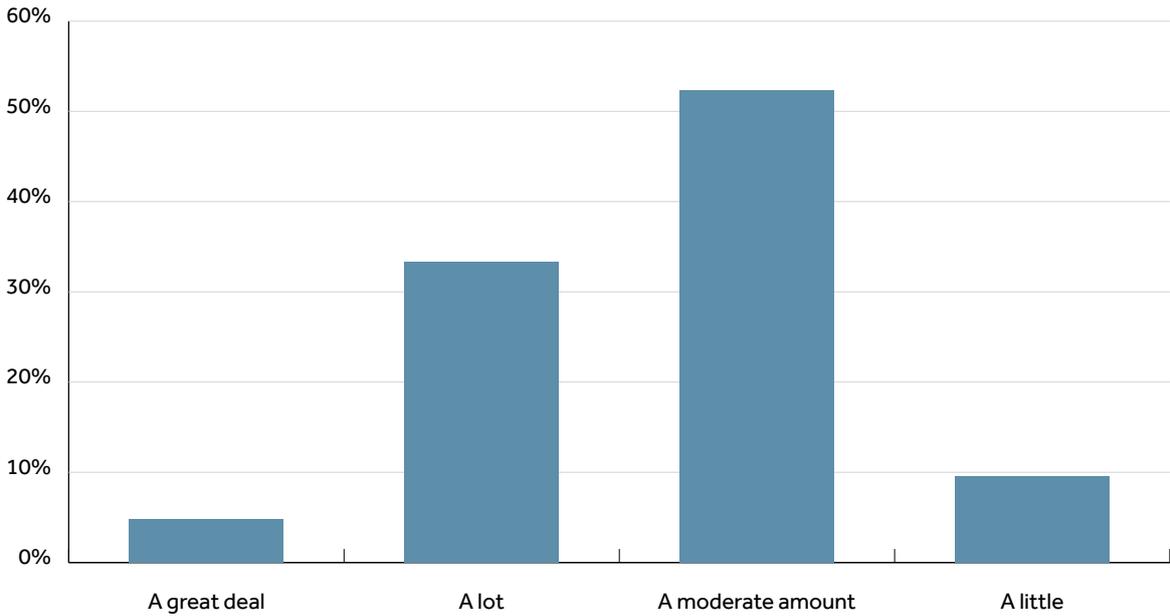


Chart 3. To what extent can actions from the APS be expected to improve the trust divide?



Pre-survey responses: what is broken?

In terms of what elements of political trust are broken, 34 per cent of jurors expressed concerns over public perceptions that governments aren't focused on the issues that matter to the public, that self-interests or special interest groups drive government action, and that focusing on the

short-term costs of election cycles can prevent governments from meeting the needs of the people.

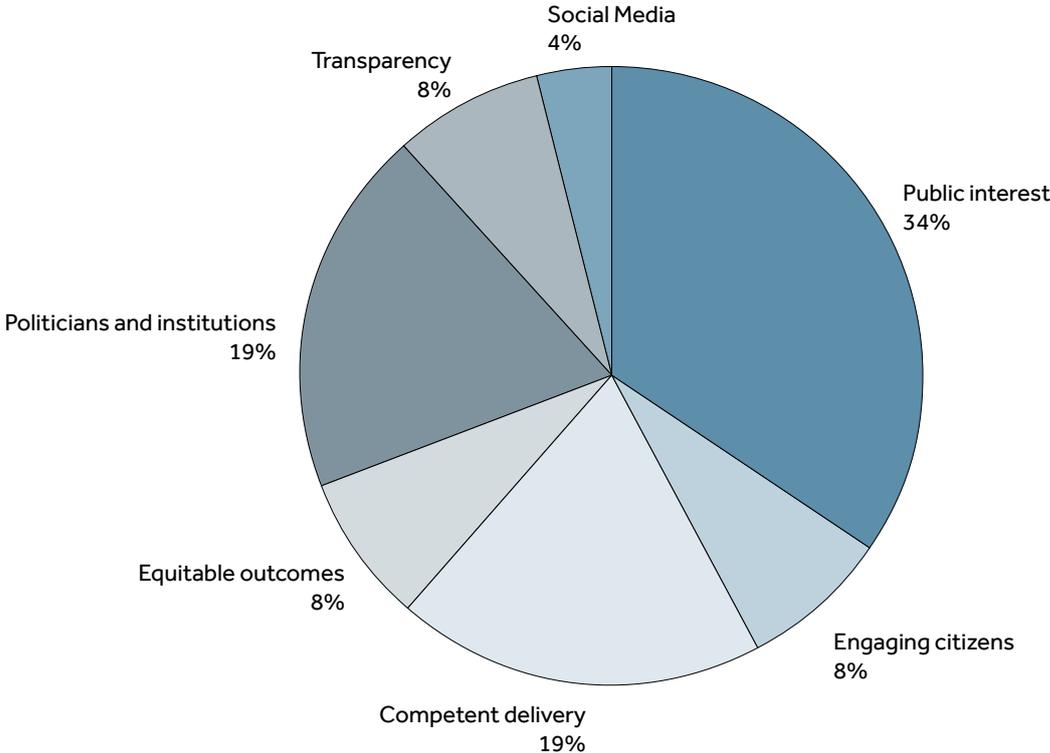
A further 19 per cent of jurors suggested that a lack of accountability and courage to lead through challenges has contributed to the decline of trust, including politicians and institutions failing to act

