

# Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement Analysis

(Preliminary Report)

Connecting to Parliament

23 March 2023

## Executive Summary

As part of its broader inquiry into the Good Friday Agreement as its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary approaches, the Select Committee on Northern Ireland Affairs collaborated with the Institute for Democratic Engagement & Accountability (IDEA) at the Ohio State University, a research organization specializing in deliberative constituent engagement, on a Deliberative Town Hall. This format had previously been used successfully with congressional committees in the U.S. as well as individual MPs in the Australian Parliament. As part of their standard protocol for such events, IDEA worked with a local online survey panel (YouGov's UK online panel) to recruit a representative sample of constituents to take a pre-survey about their views on the Good Friday Agreement, which also include basic background information on the GFA and a knowledge check component. Survey completers were then randomly selected into either a treatment or control group to eliminate self-selection effects. Constituents in the treatment group (about 500 total) were provided additional background information and invited to participate in an online Deliberative Town Hall the evening of March 8, 2023. The event featured MPs Simon Hoare (Conservative), Claire Hanna (SDLP), Jim Shannon (DUP), and Stephen Farry (Alliance). Two hundred and seventy constituents from Northern Ireland attended the Deliberative Town Hall, with the vast majority participating for at least a full hour. Constituents in both the treatment and control groups then received a post-survey asking many of the same questions as the pre-survey, allowing researchers to track changes in opinion due to participation in the Deliberative Town Hall.

The full report contains comprehensive analysis of all the pre- and post-survey data, as well as qualitative information from the town hall itself, but the key takeaways are presented together in brief as part of the Executive Summary:

- **The Deliberative Town Hall drew participants from every age group, background, religion, and party across Northern Ireland, but the event particularly appealed to constituents who do not identify as Nationalist or Unionist** (although all opinion data has been weighted to represent Northern Ireland as a whole).
- **Over 70% of constituents said that the Good Friday Agreement has failed to enable stable governance. Additionally, 55% of constituents say the Good Friday Agreement has failed to produce effective governance.** After the town hall, the number of constituents with that view increased by a few percentage points. That agreement increased following extended discussion of the issue suggests the stability of this opinion.
- **40% of constituents agreed that the Good Friday Agreement had successfully enabled cross-community governance.** After the town hall discussion, we saw a roughly 13% increase in agreement with that view.
- **A commanding majority of attendees indicated that changes were needed to the institutions created by the Good Friday Agreement, with 70% saying that major changes were needed. This finding is consistent among all age, party, and religious breakdowns.** Discussion in the town hall only increased this sentiment, meaning that this opinion is likely quite stable.
- **75% of constituents believe the current method of requiring cross-community support gives each party a veto on the other and has led to problems going unaddressed.**
- **A large majority (just over 60%) of constituents also agreed that devolved government is very important.**
- **Stability** was consistently ranked as the number one priority among a large majority of attendees. Discussion in the town hall appears to have slightly increased this preference. Constituents constitutently ranked **cross-community** as the **least** important priority and became slightly more likely to think this way after discussing the issue in the town hall.
- **75% of respondents indicated that the Deliberative Town Hall had a significant effect on their views about the Good Friday Agreement.** This is quite significant given the sensitivity of the issue and deeply rooted nature of opinions on it.
- **96% of attendees said that deliberative events like the one they participated in are valuable for democracy and should be a more regular part of the legislative process.**

# Summary Report

The Northern Ireland Affairs Committee participated in a town hall with 270 citizens of Northern Ireland on 8 March 2023, with 259 participating in a follow-up survey following the event's conclusion. This session was focused on the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, specifically evaluating the Agreement and progress that has been made as the 25th anniversary nears. Constituents who were invited to attend the session received non-partisan background materials about this issue in advance of the session.

The full report contains comprehensive information about the sample of Northern Ireland constituents who took the surveys as well as those who attended the Deliberative Town Hall; a full reporting on their opinions about key elements of the Good Friday Agreement, including breakdowns by age, party affiliation and religion; qualitative information from the town hall itself; as well as reporting on participants' views about the town hall and their trust in and approval of the Select Committee before and after the town hall.

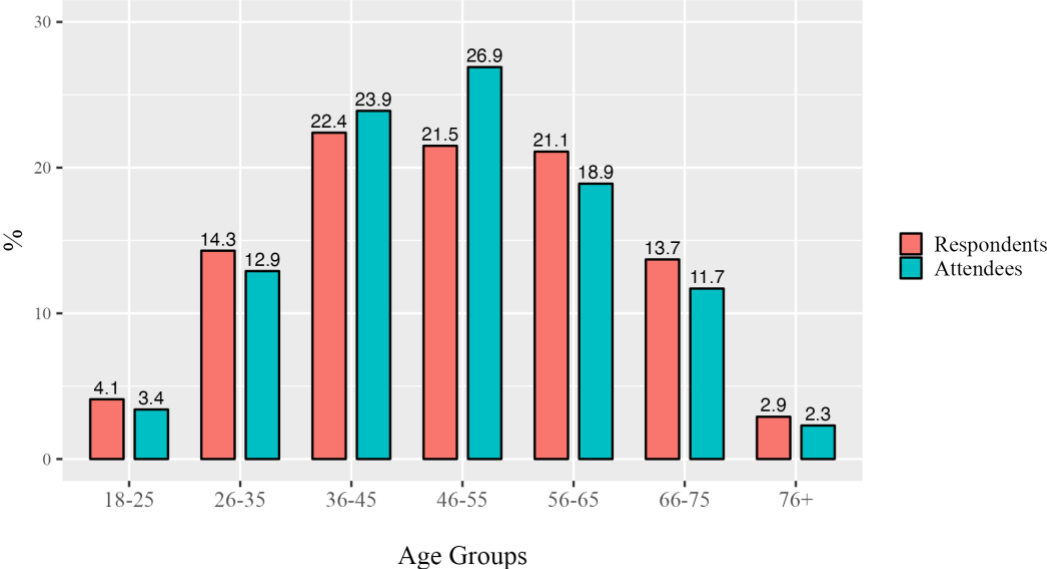
As a statistical note, for analysis items that report opinions, we show average opinion differences between the pre- and post-survey among attendees that were weighted to match the population of Northern Ireland according to age, gender, party affiliation, and religion.

# Demographic Overview

Below is a breakdown of the demographics for age, class, religion, and party. We provide charts for both the entire sample of constituents and those who attended the town hall.

## Age

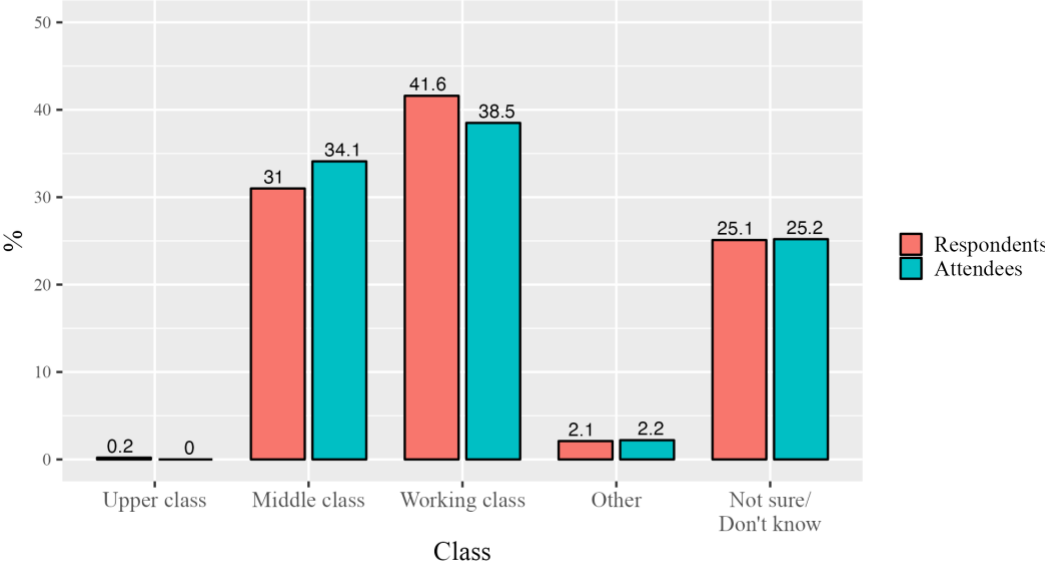
Age: All Respondents vs. Attendees



Most of those in both the total sample and the attendee group are middle-aged, but there was still substantial participation from constituents who are younger and those who are older. Our sample was fairly representative of Northern Ireland’s middle and older age ranges but had slightly fewer citizens aged 18-39 than Northern Ireland as a whole. (This difference has been accounted for in the opinion data presented later in the report.)

