INTEGRATING DELIBERATIVE JUSTICE THEORY INTO SOCIAL WORK POLICY PEDAGOGY

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Deliberation that upholds the social work values of justice and inclusion is an essential component of the policy-making process; yet most social welfare policy curricula focus instead on the goals of distributive justice. This article presents a model that demonstrates how deliberative justice can be easily incorporated into beginning level social welfare policy classes. Feedback from social work students indicates their understanding of the concepts of deliberative justice presented in a policy class and their appreciation of a class role-play designed to illustrate the implementation of related theory. Social work practitioners at the policy level may also find this model useful.

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATORS are charged with teaching students to develop and critique social welfare policies that impact the lives of their clients and client populations. It is assumed that most beginning level social work policy courses provide: an overview of the nature of social welfare, including its history and recent events; a model used for basic policy analysis, touching on concepts, values, and their relationships; and examples of current social welfare policies, such as healthcare, poverty programs, etc. (e.g., Gilbert & Terrell, 2010; Jimenez, 2010). The above assumptions are based on a brief review of typical policy textbooks; yet it is likely there are other approaches. One might expect to see the application of a policy model and a demonstration of how policy alternatives are evaluated (e.g., Gilbert and Terrell, 2010; Kraft and Furlong, 2007). The impact of the economic system is considered by some (e.g., Jimenez, 2010), whereas others focus more on political influence (e.g., Kraft & Furlong, 2007). In general, the models use the values of distributive justice to weigh the relative worth of any given social welfare policy. In other words, the questions raised in policy analysis normally have to do with the fair distribution of resources, especially money, at various levels (i.e., federal, state, and local).

This focus on distributive justice fits well with the social work profession's "quest for

social and economic justice," as identified by the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE, 2008, p. 1). Segal (2010) says this "paradigm calls for us to identify what social benefits should be provided to all citizens and then create ways to ensure a fair allocation of those benefits" (p. 68; see also Rawls, 1971).

Deliberative Justice

But what of deliberative justice? This second paradigm stands beside distributive justice, yet emphasizes that the voices of affected stakeholders must be heard and respected in the policy decision-making process (Aday, Quill, & Reyes-Gibby, 2001). Deliberative justice also stresses the importance of debate among stakeholders to allow for an active interchange of ideas and values prior to decision making. A body of literature on deliberative democracy and civil society is available for study, much of it expounding or critiquing the work of Jürgen Habermas, a sociologist whose work has not often been reported in U.S. social work literature. His work, which is not without controversy, has recently been studied in relationship to the practice and ethics of social work primarily in Australia and the United Kingdom (Garrett, 2009; Gray & Lovat, 2008; Houston, 2009; Lovat & Gray, 2008; Lovelock & Powell, 2004). Likewise, his emphasis on inclusion is referenced in the literature of healthcare policy making, written primarily about policies in universal healthcare countries, such as the United Kingdom, Canada, and South Africa (Scambler, 2001; Syrett, 2007).

Without diminishing the significance of teaching the concepts of distributive justice in social welfare policy, this article seeks to emphasize the importance of also teaching the concepts of deliberative justice. The sentiments of deliberative justice are similar to those of inclusion in social work theory and in the core of social work beliefs. Social work practitioners admit to the "strengths and resiliency of all human beings," including those strengths based in diversity, and practitioners are encouraged to build on these strengths (CSWE, 2008, B2.2).

One of the key skills in this strengths-building process is engagement with the client population. Engagement involves working with clients to find the ways that they can work together to achieve their collectively desired outcomes. Skills needed to accomplish engagement include the ability to identify "mutually agreed-on intervention goals and objectives"; the ability to "help clients resolve problems"; and the ability to "negotiate, mediate, and advocate for clients" (CSWE, 2008, 2.1.10, a–c). Students are trained not only to understand clients' needs, but to comprehend their points of view, their belief systems, and those values that they hold dear.

