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Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy

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ung. Berlin, Freitag, den 20. Mai 2022

len 20. Mai 2022 Ich eröffne die Aussprache. Als erste Rednerin hat Merle Spellerberg für die Fraktion Bündnis 90/Die Grü-nen das Wort. 9.00 Uhr 1 (Beifall beim BÜNDNIS 90/DIE G bei der SPD und d in nd ini ng, ch-ge-dem gt. -ir so Merle Spellerber (D) erheit: seurin in Bamako woller durfte, Hier kt 28 reffer en ihres Berufe Die Fraue Sicherhei Brunnen kein ausschließlich militä auf dem utieren wir hier im Ha Dass S zept ist, da rem in Gao treffen durfte, eins dech dann ist es Folgendes: Es ist schwer, sich sicher zu fü wenn die Welt um einen herum von Terror, von Ori sierter Kriminalität bestimmt ist. Die Sicherheit der r Männer, der Kinde "der Menschen in Mali rzustellen, das ist ur see, nd des chusses Bundesseit Monaten. A rem in Gao treffen durf GRÜNEN Beifall beim BÜ Abgeord vehr für d Unser Engage ndes beitrager und nalische Regierung eilen wir. Der Tran-nen Ordnung mus

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Selen A. Ercan Hans Asenbaum Nicole Curato Ricardo F. Mendonça

EDITED BY

Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy

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Foreword Graham Smith

Deliberative democracy is a contested field of study. Its central practice of deliberation has a number of generally accepted features. One of these is the celebration of pluralism. Pluralism has value in both normative and epistemological terms. Deliberation rests on the presence, articulation, and consideration of a plurality of perspectives. Inclusion of the voices of the full diversity of social groups is a moral foundation of deliberative democracy. Equally, pluralism underpins collective judgement. Only through recognizing and understanding the perspectives of diverse others do we come to considered political judgements. Deliberative democracy requires openness and respect towards pluralism: to different ways of seeing the world and in the collective search for meaning.

If the practice of deliberation rests on openness and respect towards different ways of seeing and meaning making, the same holds true for the *study* of deliberation. We require openness and respect towards different ways of seeing our object of analysis. Just as pluralism is a foundational value for deliberative practice, so it should also be for research on deliberation.

Deliberative democracy is a political project that embraces conceptual analysis through practical action in varying forms. The questions we ask of that political project will vary. And the way we aim to answer those questions will vary too. Social science is at its worst when method comes before questions; when we dogmatically make sense of the world through only one methodological frame.

My own engagement with deliberative democracy as a field of study has generated a raft of questions, the answers to which have required the application of a range of methods. When troubled by the potential implications of the deliberative systems perspective undermining the core justification of deliberative democracy, tackling this question meant engaging in normative democratic theorizing. When questioning whether citizens' assemblies could tackle contentious issues such as Brexit, colleagues and I not only adopted a positivist experimental design, but also had to organize a national four-day assembly! When making sense of why the innovative NHS Citizen participatory system had failed, an interpretivist framework was embraced, enabling us to investigate the perspectives and motivations of different actors towards the legitimacy of the initiative. In these and other research enterprises, I have had the pleasure of working with colleagues with very different methodological orientations who have forced me to reflect on my own methodological preconditions and prejudices and, I believe, this has led to better work in the process. The main lesson I have learned: we should not be afraid to venture across traditional lines of methodological contention.

Just as deliberative democracy as a political project demands openness, respect, and listening across difference, the same needs to be true for our application of different methodologies. Entertaining different methodological orientations and research methods takes us out of our comfort zones, challenges our prejudices, and makes us see the world in different ways. These are virtues of deliberative processes—and they should also be the virtues of the research community that is engaged in their study.

While this book is written primarily for researchers, I have a strong sense that it will prove valuable to the deliberative practitioner and activist communities as well. This is not simply because it provides important insights into how to evaluate and draw comparisons across discrete projects. Most practitioners I know have a broader set of concerns about how their work can be understood in more systemic terms: broader questions of citizen empowerment and civic renewal. The chapters in this collection may well inspire approaches to evaluation and reflection that respond to these systemic and political questions.

The embrace of methodological pluralism that underpins this impressive collection is the sign of a mature and reflexive community of practice. That this book project is directed from the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra should not be a surprise. This is a research centre that has promoted and sustained a pluralist orientation to the study of deliberative democracy. We should thank the Centre, editors, and contributors for modelling the kind of disposition towards methodology that is essential for good social science. Our object of study is a set of reflective practices. Such reflexivity in the application of research methods must define our collective project of sense-making.