# Class

## Class: All Respondents vs. Attendees

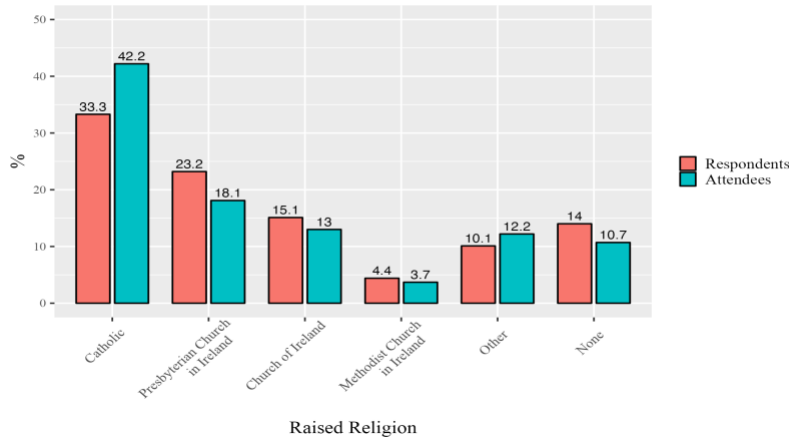


A plurality of respondents self-identified as working class or middle class, with very few self-identifying themselves as members of the upper class. One-quarter of respondents said that they were not sure which class category they belonged to.

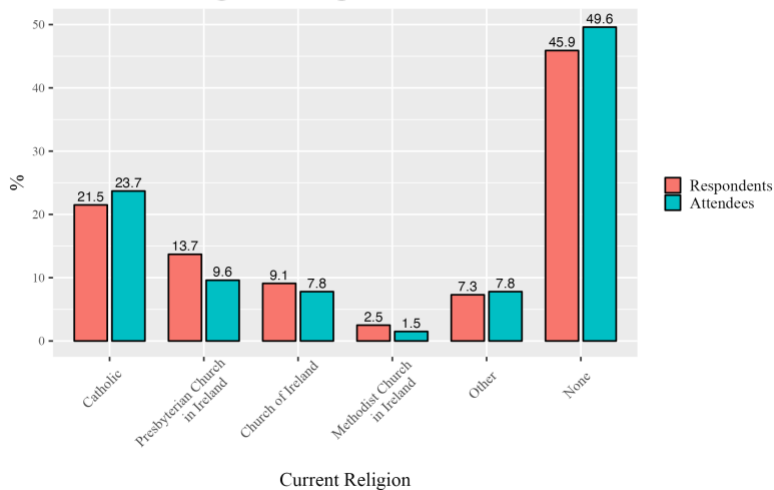
## Religion

We queried respondents about both the religion in which they were raised and the religion they currently practice.

Religion in which Participants were Raised: Respondents vs. Attendees



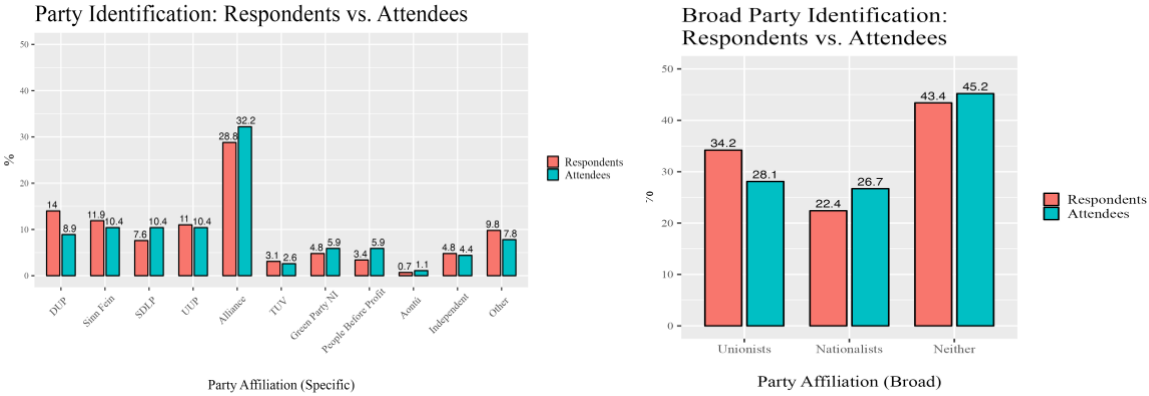
Current Religion: Respondents vs. Attendees



While a majority of respondents and attendees were raised as Catholics or Protestants, a plurality of participants in both the full sample and town hall attendees identified as religious “nones”, meaning they do not currently identify with any religion. This is significantly higher than the 10% rate of “nones” in the 2021 census of Northern Ireland; this has been accounted for in the opinion data presented later in the report.

## Political identity

We also looked at political identity among respondents. For this, we asked respondents which specific political party they belonged to, and we also asked broadly whether participants identified as Unionists, Nationalists, or neither.



Both the total respondent group and attendee group had substantial numbers of those identifying with the Alliance party, and there was fairly even variation among other parties. The number of Alliance participants in our sample was noticeably higher than the number of Alliance voters in the 2022 election (29% in our sample vs 13.5% in the last election), suggesting that this issue is particularly important to Alliance and other non-Unionist, non-Nationalist citizens. There were also many fewer Sinn Fein participants in our sample than voted in the 2022 election (12% in our sample vs 29% in the last election). This could possibly be due to the issue being more less important or desirable to discuss with Sinn Fein citizens, or to the fact that there was no Member from that party participating in the discussion, which was remarked upon in the event itself. There were smaller variations between our sample and the results of the last election for the other parties. Again, **our analysis of constituent opinion on all the questions below in the report has been weighted to match the actual population of Northern Ireland.**

For broad political identity, a plurality of participants in the total sample and the town hall event identified as neither Unionists nor Nationalists, again, suggesting this issue is highly salient to citizens who do not identify with either of the major parties, and echoing qualitative sentiments that were asked throughout the event itself.

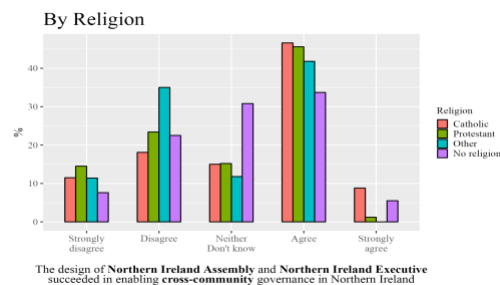
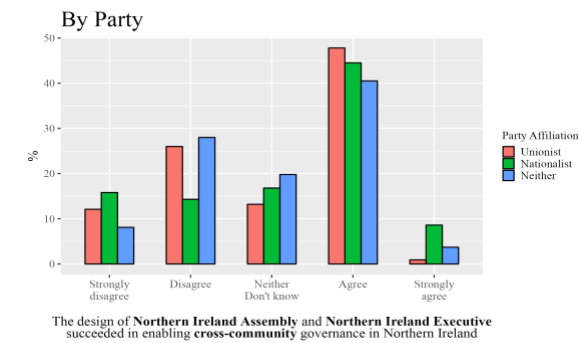
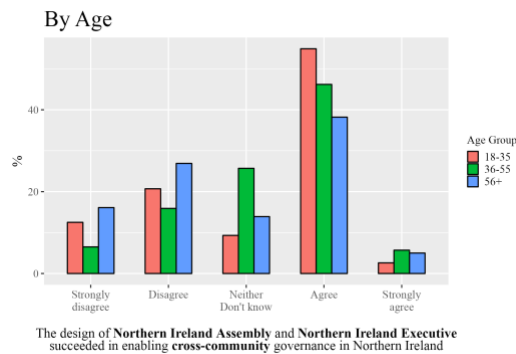
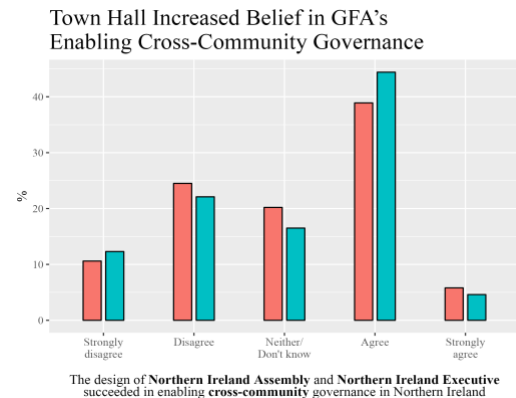
# Inquiry Questions

Below, we detail the responses to several questions from the inquiry related to elements of the democratic institutions created by the Good Friday Agreement. Specifically, we asked whether attendees agreed or disagreed that the Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly has succeeded in enabling **cross-community, stable, and effective** governance.