with integrity in order to serve their own interests. In addition, 19 per cent of jurors also acknowledged that lack of competent delivery of services and programs is a contributing factor.

Finally, jurors suggested that not engaging citizens to harness their experiences and expertise in the design of public policy and services, not ensuring

equality in the distribution of public benefits, lack of transparency and sharing of knowledge, and the role of social media in driving adversarial discourse, also contribute to the decline of political trust (see Chart 4).

Chart 4. What key elements of political trust are broken?



Pre-survey responses: what interventions could the APS introduce?

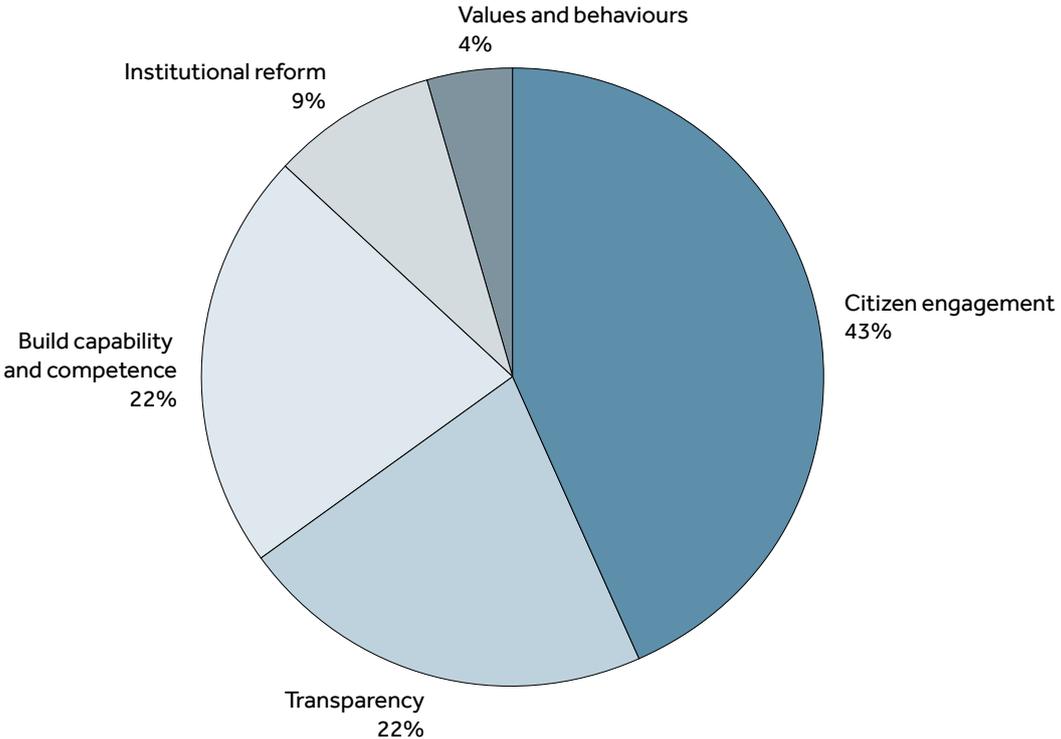
In terms of specific interventions that the APS could introduce to bridge the trust divide, 43 per cent of jurors suggested enhancing citizen engagement through genuine partnerships with citizens and proactive co-design at all stages of decision making.