Deliberation, on the other hand, provides more than knowledge about what people think. Gathering opinions is insufficient, for by solely collecting data from the populace the opportunity for exchange of opinion and genuine dialogue among stakeholders is missed. Deliberation implies learning from, and building upon, that which is gleaned from the other. Deliberative justice is served when policy decisions take into account conclusions that transpire as a result of a truly inclusive and civil process. Therefore, it is the author's assertion that social welfare classes not only need to instruct students in how to substantively eval-

uate policies, but also how to evaluate the process by which policy decisions are made. The understanding of deliberative justice is as important to social work education as the understanding of distributive justice.

Traditional models (functionalist or classical models, as described by O'Connor and Netting, 2008) of social welfare policy are typically used to convey an understanding of distributive justice. These models are limited in that they typically lack this crucial emphasis on deliberative justice. Course content is likewise limited to the extent that only these traditional models are presented.

Deliberative Justice in a Policy Course

The article presents a method designed to introduce the concepts of deliberative justice into social welfare policy courses. The setting is an upper-division undergraduate policy seminar entitled Social Policy and Social Welfare Legislation. The course provides an analysis of the social policy process in the context of social welfare and social service delivery systems. In the beginning of the semester two traditional/functionalist policy analysis frameworks are presented. Later in the semester a more interpretive framework is demonstrated to illustrate and integrate the concepts of deliberative justice into the course content.

Social work majors normally take this course as seniors who are concurrently enrolled in their 400-hour field placement. Occasionally social work majors will take the course earlier than their field placement. In a typical semester there will also be two or three students who are signed up as social work minors. The course prerequisites make it

unlikely that a student who is not either a social work major or minor would sign up for the course.

As would be expected in a typical policy course, students are given an overview of social welfare policy in the United States, its basic premises and its history, and a review of the recent events to bring them up to date. Then the class spends approximately nine sessions covering two traditional/functionalist models, the dimensions of choice framework of Gilbert and Terrell (2010) and the policy process model of Kraft and Furlong (2007). From the former they gain an understanding of how to consider alternative policy options, theories, and values in relationship to the allocation, provision, delivery, and financing of benefits and services. From the latter they visualize the typical evolutionary steps of public policy, from agenda setting through policy formulation, implementation, evaluation, and so forth. Students are also cautioned that the real-world policy process is more complex than models might suggest.

Assignment

Individually the students begin to use these frameworks as tools to create a policy project similar to the human service agency projects reported by Droppa (2007). Each student identifies a social problem that he or she finds of special interest. The student determines the level of the problem (federal, state, regional, or local) and locates an agency that currently addresses the problem. The student also selects a program of that agency that attempts to resolve the selected problem and one (only one) current policy of that program that impacts the problem.

Staying focused and on track is frequently as much of a challenge for the students as finding the documentation needed to write their papers. To help these budding policy analysts stay on target, and to help them understand what they are, and are not, attempting to accomplish, Gilbert and Terrell's (2010) three approaches to analysis are explained. These are process, product, and performance. We begin with studies of product, because their reports are of this style. In this case, "It is the policy itself, the policy instrument, that is interrogated . . ." (O'Connor & Netting, 2008, p. 163). One early question must be: At what stage in the policy process model is this policy at the present time? Because each policy selected must be one that is currently implemented, the students consider whether their policy is newly implemented or whether it has been in place long enough to be evaluated. In other words, historically what stages has it been through? Has it ever been revised based on an evaluation?

The students are then given suggestions of criteria with which to analyze their selected policy as it is written and implemented. The criterion of equity is used to illustrate and emphasize the need to understand how any given author or analyst defines his or her terms; in Gilbert and Terrell (2010) equity focuses on benefits, while in Kraft and Furlong (2007) equity refers to fairness or justice in costs and risks across population subgroups, as well as the equitable distribution of benefits.

The students are also reminded of Dye's (1998) contention that public policy includes any decision not to act, a decision that may also require analysis; however, none of their papers are to be based on this type of unacted policy. Their projects are limited to policies that are implemented.