**In the charts below, the first graph presents the pre- and post-survey responses among town hall attendees, weighted so that the demographics match those of Northern Ireland’s actual population. The accompanying three other graphs break down the results from post-survey responses among attendees based on party, religion, and age.**

## Cross-Community Governance

**Agreement that the Good Friday Agreement had successfully enabled cross-community governance was already high, above 40%, in the initial survey. After the town hall discussion, we saw a roughly 13% increase in agreement with that view.** Younger participants had the highest levels of agreement with this item, while older participants were more inclined to disagree than other age groups. Opinion broken down by broad party affiliation and religion was more varied.

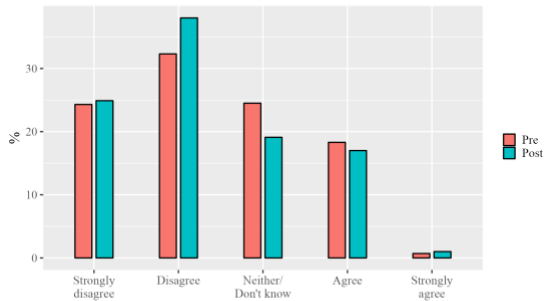




## Effective Governance

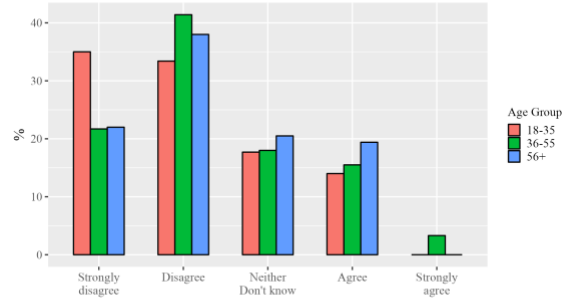
A large majority of constituents, however, do *not* agree that the Good Friday Agreement has produced effective governance, with 55% of Northern Ireland citizens disagreeing, 25% of them strongly so. After the town hall, the number of constituents disagreeing increased by a few percentage points. Across variations in age, party, and religion, a strong plurality of attendees disagreed that the Good Friday Agreement enabled effective governance.

Town Hall Increased Belief GFA Not Enabling Effective Governance



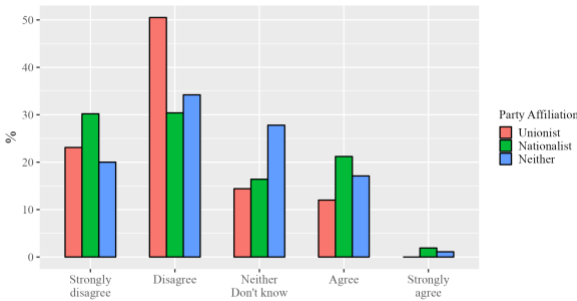
The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling effective governance in Northern Ireland

By Age



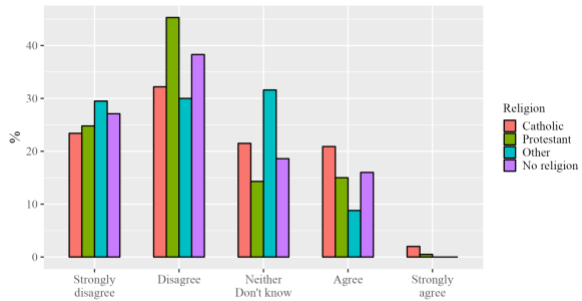
The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling effective governance in Northern Ireland

By Party



The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling effective governance in Northern Ireland

By Religion

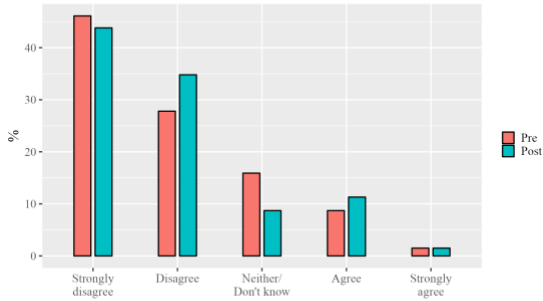


The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling effective governance in Northern Ireland

## Stable Governance

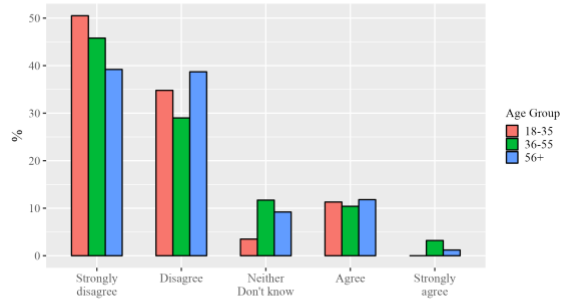
But the most striking level of agreement was found on the question of stable governance, with over 70% of constituents saying that the Good Friday Agreement has *not* successfully enabled it. Further discussion of the issue in the town hall slightly decreased that sentiment.

Vast Majority Believe  
GFA Not Enabling Stable Government



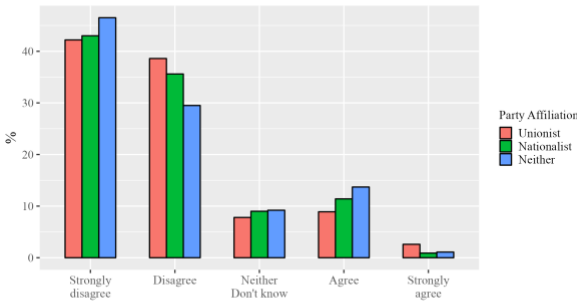
The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling stable governance in Northern Ireland

By Age



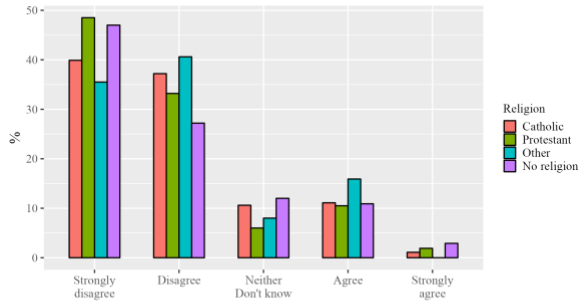
The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling stable governance in Northern Ireland

By Party



The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling stable governance in Northern Ireland

By Religion

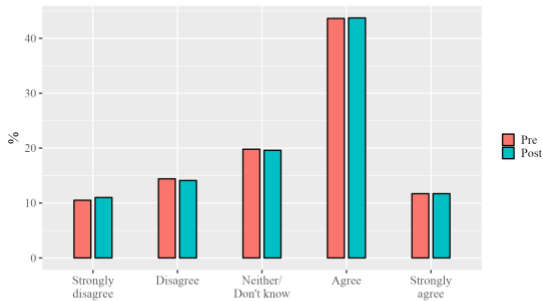


The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling stable governance in Northern Ireland

## Effective Representation

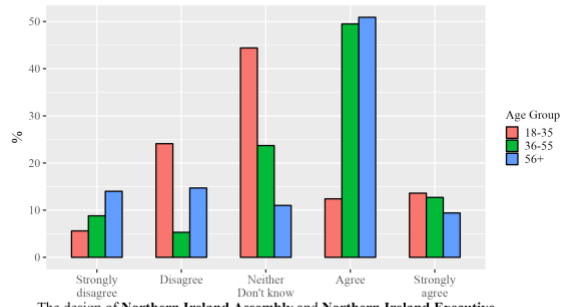
Unionists and Nationalists both largely saw themselves as being effectively represented by the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive. Broken down by age, however, we see that middle-aged and older participants had relatively high levels of agreement with this item, while younger participants had significantly higher levels of disagreement and considerably lower levels of agreement.