A further 22 per cent suggested building capability and competence in the public service by ensuring continuous high quality, simple and reliable services with integrity measures for staff and the use of evidence to develop public policy. In addition, 22 per cent suggested increasing transparency by being open about decisions made and the justifications that support them.

Finally, jurors suggested ensuring independent institutions are capable of holding government to account through strengthened systems and acting ethically within a sound understanding of government roles and responsibilities (see Chart 5).

The outcomes of the pre-engagement survey were presented to jurors at the commencement of the deliberation process, providing provocation to test assumptions against the evidence presented by expert witnesses.

Chart 5. What specific interventions can the APS introduce to bridge the trust divide?



6. WHAT'S BROKEN?

When we asked the jury to deliberate on the question – what's broken? – a range of challenges to the APS being able to deliver on its current and future role within the Westminster model of parliamentary government came to the fore.

These responses (see Table 1) can be organised around three sets of challenges: challenges to the authority of the APS within the Westminster system of government; 'environmental' challenges that are outside the direct control of the APS but

impact directly on its work; and, 'institutional' challenges that capture the impact of organisational structures, resources and roles that can impede the effectiveness of the APS. Building trusting relationships with ministers' offices, other jurisdictions of government, the media system and the Australian citizenry was considered particularly important to meeting these challenges.

Table 1. Challenges to the Australian Public Service in the Westminster system

<h3>Westminster authority</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cultural authority of the APS is being challenged • Voice – “our voice is broken as an independent institution” • The Government is perceived not to be acting in the public interest • APS is perceived to be prioritising its relationship with government over the community • Pathology of the short-term is at odds with the long-term requirements of policy development • Government is viewed to be “closed” – lacks transparency, spin and obfuscation 	
<h3>Institutional challenges</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited adaptive capacity – unprepared for certain challenges • Capability challenges (e.g. digitisation and operationalisation of Robodebt) • Agenda-setting role of political advisors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of trust between different departments, and levels within departments 	<h3>Environmental constraints</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24/7 media cycle, reactive, personality-driven reporting • Imbalance between the roles and responsibilities of different federal institutions • Increasing public expectations for quick fixes and a digital first approach

7. JURY RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Enhancing policy capability in the APS

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to....

1. Embed cultural practices and working norms that facilitate and enable development of good policy.
2. Adjust the APS operating model to support modern ways of working, and responsiveness to changes in the external environment (e.g. demands for agility, driven (in part) by the 24 hour media cycle)
3. Provide APS employees with the skills and capability to develop evidence based policy recommendations:
 - a. Provide development opportunities to build capability of ministers and advisers to better understand the evidence based policy process.
 - b. Capability development should include how to identify, respond and/or balance competing national, local, and international issues.
 - c. This could be administered through a Continuing Professional Development cycle, to ensure continuing learning and improvement.
4. Authorising Environment that values the deep expertise of the APS and is conscious of where the APS sits within the Westminster context.

Rationale:

This idea is important because it would help to rebuild trust that the APS is consistently conscious of a broader national interest, and balances those considerations in serving the government of the day.

Recommendation 2: Putting citizens at the centre of our role in the APS

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to define and answer policy questions that **incorporate** the views of citizens – rather than just our frameworks and past experience, the latest Productivity Commission or Grattan report etc.

- What do people see as the problem? Have we informed ourselves (the APS) on what citizens believe and how they view the problem?
- How do we find the answer – have we genuinely (i.e. before decisions are made) consulted citizens – including differing views e.g. winners and losers?
- Use new technologies and ways of communication e.g. look at the UK model of youGov and facetime conferencing etc.

Rationale:

This idea is important because putting citizens first in our conversations and our thinking reflects our role as stewards of the national interest. In some cases it may not change the outcomes but citizens could have more trust in the process.

Recommendation 3: Genuine community engagement

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to embed a culture of early, often and open engagement to drive policy development. This would need to be tailored to the policy/program context as well to the specific needs of different community groups.

This would need to incorporate appropriate feedback loops for those engaged and incorporate the need for engagement as part of all APS employees' learning and development/way of working/standard practice/values.