Performance studies are also discussed as one of Gilbert and Terrell's (2010) three types of analysis. Examples of performance studies from health services research are provided to the class. It is assumed that students are familiar with the mechanisms of evaluation of social work interventions based on their prior curricula. Students may use evidence collected from previous evaluations of their selected policy (whether internal to the agency or external), but they are not expected to personally perform such an investigation for their projects.

At this point students know they will be observers of product and not of performance, but what about process? Gilbert and Terrell use process as their third type of policy analysis. Process studies are "concerned with understanding how the relationships and interactions among the political, governmental, and interest group collectivities in a society affect policy formulation" (Gilbert & Terrell, 2010, p. 14). Analyses of process not only study the influences that lead to enactment, but also those that impact its implementation and its evolution over time. Only a very basic understanding of process is given to the students early in the class; they are not expected to complete an in-depth study of process for their projects. Instead, they are asked to simply consider problems of process: Were there problems with getting the policy on the agenda (getting legislators to take it seriously and to act)? Have there been problems with policy formulation (disagreement over policy goals

and strategies)? These answers are to be incorporated into their project as part of their understanding of the policy and its current status. This is a very minimal approach to the study of process.

The task of teaching students to more fully grasp the significance of deliberation impacts the latter portion of the class structure and motivates the remainder of the present discussion. While the students are examining the history, context, and content of their self-selected policy as dictated by their assignment, groundwork is laid for adding an additional dimension to their set of social work skills: the skill of analyzing the process of inclusion.

Building an Integrative Framework

As mentioned earlier, studies of process analyze how relationships among political, governmental, and interest groups interact to affect policy formulation (Gilbert & Terrell, 2010). For the purpose of a new integrative model, and by turning Gilbert and Terrell's definition somewhat on its ear, this model is instead concerned with understanding how the relationships and interactions of the people are able to create and bestow legitimacy for public policy. Policy legitimacy in this model may be considered a proxy for deliberative justice, that is, justice that allows all voices to be heard and given their respectful due and which protects this right through positive procedures granted to all. Policy legitimacy becomes the result of inclusive decision making and is the dependent variable in the model.

The primary challenge of the model is to provide a way to evaluate the quality of inclusion in the policy-making process. Recent arguments of O'Connor and Netting (2008) convince me that my focus on inclusion does not simply add another dimension to the traditional models of policy making; instead, it appears that a new framework is created. Rather than simply adding a criterion for analysis within the functionalist models, the intentional shift of emphasis to the study of inclusion seems to place the new model more firmly within an interpretivist paradigm. The resulting shift creates an analysis of inclusion and legitimacy, which is now presented.

Analysis of Inclusion and Legitimacy

The approach primarily derives from the work of Jürgen Habermas. His communicative action theory asserts that inclusive, free and open debate can provide legitimacy for government action (as cited in Horster, 1992). No attempt is made to convey all of communicative action theory to the class; nevertheless, certain key concepts are pulled from Habermas to create a new policy analysis framework and to explain to students the technique inherent in its method.

The first of the concepts used for class discussion is policy legitimacy, again, the dependent variable. The second and third concepts are the two criteria used to judge the quality of legitimacy. These are the incorporation of stakeholders' lifeworld into the decision-making process and the use of an ideal speech situation to allow for all voices to be heard and considered in an open forum. It is the formalization of fair procedure that allows the necessary engagement and open exchange (fair process) that is required to support the legitimation of policy. Habermas says