No Change of Belief in GFA's Enabling Effective Representation of Unionists/Nationalists



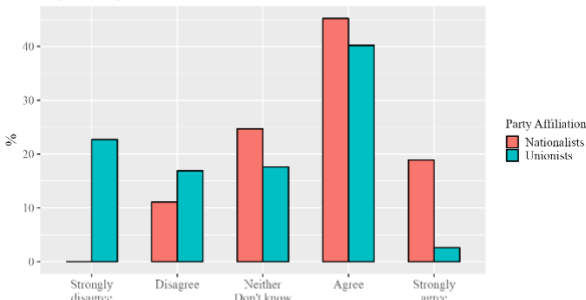
The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling Unionists/Nationalists to be effectively represented

By Age



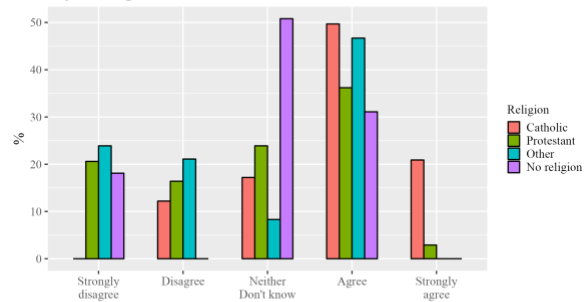
The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling Unionists/Nationalists to be effectively represented

By Party



The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling Unionists/Nationalists to be effectively represented

By Religion

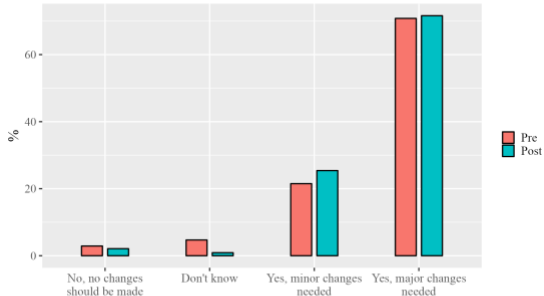


The design of Northern Ireland Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive succeeded in enabling Unionists/Nationalists to be effectively represented

## Institutional Change

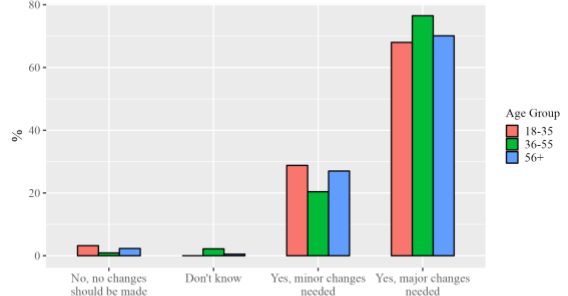
A commanding majority of attendees indicated that changes were needed to the institutions created by the Good Friday Agreement, with 70% saying that major changes were needed. This finding is consistent along all age, party, and religious breakdowns. Discussion in the town hall only increased this sentiment.

70% Believe Major Changes Needed to GFA



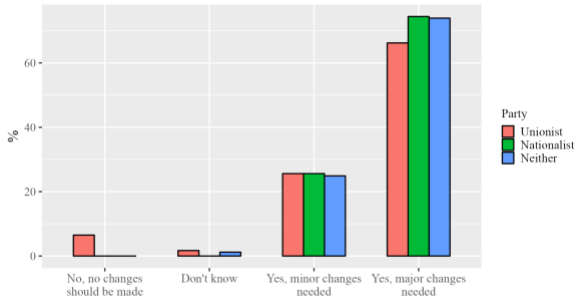
Do Northern Ireland's major democratic institutions, the Assembly and the Executive, need to change in order to address challenges Northern Ireland faces today?

By Age



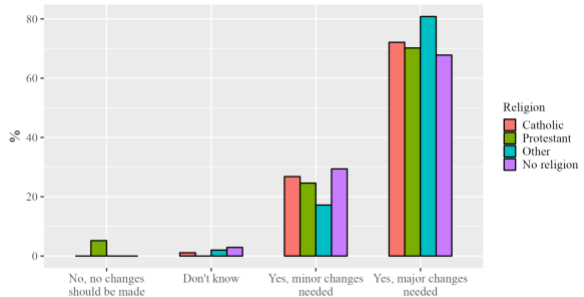
Do N.I.'s major democratic institutions, the Assembly and the Executive, need to change in order to address challenges Northern Ireland faces today?

By Party



Do N.I.'s major democratic institutions, the Assembly and the Executive, need to change in order to address challenges Northern Ireland faces today?

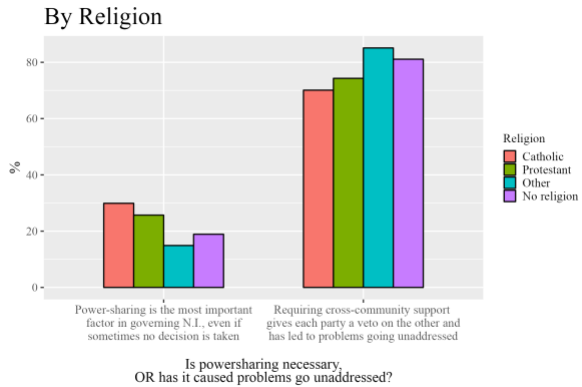
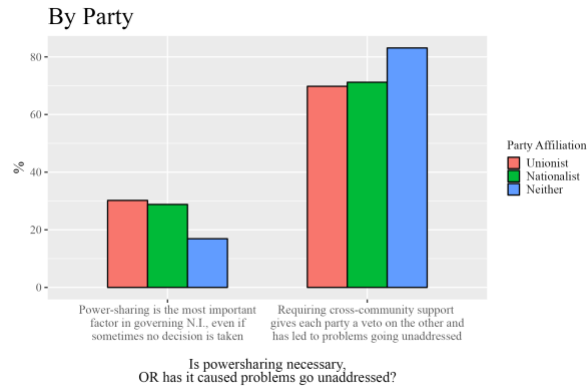
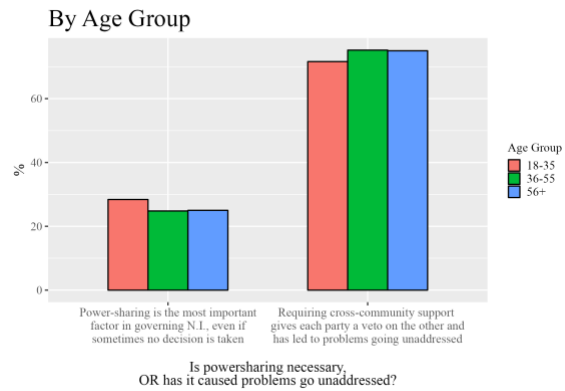
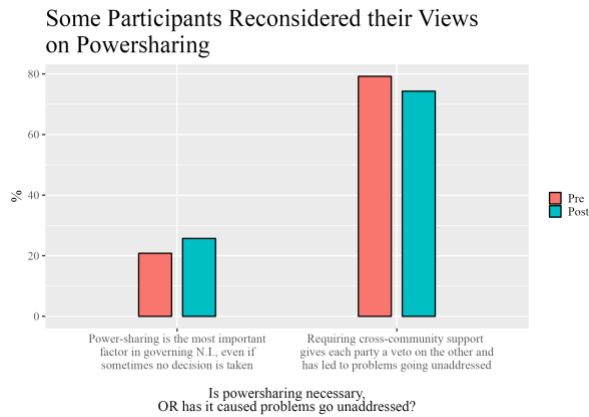
By Religion



Do N.I.'s major democratic institutions, the Assembly and the Executive, need to change in order to address challenges Northern Ireland faces today?

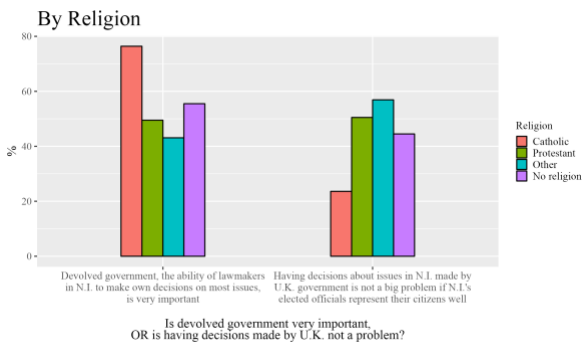
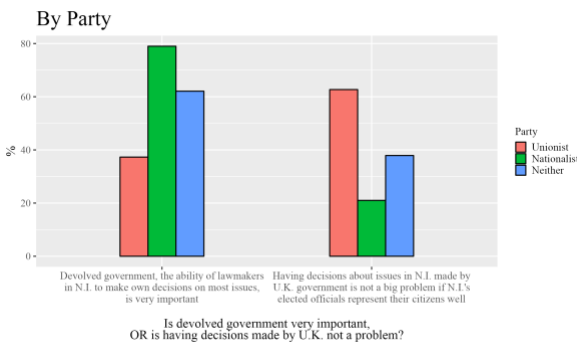
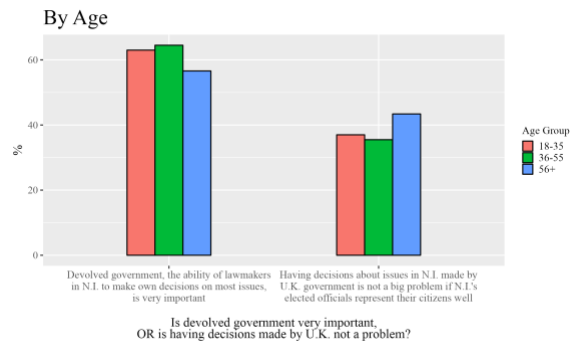
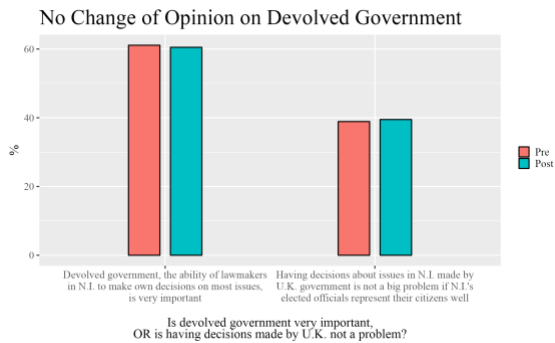
## Power Sharing