Rationale:

This idea is important because the APS needs to move away from a 'tick box' approach to engaging with citizens. Engagement should be used to inform policy makers/program managers/frontline staff and provide a wide perspective at relevant stages in the policy development and implementation cycle. Achieving genuine community engagement will leader greater trust of citizens and improve quality of services / improve outcomes / ensure stakeholders are engaged / break down barriers / encourage buy in for longer term reform.

Recommendation 4: Broad engagement beyond government

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to develop a mechanism (such as a formal engagement policy agreed to by government) to allow an authorising environment where the APS can go out and engage with citizens, media and sectors (not just regular stakeholders), to discuss issues without prejudice and acknowledging that the discussion is with the APS for information purposes and doesn't necessarily reflect a commitment from the government of the day.

The mechanism would honestly set the boundaries, expectations and constraints for the both the public servants and citizens. It would encourage regular and open engagement between end-users/citizens, and the APS. The aim would be to build relationships as basis for improving trust.

The APS would require resourcing, support and high-level endorsement from government. It will also require training and tools to facilitate effective engagement, and different ways of engaging.

Rationale:

This idea is important because the APS is risk averse in engaging with citizens to avoid contradicting the government of the day, and resist greater engagement and transparency. This idea would build relationships between citizens/end-users, and the APS as a basis of trust.

Recommendation 5: Experiential learning rotations including outside the APS

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is that public servants should do rotations and work outside their traditional APS journey/career. This might potentially be both mandated and achieved through incentives. It could include:

- Regional experience
- Service delivery experience
- Policy development
- Corporate experience
- Different learnings (i.e. learning about policy, delivery, programmes, inside, and outside, the Minister's Office).

Other features:

- All SES should have diversity of experience – state, local, and policy, programme, delivery experience, ministerial liaison officer/adviser and academic experience.
- Should include people from outside the APS coming in and spending short term stays in the APS (even if they intend to have a long term career elsewhere).
- Ensure that people rotate into genuine positions – i.e. the individual needs to be meaningfully employed.
- Should cover: co-creation/partnerships/coproduction/collaborative arrangements, and other experiential learning that has different governance structures to that of the APS, not just secondments.
- Models could include four days on secondment per week, with 1 day back at the APS.
- Re-scope or enhance the APS SES ILS to add a nudge incentive for SES officers to complete external development.

Supporting activities to note: include provisions for how to administer the program for SES (et al) officers going on secondment to a private sector location (i.e. go on an unattached list at APSC to allow backfill).

Rationale:

This idea is important because there is a diversity of experience in different sectors. This can bring that diversity of views and ideas to the APS – ensuring we have citizen/client /user experience in the room in the APS. We need people who don't just think like Canberrans and it is cheaper than decentralising and sending public servants around the country.

A common characteristic of high performing SES band 3s is their diversity of experience. SES who have a narrower breadth of scope in terms of agencies worked in/experience during their career appear lower in rankings. This will build better relationships with the community, too. Both improved knowledge and better relationships will improve the quality of APS work and trust in it. But also to disrupt the APS way of working.

Recommendation 6: Information disclosure

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to

1. explore the potential for information, documents and materials to be made available to all.
Consider:
 - a. appropriate architecture framework to enable easy access and searchability of information – be transparent.
 - b. Staff training on appropriate classification structures would need to occur as a mitigation activity to overclassify documentation.
 - c. A parcel of work will be required to build citizen capability around how government makes decisions; this could include why certain projects are cancelled.
 - i. Tied to evidence based research; i.e. government has tried XYZ activities, and Z is the best so has progressed.
 - ii. Being clear about the rationale for decisions.
 - b. the Privacy Act, and sanitise the personal and identifiable data of the citizenry.

Rationale:

This idea is important because providing open access to unclassified material could promote trust through information sharing, and enhance the independence of the APS, which in-turn has a positive influence on the citizen-APS trust dynamic. It will also enable individuals (the citizenry and the APS) to inform themselves of government operations and activities. Moreover, it could promote rigour in the APS around how and why decisions are made. However, further exploration of this proposal is required to fully understand potential unintended consequences of action.