By singling out a procedure of decision-making, it seeks to make room for those involved, who must then find answers on their own to the moral–practical issues that come at them or are imposed on them, with objective historical force. (1990, p. 211)
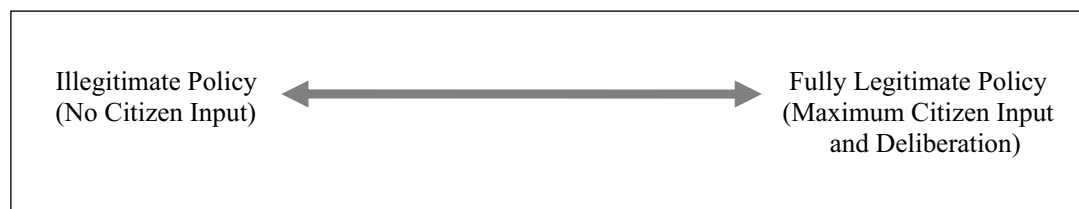
In the analysis of inclusion and legitimacy policy legitimacy rests on a combination of stakeholder inclusion and stakeholder deliberation at any stage of the policy process. This could manifest in decisions about the political agenda or about the manner in which a policy should be implemented, or even evaluated. It should be noted here that legitimation based on procedure is quite different than the idea of policy legitimation found in more linear policy models. For example, in the structural approach of Kraft and Furlong, policy legitimation is a two-stage process of the "mobilization of political support and formal enactment of policies" and the "justification or rationales for the policy action" (2007, p. 71). Taken together, these actions and their justification become policy legitimation, one of the steps in their policy process model.

However, in the new model of analysis of inclusion and legitimacy policy legitimation is no longer an act to formalize or legalize a policy; instead, policy legitimacy, as the dependent variable, is conferred on policy decisions that are derived from debate that is free, open, and intended to enhance citizen input. Therefore, one may consider policy legitimacy on a continuum, with a fully legitimate policy being one in which all opinions have been welcomed, considered, and openly debated before a final decision is made. Its opposite, a completely illegitimate policy, is one in which no citizen input is elicited (see Figure 1). Policy legitimacy is conferred on policies that demonstrate respect for the value of inclusion in their implementation process. One might make the assumption that, to the extent that a policy is legitimate, deliberative justice has been served.

The first criterion used to determine legitimacy is an appreciation of all stakeholders' lifeworlds. As described by Habermas, *lifeworld*, in the singular, includes one's abilities and intuition that inform how one will cope with a specific situation (as cited in Horster, 1992). Social learning of acceptable behavior (socialization) is included within the scope of one's knowledge and abilities. The concept is not foreign to social workers who have been trained to grasp the person-in-environment paradigm; however, the role of both individual and collective lifeworlds in an ideal speech situation becomes crucial to the creation of policy legitimacy.

FIGURE 1. The Continuum of Legitmacy

Illegitimate Policy (No Citizen Input) ←——————————→ Fully Legitimate Policy (Maximum Citizen Input and Deliberation)

The second criterion, *ideal speech situation*, assumes the formalization of fair procedure that then allows the necessary engagement and open exchange (fair process) required to support policy legitimation. In one interpretation of Habermas, "Truth" is derived from consensus born of an ideal speech situation and formal rules apply in which each person "who is capable of speech and action" may engage in discourse and each is given the opportunity to "express their attitudes, wishes and needs" (Jones, 2001, p. 69). Likewise, any participant may offer a proposal and may call into question any proposal. These rights are universal and must not be proscribed to anyone. All those who engage in this free and open debate presuppose the validity of such discourse (Jones, 2001; see also White, 1988). Without the provision of an ideal speech situation for the inclusion of stakeholders' views a policy decision cannot be considered fully legitimate.

From the above outlined view of deliberative justice, if the terms of policy legitimacy have been met by consideration of the lifeworld of all stakeholders through the provision of an ideal speech situation, then the resulting policy decision is acceptable, even if disagreement remains. It is this fair process that provides policy legitimacy.

The Real World

Students are somewhat surprised to learn that this sort of discourse is being attempted in other countries, especially in regard to healthcare policy. Syrett notes several participatory mechanisms of a "more or less deliberative nature" that include some interesting, and potentially successful, designs. Citizens' juries consist of a "small representative group" of the public who meet "to engage in a process of reflection, discussion and consideration of evidence" for policy planning (2007, p. 116). Citizens' juries have proven "especially popular" in providing input about local resource allocation in Great Britain. Similar deliberative techniques have become useful in other countries. Citizens' panels are "groups of statistically representative citizens" whose opinions are sought by public agencies on a "regular basis." Deliberation-oriented focus groups provide one-time discussions of a distinct topic among "individuals selected to represent a particular sector of society." Deliberative polling, on the other hand, "combines an opinion survey with opportunities for discussion and deliberation over a two to three day period" (2007, pp. 116–117).