Acknowledgements

We started this book project in 2018 with the ambition of producing an open access resource that could spark a conversation about the diversity of methods used for researching deliberative democracy. This idea emerged from a workshop we held that year at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance University of Canberra, just before the International Political Science Association's conference in Brisbane, Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, University of Canberra. We took the opportunity to entice colleagues to make a side trip to Canberra to discuss a scholarly issue that affected us all but had little systematic discussion so far: research methods in deliberative democracy.

After the workshop, the need for a publication compiling different methods in deliberative democracy research became clearer to us. Initially, we listed around ten widely used methods in the field. Yet, when we started to look at the scholarship from a methods perspective, our list continued to grow. We identified fifteen, then twenty, and finally thirty-one different methods that researchers use in their theoretical and empirical work on deliberative democracy.

What we imagined as a modest online publication that could help graduate students in their research on deliberative democracy, turned into a mammoth book project covering thirty-one methods written by over fifty authors from across the globe, published by one of the leading academic publishers in the world.

We thank the contributing authors for sharing their expertise. We would not have been able to put this volume together without their commitment to complete their chapters, amidst all the challenges we faced in the past years due to the global pandemic. It took four years to complete this project, and so we are grateful for their patience.

We are also grateful to a community of scholars who read various chapters and provided concrete feedback on how these chapters can be improved. Dimitri Fazito and Ian O'Flynn are amongst these colleagues. We also thank the three anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback and drawing our attention to methods we had missed in the initial iteration of this volume.

We are particularly grateful to two icons of deliberative democracy, John Dryzek and Jane Mansbridge. The book benefited from many discussions we have had with John Dryzek about normative theory and empirical research, and different ways of researching deliberative democracy. Similarly, Jane Mansbridge was very generous with her time and comments. She read through all the chapters of this book to write a concluding chapter that beautifully captures the essence of this book. Our gratitude also goes to Graham Smith for his support and encouragement, and for writing the Foreword, which affirms the importance of this project.

We thank Oxford University Press, especially its commissioning editor, Dominic Byatt, who supported this project from the beginning, and OUP editorial staff who steered the manuscript to completion. We are also grateful to Simon Mussell whose close reading and editing has helped to improve the expression and style in this book. We also thank Cassius Alvares, Pat Ray M. Dagapioso, Deniz Ercan, Juliana Rocha, and Romel Sencio for providing editorial support and assistance at various phases of our book project.

This book is published open access. This was made possible by the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, based at the Faculty of Government, Business and Law, with the strategic funds received from the University of Canberra. We are also thankful to the Australian Research Council (DP180103014, Metastudy of Deliberation), to the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes/Proex) and to the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development of Brazil (CNPq 423218/2018-2) for funding the preparation and proofreading of the manuscript.

To publish an open access methods book on deliberative democracy matters to us. We are supporters of open knowledge, for we consider this as one step towards addressing asymmetries in knowledge production and dissemination. The book calls for an inclusive, global, and critical exchange of ideas in researching deliberative democracy. This is only possible if anyone who wants to join this conversation can have access to and engage with the ideas that the authors have shared in this book.

We are honoured to put together this volume. We hope that it serves as a useful, relevant, and inspiring resource to the growing community of scholars and practitioners of deliberative democracy across the world.

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27 Mixed Methods

Oliver Escobar

The areas of inquiry in deliberative democracy are multifaceted and often require methodological approaches that can grapple with complexity. This chapter ¹ argues that mixed methods are particularly well suited to investigating deliberative democracy, while noting advantages and limitations of this approach. The chapter reviews methodological foundations, outlines basic aspects of research design, and illustrates how mixed methods can contribute to deliberative scholarship.

Mixed methods research (MMR) entails combining qualitative and quantitative strands in a research programme where findings and inferences are derived through the methodological and/or analytical integration of data. You may integrate in the early stages of data generation, for example, using the findings from one method (e.g. qualitative observation) to develop the foundations for another (e.g. quantitative survey). Or you may integrate later, for example while addressing a research question by drawing inferences from both quantitative and qualitative findings. Combining methods that generate one type of data, for example qualitative interviews and focus groups, constitutes a *multi-method design*, rather than MMR. Conversely, generating qualitative and quantitative data without integrating both strands constitutes a *quasi-mixed design*. Some level of integration across data sources and/or analytical strands is therefore what defines MMR (Bazeley 2018; Hesse-Biber and Johnson 2016).