Recommendation 7: Improving the relationship between ministers, advisers, and the APS

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to improve the relationship between ministers, advisers, and the APS by:

- Facilitating induction and ongoing training for ministers and advisers to understand and appreciate their respective roles, and how the APS and the Executive Branch can work together more effectively.
 - Should be delivered by a trusted third party.
 - This could include training on new and emerging policy trends, ways of conducting citizen engagement, or other significant issues.
- Strengthen the APS role to facilitate input and advice from a range of sources, including subject matter experts, community groups, and other interested parties.
- Encourage and support senior departmental officers to be appointed to adviser positions in Ministerial offices.

Recommendation 7: Improving the relationship between ministers, advisers, and the APS

Rationale:

This idea is important because a significant factor in the trust deficit is the difficulty in relationships between ministers, advisers and the APS. This recommendation seeks to clarify roles and responsibilities through a degree of formal training, backed up by practical working arrangements.

Public perceptions about government rarely distinguish between the role of politicians and public servants. It is crucial to develop more effective and respectful relationships to build trust in the system as a whole.

The APS needs to move from a model of public servants being subject matter experts on everything, to experts in identifying, capturing and amplifying the voices of Australians and providing overarching advice on the basis of a sense of the national interest.

Recommendation 8: Long term planning and the promotion of blue sky thinking

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS would be a Secretary's Board initiative to foster long term/strategic thinking on policy issues, the establishment of a partnerships forum with partner agencies focussing on issues five to ten years ahead. This could include:

A Secretary's Policy Series – a series of presentations, facilitated either by academia, civil society or confined to the Secretary's Board that features Secretary level presentations on the long-term issues facing their portfolio, and potential policy solutions.

Use of GovTeams to upload strategic policy documents in a 'library' for sharing with other agencies.

Require evidence of stakeholder consultation/partnerships with academics, NGOs, other Departments, stakeholders and citizens for policy papers or presentations mentioned above.

Big and bold transformation vs prototyping – choose the right path and connect it to reality.

Need leadership from above, ideally authorisation with reporting directly to the accountable authority, to keep it on track (Secretary's Board).

Resourcing the initiative properly is crucial – appropriately senior people need to be tasked with running it.

Rationale:

This idea is important because many of the wicked problems facing Government are not something that the public service can solve quickly or on its own. Widespread engagement across multiple sectors will help build relationships and trust.

Establishing strategic policy direction will help to facilitate long term policy planning. It is a very big commitment to resource, and long term thinking can get crowded out by other urgent priorities.

Having a good policy process like this – really going through the policy cycle comprehensively – is now something that is done more by the Productivity Commission than departments and agencies. By mainstreaming this throughout the APS, we will get the quality of outcome and integrity of process that builds trust.

Recommendation 9: Courageous and authentic leadership

Proposition:

One idea that would fix what is broken and build greater trust in the APS is to exercise leadership which models courage, boldness and bravery to take on the critical issues in society beyond the short-term political cycle:

- It must be encouraged and promoted as part of the mainstream culture of the APS at all levels.
- Taking risks and experimenting through engagement is a fundamental part of courageous leadership for tackling wicked and contentious problems and builds trust through demonstrating willingness, commitment and capability.
- Creating more opportunities for diversity amongst SES.
- Developing a system that independently appoints Secretaries.

Rationale:

This idea is important because a constantly changing environment which is characterised by competing and polarised values between and within communities requires courageous leadership to promote work on long-term issues in the national interest. Without this leadership, trust will continue to decline as the APS is perceived as pursuing short-term political interests. This idea is important because it will defend the apolitical nature of the APS and encourage alignment with APS values. It promotes doing what's best for the Australian community.

8. POST-DELIBERATION SURVEY FINDINGS

A post deliberation survey was undertaken to assess the quality of the deliberation process against four core domains identified through a systematic review of the variables needed to produce positive outcomes in citizen engagement processes. The four domains assessed through the post deliberation survey are discussed below.

Autonomy and equality of participants

Effective deliberation processes ensure all participants are able to contribute equally and with the freedom to form and transform their viewpoints based on the information presented. There are two measures that are considered in this domain, the extent to which jurors felt their viewpoints changed as a result of the deliberation process; and the extent to which jurors felt listened to, respected and able to contribute equally to the discussions.

In terms of autonomy, 92 per cent of jurors reported that their viewpoints had changed somewhat as a result of their participation, with a further 8 per cent reporting that their viewpoints had changed significantly. These results suggest that jurors had the freedom to form and transform their own viewpoints throughout the deliberations.