The vast majority of constituents believe the current method of requiring cross-community support gives each party a veto on the other and has led to problems going unaddressed. Constituents who do not identify as Nationalist or Unionist were particularly likely to hold this view, but it was also widely agreed to by about 75% of both Nationalists and Unionists. Some participants reconsidered their views toward power sharing after the town hall, but most respondents maintained their same position.



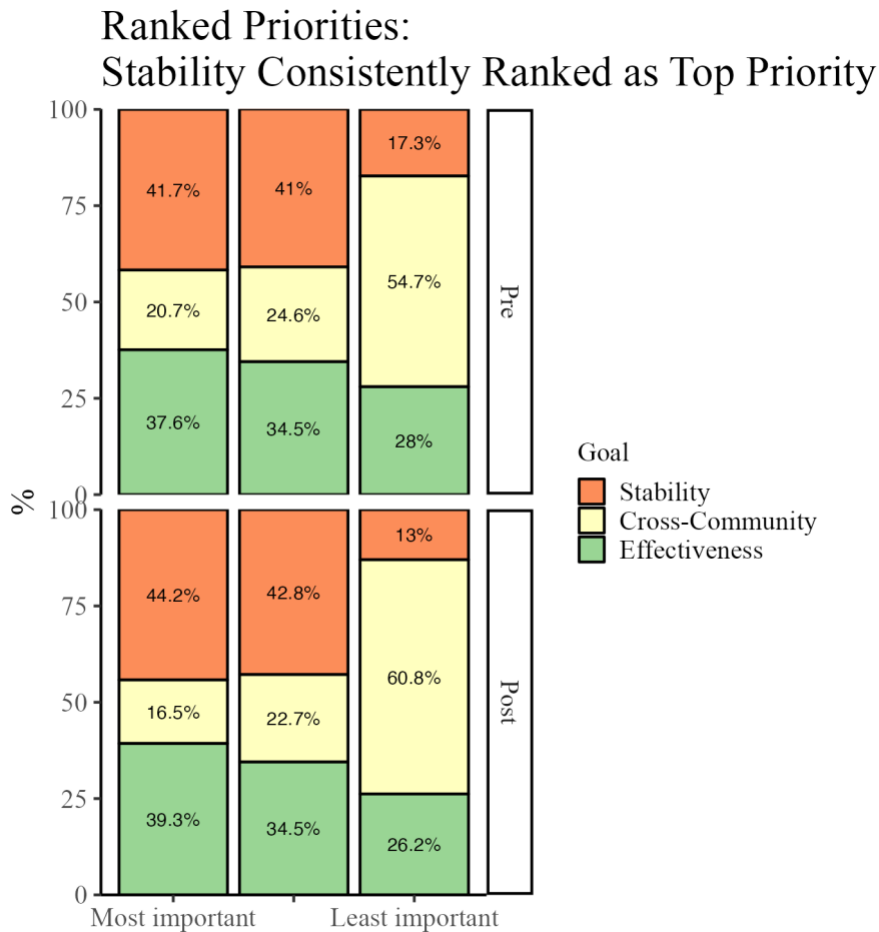
## Devolved Government

A large majority (just over 60%) of constituents also agreed that devolved government is very important. When broken down by party, however, there were notable differences. Nearly 80% of attendees identifying as Nationalists said that devolved government was very important, while roughly 60% of Unionists held the opposite view, saying that decisions on Northern Ireland being made by the U.K. was not a problem. Overall, participation in the town hall did not have a noticeable effect on constituents' opinion on this issue.



## Ranked Priorities

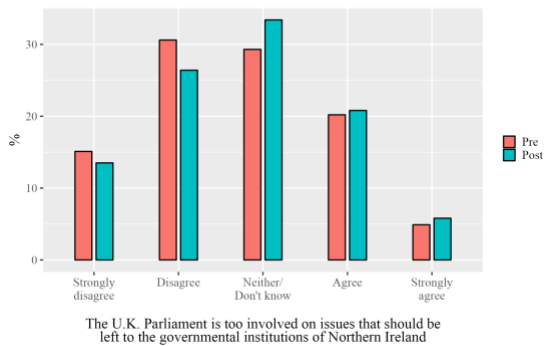
We also examined how respondents would rank the three priorities of stability, cross-community, and effective governance. While there was variation in the responses, **stability was consistently ranked as the number one or number two priority among a large majority of attendees.** Discussion in the town hall appears to have slightly increased this preference. **Constituents consistently ranked cross-community as the least important priority** and became slightly more likely to think this way after discussing the issue in the town hall.



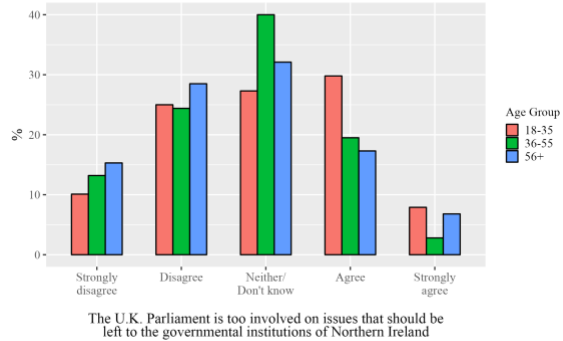
## Parliamentary Involvement

Last, we look at respondent opinion on the involvement of the U.K. Parliament in Northern Ireland affairs. There was no clear majority of opinion on the question of whether the U.K. Parliament is too involved on issues that should be left to the democratic institutions of Northern Ireland before the town hall, with about 27% agreeing, 37% disagreeing, and about 30% choosing neither or saying they didn't know. After the town hall, the percentage of constituents who disagreed with this statement slightly decreased, and the share of constituents saying neither or they didn't know slightly increased. Broken down by party, Unionists were much more likely to disagree that the U.K. Parliament is too involved in Northern Ireland affairs.

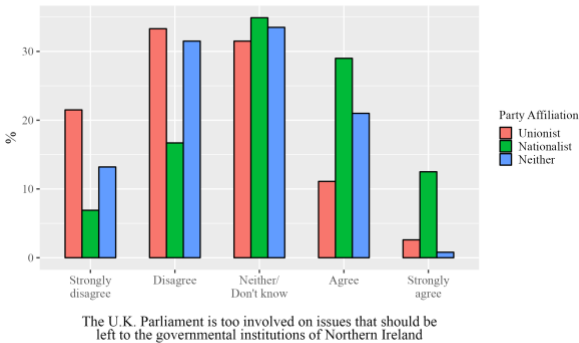
Very Minor Changes in Opinion toward U.K. Parliament Involvement after Deliberation



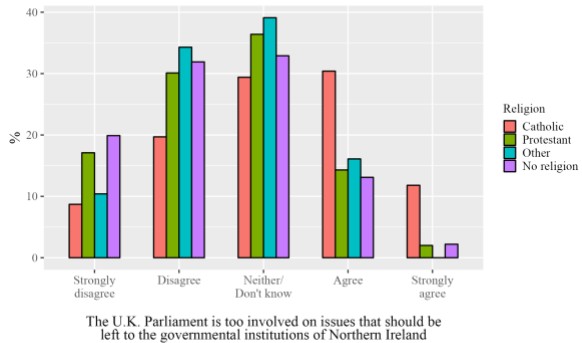
By Age



By Party



By Religion





# Constituents in Their Own Words

Participants submitted a total of 432 substantive comments/questions in the town hall. About 150 of those comments/questions (or about 35%) voiced concerns over the suspension of Stormont along the lines of stability, representational equity, and effectiveness. In addition, 130 comments/questions (30%) focused on how to reform the Good Friday Agreement and the democratic institutions it created. Citizens seemed highly engaged, both actively making suggestions to MPs and giving constructive feedback on MP's ideas. Specifically, participants offered their thoughts on standing measures such as the power-sharing structure, allocation of ministership, community designation, and petition of concern. There was also a lively back-and-forth among participants on if reform the Good Friday Agreement should be put to a referendum: for instance, about 10 comments supported the use of referendum, whereas another 11 were pushing back against the idea. A comprehensive compilation of the range of questions and comments submitted is included at the end of this report as an Appendix, but we include a very brief representative sample of questions comments in this area.