MMR has proliferated in applied social science fields such as health, education, social policy, and international development, motivated by the need to conduct research that can inform policy and practice (Brannen and Moss 2012; Bazeley 2018). MMR starts from the premise that social phenomena and lived experiences are multidimensional and therefore research can be both limited and limiting if we grapple with complexity through a single dimension. MMR invites researchers to 'the large table of empirical inquiry' where they may engage with 'multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple ways of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued' (Greene 2007, 20).

¹ I dedicate this chapter to Andy Thompson—friend and mentor in learning, doing, and teaching mixed methods. I want to also acknowledge the funding and support from the Edinburgh Futures Institute, ClimateXChange, and the What Works Scotland programme (ESRC Grant ES/M003922/1). Finally, I would like to thank Hans Asenbaum, Nicole Curato, Selen Ercan, and Ricardo Mendonça for very helpful reviews of the draft.

Oliver Escobar, *Mixed Methods*. In: *Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy*. Edited by Selen A. Ercan, Hans Asenbaum, Nicole Curato, and Ricardo F. Mendonça. Oxford University Press, © Oxford University Press (2022). DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780192848925.003.0027 MMR is underpinned by paradigm pluralism, positing that various worldviews may serve as philosophical foundations for research (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2012, 779). The starting point for a mixed methods study is not a particular scientific paradigm (e.g. positivism, constructivism), or their disciplinary variants (e.g. postpositivism, interpretivism, critical realism). Instead, MMR starts with the problem or question that animates the research and then mobilizes relevant methods. There is some disagreement amongst methodologists regarding the 'incompatibility thesis', which argues that mixing is inappropriate due to clashes between the epistemological paradigms that underpin qualitative and quantitative methods (see Bryman 2006). MMR scholars respond to this 'purist' stance through frameworks such as the 'pragmatist', 'dialectical', or 'transformative' approaches, which reject the existence of inherent linkages between methods and paradigms and provide alternative philosophical foundations (Hesse-Biber 2016; Biesta 2010).

Accordingly, MMR is guided by the research questions and thus unencumbered by fixed philosophical or disciplinary loyalties. It transcends the qualitative/quantitative divide that fuelled the 'science wars' in favour of a pluralistic approach to social and political inquiry (Escobar and Thompson 2019, 503–505). MMR therefore accommodates multiple philosophical traditions, theoretical lenses, lived experiences, normative perspectives, and methodological approaches to grapple with complexity and generate a better understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Greene 2007, vii).

Mixed Methods Research and Deliberative Democracy

These foundations make MMR well suited to the study of deliberative democracy, given their ontological, epistemological, and normative coherence. Ontologically, the objects of inquiry in deliberative scholarship are multiple, multilevel, multifaceted, and changing. The variety of beings that populate deliberative studies implies a diverse ontology that may encompass individuals, groups, artefacts, processes, systems, cultures, and so on. Epistemologically, deliberative studies range from positivism to constructivism and their variants, thus accommodating various ways of knowing (cf. Ercan et al. 2017). Normatively, deliberative scholarship carries a commitment to pluralism in values and viewpoints, which is also central to MMR.

This coherence between MMR and deliberative democracy is unsurprising given their shared intellectual heritage from classic pragmatism (Escobar 2017b; Biesta 2010). Their synergies offer untapped potential as the 'third generation' of deliberative scholarship develops an empirical agenda in pursuit of breadth and depth (Elstub 2010). Deliberative theory has morphed into a field of applied scholarship, where ideas and practices intertwine in growing research, civic, and policy networks and across communities of place, practice, identity, and interest. Democratic innovations are proliferating globally, multiplying experimentation and institutionalization of deliberative processes across policy arenas and levels of governance (Bächtiger et al. 2018; Elstub and Escobar 2019; Chwalisz and Cesnulaityte 2020). This is fertile ground for the contribution of MMR, given its focus on generating applied research and actionable learning.

MMR fits well with recent calls for deliberative scholarship to be guided by the objects of inquiry rather than the habits of disciplinary or methodological silos (Bächtiger 2018). Methodological choices have profound consequences in terms of the empirical realities thrown into relief and the issues that become matters of public and research concern. For instance, if we choose to investigate solely through a quantitative lens, we may lack depth, whereas if we choose a qualitative lens, we may lack breadth. Reducing the scope for discovery to the single track of mono-method research, or to the confines of a multi-method approach, may limit our capacity to investigate complex phenomena.