In terms of equality, 92 per cent of jurors reported feeling listened to, respected and able to contribute equally at all times, while a further eight per cent reported feeling listened to, respected and able to contribute some times

during the deliberations. No jurors reported not feeling listened to, respected or able to contribute equally, suggesting that a high level of equality was achieved during the deliberations.

The most commonly cited factors that influenced these outcomes were the involvement of diverse perspectives (including experts, academics and public servants), the respectful nature of the participants, and the quality of process design which enabled a mix of large and small group discussions.

Quality of process design and facilitation

Effective deliberation processes depend on the quality of the process design and facilitation. This domain measures participant satisfaction in the quality of the deliberation process and facilitation. In this domain, 85 per cent of jurors were very satisfied with the quality of the process and facilitation with a further 15 per cent of jurors satisfied with some aspects of the deliberation process and facilitation. No jurors were not satisfied at all.

The structure and deliberation activities were cited most often as influencing this outcome, followed by the expertise of the facilitators and the level of engagement offered by other jury members. In terms of factors that impacted negatively on the experience of participants, the main factor was the limited time available to allow for more in-depth exploration and discussions.

Legitimacy of the process to influence outcomes

Despite the high levels of achievement in regards to the autonomy and equality of participants, and the quality of process design and facilitation, only 31 per cent of jurors trusted in the legitimacy of the process to influence outcomes with 69 per cent unsure whether the process would influence outcomes or not.

Jurors largely felt that the process itself was legitimate with good intentions however questioned the level of commitment that would be made to progressing their recommendations. Jurors noted the complexities of decision making and the political environment as factors that may impact on the level of influence this process would have.

Participant agreement on the recommended solutions

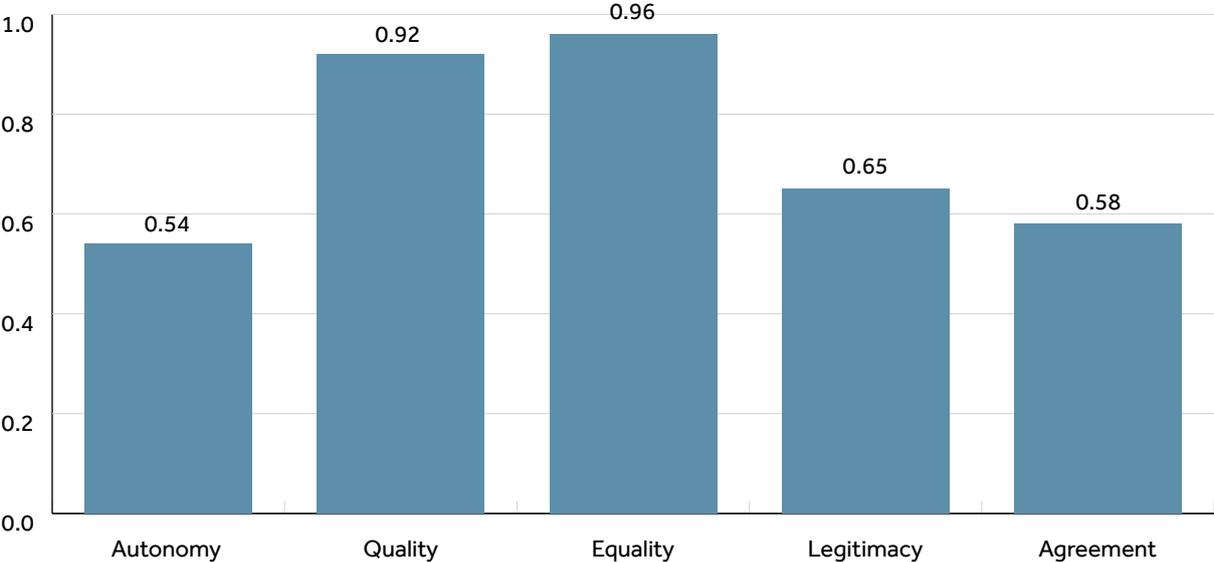
The aim of any deliberation process is to produce a set of recommendations that participants can commonly accept. This does not require full

consensus however there should be no significant objections. This domain therefore asks jurors about the level of agreement they have on the final recommendations.