Not only are experiments being conducted elsewhere, but empirical research to examine the significance of deliberative polling began in the United States over 10 years ago. The Center for Deliberative Democracy, under the direction of James S. Fishkin, reports several national and local studies, and some in countries outside of the United States, that show significant differences between raw public opinion and deliberative public opinion through Deliberative Polling (Fishkin & Laslett, 2003). After consideration of the above models, students are encouraged to envision research into other models that might work well in specific policy-making settings.

Use of the Model in the Classroom

Background

The primary purpose of this article is to illustrate how policy legitimacy can be integrated

into a beginning level social work policy course by use of a simple framework and the incorporation of concepts that are not new to social policy, but which add emphasis to the dimension of deliberative justice in all aspects of policy analysis. The idea that all policies must immediately meet this test of legitimacy is, of course, not practical. Our challenge, however, as the teachers of social policy, is to offer up the ideal of policy legitimacy in such a way that students not only grasp the concept, but that they can also visualize its implementation, at least on some levels.

To bring the theoretical paradigms of social policy to the real world of social work students, examples from healthcare policy are used. Toward this end a basic understanding of healthcare in the United States is given to the class. One session is devoted to employment-based health insurance, one to Medicare, and one to Medicaid. Use of healthcare policy is a device to help students understand not only the theoretical models, but also to give them the basic knowledge needed to participate in a mock stakeholder debate concerning this area of policy at the national level. If an instructor elected to use another social welfare topic, perhaps education instead of healthcare, it might be necessary to ensure that students were well prepared with background information on the topic prior to allowing them to engage in similar a debate.

Classroom Exercise

The following classroom experiences are recounted primarily in chronological order because it is believed the reader will gain insight from the flow of the process as well as from the pedagological intention. During the spring of 2010, approximately halfway through the semester, students were given the following written assignment for participation credit:

> Should healthcare in the United States continue to be primarily funded through employment-based insurance? What is your opinion? If you draw on someone else's data or analysis to substantiate your opinion, please document the source. Make this no more than one double-spaced page.

Responses were gathered by e-mail and divided into two preselected groups of seven. These assignments were collected by the instructor and were not shared with the students. All of the students in the first group (Group 1) opposed the continued primary reliance on employment-based health insurance, but for a variety of reasons. These include personal problems, such as lack of insurance due to work circumstances and loss of coverage through parents' insurance after turning 26 years of age. Other reasons for opposition are more directed toward the needs of the general population, such as the large costs of medical care when there is lack of coverage, the impact that the need for coverage has on decisions related to accepting or keeping employment, the injustice in a system that allows an executive to have coverage while a frontline worker may not be able to afford it, and concern for persons who lose coverage due to layoffs. One of the students argues that it is acceptable to let people keep their coverage through work, but the federal government should provide insurance for all

others who need it, whereas another student simply argues for national health insurance.

Responses from the second set of students (Group 2) were more diverse. One student was sympathetic with the need for everyone to have insurance, but was concerned that a close relative's medical condition might not be adequately met in a government-run program. Another felt strongly that Americans should not have to rely on an employment-based health insurance system, since she understands the pain of debt collection due to her own past medical bills. One felt that those with adequate employment-based coverage should be allowed to keep what they have while those with no coverage should be able to obtain it through a well-organized plan, but this plan should not be administered by the government. Other students were concerned about those with preexisting conditions, unemployed persons, employers who do not provide coverage, high premiums that preclude some employees from purchasing coverage, and lack of preventive care coverage in some policies.