Some research questions asked about deliberative democracy require attention to both patterns and cases, statistics and narratives, measures and meanings, numbers and words. For example, while studying mini-publics we may want to investigate the quality and effects of deliberation amongst participants, as much as their personal experiences of the process or the perspectives of citizens in broader publics affected by the decisions. When researching community deliberation processes, we may want to evaluate local outcomes as well as broader impact on policies, political culture, and institutional development. Or we may seek to understand the everyday work of deliberative practitioners as well as the effects of facilitation practices across comparative cases. The objects of inquiry in deliberative democracy are thus multifaceted and often require a varied methodological toolbox.

MMR can address exploratory, explanatory, and confirmatory questions simultaneously, which allows the generation and verification of theory in the same study (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 578–587). Exploratory questions aim to generate new insights and are usually open and tentative, seeking to illuminate an issue for which there is limited knowledge—for example, how do organizers, experts, and/or participants decide what types of evidence should be presented in a mini-public? In turn, explanatory and confirmatory questions seek to explain or confirm insights for which there is already a body of evidence—for example, why do some participants change their views through deliberation? An MMR project may feature separate strands with different questions, as well as overall questions that seek to integrate those strands for example, how do different types of evidence presented in a deliberative process affect the participants' views?

The added value of MMR is articulated by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, 9–10) as follows. First, MMR provides strengths that can offset the weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative research by addressing questions that may not be answerable by either approach alone. Second, MMR accommodates multiple viewpoints and encourages dialogue to overcome the (sometimes) adversarial relationship between qualitative and quantitative researchers. Finally, MMR is practical and resource-ful because the methodological toolbox is wide-ranging. This versatility enables the investigation of normative or empirical puzzles that emerge from the deliberative

phenomena at hand, rather than limiting ourselves to questions that can be asked through our preferred methods. As in the proverb, if you are always holding a hammer, everything begins to look like a nail. The challenges of investigating deliberative democracy require space for creativity and discovery, and this invites us to open up the toolbox and look beyond the hammer.

Nevertheless, there are critiques and notes of caution to temper optimism and expectations around MMR (see Hesse-Biber 2016; Ahmed and Sil 2012). MMR is not always viable or advisable, nor is it necessarily superior to mono-method or multimethod research. Bryman (2008, 624) offers a useful catalogue of challenges. First, MMR requires skills for both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Researchers must be conversant with basic foundations and research designs for both, and open to ongoing development of technical expertise. Second, MMR is usually resource-intensive as multifaceted lines of inquiry increase fieldwork strands. Finally, to merit effort and investment, MMR must generate findings that genuinely result from integration and that could not be gleaned via another approach. These challenges make MMR sometimes more viable for medium- and long-term research rather than for shorter studies (for practical solutions, see Creswell et al. 2008).

The study of deliberative democracy offers opportunities for MMR to address questions that are unanswerable through a single qualitative or quantitative approach. The following suggestions illustrate range and scope. For example, to understand the frequency and depth of public deliberation in everyday conversations, we may start by conducting a population survey and use the findings to frame deeper inquiry through focus groups. Or we may want to investigate the factors contributing to variable levels of participants' influence over the outcomes of deliberative processes. We could use process tracing in a small set of archetypal cases to explore key factors and then test the explanatory power of these emerging variables by building a large dataset for quantitative comparative analysis.

Or let's say that we aim to understand how facilitators address power inequalities in group deliberation. We could start with non-participant observation of facilitation work in diverse contexts. Over time we could map strategies and tactics and eventually test their efficacy through an experimental design. Finally, let's imagine that we seek to investigate the contribution of public officials to improving transmission or translation processes in deliberative systems. We may start by interviewing practitioners operating at nodal points between civic and official spaces (e.g. engagement officers, digital managers, partnership coordinators) and develop an observation protocol for ethnographic shadowing of a sub-sample. The resulting dataset then provides the foundations for a survey of practitioners across various policy arenas and levels of governance, helping to illuminate the role of agency and institutional culture in the functioning of deliberative systems.

These suggestions illustrate the potential of MMR to investigate deliberative actors, groups, processes, systems, and cultures. I will return to specific examples after introducing how researchers can design their study and undertake analysis drawing on mixed methods.

Using Mixed Methods: Design, Analysis, and Quality

The normative and practical considerations that apply to any single method presented in this book provide relevant guidance for the individual strands of an MMR study. What makes MMR distinct is the combination and integration of qualitative and quantitative findings as part of a coherent research design. This section focuses on features that are unique to MMR, namely, its signature research designs, analytical approaches, and quality standards.