Only 15 per cent of jurors said they fully agreed with the recommendations developed through the deliberation process with 85 per cent agreeing with some of the recommendations. No jurors stated that they didn't agree with the recommendations at all. Common factors influencing this outcome were the desire for more time to further refine the recommendations and to ensure they are all realistic and relevant. Those jurors that fully supported the recommendations noted that they trusted in the expertise of their fellow jurors and that they felt the recommendations were highly relevant to addressing the trust divide.

Achievement scores for each of the measures discussed above are represented in Chart 6 below, noting a maximum score of 1.

Chart 6. Deliberation Assessment



9. FUTURE DELIBERATIONS

Our recommendations point to the need to rebuild four dysfunctional relationships in the Westminster system.

The first is the relationship between the APS and ministers' offices and Parliament more broadly. How can politicians and the public service work better together to build trust with the citizenry? How can the APS ensure its independence and enable inclusive policy-making for the long term and build institutional capacity to adapt to longer term challenges beyond the short term electoral cycle (see Stoker and Evans, 2016). Recommendations 1, 7, 8 and 9 seek to address these questions.

The second is the relationship between the public service and citizens. How do we ensure that the public service places the citizen and community at the centre of policy development and service delivery? Recommendations 2, 3, and 6 seek to address these questions.

The third is the relationship between the media and politicians. How can we hold the media to greater account for undermining public trust but ensure that they are able to continue to hold government to account? Recommendations 4 and 9 seek to address these questions.

The fourth is the relationship between different levels of government, the private sector and the community sector. How can we ensure that Australia builds an authentic system of collaborative governance based upon parity of esteem, recognition of the rights and responsibilities of all tiers of government and the business and community sectors and promote whole of government public service values. Recommendations 5, 6 and 9 seek to address these questions.

These would usefully be the subjects of future deliberations to establish collaboration across the trust divide and promote joint actions in the public interest.

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APPENDIX 1: EXPERT BIOGRAPHIES

Facilitators

Professor Mark Evans PhD is Director of the Democracy 2025 initiative at Old Parliament House in Australia. His work focuses on the design of better governance practices to bridge the trust divide between government and citizen. He has consulted on change governance interventions in 24 countries and for the European Union (EU), UNDP and the World Bank. His latest books include *Evidence based Policymaking and the Social Sciences – Methods that Matter* (with Gerry Stoker) and *From Turnbull to Morrison: Trust Divide*. Mark was co-designer of the 2007 European Citizens Consultation at the University of York for the EU and worked with the Office of the Presidency in Brazil on federal public participation legislation. He has been awarded honorary positions with the universities of Indonesia, Gadjah Mahda, Hull, Renmin and York and is currently a Council member of the Institute of Public Administration Australia.

Nicole Hunter is co-founder of Mosaiclab (<https://www.mosaiclab.com.au/>) Australia's leading designers of deliberative engagements. Nicole is an experienced facilitator with high level skills in deliberative engagement, strategic planning, negotiation and risk communication, Nicole has extensive experience working with highly charged issues and emotional stakeholders on all fronts. Known for her ability to work efficiently and collaboratively, she excels in co-designing effective processes. Nicole has a Bachelor of Agricultural Science (Hons) and a Certificate in Dialogue, Deliberation and Public Engagement (University of Sydney). She has 25 years' experience working across government and private sector projects. Nicole has a strong

agriculture and environmental background and has extensive experience working within the fire and emergency services sectors. Nicole is committed to finding collaborative solutions to complex problems through deliberation and dialogue and believes that everyday people can do amazing things given adequate time and information. Inspired by participant transformations, she enjoys seeing groups make bold and robust decisions.

Kimbra White is co-founder of Mosaiclab and a highly regarded, award-winning facilitator. She has planned and delivered a wide range of participation processes: large and small, easy and hard, and at times with high levels of outrage and emotion. She has worked extensively across state, regional and local government engagement projects, gaining skills across broad range of areas including deliberative projects, contentious issues, policy development and community planning. A former president and board member of IAP2 Australasia and former board member of the IAP2 International Federation, Kimbra is known for her responsive, flexible and friendly approach. She consistently exceeds client expectations and always invests in outcomes. Kimbra has a Bachelor of Economics, Bachelor of Arts (Hons), Graduate Diploma in Urban Planning and a Masters in Business Administration. Kimbra has worked across a multitude of highly vexed and polarising topics including dogs on beaches, green wedge management, water management and infrastructure planning. Passionate about involving communities in decisions that affect their lives, Kimbra cares about having conversations that matter and believes that every meeting can always be a better meeting.