Approximately 2 weeks transpired during which students received additional lectures and turned in assignments related to their individual major assignments. Then, based on the two response groups, the class was divided for two separate mock deliberations. First, each student received her (all happened to be female) original answers to the participation assignment of 2 weeks earlier; it was exactly as she submitted it. Second, she was asked to consider this as her personal point of view, based on her own lifeworld, that is, from her own experience up until that very moment, and including everything she

knows and everyone she knows, and especially everything she has experienced through the healthcare system in the United States.

A very brief explanation of lifeworld from the theory of Habermas was then explained to the class. Approximately 10 minutes was devoted to ensuring that they understood the basic concept, that they understood that this is similar to the theory of person-in-environment, and that it was to be considered cumulative.

Next the students were asked to turn their attention to the chalkboard at the front of the room. On the board was written a list of stakeholder roles, as follows: consumer rights advocate, nurse, doctor, factory worker, homemaker, certified public accountant (CPA), parole officer, social worker/children's advocate, lawyer for the American Medical Association, business leader, and Tea Party/taxpayer. The instructor asked each student in turn to select one of the roles listed on the board, and as a role was selected, that role was marked off. In the first group of participants (Group 1), students elected to take on the roles of the consumer rights advocate, the nurse, the doctor, the factory worker, the homemaker, the CPA, and the parole officer. The students were asked to remember their point of view from their personal lifeworld experience as they incorporated this into the role they elected to play for the deliberation. As the class instructor, I assumed the role of a panel moderator, the infamous "Willa Moyers."

Students were then given an explanation of an ideal speech situation, the concept again primarily derived from Habermas. The significance of inclusion of all views, and the importance of respectfully listening and weighing

the arguments of others, were all considered. Again, approximately 10 minutes was given to the discussion of an ideal speech situation and a laying of parameters for a civil discussion.

Students were asked to speak from the point of view of the role, given their best understanding of what that would mean, but to also keep in mind their personal experience, that is, their lifeworld. They were to mentally let these views blend. They were to hold onto their beliefs while considering how a person in their selected role might view the topic of the day, employment-based insurance. Then they were asked to listen carefully to the views of the others around the table.

Beginning with the factory worker, I asked each, in turn, their opinion of whether insurance should remain primarily employment-based in the United States. As the discussion proceeded, participants were encouraged not only to state their views, but also to address the sentiments expressed by others of the group. The demonstration was an attempt to let students experience a small slice of deliberation in which the concepts of lifeworld and ideal speech situation could begin to take on more meaning. They were guided to deliberate and consider thoughtfully all the views that were put forth and to collectively come to a reasonable judgment in a short period of time. In this first group there was a consensus that government-sponsored healthcare should be available universally in the United States.

Two days later the same procedure was followed with Group 2. In this case the roles of doctor, social worker/children's advocate, parole officer, homemaker, nurse, and consumer rights advocate were selected. Most

expressed concern about those who lack coverage, but it was the parole officer who admitted that her opinion was split between her concern for the healthcare needs of her clients and her appreciation for the substantial healthcare coverage that she and her fellow parole officers shared. After approximately 30 minutes, the group opinion was summarized as agreeing that a public option should be made available but that insurance should remain primarily funded through employment.

Feedback

During the class meeting of the following week the participants of the stakeholder role-play were asked to anonymously respond to two questions concerning the utility of the discussion of each of the concepts from Habermas held just prior to the exercise. The first question (Q1) was: "To what extent did the discussion about lifeworld add to your appreciation of the need for inclusion in policy legitimacy?" The second question (Q2) was: "To what extent did the discussion about ideal speech situation add to your understanding of its relationship to policy legitimacy?" The students were asked to respond to each question by circling either *Very much, Somewhat,* or *Not at all.* Written comments were also requested after each question.

Eleven of the original 14 participants were available to provide written feedback. Results indicate that most of the students appreciated the discussions. Regarding lifeworld and legitimacy (Q1), six students (55%) circled that the discussion *Very much* added to their understanding, five students (45%) indicated *Somewhat*, and none circled *Not at all* (see Table 1).