The first consideration is whether the research question, problem, or puzzle invites a mono-method, multi-method or MMR design. A robust mixed methods project begins with a clear rationale that explains why MMR is best placed to address the question(s). Qualitatively oriented questions often explore 'specific dynamics or processes of everyday life', typically with a focus on hidden or unquantifiable dimensions (Hesse-Biber 2010, 43). Quantitatively oriented questions usually seek to test relationships between variables, for example checking how independent variables (assumed to be determining factors) relate to dependent variables (assumed to be effects) (Ibid.). In turn, MMR questions blend empirical interest in meanings, actions, practices, or interactions as well as causality, frequencies, patterns, or correlations (Hesse-Biber 2010, 44).

A long-standing typology of rationales for MMR outlines five distinct purposes, and mixed methods projects are usually underpinned by at least one of these (Greene et al. 1989, 259). The first is triangulation, which checks corroboration or convergence between findings from different methods. For example, when conducting research on a mini-public we may check whether findings from observation fieldnotes regarding power dynamics amongst participants are corroborated or disputed by the findings from anonymous questionnaires (e.g. Roberts and Escobar 2015). The second distinctive purpose of MMR is complementarity, which seeks elaboration, illustration, or clarification of the findings from one method with the findings from another. For example, one could complement a population survey on deliberative attitudes with focus groups or interviews to generate a richer dataset on meanings, experiences, values, and narratives (cf. Neblo et al. 2010). The third purpose of MMR is *development*, where findings from one method help to develop another method. For example, the findings from studying income distribution and community participation in a local area may be used to inform observations and interviews with people involved in local deliberation at participatory budgeting assemblies (e.g. Baiocchi 2005).

The fourth purpose is *initiation*, by which the findings from one method inspire the use of another method to address a puzzle or contradiction or to elicit a new perspective. For example, one could imagine using the most puzzling results from a quantitative experiment on public attitudes to evidence to inform qualitative action research in an actual deliberative policymaking process. The final purpose is *expansion*, which seeks to amplify the scope of the inquiry by adding new methodological strands. For instance, an ethnographic study of deliberative practitioners may be expanded through a quantitative survey of its broader community of practice (e.g. Escobar 2014; Escobar et al. 2018). These different purposes can be articulated and combined in various ways depending on the choice of research design—Box 27.1 offers an overview.

Box 27.1 Types of Mixed Methods Research Designs

Adapting and blending the typologies by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, 69–104) and Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009, 2557–2563), we can distinguish five basic MMR designs:

- 1. In *parallel designs* mixing occurs more or less simultaneously to answer related aspects of the same questions by drawing on both strands (quan \leftrightarrow qual).²
- 2. In *sequential designs*, mixing takes place in stages, with qualitative and quantitative strands sequenced purposefully so that each informs the next, guided by questions that may evolve. Within this type, there are
 - a. explanatory sequential designs, with the quantitative strand shaping the qualitative (QUAN \rightarrow qual);
 - b. and exploratory sequential designs, where the qualitative strand sets the foundation (QUAL \rightarrow quan).
- In conversion designs, mixing occurs when one type of data is transformed and analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively (quan→←qual), for example, text may be analysed thematically and then coded numerically to check frequencies or patterns.
- 4. In *embedded designs*, one strand takes place within the other, for example, an interview within an experiment: QUAN [qual]; or a questionnaire within a focus group: QUAL [quan].
- 5. Finally, *multi-level designs* entail larger programmes of inquiry where various sequential, parallel, conversion, and embedded designs may be combined.

Interpreting findings from different strands through combined analysis can be a challenging aspect of MMR (for guidance, see Bazeley 2018). While quantitative and qualitative data must be generated and interpreted 'according to their own merits,' the benefit of mixing methods lies 'in the way the data are integrated or can be used to interrogate each other' (Brannen and Moss 2012, 799). As noted earlier, integration

² Developing a terminology for MMR has been an ongoing endeavor in the field (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011, 189). This paragraph illustrates a bespoke notation system, where symbols indicate type of relationship and capitalization indicates priority.

entails mixing strands either during data generation (e.g. findings from one method inform the work of another method) or at the stage of systematic analysis (e.g. drawing inferences from both strands and making sense of their resonance or divergence). This work can now be aided by software such as Dedoose, MAXQDA, NVivo, and QDA Miner (see Bazeley 2018, 37–49).