☒ Deadlock shouldn't be allowed and if a party have walked out another party should be allowed to take their seats instead –*constituent aged 30/Nationalist/Catholic/Working class*

☒ Is it now vital that the other community needs to be more equally represented so that decisions need Unionist/Nationalist AND others consent? —*constituent aged 51/Unionist/Protestant*

☒ Changes need to happen quickly. At the moment, as someone who doesn't identify along traditional lines, I am not represented democratically in the Assembly. — *constituent aged 49/Neither major party/No religion given/Middle class*

☒ The current situation hardwires tribal identity into governance - we need to end that - enforced if necessary. —*constituent aged 51/Nationalist/Catholic/Working class*

☒ Why not signal a change by stopping the designation in the book? A small step but a big signal. —*constituent aged 57/Unionist/Catholic/Middle class*

☒ Changes proposed by SDLP and Alliance sound like quick and easy fixes, if they proceed ok, others can be tested at election time. —*constituent submitted anonymously*

☒ Could the mandate for coalition be changed to a right to coalition and if the party wishes to abstain from the executive the other parties can continue to form an executive in their absence? This would remove the incentive to collapse the executive. —*constituent aged 37/Neither/Protestant/Middle class*

☒ As we have approximately 40% Unionist and Nationalist representation and 20% other, a weighted majority should be sufficient for legislation such as equal marriage. The petition of concern should be removed. —*constituent aged 51/Unionist/Protestant/no class given*

☒ Just as the cross-community voting baked in extremes of voting very quickly, I think that the super majority voting could well make this even more extreme. Potentially what are currently the smaller parties would disappear as almost happened to the SDLP and UUP at one time following the introduction of cross-community voting. —*constituent aged 53/Unionist/Protestant/Middle class*

☒ You could have an independent legal body which legislation made by the super majority makes could be referred to which reviews any laws that any party is concerned is potentially prejudicial. —*constituent aged 44/Neither major party/Other religion/Middle class*

About 30 comments/questions requested that politicians move away from orange-and-green politics and begin to work across partisan lines while also heeding the public voice more carefully. Participants also seemed up-to-date on current affairs: about 15 comments/questions were on the economic impact of Brexit, the Windsor Framework, and the East-West relationship more broadly. A couple of examples of such comments include:

☒ Sick of green and orange divide. Our society has evolved into many other colours. Are some political parties too involved with paramilitaries keeping them stuck in the past? —*constituent aged 41/Neither/Catholic/Middle class*

☒ How can we influence the agenda for changes if the parties don't want the change? —*constituent aged 64/Neither/Other religion/no class given*

☒ Nationalism and Unionism is obviously important but real people are suffering now with cost of living, Brexit, etc. so surely this can be made paramount. —*constituent aged 55/Neither/Other/ no class given*

☒ Legislative procedures in NI are way too slow. Compare them to the Westminster process, or Welsh or Scottish processes. We have so much legislation needed to make NI a modern prosperous society!!! —*constituent submitted anonymously*

Lastly, there were about a dozen “off-topic” but tangentially-related comments on issues such as paramilitary activity, education system, health service, united Ireland, and social rights, which still may be of interest to elected officials interested in knowing what their constituents most wanted to make sure they conveyed to their MPs. A couple of examples include:

☒ I am a member of the LGBT community but live within the Unionist community. My politicians actively act [against] my LGBT community. Very few Unionists are actually against the LGBT community and the politicians are not listening. Jim is saying he represents everyone - he does not. —*constituent submitted anonymously*

☒ Ending academic selection?! Are you mad!!?? want us to live in a snowflake society where smart people can't excel? —*constituent aged 33/Unionist/Protestant/no class given*

☒ The issue is that you need to get these criminal gangs off our streets on both sides of the community so that our children can feel safe and secure when leaving our home. I don't see any improvement and matters are worse than ever, especially with drugs & knives on our streets. Politicians need to put aside their differences, get back to Stormont, do their job. —*constituent submitted anonymously*

☒ Why is there so much red tape for victims of the troubles claiming the legacy pension? Why is there ex p.o.w.s who also suffered during the conflict not able to claim, in other words, who decides who is a victim? —*constituent submitted anonymously*

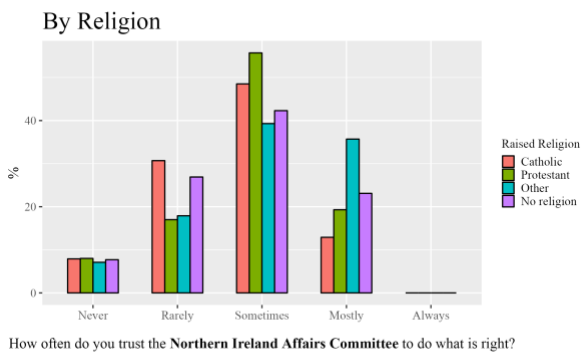
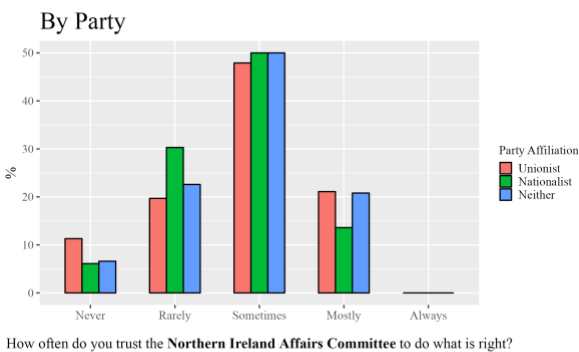
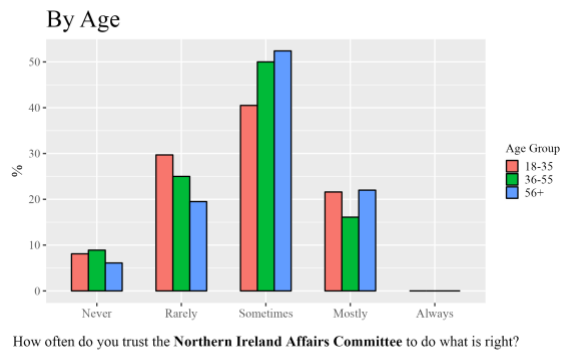
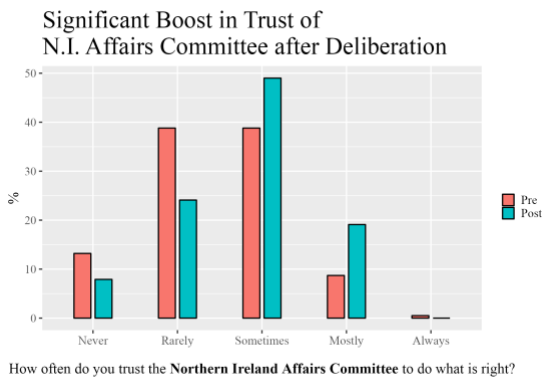
☒ Is it time funding should be stopped for groups that are spokespeople for paramilitary organisations? —*constituent aged 42/Nationalist/Catholic/Working class*