Experts

Professor Ann Evans gained her PhD in Demography at the Australian National University (ANU). She is currently a Senior Fellow in the School of Demography and Associate Dean (Research) in the ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences. Ann's primary research interest lies in the area of inequality and family demography, and she undertakes research in the following areas: cohabitation and marriage, relationship formation and dissolution, fertility and contraception, young motherhood and migrant settlement and family formation.

Lin Hatfield Dodds is one of Australia's foremost social policy experts, former Churchill Fellow, and the Deputy Secretary for Social Policy in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. Lin was formerly National Director of UnitingCare Australia (2009-16), Chair of the Australian Social Inclusion Board (2012-13) and President of the Australian Council of Social Service, the peak advocacy body representing people affected by poverty and inequality. Lin has received a number of awards in recognition of her contribution to social and economic policy, including an International Women's Day Award in 2002 and an ACT Australian of the Year award in 2008.

Michelle Grattan AO is one of Australia's most respected and awarded political journalists. She has been a member of the Canberra parliamentary press gallery for more than 40 years, during which time she has covered all the most significant stories in Australian politics. As a former editor of *The Canberra Times*, Michelle Grattan was also the first female editor of an Australian daily newspaper. She has written and edited with the *Australian Financial Review*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*, where she became the Political Editor. Michelle currently has a dual role with an academic position in IGPA at the University

of Canberra and as Associate Editor (Politics) and Chief Political Correspondent at *The Conversation*. She is the author, co-author and editor of several books and was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) in 2004 for her long and distinguished service to Australian journalism.

Sean Innis is inaugural Director of Public Policy and Societal Impact Hub at the Australian National University. The Hub was formed in January 2018 and reflects ANU's commitment to fostering the deep policy conversations needed to define the "world we want by 2060". Sean is a former senior public servant, with more than 25 years public policy experience. He was Special Adviser (akin to Commissioner) to Australia's independent Productivity Commission in 2016 and 2017 and held senior executive positions in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and the Department of Social Services. Sean chaired the Prime Ministerial Welfare to Work Task Force in 2005 and led the secretariat responsible for the 2004 Energy White Paper - *Securing Australia's Energy Future*. In his past, Sean has been an ordinary university tutor and a terrible bank teller.

Former Senator Robert McMullan is one of Australia's pre-eminent Labor politicians. In 1981, he was elected National Secretary of the Labor Party and he directed the ALP's three successful election campaigns in the 1980s. After being appointed Senator for the Australian Capital Territory in 1990, Mr McMullan was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer in 1990 and in 1991 became Manager of Government Business in the Senate. As Senator for the ACT, he held the positions of Minister for the Arts and Administrative Services (1993) and Minister for Trade (1994), before being elected to the seat of Canberra in 1996 and, after a redistribution, as Member for Fraser in 1998. Between 1996 and 2007 Mr McMullan held a number of Shadow

Ministerial positions including Shadow Treasurer, Shadow Minister for Finance and Small Business and Shadow Minister for Federal/State Relations, and after the election of the Rudd Government in November 2007, he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary for International Development Assistance. He is currently Adjunct Professor in the Crawford School at the ANU where he continues to develop his interest in development and development policy.

Professor Gerry Stoker PhD is UC-IGPA Centenary Professor of Governance and Director of the Centre for Citizenship, Globalization and Governance at the University of Southampton. He was previously professor of politics at the universities of Manchester and Strathclyde. He was co-founder of the UK think tank of the year *The New Local Government Network*, senior policy advisor on public participation to the Blair

government and author of the award winning book *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*. Gerry is a leading international voice on governance, democratic politics, public participation and public service reform.

Gerry's recent research has championed the idea of public value management as an alternative to new public management and his recent work with Peter John and colleagues on 'nudge' as a method for not only ensuring behavioural compliance but of facilitating greater citizen engagement within the policy process is having an increasing influence on UK government. See "Nudge, Nudge, Think Think" (Bloomsbury Press). In 2004, Gerry won the United Kingdom Political Studies Association Award for 'making a difference' in recognition of the impact of his work on governance practices.

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