MMR is a craft—that is, flexible, iterative, responsive. Drawing on Greene (2007, 144–145), Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) and Bazeley (2018), there are various stages and options available for data processing, interpretation, and analysis:

- Dataset creation: All data are processed according to quality standards appropriate to their respective sources, checking for methodological rigor, and organizing the dataset to enable accessibility and reflect range and depth.
- Data reduction: Data may be reduced through an initial analytical round that seeks to render it manageable by generating descriptive codes, frequencies, descriptive statistics, factors, case summaries, memos, or other ways of summarizing or synthesizing.
- Data display: A useful heuristic for analytical integration of data from different sources is to develop visual representations such as tables, charts, diagrams, or logic models.
- Data transformation: Quantitative data may be standardized, scaled, factor analysed, etc., while qualitative data may be developed into case profiles, thematic maps, critical incidents, chronological narratives, analytical codes, etc. MMR offers the option of transforming qualitative data into numbers (*quantitizing*) or numbers into words (*qualitizing*).³
- Data comparison and/or correlation: This is about exploring patterns and relationships in the dataset, for example developing clusters of variables, themes, or stories that indicate resonance or divergence. If qualitative data is *quantitized*, we may run tests to check for patterns. If quantitative data is *qualitized*, we may conduct new qualitative coding and analysis.
- Data consolidation: Sometimes it may be possible to combine different types of data to create new variables, themes, or datasets.
- Analysis of findings to draw inferences and meta-inferences: This is the process by which we arrive at a set of 'negotiated and warranted' conclusions (Bazeley 2018, 277–280), going from findings derived through each method, to inferences drawn from those findings, and then to meta-inferences developed from combining methods.

In MMR, *inferences* are conclusions derived from analysing findings from each qualitative or quantitative strand, whereas *meta-inferences* are conclusions generated by analysing inferences across strands (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 4900

³ For more information on *qualitizing* and *quantitizing*, see Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) and Bazeley (2018).

and 2567). Meta-inferences thus epitomize the added value of MMR, that is, claims and arguments warranted by interpretive integration.

The MMR field has developed bespoke criteria to assess research quality. A robust MMR study includes: an explicit rationale for MMR; a design outline articulating the purpose, sequencing, and priority level for different strands; an overview of data generation and analysis for each strand; an indication of where and how integration was conducted; reflections on limitations; and an account of meta-inferences or insights drawn from mixing methods (O'Cathain 2010).

Tashakkori and Teddlie (2008) have proposed an 'integrative framework' to assess MMR. Data quality is first evaluated according to customary standards—that is, if quantitative data are valid/reliable and qualitative data are credible/dependable, then the study has 'high overall data quality' (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 3493). In addition, the integrative framework proposes a new set of criteria specific to MMR:

- *Design quality* refers to the quality of inputs at all stages, including research design, data generation, and analytical procedures (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 4848).
- *Interpretive rigor* refers to the quality of the process of making meaning by drawing inferences through the systematic linking and interpretation of findings (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 4849).
- *Inference quality* derives from blending the notions of internal validity (quan) and trustworthiness (qual) and is the standard for evaluating the quality of conclusions drawn from findings (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 467).
- *Inference transferability* blends the principles of external validity (quan) and transferability (qual) to assess to what extent the conclusions may resonate, be applicable, or offer insights in other contexts (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 470).

Researchers can sometimes be challenged by seemingly contradictory, divergent, or dissonant findings from different strands of an MMR study. This may seem problematic, but it can also help to enrich the analysis. Discrepancies between inferences force us to re-examine the findings or to 'create a more advanced theoretical explanation' (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, 5191; for practical solutions to this challenge see Tashakkori and Teddlie 2008, 116). Divergence and dissonance illustrate the capacity of MMR to grapple with complexity by generating 'puzzles and paradoxes, clashes and conflicts that, when pursued, can engender new perspectives and understandings, insights not previously imagined, knowledge with originality and artistry' (Greene 2007, 24). From this perspective, divergence is not a hindrance to be reluctantly accepted, but something to be embraced as a potential source of analytical creativity and depth. All in all, 'convergence, consistency, and corroboration are

overrated in social inquiry' (Greene 2007, 144), and engaging with the messiness of socio-political phenomena can be one of the joyful and generative challenges of conducting MMR.

Using MMR in Deliberative Democracy Research

The use of MMR in deliberative scholarship is somewhat sparse. A database search of the terms 'mixed methods' and 'deliberation/deliberative' elicits a limited number of publications.⁴ This does not mean that researchers of deliberative democracy are not mixing methods, but it does suggest that it is uncommon to articulate those studies as MMR. Does this matter? Mixing methods is more than conducting qualitative and quantitative research in one study. There are philosophical, technical, and analytical considerations to be heeded, and it is hard to see how this can be done without reference to basic tenets of MMR.