Eight (73%) of the 11 indicated that the discussion about ideal speech situation (Q2) *Very much* added to their understanding of its relationship to policy legitimacy, with three (27%) feeling this *Somewhat* helped and none indicating *Not at all* (see Table 1). Given an *n* of 11, no statistical significance is assumed.

More students (73%) felt that the discussion of an ideal speech situation was very helpful, while only slightly more than half (55%) felt that way about the discussion concerning lifeworld.

For each of the two topics the remaining students felt that the respective discussions helped their understanding somewhat. Fortunately no one thought the discussions were pointless.

Students were then asked to provide written comments concerning the two feedback questions. Most of the students' remarks reflected an appreciation of the discussion of lifeworld and the classroom exercise (see Table 2). One slightly negative statement suggested that more information was needed; but this could also be taken as a sign of interest.

Students were asked to provide written comments concerning the second question as well concerning the impact of the discussion on ideal speech situation. Their reflections were again primarily favorable (see Table 3). One especially positive comment was that theory is good, but it is also "nice" to see "in practice." The most negative comment among these suggests that it is too difficult to represent

TABLE 1. Responses to Feedback Questions

	Responses			
	Very much	**Somewhat**	**Differences**	***n***
Q1: Utility of lifeworld discussion	6 (55%)	5 (45%)	1	11
Q2: Utility of ideal speech situation discussion	8 (73%)	3 (27%)	5	11

TABLE 2. Sample of Students' Written Comments on the Discussion About Lifeworld

- It really helped me learn by putting myself in a certain role and learning the concept that way.
- (T)his gave me insight to another way of explaining it and implementing it.
- It clarifies the meaning of "lifeworld" by having to take into consideration everything that affects the person.
- It helped to set out our view and recognize problems from a different perspective.
- I will be much more likely to get feedback from many different people . . . in policy formation/change.
- More information, or a more involved lecture, would have increased [my response] to "very much."

another perspective especially if we hadn't been exposed to their ideals as a profession." This criticism is understandable and might cause me to rethink the exercise format, except that each student is allowed to self-select their role, which should help to minimize discomfort.

For the most part, feedback on the explanation of the concepts of lifeworld and ideal speech situation, as well as the classroom exercise, was favorable.

Conclusion

When presented with the concepts of the analysis of inclusion and legitimacy policy students are able to visualize the possibility of an ideal speech situation that would incorporate the experience and learned wisdom of all stakeholders. They can grasp that the ideal of policy legitimacy can rest on this sort of deliberation. It appears that the above described exercise is well worth the effort. The students' feedback leads me to see that they want more, not less, discussion about the concepts, and that the classroom role-play was a valuable part of the learning experience. In the future,

it will be suggested that they select a role with which they feel more familiar in order to help them be more at ease in the debate.

Social work students, faculty, and practitioners are given a note of caution: Inclusive deliberation might, or might not, lead to policy decisions that are inherently just from a distributive point of view. Students are encouraged to read further in the literature on democracy, disagreement, and moral decision making (e.g., Fishkin & Laslett, 2003; Guttman & Thompson, 1996). Equity must be considered from all angles.

All students of social welfare policy are encouraged to consider these concepts taken from the communicative action theory of Habermas. Instructors of policy classes may want to use the model provided, the analysis of inclusion and legitimacy, as they teach the process of policy making and the measurement of its legitimacy. Students, faculty, and social work practitioners are also encouraged to devise research hypotheses to illustrate, or call into question, the relevance of this theory and method of analysis to social work practice.

TABLE 3. Sample of Students' Written Comments on the Discussion About Ideal Speech Situation

- Interactive lessons help me understand concepts like this.
- Very valid and important to apply to policy legitimation, but a longer discussion may have helped.
- Helped understanding of the topic and was interesting as well.
- Helped to see the need of different people in different career fields.
- It was difficult to speak from another perspective especially if we hadn't been exposed to their ideals as a profession.
- The idea of being able to have all voices heard is good in theory, but was nice to also see in practice. I feel this is the best way to see it.

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