# Trust and Approval

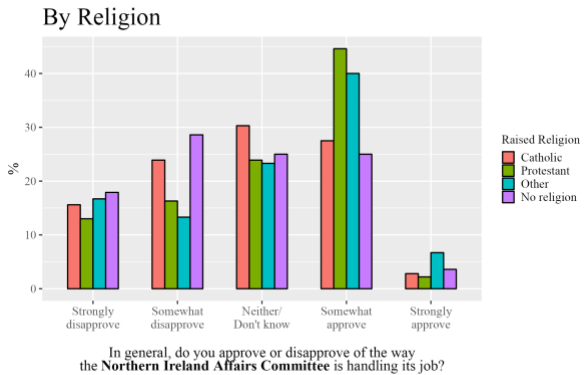
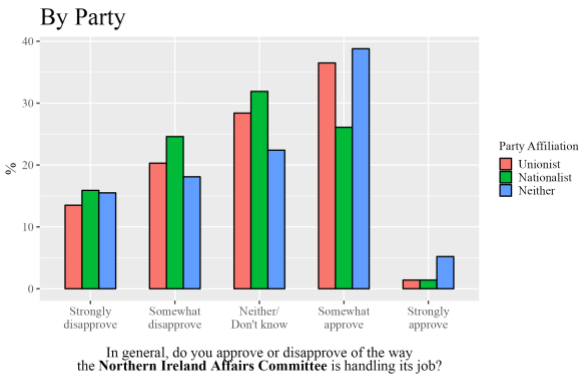
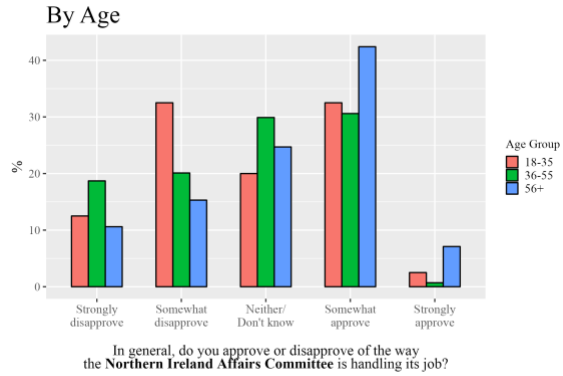
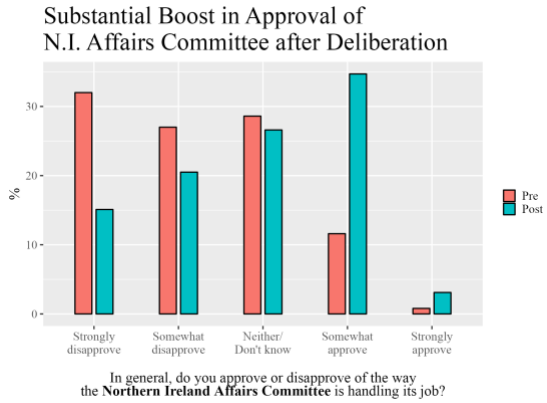
In this section, we examine the survey responses amongst attendees of the town hall to the questions on trust and approval of the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee and the U.K. Parliament. The first graph presents the changes from the pre-survey to the post-survey, highlighting how constituents felt after the town hall. The accompanying three other graphs further break down the results by party, religion, and age.

## Trust and Approval toward the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee

The first series of charts looks at trust in the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee. For the approval categories in general, we saw a roughly **200% increase in trust for the NI Affairs Committee after the town hall.**



**Approval of the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee also increased significantly after the town hall, with the percentage of constituents who somewhat approve of the committee increasing by almost 300% and the percentage who strongly disapprove dropping by half.**



## Approval toward Parliament

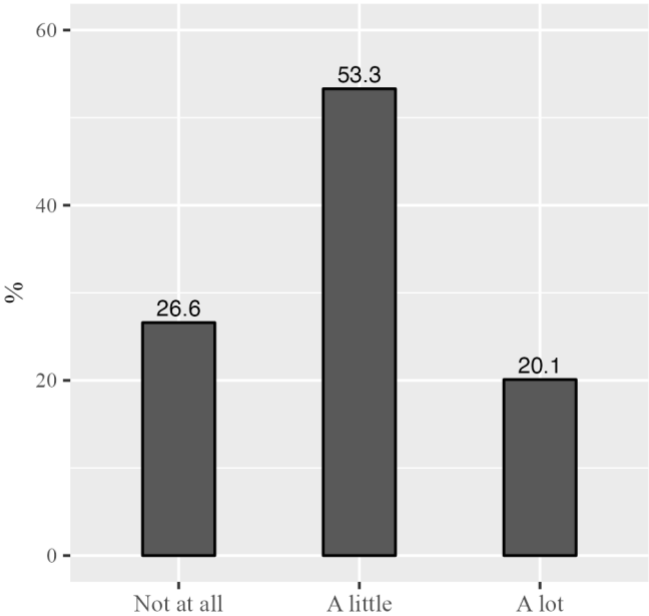
The marked increase in approval of the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee did not fully translate to an increase in approval of the U.K. Parliament as a whole, however. We did observe a roughly 5% increase in approval of Parliament from attendees after the conclusion of the town hall. However, a majority of attendees still disapproved of Parliament after the town hall. Nationalists were especially unlikely to approve of Parliament.

# The Difference Deliberation Makes

In this section, we provide the responses from town hall participants on how the Deliberative Town Hall affected their opinions, their views of other citizens, and the usefulness of this kind of engagement.

**First, 75% of respondents indicated that the Deliberative Town Hall had a significant effect on their views about the Good Friday Agreement.**

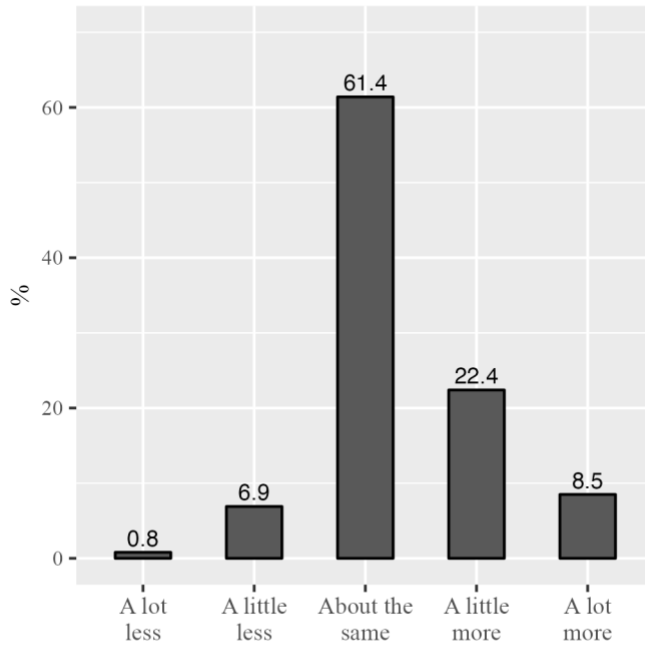
Nearly 3/4 Began to Think Differently about GFA



How much did the town hall affect your opinion about what actions should be taken on **Good Friday Agreement**?

Furthermore, **roughly 30% of constituents said that they had an increase in respect for others with different views after the town hall.**

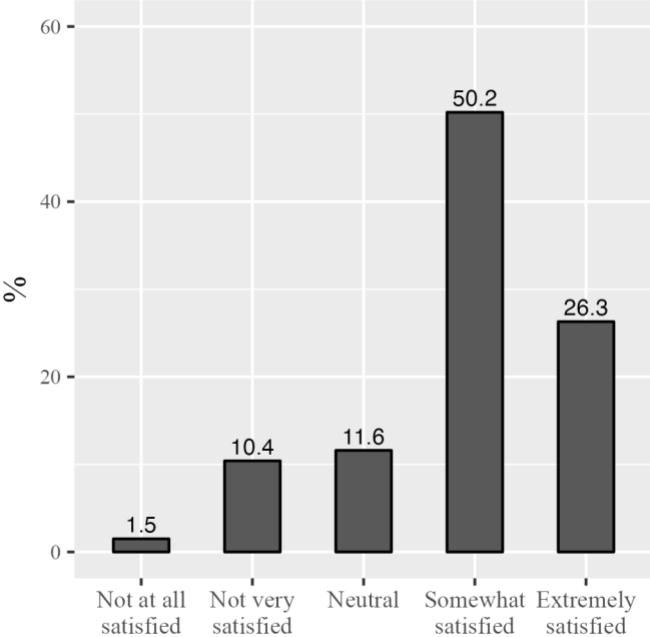
### 30% Stated They Began to Respect the Views of Others on GFA



How much did the town hall affect your opinion about **people with other views on the issue?** I respect their views ...

Next, roughly 75% of attendees said that they were somewhat or very satisfied with the deliberative town hall; only about 1 in 10 attendees said that they were not very satisfied with the town hall.