There are exceptions to this limited use of explicit MMR approaches to study deliberative democracy. For example, there is growing work on 'moral case deliberation' within the context of health policy and practice (Spijkerboer et al. 2017); studies of 'deliberative contestation' in local development (Gibson and Woolcock 2008) or civil society deliberation in post-conflict justice (Kostovicova 2017); and research about emotions in deliberative processes like the Citizens' Initiative Review (Johnson et al. 2019). These studies use MMR to combine a range of methodological angles in order to make sense of complex processes, actors, and contexts.

Deliberative scholars have also developed approaches that incorporate principles and practices of MMR. For instance, the Discourse Quality Index (Steenbergen et al. 2003), and its conceptual expansion via Deliberative Transformative Moments (Jaramillo and Steiner 2019), illustrate the analytical possibilities opened up by *quantitizing* qualitative data. Another example is Q methodology, which creatively blends qualitative and quantitative work to investigate discourses (e.g. Niemeyer 2019) and practices (e.g. Durose et al. 2016). There is also scope for expanding MMR as comparative approaches to the study of democratic innovations proliferate (Ryan 2019; Boswell et al. 2019).

The remainder of this section introduces examples that illustrate three MMR designs: parallel, sequential, and multi-level.

⁴ Search conducted in October 2019 using the Web of Science Core Collection database. The paired terms were 'mixed methods' and 'deliberat*' (using a wild card) and generated 161 entries. Titles and abstracts were screened for relevance, reducing the sample to twenty-three publications where MMR was explicitly used to investigate aspects of deliberative democracy. Almost half of the entries were in health-related fields (47 per cent), with the rest spread sparsely across education, environment, communication, justice, computing, international development, urban planning, and methodology journals. This was not a full systematic review, but it offers a proxy to illustrate limited usage of MMR in deliberative scholarship, particularly within political science and public administration.

Example 1. *Parallel Design*: Three Citizens' Juries on Wind Farm Development

The first example is a study of three citizens' juries tasked with developing principles to guide wind farm development in Scotland (see full report in Roberts and Escobar 2015). The study featured a *parallel design* repeated in the three sites that combined quantitative (i.e. panel survey at four time points) and qualitative data sources (i.e. non-participant observation fieldnotes, facilitation debriefs, evaluation reports, artefact analysis, presenter interviews). The purposes for mixing methods were *complementarity* and *expansion* in order to generate evidence about the complex intertwining of inclusion, interaction, deliberation, and influence within the process. Citizens' juries, like other mini-publics, provide excellent opportunities for MMR because parallel strands can be developed to grapple with phenomena unfolding simultaneously within and across sites.

In this project, the *parallel design* generated a large dataset that enabled the study of multiple dimensions, including: the politics and logistics of organizing minipublics on contested issues involving multi-stakeholder policy networks (chapter 3); the evolving internal dynamics of citizen participation at the juries (chapter 4); the quality of public deliberation throughout the process (chapter 5); the conclusions and outputs developed by the mini-publics (chapter 6); the subtleties of deliberative learning and contestation while engaging with evidence and expertise (chapter 7); factors in opinion formation, consolidation, and change (chapter 8); participants' experiences of deliberative work and the development of civic skills and attitudes (chapter 9); and a set of meta-inferences to inform recommendations about the role of mini-publics in decision-making—including the intricate relationship between policy context, process design, and public legitimacy (chapter 10).

The report illustrates the capaciousness of MMR, in this case generating insights to address twenty-four research questions ranging from micro dynamics in deliberation to macro dimensions in the institutionalization of deliberative processes.

Example 2. *Multi-level Design*: Two Studies of Mini-publics and Maxi-publics

The *parallel design* from Example 1 was subsequently developed into a *multi-level design* in two new projects: one studying public support for alternative policies to tackle health inequalities;⁵ and the other investigating the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland about the future of the country.⁶ What redefines these as multi-level designs is the addition of strands beyond the confines of the mini-publics.

⁵ See http://www.healthinequalities.net (accessed March 1, 2021).

⁶ See https://www.citizensassembly.scot (accessed March 1, 2021).

For example, the health inequalities project comprised three citizens' juries in Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, as well as a population survey that generated data for the United Kingdom as well as for each jury location (see Smith et al. 2021). This enables the comparison of deliberative versus aggregative constructions of 'the public' as a basis for analysing the resulting dilemmas for decision makers facing alternative public-making approaches (Escobar et al. 2017). The MMR multi-level design thus helps to explore what types of publics are more supportive of *upstream* policies to tackle health inequalities (e.g. taxation, housing, labour, advertising) and which are more supportive of *downstream* policies (e.g. diet, smoking, fitness, lifestyle). These are very different policy responses to a complex challenge, and we are currently working on a paper outlining the implications for policymaking.

The second example of a multi-level design is the research project about the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland. Besides studying the internal dimensions of the Assembly (i.e. inclusion, design, facilitation, deliberative quality, governance), the research also considers its external dimensions. Therefore, it includes population surveys to investigate how the maxi-public relates to the mini-public and the issues undergoing public deliberation. This is complemented by interviews with institutional, political, and media actors to understand the systemic uptake and future prospects for democratic innovation in Scotland. The research was recently completed (see Elstub et al. 2022)⁷ and we have turned the shareable parts of the mixed methods dataset into an open access resource⁸ so that interested researchers can work with it. The project illustrates the resource-intensive nature of MMR, in this case comprising a team of ten researchers across various disciplines.

Example 3. *Sequential Design*: Studying the World of Official Deliberative Practitioners

The final example is a *sequential design* to study the work of public engagement officials who organize and facilitate deliberative processes in local and regional governance in Scotland. The first stage entailed two years of ethnographic fieldwork in four case study areas to develop a qualitative dataset including documents, images, participant observation fieldnotes (i.e. 117 meetings, 131 days of shadowing, fifteen weeks of work placements), and transcripts from forty-four interviews and three focus groups (see Escobar 2014, 2015). The qualitative strand explored three questions: How do public engagement officials design and facilitate deliberative processes? What kind of work does it take? And what kind of work does this do (i.e. what is the impact on institutional cultures)?

⁷ Interim data briefings are also available, covering internal dimensions to inform ongoing work by the Assembly's Stewarding Group and Secretariat, as well as the design and facilitation teams: https://www.citizensassembly.scot/research (accessed March 1, 2021).

⁸ The dataset has been deposited with the UK Data Service (https://ukdataservice.ac.uk/find-data/) and was being prepared for open access at the time this book went to print.

The findings provided the foundation to later develop a quantitative strand, thus turning the project into a *sequential* design that widened the inquiry. The rationale for MMR was thus threefold: development, complementarity, and expansion. Building on the qualitative findings, a two-wave survey was conducted in 2016 and 2018 to investigate the broader network of official engagement practitioners across Scotland (Escobar et al. 2018; Weakley and Escobar 2018). The first wave provided a baseline, while the second also explored the early impact of the Community Empowerment Act—new legislation introduced in 2015 to advance participatory governance and deliberative policymaking. The MMR sequential design therefore entailed an indepth study of everyday work by a small group of practitioners, which generated ethnographically informed propositions to be tested across a larger population. This enabled the national surveys to be based on a grounded understanding of public engagement work at the frontline of deliberative processes.

Crucially, MMR allowed us to check whether findings from the case study areas in the qualitative strand had resonance across the country (see Escobar et al. 2018; Weakley and Escobar 2018). For example, the surveys showed that levels of burnout amongst deliberative practitioners varied across localities, which tempered the stark findings from the qualitative strand (i.e. that burnout was rife). Conversely, we thought that the qualitative strand had focused on officials who were unusually committed to advancing culture change in public administration, and that therefore these case study areas were outliers. The surveys, however, suggested that culture change work was prominent across the country, thus giving us insight into widespread 'internal activism' by public officials—a dimension that remains underexplored in democratic innovation (Escobar 2017a). All in all, this sequential MMR project spanned a decade and provided the evidence base to support meta-inferences about the current institutionalization of participatory governance in Scotland (Escobar 2021).

Conclusion

This chapter offered an overview of MMR, outlining its philosophical foundations, varied designs, strategies for analysis and integration, specialist terminology, and quality standards. I hope the chapter reads like an invitation to develop a mixed methods community of practice within the deliberative democracy community of inquiry.

As we seek to enhance our current approaches in order to grapple with complex phenomena, we may grow in appreciation of what MMR has to offer. This may be particularly so as deliberative democracy enters mainstream politics and policymaking and we try to understand, for example, the successes and failures of institutionalizing deliberative public engagement; how power dynamics unfold in deliberative systems; the work of policy actors and communities of practice in the deliberative industry; the prospects for public deliberation in everyday talk and multi-media contexts; how various publics, stakeholders, and gatekeepers relate to citizen-centred deliberative institutions; or how online deliberation may enable transnational governance or the formation of a global demos to tackle the challenges of our time.

MMR can foster collaboration across disciplines and temper the hegemonic tendencies of some research communities wedded to narrow definitions of scientific inquiry. All in all, MMR provides fertile ground for building an actionable science of and for democracy. Our current collective predicament, as citizens and researchers, demands no less.

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