### More than 3/4 were Satisfied with the Deliberative Town Hall

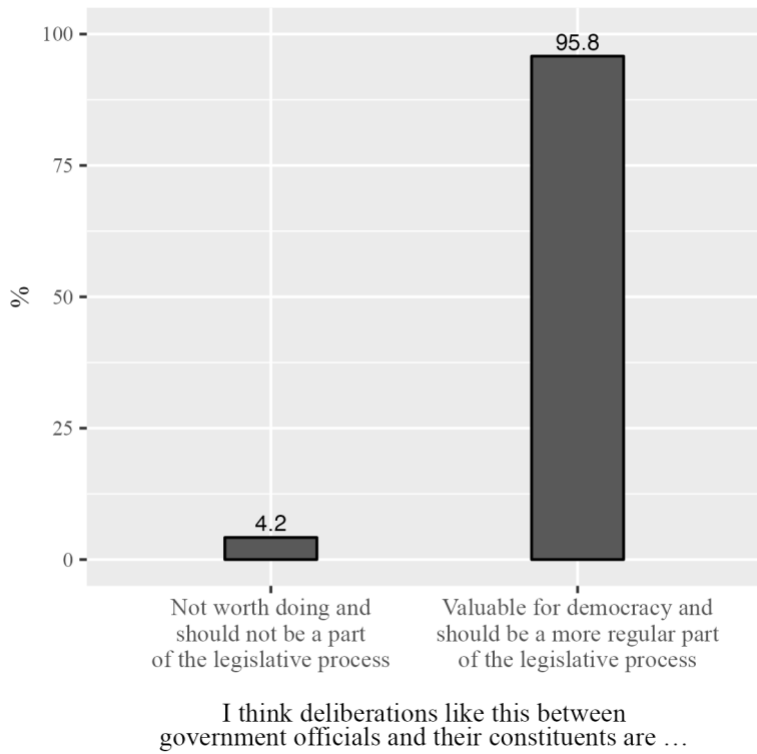


Satisfaction with DTH



In addition, an overwhelming majority, 96% of attendees, said that deliberative events like the one they participated in are valuable for democracy and should be a more regular part of the legislative process.

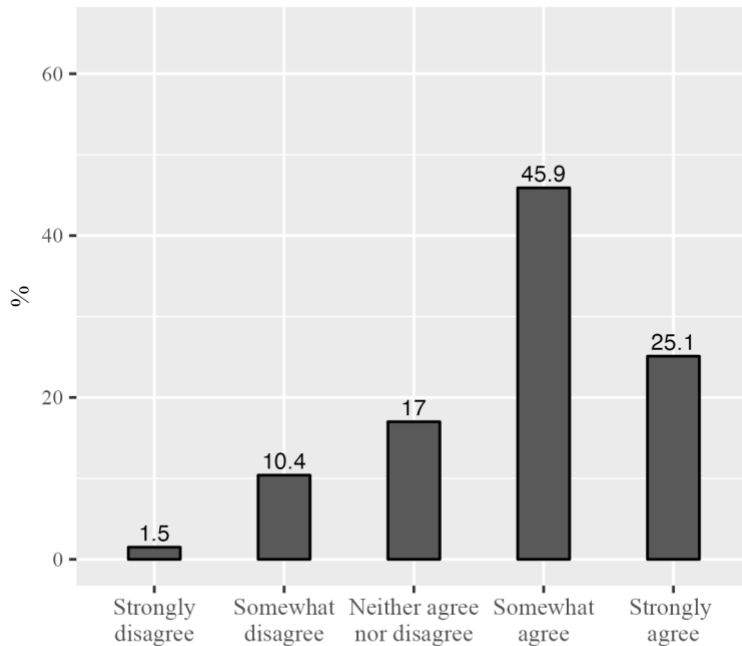
### There was Overwhelming Support for Public Deliberation



## Attitudes toward Elected Officials in the Town Hall

These high levels of satisfaction and perceptions of value of deliberative constituent engagement are likely related to constituents' perceptions that the participating elected officials were genuinely interested in their questions and comments during the town hall.

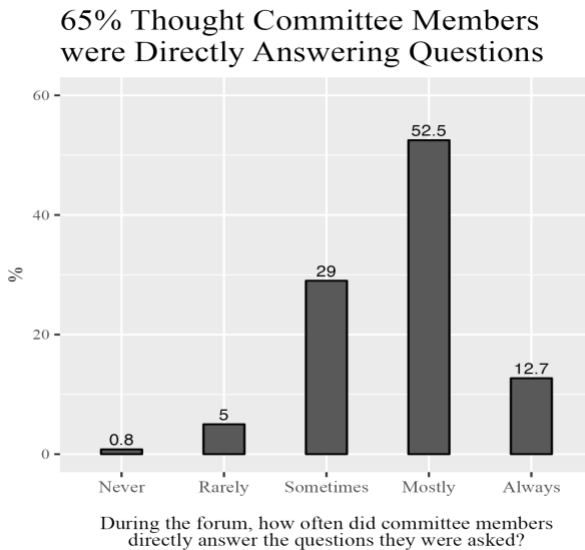
### 70% thought Committee Members were Learning from their Constituents



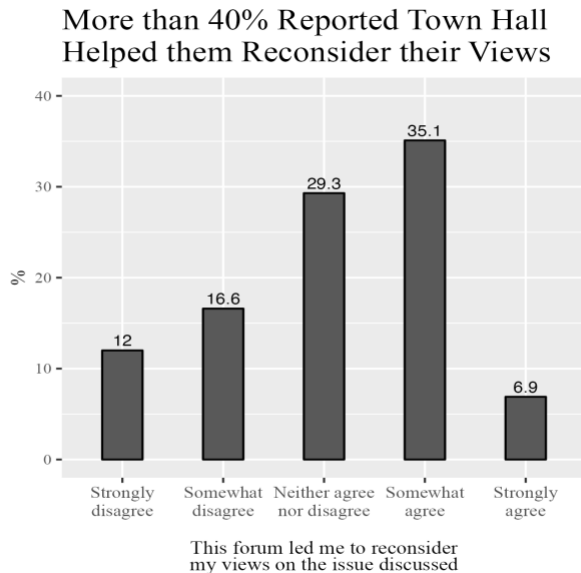
Committee members seemed genuinely interested in learning from their constituents during the forum

A strong majority of attendees, around 70%, indicated that they thought that the participating committee members were genuinely interested in learning from their constituents during the town hall event.

The vast majority of attendees also thought that committee members were directly answering the questions that they were asked, not just giving talking points or the party line.



This responsiveness from the elected officials seems to have strongly influenced constituents' own opinion as well: **more than 40% of respondents indicated that the town hall event helped them reconsider their views on issues related to the Good Friday Agreement.** This is quite a high percentage given the sensitivity of the issue and deeply rooted nature of opinions on it.



# Conclusion

In conclusion, the information from this Deliberative Town Hall should be a quite useful addition to the other data gathered as part of the Good Friday Agreement inquiry. In reaching out to a broad cross-section of Northern Ireland constituents, not just those who sought out the opportunity to register opinion on the GFA, the survey data from this experiment points to several important findings that may not have surfaced from a more traditional open-participation approach:

- The question of reform is most salient among those who don't feel represented by the Nationalist or Unionist factions;
- Recognition of the need for change to the GFA is overwhelming, and occurs nearly equally amongst all citizens from all parties;
- Stability is overwhelmingly seen as the highest priority for reform, with equity of representation for citizens who do not identify with either of the two traditional parties a close second;
- The majority of constituents across all parties are ready for at least some small changes (such as how ministers are identified) in this direction immediately, and perhaps bigger changes over time.
- While this Deliberative Town Hall was not designed or facilitated with the goal of getting constituents' deliberative public opinion on specific changes to the GFA (and the tradeoffs that would come with them), clearly constituents are eager for change and improvement, and that many would be happy to be part of further consultation on specific potential policies.

Lastly, deliberative constituent engagement directly involving Members of Parliament leads to large, immediate gains in trust and approval for the committee and Members willing to engage in this kind of deliberative engagement. Our recommendation would be to further follow up with constituents as this inquiry concludes and decisions are taken, to see how actual proof of impact affects participants' (and the broader public's) trust and approval of the Committee and Parliament as a whole, as well as citizens' perception of the legitimacy of decisions taken and their own sense of civic efficacy. Our hypothesis would be that if the simple act of consultation produces the striking gains shown here, proof of actual impact on governance would result in even more powerful and perhaps lasting gains in trust, approval, and sense of legitimacy— all of which are keenly important especially on this issue and in these times.

# Appendix

This appendix attached separately consists of a comprehensive listing of all questions and comments submitted by constituents during the Deliberative Town Hall. Only a few comments/questions that were nearly identical to others included below have been omitted. It should be noted again that constituents who do not identify as either Nationalist or Unionist were a larger fraction of participants than in Northern Ireland as a whole, and they also appeared to be the most engaged of all groups during the town hall. Questions that are in bold are ones which were asked of Members live in the Deliberative Town Hall.